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TWO PERSPECTIVES ON WRITING: A CROSS-CONTEXT STUDY OF SECOND
LANGUAGE WRITING

by

HAE SUNG YANG

Under the Direction of Diane Belcher, PhD

ABSTRACT

The focus of writing pedagogy for L2 undergraduate writers in ESL contexts has been primarily on addressing writing demands across the curriculum (Johns, 2009; Silva, 1990). The literature from EFL settings, however, depicts a very complex picture that makes it difficult to generalize purposes and needs across the settings (Cimasko & Reichelt, 2011). Despite the indication that L2 writing is differently conceptualized across many settings, few studies have been conducted to examine contextual variation. Documenting local conceptions and contextual factors in different settings could not only inform teachers of the importance of accounting for local exigencies in teaching, but also provide new insights on pedagogical scholarship of L2 writing that has primarily accounted for ESL contexts.

To shed light on the situated nature of L2 writing, the present cross-context case study examined practices of teaching and learning L2 writing in two settings, i.e., an English Language Program (ELP) at “Southern” University in the U.S. and an ELP at “Hahn” University in Korea. By using multiple data collection methods – class observation, interviews, and document analysis, the study compared teachers’ pedagogical conceptualization and learners’ perceptions of L2 writing need. Findings show that the Southern-ELP predominantly conceptualized L2 writing as preparation for academic literacy demands in coursework whereas the Hahn-ELP viewed L2 writing as an end in itself by teaching mainly prescribed patterns. These differences originated from their understanding of local linguistic ecology and teacher training backgrounds. Students’ perceived needs for L2 writing, despite internal variation in both settings, showed divergence across the contexts. While many Southern students reported goals for learning-to-write in L2, most Hahn freshmen did not express similar goals. These Hahn students indicated needs to develop their linguistic proficiency through writing. These disparate views emanated from differences in L2 writing demands in coursework and linguistic proficiency.

The findings suggest that pedagogical scholarship of L2 writing established with ESL settings in mind may not be sufficient to address local exigencies of L2 writing in many EFL contexts and increasingly diversifying ESL settings. The study also invites L2 writing teachers to develop a better understanding of the range of diversity among student populations.

INDEX WORDS: L2 Writing, Writing Pedagogy, Cross-context study

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LANGUAGE WRITING

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HAE SUNG YANG

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Georgia State University

2016

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LANGUAGE WRITING

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	8
2.1 Pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing in diverse contexts	8
2.2 Student perceptions of L2 writing in diverse contexts.....	17
3 METHODOLOGY	25
3.1 Qualitative research with a social constructivist paradigm	25
3.2 Instrumental case study	26
3.3 Sampling methods	29
3.4 Research Contexts.....	31
3.4.1 Southern University and the Southern-ELP.....	31
3.4.2 Hahn University and the Hahn English Language Program.....	34
3.5 Entry into the Southern-ELP and the Hahn-ELP	36
3.6 Research participants	38
3.7 Data Collection	41
3.7.1 Interviews	42
3.7.2 Class observation.....	45

3.7.3	<i>Written documents</i>	46
3.7.4	<i>Student papers and surveys</i>	47
3.8	Data Analysis	48
3.9	Researcher positionality	52
4	INSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF L2 WRITING	56
4.1	Conceptualization of L2 writing in the Southern-ELP	57
4.2	Conceptualization of L2 writing in the Hahn-ELP	83
4.3	Comparisons of the two programs and discussion	107
5	STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF L2 WRITNG NEED	125
5.1	Southern-ELP students' perceptions of L2 writing need	126
5.1.1	<i>Southern student backgrounds</i>	130
5.1.2	<i>Student perceptions of L2 writing before instruction</i>	139
5.1.3	<i>Student perceptions of L2 writing after instruction</i>	144
5.2	Hahn-ELP students' perceptions of L2 writing need	155
5.2.1	<i>Hahn student backgrounds</i>	158
5.2.2	<i>Student perceptions of L2 writing before instruction</i>	170
5.2.3	<i>Student perceptions of L2 writing after instruction</i>	176
5.3	Comparisons of the two L2 writer groups and discussion	193
5.3.1	<i>Variation in perception of need for L2 writing within each program</i>	194
5.3.2	<i>Comparison in perception of need across the programs</i>	197

5.3.3	<i>Implications for teacher education and policy</i>	201
6	CONCLUSIONS	207
6.1	Summary of the findings	207
6.2	Research Implications	210
6.3	Coda	212
	REFERENCES	214
	APPENDICES	228
	Appendix A Consent Form for Directors	228
	Appendix B Consent Forms for Instructors	230
	Appendix C Consent Forms for Students	233
	Appendix D Administrator Interview Guide	236
	Appendix E Instructor Interview Guide	238
	Appendix F Student Interview Guide	240
	Appendix G Survey on Learning Experience	242
	Appendix H Seo’s draft with instructor feedback	243

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Overview of Participants in the Study	39
Table 3.2 Instructor Participants from the Southern-ELP and the Hahn-ELP.....	40
Table 3.3 Data Types according to Research Questions.....	41
Table 3.4 Questioning Strategy (Adapted from Lichtman, 2012)	44

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1 Identification Questions..... 74

Figure 4.2 Comparison Contrast Essay Structure..... 102

1 INTRODUCTION

Theory, research and pedagogy of second language (L2) writing, to a large extent, have developed in North American settings in which L2 writing scholars aimed to address academic literacy demands faced by L2 writers in higher education contexts. Well-established research focusing on Center or English-dominant contexts is unsurprising, considering the increasing number of L2 students in higher education, the urgent need to become effective writers in their coursework and high-stakes written genres (e.g., research articles and grant proposals), and the widely perceived critical roles of writing in shaping and enriching the intellectual lives of students (Belcher, 2012; Matsuda, 2003). These socio-historical backgrounds are reflected in institutional policies, curricula and pedagogical practices in many L2 writing programs in English dominant settings. Many North American universities invest heavily in teaching L2 writing, as evidenced in required academic writing courses ranging from non-credit courses that provide foundation of writing for matriculated undergraduate L2 students to credit-bearing first year composition (FYC) courses.

Curricular goals of L2 writing programs in these English-dominant settings often concern English for academic purposes (EAP) with a focus on helping L2 writers, particularly international students in higher education, learn to write varied academic tasks and genres. A range of pedagogical perspectives in teaching L2 writing advocated by North American practitioner scholars reflect these EAP-oriented tendencies (Horowitz, 1986; Spack, 1988; Swales, 1990). This early work established by L2 writing scholars contributed to the enriched theorization of L2 writing pedagogy. However, since the late 1990's, the field has seen increasing research and pedagogical scholarship that extends its scope from its main focus on international students to concerns of other diverse L2 student populations including U.S. born

multi-linguals, long-term residents, newly arrived residents, and refugee students (Ferris, 2009; Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999; Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009). Practitioner scholars who work with varied L2 student populations have begun to examine curricular and pedagogical approaches that are responsive to the linguistic resources, educational backgrounds and cultural identities of these L2 writers (Roberge, Losey & Wald, 2015). The urgency to serve increasingly diversifying L2 writing populations is strongly felt in the field through more inclusive pedagogical scholarship that accommodates varied, and possibly conflicting, needs of L2 writers. This historical account of L2 writing in North America indicates that addressing contextual variance has become an important research agenda in L2 writing scholarship. In other words, there is a growing awareness that addressing local concerns is critical in making decisions in institutional policy, curriculum, and pedagogical approaches.

Contextual variance is probably more easily identified among non-English dominant, often termed English as a foreign language or EFL, contexts across a range of geographical, national contexts. The literature on the teaching of L2 writing in non-English dominant settings depicts a very complex picture that makes it difficult to generalize curricula, student needs and practices across these settings (Manchón, 2009). L2 writing at the undergraduate level in non-English dominant settings has often been taught to English majors (Manchón & Roca de Larios, 2011; Reichelt, 2005; Sasaki, 2004) and, less commonly, to non-English majors when high-stakes tests mandated by governments include English writing components (Reichelt, 2005; You, 2004). For many undergraduate students who take their disciplinary courses in their (non-English) local language, it is hard to identify a compelling reason to engage in academic writing in L2. Even when the subject matter is taught in English, local practices of learning and assessment in some contexts do not involve writing to a large extent (Braine, 2003).

Even though interest in teaching L2 writing is growing in many parts of the world, the shared values on the significance of writing appearing across most North American campuses are not often identified in many non-English dominant contexts. The teaching of L2 writing is sometimes implemented through top-down curricular mandates at the national level, and people see symbolic values, rather than functional and pragmatic reasons, in being fluent in L2 writing that put them in an advantageous position for advancement such as admission into higher education institutions and employment (Leki, 2001). Conversely, in rarer cases, in a context in which teaching L1 (first language) writing takes deep cultural roots in educational practices, the teaching of L2 writing reflects the values and assumptions identified in L1 writing pedagogy (Reichelt, 1997). Overall, L2 writing curricular and pedagogical practices in a specific foreign language (FL) learning context present their own “idiosyncrasy regarding the role that writing plays (or can play) in the lives of students and teachers” (p. 2, Manchón, 2009).

One key connection in L2 writing scholarship conducted in FL contexts, as pointed out by Cimasko & Reichelt (2011), is the significance of “locality” or unique historical, socio-cultural factors identified in many FL writing contexts. An increasing number of reports and studies describing diverse national and institutional settings indicate the growing awareness of contextual factors that influence national and institutional policy, curricular approaches, and pedagogical practices in a particular FL setting. While this appears to suggest inherent heterogeneity in L2 writing policy and curriculum in many FL contexts, the shared interests in and perceived significance of contextual factors could be a unifying force that brings together researchers and instructors working in diverse geographic locations (Cimasko & Reichelt, 2011). As described above, recent scholarship in L2 writing attests to growing interest in contextual variance in many settings around the globe, as evidenced in increasing attention to diversity in

student populations in North America and idiosyncrasies in language policy, linguistic ecology, education system, and functional values of writing across non-English dominant settings.

Despite the increasing awareness of the criticality of contextual influences on L2 writing curricula and pedagogies, not many naturalistic studies have been conducted to document curricular and pedagogical practices. Particularly lacking in the literature are studies that examine curricular and pedagogical practices of particular L2 writing programs, not those of writing scholars that often focus on the theorization of pedagogy by considering their own contexts. Whether “public discourse” about theory and pedagogy constructed by L2 writing scholars is commensurate with how classroom teachers conceptualize and practice L2 writing has not been widely examined (Ortega, 2004). Another gap in the literature on contextual variance is that only a few comparative studies, often based on surveys and interviews, examined commonalities and differences among different linguistic and institutional contexts (Cumming, 2003; Ruecker et al., 2014). These studies as well as reviews of broad-stroke descriptions of FL writing policy at the national level identified variations and similarities across institutional levels and linguistic contexts (Reichelt et al., 2012; Ruecker et al., 2014). Findings of these comparative reports indicate that understanding writing as one of the linguistic skills to develop overall proficiency was more prevalent in FL contexts, but L2 writing in North American contexts was often considered as an independent, stand-alone subject matter in which the dimension of learning to write is emphasized. These generalized differences gained through policy reviews, surveys or interviews add to our current knowledge of contextual variance, but we have not built adequate understanding of emic perspectives of stakeholders (e.g., conceptions and pedagogical expertise of L2 writing by classroom teachers) and contextual factors that have led them to particular perspectives.

The present study is a response to these research gaps described above. One way to bring to light contextual variation in L2 writing would be to juxtapose different L2 writing settings in the same study in order to describe human, institutional and sociocultural factors (Cumming, 2003; Ruecker et al., 2014). To shed light on the situated nature of L2 writing, the current study seeks to identify practices of L2 writing in two settings, i.e., an English Language Program (ELP) at Southern University (pseudonym) in the U.S. and an ELP at Hahn University (pseudonym) in South Korea, whose linguistic, geo-historical, and sociocultural situations are different from each other. The study describes teaching and learning practices in each setting and then identifies similarities and differences between the two. The choice of these two settings was made not because each represents a larger national or linguistic context, but because they could provide insight into contextual variance in L2 writing (Stake, 1995).

The broad, open-ended questions that guided the study were: “What are practices of teaching and learning L2 writing in the two settings?” and “How are they similar and different?” These overarching questions have evolved into more specific sub-questions during the data collection process. The following are specific questions that I have refined throughout the research process:

1. How is L2 writing conceptualized by an administrator and teachers in two contextually different programs, one in a U.S. university and another in a Korean university? In what ways is L2 writing similarly or differently conceptualized?
2. What are L2 writers’ perceptions of need for L2 writing in these two contextually different programs? In what ways are these perceptions similar or different within and across the two programs?

These broad questions examine and compare teachers' perspectives and practices, and students' perceptions about L2 writing instruction in each of the settings. Commonalities and differences are explicated by considering the influence of contextual factors, which are operationalized as a range of sociolinguistic and educational factors including linguistic environment, institutional policy, teacher expertise, student backgrounds and material conditions in the current study (Cumming, 2009; Leki, 2001).

From the vantage point of comparative perspectives of L2 writing contexts, the study seeks to broaden our pedagogical and theoretical understanding about L2 writing. Comparative ethnographic research¹ whose focus is on the identification of commonalities and differences among different "cultures" can help to illuminate critical aspects of particular cultures, which might not emerge under a research design that examines individual cultures on their own terms (McCurdy, Spradley & Shandy, 2005). As the field of L2 writing claims to be an inclusive discipline that encompasses varied geographical, institutional, and disciplinary contexts, one important issue that needs more attention is whether our current theoretical and pedagogical foundations (especially those coming from North American contexts) shared among teachers and researchers reflect these wide-ranging contexts. Through the provision of comparative perspectives in L2 writing, the current study aims to promote a cross-context dialogue that is essential in constructing a unified or coherent field that possesses a common knowledge-base in theory and pedagogy.

Another contribution the current study hopes to make concerns L2 writing teacher education. Many TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and applied linguistics programs in English dominant settings have not adequately prepared teacher learners to address L2 writing instruction outside of North American contexts (Govardhan et al., 1999;

¹ See 3.1 and 3.2 for the justification of adopting ethnographic case study.

Liu, 1999). As these programs enroll numerous international students, many of whom intend to return to their home countries, and many teachers increasingly shuttle between English teaching communities in different countries, teacher educators and teachers of L2 writing must raise awareness of the significance of contextual factors that could inform a context-sensitive, localized pedagogy (Casanave, 2009; Tsui & Ng, 2010). Research studies show that teacher education programs in many non-English dominant settings have prepared teacher learners mainly as “language teachers” (Lee, 2010), and L2 writing methodology courses do not seem to be often offered in these settings (Lee, 2010; Hudson et al., 2009). There is also a growing need for teacher educators in these settings to guide teacher learners to examine human, sociocultural, geo-historical and political influences on L2 writing in their own settings while informing them of how L2 writing instruction is conducted in other linguistic and cultural settings.

In this report, I will first review previous studies that examined pedagogical practices and student perceptions of L2 writing in various linguistic and socio-cultural contexts (Chapter Two). Chapter Three will describe the methodology of the study. Chapter Four will present findings of research question one (pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing) followed by implications for teacher education and policy. In Chapter Five I will present findings of research question two (student perceptions of need for L2 writing) and offer pedagogical and policy implications. Finally, Chapters Six will present summary of findings and research implications.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I review previous research that examines pedagogical practices and student perceptions of L2 writing, primarily at the undergraduate level, in various linguistic and socio-cultural contexts. I begin with studies that describe how L2 writing was pedagogically conceptualized in particular institutional and national contexts. Cross-contextual studies that focused on the teaching practices of L2 writing in more than one context will be included in the same section. Then I will review studies that examine L2 writers' perceptions of need for L2 writing in diverse contexts.

2.1 Pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing in diverse contexts

A great deal of pedagogical scholarship in L2 writing emanates from North American contexts in which the requirement of FYC for freshmen has been a norm for decades in most U.S. universities (Crowley, 1998; Tardy & Jwa, 2016). Practitioner scholars in the field of L2 writing in these contexts, at the intersection of the two “disparate” fields (i.e., second language studies and composition and rhetoric), have proposed varied approaches to teaching L2 writing (Matsuda, 2003; Silva, 1990). One distinct feature cutting across many of these pedagogical approaches adopted in these settings is the preparation of L2 undergraduate writers for academic literacy demands (Benesch, 2001; Horowitz, 1986; Johns, 2009; Spack, 1988). Because of the pressing needs of L2 students to deal with often challenging academic tasks and papers across the curriculum, the focus of L2 writing instruction has been primarily on developing competence in academic writing. These approaches, often discussed under the umbrella school of thought termed as “English for academic purposes” (EAP) approaches, provided diverse views to perceive academic writing including linguistic, cognitive, social and critical aspects of L2 writing. While some scholars argue that general, common core academic language and discourse

should be a primary concern for tertiary undergraduate writing (Spack, 1988), others believe that developing competence in particular university tasks and disciplinary discourses should be a main goal of early years of university writing (Horowitz, 1986; Hyland, 2005; Melzer, 2003). Spack (1988) advocates for a wide-angle approach to support L2 writers to become familiar with “general academic writing” (p. 30) that includes rhetorical strategies through humanistic and informative texts that many L2 writing instructors are possibly knowledgeable about. Contrary to this broad approach to teaching academic writing, many L2 writing scholars espouse narrow angle approaches in order to link L2 writing courses with academic writing demands across the curriculum. The most influential, among many, EAP approaches that directly address academic writing demands are arguably two different schools of thoughts in relation to genres, English for Specific Purposes or ESP (Swales, 1990), and the Sydney School (Hyon, 1996; Johns, 2002).

Within the ESP tradition, a “genre” is seen as communicative action commonly adopted by a discourse community. For ESP genre pedagogues, a genre is a repeated, shared, and social action within which a communicative purpose and rhetorical patterns are identified. Among key characteristics (“discourse community,” “communicative purpose” and “move analysis”) defining the notion of academic genres, move analysis was one of the most popular areas of ESP genre research and teaching in the 1990s and afterwards. For instance, the introduction of research articles in various disciplines has been examined with a focus on their organizational and linguistic features to help novice academic members understand this powerful genre. Even though ESP genre pedagogy was originally proposed to help graduate students and novice researchers who have pressing needs to write high-stakes academic written genres for their disciplinary community members, “rhetorical moves” and “discourse community” were adopted to socialize L2 undergraduate writers into academic discourse as well (Johns, 2002). Another

genre theory informed approach, the Sydney School or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) has also been influential in teaching L2 undergraduate writing in English dominant settings (Ellis, 2004; Johns, 2002; Wingate & Tribble, 2012). SFL pedagogues prioritize the explicit teaching of the most common “text types” or “elemental genres” based on the belief that underserved populations, such as immigrants and linguistic minority students, lack understanding of norms and assumptions of dominant genres taken for granted by mainstream students (Rose & Martin, 2012). Elemental genres or “broad discourse patterns” (Hyland, 2007) such as argument, critique, exposition, narrative, procedure and recount were identified as key text types underlying most academic texts. Therefore, SFL oriented teachers tend to see academic writing through the lens of elemental genres and teach the general purpose, rhetorical pattern (a sequence of stages to realize the purpose), and genre-specific lexico-grammatical features of each elemental genre.

While the two genre approaches mentioned above focus primarily on the “acquisition” of genres or text types, socio-literate approaches by Johns (1997) aim to help L2 undergraduate writers become “rhetorically flexible” (p. 43, Johns, 2009) by supporting them to become researchers of a disciplinary course linked to their L2 writing class. L2 writers are guided to observe complex, dynamic rhetorical situations and actively examine the assumptions and epistemology implied in the literacy demands of the linked disciplinary course.

Unlike the approaches that aim to ease L2 writers into academic discourse, some L2 writing scholars are critical of L2 writing instruction that focuses mainly on student enculturation. Benesch (2001), for instance, takes a more critical stance than these genre informed approaches. She advocates for critical pedagogy in which L2 writers are encouraged to critically reflect on existing academic discourse assumptions and practices in relation to their socio-political identities and positions. Her primary concern in teaching writing is to guide L2 writers to

“fulfilling target requirements while experimenting ways to modify them.” (p. 103, Benesch, 2001)

In addition to these representative writing pedagogies established by practitioner scholars, there has been a growing attention in the field of L2 writing to increasing diversity in L2 student populations: including international students, U.S. educated multilingual students, U.S. born multilingual students, and refugees. Diverse pedagogies to account for varied academic literacy needs have been documented in the recent decade (Ferris, 2009; Roberge, Losey & Wald, 2015; Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009). A recent volume by Roberge, Losey, and Wald (2015) documents a range of pedagogical practices taken by practitioners serving varied U.S. educated multilingual populations. L2 writing issues and pedagogies addressed in the volume encompass lexico-grammar, rhetorical patterns, reading-writing connection, narratives, multimodal texts, among others. The wide range of pedagogical approaches in the volume illustrates a growing diversity among the L2 writer population in North American campuses and accordingly varied needs that reflect their diversity. Continuously evolving theories of L2 writing, complicated nature of academic literacy demands (See Johns 2009), and diverse L2 student populations, among other factors, have contributed to a wide range of pedagogies of L2 writing for undergraduate students in North American contexts.

While the enculturation of L2 students into academic discourse has probably been a main pedagogical focus in many English dominant settings, overriding goals and approaches across non-English dominant settings have not been documented in the literature. Variability in approaches to teaching L2 writing across these settings appears to originate from idiosyncrasy in each setting in terms of linguistic ecology, educational system, values on writing, L2 related policy and material conditions (Reichelt et al., 2012). Pedagogical conceptualization of L2

writing at non-English dominant universities has often been included as part of short reports or studies that described L2 writing with a broad stroke at the institutional or national level (Cho, 2006; Cimasko & Reichelt, 2011; Reichelt et al., 2012; You, 2004). Detailed descriptions of L2 writing pedagogy that reflect teachers' views are not very common.

The teaching of L2 writing in non-English dominant settings is traditionally viewed as subordinate to the ultimate goal of improving oral communicative competence (Reichelt et al., 2012). Incorporating inauthentic writing tasks often in the form of sentence or short passage production are common when a main purpose of learning L2 is to improve spoken language. The potential critical role writing could play in improving overall linguistic competence has recently gained attention in the literature. Language learning potential through writing espoused by L2 writing scholars has become an active research agenda by researchers who believe that the act of writing through the engagement in extended discourse promotes the overall development of language (Manchón, 2011).

Teaching of L2 writing through independent writing courses in EFL contexts has often been offered to English majors (Min, 2011; Reichelt, 2005). Reichelt's (2005) study of English writing instruction for English majors at a Polish university found that English writing instructors, most of whom were from English speaking countries, adopted a combination of process writing and current traditional rhetoric. Therefore, pre-writing activities, peer review, revision and journal writing were commonly employed, and students were required to write an essay according to prescribed linguistic and rhetorical forms. These instructors, by focusing on the forms and citation practices of pedagogical essays, conceptualized L2 writing instruction as learning-to-write pedagogical genres. These instructors saw their pedagogy as having little

pragmatic value since their students did not seem to see venues to write these types of writing in their current academic courses and future careers.

Tsui and Ng (2010) show changes in teaching practices through instructors' consideration of local cultural traditions and situated knowledge of their instructional setting. The two local writing teachers in Hong Kong, when required to adopt process writing that was deemed not appropriate in their local culture, explored a range of choices that can be realized within cultural traditions and classroom constraints. They developed a unique strategy to incorporate peer review so that it could fit into their classroom culture. Tarnopolsky's (2000) report on teaching L2 writing in Ukraine also documented challenges associated with the adoption of process writing. The author had to make adjustments in his teaching methods to appeal to his students who wanted to improve L2 writing, but did not see immediate needs or hold strong motivation for L2 writing. These adaptations show that L2 writing teacher beliefs and practices are a reflection of local conditions and culture, and that pedagogical approaches developed in North America would be embodied in localized forms in different contexts.

An English language curriculum at a Chinese university documented by You (2004) shows that writing is addressed as part of an intensive reading class in which speaking, reading, translation and writing are taught. To prepare students for a high-stakes test (College English Test) offered at the national level, English instructors took a teacher-fronted formulaic approach. By the use of a model essay, instructors taught organization and vocabulary explicitly to a large class (150 students). Teaching a three paragraph model (introduction, discussion of the topic, and the author's opinion) and providing "correct" vocabulary items were common practices employed by the teachers with a belief that following the particular organization and memorizing

vocabulary items were the best way to meet test requirements. This study illustrates the critical role of high-stakes tests that could affect the direction of L2 writing instruction.

In addition to these studies that described pedagogical practices in EFL contexts, some studies of L2 writing teacher cognition in EFL contexts identified a discrepancy between teacher beliefs and practices (Lee, 2010, 2013). L2 writing teachers focused on grammar in their feedback despite their awareness of the importance of global issues (Diab, 2005; Lee, 2010). This mismatch originated from numerous contextual constraints such as exam-oriented learning, curriculum mandates, and logistical constraints as well as teacher's lack of experience with teaching writing (Lee, 2008). Other than contextual factors, L2 teachers' previous literacy experience as a learner and writer and lack of training in L2 writing influence their classroom practice (Hudson et al., 2009; Yigitoglu & Belcher, 2014). Hudson et al. (2009) illustrates challenges local EFL teachers face in preparing to teach L2 writing. In the study, most Vietnamese pre-service teachers did not feel that they had acquired pedagogical knowledge and skills in their practicum required to teach writing in the future. Their mentor teachers' English classes did not address L2 writing, and they did not feel ready to teach writing in their future class. When L2 instructors do not have a solid background in their L1 and L2 writing and are not taught how to teaching writing in their teacher training, they will be likely to find it challenging to come up with pedagogical practices to meet their students' writing needs.

Teaching L2 writing has not often been a priority in many English language programs at Korean universities. Traditionally, freshman English courses at Korean universities emphasized the understanding and appreciation of humanistic-cultural reading materials (Kim, 2007). This reading focused English instruction at the college level went through drastic changes in the mid-1990s when many universities in Korea began to replace traditional reading focused instruction

with communicative language teaching (CLT) informed curricula in which the development of oral fluency takes a central role. According to Cho's (2002) survey study, most English language programs at 60 Korean universities aimed to deal with the four traditional linguistic modalities (listening, reading, speaking and writing), but oral/aural skills received far more attention than literacy skills in these programs, which reflected students and teachers' primary concerns for developing spoken language (Jung & Kim, 2001; Kim, 2007; Kim & Margolis, 2000). These trends in favor of oral language imply that English language learning at the Korean university level is often considered as equal to the improvement of speaking competence, and therefore literacy skills do not have as strong a presence as oral communication.

Because of the strong emphasis on oral language competence (and reading previously), research on L2 writing, within my knowledge, has not usually been a focus in L2 research in Korean contexts. However, recent changes in the linguistic environment on many Korean university campuses mainly originating from a policy mandate by the government (i.e., providing financial incentives to universities that offer English medium courses), attracted more attention in teaching L2 writing among a few prestigious universities (Cho, 2006; Lee, 2015). How L2 writing is taught in these university settings has not been widely documented, but some studies conducted at Korean universities in which disciplinary courses are at least partially offered in English found that L2 writing instruction often concerns the explicit teaching of a prescribed textual organization (e.g., a personal essay) (Cho, 2006; Lee & Schallert, 2008). Even in courses that aim to teach academic writing, some teachers often took a very general approach by teaching a five paragraph essay pattern (Cho, 2006; Lee, 2015).

There have been a few cross-context studies that highlight the uniqueness of each writing context. A seminal cross-context writing study by Gorman *et al.* (1988) compared 14 national

writing contexts within the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). One crucial finding of this study is that the concept of “written composition” is not universal across national cultures. Teachers’ conceptions of writing as well as their teaching practices differed significantly across these national contexts. For instance, writing teachers in Sweden and New Zealand emphasized writing processes more than those in other countries. Students in different cultures also interpreted the same task differently. One example is that Indonesian students perceived most writing tasks as having to elicit a narrative, which led them to narrate a personal story in response to an argument prompt (Purves, 1992). In addition, the same evaluation scheme was differently interpreted among different national groups of raters. This project implies that it would be hard to obtain a universal construct of writing among people from different cultures. Therefore, it would be presumptuous to use the conceptions of writing developed in a particular cultural or national context to understand writing in different contexts.

Atkinson and Ramanathan (1995) compared two writing programs within the same university, the English Language Program (ELP) in which international students take English classes before enrolling in first year composition classes, and the University Composition Program (UCP) that houses first year composition courses for both native English speakers (NESs) and non-native English speakers (NNESs). The ELP’s writing courses dealt with academic literacy tasks such as summarizing, note-taking and paraphrasing as well as the pedagogical essay with a view to providing hands-on, readily available tools for ESL writers. The UCP program, on the other hand, emphasized critical thinking and exploration of ideas, with de-emphasis on form. American culture-laden notions like “insights,” “thoughtfulness,” and “cogency” were presupposed in their teaching and assessment. The authors claim that these

differences come from disciplinary culture these two programs take roots in; the UCP's disciplinary base is rhetoric and composition, and the ELP is associated with applied linguistics. The authors argue that cultural assumptions about good writing in the UCP, which are not straightforward to NNES writers, put them at a disadvantage.

In all, the literature tells us that the learning and teaching of L2 writing in a specific context is a cultural, geo-historical phenomenon. Learner beliefs, the conceptualizations and knowledge of L2 writing by the instructor, local values given to writing, and institutional and national policies all affect how L2 writing is conceptualized and taught at a particular setting. Cultural values given to learning-to-write in North American contexts, represented by the requirement of composition courses for all undergraduates, are not often observed in non-English dominant settings. English composition is often taught to English majors in EFL contexts (Manchón, R. & Roca de Larios, 2011; Reichelt, 2005; Sasaki, 2004), and to non-English majors when a high-stakes test includes a writing section (You, 2004). Korean universities tend to privilege oral language skills in teaching English, and many freshmen English courses focus on addressing spoken language competence. The literature indicates that L2 writing instruction in many non-English dominant settings would be different from English dominant settings. In addition, an interplay of diverse contextual factors would contribute to particular conceptualization and pedagogical practices of L2 writing. Language policy, cultural values assigned to English, and material conditions would all affect these teaching practices.

2.2 Student perceptions of L2 writing in diverse contexts

As the previous section indicates, L2 writing scholars have generated rich pedagogical scholarship on instructional approaches with a purpose to serve diverse L2 student populations.

Even though L2 writing instruction is increasingly offered in tertiary institutions in many parts of the world, students' perceptions of L2 writing need have not been extensively examined.

Studies that examine student views in North American settings illuminate several factors affecting students' conception of, and needs for, L2 writing. These inter-related factors include L2 writers' experiences with diverse academic genres (Leki, 2011), specific pedagogical approaches adopted by the writing instructor (Zamel, 1990), learner goals for writing (Cumming, 2012; Losey, 1997), and demands for writing in content courses that students were concurrently taking (Harklau, 2001; Leki, 2007).

Leki (2011) reported on newly matriculated international students' persistence and willingness to learn new genres and tasks required in their classes. The students reported their increasing language proficiency and growing awareness of rhetorical situations in their new L2 academic setting. One impressive revelation from these participants was that they were cognizant of the limitations of formulaic writing they learned to prepare for the TOEFL, IELTS and other high-stakes tests in their home country. They were aware that they needed new perception of writing for their content courses in the U.S. and "flexibility to recognize and respond malleably to the new rhetorical situations they encountered" (p. 104, Leki, 2011). This study indicates that changes in student perceptions of L2 writing are contingent upon their exposure to diverse rhetorical situations and identification of new gaps in L2 writing.

Zamel's (1990) case study of the three L2 writers reported contrasting experiences of these students in the two sequence writing courses. In the pre-composition course, the L2 writers responded positively to their instructor's expressivist approach to writing in which they were allowed to choose topics on their own and explore ideas without constraints on forms. In their subsequent composition class, by contrast, these writers showed frustration over formulaic

instructional approaches that required them to observe rules and conventions without an option for topic choice or for organization. Students felt that their identities, intentions and interpretations were not valued by the instructor who prioritized organizational patterns and grammar.

Harklau's (2001) ethnographic study of four female immigrant students at the transitional stage from high school to college, though student perspectives on composition class was not a central focus, found that the students did not see great values in writing instruction offered through their ESOL composition classes in their community college. Their identities as a U.S. citizen were not reflected in the course contents and assignments, and the students, because of the remedial nature of the writing courses and infrequent extensive writing assignments in their coursework, saw little connection between their college writing courses and their personal identity and career. The study's findings indicate that student writers' views on L2 writing originate from multiple sources such as L2 writer identity, writing demands in students' coursework and specific pedagogical approaches.

One critical factor impacting on L2 writer perceptions of need concerns students' academic goals and attitude toward academic work. Cumming's (2012) research on two different L2 writer populations, *i.e.*, visa holding international students who sought admission in Canadian universities and at-risk high school students, most of whom were immigrants, showed disparate attitudes toward writing despite some individual differences among learners in the same group. The author found that international students had clear objectives for their areas of writing development (work on language, rhetoric, and control over composing process) and a range of goals related to writing improvement (tests, university studies and career). These students had a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and had both integrative and instrumental purposes in

their learning to write. At-risk adolescent writers, on the other hand, had performance-related goals and their general attitudes toward writing tasks were not positive; they found school sponsored writing boring, challenging and dissatisfying. They instead saw great satisfaction in their out of school day-to-day literacy activities. Cumming (2002) claims that differences in student motivation and aspiration to develop their writing are related to their different goals of writing (e.g., performance goals that focus on completing given tasks and mastery goals that extend to acquiring writing skills and increasing proficiency).

Research on L2 writer perceptions in the North American contexts implies L2 students' response to a particular pedagogical approach is contingent upon their socio-economic background, writing competence, immediate and distant writing demands, and personal/academic/professional goals. Undergraduate writers, especially those who just began their university career, would possibly not identify immediate needs in their coursework because they take few disciplinary courses in the first year, and many of them have not declared a major. "The fragmented nature of undergraduate education" (p. 66, Casanave, 2005) in North American university settings would not allow many L2 writers to identify specific writing needs for their academic and professional careers. The uncertainty and incoherence in first years of university as well as varied backgrounds of L2 writers (e.g., international students, immigrants, U.S. born multilingual students) poses challenges for L2 writing teachers in deciding on a curricular focus and pedagogical approaches (Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009)

L2 writer perceptions in non-English dominant settings have not been widely investigated. Sasaki's (2004, 2009) research examined the development of two groups of L2 Japanese college writers *i.e.*, at-home group and study abroad group, both of whom were English majors at a Japanese university and took several composition classes at the university. The study-abroad

group had experienced study abroad in varying degrees, from 2 to 11 months in English speaking countries, whereas the other stayed in Japan. One qualitative difference between the two groups was that whereas the at-home group saw L2 writing as a class requirement they have to complete, the study abroad students who stayed in the L2 environment longer than 8 months had an L2-related imagined community to write to and maintained their intrinsic motivation to continue to engage in L2 writing. The latter group therefore viewed L2 writing as communication with the potential L2 community, and rhetorical refinement to appeal to the readership became their main concern in writing. However, most of the participants including study abroad students did not have immediate and prospective needs for L2 writing in their current coursework (except for their composition courses) and future careers (other than a few who planned to be English teachers). In other words, occasions to write in L2 were limited to composition courses, and the students did not see critical roles of L2 writing in their future careers. Sasaki's research (2004, 2009) raises an important point about the roles of L2 writing instruction in non-English dominant settings. Many of EFL students would not be able to see immediate needs in their environments even if they receive L2 writing instruction. The study raises a question for L2 writing specialists on how to provide L2 writing instruction in which students do not see an immediate connection between L2 writing instruction and their personal, academic and professional goals.

Manchón and Roca de Larios (2011) report positive experience among L2 college writers in their multiple-semester sequence composition courses at a university in Spain. Advanced EFL writers majoring in English expanded their view on writing when they engaged in revision through formative feedback from peers and the teacher. Their previous concerns about L2 writing (a focus on linguistic accuracy) have broadened to include macro-level concerns such as idea development and awareness of the audience and purpose while still improving their

linguistic proficiency. Explicit instruction on academic writing tasks and genres was well-received by the participants, and their writing showed a huge improvement across the board. Notable is the L2 writers' awareness of the potential of language learning through L2 writing; they realized that their productive linguistic resources expanded through their engagement in writing. This study implies that EFL writers, through composition courses involving scaffolded support from the teacher and peers, could invest heavily in learning-to-write and writing-to learn language.

The Polish students mentioned in the previous section (Reichert, 2005) also showed commitment in improving their L2 writing. Even though they had difficulty meeting the rhetorical requirements of writing assignments assigned by their writing teachers from English speaking countries, these challenges did not stop the student writers from making effort to improve their writing. Rhetorical expectations in their pedagogical English essay were different from those required in their Polish writing in which content takes the central stage and long, "stream of consciousness" style of writing is valued as good writing. Reichelt (2005) suggests that these Polish EFL university writers' efforts come from the prestigious status of English which could affect their career advancement and the students' belief that writing supports language development.

The EFL university writers in Sasaki (2004), Manchón and Roca de Larios (2011), and Reichelt (2005) were English majors and learned to write in stand-alone L2 writing courses on a long-term basis. These students' disciplinary backgrounds would have motivated them, at least extrinsically, to improve their L2 writing. Therefore, the findings of the three studies should be understood by taking into account the students' backgrounds.

There are few studies that examine college level L2 writers' perspectives on L2 writing in Korean university contexts. Survey-based studies that examined the effectiveness of English programs in Korean universities included learner perspectives about their English classes (Kim, 2007; Yoo, 2012). In Kim (2007), to a question about which linguistic modality they were most interested in improving, approximately 600 Korean students at a particular university responded that speaking (38.3%) and listening (27.2%) should be a priority of their English program whereas only a few students (2.1%) said that writing should be a focus of English instruction.

Yoo (2012) points out that Korean college students in her study, because of their inexperience of English writing in secondary school contexts and high stakes tests evaluating only receptive language skills, lacked confidence in English writing. 58% of the participants in her survey said that they did not have adequate lexico-grammatical knowledge to deal with English writing. In addition, lack of experience with English writing and anxiety were also suggested as reasons many participants found writing challenging. Through the intervention of journal writing, they became aware of the potential of writing in helping them improve their English language skills. Many of these students believed that their past English learning experience that focused on acquiring receptive knowledge prevented them from improving productive language skills. These studies (Kim, 2007; Yoo, 2012) indicate that writing is rarely addressed because of test-driven teaching in many secondary schools in Korea. They also imply that many Korean students would possibly enter university without a well-established notion of L2 writing or a specific need.

To summarize, the focus of writing pedagogy for L2 undergraduate writers in ESL contexts have been primarily on preparing them for writing demands across the curriculum

(Johns, 2009; Silva, 1990). The literature from non-English dominant settings, however, depicts a very complex picture that makes it difficult to generalize purposes and needs across the settings.

3 METHODOLOGY

To describe cross-contextual similarities and differences in L2 writing pedagogy, I adopt a qualitative case study methodology was adopted. More specifically, it is an instrumental multi-site case study that investigates two bounded systems, i.e., two L2 writing programs situated in different linguistic, cultural and educational settings (Stake, 1995). One program is an English language program at Hahn University (pseudonym) in Korea, and the other is an English language program at Southern University (pseudonym) in the United States. Each of the programs is called Hahn-ELP (Hahn English Language Program) and Southern-ELP (Southern English Language Program) respectively. This chapter delineates a methodological framework (i.e., why a qualitative case study was adopted), methods to be employed, two research contexts, and my positionality that affected the entire research procedures.

3.1 Qualitative research with a social constructivist paradigm

The main goal of this research was to compare the two L2 undergraduate writing programs and therefore identify their differences and similarities. I believe that “naturalistic” and “interpretive” approaches would be appropriate to obtain “thick” and nuanced descriptions of pedagogical and learning practices of L2 writing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Therefore, the researcher’s immersion into the research settings was essential. I decided to be situated in the “naturalistic” settings in which a research problem exists with the belief that observing and interacting with stakeholders in “naturalistic” settings would help to comprehend the contextual influences that lead the respondents to their views.

Qualitative research tends to examine a group of people or a research issue with an assumption that knowledge and meanings are socially constructed. Meanings that people with different backgrounds or contexts create from the same phenomenon or a similar one show a

range of variation. This social constructivist paradigm was adopted throughout the entire research process because I believe that sociocultural phenomena render universal meanings impossible. I sustained a firm belief that the practices of and attitudes toward L2 writing are context-bound was sustained throughout the execution of this research. More specifically, in other linguistically and culturally different settings, it might not be true that the Center-oriented conceptions and teaching practices of L2 writing were taken for granted in the contexts of North American academia might not be true in other linguistically and culturally different settings. In addition, it has been my belief that, even within Center-contexts in which L2 university writers are presumed to have similar academic goals, L2 writing pedagogy is embodied in various forms through the influence of local exigency. As Heigham and Croker (2009) argue, behaviors and beliefs are “person-, context-, and time-bound” (p. 7).

Another reason I conducted qualitative research is that I believed that delineating contextual factors that affect behaviors and attitudes is a crucial part of the study. Qualitative researchers are sensitive to these contextual influences and make efforts to examine history, cultural norms, and sociopolitical factors of a particular setting through which they can articulate people’s behaviors and beliefs in detail. I aimed to make the complicated and multi-faceted nature of settings evident in my report. It has been my understanding that situated L2 writing practices would be more comprehensively understood when social, political, historical, educational and institutional contexts are explicated.

3.2 Instrumental case study

Among choices of qualitative research methodologies or strategies, I found a case study well-suited for this research. A case study is defined as:

a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes. For example, several programs (a multi-site study) or a single program (a within-site study) may be selected for study. (p. 73, Creswell, 2007)

A main reason I adopted a case study was that the current study began with a specific research problem. This led me to identify bounded systems that would be suitable to illustrate the problem. It should be noted that the current study is not an ethnography. It could be called “ethnography-like” or “ethnographic” research in the sense that it employs data collection methods often used in an ethnography, but it differs from traditional ethnography research in methodology. The current study’s focus is on comprehending a specific research issue or problem whereas ethnography is typically used to investigate how a specific cultural group works. Another reason this is not classified as ethnography is that the current study does not involve the researcher’s prolonged engagement with the groups. Because of limited time available for the researcher, I spent two and a half months in the Hahn-ELP and three months in the Southern-ELP for data collection.

The study is instrumental rather than intrinsic (Stake, 1995). Intrinsic case studies are conducted when a case itself presents uncommon or unusual situations (Cresswell, 2007). Intrinsic case studies do not intend to make any comparisons with other cases or other similar situations. The researcher is interested in the case itself. Unlike intrinsic case studies, instrumental case studies begin with a particular research problem a researcher identifies. I identified a particular research problem and looked for cases that I believed would illustrate the

research problem. In other words, cases played a mediating role or became the means to illustrate the research problem (Creswell, 2007).

When choosing two programs to study, I employed purposeful sampling or chose them intentionally (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I considered two contexts that I believed could demonstrate contextual variation on the conceptions and practices of L2 writing. The most important criteria I used for case selection was L2's role in academic studies and society. I wanted to examine one context in which English is mainly used in academia and society and the other in which English is not as dominant in academic studies and social domains. The second criteria I used was the existence of similar writing courses across the two settings. When considering a program in an English non-dominant setting, I wanted to choose a program that offers courses devoted to teaching writing for college freshmen. However, unlike what I was informed before I left to collect data in the Hahn-ELP, the program at a Korean university, English courses for freshmen were geared towards teaching all of the four linguistic modalities – listening, speaking, reading, and writing. There were no freshmen level courses dedicated only to English writing. The program offered an L2 writing course as an elective primarily for non-freshman students. At the beginning I was concerned that the program might not be appropriate to a cross-context study of L2 writing, but after observing classes and talking to students for a few weeks, I came to the realization that the lack of presence of English writing courses at the freshmen level reflects local conceptions of L2 writing. Another influential factor in the choice of the two particular programs was their accessibility. With the help of personal and professional contacts from Korea and the United States, I was able to gain access to the two programs that met the criteria described above.

Qualitative case studies in the field of second language writing often study an individual or a group of individuals to examine their literacy or teaching practices (Casanave, 2005; Leki, 2007). In these studies, cases or bounded systems are individual learners or teachers, and the researcher situates these informants in a specific site such as a single classroom or a language program to observe the participants' behaviors and attitudes related to the research issue he is interested in. Unlike these studies, identifying cases in the current study is not straightforward. In other words, depending on the focus of inquiry, a case boundary also changes. When comparisons of the conceptualizations of L2 writing at the program level (Research Question 1) are made, cases are two English language programs, not individual informants. Teachers are not cases, but main constituents of the cases. When comparisons shift to L2 writers across the programs (Research Question 2), each group of L2 writers in the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP are cases. Because of multi-levels of comparisons between the programs, teacher groups and L2 writer groups, case boundaries are fluid depending on the research focus.

3.3 Sampling methods

Because the study makes comparisons across the programs and student groups in the different settings, I aimed to include a certain number of participants that would make comparisons feasible. It was also important that I have a similar number of participants from each setting for the purpose of data symmetry. Even though there is no formula or guideline in setting an appropriate number of participants, I came up with a targeted number of classes and participants that I thought appropriate before entering into research sites. Once the programs were selected, I decided to observe a total of eight classes (two sections for each of two L2 writing-related courses in both programs) taught by different instructors. Therefore, I planned to recruit four instructors from each setting.

A combination of purposeful sampling and opportunistic sampling methods were employed in selecting the programs and soliciting participants in the study. When choosing the two programs, I adopted purposeful sampling. Under the purposeful sampling method, the researcher intentionally seeks a case that would provide rich information that brings to light the research problem at hand (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Using this method, I purposefully selected two undergraduate L2 programs from which I thought I was likely to learn extensively about the situated nature of L2 writing (My entry into these two programs will be explained in 3.5 Entry into Research Sites section).

In the Southern-ELP there were five instructors teaching First Year Composition or FYC courses for bilingual writers – one teacher originally from Latin America and four American-born instructors, including the director. I did not want to include the director because she agreed to participate in my research as an administrator informant. I was concerned that I might not be able to recruit all of the four instructors in the Southern-ELP because I did not have any other options otherwise. Thankfully, they all agreed to be part of my study. I was able to recruit the targeted number of instructor informants in both settings.

The unknown teacher backgrounds in Hahn-ELP made it difficult to make a priori sampling decisions. Despite these practical constraints, I wanted to consider one criteria: the teacher's linguistic and cultural background. In Hahn-ELP there were 15 instructors (i.e., six native-born Korean teachers and nine teachers from English speaking countries), and I hoped to recruit at least one Korean instructor from the Hahn-ELP. I assumed that different linguistic and cultural backgrounds could influence their perspectives on L2 writing and the way they teach L2 writing. The director provided me with a list of instructors in which he included two Korean instructors and five instructors from English speaking countries. Three of the seven teachers

agreed to participate, and they were from English speaking countries. I entered the Hahn-ELP without fulfilling the targeted number of classes I intended to observe and without any Korean teacher participant. I recruited the rest of instructors through the snowball sampling method in which a participant recommends a potential participant who he or she thinks is appropriate for the study (Stake, 1994). Once I began my study, one of my initial instructor participants introduced me to his colleague who he thought would be a good candidate for my study. In my later stage of data collection, I was also introduced to a Korean instructor in the Hahn-ELP by the director. I recruited the five (one more instructor than targeted) instructors in the Hahn-ELP with a combination of the purposeful and snowballing sampling methods.

When recruiting student informants both in the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP, I drew on the convenience sampling method in which accessible cases are selected (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2007). I recruited 24 students in the Hahn-ELP and 13 students from the Southern-ELP and interviewed most of them at least twice. Even though they were voluntary participants, they showed variance in their gender, socioeconomic background, L2 proficiency, and period of time they stayed in an L2 context.

3.4 Research Contexts

This study was conducted in the two different L2 programs, *i.e.*, English Language Program at a large U.S. university called Southern University (Pseudonym) and English Language Program at a Korean university called Hahn University (Pseudonym) in a large city in Korea.

3.4.1 Southern University and the Southern-ELP

Southern University is a large public university located in the middle of a big city in Southeastern U.S. The university enrolls around 32,000 students among whom about 24,000 are

undergraduates. Southern University is voted as one of the most diverse universities in the country. The university enrolled 11% of Asians and 9% of Hispanics in Fall 2015. It is considered one of the top institutions in terms of the number of degrees awarded to ethnic minority groups including African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. It was founded as a small commuter college, but has turned into a large urban university that attracts a large number of college-age students, many of whom live in dormitories. The campus is in the middle of a city with many high-rise buildings close to each other that offer many cultural and professional opportunities.

Compared to other large research-oriented universities in North America, international students account for a small percentage of the student population at Southern University. In Fall 2015 the university enrolled 2,081 international students (6.5 % of the total enrollment) among whom 492 were undergraduates. The number of international undergraduate students is steadily on the rise. It is assumed that many of the Asian and Hispanic students are U.S. educated multilinguals who were born outside the country and moved to the U.S. during their elementary or secondary school (Ferris, 2009). The university does not have a system that enables the identification of these U.S. educated multilingual students who would possibly benefit from taking FYC courses taught by L2 writing specialists. Because there is no identification system, L2 students including international visa students are not required to enroll in the bilingual sections of FYC. They self-select any mainstream or bilingual FYC sections. Other than the two required FYC courses, there are no other language or writing requirements for L2 students. Because there is no direct channel for the Southern-ELP faculty to reach incoming L2 freshmen students, the faculty make efforts to reach these students through advisors in their undergraduate programs.

The Southern-ELP is an English language program that provides “credit courses for bilingual and non-native English speaking graduate and undergraduate students” at Southern University (Southern-ELP webpage). The program, housed within the Applied Linguistics department, offers credit courses for bilingual or multilingual undergraduate and graduate students including freshman composition, graduate writing, graduate academic speaking and listening, and teaching for international graduate teaching assistants. The staff consists of a director, a full-time lecturer, and graduate teaching assistants. The director and full-time faculty teach three to four courses, and each graduate teaching assistant teaches one course per semester. The Southern-ELP offers two required FYC courses (i.e., English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 for bilingual undergraduate writers).

Three to four sections for each of the English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 courses are offered each semester. Undergraduate students enrolled in the two FYC courses in the Southern-ELP come from diverse backgrounds. Because of the large Asian and Hispanic communities in the metropolitan area, U.S. educated multilingual students comprise a large portion of the class population. Some of them are early-arriving students who experienced a significant amount of schooling in the U.S., and others are late-arriving students who typically received at least part of their secondary education in the U.S. (Ferris, 2009). The majority of visa holding international students come from China. Because of the increasing number of exchange programs between Southern University and other universities around the world, international exchange students also register for the bilingual sections.

Even though the L2 sections are targeted to those who do not speak English as their first language, American-born monolingual students can enroll in these sections, and they usually comprise a small portion of the enrolled students. These courses have the same course objectives

and curricular focus as other mainstream English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 sections, which are run separately by the English department at the university. The number of enrollments for each section of these two bilingual sections is capped at 22.

3.4.2 Hahn University and the Hahn English Language Program

Hahn University is a prestigious private university located in one of the major cities in Korea. The university began as a small liberal arts college, but has grown into a comprehensive university that accommodates many colleges and research-oriented graduate programs. The campus located at the heart of the city is easily accessible from the subway, and the immediate neighborhood offers students various amenities from hundreds of restaurants, cafes, and bars to bookstores, gyms and shopping malls, all of them within walking distance.

To understand Hahn students' background, it is necessary to understand the symbolic status and material gains associated with earning a degree from a prestigious university in Korean society. Regardless of career paths, a university degree is considered a necessity by most Koreans, which leads around 70% of Korean high school students to go to college, the highest rate among the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries. The zeal for higher education is due to the fact that a person's capabilities are judged largely by her education level. Social status of a person is, in large part, decided by the position of the university in the strictly hierarchical university ranking system. It is not uncommon that the name of the university printed on a university diploma is as important as, and sometimes more important than, one's qualifications for a job. It is a common discourse in Korean society that high school graduates who did not manage to earn a spot in highly ranked universities call themselves the sarcastic proverbial *insaeng nakoja*, or "losers in life," to mark the brutal reality they face in one of the most significant events in their entry into adulthood.

There is a prevalent perception in Korea that education is one of the critical factors that has brought about economic prosperity of the country. Because the vast majority of Korean students wish to be admitted into prestigious universities, competition toward earning a spot in one of these universities is grueling. Ultimately, spots are unavailable to most aspirants. Hahn university, like most Korean universities, select most students based on a combination of two or more factors depending on an admission track – scores on College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT, an equivalent to SAT in the U.S.), high school GPA, Korean essay test, and high school teachers' evaluation on students' academic performance and character. Many Korean students prepare for all of these to increase their chances of being admitted to a highly regarded university.

The Hahn-ELP is housed in the English department. The program is staffed by a director, several graduate assistants, and 12 full-time and several part-time instructors. The director is a term position and fulfilled by one of the department's full-time professors, and the director does not teach any courses in the Hahn-ELP. The director was a professor in the English department at the time of data collection, and he was involved in deciding what courses to offer, recruiting instructors and assigning courses. Graduate assistants are mainly in charge of administrative work such as placement tests for newly admitted students, and support the faculty's grading, and answer inquiries from students. Unlike North American universities in which a good number of freshmen composition courses are taught by GTAs (Graduate Teaching Assistants), there are no courses taught by GTAs in the Hahn-ELP.

The Hahn-ELP had 12 full-time faculty members who taught five courses per semester and a few part-time teachers at the time of data collection. The majority of teachers were from English dominant countries. Recently hired full-time teachers were all from English speaking countries such as the U.S. and the U.K. Their recruitment advertisement said they were looking

for native English speaking teachers, and Korean nationals with native fluency would be considered. For the current study, English 1, English 2, and Intermediate English Writing were a main focus of examination. Instructors of these two courses were native speakers of English holding a Master's degree in various fields such as English literature, linguistics, history education and others.

A total of 64 English courses were offered by the Hahn-ELP in Spring 2015. English 1 is a three-unit required course for all freshmen, and it covers four language skills with more focus on conversational English than other linguistic modalities. Thirty two sections of English 1 were offered in Spring 2015, and each English 1 section is capped at 20. The university previously required two English courses (i.e., English 1 and English 2) for all incoming freshmen in their first year, but a year before the data collection, the university made a decision to take English 2 off the list of required general education courses. Instead, English 2 became one of the required electives along with a few English courses in the Hahn-ELP and Korean writing courses offered by the Korean language and literature department only for humanities and social science majors. That means Hahn students are required to take only one English course. Humanities and social science majors can choose to take an additional English course instead of other courses to fulfill one of their general education requirements.

3.5 Entry into the Southern-ELP and the Hahn-ELP

To get access to the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP, I acquired permission from the Institutional Review Board of my doctoral institution. Then I contacted the directors of the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP through their publicly available email addresses. The purpose of the study, types of research participation needed from informants, and time commitment were

included in the email. Both directors agreed to allow me to enter their programs for data collection.

I collected data in the Hahn-ELP in Spring 2015. Even though Joon-suh, the Hanh-ELP director and a professor in the English department, was very busy with his teaching, research and administrative work, he was supportive and checked my progress. At the beginning, he gave me a list of instructors who he thought would be appropriate to participate in my study. I emailed them asking if they would like to participate in interviews and if they would allow me to observe their class for two weeks and give me permission to ask their students to participate in interviews. In the email, I explained that their participation would be voluntary and that the director would not know whether they participated or not. Most instructors responded back saying that they did not want to be part of the study (See 3.3 Sampling Methods section for procedures of participant recruitment). I believe that part of the reason they denied my request is because I am a total stranger to them. Those who opened their classroom doors to me, most likely, did so because they just wanted to help me, think that classroom research is important, and/ or were used to being observed while they were in a teacher training program.

I collected data in the Southern-ELP in Fall 2015. The director, Sophia (pseudonym)², was enthusiastic about my project and very supportive throughout my data collection. There were five instructors who were teaching the English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 sections for bilingual writers including the director. I chose not to include Sophia because she agreed to participate in my research as an administrator.

I recruited student participants in classes in which instructors allowed me to observe their classes and agreed to participate in interviews in both programs. On my first day of class observation, I first introduced the purpose of study and what I would do as an observer. Students

² All names of participants in this study are pseudonyms.

were informed that I would observe their class for two weeks. They were told that I would focus on class activities. I assured them that their personal information (e.g., names and majors) would not be accessible to me and that in my observation notes, any identifiers (e.g. gender and ethnicity) would not be included either.

I discussed and distributed the consent form in the class, allowing time for any questions (see Appendix C for consent forms for students). All the students in the class placed their signed and unsigned forms in an envelope. I ensured that their participation in the study would not affect their standing in the course and that their instructor would not know whether they would participate in the study or not.

3.6 Research participants

I recruited a total of nine classes (i.e., four from the Southern-ELP and five from the Hahn-ELP) each of which was taught by different instructors. Table 3.1 summarizes the profile of these classes. Two sections of each of the English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 courses were selected from the Southern-ELP. Three sections of English 1, one English 2 section, and one Intermediate English Writing section in the Hahn-ELP were included in the study. I included all of the nine instructors as focal participants as I observed their classes, and interviewed them twice except for the English 2 instructor, Sun-joo, from the Hahn-ELP³.

In soliciting student participants, I tried to set up interviews with all the students who indicated their willingness to participate in interviews in their consent forms since I was afraid that some of them might withdraw from participation. Eventually I was able to interview a greater number of students than I planned. I interviewed 38 students (13 from the Southern-ELP and 25 from the Hahn-ELP) at least once. Since it was not practical to analyze all these interviews within a limited time frame I had for my research, I decided to select focal instructor

³ Since I recruited Sun-joo at the end of my data collection, I was able to interview her only once.

and student participants from this group. For the purpose of representing different English writing-related courses in each setting, I decided to include students from two different courses in each of the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP as my focal participants. I chose students in one English Composition 101 section (Beth's) and one English Composition 102 section (Ken's) within the Southern-ELP, and students in one English 1 section (Kate's) and in the Intermediate English Writing course (Hank's) within the Hahn-ELP.

Table 3.1 Overview of Participants in the Study

	Southern University	Hahn University
Classes & Instructors	English Composition 101: Section 1 – Beth Section 2 – Nancy English Composition 102: Section 1 – Ken Section 2 – Ricardo	English 1: Section 1 – Kate Section 2 – Ian Section 3 – Larry English 2: Sun-joo Intermediate English Writing: Hank
Focal Participants (Teachers & Students)	English Composition 101 (Section 1 – Beth): Five students English Composition 102 (Section 1 – Ken): Two students	English 1 (Section 1 – Kate): Four students Intermediate English Writing (Hank): Four students

One major reason for me to choose these particular sections over the other section or sections was that these sections had a larger number of students who had completed two-time interviews than the other section(s) offered under the same course. For example, I observed two English Composition 101 sections in the Southern-ELP and interviewed students from both sections. I had five students from Beth's section who participated in interviews twice or more while three students from Nancy's section completed two-time interviews. Therefore, I chose the five students from Beth's English Composition 101 section as my focal participants instead of Nancy's students. From the two English Composition 102 sections I chose two students from

Ken's class who were interviewed twice or more because there was only one student from Ricardo's section who participated in interviews twice or more. Therefore, two teachers from each setting, and seven Southern students, and eight Hahn students are focal informants in the study.

Table 3.2 Instructor Participants from the Southern-ELP and the Hahn-ELP

Name	Course	Gender	First Language	Graduate degrees	English Teaching experience (years)	Teaching in the program (years)
THE SOUTHERN-ELP						
Beth	ENG 101	F	English	Applied Linguistics	6	4
Nancy	ENG 101	F	English	TESOL	25	22
Ken	ENG 102	M	English	Ph.D. student in Applied Linguistics	4	1
Ricardo	ENG 102	M	Spanish	Ph.D. student in Applied Linguistics	17	3
THE HAHN-ELP						
Kate	ENG 1	F	English	Linguistics	3.5	2
Ian	ENG 1	M	English	History Education	5	4
Larry	ENG 1	M	English	English Literature	7	5
Sun-joo	ENG 2	F	Korean	Performance Studies	1	1
Hank	IEW	M	English	English Literature	14	7

Table 3.2 briefly introduces each of the instructor informants (Focal student informants' profiles and backgrounds will be introduced in detail in Chapter 5). Four are female and five are male. Their teaching experience varies, and the instructors in the Southern-ELP tend to have more teaching experience than those in the Hahn-ELP. While the instructors in the Southern-ELP have Master's or higher degrees closely linked to teaching L2 language and writing, the

instructors in the Hahn-ELP vary in their disciplinary backgrounds. No one from the Hahn-ELP had English teaching related graduate degrees. One instructor in the Southern-ELP does not speak English as his first language, and one instructor in the Hahn-ELP is a native Korean. The instructors' backgrounds will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

3.7 Data Collection

Four main types of data were collected for the study: interviews with an administrator, instructors, and students; class observation; written documents; and student papers. I also kept a researcher journal to track how my views and beliefs changed as the study progressed. In a research adopting a social constructivist paradigm, the researcher himself becomes the tool for data collection. In other words, he becomes “an intervening factor, but not one to be controlled for, as in quantitative studies” (p. 71, Hood, 2009). It is essential that the researcher reflect how he is situated throughout the whole research process. His social positions and relationships with the informants influence the extent and nature of information that they share with him. It is possible that the researcher will gain critical insights from informants that he has not considered before. The researcher, therefore, needs to be open to adjusting his lens through the reflexive examination of his assumptions, beliefs and positions.

Table 3.3 Data Types according to Research Questions

Research Questions	Types of Data
Q.1 L2 writing conceptualized by an administrator and teachers	1. Written documents: language policy related documents, curricular documents, syllabi, and assessment tools 2. Director and instructor interviews 3. Classroom observation (focal participants) 4. Instructor written feedback (focal participants)
Q. 2 L2 writers' perceptions of need for L2 writing	1. Interviews with students (focal participants) 2. Student papers (focal participants)

These various sources of data facilitated data triangulation; the sources provided insights from multiple angles about each of the research questions (Duff, 2008). Table 3-3 summarizes data types for each of the research questions, and the section below will explain how and why each of the collection methods was adopted.

3.7.1 Interviews

Following the tradition of naturalistic qualitative research, I employed interviews as a main tool to get access to informants' personal history, perspectives, attitudes and practices with regard to the learning and/or teaching L2 writing (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I was aware that interviews do not elicit objective facts from participants, but they are social interactions in which identities, power relations and interactional contexts are enmeshed (Mann, 2001). Talmy's (2011) critique of practices of reporting interviews as neutral within applied linguistics clearly shows how a researcher's subject position (how the researcher positions himself in relation to informants impacts the whole interview process and interaction. He claims that researchers within the field often limit their role to a conversation facilitator among participants so that the participants they express their feelings, opinions and evaluations. However, his analysis of interviews in his own study clearly demonstrates that the participants' perceived researcher identity could affect the response of the participants (Talmy, 2011). Even though the researcher tries to remain as just a simple questioner during the interaction, the participants could possibly see the researcher sometimes as authority or, in other cases, a stranger to whom they might find it hard to confess their opinion. The participants are also likely to neutralize their response to save their face as well (Garrett, 2010).

There is no one correct way to conduct interviews because frequency, length, types of interviews (structured interview, guided interview, and in-depth interview) and interview formats (individual interview, focus group interview, online interview) will depend on the purpose of interviews and research questions. For the present study, semi-structured interviews were conducted (Lichtman, 2012) because I believed they allow me room for varying questions depending on demands arising from the situation. I had topics to cover for the interviews and prepared a set of interview questions for each group of the participants – director, instructors and students. I had the topics in mind throughout the interviews and addressed them, but I was also open to other topics and allowed informants to go in unanticipated directions when what they shared was relevant to the overarching research question (Richards, 2009). I believe this made my informants feel that they were engaged in conversation with me and had their voices heard instead of merely responding to my questions in a mechanical way.

I took into account the following in conducting interviews: building rapport with informants, considering power differentials, and employing strategies to ask appropriate questions (Davis, 1995; Lichtman, 2012). With student participants, I made it clear in emails, my recruitment talk, and interviews that whether or not they participated in this study and what they shared with me would be confidential. I also emphasized that I appreciate honest answers. I tried to be truthful, honest and non-authoritative. For instance, with U.S. educated bilingual writers in the Southern-ELP, I told them that I am not familiar with the U.S. high school curriculum and how writing is taught and practiced and asked them to be an informant about that.

I employed numerous questioning strategies that would allow students to give detailed answers. Table 3.4 summarizes my questioning strategies that I adopted.

Table 3.4 Questioning Strategy (Adapted from Lichtman, 2012)

Questioning strategy	Explanation	Example
Elaboration	Expand ideas.	You said that Hahn students do not have critical thinking skills. <u>Can you give me an example?</u>
Neutral	Maintain non-directionality.	Do you think English Composition 101 will help your writing in other courses?
Single question	Ask only one.	How long did it take for you to complete the draft?
Wait time	Allow silence, pauses.	I did not give an impression that I am in a rush.

There was one-time interview with the director of the Southern-ELP, Sophia⁴. I shared the consent form before the interview to inform her of the purpose of the study, interview procedures and confidentiality (see Appendix A for consent form for directors). I asked the director about program goals and objectives. Specific questions were asked based on the information I gained in curricular documents (See Appendix D for administrator interview guide). A total of nine instructors were interviewed. I first sent the consent form to the instructor informants before the first interview to inform them of the purpose of the study, interview procedures and confidentiality (see Appendix B for consent form for instructors). Except for one instructor in the Hahn-ELP, they were interviewed individually twice: the first interview during the first month of data collection and the second interview during the second half of the semester. Instructor interviews lasted 50 to 80 minutes. The first interviews were about their previous teaching experience, course goals and objectives, and instructional approaches to L2 writing. The second interview took place after at least a few of their classes were observed by the researcher. Questions were asked about their class content, assignment details, and feedback about student writing. Stimulated recall was adopted to examine the instructors' thought processes and perspectives behind their instructional orientations and decisions in the classroom (Gass & Mackey, 2000) (See Appendix E for the instructor interview guide).

⁴ I planned to interview directors of both programs, but the director of the Hahn-ELP did not accept my invitation for the interview.

There were two interviews with the 15 focal student participants – 7 in the Southern-ELP and 8 in the Hahn-ELP⁵. The first interview was conducted during the first month of data collection and the second interview, during the second half of the semester. The first interview was about their literacy backgrounds, educational trajectories, perceptions of learning to write, and academic and career goals. To understand their L2 writing goals, I asked about their expectations of the course and what they wanted to learn from the course. To gain the in-depth understanding of their goals, I also asked about their literacy backgrounds in their L1 and L2. The second (with all focal participants) and third (with some of the focal participants) interviews took place toward the end of the semester. I asked their perceptions of class lessons I observed and any other lessons that they wanted to make comments on. Questions were also asked about their writing process for major writing assignments, challenges with regard to their writing class and assignments, and strategies to meet them. I also asked about their L2 writing related goals again to check if there were any changes in their perceptions of L2 writing (See Appendix F Student Interview Guide).

3.7.2 Class observation

I observed a total of nine classes in both programs – five classes in the Hahn-ELP and four classes in the Southern-ELP. All classes except for English 2 in the Hahn-ELP were observed for two weeks (four-time 75 minute observations for each class). The English 2 class in the Hahn-ELP was observed for one week (four-time 75 minute observations for each class). Since there were numerous things happening in class, and I was not able to capture everything, I prioritized my observation. To make my observation notes concise and organized, I adopted a note-taking protocol called “note-taking and note-making” (Frank, 1999). I made a T-chart in my

⁵ All of the 15 focal informants were L2 writers in English. The 7 Hahn students were Korean-born, and the 8 Southern students’ home language was languages other than English.

notes. On the left side of the chart was for note-taking, which records what I saw and heard in the classroom. The right side of the chart was used for note-making in which I described the quick interpretations and questions regarding my observations.

The focus of my observations was on the teachers' behaviors. Under the left side of the T-chart, I employed the three categories for each classroom activity or episode: (1) interaction types (e.g., teacher fronted lecture, whole class discussion, groupwork, individual writing, student-teacher conference) (2) basic pedagogical approaches (e.g., current-traditional rhetoric, process-approach, and genre informed approaches), and (3) contents (e.g., discourse mode, organizational patterns, language related lesson, revision, and individual feedback). I came up with this organization after I observed a few classes. I also made note of the general classroom atmosphere such as how active student participation was and how attentive students were. During interviews with students, I asked what they thought of the lesson I observed.

As a non-participant observer, I did not participate in class activities although sometimes I received class handouts (Adler & Adler, 1987). I sat in the corner of the classroom if possible. However, some classes in the Hahn-ELP were held in a small classroom with all the desks occupied by students. I often had to share a two-person desk with a student. My presence was obvious to the teacher and students, and I did not look the teacher in the eyes. Class observations provided me with opportunities to see each instructor's approach and class activities. The observations prompted me to generate questions about their teaching goals and approaches in the interviews.

3.7.3 Written documents

To understand how sociocultural factors impact L2 writing learning and instruction, institutional language policy documents concerned with teaching L1 (in the case of Hahn

University) and L2 writing were collected. These included the Hahn University Handbook that introduced L1 and L2 language course requirements and the policy about English-language medium subject matter courses, and online information about the Writing across the Curriculum initiative at Southern University. To examine the conceptualization of L2 writing at the program level, curriculum-related documents (including information in each program's website) were collected. Documents that introduce program goals and objectives were collected. Course syllabi and class activity materials were solicited from each class I observed. Major writing assignment guidelines and rubrics were also collected. I gained access to instructor written feedback from student informants. These written documents were used to compare how L2 writing is conceptualized across the two contexts.

3.7.4 Student papers and surveys

Focal student participants' papers, including drafts with teacher comments and final versions of major writing assignments, were collected. The extent the students shared their writing varied across the participants, but all the focal participants shared at least one whole set of their drafts for a major assignment (i.e., draft with teacher feedback and final version). Their writing was used as a prompt to elicit their attitudes toward L2 writing and their writing classes in the interviews. I asked them about how they completed their draft, what challenges they had, and how long it took to complete the draft. Many of the focal participants were asked about the usefulness of assignments by referring to their papers (e.g., whether a particular assignment would help them write for other courses or for future work settings). Student writing samples with instructor feedback became great resources to understand each instructor's feedback practices. Some of the students from the Hahn-ELP shared their self-sponsored writing in Korean (e.g., blog posts), college admission essays, and short Korean essays they practiced to prepare for

a Korean essay exam as part of the admission requirements. I used their Korean writing to ask them about their attitudes toward writing in general and perceptions of their L2 writing competence compared to their L1 writing. I also asked students at the first interview to fill out a survey on their educational and literacy backgrounds including regular school settings and after-school programs (see Appendix G for student survey on language learning experience).

3.8 Data Analysis

As is common in qualitative research, data analysis was an ongoing process throughout the whole process of research. I was aware that a wide scope of my research needed to be narrowed down. I made attempts, throughout the data collection and transcription stages, to refine my research objectives and guiding questions. To accomplish this goal, I re-read my researcher journals, made notes of interesting perspectives after each interview and kept reading relevant studies to my research in order to enhance my understanding and interpretation of data. I believe this was a critical step in data analysis even though I did not yet engage in data analysis in an “official” way. In other words, I did analyze data in an unofficial manner while collecting data. Because of an emerging focus I sometimes had to modify interview questions or shift focus in classroom observation so that I could incorporate the modified focus in subsequent interviews and observation.

I used Microsoft Excel Workbook to organize codes and also to import the relevant parts of observation notes, interview quotes and information in written documents into under each theme column. The use of Workbook helped to keep track of codes and to import all quotes and relevant information under each quote when necessary. Interviews and class observation were major sources of data in the study. After completing interview transcription and observation notes, I began to search for categories and themes that would answer each of the two research

questions. Most codes (themes) emerged while analyzing interview and observation data. I employed the constant-comparative method, one of the most common data analysis methods, in dealing with a large amount of qualitative data (Dillon, 2012; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I started with open coding. In this first coding process, numerous concepts and categories were identified. In the next step, all these concepts and categories initially identified in each data source were constantly compared to identify distinct concepts and categories across data (axial coding).

It should be noted that although I was interested in describing focal participants' perspectives and experiences related to L2 writing in their own terms, my particular focus was on identifying themes that would be the most useful to L2 writing teachers, administrators and policymakers. Therefore, the identified themes include not only the ones my participants believed to be significant in their literate and teaching lives (emic perspectives), but also the ones I thought to be of importance to stakeholders in L2 writing (etic perspectives) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Leki, 2007).

To answer the first research question, conceptualization of L2 writing by an administrator and teachers in two contextually different programs, two large categories (i.e., pedagogical approaches and contextual factors) were first created because the question aimed to identify pedagogical conceptions and contextual factors that led to these conceptions. Under each of the large categories, I tried to identify emerging themes or sub-categories. Under each theme, sub-themes were also identified. Each of the participants' interviews and observation notes were coded according to this hierarchical structure of large categories, themes and sub-themes. The following is a selection of themes and sub-themes under each of the two large categories.

I. Pedagogical Approaches

Basic Beliefs about writing

Prescribed organizational pattern

Writerly voice
 Academic genre
 Professional genre

Assignments

Types
 Rationale
 Feedback practice

Challenges

Diverse needs
 Material conditions
 Institutional support for the program
 Employment contract

...

II. Contextual Factors

Teacher training background

Expertise in teaching L2 writing

Theory of pedagogy
 Material selection (e.g., readings, paper samples)

Teaching experience

Experience of teaching L2
 Experience of teaching L2 writing

Understanding of student needs

Current needs
 Personal, academic, professional
 Future needs
 Personal, academic, professional

Knowledge of institution

Writing demands across the curriculum

Policy related to language teaching

...

These themes and sub-themes were obtained through an inductive, reiterative data analysis which involved multiple readings of data, constant and evolving interpretation, and understanding relationship between the themes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

To address the second research question on students' perceptions of need for L2 writing in two contextually different programs, a similar process of data analysis described above was taken. I came up with the two large categories (i.e., student needs and contextual factors). To identify themes that are relevant to student needs and contributing contextual factors, I mainly drew on student interview data and school policy documents. The following is a selection of themes and sub-themes related to research question 2.

I. Student Needs for L2 Writing

Beginning of the semester

Current needs

Academic

Professional

Personal

Writing-to-learn language

Future needs

Academic

Professional

End of the semester

...

II. Contextual factors

English learning history

Regular school setting

After-school program

Cram school for tests

Communication oriented program

Study abroad

Writing Experience (L1/L2)

First language writing experience

School-sponsored

Self-sponsored

Second language writing experience

School-sponsored

Self-sponsored

...

Multiple sources of data in the study enabled me to draw on data triangulation, i.e., the use of different sources of data to examine a phenomenon (Denzin, 1978), particular at the stage of data interpretation. Under each theme I juxtaposed different data sources to interpret participants' perspectives. For instance, class observation notes and policy documents helped me to gain a more in-depth understanding of what a particular teacher shared in her interview. I believe multiple data sources contributed to an increase in the validity of the study (Davis, 1995).

3.9 Researcher positionality

In naturalistic research like this, the researcher does not intend to discover “truths” or generalized knowledge by distancing himself from the whole research process. The researcher's personal history, beliefs and relationship with participants affect not only the design and data collection of the study, but also the interpretation of data. The researcher brings to the scholarship the lens “colored” by his personal history and world views. What he sees,

understands and interprets filters through the lens. The researcher needs to be aware that he is seeing everything through his lens. As Li (2002) argues, qualitative researchers are “confined by their own historical and cultural situatedness and can only see what that position allows them to see even when they are looking carefully and earnestly at the ‘other’” (p. 124, Li, 2005). My positionality – my identity, personal history and lived experiences as a bilingual writer and teacher – influenced my whole process of this research endeavor from my interaction with informants to the analysis and interpretation of data (Foote & Bartell, 2011).

The research space I created for this study (i.e., the situated nature of L2 writing) has to do with the fact that I am a bilingual writer of Korean and English who has experienced writing in both languages and in two different cultural settings – in my schooling from elementary to college in Korea and as a graduate student in the U.S. Throughout my schooling in Korea, writing in my L1 was not extensively utilized as a tool to explore our thoughts and show our understanding of contents. Other than personal diary assignments in elementary school, I do not recall any regular in-class writing or take-home essays. In my secondary schools, no writing intensive courses were offered, and essay-type writing assignments were rarely assigned in any school subjects including Korean language arts courses. Assessments were conducted mainly through high-stakes tests in which multiple choice questions dominated.

There were occasional school-wide writing contests in which we were assigned politically charged topics such as anti-communism, reunification of the two Koreas, or *choonghyo* (meaning “loyalty to the country and parents” in Korean). In retrospect I believe this type of writing accomplished two purposes – promoting the military governments’ political propagandas and inculcating in students politically charged ideologies. My writing experiences in elementary and secondary schools should be understood with the socio-political landscape of

the time in mind. South Korea was ruled by military dictators from 1960s to early 1990s. I also believe that educational policy (e.g., criticality of high-stakes tests in high school and college admissions) and material conditions such as a large class size (60-70 students in one class) and lack of resources (e.g., no library or bookstore in my rural town) also influenced teaching and learning practices.

I began to learn English in middle school. I do not recall any writing tasks or assignments beyond the sentence-level translation practice in my secondary school English classes. English was considered by students and teachers alike as one of the most critical subjects for high school and college admission tests, and the instructional focus was on learning grammatical rules, increasing our receptive lexicon, and translating short reading passages into Korean. I suspect that the pressure my English teachers felt to prepare us for high-stakes tests, as well as students' aspiration to earn a spot in a prestigious high school and university, would have easily trumped motivations to introduce L2 writing instruction that some English teachers might have implemented. Unlike my secondary schools in which I was rarely asked to write in Korean or English, I had more opportunities to write in college. There were far more writing assignments (mostly in Korean) in college than I expected. Responding to extended-essay type questions and writing papers were common practices in some of general education and disciplinary courses. The incorporation of writing in some of my courses I took was likely possible because of the "culture" of the university⁶, student backgrounds and smaller size classes than my high school.

It was during my MA and Ph.D. programs that I began to realize the importance of local contexts in learning and teaching writing. I began my career as an L2 writing teacher during my PhD program in the U.S. As a FYC teacher I encountered numerous challenges. Even though I

⁶ The university emphasized Korean writing skills, so we were required to take a Korean language arts course in which we were given extended essay assignments.

read theories and approaches from the L2 writing literature and textbooks, observed how an experienced teacher conducted lessons, and studiously examined materials and assignments, I did not feel that I adequately understood and embodied in my lessons multiple layers of context: students' expectations and attitudes of writing courses, literacy backgrounds, and writing tasks and assignments across their other courses. Most of all, I lacked the understanding of the U.S. education system and, more specifically, the experience of school sponsored writing that U.S. born instructors and many of my students (e.g., U.S. educated multilingual students) had in their secondary school and college. Lack of writing experience in, and comprehensive understanding of, the local context posed challenges to me.

My membership as an L2 writer in the two different settings and experiences as a teacher at a U.S. university over time made me aware of the criticality of contextual factors. When I left Korea to learn L2 writing teaching and research, I looked to North America as a model from which to import L2 writing theories and pedagogical innovations to Korea. I still think there are a number of things to learn from the rich pedagogical scholarship established in North America. However, my experiences as a writer both in Korean and English and as a teacher at a U.S. university indicate that local contexts and exigency are important factors to consider in providing effective L2 writing pedagogy. My experiences as a writer, teacher and student in the two different contexts allowed me to view each of the settings with a bicultural and bilingual "lens." These experiences also made it possible for me to look at each of the contexts with both "insider" and "outsider" perspectives.

4 INSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF L2 WRITING

In this chapter, I address the first research question on how L2 writing is conceptualized in the two contextually different programs, Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP. I first describe each language institution's goals and introduce course offerings to provide a window into how writing instruction is positioned in relation to other language skills. Contextual factors affecting the program goals and course offerings are also reported. Then I explain how L2 writing is conceptualized in each setting along the following three dimensions – (1) curricular options (integrated with or independent of other linguistic modalities), (2) degree of specificity in considering learner needs (general or specific purposes), and (3) pedagogical approaches (current-traditional rhetoric, guided writing, process writing, and genre-informed approaches) (Cumming, 2003; Matsuda, 2003). Finally, I delineate a detailed description of the similarities and differences between the two programs.

My sources for this chapter are written documents (curricular documents, syllabi and assessment tools)⁷, a director interview, teacher interviews (all instructor informants) and classroom observation (four focal teacher informants). I asked the director and some of the teachers who had been teaching in the same setting for a number of years about the overall goals of their program. The teacher informants (four from the Southern ELP and five from the Hahn ELP) shared their beliefs and teaching practices of L2 writing in relation to the course the courses they had taught and were teaching. I also included my observation of teaching practices of the four focal participants (two from each program).

⁷ See Chapter 3 for detailed introduction of written documents

4.1 Conceptualization of L2 writing in the Southern-ELP

The Southern-ELP program offers a two-course freshman composition sequence (English Composition 101 and English Composition 102) and a communication course, Human Communication 100 (one of the elective options for freshmen). The Southern-ELP previously offered writing courses only, but in Fall 2012 it added to its course catalogue an L2 section of Human Communication 100 for the purpose of helping L2 students improve oral communication. The rationale for this addition was that the Southern-ELP faculty would better be able to address L2 student-specific communication issues by offering sections designated specifically for L2 students. This example reflects the full-time faculty's commitment to providing support beyond writing skills to L2 undergraduates in order to assist these students with their successful academic socialization into the university. Four English Composition 101, three English Composition 102 and two Human Communication 100 sections were offered in Fall 2015 by the Southern-ELP.

However, the instructors reported that they found it difficult to address a wide range of L2 student needs through courses within the existing curriculum.⁸ Although the Southern-ELP wished to offer more undergraduate courses to support the development of oracy/literacy competence in L2 students, practical constraints made it difficult for these types of courses to be established. These courses could be offered only when there are existing undergraduate courses that deal with language components, but, according to the faculty, the courses that deal with language skills, other than writing, do not exist in the undergraduate curriculum at Southern University.

⁸ For example, in bilingual sections of Human Communication 100, small group discussions could happen more frequently than regular sections due to a small class size (limited to 20). However, the focus of the course was on communication theory, and there were limitations to addressing speaking and pronunciation issues.

Courses treating non-writing (oral/aural/reading) skills were limited in the curriculum, but the need to support L2 undergraduates' listening and speaking skills were expressed by the director:

I mean, a listening/speaking version for undergraduate students is a great idea ... They really need it first. What we do in the graduate listening/speaking class, that's what I think the undergrad international students need first, even before [English Composition] 101. But there's no course to link that up with. I think that that's probably the most important thing they need when they arrive here. Especially they'd get cultural support in that class, too. (Interview with director)

As indicated by the director, the Southern-ELP envisions itself as serving varied needs of L2 undergraduate students in relation to academic language, literacy and enculturation. In alignment with what the director said, the instructors commented that they encountered lack of vocabulary and oral fluency among some of the international students and late arriving U.S. educated multilingual students, which they believe might prevent them from active participation in their other courses. It was also mentioned that some students needed guidance in their enculturation into the university (e.g., participating in class, approaching professors by email and during office hours, and understanding the academic dishonesty policy). The Southern-ELP apparently did not perceive its role to be limited to the teaching of writing skills within the context of writing classes, but clearly positioned itself as a place through which L2 students are socialized into varied dimensions of U.S. academic culture despite practical constraints that make it challenging to expand its role.

1. Table 4.1 Course Goals and Learning Outcomes of English Composition 101 & 102

English Composition 101	English Composition 102
<p>COURSE DESCRIPTION This specific section of <i>English Composition 101</i> is ... designed to help prepare bilingual or non-native speakers of English write clearly and concisely for a variety of purposes and audiences and by gaining essential academic language and study skills.</p>	<p>COURSE DESCRIPTION This specific section of <i>English Composition 102</i> is ... designed to help prepare bilingual or non-native speakers of English write clearly and concisely for a variety of purposes and audiences.</p>
<p>LEARNING OUTCOMES This semester, you will</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discuss and analyze audience, purpose, organization, style, and presentation as it relates to academic writing in a university setting. Engage in the writing process: pre-write, formulate research questions, gather information, draft, share your writing with others, revise, and edit. Participate in collaborative activities, such as discussing your writing and reading with others and completing activities with your classmates. Compose clear, organized identification responses, short answers, short essays, and research papers in which you use language to explore and analyze contemporary multicultural and global questions. Demonstrate effective use of computers and other writing aids, such as dictionaries, academic e-mail, and online resources. Practice integrating secondary sources into your writing—develop basic library and online research skills, learn to incorporate research into your writing (interview, summarize, quote, paraphrase, and synthesize), and learn to document secondary sources using APA documentation style. Use the language of academic writing (e.g., exemplification, causality, definition). Use grammar and punctuation correctly for an academic setting. Focus on learning strategies and techniques for taking responsibility of the quality of your written work (e.g., understand personal learning styles, understand the “culture” of U.S. college 	<p>LEARNING OUTCOMES This semester, you will learn to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gather, generate, and organize ideas for various types of academic writing in a university setting • Engage in the writing process: pre-write, formulate research questions, gather information, write multiple drafts • Compose clear, organized paragraphs and essays in which you use language to explore, analyze, and develop personal responses to contemporary multicultural and global questions • Independently evaluate, revise, and edit your writing • Participate in collaborative activities, such as discussing your writing with others, completing activities with your classmates, and responding constructively to others’ writing • Summarize, paraphrase, describe, report, and evaluate readings using effective written language • Effectively use the language of academic writing (e.g., exemplification, causality, definition) • Further develop research skills related to language and content of your writing • Further develop the ability to incorporate research into your essays and document secondary sources (e.g., attribution/citation) using APA documentation style. • Use grammar and punctuation correctly for an academic setting • Focus on learning further strategies and techniques for taking responsibility for the quality of your written work (e.g. understand assignments and expectations, understand the “culture” of U.S. college classrooms,

classrooms, self-identify needs and plans to strengthen your academic writing & language skills).	recognize which questions you need to ask, self-identify your own needs, conduct language research, and implement plans to strengthen your academic writing).
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Goals (in the course description) and learning outcomes of the writing courses (English Composition 101 and English Composition 102 for L2 students) are provided in Table 4.1. The two L2 writing courses share very similar goals to those identified in equivalent mainstream courses for L1 students managed and taught separately by the English department. These goals are described in general and broad terms – “writ[-ing] clearly and concisely for a variety of purposes and audiences.” However, a close examination of the learning outcomes in the writing courses across the two programs denotes a difference in each program’s focus. The mainstream courses appear to leave room for variation in types of writing as can be seen in their learning outcomes – “increasing ability to construct written prose” and “writing coherent, organized, readable prose.” Types of writing in their learning outcomes are not specified, and thus the courses seem to leave room for more flexibility. A glimpse of the goals and outcomes in the L2 writing courses (Table 4.1) makes it apparent that these courses circumscribe their boundary of writing specifically to “academic” writing. The instructors, when asked about the major goals of their course, summarized them as “writing effectively for the university audience” or “address[ing] academic writing in a broad range of academic genres.” The delimitation of their focus to “academic genres” or writing “for the academic audience” means that the Southern instructors’ target situation was writing assignments and tasks in their students’ undergraduate

studies. They therefore viewed academic writing in more concrete terms in specific contexts of the undergraduate curriculum. They did not deal with writing for the purpose of discovering personal voice, promoting social utility, understanding civic engagement or encouraging criticism of culture as often emphasized in mainstream FYC courses (Crowley, 1998). It was repeatedly pointed out by the instructors that their writing classes mainly address writing requirements at the university.

The learning outcomes delineated in Table 4.1 provide concrete ideas of what aspects of academic writing the Southern-ELP aims to address. The outcomes that specify writing-related approaches, strategies and skills give us the impression that the program sees L2 academic writing instruction in a very eclectic manner. In summary, the Southern-ELP intends to promote among students the following aspects of academic writing (Johns, 2002):

- (1) genre acquisition (e.g., Compose clear, organized identification responses, short answers, short essays, and research papers; & discuss and analyze audience, purpose, organization, style, and presentation as it relates to academic writing in a university setting)
- (2) cognitive strategies in composing (e.g., Engage in the writing process: pre-write, formulate research questions, gather information, draft, share your writing with others, revise, and edit)
- (3) acquisition of academic language (e.g., Use grammar and punctuation correctly for an academic setting).

An emphasis on diverse aspects related to academic writing appears in the above learning outcomes. The instructors in my study reported the incorporation of each of these aspects in their lessons and major writing assignments. The most prominent pedagogical foci were on genre

acquisition and cognitive strategies used in composing. Specific exam tasks (identification responses, short answers and short essays) and a generic academic genre (research papers) often employed in their classes (Detailed teaching practices are reported in 4.2.3.)

Apart from these explicitly stated writing-oriented goals, ones that relate to the overall academic socialization are as follows:

- (1) “Participate in collaborative activities, such as discussing ...”
- (2) “Demonstrate effective use of computers and other writing aids, such as dictionaries, academic e-mail, and online resources”
- (3) “Understand the “culture” of U.S. college classrooms”
- (4) “Develop basic library and online research skills”

These outcomes that aim for the enculturation of L2 students into U.S. university cultures were considered seriously by the instructors in my study, especially those who taught English Composition 101. These instructors emphasized the necessity of socializing freshman students, particularly new international students and late-arriving multilingual writers, into the university. The “non-writing” examples of academic socialization incorporated in their teaching practices include: strategies to communicate (verbally or through writing) with professors; discussion of academic dishonesty policy; and encouragement of student participation. When Beth noticed that some of her students were uncomfortable participating in a large group discussion in her class, she conceived of ways to encourage them by employing various channels of participation. A range of formats, including small group discussion, one-on-one peer review, individual conference, and writing workshop, were employed in her class interaction to nurture “non-threatening” or “comfortable” environments in which L2 students were allowed to ask, respond

to and discuss questions or ideas. Beth described her strategy of eliciting student participation as follows:

I do find that if we're in a large group discussion, people are less willing, but it seems like a small group discussion makes students participate. Peer reviews help students participate on a smaller level. And then I also noticed, and this is something I am used to, that if I stayed after class, people would come up to me and talk. And then also when I have that active writing sessions in class, I feel like those were times when students were more likely to raise their hand and ask a question because it was me approaching them individually as opposed to the whole class hearing their inquiry. (First interview with Beth)

Beth was acutely aware that some L2 students were not prepared, for various reasons, to be part of a whole class discussion and thus provided room for them to participate “on a smaller level.” This was intended not just to hear students’ voices within the writing classroom, but to guide them to learn to participate at the university, which was considered essential for academic socialization. There was a perception among the faculty that students might not have opportunities other than English Composition 101 to “learn to be in a U.S. university.”

There was a tendency among the faculty to view English Composition 101 as a venue where L2 freshmen could learn to navigate the university in addition to its main emphasis on learning to write for university courses. Culturally embedded concepts deemed “unfamiliar” to many L2 students (e.g., plagiarism) were openly discussed. Students were led to submit their writing to a site in which they could analyze their writing (e.g., matching phrases with a database, and percentage of matches) and check whether their matching phrases could be considered a violation of academic dishonesty. Through this use of plagiarism checking software, students

were able to see how academic dishonesty is judged and through what lens professors see their writing. Major assignments reflecting the course goals and standard learning outcomes are introduced in Table 4-2:

Table 4.2 Major Genres and Tasks in the Southern-ELP Writing Courses

Course	Genre or Task	Directions
English Composition 101	Extended definition paper	Select a term or concept, and write an extended definition of 2 – 2 ½ pages. Examples include <i>perseverance, freedom, fear, beauty, a good parent</i> or a term related to your field of study.
	Summary	Write a one-page summary of the assigned article. An effective summary – a shortened version of a longer document is concise, complete, balanced and objective.
	Expository research essay	Select a human issues topic ... to define and explain to your reader audience. You will educate your readers about the issues surrounding this topic, but your goal is not to persuade readers to agree or disagree with a position. This essay (3½ to 4 pages) is expository/informative, not persuasive.
	Short-answer exam (based on a non-literary book)	A range of class tasks and assignments to practice short answer questions
English Composition 102	Summary	Write a one-page summary of the assigned article. An effective summary – a shortened version of a longer document is concise, complete, balanced and objective.
	Critique	Write a 1,250-1500 word critique of a journal article of your choice... You will need to include two or more additional sources beyond the original text to help support evaluation of the article.
	Annotated bibliography	Write summaries of four research sources that you have chosen to read for your research topic. Each summary consists of a main idea of the source and 2-3 sentences at the end explaining why you chose this article (content, credibility, etc.) and how you plan to use it in your research essay.
	Argumentative research essay (or Problem-solution paper)	Write about a problem and propose a solution to the problem. Your problem-solution writing should draw on evidence using credible sources. You must cite at least four reliable sources.

The major writing assignments in Table 4-2 indicate that the Southern-ELP focuses on literacy tasks and academic genres that intend to teach students how to write in the university.

“Summary” was adopted by both courses as a preparation for source-based academic writing, and “research essay” or “research paper”, named differently according to instructors, were intended to teach “elemental” genres such as exposition, argument and problem-solution (Macken-Horarik, 2002). Perhaps the writing tasks and genres pre-determined at the program level did not provide a great deal of freedom for the instructors to design writing tasks or genres of their choosing or reflect their own beliefs about writing in their lessons. It was required that the instructors adhere to these standards and assignments in their teaching. However, all the instructors concurred with this basic orientation to teaching writing, expressing a conviction that a primary focus of L2 writing courses should be on teaching how to write in the university setting. They also regarded the pre-determined tasks and genres as crucial in helping their students grow as academic writers.

This seeming lack of liberty in pedagogical decision-making did not prevent the instructors from interpreting what “academic writing” was in their own ways and designing the required genres and tasks based on their personal beliefs and pedagogical expertise. The next section describes how the four instructors approached the teaching of L2 writing by drawing on three frameworks that help elucidate pedagogical conceptions at the program level – (1) curricular options, (2) general or specific purposes, and (3) pedagogical approaches.

4.1.1 Curricular options: Integrated and Independent

As is common with most U.S. universities, writing is offered as an independent course at Southern University. Although the ultimate goal of the courses was to prepare students to write for their current and future content courses across the university, there was an acute awareness among the faculty of the interdependence between the two literacy skills (reading and writing) and thus an unavoidable linkage of them in their reported pedagogical practices. The high-level of involvement of reading in writing that characterizes university writing as text-responsible

writing (Leki & Carson, 1994) was reflected in their lessons and assignments. Using reading as a major means of teaching writing was taken for granted in the program. No instructor reported assigning major writing tasks without the involvement of reading except for the extended definition paper in English Composition 101. This particular assignment was considered a preliminary step to teach organization and one rhetorical strategy (definition) before students begin to learn source-based writing.

The instructors invariably incorporated both literacy skills (reading and writing) in their major writing assignments. Although 10 to 15 minute free writing sessions were occasionally held in some classes that did not involve any reading, major writing assignments in all the classes asked students to summarize, synthesize, analyze, discuss, and/or critique readings. However, given the major goal of the courses, “learning to write” in the university setting, reading was not adopted for the sake of learning content. The instructors assigned readings primarily either as a sample genre text to analyze, as content to write on or to improve their overall reading skills. Sample essays or written tasks (often written by students from previous classes) that represent a target task or genre were often presented as model texts to analyze. Sometimes, readings were assigned as content for writing assignments in which students were asked to summarize or critique. These types of reading, often involving an intense or close analysis of a short passage, played a subsidiary role in the process of learning to write a particular academic genre or task.

More extensive reading was also incorporated in the Southern-ELP writing classes. The perceived needs of reading for Southern L2 undergraduates were more strongly felt among the instructors, particularly those who taught English Composition 101, partly because of the nature of course goals and assignments that lends the course to include more extensive reading than

English Composition 102. One major requirement in English Composition 101, the short answer exam, drew on a non-literary book designated by the university for first year students. The English Composition 101 teachers utilized the book as a tool to teach students both how to write for university exams and how to become effective academic readers. The English Composition 101 syllabus reflects both these goals by listing “reading tasks” as one of the course requirements along with “writing tasks,” “daily assignments” and “grammar error analysis.” The requirement in the syllabus states:

You are expected to read, analyze, and discuss assignments for nearly every class. You will also be asked to write reactions, reflections, and responses to questions about the readings. (English Composition 101 Syllabus)

The English Composition 101 instructors designed tasks that could encourage students’ interaction with reading and with other students. Students were asked to read a chapter or two at a time, respond to questions in writing, and discuss their responses in small groups and/or as a whole class. The tasks to link reading with writing using a non-literary book aimed to assist students to develop reading skills because the faculty understood that their students needed to read extensively in their subject matter courses. The faculty expected that students would experience literacy tasks in other content courses in which they would be required to read volumes of texts and face numerous text-responsible writing tasks.

Another assignment in which students were asked to read extensively was the final project in both courses. In preparation for the research essay or research paper that required the inclusion of numerous sources, students went through the process of literature review on a topic of their choice often within the boundary set by instructors. The instructors reported that this experience would allow students to skim through numerous sources, select the most relevant

readings, and write about them using various strategies (summarizing, synthesizing and evaluating). This reading-to-write task invited students to play an active role as a reader in choosing readings within their range of interest and held them responsible for the whole process of literacy practices that connects reading and writing. The Southern ELP used “writing” as major focus in their stand-alone writing courses, but reading also played an integral role. It was integrated in varying degrees, often as a model text, as major content to write about and, less frequently, as a tool to improve reading skills and strategies.

4.1.2 General and specific purposes

The primary purpose of the two-course freshman composition sequence in the Southern-ELP was to prepare the L2 students to write for other courses they were concurrently taking or planning to take in the future. The instructors justified all the major writing assignments with reference to “broad” or specific academic writing contexts their students would encounter across the university. In-class writing tasks and major assignments in the two courses either included very general features of academic writing or intended to teach writing in line with English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP). Organizational patterns (tripartite essay structure), literacy skills or tasks (summary and synthesis), and elemental genres (exposition, critique, argument, and problem-solution) were explicitly taught. The following was a typical sequence of tasks and genres in the two courses:

English Composition 101: Definition essay; Summary; Annotated bibliography; Research essay (exposition)

English Composition 102 : Summary; Critique; Annotated bibliography; Research essay (argument)

Academic literacy skills (summary and synthesis) were, through stand-alone summary assignments and annotated bibliography, repeatedly taught in both courses. Then students were guided to write a research essay that requires effective uses of sources through summarization and synthesis.

When asked about the purpose of summary and synthesis, the most frequently employed major writing assignments, Beth responded:

So I think it's just the first step in becoming an academic writer or able to read, summarize and synthesize sources. I think they are going to do that no matter what their major. They are gonna have to be able to do that. Period. (First interview with Beth)

Beth explained summary and synthesis skills as a “first step in becoming an academic writer” necessary for any students regardless of their disciplinary background. As principal literacy skills necessary for academic writing in an Anglo-phone university setting, summary and synthesis were explicitly taught as “preliminary” genres before students took up the research essay.

Notable writing tasks in English Composition 101 that are not classified as EGAP are exam tasks. Students were taught how to write common exam tasks such as short answers and short essays. These were adopted by the full-time faculty as one of the primary writing tasks often assigned as homework that led to discussion with peers and sometimes instructor feedback. Quizzes that asked students to identify key terms and concepts and to write short essays were sometimes conducted. The teaching of these genres originated from the faculty's commitment to teaching the most frequent writing tasks required in the lower division courses at Southern university. Nancy, a veteran writing teacher and full-time faculty, explained the background of adopting exam tasks in the curriculum:

He [a previous faculty member] and I did a study where we surveyed what the academic demands are of undergraduate classes at Southern University. That survey included collecting syllabi, collecting assignments and interviews (...) That's kind of what we base the assignments on. We looked at what are students being asked to do. We looked across undergraduate classes, general studies courses and how we can address the different needs (First interview with Nancy)

Part of the Southern ELP curriculum was informed by a study that examined writing tasks that appear across the general education courses (e.g., introductory level courses in biology, history, and psychology). The faculty had the pragmatic intention that writing courses should be a place in which students are prepared for literacy demands in subject matter courses. This survey study of undergraduate subject matter classes informed the program to include short answer and short essay formats that Southern University students were most commonly asked to respond to in their exams. The program's focus on these exam tasks or "genres" means that the faculty took a specific approach in teaching writing. This approach is different from English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) as the term (ESAP) is used in the traditional sense (Johns, 2009) since the program is targeting student needs in general education courses in the first two years of university study, not particular disciplinary contexts students will encounter in later years. The Southern-ELP addressed very specific needs of students by teaching in-class exam responses, the most common and "authentic" writing tasks. On the one hand, the program took an EGAP approach by focusing on academic literacy strategies (summary and synthesis) and underlying text-types (definition, exposition and argument). On another level, the Southern-ELP incorporated writing tasks (exam responses) in line with ESAP.

4.1.3 Pedagogical approaches

It has previously been pointed out that the Southern-ELP's goals were EAP-oriented with designated academic genres and tasks for the instructors to address. These genres and tasks, except for exam tasks, were broad text-types or literacy skills that were assumed to underlie academic writing and thus justified to be taught. It was believed that these key academic tasks and genres should be practiced through major writing assignments. The most dominant or striking idea that permeates lessons and major writing tasks and assignments across the instructors was a primary concern for teaching elemental or key genres. The pre-determined direction and assignments at the program level did not grant the instructors extensive liberty in selecting teaching approaches, but all the instructors agreed that the Southern L2 students need support with their academic writing through practicing these assignments.

This genre-based orientation, however, did not preclude the adoption of other approaches to teaching writing as indicated in the learning outcomes. (See 4.1.1). The acquisition of diverse text-types and literacy tasks took a central place in teaching practices, but each instructor's belief and orientation toward teaching academic genres and tasks varied in terms of degree of explicitness in teaching genre conventions and characteristics. That is to say, the centrality of specific tasks and academic genres in the curriculum does not mean that it excluded other perspectives or approaches to teaching writing. The instructors reported that process writing played a key role in guiding their genre-informed approaches; they expected their students to go through a recursive writing process that involves a series of composing strategies. Discourse elements such as thesis statement and topic sentences were emphasized by some instructors. They required students to incorporate them in major writing assignments. To accomplish the goal of teaching academic writing for undergraduate students in initial years, the Southern-ELP

instructors employed varied approaches in an eclectic manner, and their personal beliefs and expertise in L2 writing influenced them to conceptualize L2 writing pedagogy with a certain level of idiosyncrasy within the parameters of program-level requirements. This section describes how the two most prominent approaches, genre-informed approaches and process writing were practiced in the four teachers' classes based on interviews and written documents.

Genre-informed approaches

The Southern-ELP instructors' pedagogical concerns in teaching academic writing reflect the basic tenets of genre-informed approaches proposed by two different schools of thoughts in relation to genres, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and the Sydney School (Hyon, 1996; Johns, 2003). Within the ESP tradition, a "genre" is viewed as communicative action repeatedly employed by a particular discourse community. Therefore, a genre is a shared entity among the members of the community. ESP genre pedagogy often emphasizes the identification of an overriding purpose and rhetorical patterns within a specific genre (e.g., how rhetorical functions or moves are sequenced in a research article in biology) with a purpose to socialize novice researchers and new members into predominant genres used in a disciplinary or professional community. The notion of genres in ESP, conceptualized with disciplinary (often at the graduate or professional level) communities in mind, is hard to translate into academic writing in the initial years of university study during which students take mainly general education courses or introductory level disciplinary classes. Most Southern-ELP instructors' practices, however, reflect basic notions of genres espoused by ESP in that some of the main writing assignments and tasks are a reflection of what freshman students are supposed to write in their general education courses. The survey study, initiated by the Southern ELP, that examined the writing needs in general education courses reflects the program's commitment to teaching writing with

specific target situations, if not target disciplinary communities, in mind. The exam tasks such as short answers and short essays were the most widely adopted writing requirements for lower-division undergraduate students at Southern University. In this regard, the Southern-ELP attempted to address students' writing needs in their immediate writing situations. The program had guidelines for teaching common exam and take-home genres that were shared among the instructors. For example, an exam genre called "short answers" was introduced as one of the key exam genres (See Figure 4.1). A detailed rhetorical analysis of the exam genre provided for the instructors covered the following aspects: Communicative purpose ("to demonstrate their understanding and knowledge of course materials, such as information from the textbook, other course readings, and class lectures"), key rhetorical features ("the significance of the term" and "example"), linguistic features ("Complete sentences may not be necessary"), and length. Then, examples of the genres were introduced with an added explanation of lexico-grammatical features. This material as a whole was intended to raise awareness among students of the communicative purpose, rhetorical pattern and textual features of a particular genre.

Another genre pedagogy informing the Southern-ELP is that of the Sydney School or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The focus of SFL genre pedagogy is often on the explicit teaching of the most common "text types" or "elemental genres" based on the premise that these are the most common underlying genres that appear across a range of academic texts. Therefore, SFL oriented teachers tend to see academic writing through the lens of elemental genres and teach the general purpose, rhetorical pattern (a sequence of stages to realize the purpose), and genre-specific lexico-grammatical features of each elemental genre.

... students are expected to demonstrate their understanding and knowledge of course materials, such as information from the textbook, other course readings, and class lectures. The format and length of these writing tasks vary, but the most common types are identification, short answer, and essay items. These writing types may appear on an exam, or they might be assigned as homework to complete online or on paper.

I. Identification Questions

The shortest kinds of questions that require written responses are identification (or ID) questions.

- ID questions usually ask for definitions of key terms related to the content. You should also state the significance of the term (why it is important to the field of study). To clarify your information, you might include a brief example.
- ID questions may also ask for information about important people, places, or theories. In your answer, include details about their relationship to the content you are studying...
- ID responses should be about 1 to 3 sentences. Complete sentences may not be necessary; however, they are recommended to improve the clarity of your answers.
- On an exam, these questions are usually worth about 2 to 5 points.
-

ACTIVITY 1 / SENTENCE DEFINITIONS

Study the pattern and verb use of these sentence definitions. For each example: (a) underline the key terms, (b) highlight or mark the definitions, and (c) mark the definition verbs.

Example sentence	Explanation
1. A protagonist is the leading character(s) in a movie, novel, or other fictional work.	A definition is often given after the verb "is".
2. Dogma refers to a non-negotiable attitude, value, or belief. Those who embrace dogma can rarely be persuaded to surrender an opposing belief system.	The definition is given after the verb phrase "refers to".
3. Infrastructure is defined as the permanent facilities and structures that a society requires to facilitate the orderly operation of its economy.	The definition is given after the passive verb phrase <i>is defined as</i> .
4. An epidemic affecting a very large area is known as a pandemic, and one that is consistently present in the population is called endemic.	The definition is given before the passive verb phrases <i>is called</i> , <i>is referred to as</i> , and <i>is known as</i> .

Figure 4.1 Identification Questions

The Southern-ELP instructors' assumptions related to academic writing, despite no expressed allegiance to SFL, matched the basic tenets of the SFL perspective. The most widely

taught key genres in the two course sequence at the program level were “exposition” and “argument.”⁹ Each of these two elemental genres – “exposition” in English Composition 101 and “argument” in English Composition 102 – was regarded as the most significant writing assigned as a final project. The following comments made by Ricardo represented the program’s emphasis on “exposition”:

I also see that students feel compelled sometimes especially if they feel strongly about [the topic]. It’s hard to ask them not to say something that they want to say about it... The reason I emphasized the expository part, or purely expository writing part of that paper was to convey the notion that in academic writing... there is something that is called objectivity that is valued in some academic writing and for some purposes, and that it is important to be able to write in that way. (First interview with Ricardo)

Ricardo required his students to remain “objective” or “expository” when reporting ideas or arguments from sources. He stressed the significance of practicing “purely expository writing” or “objectivity” with the belief that writing an “expository” essay was challenging for many students, but a key genre students needed to practice and acquire to become an effective academic writer.

When asked about what assignments would serve students in preparation for writing across the curriculum, Ken, an English Composition 102 instructor, noted a clear connection between writing assignments (elemental genres such as “critique” and “argument”) and target writing situations his students would encounter in the future:

⁹ The Southern-ELP instructors defined “exposition” differently from the way it is used in SFL. “Exposition” for the instructors meant an objective account of facts and information without involving the author’s position whereas SFL views exposition as providing arguments for a particular thesis or proposition (Hyland, 2004). “Exposition” in the Southern-ELP is closer to “description” and “explanation” in SFL.

They are gonna be asked to critique things. (...) for example, in computer science they evaluate a system. If they want to go business, they are going to be asked like business evaluations. When they go in, they are also gonna be asked to, based on the information you gather, write up the proposals for this. (...) I think those genres I'm required to teach are vital for them to get them there. (First interview with Ken)

Taking one of the major assignments, "critique", as an example, Ken explained that the critique paper in which his students chose an academic article and evaluated the author's basic assumptions, claims, and arguments could be applied to disciplinary writing in computer science and business. Ken was convinced that learning to write a critique paper could play a "vital" role toward enabling his students to successfully write a genre-specific paper in their professional or academic discourse community. The Southern-ELP instructors explicitly taught exam and elemental genres with the belief that the awareness and acquisition of these genres would address their students' current and future writing needs.

Process Writing

Despite the primary focus on the acquisition of academic genres in the Southern-ELP, the instructors reported their practices aligned with process writing (Raimes, 1991; Zamel, 1983). Multiple drafts and formative feedback were reported as part of all the major writing assignments across the classes. Writing was not considered something that could be completed in one sitting, but a complicated, cognitively intense process that takes time for ideas to be refined and fully developed through several drafts. A cycle of each writing assignment typically began with instruction in a writing task or genre often with an analysis of representative sample texts. The instructors then covered a main purpose, organizational structure, discourse moves or functions, and linguistic features (at the sentence level). They expected students to demonstrate the features

of the target genres or tasks through multiple drafting and formative feedback from multiple sources (peers, instructors and tutors). Nancy explained the critical role of peer feedback in her class:

After that they did an outline and then they did what I had said, a thesis statement and any body paragraph to get started. And throughout the process I had them do peer review, and that's where things got lively. I told them they had to get feedback from at least two people. And the peer had to write on a paper to turn it in to me, whose paper they read, what the topic was, one suggestion for improvement, and one thing that person did well. And that added component of having them write for me, I think, changed the degree of commitment that they had to the peer review. It was really effective. I mean, it was kind of noisy 'cause they were not arguing but debating about things and then they would call me over to be the referee. 'Someone said this, is this true?', so I think it was a learning process for both the reviewer and the reviewee. (Second interview with Nancy)

In the process of completing a final exposition paper, Nancy arranged several peer review sessions in which students could receive feedback from one another. She described this particular peer review session as "noisy" and "lively" during which students had debates about things they did not agree on. Nancy was asked to take the role of the "referee" among students. Students, through the review session, gained ideas to improve their papers and learned to be critical readers and providers of formative feedback. It was notable that Nancy held this type of peer review session for each of the drafts with a different purpose in mind (e.g., to set the direction of the paper in an earlier draft and to receive feedback on organization and idea development in a following draft).

In addition to feedback from peers, the Southern-ELP students received feedback from their teachers through varied channels including written comments, one-on-one conferences, and workshops. Comment styles varied across the instructors. One instructor provided numeric scores for each scoring criteria on the rubric in order to inform students of areas that needed improvement. Other instructors provided detailed written comments on various areas in the form of marginal notes within the text and end notes. Feedback on earlier drafts tended to focus on organizational structure and content, and teacher comments on later drafts included a wider range of issues (content, structure, register, grammatical and lexical issues). Many of the instructor comments, especially the final summarizing comments at the end of the paper, were personalized responses to student papers that included a combination of praise, question, suggestion and clear direction. The instructors attempted to tailor their end note comments not just based on the written texts, but also on students' needs (when students expressed them), level of writing proficiency, and efforts (praise for improvement). The following end comments made by two different teachers illustrate the types of personalized and dialogic comments that appeared frequently:

1. (student name), your organization is very clear. There are grammatical issues that are distracting. We will discuss the discourse markers and their punctuation today.
2. (student name), you did take on Brown's critique persona. I actually agree with many of your points about Brown's "authoritarian" voice. I also find him somewhat harsh and sometimes condescending. Please consider reorganizing the middle paragraphs on page 2. Different ideas are mixed and not well-developed.

In Comment 1, the instructor began with a compliment and pointed out one area of improvement. Because it was not easy to provide detailed feedback about the grammatical issues,

the instructor assured the student that scaffolded help would be offered in the class lesson. The instructor in Comment 2 chimed in with the student's position to show that the student's critique of the article author was convincing. This instructor also commented on the most outstanding issue in the paper. Instructor written comments were, most of the time, comprehensive but focused. These comments often took the form of a dialogue that included encouraging, constructive and personalized feedback.

The instructors also provided oral feedback through an in-class writing session often called "writing workshop" or an individual conference. Some instructors arranged in-class writing sessions in which students could seek help from the teacher while working on their outline or draft. These workshops sometimes occurred after an instructor returned written comments on students' drafts. During these sessions, students often wanted to clarify teacher comments, check their revision or ask various questions about their papers. The instructors found these workshop sessions effective because the sessions helped improve their students' papers and, more importantly, facilitate dialogic interaction between the teacher and students.

Another key component of process writing, the notion of writing as self-expression or exploration of "voice," was practiced by some instructors. They incorporated free writing as separate activities from major writing assignments. Students were allowed to write about non-academic topics (e.g., challenges as a freshman) assigned by the instructor without any concerns about form. The instructors who practiced free writing mentioned that these activities aimed to help students "improve fluency" and "let students know they are writers with something to express." Other than free writing activities, Ricardo reported a unique practice that reflected a concern for writer agency. For Ricardo, striking a balance between "form" and writer agency was one of main concerns in his teaching. When assigning a major writing task or genre, he

made sure that his students wrote “without worrying about the formal aspects of writing at least during the beginning stages.” Ricardo did not want his students to be concerned more about form than content in their initial drafts because of his conviction that an overriding concern for formal characteristics could possibly prevent them from exploring varied ideas. However, during the subsequent stages of writing, Ricardo attended to forms through his lessons and feedback. In general, the Southern-ELP instructors saw each stage of writing as a pedagogical intervention allowing the use of varied feedback opportunities described above. In that regard, the conception of pedagogical writing in the Southern-ELP does not exactly match what cognitivist proponents suggested (Emig, 1971). For example, whereas cognitivist pedagogues do not advocate for teacher intervention about discourse patterns or forms, most Southern-ELP instructors guided their students to adopt genre- or task- specific rhetorical patterns in the initial stages of writing.

Teaching “about” academic writing

One unique outstanding perspective or approach I found difficult to categorize into one of the pre-existing teaching approaches was reported by Ricardo. He, like other instructors, taught elemental genres by addressing academic conventions and rhetorical patterns by arranging varied opportunities for his students to improve their writing while progressing through multi-drafts and feedback opportunities. However, one distinctive goal of his English Composition 102 course was raising awareness among his students of key concepts related to “academic writing,” which resulted in his teaching “core” concepts and assumptions of academic writing beyond formal aspects (e.g., textual and linguistic conventions of academic genres. Ricardo talked in the first interview about his rather abstract but well thought-out goal that reflects his unique perspectives about academic writing:

I remember that, when planning my class, thinking about, giving it a thought to explaining, to the best of my abilities, why things were the way they were in writing rather than just delivering a list of rules or things to remember like “academic writing is like this, it’s not like that.” It seems to me that’s not enough. I thought that for my students it would also be beneficial to understand why and how certain conventions came from. (First interview with Ricardo)

For Ricardo, the critical teaching agenda was not just conventions and rules. He wanted to go beyond just “delivering a list of rules or things to remember” by informing his students of “why” particular conventions of academic writing exist. To make this seemingly “abstract” pedagogical goal concrete in his teaching, Ricardo intentionally addressed key ideas or concepts that underlie the conventions of academic writing including “originality”, “intertextuality” and “objectivity.” Originality in academic writing interpreted by Ricardo for his students is:

Something that I have told them maybe three times already in the course... is that I don’t expect them to be original if by original it meant coming up with innovative ideas without a precedent that sort of thing. The reason I say it is, I don’t want them to feel like, because that’s an idea that’s floating around, that they have to be original in order to be good writers, or just writers. Even in my guidelines that I give them for the writing tasks, I don’t include originality. I tell them “originality is in the way you phrase things, and for your final paper, originality is in the choice of topic and the focus that you want to give to your topic.” But my goal for them is to understand academic writing as being part of a conversation where you draw on different sources rather than every time [they] come up with something original to say." (First interview with Ricardo)

Ricardo was aware that his students had a pre-conceived idea of originality or creativity formed from their previous writing experience. For him, a gap between students' understanding of originality and the originality required in academic writing was obvious and needed to be corrected. Originality was explained as "the way [students] phrase things", "the choice of topic" and "focus" of the topic. Ricardo saw originality when his students chose topics that interested them and found ways to develop their thoughts in relation to sources. More importantly, Ricardo indicated that "originality" conceived by students was in sharp contrast to what they are expected to do in academic writing. To fill this gap, he attempted to help his students understand originality within the larger frame of academic writing. Other foundational concepts or notions believed to be critical in academic writing such as "intertextuality" and "objectivity" were also introduced to his students in a similar fashion. These practices demonstrate Ricardo's unique perspectives of teaching academic writing. In addition to teaching strategies and genres of academic writing, Ricardo believed the rationale or justification of the core notions of academic writing needs to be delivered to students. It was his belief that teaching "about" academic writing should precede teaching "academic writing."

In sum, the Southern-ELP adopted a curriculum that emphasizes the acquisition of literacy tasks and elemental genres deemed to be the core components of academic writing. It appears that because of the complexity and uncertainty of academic literacy in early years of university study as well as the necessity of the enculturation of L2 students into Anglo-phone university cultures, the Southern-ELP prioritized the teaching of basic academic tasks and key elemental genres. Rhetorical patterns were often of primary concern for all the instructors, and elemental genres such as exposition and argument were the most frequently employed targets for teaching. Therefore, the explicit teaching of academic tasks (summary and synthesis) and genres

(exposition, argument and exam responses) – was the program’s primary pedagogical concern. To facilitate genre acquisition, multiple-staged process writing was widely adopted. During the writing process teachers made efforts to engage students in dialogic interaction, and they also intervened frequently to guide students to acquire formal characteristics of genres. Writing was not viewed as an independent skill separate from other language skills. The understanding of academic writing as “text-responsible” (Leki & Carson, 1997) led the instructors to treat reading and reading skills as essential in learning to write in academia. Support for a range of linguistic areas (oral/aural/reading) was also seen as critical for the successful academic socialization of L2 students.

4.2 Conceptualization of L2 writing in the Hahn-ELP

The Hahn-ELP is an English language program that offers a range of courses for Hahn undergraduate students. It should be noted that the Hahn-ELP is not an L2 writing focused program, but a program that provides required full-credit courses in “reading, writing, conversation, public speaking, and business English” as well as certain elective courses (Hahn-ELP website). Table 4-3 presents the courses offered in the Hahn-ELP in Spring 2015. The program offered 37 sections of the required English course (i.e., English 1), and a number of other English courses as electives. The required English 1 is a freshman level course that addresses the four language skills. After a placement test, most students are placed into a regular section, while those who are identified as lacking basic English skills are required to take a remedial course called Basic English before moving to the regular English 1 course. Students who demonstrate an advanced level of English proficiency, often returnees who attended English medium high schools overseas and those who had extensive English learning experience through private English immersion programs, take Advanced English 1. Most Hahn freshmen are placed

into a regular English 1 section (a total of 34 in Spring 2015) with an additional three sections arranged for advanced level students and two for students needing remedial work. Most of the elective courses offered were geared toward improvement of speaking ability with only one stand-alone elective writing course, Intermediate English Writing, offered in the semester. The examination of courses in the Hahn-ELP indicates that writing received much less attention than other linguistic modalities.

Table 4.3 Course Offering in the Hahn-ELP

	Course Titles (number of sections)
Required course for all freshmen	English 1 (34) Advanced English 1 (3) Basic English (2)
Additional required course for certain majors ¹⁰	English 2 (6), Reading and Discussion (1), Business and Presentation (1)
Electives beyond the freshman level	Advanced Conversation (3), Advanced Speech (2), Advanced Business Presentation (1), Business English (3), Seminar on Debates (1), English Practice through the Internet (2), English Practice through Movies (5), English Practice through Theater (2), Intermediate Reading (1), Advanced Reading and Discussion (1), Intermediate English Writing (1)

Neither the university handbook, program web page nor course syllabi explicitly state program goals that underlie the entire curriculum. However, these program level goals can be inferred from the syllabi of individual courses. For example, the syllabus for English 1, the only required English class for Hahn students, states that its goal is:

for students to improve their English abilities in these areas [listening, speaking, reading and writing], as well as in vocabulary and pronunciation.

¹⁰ Freshmen in humanities, social sciences, and business colleges are required to take one more English course.

Another course offered as one of additional required courses for certain majors, English 2, also shares a very similar goal in its syllabus. The course is succinctly described as follows:

Understanding that English is a global language often used between non-native speakers as well as with native speakers, we will look at the uses of English across a wide spectrum. We encounter English through print and visual media, through academic reading and writing, and through daily interactions with people who use the language. The course objective is for students to improve their English abilities in these areas, as well as in vocabulary and short essay organization.

From this course description, it can be seen that English 2 also covers all of the four traditional linguistic skills. It is implied here that a wide spectrum of language-use domains is to be addressed in the English 2 courses including daily conversation, academic literacy and media literacy. The course descriptions and goal statements in the documents indicate that major lower-level English courses in the Hahn-ELP aim to encompass all the linguistic modalities. These comprehensive goals and multi-pronged purposes make it challenging to identify a focused goal or purpose of teaching English in the Hahn-ELP.

While the freshman level courses combine all linguistic skills, electives offered to students in the second year of study or above address one or two particular linguistic modalities. The list of the elective courses in Table 4-3, from looking at the titles alone, indicates their more specific focus. Most electives geared toward improving speaking or presentation skills. There was no course in the program that focused solely on one receptive skill such as listening or reading. Courses that address a receptive skill always incorporate a productive skill (writing or speaking). For example, English Practice through Movies bases its contents on movie clips. The clips first become resources to practice listening and learn language items, and the class

progresses toward practicing speaking based on what they learned through the movie clips. Most courses in the Hahn-ELP integrate two or more linguistic modalities, and all the courses aim to help students' productive linguistic skills, primarily speaking.

While the goals of the courses are presented in comprehensive and broad terms, instructors reported more focused goals in their teaching. When asked about the program goals, Hank, a veteran teacher who had been teaching at Hahn for five years, described the goal of the Hahn-ELT as:

A basic applied linguistics idea like communicative competence... That's my vision. No one ever told me that. I need to assume that... To be able to use English at the level, which you want to use to accomplish things you want to accomplish in life. It's super important. (First interview with Hank)

According to Hank, promoting "communicative competence" is a basic tenet that runs through the courses in the program even though he was not explicitly informed of that. For him, the idea of communicative competence is linked to "us[ing] English", not just studying grammatical rules and understanding texts. Other instructors I interviewed expressed a similar idea. They all responded that communicative ability or competence is what many of the Hahn students, especially freshmen, need. Larry summarized the focus in his freshman level English courses as "produc[ing] language in a way that's comfortable for them and not so like rigid and memorized." The Hahn instructors reported that the elective courses they had previously taught or were currently teaching aimed to improve the communication abilities of students through the inclusion of opportunities to converse, present and/or write. They did not neglect receptive skills and linguistic knowledge, but they agreed that the focus of the program was not on building merely linguistic knowledge, but on developing communication abilities among students who the

instructors believed had already accumulated a fair amount of knowledge of the English language itself. All the instructors I interviewed reported that they attempted to help Hahn students break away from their grammar- and reading-oriented English learning and assist them in developing fluency.

When instructors commented on the necessity of promoting communicative competence, that often meant competence mainly in speaking. This belief aligns with recent changes among many Korean university English language programs that prioritize the teaching of productive skills, especially speaking. Korean university English language programs, since the mid-1990's, have increasingly adopted more functional and pragmatic goals that mainly address the spoken language (Cho, 2002; Park, 1997; Song & Park, 2004). Whereas English courses at Korean universities used to focus on teaching about Anglophone cultures and increasing reading skills mainly through short humanistic and literary texts, many universities, in the last couple of decades, have switched their focus toward mainly dealing with communication abilities – teaching spoken English, and, to a lesser extent, writing. They have adopted communicative language teaching or CLT as a major teaching methodology. This has led to a sharp increase in native English speaking teachers on Korean university campuses who are often responsible for teaching productive language skills while Korean born teachers often address receptive skills (Cho, 2002; Park, 1997; Song & Park, 2004). While CLT, in principle, emphasizes teaching all of the four linguistic skills through the integration of these skills (Richards, 2006), the Hahn-ELP instructors often associated communicative competence primarily with the spoken language. Even though the goals presented in the English 1 course syllabus do not show any favoritism toward speaking over other linguistic skills, the instructors said that their own English 1 classes

emphasized, more than anything else, improving students' oral fluency and instilling confidence in students when communicating orally in English.

The instructors provided several reasons for their speaking-focused teaching practices in English 1. First, they wanted to fill in gaps that originate from the students' test-prep oriented English learning in high school. Kate described most of her students' previous English learning as follows:

They studied so far for the *Suneung* [CSAT]. Up until then they really kind of moved away from English being a language ..., but it [English] has tick boxes in it. Very structured, very grammatical... A lot of them don't have that much confidence because they can't really speak in English. They haven't had that practice... I think it's [speaking] important for them. What they seem to enjoy is more kind of spoken, social English they want to improve at that point. (Second interview with Kate)

Kate, based on what her students shared and her understanding of the Korean education system, believed that her students' English learning experiences had been predominantly test preparation. Kate did not think that her students learned English as a "language", but as "tick boxes." This metaphor, used to capture the nature of test-driven English learning, summarizes her understanding of students' English learning backgrounds. According to her, students were trained to choose correct answers to questions that mainly assess the understanding of short reading passages. A corrective to this problem for Kate was to take the opposite direction from students' previous learning – teaching how to speak English instead of just building receptive linguistic knowledge. This same goal was shared among other instructor informants in this study. They thought that students already possessed a high level of reading skills and lexico-grammatical knowledge, but "they don't have a chance to speak and listen." (First interview with

Ian) Lack of oral communication ability was pointed out as their main problem. Although writing was mentioned as an area they teach in the freshman level courses, the instructor informants did not identify writing as a “remedy” to the perceived serious problem in students’ prior English learning. It is assumed that lack of emphasis on writing as an important communicative skill has to do with the instructors’ pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing. Teaching L2 writing was mainly understood as providing discourse-level structures. Writing assignments and tasks were not often a response to a particular rhetorical situation in which a communicative purpose and readers are identified (See the next section for approaches to teaching writing in the Hahn-ELP.). Whereas oral tasks and presentations were organized in a classroom community whose members (peers and the instructors) took the roles of interlocutors and audience, writing was conceived as the acquisition of the pre-defined organizational structure (Silva, 1990).

Another reason that speaking was prioritized in the Hahn-ELP, according to the instructor informants, pertains to the university policy that reflects students’ voice related to course offerings and content. Other than the one required course (English 1), Hahn students did not have to take any additional English courses. However, students still had the opportunity to choose to take ELP electives instead of other general education courses to fulfill part of their general education requirements. This led the Hahn-ELP to offer elective courses that could potentially attract a large number of students, and not be cancelled due to low enrollments. For these reasons, the elective courses offered reflected Hahn students’ preferences in their English learning. The instructors reported that since students were mostly interested in developing their oral fluency, electives in the program mirrored these interests (see Table 4-3). Advanced English Conversation and English Presentation courses were offered in multiple sections. The syllabi of

Movie English and Business English courses also indicate that they provided ample opportunities to practice spoken English. There was only one course, Intermediate English Writing, solely devoted to English writing in Spring 2015.

Another institutional policy that influenced the content of English courses was the large role that student evaluation played in the annual review of instructors. One instructor mentioned that student evaluation of instructors at the end of each semester accounted for 90% of the instructor assessment scheme within the Hahn-ELP. Therefore, it is presumed that student voices were, at least to some extent, reflected in course content. Some instructors informed me that many students expected the work required in English 1 and English 2 courses to not be demanding or challenging based on their belief that their academic studies were supposed to revolve around increasing expertise in their disciplines and that general education courses such as English 1 should be secondary concerns. Students' conception about English courses perceived by instructors presumably affected the amount of work instructors assigned and the level of difficulty they considered in preparing lessons. One instructor revealed one of his biggest challenges in teaching in the Hahn-ELP as "not being unable to teach all I want to teach." He believed that his courses could be more challenging and in-depth, but he felt he was, to some extent, restricted because of students' expectations about the English courses.

The influence of the student voices on teaching does not necessarily mean that the instructors always accommodated student concerns. Kate felt conflicted between what students wanted and what she thought they needed. As someone who was increasingly becoming aware of the important role of needs analysis in teaching, Kate asked freshman students in one of her English 1 classes to talk to seniors in their majors about what English skills they would need throughout their university years. The freshman students reported back to Kate that they would

need listening, presentation, and writing in preparation for their English medium classes¹¹.

However, when asked about what they wanted in English 1, the majority of them told Kate that they did not want or expect English 1 to address academic English. Kate inferred that freshman students' immediate concerns about an increase in oral fluency and confidence prevented them from envisioning English of an academic nature as the main content in an English class. Given the linguistic environment of the university in which students needed to learn their subject matter, at least partially, in English, Kate felt that her freshman English class should be a place to address students' needs in the target situations despite lack of enthusiasm among students. However, she found it challenging to implement specific academic contents in her class because of students' explicitly stated "wants" for conversational English.

Kate's observation coincides with the findings of previous studies that examined what Korean university students preferred to be taught in their university English courses (Chong & Kim, 2001; Kim & Margolis, 2000; Song & Park, 2004). Students in these needs analysis studies predominantly expressed their preferences for improving aural/oral language skills rather than academic literacy. Despite students' lack of interest in academic literacy, Kate believed that, other than speaking and presentation skills, writing assignments linked to students' disciplinary contents could "increase motivation" among students and "give them something to take away" from her class.

While the basic nature of courses offered in the Hahn-ELP, to some extent, reflected students' concerns and desires for English learning, instructors were allowed room to tailor their courses to meet the needs of their particular classes and to incorporate their beliefs and expertise

¹¹ Hahn undergraduate students are required to take at least five English medium courses (15 credits) in their discipline to complete their undergraduate degree. Considering the total number of credits Hahn students need to earn their undergraduate degrees is around 120, they do approximately 13% of their coursework in English at the minimum.

in teaching. In the freshman level courses (English 1 and English 2), other than the requirements that they use designated textbooks (coursebooks that cover four linguistic modalities), and pre-determined assessment schemes (e.g., the evaluation for English 1 was pre-determined as: Exam (20%), Quizzes (20%), Oral Interview and Presentation (20%), Writing (15%), Homework (15%), and Participation (10%)), instructors were allowed to teach their course by employing pedagogical approaches of their own choice and designing class tasks and assignments that they believed to be appropriate for their classes. In elective courses, the instructors were not given any pre-determined goals, objectives or evaluation standards to adhere to. It was completely up to instructors' discretion to set up goals, choose materials, conduct lessons, and design assignments. When comparing his previous teaching at a Korean high school, Larry commented that Hahn-ELP "teachers have a lot more freedom to help their students in a productive way." He expressed his satisfaction with the considerable latitude in adopting his own approaches to teaching the freshman courses, and designing elective courses. This extensive freedom in pedagogical decision-making that was granted to instructors means that they were allowed to approach writing lessons and assignments by drawing on their own pedagogical repertoire. Therefore, conceptions of L2 writing shared by the instructor informants are, to a large extent, a reflection of their personally held views on teaching writing even though they also gave consideration to local conditions (e.g., student "wants" and student English learning backgrounds). They did report support from and the influence of other instructors (e.g., sharing instructional materials and ideas through faculty meetings) in their teaching. The next section describes how the five instructors approached the teaching of L2 writing by drawing on three frameworks that help elucidate pedagogical conceptions at the program level – (1) curricular options, (2) general or specific purposes, and (3) pedagogical approaches.

4.2.1 Curricular options: Integrated and Independent

As explained above, writing is included as one of the linguistic modalities addressed in the freshman level courses (English 1 and English 2). All of the three instructors who taught English 1 commented that they often linked class content to writing tasks or assignments. Class lessons covered contents in the textbook: listening clips, reading passages and target lexicogrammatical items. Video clips (movies and TED Talks) were often used. Writing was often assigned in the form of a reflective journal whose topic was related to the lesson. Larry, after covering a textbook lesson about life adventures, asked his students to write a story about a risk they took and a lesson they learned. This type of journal assignment was intended to help students become familiar with writing in English, and thus the instructor did not deliver any lessons or provide specific feedback on student journals. Writing instruction on how to write paragraphs and essays often occurred through stand-alone lessons toward the end of the semester. Writing was addressed in the freshman courses, but it was conceived of as a rather distinct skill that needed stand-alone lessons. In their writing lessons, instructors mainly taught paragraph and essay structures often with handouts from ESL writing textbooks or online resources because the textbooks (four-skills oriented course books) did not cover writing extensively.

While writing was addressed in the four skill integrated courses in the freshmen year, it was offered as an independent course in the upper level curriculum that mainly served non-freshman students. A stand-alone writing course (Intermediate English Writing course) was offered in Spring 2015 as an elective for sophomores, juniors and seniors in the Hahn-ELP. Hank, the instructor of this course, reported that stand-alone English writing courses were not very popular among Hahn students. He recalled that during the previous few semesters no courses devoted solely to writing were offered in the program. As an experienced teacher of writing at a U.S. university and strong advocate for writing as one of the most essential life skills, Hank felt

that writing should be prioritized more than anything else. He lamented that students were not interested in writing and that university policies were not favorable toward offering a required English writing course. Hank was the only one who strongly advocated for the necessity of teaching writing more than any other linguistic skill. The profile of elective courses distinctly demonstrates a bias toward speaking skills, and is analogous to the focus of freshman level courses that prioritize speaking. This delivers one clear message that writing is not a prioritized skill in English learning in the Hahn-ELP. This lack of independent writing courses can be partially explained, in addition to students' preferences for speaking, by the inherent utilitarian value assigned primarily to speaking by most instructors. They provided justification for the necessity of speaking-oriented teaching with a belief that speaking is a practical skill students will need in their target situations:

Students already know how to read very well. They know vocabulary very well. They don't have chance to speak, and this that's their problem. I value presentation a lot because that's the actual job skill and also that's the actual output so I actually made my students do two presentations (First interview with Ian).

This perceived inherent practicality of speaking was shared among most instructors, but they rarely talked about the use of writing with reference to students' target situations. This difference is presumed to be linked to their perceptions of writing, which will be discussed in detail in 4.2.3.

4.2.2 General and specific purposes

Table 4-4 summarizes the purposes in teaching and assessing writing in the Hahn-ELP courses as reported by instructors. Those who taught English 1 reported that journal assignments were intended to help students become comfortable in producing language. For instance, Ian said

he assigned journal assignments in English 1 so that his students could “get acquainted with regular writing” (Second interview with Ian). Journal topics ranged from self-introduction to life issues. The instructors gave completion grades as long as students fulfilled the minimum page requirements and responded to the given topic. In the lowest level course, English 1, some of the writing assignments were intended to help students acquire lexico-grammatical items. In one writing task, Kate asked students to utilize compound and complex sentence types that they had been practicing so that their writing would include varied sentence structures, rather than solely rely on simple sentences. Larry also guided his English 2 students to incorporate a particular grammar item in their journals. These assignments were intended to improve general linguistic fluency or to focus on English for General Purposes (EGP).

Table 4.4 Purposes of English Writing Lessons and Assignment in the Hahn ELP

	Courses
EGP	English 1
EGAP	English 1, English 2, Intermediate English Writing. Reading and Discussion, Advanced Reading and Discussion
ESAP	None
EOP	Business English

Unlike journal assignments that reflected the instructors’ intention to improve general linguistic fluency, writing-focused lessons and major writing assignments in the freshman level courses included very general features of academic writing or aimed to teach writing in line with English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP). Organizational patterns (tripartite essay structure) and discourse modes (argument, compare and contrast, process, narrative) were explicitly taught, and students were asked to write paragraphs and essays that corresponded to a

specific mode in English 1 and English 2 classes. In the Intermediate English Writing class in which upper-level students voluntarily enrolled, essay structure and discourse modes were also the main focus of instruction.

Instructors had differing views on whether their writing instruction should aim at academic writing connected with disciplinary genres and content. When asked about the connection between Intermediate English Writing and disciplinary writing, Hank responded:

I just think good communication skills are applicable everywhere, even technical language. I don't know much about technical writing or writing for the sciences so much, but I know that directness and clarity are always valued everywhere. That's what I'm teaching. (First interview with Hank)

Hank, the instructor of Intermediate English Writing believed that writing across many settings was similar, and that his "general" approach to teaching students how to write "academic personal essays" could be transferred to other writing situations. In Hank's class students practiced "academic personal essays" in which they expressed personal ideas, feelings and thoughts mainly through the adoption of a specific discourse mode. Hank believed that "academic personal essays" worked as a bridge between a personal essay and an academic research paper. Unlike personal writing that does not consider the reader, students were asked to consider the reader and "show" their ideas and feelings through descriptions and examples, not just "tell" or "confess" their feelings. Through "academic personal essays" Hank attempted to teach students to write in an organized, creative, and interactive way with the belief that academic personal essays would teach his students the fundamentals of writing.

Kate evidenced a rather different perspective related to the connection between her approaches to teaching writing and the academic writing demands students would encounter in

their disciplinary courses. She defined her current English 1 as “general English,” and pointed out the limitations in motivating students through the use of her current approach that drew on “very general” or “personal” topics without a close link to reading. She expressed her willingness to incorporate “academic” writing in her assignments even though she found this challenging to accomplish because of time constraints and students’ different expectations.

Another instructor, Sun-joo, also presented her suspicion about the usefulness of the five paragraph essay, the most widely taught writing classroom genre in the Hahn-ELP. She explained that:

Normally we start at the paragraph level and then move on to the five paragraph essay at the end of the semester. (...) I sometimes wonder if this approach is appropriate for my students. (...) When students enter their professional fields, I believe they would engage in other types of writing for the most part. I’m not totally sure, but there should be new ways of teaching writing. (First interview with Sun-joo)

Sun-joo taught paragraph structure first and then expanded it to the five paragraph essay in her English 2 class. Most of her writing assignments were designed to have her students acquire the formal characteristics of academic essays mainly at the organizational level. However, she shared similar views to Kate’s when discussing commonalities between writing assignments in her class and types of writing used in professional settings. She incorporated teaching how to write emails in professional settings in one of her lessons even though most of her writing lessons centered around organizational patterns.

There were no courses devoted to teaching how to handle writing demands in relation to specific disciplinary content or English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP). An elective course, Business English, taught English for Occupational Purposes (EOP) by addressing

students' probable writing needs in their future workplaces (e.g., business email, cover letter and resume that are considered necessary for applying for jobs and for dealing with business matters in the workplace).

4.2.3 Pedagogical approaches

Although no specific pedagogical approach was stipulated or recommended by the program for instructors to follow in their writing lessons, and therefore instructors could take the liberty to teach writing by adopting an approach of their own choice, the five instructors reported very similar L2 instructional writing practices in their classrooms. Lessons and assignments linked to writing in the freshmen courses and electives reflected diverse aspects and conceptions of L2 writing, and therefore, a range of teaching methods (i.e., guided composition, current-traditional rhetoric, and process writing) were identified in their lessons and assignments. The most dominant idea among these different approaches and one that permeated lessons and major writing tasks and assignments across the instructors was a primary concern for teaching discourse-level structures. That is to say, even though diverse approaches were adopted by the instructors, they conceptualized the teaching of L2 writing primarily based on the underlying principles of current traditional rhetoric while also incorporating other influential L2 writing methods – process writing and guided composition. One notable observation is that perspectives that consider writing as a means to achieve a particular purpose in a specific context were not present in their class lessons and major writing assignments (Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1991). Two instructors, Kate and Sun-joo questioned the pragmatic value of teaching traditional essays with “general” purposes when they considered Hahn university students' needs for writing in their current and future rhetorical situations. Therefore, they made attempts to deal with target genres (i.e., business email and job application letter) that they thought Hahn students would encounter

in the future, but these EOP genres were not the focus of their classes. Their main concerns for teaching writing revolved around the mastery of prescribed organizational patterns. In this section each of the approaches identified in the instructors' teaching practices is described with a focus on their underlying principles and local adaptations.

Current Traditional Rhetoric

The Hahn-ELP instructors' primary pedagogical concerns in teaching writing correspond to the basic tenets of the current-traditional rhetoric paradigm (Silva, 1990). Writing lessons in a lower level course (English 1) predominantly focused on paragraph structure. Discourse elements such as thesis statement, topic sentence, supporting sentence, and transition words (discourse markers), each of which was believed by the instructors to be essential in composing a paragraph, were explicitly taught through a model paragraph. In major writing assignments, students were required to arrange these elements in a pre-determined sequence.

Instructors reported that their freshmen students' biggest challenges in writing lay in organization. The English 1 instructor, Ian, went so far as to adopt the current traditional rhetoric paradigm in an essay of self-exploratory nature. He reported that in his English 1 course, in addition to weekly journals, he assigned the same topic as a main writing assignment every semester, asking students to write about their biggest failure in the past that turned out to be not necessarily a failure. Even though he thought students could "free-write" about this topic, he provided a paragraph structure. He explained:

I give them a structure. I want them to write (...) then if I do that [have students free write], then these students, the lower level students, just get destroyed. That's why I give them structure. Topic sentence, and then first main idea, and then, you know, two supporting sentences, second main idea, two supporting, third, and then (...) so, you have

to write (...) eleven sentences. You cannot write more or less. You have to write eleven. Once again, this is to help the students because I think eleven is enough, for even the top high students to express themselves (First interview with Ian)

We can see in these comments that Ian was aware that his students could express their ideas without a pre-defined form. However, less proficient writers, according to Ian, had a hard time organizing their ideas without any explicit structural guides, which became Ian's rationale behind his focus on teaching discourse pattern. He apparently believed in the critical role of the construction of a paragraph according to a set order and required an exact number of sentences in a paragraph. Even though he did not comment on why he asked for a very specific number of sentences that comprised a paragraph, this reaffirms his strong belief in the importance of paragraph organization more than anything else.

One reason behind the popularity of this discourse pattern-oriented teaching approach is explained by Kate. When asked about her students' challenges in their first major writing assignment, Kate responded:

Yeah that [organization] is definitely the hardest thing. I've been told that Korean writing is very different. Obviously I didn't experience that myself. But I believe seeing the English cultural ways of how writing works and so perhaps that's cultural in the sense how the logic is organized and something that I need to decide how to put across. For the major assignment, we're gonna do more brainstorming, how we can order it. I think some of them got it. Some of them did do that well. Some of them didn't really think about how their points fit together. That's why consultations would be good. (First interview with Kate)

Kate believed that writing in “English cultural ways” could be a challenge for many students in her English 1 class. She admitted that she had no experience writing in Korean, but assumed that there are distinct cultural ways of writing that differ across cultures, which she thought would be a source of difficulty for some of her students when they organized English essays. Kate’s perception of the cultural challenges faced by her students evokes Kaplan’s idea of cultural differences in sequencing thoughts (Kaplan, 1966), which not only made a significant contribution to expanding the notion of L2 writing from the sentence to the discourse level (Belcher, 2014), but became a basis of understanding L2 writers’ organizational problems for many writing practitioners. It is obvious that Kate put her instructional priority on how “logic is organized” and “points fit together” and had her students focus on this from the first stage of writing – brainstorming.

Once students were instructed on how to utilize the paragraph structure in English 1, pedagogical focus moved to larger discourse units in English 2 courses. Students were then introduced to the five paragraph essay (introduction, body paragraphs, and conclusion). Similar to the way paragraph structure was introduced, instructors addressed structural entities (one introductory, three body and one concluding paragraph), and components of each paragraph (e.g., hook, background information and thesis statement in introduction). Students were also introduced to discourse modes (argument, compare and contrast, classification, narration and others) and asked to write a paragraph or essay that conspicuously demonstrates the incorporation of a particular target mode they had learned. Most of the writing assignments the instructors shared with me typically culminated in requiring five paragraphs or a paragraph analogous to the five paragraph essay structure into which students were asked to incorporate a

particular discourse mode. Figure 4.2 represents a typical essay structure that guided students, across many writing assignments, to write an essay based on a particular discourse mode.

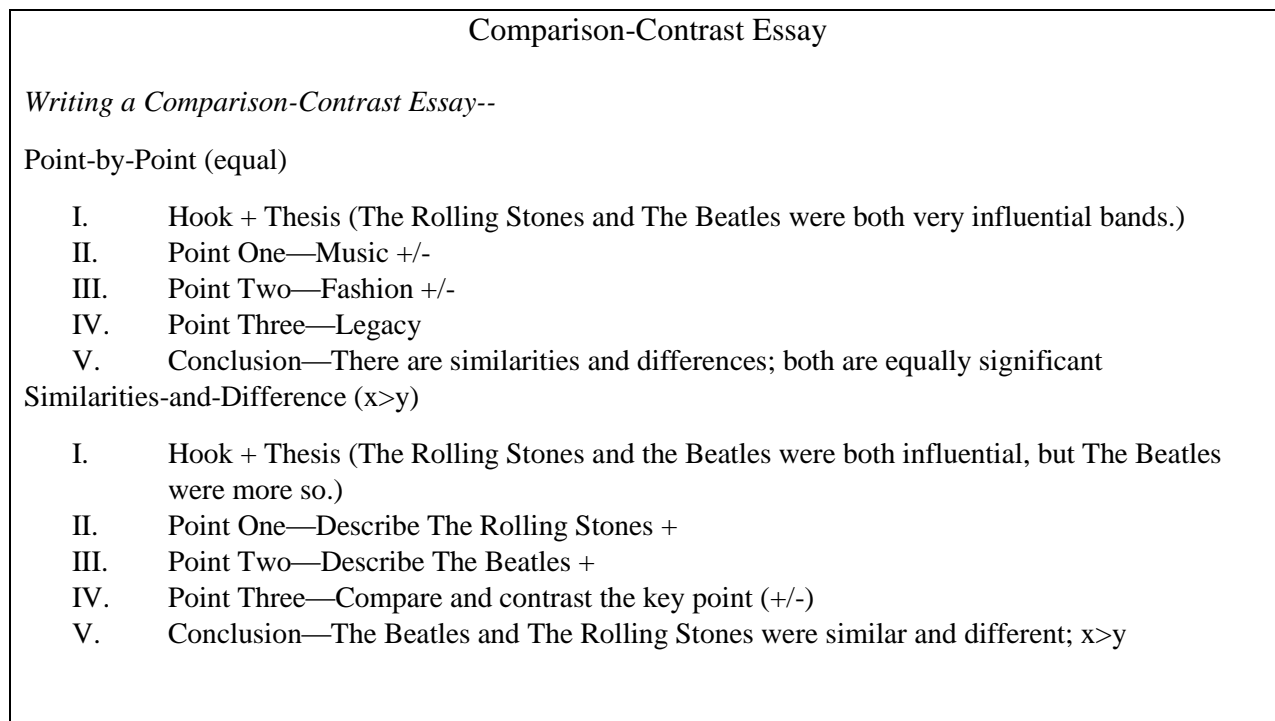


Figure 4.2 Comparison Contrast Essay Structure

The organizational structure drawing on the five paragraph essay model was expected of students in elective courses such as Intermediate English Writing and Advanced Reading and Discussion. Larry who taught Advanced Reading, an elective course, responded to my open-ended question about his students' performance in their reflective journal assignments by commenting mostly on their organizational problems. When grading student essays, Larry, as he did in his freshman English class, looked for an English "organizational style" that he expected his students to "reproduce again and again" in their journal assignments. The inclusion of a topic sentence and supporting sentences, which he assumed many students had learned in their previous freshman English classes, was a key criteria when he judged his students' performance.

It appears that Larry believed in the universal applicability of the basic structure of the five paragraph essay model to many types of writing including a reflective journal. This was a prevalent view shared by other instructors and explains the main concern for organization in writing instruction.

Guided Composition

Even though the Hahn-ELP instructors conceived of L2 writing mainly as mastering deductive discourse structures, each of the instructors also paid attention to lexico-grammatical issues in varying degrees. In their English 2 classes, which put more focus on writing than English 1, most of the instructor informants reported that they covered sentence types (simple, complex and compound), discourse markers (transition, comparison and contrast), modifiers, appositives, articles, and other lexico-grammatical features. Each of these lexico-grammatical items was explicitly taught in class lessons. When teaching different sentence types, differences among the three sentence types were explained through the use of examples and metalinguistic terms. Then, students were asked to focus on including diverse sentence types in class activities or assignments.

For example, Larry wanted to make sure that his English 2 students, through a journal assignment, had acquired a particular grammatical item he had taught. After going over adverb clauses, which commonly appear in compound sentences, Larry required his students to “use them [adverb clauses] correctly” in their journals, and he marked “places in their writing where they could have used it, but they (...) misused it.” Other instructors addressed sentence patterns and lexico-grammatical items in their lessons, but they did not assign writing assignments that oriented toward a particular grammatical item or put much weight on grammatical issues.

The Hahn-ELP instructors' teaching approaches to sentence-level structures were, in a broad sense, commensurate to the conceptions of writing in guided composition. First of all, the instructors focused on reinforcing sentence level structures. Students were also guided through the use of example sentences or paragraphs to include the target structure in their writing (Matsuda, 2003). However, it should be noted that the instructors did not view writing solely as a means to reinforce grammar. Nor did they consider writing as having a subsidiary role in learning a language as strict structuralists or proponents of guided composition conceptualize it. As can be seen in Larry's assignment above, the instructors encouraged students to incorporate and learn the target item through writing, not through a model text prepared by the teachers. Under the Hahn-ELP instructors' approach to teaching language structures, we can see their underlying assumption that forms need to be treated through explicit instruction.

Process Writing

Part of the assumptions and principles underlying process writing was visible in the Hahn-ELP instructors' teaching practices, but their overall application of process writing in the classroom did not largely correspond to the instructional practices advocated by proponents of process writing (Raimes, 1991; Zamel, 1983). The adoption of multiple stages in completing high-stakes writing assignments was commonly practiced among the instructors. These assignments were sequenced by a series of steps: lesson on how to write a paper, pre-writing, drafting, instructor intervention through feedback and final version. Larry commented that through multiple drafting he wanted to "make writing as a process" because he thought many students had the perception that writing is just a one-time activity in which they write any way they want "with no thought at all about pre-writing or anything." Admitting his writing practices as an undergraduate student in the U.S. were similar, Larry wanted to change the perception of

writing among his students by going through a series of stages. Multi-staged writing was reported by all the instructor informants. According to them, it was typical that students submit their drafts and receive feedback at least from one source (their instructors and sometimes peers) before turning in their final versions.

Another influential idea in process writing, expressivism, was shared among some of the instructors. Ian expressed his preferences for assigning self-reflective topics especially in journal assignments through which students can “think critically... and reflect on their life.” Ian’s purpose of assigning journals was for his students to become familiar with writing and bringing their thoughts out on the paper without any concern for organization or linguistic accuracy. Journals were intended to be a means to explore rather philosophical topics that make students dwell on the meaning of a variety of significant life events, successes and failures. Their journals were letter-graded, but received full credit as long as they met the length requirement.

Despite the fact that multiple drafting was a common practice throughout the program, the Hahn-ELP instructors’ realization of “process” in their teaching, to a large extent, differed from its proponents who viewed form or organization as emerging while engaging in writing . According to Ian, when assigning a major writing assignment for his English 1 class, he began with a lecture about how to structure a paragraph with the intent of informing his students about a typical paragraph in academic writing. Then students were allowed multiple stages of revision. He described these stages of writing as:

They do their first draft in class and then they’ll write the second draft at home, and I will look at the second draft together, and then I will make some corrections. I’ll talk to them, guide them, and then they will go home and then they’ll make the final draft, then give it to me. And when they give it to me, they’ll give me three drafts. First, handwritten draft,

second, the draft that they wrote alone, then the third would be the one that we corrected together. (Second interview with Ian)

It is obvious from Ian's comments that his students were granted many opportunities to change or refine their writing. During the process, following a pre-determined structural format was the key (In a major writing assignment in his English 1 class, students were told to write eleven sentences that matches each rhetorical component of a paragraph such as thesis statement, main reason, and supporting sentence.) This shows a striking contrast to how Ian approached his journal assignment described above. Students were not asked to follow any structure or model in their journals.

Another divergence from the assumptions of process writing is related to the roles the instructors assumed in the whole writing process. All the teachers mentioned that they provided feedback, at least once, on student writing. The degree of intervention differed across the instructors, from an instructor who provided feedback on all student drafts to another who gave feedback at one particular stage. All of them, however, reported they tried to give a good amount of feedback primarily on organization and certain language forms. It was required that students not digress from the organizational pattern and linguistic forms they were initially taught. The instructor's feedback centered on whether the required pattern and forms were executed in ways the students were told. The instructors positioned themselves as more of an authority who decides a rhetorical pattern and a main reader who decides the direction of students' writing. Their roles did not align with those of guides or coaches who help students develop cognitive strategies and generate ideas without concerns for forms, which is conceived as one of the major tenets of process writing advocated by its proponents.

The pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing in the Hahn-ELP demarcated through the three frameworks I used illustrates that despite some idiosyncratic tendencies by individual instructors in teaching writing, there were common conceptions of writing shared by the instructors. Organizational patterns were of primary concern for all the instructors, and the five paragraph essay model, the quintessential pedagogical genre used in many writing classrooms, was employed as a model for students to master. The instructors interpreted and utilized process writing as an opportunity for students to execute the rhetorical pattern stipulated by the essay model and discourse modes. Arguably, it seems that communication in English was often associated with spoken English, and that writing was utilized as a tool to practice a pre-defined pattern under the direction of the teacher.

4.3 Comparisons of the two programs and discussion

In this section I compare directly, based on the findings in the previous sections, how the two language programs' conceptualizations of L2 writing are similar and different. The comparisons are made by delineating a range of contributing contextual factors in each setting that include linguistic ecology, educational policy, teacher backgrounds, and material conditions. I also discuss the findings by connecting them with earlier relevant studies. I conclude by suggesting pedagogical and policy implications.

4.3.1 Similarities in the conceptualization of L2 writing

Despite a wide range of striking differences in the way participants in the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP viewed and practiced L2 writing, there were some significant similarities in perspective between the programs. One corresponding perspective concerns the adoption of some of the tenets of process writing pedagogy. Instructors in both programs held the belief that writing is a "process" through which students can improve the quality of their textual product

over time rather than a “product” that occurs as a one-time activity. These teachers created an environment in which their students could invest their time and focus attention on varied aspects of their writing. Major writing assignments in both programs, therefore, were structured around a routinized sequence of writing stages. For example, teachers in the two programs employed a cycle of writing process activities that included most of the following steps: brainstorming, finding sources (only in the Southern-ELP), outlining, drafting, peer feedback, instructor feedback, and editing. The instructors believed the creation of a venue in which their students received formative feedback from diverse sources (instructor, peers and tutor) could raise awareness of areas needing improvement and assist them in the creation of an improved final written product. Students might also be able to develop the sense that writing is a complicated cognitive and social act that involves a range of cognitive strategies and guidance from competent peers and teachers.

It probably does not come as a surprise that some tenets of process writing pedagogy were adopted by Southern ELP instructors. These teachers developed theoretical and pedagogical expertise of L2 writing in North American settings where process writing is widely practiced and valued by many L2 writing practitioners including even those who view writing primarily as a social construct (Atkinson, 2003; Blanton et al, 2002). While many L2 writing scholars believed that it is important to consider social and ideological dimensions of L2 writing, they did not mean to imply that social views of L2 writing should replace process pedagogy. In other words, both social and cognitive conceptions of writing were considered critical by these practitioner scholars in delivering effective L2 writing pedagogy.

However, the adoption of a sequence of varied steps by all the Hahn instructors, most of whom had not experienced any coursework or practicum in L2 writing, suggests an increased

awareness among many L2 instructors that learning to write is a complex process involving a range of cognitive strategies and continuous idea refinement (Atkinson, 2003; Silva, 1990). One reason that these Hahn instructors incorporated the multi-staged writing process in their classrooms might be that the view that writing is an ongoing process rather than a one-time activity has become prevalent in commercial textbooks. A Hahn-ELP instructor, Kate, who began teaching writing without any teacher training on L2 writing, learned about process writing through ESL composition textbooks she referred to in our interviews. The most commonly used commercial L2 writing textbooks she gained access to all introduced process-oriented pedagogy as one of the taken-for-granted L2 writing approaches.

Another factor that facilitated the adoption of the process approach was perhaps related to material conditions. The enrollment caps of freshman English courses in these two settings were relatively small (22 at the Southern-ELP and 26 at the Hahn-ELP) compared with many academic settings around the globe that must accommodate a far larger number of students (Lee, 2011; You, 2005). The teachers in both settings wished they were allowed more time and had even fewer students so that they could support the development of their students' writing competence through the provision of more individualized feedback. However, by utilizing diverse strategies (e.g., individual conference and group consultation), the teachers were able to reach their students individually with formative feedback.

Another local material condition that made it possible to adopt process writing relates to the absence of high-stakes English testing (e.g., institutional exit writing tests as part of graduate requirements or government-mandated English tests) in both settings. The presence of such tests often discourages the adoption of process writing (You, 2004). When L2 writing instruction is implemented primarily because of governmental mandates that introduce high stakes tests,

teachers tend to take a formulaic approach focusing on teaching predefined organization and correcting linguistic errors with the belief that such an approach could heighten student performance on standardized tests (Tsui & Ng, 2010; You, 2004). The lack of constraints originating from test preparation goals probably made it possible for the two programs to implement multi-stage instruction in the completion of major writing assignments (Leki, 2001).

4.3.2 Differences in the conceptualization of L2 writing

Despite the similarities described above, the two ELP programs' understanding of L2 writing was not commensurate in many other aspects. First of all, the degree to which L2 writing was incorporated into the curriculum showed great discrepancies. Whereas L2 writing was taught through L2 sections of FYC courses to L2 writers at Southern University, L2 writing instruction in the Hahn-ELP was one part of a four-skill oriented curriculum for freshmen. At Hahn University, there was only one stand-alone English writing class offered as an elective while dozens of conversation and presentation classes were offered in order to support students' oral language development and presentation skills. These two different views on the significance of L2 writing instruction are primarily the result of the linguistic ecology at each institution.

As in most North American universities, writing was a prioritized linguistic modality at Southern University. Southern undergraduate students were expected to undertake numerous writing tasks and assignments during their undergraduate academic careers (Carter, 2007; Johns, 2008). The survey on writing demands conducted by some of the Southern instructors identified varied types of short exam questions and short essays Southern students would encounter in their general education courses.

Most Southern students, regardless of their majors, were also required to take two disciplinary classes designated as "critical thinking through writing courses" as well as the two

semester sequence composition courses. Writing was promoted as a tool to display and transform disciplinary knowledge by the initiative called *Writing Across the Curriculum* at Southern University. As the nomenclature indicates, the initiative functions on the assumption that “writing plays an indispensable role in developing critical thinking skills and learning discipline-specific content, as well as understanding and building competence in the modes of inquiry and dissemination specific to various disciplines and professions” (Writing Across the Curriculum at Southern University, n.d.). The assumption delineated in the preceding statement indicates that writing performs two essential functions in students’ learning, i.e., knowledge telling and knowledge transforming (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1987). First of all, Southern students are very likely to be asked, through writing, to retrieve what they learn and display it to their professors and peers. Writing is also regarded as a tool to construct new knowledge by interpreting, critiquing, and transforming given knowledge. From the Southern-ELP instructors’ perspectives, these critical roles assigned to writing in the university curriculum presented potential challenges for novice L2 academic writers striving to be socialized into their courses and disciplines. If writing had to be taught to L1 writers to ease them into academic socialization, then needs for writing for L2 students, many of whom might have less experiential resources in English writing, were at least similar or could be greater and more significant. The provision of FYC classes customized for L2 writers was a direct response to the linguistic ecology that placed great writing demands on the shoulders of L2 writers. The Southern-ELP’s primary focus on teaching L2 composition courses does not mean that its instructors did not realize the need to support their students with other literacy and linguistic skills such as listening, speaking and reading (as seen in offering L2 sections of Human Communication 100). Indeed, they were keenly aware of the diverse linguistic and literacy needs among their students and therefore the necessity to provide

corresponding pedagogical support (e.g., listening and speaking competence) for some international students. However, it was apparent that the Southern-ELP held the expectation that their students would be required to extensively communicate their ideas, knowledge and critical thinking through writing during their academic careers.

By contrast, the linguistic environment at Hahn University did not appear to lend itself to a similar level of need for L2 writing. In South Korea, English has no official status and is not widely adopted in governmental matters and business transactions within the country. The country did not experience colonization by an English-speaking country as happened in some Southeast Asian countries. Intercultural contact with people speaking other languages through the use of English, as observed in many Northern European contexts, is limited. For most Korean students, English is a “foreign” language that exists mainly within the walls of the language classroom but commands little presence in their everyday lives, probably except for their consumption of Anglo-culture through varied mass media and the Internet (Kim & Margolis, 2000).

The Hahn instructors believed that most of their students have limited access to English in their lives and that the scarce opportunities they experience to produce what they receptively learned (a set of syntactic rules and lexical items) has prevented them from developing general linguistic proficiency. These beliefs prompted them to prioritize the development of oral language in their freshman English courses. At the time of data collection, Hahn University offered approximately 25% of undergraduate classes in English,¹² but most Hahn-ELP instructors were not informed of this requirement, let alone students’ potential language-related

¹² In the recent decade, the role of English in the undergraduate curriculum became more significant than before at Hahn University because of the government’s policy mandate in the mid-2000’s that recommended Korean universities provide English-medium instruction in order to enhance the global reputation of Korean universities and attract scholars and students from overseas.

needs in their English medium instruction (EMI) courses. It appears that even if they were aware of the existence of EMI courses, the Hahn-ELP instructors probably would not have changed their aural/oral language oriented pedagogy especially in their freshman English courses. Kate, who happened to be informed of the policy by her students, wanted to further examine student needs in the English medium courses, but her belief that the development of oral language should be a focus in her freshman courses remained firm.

The lack of emphasis on writing in the Hahn-ELP corresponds to previous studies that reported a low priority in teaching literacy skills in English language programs at Korean universities (Chong & Kim, 2001; Kim, 2007; Kim & Margolis, 2001). Similar to the Hahn-ELP, these programs prioritized teaching general language development to freshman students. The linguistic environment where students are rarely immersed in the target language and therefore not afforded opportunities to develop general linguistic competence seems to contribute to the bias in favor of teaching L2 oral language. The Hahn instructors did not preclude writing from their teaching agendas, but writing received much less attention than aural/oral skills. The profile of Hahn elective courses also reflects the view, shared both by students and instructors, that the development of oral/presentation skills should be a primary goal in English learning. The Hahn instructors believed that presentation was “the actual job skill” necessary for their students’ careers. Some of the instructors reported that students in the upper division volunteered to take a presentation course as an elective because these students felt presentation skills would be essential in their professional careers. One of the instructors, Kate, reported that some of her students told her that their English medium courses required a presentation. Contrary to potential (or immediate for some students) pragmatic values assigned to spoken language, writing was rarely mentioned by the instructors in relation to immediate or future needs for their students.

Scant opportunities to improve oral/aural skills in their students' surroundings seem to be one of the critical factors that determined the limited writing instruction provided in the Hahn-ELP.

Another linguistic "scene" that appeared to explain lack of L2 writing instruction in the Hahn-ELP was the university's perception of the important role of Korean writing. The university's commitment to teaching L1 academic writing was evident in the university curriculum and policy. All Hahn freshmen were required to take a Korean class called "Reading and Writing" (analogous to FYC for freshmen at most U.S. universities), which focused on "understanding varied aspects of good writing, building foundations of academic writing, and developing effective writing strategies" (The Syllabus of Reading and Writing at Hahn University). Across all the Reading and Writing sections, students were asked to write article and book reviews as well as an academic essay. While completing these assignments, they progressed, under the guidance of their professor and graduate teaching assistant, through a series of stages including drafts, written feedback, individual conference and revision (The Syllabus of Reading and Writing at Hahn University). In addition to the required freshman Korean course, the Korean and philosophy departments offered various classes within the general education program that aimed to promote Hahn students' critical thinking and writing skills. Hahn University Press also published discipline-specific writing resource books that introduced Hahn University students to diverse types of written genres in which students would need to engage while taking disciplinary courses (e.g., the inclusion of lab reports and research articles in the writing resource book for students in natural sciences). The university's admission policy that reflects preferences toward students with a high level of competence in their L1 seems to encourage many Hahn students, before being accepted into Hahn, to develop academic writing skills in Korean. The university seemed to be aware of the significance of L1 writing and

was committed to providing the continuous support for L1 writing development among Hahn students. This lack of attention to L2 academic literacy is presumed to be a result of the considerable demands on L1 writing across the university curriculum and perceived criticality of Korean writing in students' professional careers. Even though the university offered 25% of undergraduate courses in English, Hahn students took the majority of their undergraduate courses in Korean. The linguistic environment at the university could explain the lack of primacy assigned to writing in teaching English.

Emphasis on learning-to-write in L1 as witnessed in the Hahn-ELP is increasingly observed at many Korean universities in the recent decade (Jung, 2014; Na, 2011). A growing number of universities have offered Korean writing courses that intend to assist Korean university freshmen with their general L1 writing skills and to address writing demands of their coursework (Jung, 2014; Na, 2011). Diverse perspectives regarding L1 writing and a debate regarding the main goals of Korean writing courses among L1 compositionists have been presented in the Korean writing literature (Jung, 2014). Interests in teaching L1 writing and increasing scholarly work in L1 writing, as evidenced in the existence of two L1 writing journals and conferences, indicate that there is recognition among many Korean universities that learning-to-write in L1 is critical in students' academic and professional careers.

The overall linguistic scenes at Hahn University and other Korean universities described above seem exceptional considering the recent L2 writing literature that often reports the scarcity of writing instruction in L1 and the new trend of increasing L2 writing instruction in many non-English dominant settings (Casanave, 2009; Leki, 2001; Reichelt, 2005; Reichelt et al., 2011; Victori, 1999). In contrast to these other contexts, university-wide support to promote learning-to-write in L2 was not identified at Hahn University and many other Korean universities except

for a couple of elite Korean universities that offer virtually all courses in English (Cho, 2006; Lee, 2015). This reality raises a case in point pertaining to the role of L2 writing at Hahn University as well as at other universities in a similar context (i.e., EFL university settings in which learning subject matter occurs both in a local language and English). Some L2 writing scholars claim that L2 undergraduate writers in non-English dominant settings need support for the development of L2 academic literacy especially in contexts where EMI courses are at least partially introduced (Cheng, 2016). However, often missing in discussing the necessity of EAP-oriented writing instruction are the respective roles of L1 and L2 in students' learning and careers (Gentil, 2006). When students have limited exposure to and proficiency in English, and their subject matter instructors' primary language is not English,¹³ the nature and range of academic literacy in L2 would likely be different from literacy demands in English dominant settings. Without understanding a local linguistic ecology that could explain links and interactions between a locally dominant language(s) and English, it would be challenging to offer effective L2 writing instruction for students who use English as an additional language.

Not only were there different amounts of emphasis on writing instruction across the two programs, but each program's conceptualization of L2 writing was also divergent in many respects. The Southern-ELP linked L2 writing instruction with academic tasks that the instructors thought their students would encounter in their coursework. This means that writing pedagogy in the Southern-ELP was aligned with EGAP and ESP perspectives, which led the instructors to assign elemental genres (e.g., problem-solution, exposition, and argument) that they believed were essential across the undergraduate curriculum. By contrast, writing was viewed mainly as a linguistic and textual product in the Hahn-ELP. This program's writing

¹³ Professors who teach English medium courses in Korean contexts often speak English as an additional language (Byun et al, 2011).

pedagogy reflects EGAP orientation in that it covered a generic textual organization (e.g., a deductive five paragraph essay pattern). However, it should be noted that even though the same label (EGAP) can be used to describe the pedagogical orientation of both the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP, each program's understanding of academic writing showed great variance. More specifically, the Hahn-ELP's conceptions of academic writing were confined primarily to one aspect of writing, organizational pattern, while the acquisition of key elemental genres and academic literacy tasks were the focus of writing instruction in the Southern-ELP.

These incongruent conceptions of writing across the two settings appear to be related to the linguistic ecology in each setting, as explained earlier. The Southern-ELP's writing instruction, because it served mainly L2 undergraduates who were required to display and transform subject matter knowledge through the use of L2, focused on academic literacy demands. The linguistic environment encountered by their students offered a straightforward goal for the Southern instructors. By contrast, the needs for L2 writing were not clearly identified or communicated to the instructors in the Hahn-ELP. Lack of familiarity with the complex linguistic ecology that students encountered appeared to prevent the Hahn instructors from exploring alternative ways of teaching L2 writing by possibly utilizing writing as a tool to improving speaking or by teaching L2 academic writing based on the understanding of what Hahn students are capable of doing in their L1 (Korean) writing.

A second factor presumed to contribute to the different views held on L2 writing relates to the "cultures" of teaching in each program (Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995; Yang & Gao, 2013). In the Southern-ELP, the instructors had training in teaching L2 writing and years of experience in teaching courses devoted to L2 writing. Full-time instructors were involved in developing curricula of writing courses and training the faculty across the university to guide

them to better serve L2 students in content courses. All the GTAs (doctoral students in applied linguistics who had previous experience with teaching L2 writing) spoke of their extensive training as L2 writing teachers during their graduate program(s) in which they observed experienced teachers, took L2 writing methodology courses, and/ or taught several writing-related courses. The Southern-ELP's writing curriculum encompassed principles from various pedagogical approaches. The instructors commented on their flexibility, within the periphery of established curricular goals and objectives, to combine different approaches depending on student populations and backgrounds in each of their classes. Some instructors termed their teaching approaches as "eclectic" in the sense that they incorporated assumptions and principles from different theories and approaches while maintaining basic tenets of genre informed approaches as the axis of their pedagogy. Some of the Southern focal participants spoke of the popularity of genre theories and genre-based pedagogies during their academic and professional careers. Beth and Ken reported one of their teaching goals as equipping their students with a tool to analyze genres (with a focus on rhetorical patterns) so that their students would be able to handle new rhetorical situations through the use of the analytic tool. ESP move analysis and elemental genres in the Sydney School they were exposed to as students and teacher learners impacted their views of L2 writing. Other instructors did not identify their approaches in specific terms, but they also taught elemental genres and their rhetorical features explicitly.

While the Southern-ELP instructors identified themselves as enthusiastic L2 writing instructors, the Hahn-ELP instructors possessed strong backgrounds in "language" teaching. Most of them had previously taught conversational English at high schools and/or private language schools before they were employed in the Hahn-ELP. Their training in certificate programs and experiential resources as teachers of spoken English translated into the

instructional practices they utilized in the Hahn-ELP. When teaching spoken English, the Hahn instructors made attempts to change students' orientation toward learning and their lack of confidence as English users. The instructors believed that Hahn students' previous learning was unidirectional – knowledge is transmitted to learners from the teacher. Therefore, they considered learner-centered learning as a very important pedagogical goal. They were sensitive to their students' English learning backgrounds and the impact of these backgrounds on students' attitudes and motivation toward learning. The instructors therefore did not focus on linguistic accuracy, but they instead created venues in which students could express themselves without worrying much about linguistic accuracy. The instructors were careful not to emphasize lexico-grammatical issues in oral activities because they believed that overemphasis on form could discourage their students from engaging in oral activities.

In contrast to their rich experiences and expertise in teaching oral skills, most Hahn teachers had never taught writing in their previous teaching settings, and their graduate programs (English literature, theoretical linguistics, history education and performance studies) did not provide them with training on teaching L2 writing. Their sources of pedagogical support often came from materials shared by colleagues with more experience in the program and commercially available ESL textbooks. Commercial textbooks and online resources provided them with ideas on how to teach writing. For example, one ESL writing series that some instructors found very useful became a basis of their understanding of teaching L2 writing¹⁴. The series viewed L2 writing as mastering a quintessential organizational pattern and several discourse modes. Therefore, the series, based on the underlying principles of current traditional rhetoric, began with a single paragraph in its lower level book and progressed to multiple

¹⁴ The series was the best-selling English writing book in major Korean online bookstores. One of the higher level books of the series was also adopted by Hank in his Intermediate English Writing course.

paragraphs and finally to five-paragraph essays. These sources of teaching informed and reinforced their views of writing as a linguistic and textual product. Discrepancies in pedagogical and experiential resources in teaching each of the speaking and writing modalities resulted in rather divergent approaches in the Hahn-ELP: learner-oriented and fluency focused pedagogy in teaching speaking, and structuralist and formulaic approaches in writing pedagogy.

The different views on L2 writing in each program reflect the distinct local cultures (Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995; Yang & Gao, 2013). Teachers who have gone through similar experiences in the same geo-historical context are likely to form compatible pedagogical conceptions and thus adopt approaches parallel to each other. When a majority of one's colleagues treat generic organizational patterns and discourse modes as crucial aspects of L2 writing, novice writing teachers would likely develop the sense that teaching L2 writing is a matter of organizing sentences and paragraphs and that learners' writing development progresses from a sentence to paragraph and then to the five-paragraph structure. The two teacher groups' differing perspectives on L2 writing indicate the dominant role of teaching cultures.

The Hahn-ELP instructors' teaching approaches are parallel to those employed by L2 instructors at several other Korean universities documented in the literature (Cho, 2006; Lee & Schallert, 2008). Although these studies did not focus on teaching approaches, assignments and student writing samples in these studies indicate that the instructors assigned argumentative personal essays that required students to adopt the five-paragraph essay pattern. This is further support for the idea that the pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing is influenced by a range of contextual factors including linguistic ecology in the institution, material conditions, and teacher expertise in writing theory and pedagogy.

4.3.3 Implications for teacher education and policy

The findings of the chapter indicate gaps in L2 writing teacher preparation and institutional policy. The backgrounds of the Hahn-ELP instructors suggest a pressing need for teacher education programs to incorporate L2 writing theory and practice in addition to preparation of L2 teachers to address aural/oral language. In many post-secondary teaching contexts including foundation programs and Intensive English Programs in English dominant countries, and English language programs at universities in non-English dominant contexts, English language teachers are often required to teach all of the four traditional linguistic modalities in the same course although the primacy of oral language skills is prevalent. Many L2 teachers, as documented in the current study and the literature, are not sufficiently exposed to L2 writing theory and research let alone gaining teaching or practicum experience as a teacher learner (Ferris et al, 2011; Lee, 2010). Even though some of the Hahn-ELP instructors had gone through L2 teacher certificate programs, they reported that writing pedagogy was not a focus of these programs. The lack of theoretical and experiential resources led them to depend primarily on popular ESL writing books. This supports the claim by L2 writing teacher educators (Hirvela & Belcher, 2007; Lee, 2013), that numerous “language” teachers undertake teaching L2 writing without adequate theoretical and experiential resources. Whether an L2 writing methodology course should be required for all teacher learners could be a topic of contention, as pointed out by Casanave (2009), because there would still be many contexts, especially non-English dominant settings, in which L2 writing is not considered a primary concern in teaching. However, L2 teacher programs need to find a way to integrate basic theory and pedagogy of L2 writing within their teacher education curricula so that teacher learners would be informed of a range of pedagogical options they could choose from and combine in treating L2 writing.

Another implication of the findings for teacher education is that EAP-oriented pedagogy, especially learning-to-write orientation, might not be sufficient to address the varied local, though often unclear, purposes of L2 writing in some settings. The role of L2 writing for students' lives, when writing instruction targets primarily the writing demands in academia, could be relatively straightforward (e.g., North American universities), but a main reason to learn L2 writing, in many other settings, might not be obvious. In some non-English dominant settings, government mandated high-stakes tests often drive many universities to offer L2 writing instruction (Cheng, 2016; Leki, 2001; Reichelt, 2005; You, 2004). In some universities in which EMI courses are only partially offered, and therefore students' disciplinary knowledge is still acquired mainly through L1, the role of L2 writing might not be parallel to that identified in English dominant settings. Transplanting EAP-oriented writing pedagogical approaches developed in English dominant settings might not be the best option in these contexts. It appears that teacher learners, especially those who would like to teach L2 in diverse global contexts, need a range of pedagogical resources that could help them deal with varied writing demands in different contexts.

One area that teacher educators can address to help teacher learners adapt to these varied writing demands includes an expanded conception of L2 writing. This conception is not limited to a learning-to-write perspective but considers the writing-to-learn language perspective that acknowledges the critical role of writing in the development of language (Manchón & Roca de Larios, 2011; Ortega, 2009; Rubin & Kang, 2008). The conception of writing as inseparable from oral language production is relevant to numerous tertiary contexts around the world. In these settings the improvement of linguistic proficiency is a primary goal for language learning, and underdeveloped linguistic competence could become a major challenge for many L2 writers

to engaging in extended L2 written discourse. Theory and pedagogical scholarship documented in the literature as well as teacher training materials in L2 writing have been developed with independent L2 writing courses in English dominant contexts in mind. In addition to introducing and discussing the possibility of adapting these established EAP approaches to non-English dominant settings, teacher educators could address the inherent connection between the two linguistic modalities (speaking and writing) and the possibilities of addressing oral and writing skills in tandem (Hirvela & Belcher, 2016; Williams, 2008). Teacher educators can inform teacher learners of the complementary roles the two skills have in many written and spoken genres and the possibilities to address interconnected oral and written genres in the same L2 course. For L2 undergraduate students who are required to make in-class presentations in their English medium courses, a detailed advance script might often be a necessary step because many of them would find it challenging to deliver a presentation without drafting (and perhaps re-drafting) such a script. Journal writing, a potentially effective means through which to generate “pushed output” by trying out diverse lexico-grammatical items, might also help intermediate-level undergraduate students increase productive vocabulary and linguistic fluency (Swain & Lapkin, 2002). There would be numerous ways to combine oral and written tasks and genres when instructors examine a genre system within their academic and professional settings (Tardy, 2003).

Another implication this study provides for teacher education is that teacher expertise about contexts develops over time while teachers make an effort to understand particular student needs in the classroom setting. For instance, Kate’s increasing awareness of student needs and understanding of linguistic environment at Hahn University was due to her critical reflection on her students’ needs and her investigation of roles L2 writing plays in their lives through needs

analysis. This suggests that the inclusion of reflection in a teacher education or practicum course could be essential in helping teacher learners become reflective teachers and eventually increase the knowledge about their teaching context. The expertise on contexts could prompt teachers to come up with effective ways to address local needs for L2 writing.

The findings of the chapter also provide implications for English language program administrators and policy-makers. One of the greatest challenges teachers of L2 writing encounter, as some of the Hahn instructors did, concerns a lack of “principled justification” for teaching L2 writing (Leki, 2001). Without knowing specific purposes for teaching L2 writing, and, more broadly, for teaching English, the instructors would likely turn to popular approaches (e.g., discourse modes and the five-paragraph theme) adopted by their teaching culture and promoted by commercial textbooks. A lack of guidance provided in the teaching of L2 writing could also become a source of frustration or result in waning enthusiasm of teachers (Lee, 2010). This paucity of guidance could be interpreted by them as a lack of interest in L2 education by the university that hired them. The first step administrators of English language programs and people involved in institutional policy-making could take is to conduct a needs analysis at their particular university (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1998). Target situation analysis in EAP and/or EOP (English for Occupational Purposes) that included multiple levels of stakeholders (students, L2 teachers, content course instructors, and future employers) could help illuminate the gaps students have in L2 writing as well as current and future needs in various target situations (Long, 2005). When this type of extensive needs analysis is not an option, as might be the case for many settings with scant financial or human resources, ELP administrators and policy-making university officials should make every effort to inform ELP instructors of university-wide policy mandates and data related to student career choices that could help to decide on the direction of

L2 writing instruction. After identifying the needs and sharing university-wide policy relevant to L2 writing instruction, an ELP administrator could decide, with the consultation of instructors, on the pedagogical focus of L2 writing. This step is significant because needs for L2 writing in many settings might be wide-ranging – EAP in coursework, specific needs in future workplaces, needs for high-stakes writing tests, little or no practical need for public writing or a combination of the above. Since it would not be feasible to accommodate all these complex needs in one or two English classes, English language programs might have to choose a particular direction and make a principled justification for it.

To conclude, this investigation of the conceptualizations of L2 writing in the Southern-ELP and Hahn-ELP identified dissimilar pedagogical orientation and practices between them. These divergences appear to originate from a range of contextual factors in each setting including linguistic ecology, educational policy, teacher backgrounds, and material conditions. The findings of this study suggest the need to view L2 writing from perspectives that include not only EAP but also EOP and the language learning potential that can be realized through writing. ELP administrators and university officials, with the collaboration of language teachers, should strive to identify target needs and make informed decisions related to the goals and purposes of teaching L2 writing.

5 STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF L2 WRITING NEED

In this chapter, I address the second research question: What are L2 writers' perceptions of need for L2 writing in these two contextually different programs? In what ways are these perceptions similar or different within and across the two programs? I first describe students' perceived need for L2 writing in each setting by focusing on the (non-)changes that result from receiving L2 writing instruction for a semester. When reporting the perceived need of each

group, I adopt a frame of reference in each setting that accounts for diversity among students in terms of their educational backgrounds, L1 and L2 language learning experiences, and socio-economic resource levels. Focal participants in each setting are classified into three groups according to their background characteristics. I first introduce focal participants' backgrounds using the frame of reference delineated above, and then describe their perceived need for L2 writing at the beginning of the semester. Finally, I report on the evolution or lack of change related to their perceived need as it existed toward the end of the semester. Data sources for this chapter are a student survey on language learning background (see Appendix G), interviews and writing samples (with instructor feedback).

5.1 Southern-ELP students' perceptions of L2 writing need

The current section reports perceptions of L2 writing need among seven focal participants in the Southern-ELP: five from Beth's English Composition 101 and two from Ken's English Composition 102. L2 students in the Southern-ELP include students "whose first language to which they were exposed in the home as young children is not English" (Ferris, 2009, p. 4). The Southern instructors defined L2 students broadly because they encountered some U.S. born L2 students who did not have extensive exposure to English literacy because of their linguistic environments and socio-economic backgrounds.

My individual interaction with students and the instructors' descriptions of their students' backgrounds indicated that Southern-ELP students came from diverse linguistic, cultural, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Institutional discourse about these students often classified them into two categories: international students and resident students. The instructors often talked about diversity among L2 resident students that ranged from those who were born in the United States, to those who arrived as children and to students who came during high school.

This institutional discourse on Southern-ELP students matched Ferris' (2009) framework to classify L2 college writers into three categories: international students, late-arriving resident students and early-arriving resident students. Her frame is a useful, convenient one that facilitates the understanding of L2 writer diversity in a structured way. The framework categorizes L2 undergraduate writers across U.S. colleges and universities into three groups: international students, late-arriving immigrant students and early-arriving immigrant students. Table 5.1 is a replication of her framework that summarizes each group's demographic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Table 5.1 Ferris' (2009) Comparisons of the L2 Writer Populations

Characteristic	International	Late-Arriving Immigrant	Early-Arriving Immigrant
Literate in L1	Yes	Maybe	Maybe
Primary cultural identification	L1	Mostly L1	L2
Knowledge of L2 culture	No	Some	Yes
L2 literacy experience	Limited	Limited	Extensive (but not always effective)
Socioeconomic status	Upper-middle-class to wealthy	Working class	Working to middle class
Motivation to learn English	For instrumental purposes	For integrative and survival purposes	Like monolingual English speakers

International students or visa holding students from a foreign country decide to pursue their postsecondary degrees in the United States to expand their academic and career prospects. They tend to have privileged family backgrounds that make it possible to send them overseas (Reid, 1997). They possess well-developed literacy skills in their L1, but their experience with L2 literacy is often limited. Students from East Asia who comprise the majority of the

international student population in the United States (Open Doors, 2015) typically learn English as a foreign language mostly limited to the classroom setting in which they typically learn grammar and translate short reading passages. Therefore, they often do have metalinguistic awareness of English as a syntactic system. Because of admission requirements in English language proficiency, international students are exposed to academic English, but often have not read, spoken or written extensively in English. English learning needs for them are instrumental rather than integrative (Finegan, 1999). That means that these students might view English as a tool for accomplishing their academic and professional goals rather than having a desire to be socially and culturally integrated into the L2 community (Ferris, 2009).

U.S. educated L2 students are divided into two groups according to their length of stay in the target language setting: late-arriving immigrant students are those who “intend to reside permanently in the U.S. and who arrived after age 10 and/or who have been in the U.S. fewer than eight years” whereas early-arriving immigrant students are those who “were born in the U.S. to immigrant parents, who arrived in the U.S. prior to age 10, or who have been in the U.S. eight years or longer” (p. 4, Ferris, 2009). Following Holten (2002) and Collier’s (1989) proposal that it would take at least seven to eight years for a newcomer to acquire academic literacy skills in order to function in an L2 school setting, Ferris suggested eight years as a dividing line to distinguish the two groups of students. There is perhaps more variation in the educational and literacy backgrounds among late-arriving immigrant students than the international student group discussed in the previous paragraph because of a huge variety of immigrant groups entering the United States: financially wealthy families, those who moved for better economic opportunities from under-resourced countries, and political refugees who involuntarily moved to the United States (Roberge, Siegal & Harklau, 2009). Therefore, their level of L1 literacy can be wide-

ranging, and previous exposure to L2 literacy would range from none to limited. Many of them would retain strong association with their L1 language and culture, but would have pressing needs to improve their L2 language fluency and academic literacy to be able to live and work permanently in their host country.

The final group, early-arriving immigrant students who were born or have lived more than eight years in the United States, associate themselves with both L1 and L2 cultures and languages. They often possess native or “native-like” oral fluency in English, but because of less exposure to academic language than their mainstream peers, they often find it challenging to handle tasks and assignments that require strong academic literacy skills. Many of these students have similar expectations and goals to those of mainstream American students related to their academic language especially when they consider the United States as their home and identify themselves as American.

As Ferris (2009) warns, these descriptions of each group are generalizations based on the literature, and not every L2 writer can be neatly classified into one of the groups. Assigning each of the Southern-ELP students into one of these categories does not mean that a student who belongs to a particular group has all the characteristics offered by the framework. Within each group, variation in students’ socio-economic, cultural and educational backgrounds exists. As will be reported in this chapter, these different characteristics impact students’ attitudes, perceived needs and conceptions toward L2 writing. With these caveats in mind, the framework can be a basis to understand L2 writers’ extremely diverse backgrounds, goals and conceptions related to L2 writing.

The Southern-ELP director and instructors reported that there was a great diversity in student population in each and every class they had taught. They encountered a mix of

international, late-arriving immigrant, early-arriving immigrant and mainstream L1 students in the same classroom, but the ratios of each group differed across the courses.

5.1.1 Southern student backgrounds

Table 5.2 introduces the seven focal participants' demographic information and English learning backgrounds: Five students from Beth's English Composition 101 and two students from Ken's English Composition 102.

Table 5.2 Focal Participant Characteristics

	English Composition 101					English Composition 102	
Name	Min	Bo	Susie	Amanda	Floyd	Jason	Alex
Gender	F	F	F	F	M	M	M
Year in university	3 rd	3 rd	1 st	1 st	1 st	1 st	1 st
Major	Biology	Biology	Accounting	Psychology	Business	Undecided	Biology
Years in L2 setting	Newly arrived	Newly arrived	3	11	Born in the U.S.	Born in the U.S.	Born in the U.S.
First language	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Korean	Hmong	Korean	Bengali
English learning background	International	International	Late-arriving	Early-arriving	Early-arriving	Early-arriving	Early-arriving

Min and Bo were international students from China who had just arrived in the United States to complete their dual degree program between their Chinese university and Southern University. They had completed two years of their biology program at the Chinese university and entered the biology program at Southern University as juniors. All their courses in China were offered in Chinese with the exception of one course¹⁵, and it was a new experience for them to take all their courses in English. As new international students at Southern University, they were required to take a two-semester composition sequence (English Composition 101 and English

¹⁵ They took one English-medium biology course taught by a Southern University faculty member before coming to the United States.

Composition 102), American history, and U.S. government as general education requirements in addition to their biology courses. Both of them reported they learned English through the grammar-translation method in their secondary schools. Min spoke of lack of opportunities to improve her communicative competence during her schooling in China. Bo talked about similar English learning experiences to what Min had, but her interests in Anglo-culture led her to pursue other opportunities to improve her oral fluency. Bo, as a high school student, enrolled in a for-profit after-school program in which opportunities to engage in conversational English were provided. She also reported that she had been watching American TV shows since high school. As her experience would suggest, Bo showed higher fluency in her speaking than other new international students during interviews. Both Min and Bo shared challenges they experienced when studying for the TOEFL in China because of their unfamiliarity with L2 academic discourse and lack of L2 academic vocabulary. They found their TOEFL test-prep experience helpful because the test prompted them to begin to acquire academic vocabulary and improve their reading and listening skills. However, without enough exposure to academic discourse other than a short period of test-preparation, they felt they were not ready for the academic literacy demands at a U.S. university. Min talked about the challenges she faced in her courses including fast-paced lectures, numerous unfamiliar academic vocabulary items and class discussions. Bo also reported that she lacked sufficient competency in English reading and writing. Since both of them wanted to pursue a graduate degree in the United States they expressed urgent needs to improve their academic English.

When queried in their first interviews about their English learning goals, they expressed strong needs to improve their overall linguistic competence in English: listening, speaking, and writing for Min, and reading and writing for Bo. Min and Bo reported that they did not have

extensive L1 writing experience other than timed writing in their Chinese language arts classes in high school. This in-class writing was intended to prepare them for high-stakes tests. During two years of study at their Chinese university, they were rarely asked to write papers or essays either in L1 or L2. They did not report process-oriented writing experience that involved drafts and customized feedback. Despite their determination to improve overall linguistic competence in English, Min and Bo were not enthusiastic about their experience with extended writing of an academic nature either in L1 and L2. Bo explained her Chinese writing experience in high school:

I like to write personal diary. But I don't like to write papers. (...) And I am bad at writing. I can write very few sentences. I can just express my idea with simple structure of sentence, something like that. So I don't like writing. In the high school [Chinese language arts] teachers teach you how to organize the paragraphs. And lot of feedback were to tell me my examples can't support my thesis, the paragraph may include necessary or unnecessary information, or I just (...) repeated thesis, not support them.

(Second interview with Bo)

Bo reported she engaged in keeping personal journals, but she did not enjoy writing assignments that required her to support her main idea or argument with evidence. When she commented, "I don't like to write papers," "papers" referred to timed-essays or occasional take-home essays in her Chinese language arts classes. Bo seemed to perceive extended writing as belonging mainly to language classes probably because it was only in Chinese language arts courses and during related tests that she was asked to produce extended written prose. Min also expressed no interest and lack of confidence in school-sponsored writing. Both of them at the beginning of their first semester expressed the desire to improve the general English language skills that they considered necessary for their academic success in the new country. On the other

hand, they seemed to view writing as important because of the required composition courses and its impact on their GPA rather than critical for their academic enculturation. Without much experience with writing outside of Chinese language courses, they did not link writing with learning disciplinary knowledge or enculturation into their discipline.

Susie, a freshman majoring in accounting, was the only late-arriving immigrant student among the focal participants. Susie called herself a “math and science” person, and did not report any self-sponsored reading and writing either in Chinese or English other than her occasional posts in a Chinese Social Network Services (SNS) website to stay connected with her friends in China. According to Susie, essays she practiced in her Chinese middle school often required her to respond to the teachings of ancient Chinese scholars such as Confucius and emphasize a moral message. These types of writing were different from what she was asked to do in her American high school, which often required her “personal thoughts and opinions.” Susie reported that she needed improvement in a range of English language skills including speaking, writing, and grammar. After experiencing her high school classes requiring L2 language competence and culturally embedded knowledge of the host country (e.g., English literature, history, and political system), Susie expected challenges in her general education courses including FYC courses at Southern University. Despite her lack of interest in extended academic writing, Susie viewed competence in academic writing and presentation as necessary for her academic and professional success. Her determination to improve her language skills and academic literacy was apparent in our first interview that occurred a few weeks after Susie began her university life. She had already experienced difficulty with assigned readings in her freshman seminar because of numerous Anglo-culture specific concepts and terms that prevented her from understanding

implied meanings. These readings, in her opinion, were written with only American-born students in mind.

Susie listed varied factors that contributed to her challenges in L2 writing: from understanding assigned readings to lack of linguistic resources to draw upon. Grammar was cited as her weakness in writing, and the great amount of processing time needed to translate her ideas into English was an obstacle as well. Because of her high school experience in the United States, Susie seemed to be in the process of developing her own sense of Anglophone academic culture that is different from her perceived Chinese educational experience. To Susie, teachers in her American high school often asked her to “express your [her] opinion” and “want[ed] to communicate with you [her]” through class discussion and occasionally in writing assignments whereas she was rarely given these types of opportunities in her Chinese middle school. Susie hoped to improve her general English language skills, but she was also aware that competence in academic writing was critical in her undergraduate career.

Unlike the international and late-arriving students, the early-arriving students from Beth’s English 101 class, Amanda and Floyd, did not report any challenges that came from lack of general linguistic skills. Amanda was born in Korea and moved to the United States when she was in first grade. During her first few years in the United States, she acquired English quickly and was able to keep up with her peers in most school subjects. Despite all of her U. S. schooling occurring in English, her primary language outside school settings had always been Korean. Her parents taught her how to write in Korean, and she read Korean books as a child. Since her family moved into a large Korean enclave, Amanda’s circle of friends had been mainly Koreans. There were few occasions that she needed to use English outside of school. Amanda said she was probably more fluent in Korean than in English and felt “more comfortable” in the Korean

language and culture. Her writing on SNS and texts was mainly in Korean, and most of the websites she frequented were Korean ones. She was clearly a self-identified writer of Korean in her self-sponsored writing. Furthermore, Amanda commented that Korean sometimes played an important role in her L2 writing. To my question on the role of Korean in her academic writing, Amanda answered:

Yang: In academic writing, do you ever think in Korean?

Amanda: Well, sometimes (...) it's better for me to think of it, write it in Korean first, and then translate to English.

Yang: Oh, really. So that happens often?

Amanda: Not often but if it's like a subject that I am really passionate about, I have to write in Korean first. (...) I get more ideas. (...) when you have to write an essay [for college admission] (...) because it is like a personal story, (...) I wrote that in Korean first. Then I started to translate it in English (...) because Korean is more comfortable for me, and then it's easier for me to express my ideas more. There're words for those in Korean (...) that you can say, but (...) not in English. So, that's why (...) I think about it first in Korean. (First interview with Amanda)

These comments show the important role of her first language in her L2 writing. It appears that her L1 was a critical means for Amanda to write “personal stories” and topics that she felt “passionate about.” The bicultural and biliterate resources from her rich cultural and linguistic experiences in the Korean community and Korean media provided important support as she engaged in certain types of L2 writing. Because of her loyalty to the Korean community and culture, Amanda reported that she would continue to use and develop her Korean literacy skills.

As a fluent speaker of English, Amanda did not experience the same challenges that derive from lack of general linguistic proficiency as did the international and late-arriving students, but she did not view herself as a strong academic writer. Her high school English and history courses provided her opportunities to write extended written prose often in the form of in-class timed-writing, but she reported receiving unsatisfactory scores with little detailed feedback. Lack of feedback made her feel frustrated since she did not know how to improve. She enrolled in an AP English course as a high school senior, but felt she did “not belong to the class.” Readings and class discussion were abstract and deeply embedded in the Anglophone culture, and thus not easily accessible to someone who grew up as an immigrant. Amanda had to drop the course. For similar reasons to Susie’s, Amanda did not show enthusiasm about taking general education courses such as English 101, American history and American government. She expected that she would be in a disadvantageous position in these courses. Her previous high school sponsored writing did not seem to allow her to view herself as a competent and confident L2 writer, and she was cognizant of the needs to improve her academic writing,

Floyd, born in the United States to a refugee family, grew up speaking only his home language, Hmong, until he began to attend kindergarten. Without extensive exposure to English as a child, he reported similar challenges to Amanda’s. Despite his successful completion of many high school AP courses such as math, biology and statistics, English had been his weakest subject throughout his pre-college educational experience. Even though after a few years of schooling, his primary language switched from Hmong to English, Floyd said he encountered many challenges in English. He described challenges in his high school English classes:

My spelling and grammar were usually good, but it was just that my academic voice wasn't there, such as like sounding smart, I guess. Sometimes like my development of ideas wasn't as good as it should be. (First interview with Floyd)

As the comments illustrate, the acquisition of mechanics and grammar was not a challenge for Floyd, but he thought he did not know how to present himself as a “smart” academic writer with “my [his] academic voice.” Floyd attributed his challenges in academic writing to his lack of extensive reading experiences and few opportunities to learn English in his home environment. Despite his perceived challenges in writing, Floyd expressed a strong motivation to become a writer who “sounds smart.” He saw writing as necessary not only to successful completion of coursework in college, but also in his chosen professional business career. Even though English became his primary language, other than communicating with his parents, in most domains of his life, Floyd showed determination to keep his linguistic and cultural heritage by the continuous use and improvement of Hmong. He explained that he exchanged text messages in Hmong with his father through which he tried to improve his Hmong writing skills. He did not see any role of Hmong in his academic writing, but he commented that he “would not let English dominate me [him]” and wanted to “stay Hmong.”

The early arriving students, Jason and Alex, from English Composition 102, viewed themselves as more confident writers of English than the other informants. Because of the credits both of them earned in AP English in high school, they received exemption from the first composition course, English Composition 101, and enrolled in the second course, English Composition 102. Like Floyd, they grew up in immigrant families in which they first learned their native language Korean (for Jason) and Bengali (for Alex) and later became exposed to English during kindergarten. Jason said he was a fluent speaker and reader of Korean. He also

tried to improve his Korean writing skills because of his role as a translator for his parents and relatives, and his commitment to serve in the Korean community (e.g., writing documents in Korean for his church related activities). Alex, on the other hand, reported that he understood Bengali well, but sometimes found it hard to use it accurately. He said English became the stronger language in all domains of his life in the United States. For him, there were no opportunities to use Bengali other than conversing with his parents.

Jason reported his experiences with diverse types of writing in high school. While taking Advanced Placement (AP) courses in English, history and science, he was given opportunities to write argumentative essays, data based question or DBQ¹⁶ tasks, and literary analyses mainly through in-class timed writing. He believed that because a few teachers in his high school provided feedback on organization and style, he was able to improve his writing and pass his AP English. Jason commented that he still made grammatical errors, and found it challenging to write strong introductions and conclusions.

Alex, according to his report, appeared to have the greatest amount of school-sponsored reading and writing experiences among all focal participants. Through his AP classes in English, history, social studies and science, he read widely diverse genres such as novels, poems, biographies and newspaper editorials. Writing tasks based on these reading sources asked him to summarize and synthesize them, as well as present his interpretation or argument. It was challenging for him in the beginning to deal with such complex academic literacy tasks, but he commented that he became used to the tasks and that these experiences expanded his knowledge base and nurtured critical perspectives. Alex also mentioned that extensive reading and writing experiences in high school led him to pay attention to various styles of writing:

¹⁶ According to Jason, in DBQ tasks in history exams he was asked to he was provided short reading passages, asked to synthesize their content and develop his argument based on the sources.

With analyzing and reading different types of prose, I feel like I was exposed to a lot more different styles. (...) It helped me understand why authors write different topics in a certain way in order to convey one message compared to another. And I was able to understand why that process is taken, and why writing was formatted in that sense so that one message can be conveyed over the other. It really helped me to understand that. (First interview with Alex)

These comments show Alex's metacognitive awareness of different "styles" of writing. He saw writing as taking place in a particular rhetorical context in which the purpose of the writing task decides how a writer organizes and develops ideas. Citing his AP Language teacher, Alex believed that reading and writing experiences "make [made] us [him] informed citizens" about a range of social and political issues. Alex chose biology as a major because he believed it would help him enter a pre-medicine program, and did not expect that during his disciplinary coursework he would engage in similar types of writing as he did in high school. However, he mentioned that reading and writing would be critical throughout the course of his life. Unlike other participants, he did not see a great need to improve his "L2" writing. Alex saw himself as a reader and writer of English and appeared to possess a good deal of competence and confidence. It seemed that English already had become the "first" and primary language with which he identified very closely.

5.1.2 Student perceptions of L2 writing before instruction

As a result of the focal participants' diverse educational and linguistic backgrounds, they exhibited varied goals and perceptions related to L2 writing. Some of Min, Bo, and Susie's challenges and goals in L2 writing were similar. At the first interviews that took place at the beginning of the semester, the three international and late-arriving students all reported their

difficulty in expressing their thoughts and ideas in L2, which they believed came from their lack of lexico-grammatical resources. Min thought her lack of productive vocabulary was a big hurdle. For Bo, her English writing did not look good enough because she repeatedly used simple sentence structures. Susie commented that her writing contained numerous grammatical errors. They also talked about how time-consuming it was to convert their ideas to English, and therefore hoped their language issues would be addressed in English Composition 101. During their first weeks at Southern University, challenges originating from lack of linguistic proficiency made them view themselves as learners who needed support in improvement of linguistic skills. Min was struggling with her animal biology lectures because she was not able to understand a large portion of what her instructor was saying. Bo realized that her biology lab reports lacked clarity that she thought derived from her lack of control over sentence structure and productive vocabulary. Susie spoke of her concerns about her upcoming presentation in her freshman seminar class. She reported that in addition to Powerpoint slides, she needed to draft a script of her presentation because she would not be able to give a spontaneous speech based on the slides. The following remarks made by Bo illustrate her concerns related to language issues. Answering my question about what she wanted to improve in her L2 writing, she replied:

I can't write a sentence in a native way. The sentence I write is not concise. (...) If I write the sentence to express the meaning, maybe the native speakers just use the one word or phrase to express it and express it more correctly. (First interview with Bo)

As Bo's comments indicate, she experienced difficulty in clearly communicating her intended meaning. According to Bo, her use of more words where fewer words would suffice was due to her lack of appropriate vocabulary.

Min and Bo entered English Composition 101 without a clear idea as to what they would be taught. Since they viewed themselves as language learners, they hoped that “language skills” would be covered in the course. Susie, a late-arriving student, had similar challenges related to lack of linguistic resources. However, she expressed additional needs in the English Composition 101 course. She wanted to be prepared for writing assignments across the courses she would be taking at Southern University. Susie’s awareness of the necessity of writing is reflected in the following comments:

[Writing is] Really important in other class[es]. (...) [In] Most classes the teacher will have [you] write the paper, not present. Even though you have to present, you have to first write your script. (First interview with Susie)

While going through three years of schooling in the United States, Susie had writing experiences in different courses in high school. With the expectation that she would have to write in her college-level general education and disciplinary courses, Susie felt the need to improve her writing. Susie also shared her awareness that writing was part of how she prepared for presentations. She did not specify types of writing she wished to learn through English Composition 101, but hoped the course would prepare her for writing in other courses.

Three early arriving students (Amanda, Floyd and Jason), despite their exposure to different types of writing in high school, understood L2 writing in relation to the five paragraph essay model and its discourse elements such as thesis statement and topic sentence. The following comments made by Amanda illustrate her basic conceptualization of writing based on the organizational pattern required in the five paragraph essay model:

I've been using that [the five paragraph essay] ever since I learned it. Every single year, that's the same format. Our (high school) teacher required that. Not always exactly five paragraphs, but introduction, body and conclusion. Yeah, thesis statement.

(First interview with Amanda)

These comments indicate that Amanda was taught to use the tripartite structure (introduction, body and conclusion) and the five paragraph essay model during high school. She remarked that most writing assignments required her to use these patterns. Floyd and Jason also spoke of their common adoption of this essay model for most of their writing tasks in high school. Therefore, the five paragraph essay for them seemed to be a basic framework by which they understood many types of writing. Their expressed goals of L2 writing, linked to their perceived weaknesses in writing, were also based on their writing experiences that drew upon the model. The three early-arriving students shared the L2 writing needs that they wanted to be addressed in their composition courses:

I am usually very bad at starting essay because that's when you have to put all the ideas and introduce all the ideas. Since I have to include all my thoughts, it takes hours for me to do the intro for every essay. (First interview with Amanda)

Hopefully, maybe in the English 101, I'll be able to just improve my vocabulary so I'll sound smarter when I write. I guess one way to improve is to read a lot. I don't know. I guess I read lower-level, easy-to-understand books. It's not like I have to use a dictionary when I read. I guess I should read more higher-level books. (First interview with Floyd)

I would prefer grammatical feedback like what grammatical errors I'm making because I know I still make many. So I hope I get grammatical, organizational feedback to know how I could fix my papers, to make them stronger. But, other than that, no, I don't really

have a preference of papers anymore. Honestly, they all look the same to me. (First interview with Jason)

Amanda and Jason's remarks illustrate how the five paragraph essay model served as a basis for them to analyze their weaknesses in writing. Amanda identified her weakness in writing introductions. The introduction for Amanda was the place she had to summarize all the ideas she intended to include in her essay. In a different part of the first interview, Amanda mentioned that she sometimes had to start over her introduction several times. It was clear that Amanda learned to write essays by beginning with a strong thesis that included her arguments or points. Similarly, Jason, in the last part of his comments, showed his basic conception of writing based on the five paragraph model. Jason's comments were made in response to my question about what types of writing he wanted to learn to write in English Composition 102. Without responding directly to my question, Jason spoke of his need to improve his linguistic accuracy first. He believed that because he did not receive extensive grammar instruction, he still made "elementary grammatical errors." In response to my question on types of writing, he responded that "all papers look[ed] the same," and therefore genres he would be asked to write were not important to him. Even though he reported that he wrote papers in his AP courses that did not adopt the five paragraph essay structure, Jason appeared to hold the view that most papers followed a similar structure and that he needed to work on a general organizational structure. More specifically, Jason remarked that he needed improvement in introductions and conclusions.

Floyd, in a different part of the first interview, also shared his familiarity with the five paragraph essay. He reported the adoption of this model in the first writing assignment in his American Government class. Floyd's comments above show his perceived needs to increase his academic vocabulary repertoire so that he could sound "smart." It seems that Floyd thought his

lack of “academic voice” in his writing, a major challenge in writing during high school, originated from his lack of academic vocabulary.

Unlike the other early-arriving students, Alex, an avid reader and confident writer with experience in various types of writing, did not strongly express a need for L2 writing. He replied to my question on what he wanted to improve in English Composition 102:

I have trouble trying to find a way to start and then end it completely. Usually I keep going and I keep trying to get different ideas into it and it's usually just jumbled and at the point that I present so many ideas. It just seems I'm pushing too many ideas at once. It's just not making sense to the whole overview of the paper or the organization of it. Not really. I didn't really get that feedback [in high school]. I would catch it myself before I gave my final paper in. (...) That's what made me want to change the way that I present the ideas. (First interview with Alex)

In the comments, Alex began by expressing difficulties he faced in writing, “present[-ing] many ideas” in his first draft. He said he would recognize and address the issue himself without feedback or intervention from someone else. Even though Alex commented on his challenge, he seemed to know how to resolve it. Therefore, what he shared as a problem did not appear to be a significant one. As a strong writer, he went through the recursive process of writing and invested his time to make it focused and coherent. In sum, the Southern-ELP focal participants had wide-ranging goals and conceptions of L2 writing that originated from differences in their general language competence, experiences with writing, and academic goals.

5.1.3 Student perceptions of L2 writing after instruction

This section reports what changes or non-changes occurred in the Southern-ELP focal participants’ conceptions about L2 writing over the course of one semester. In other words, it

describes how lessons and assignments in their writing course impacted each student's perceptions of L2 writing. Despite the large role the writing-intensive courses played in shaping students' perceptions of L2 writing, academic literacy practices the participants were simultaneously experiencing (e.g., writing demands in other courses) also contributed to their perceptions. Follow-up interviews during the second half of the semester with each focal participant showed their new, evolving or unchanged perceptions of L2 writing.

Min and Bo, new international students and juniors majoring in biology who wanted to increase linguistic resources, experienced challenges in dealing with major writing assignments in their English Composition 101. They attributed these challenges to insufficient linguistic resources and reading skills in addition to lack of writing competence. For instance, in their second major writing assignment in which they were directed to read an eleven page article and summarize it in a one and a half pages, both of them reported multi-dimensional challenges. They were informed of the rationale behind the assignment (important academic skill in many writing tasks), and received instruction on how to organize their summary paper (e.g., maintaining the same structure of the article) and appropriate conventions (attribution phrases and APA format). Although they said this detailed guidance was helpful, they spoke of difficulties connected to reading skills and linguistic resources. Bo described her challenges:

They don't give us the suggestions or tips. (...) I mean you have to explore yourself and to find up questions and improve by yourself. The teacher just give you an opportunity or a direction. You can't get actual tips to improve. (...) The teacher won't tell you in the first paragraph, "you have to write this." They just tell you this, for example, summarize the article, its main point. The point that is not necessary you don't have to include, but

they won't tell you which point is not necessary. That's my problem. Because when I look at the article, I think everything is important. (Second interview with Bo)

As her comments suggest, Bo saw her challenge as deciding what to include and exclude in the summary paper. Everything in the article looked important to her, and therefore it was difficult for her to differentiate “essential details” and “non-essential details.” She wished that she had been told by the instructor what to cover in her summary. Another reported challenge, shared by Min as well, was lack of linguistic resources to summarize and paraphrase the article in her own words. In completing major writing assignments, Bo and Min commented that they first devoted their time to understanding the article and later to finding words to translate their ideas. Both of them received the lowest mark in the criteria called “development,” which evaluated if only main ideas and essential details were included and if the ideas were “generally developed in the same way/degree as the original article.” It seems that because of challenges in basic literacy skills (reading skills) and lack of language resources, they were not able to focus on core summary skills (presenting the author’s ideas in a succinct matter). In addition to challenges faced in English Composition 101, Min, in her second interview, reported that she earned an F in her first Animal Biology test. According to Min, her poor performance on the test originated from her lack of academic vocabulary and the professor’s extremely fast delivery of lectures. Min and Bo felt urgent needs for improvement of other language skills as well (listening, reading and vocabulary for Min and reading for Bo).

Writing demands in their biology courses also contributed to their views on writing requirements in English Composition 101. They seemed to perceive differences between English

Composition 101 and their biology courses¹⁷. In response to my question about challenges in writing lab reports, Bo replied:

In the lab reports, you don't need examples to support. Just because I'm new here, I don't [didn't] know how to organize the structure. As soon as I know [knew] their basic formats, I do [did] it better. You don't need to use beautiful words to write the sentences. You just need to use the correct words to express, so I think it's easy to write paper [lab reports]." (Second interview with Bo)

Bo's comments, "in the lab reports, you don't need examples to support," were made in comparison to papers she wrote for English Composition 101. Since she already had data to include, Bo did not see the need to come up with "examples" in her lab reports. As a novice to lab reports in either her L1 and L2, Bo felt she needed to become familiar with its conventions. After acquiring the organizational format, writing lab reports became easier. She also stated in the other part of the same interview that English papers were "idea-based" whereas lab reports were "fact-based." For her, biologists are mainly concerned with facts and objectivity, but writing in language classes seemed to deal with expansion of abstract ideas. Therefore, Bo felt that the necessity of coming up with and developing ideas in "English papers" did not seem to exist in her lab reports. Bo also noted that she did not need "beautiful" words in lab reports. It was not clear what she meant by "beautiful words," but she seemed to think that "English papers" require more linguistic resources than her biology papers. Her comments illustrate her different perceptions of the two types of writing. Min was more ambivalent than Bo about a perceived link between writing in English Composition 101 and in her biology courses. Her challenges coming from "language" rather than "writing" in her first semester seemed to make it difficult for her to

¹⁷ Min and Bo took the same biology courses, in addition to English Composition 101 in their first semester at Southern University.

think of a connection between English Composition 101 and writing demands in her coursework. Min said she spent a great amount of time dealing with grammar and vocabulary in her writing.

In their last interviews both Min and Bo reported slightly modified views of their writing assignments in English Composition 101. They each worked on a paper called a “research essay” in which they were asked to write an “expository” essay about a topic of their choice. Both of them considered this final assignment easier than previous summary papers. It was not clear what made them feel more competent to write the “research essay,” but they reported they drew on summary and synthesis skills they learned during the semester. In their animal biology course, they were assigned a critical review in which they had to choose one of the suggested articles by the professor, and summarize and evaluate it. According to Min, what she learned in English 101 helped her summarize her chosen article in the introduction of the review¹⁸. Min and Bo commented that some of the summary skills they learned in English 101 were useful in writing their lab reports, but for both of them writing the critical review was more demanding than their lab reports because it required them to fully understand the given article, find a point to critique, and present an evaluation. Min and Bo expressed the need to learn to write a critical review paper.

In sum, the international students’ experiences in the first semester at the English-medium university allowed them to recognize, over time, the need for enhanced academic literacy and language skills. Their perceptions of and responses to L2 writing instruction underwent small changes.

The late-arriving student, Susie, and early-arriving students, Amanda and Floyd, from English Composition 101 spoke of their writing course in relation to their high school language

¹⁸ Min reported difficulty finding a point of critique and how to develop her argument in the paper. She said it was difficult to receive support with the critical review paper.

arts courses. One notable difference they reported was process-oriented writing in the university writing course. All three students reported that few opportunities to complete a paper by utilizing a series of stages (multiple drafts, peer feedback, teacher feedback, and editing) were provided in high school. Most of their previous writing tasks were completed as in-class activities under time-constraints. Then their teachers provided a grade and sometimes simple feedback that they often found insufficient for improving their writing. Amanda spoke of the recursive nature of the writing process in her English Composition 101 course:

'Cause I sometimes start writing and then it's about something else. Then I have to delete the whole thing and start, so that takes a long time. For this [the research essay paper], at first, I wrote about something, and I asked the teacher, and then she kind of told me that it wasn't the thing that we were doing. I was like actually explaining about something else, but not really doing assignment. So I actually started over and did it again. (Second interview with Amanda)

In the comments, Amanda talked about her challenges in writing the introduction of the final assignment, the research essay. Since the instructor arranged sessions in which students could ask questions about difficulties they experienced in writing a draft, Amanda did receive feedback explaining that her introduction was not in the "right direction." Even though Amanda said it was very time-consuming for her to set the direction in the introduction, she was relieved that she was given support that enabled her to find a new direction. According to Amanda, she typically received a grade only for her writing in her high school, and that left her wondering what she did wrong. Susie and Floyd also expressed satisfaction that their English Composition 101 teacher provided them with adequate time and varied opportunities to improve their work. They saw improvement of their writing through practice with process writing that included

multiple drafts and scaffolded support from peers, the teacher and sometimes the tutoring center. Another difference they pointed out between high school English courses and English Composition 101 was explicit instruction on how to write academic papers. Floyd answered my question about what he learned in the writing course:

I feel like English 101 class right now I'm taking is very useful. It's helping me improve my English actually. (...) Yeah, our professor actually (...) showed us a power point on how to write in academia, which is like improving your academic vocabulary and organizational structure, how to write different types of sentences. (Second interview with Floyd)

Floyd, who probably showed the greatest enthusiasm about English Composition 101 among the focal participants, reported that his perceived need to sound “smart” and “academic” were sufficiently addressed in the course. He especially found helpful his instructor’s lectures on the research process, textual ownership (attributing ideas to original authors and coming up with ideas based on previous research), and summary and synthesis skills. Floyd commented that he might have learned some of these in high school, but no one told him overtly what “academic writing” was and why it was important. In addition, he expected that the experience of writing summary papers would help him write “business compilations when I [he] enter[s] the business world.” Floyd seemed to see a connection between what he learned in class and writing demands in his future target situations.

Susie and Amanda also said that they were able to understand more clearly what they had probably learned in high school through English Composition 101 (e.g., summary and synthesis skills, and basic organization). According to Amanda, a sequence of major writing assignments in the course allowed her to apply what she had learned through a previous assignment to

subsequent writing tasks. For instance, learning a basic organizational pattern and ways to develop ideas within a paragraph in the first writing assignment helped her to deal with other writing assignments within the course. Experiences with summary papers also became resources to employ in writing the final research essay that involved the summary and synthesis of sources. Amanda seemed satisfied with the fact that she was able to take an English course in a supportive environment, which she did not experience in high school. However, about my question on the connection between writing assignments in English Composition 101 and writing demands in her current and future coursework, Amanda expressed ambivalent views. As a freshman who was thinking of changing her major and who received few extended writing assignments during her first semester, Amanda was unsure whether the writing experiences in English Composition 101 would be helpful in her academic career.

As Susie, Amanda and Floyd did, the U.S. born early-arriving students in English Composition 102, Jason and Alex, also made comparisons between their current writing course and high school English courses, especially AP English courses. Both of them said that English Composition 102 was slow-paced, and their instructor, Ken, provided extensive feedback on their drafts, which they did not experience in their respective AP English classes. Another perceived difference was that their university writing course put far more emphasis on rhetorical patterns than their high school counterparts. Alex viewed instruction on rhetorical patterns positively because the explicit learning of rhetorical patterns did not make writing assignments a “guessing game anymore.” He also mentioned that the rhetorical patterns that came from the instructor “who has read many papers before” were helpful. For Jason, the instructor’s extensive written feedback was helpful in revising his drafts. He said he tried to incorporate all of the instructor comments in his revision. Another difference between the college writing course and

their high school courses, mentioned by Jason, was that English Composition 102 was a place to receive tips and guidance on how to write a paper whereas his high school AP English course exposed him to new ideas through extensive reading and interaction with his peers. In his high school AP course, students were encouraged to engage in a dialogue through assigned readings. According to him, readings on diverse topics and dialogues around the readings sometimes provided him with a “new insight” on a topic in question. He recalled that “something interesting comes [came] out of that conversation” and that he learned different perspectives for viewing the world through the AP course readings and discussion.

Both Jason and Alex, compared to other informants, reported lack of time investment in completing major writing assignments. According to Jason, it took him 45 minutes to one hour to complete his four-page first draft of the critique paper. He remarked that once he came up with ideas, it was easy to write the paper. Alex reported that he did not submit any draft of a major assignment, and often postponed writing until a few hours before submission. Even though they were required to turn in two or three drafts for each major assignment, they did not feel the course was demanding. It was not clear from his interviews why Alex, other than his time commitment in other courses, evidenced minimal investment in English 102 writing assignments. As a strong writer who earned substantial college credits in high school by participation in writing-heavy courses including AP language, AP literature and AP history, he might not have felt challenged by the writing assignments in the college writing course. In Jason’s case, he felt that his goals to improve his ability to write introductions and conclusions were not sufficiently addressed in the course. It appears that this perception has to do with his belief that all types of writing “look the same.” The instructor actually included very specific feedback on how to

improve his drafts including introductions. In his first draft of the critique paper, the instructor provided the following feedback as end-note comments:

Okay conclusion. You really need to re-read his article and find his main purpose. Then build your summary and evaluation around that. Also, you really need to watch out for your sentence structures. They get too wordy, too long and too complex to understand.
(Instructor's end-note comments on Jason's first draft of the critique paper)

The instructor, in these end-note comments as well as in marginal comments in his introductory paragraph, specifically guided Jason to first find the main purpose of the article and include it in the introductory paragraph. The instructor also suggested that Jason “build your [his] summary around that [the purpose].” It was clear that in his first draft Jason did not present the reader with a main argument and the purpose of the paper he critiqued. Therefore, the instructor provided concrete tips for writing an effective introduction in the critique paper. In all major assignments, Jason received this type of detailed feedback, but he reported that the class “did not help me [him] that much with intro and conclusion.” During the course of the semester, the instructor taught genre specific rhetorical patterns (e.g., summary, critique, problem-solution), and students were asked to consider the organizational patterns they were taught. Jason, however, seemed to hold to his belief that all writings “look the same,” and therefore did not appear to notice that he received feedback that asked him to improve his introduction by considering rhetorical situations (e.g., the purpose and reader of the paper).

Alex who did not express a strong need to improve his writing commented that he enjoyed exploring topics he felt enthusiastic about through English Composition 102. For the critique paper assignment, he chose an article about the controversy around the nature and existence of “free will.” His problem-solution paper was about the U.S. incarceration system. In

response to my question about what he learned from writing the critical review paper, Alex answered:

I learned from the actual topic like I feel like my own understanding of the world was expanded a bit more. I feel like I understood how things or how my own perception of the world exists inside myself, so I guess it really helped me understand my own ideas and beliefs about how the world functions. (Second interview with Alex)

As his comments illustrate, Alex's responses to the English course are different from those of the other students. While the other students spoke of lexical, syntactic, and discoursal aspects of writing, Alex was responding to the content he chose to learn through writing tasks. For Alex, "L2" writing seemed to be a means to explore his inner self and expand his world views through understanding and critiquing diverse perspectives expressed in readings. Therefore, he hoped he would have an opportunity to take a similar course to his AP English in which he could be exposed to "pivotal arguments on critical issues" and learn "how people see things differently." This comment seems to imply that linguistic and discoursal issues were not major concerns for Alex any more. What mattered in a writing class for Alex appears to be his intellectual growth. His perspective that writing is a critical means to becoming a more informed citizen appeared to persist throughout the course, and he expected that writing he would engage in as a biology major might be very different from "English writing."

The seven students enrolled in English Composition 101 and 102 courses at Southern University showed great variance in their perception of need in L2 writing. The students' linguistic and literacy backgrounds had the biggest impact on their conceptions of L2 writing. Literacy demands from the courses they were taking concurrently contributed to their evolving or unchanged views on the roles of L2 writing in their academic careers. Although these seven

students were enrolled in FYC courses in the same ELP, their attitude toward and conception and roles of L2 writing varied greatly.

5.2 Hahn-ELP students' perceptions of L2 writing need

The current section reports perceptions of L2 writing need among a total of eight focal participants in the Hahn-ELP: four from Kate's English 1 and four from Hank's Intermediate English Writing. It should be noted that although Hahn University attracts academically strong students from across the country, there is a wide spectrum of English proficiency among the students. Not only was this reported by the instructor informants, but I also saw varied English competence in my observation and through reports by more than 20 students in individual interviews¹⁹. This variance is, to a large extent, attributable to their previous English learning opportunities that are closely linked to their families' socio-economic resources and educational backgrounds. Based on my individual interaction with many students and the instructors' descriptions of their students' backgrounds in English learning, I came up with a categorization of Hahn students that provides a useful, convenient frame of reference in describing their diverse backgrounds and perspectives with regard to L2 writing. Hahn-ELP students can be classified into three groups: traditional students, early immersion students and returnees. Table 5.3 summarizes each group's backgrounds and characteristics.

According to the instructors interviewed, traditional students comprise the majority of Hahn students. Most of them are academically strong and have proven a high enough level of English proficiency in reading and grammar to be accepted into Hahn University. They are often, however, not confident speakers or writers in English. Many of them demonstrate confidence in Korean writing and thus realize that a significant gap exists between their Korean and English writing. Traditional students' English learning centered around studying grammar and

¹⁹ I interviewed 25 Hahn students at least once, but eight students are focal participants for this dissertation study.

understanding short reading passages to prepare for high-stakes school exams and CSAT. These learning experiences helped to increase their receptive vocabulary, and allowed them to develop metalinguistic knowledge of the English language. As a result of their previous reading- and grammar- oriented approach to L2 learning, many of them are not strongly motivated to learn English.

Table 5.3 Descriptions of Three Hahn-ELP Populations

Student Population	Descriptions
Traditional students	Traditional students learned English only within Korean settings. Because of the prevalence of the grammar-translation method in their previous English courses in school settings, traditional students have little experience with English speaking and writing. Most of them reported the acquisition of English grammar rules and reading skills through cram schools while in secondary school students.
Early immersion students ²⁰	Early immersion students learned English only within Korean settings, but were exposed rather extensively to spoken and written English through after-school programs through English-medium kindergarten and/or private language programs in early elementary. Their first exposure to English was through private English programs taught by teachers from English dominant countries. These students often switched to test-driven English learning in their secondary school years.
Returnees	Returnees attended English medium schools overseas and have high proficiency levels in English speaking and writing. After coming back to Korea, they continued with their English learning through private after-school English programs or self-sponsored learning.

²⁰ The word 'immersion' here refers to students' previous learning environments in English language classes in which all the lessons were conducted in English, and students learned to speak and write. Therefore, it is different from 'immersion programs' offered in regular schools in North America in which students take content courses in a second language.

The second group, early immersion students, began to learn English at an early age through English medium kindergartens and/or private English language programs at an early age in which students learned spoken and written English from teachers speaking English as their first language. Many wealthy Korean families send their children to this type of program. Some of these students continue to learn spoken and written English at private language institutes as secondary school students, but many of them switch to cram schools in their middle school to learn English grammar and reading skills in preparation for various high-stakes exams and tests. Because of their early exposure to communicative English, immersion students tend to have a higher degree of proficiency in spoken English than traditional students. They also report advantages in English writing mainly due to their developed linguistic proficiency.

The last group, returnees, refers to students who went to school in an English speaking country or an international school in which they learned content courses in English. Many of them went overseas because of their parents' work, and some of them were sent by their family in pursuit of better educational opportunities. They tend to have privileged family backgrounds. Like immersion students, they typically attended communication-oriented for-profit English language programs after they returned to Korea. Many returnees attending Hahn receive exemption for English 1 because of their English proficiency proven through their high TOEFL or TOEIC scores. Some of them volunteer to take elective courses in the ELP program, and they often comprise the majority of elective courses offered by the Hahn-ELP. The instructors remarked that some of the returnees have native or near-native English fluency.

Classifying Hahn students into one of these categories is not always straightforward. Within each group, variation in students' socio-economic, cultural and educational backgrounds exists. However, these basic differences can explain varied conceptions, attitudes and identities

among Hahn students. As will be reported in this chapter, these different characteristics impact students' motivation, perceived needs and progress in their L2 writing.

Other than these groups of students, the Hahn-ELP serves a large number of international students who mostly come from China, Japan, and Vietnam. A small number of refugees from North Korea and students from agricultural towns who were accepted through special admission tracks comprises the smallest minority of the Hahn-ELP.

5.2.1 Hahn student backgrounds

Table 5.4 introduces the eight focal participants' demographic information and English learning backgrounds. Kate's English 1 class was one of the regular sections where most freshmen were placed, and Intermediate English Writing was an elective course in which non-freshmen students voluntarily enrolled to fulfill general education requirements. The majority of Kate's class, except for several early immersion students and returnees, were traditional students. Meanwhile, Hank's Intermediate English Writing attracted many early immersion students and returnees. Hank said all his students were at the intermediate or advanced level in their English competence including a few near-native or native level students.

The three participants, Soo, Ahn, and Yeon from Kate's English 1, fit into the category of traditional students because they learned English through the grammar-translation method, reportedly had much stronger reading skills than speaking and writing, and built metalinguistic knowledge of grammar. They explained that as elementary school students, they received English conversation lessons a couple of hours per week for several years, but their English learning had been predominantly focused on grammar and reading, both in their regular and cram school English classrooms. These three students reported few opportunities to engage in English writing either in or out of the classroom except for a few occasions when they had to

submit short written texts for assessment purposes. But these did not involve any classroom instruction or teacher feedback.

Table 5.4 Hahn-ELP Focal Participant Characteristics

	English 1				Intermediate English Writing			
Name	Soo	Ahn	Yeon	Hwan	Seon	Jun	Ki	Lin
Gender	F	F	F	M	F	F	M	F
Year in university	1 st	1 st	1 st	2 nd	4 th	2 nd	2 nd	2 nd
Major	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Business	Philosophy & Business	Business	English	Business & English
High school	General	General	General	Special purpose	General	Special Purpose	Special Purpose	General
Years in L2 setting	0	0	0	0	0	1.5 U.S.	1.5 U.S.	7 U.K. Australia
English learning background	Traditional	Traditional	Traditional	Immersion	Traditional	Returnee	Returnee	Returnee

Hwan, a sophomore in business, from English 1 was a typical early immersion student who learned English as a child in an immersion environment. His early English learning both at home and through an English language institution contributed to his confidence as a speaker of English. Through experiences that afforded him opportunities to interact with teachers from English speaking countries, he was able to “absorb English naturally.” He also learned to write in English, as a secondary school student, through an English language program offered by a private language institution. According to Hwan, the type of writing he learned from these teachers was the five paragraph essay in which he had to argue his case about a given topic.

One of the Intermediate English Writing students, Seon, was a traditional student who did not have many opportunities to be exposed to English. She, among the focal participants, reported the least amount of English instruction from private after-school programs. While growing up in a small rural town, Seon had few economic and educational resources that would

have contributed to her English learning. Seon reported that English was her weakest and least interesting school subject. Seon was admitted to Hahn University mainly because she demonstrated excellent writing ability in Korean and academic performance during high school. The other three participants, returnees, from Intermediate English Writing stood in stark contrast to Seon in their English learning backgrounds and proficiency²¹. Their parents' professions (e.g., a global corporation executive and university professor) provided them with opportunities to spend part of their school careers overseas, through which they developed a high level of English proficiency and established academic and career goals that involved studying and/or working overseas. (e.g., Jun wanted to pursue a doctoral degree in the United States., and Lin wished to work for a global company.) Even though Jun and Ki spent one and a half years in the United States, they were, after returning to Korea, extensively exposed to English through parental support and after-school English programs. Their parents immersed them in an environment in which they kept using English in Korea (e.g., buying English books and sending them to English language programs targeted for returnee students). These three returnees reported a moderate to high level of confidence in speaking and writing in English.

These differences in the participants' educational backgrounds and socioeconomic resources resulted in discrepancies not only in their general English fluency, but also in their conceptions of L2 writing. Soo and Ahn from English 1 and Seon from Intermediate English Writing, all of whom are traditional students, positioned themselves as English learners who needed to improve their oral fluency more than anything else. Soo's and Ahn's attitudes toward English learning were ambivalent. They perceived learning English as necessary to "jump through hoops" (e.g., proving a certain level of English proficiency on official English language

²¹ Seon chose to audit the course because she thought it would be challenging to earn a good grade in an elective English course in which early immersion students and returnees comprise the majority of the class population.

tests) in employment and/or postgraduate studies, but did not feel very enthusiastic. In Soo's words, they wanted to "avoid it [English] if possible." They, however, reported that they needed to learn to speak English for pragmatic reasons because fluent speakers of English are more likely to have better employment opportunities. Their minimal experience of school- or self-sponsored L2 writing stood in sharp contrast to their activities as writers in Korean. Soo and Yeon reported that they often wrote a daily journal to "keep record of important events, feelings and thoughts about different sorts of things" and to "understand floating ideas beneath the level of consciousness." Soo said she let "the flow of her consciousness" lead her writing. According to her, this often allowed her to make clear bits of various thoughts in her mind, which sometimes provided her catharsis. Another self-sponsored type of Korean writing practiced by Yeon was a personal blog that she shared with her friends. About my question why she began to write blog entries, Yeon responded:

²²Yeon: I've been keeping a personal journal in which I include my short reflections of movies, books, and songs. I figured it would not be a bad idea to write them in my blog page. You know, movies and books, they give you lots of thoughts, sometimes like a chain, one thought after another. I often see these thoughts disappearing quickly, and I don't remember them later, which is a shame (...)

Yang: How much time do you spend on your blog, for example, when you write a book or movie review?

Yeon: I spend a lot of time because I want my piece of writing to be in good shape. (...)

It takes a whole day to get one review done (...) Writing itself sometimes provides some

²² Interviews with the Hahn-ELP students were conducted in Korean. Excerpts from these interviews in the study were translated by the researcher.

consistency or coherence in my ideas and thoughts. Going through this kind of process also gives me this feeling that I am not there yet; I mean, I am not a good writer yet. I have so much to learn and so much to read. It pushes me hard (...) When I keep a personal journal, I don't do revision. It's a one-time deal. But blogging is different. My writing is out there in public, and it's permanent. I should not babble or throw out random thoughts. That makes me search for some other stuff. (First interview with Yeon)

Yeon clearly saw herself as an aspiring “writer” in Korean. Her detailed descriptions of her passion for reading and writing were unique among focal participants. Her experience with and awareness of the critical role that writing plays in allowing her to organize her thinking and expand her knowledge reflected an insightful perspective. Yeon also distinguished personal writing from a public genre and understood basic requirements of public writing. Other traditional students such as Soo and Seon also told me that they engaged in self-sponsored writing, if not with the same degree of commitment as Yeon, through personal journals, blogs and SNS.

These traditional students remarked that they were familiar with certain pedagogical genres such as book reports and reading responses. During elementary school and, for some, middle school years, they often had book report assignments through an after-school program or sometimes from their school teachers. More importantly, Soo and Yeon identified themselves as avid readers in Korean. Soo remarked that her extensive reading of varied genres of books had helped her become a confident writer in Korean. As demonstrated by their active literacy practices in Korean, Soo and Seon were admitted to Hahn University mainly because of their

high level of writing ability in Korean (as evidenced through an essay exam).²³ According to guidelines published by the university, this essay exam looks at students' basic academic writing (summary, synthesis) and critical thinking skills. Soo told me that she found this type of sophisticated reading response activity difficult, but manageable. As Soo did, other traditional students told me that they practiced these types of response tasks with writing tutors in for-profit after-school writing programs with the exception of Seon. She reported preparing for this exam by herself. These traditional students reported the experience of process writing that involved a sequence of outline, draft, feedback and revision. These experiences helped them realize the significance of organization, logic, and style in writing. It can be said that these students' literacy practices surrounding self-sponsored reading and writing, and text-responsible writing guided them to become aware of diverse dimensions of writing including the distinction among basic genres (public and personal writing, text-responsible writing and personal essay), the steps in the writing process (searching for sources, outlining, revising, and receiving feedback) and basic concepts related to formal writing (logic and coherence).

Early immersion and returnee students, by contrast, showed a lower degree of enthusiasm for Korean writing than traditional students. The early immersion student, Hwan, expressed his lack of interest in literacy activities in the Korean language by saying that he had not enjoyed reading and writing in Korean since childhood. In contrast to his lack of interest in Korean writing, Hwan showed motivation toward the improvement of his oral and, to a lesser extent, written English. He explained that his strong connection with English dated back to his exposure

²³ Some Korean universities admit students through 논술전형 or a Korean essay exam administered by the university. The essay exam, not the Korean SAT, is a critical factor in certain admission tracks when decisions are made. The essay exam administered by Hahn University measures (1) students' ability to understand several reading passages that show differing perspectives on a particular ethical/ philosophical topic (2) students' ability to understand several reading passages that address an important social issue in Korean society and propose a solution to it. Many Korean high school students prepare for this text-responsible essay test.

to English in an “immersive” environment as a child. At his home, American educational shows and movies were played and English story books were read by his mother. Hwan also went to a private after-school program in which he had classes on speaking, watched movies and went to gym classes taught by teachers from English dominant countries. Hwan recalled this English learning experience as “learning English without actually studying” and attributed his competence and confidence in English to this communication oriented English learning in his early elementary years. This type of communicative language learning continued into his middle school years through a private after-school program in a language institute. Lessons in the program, taught by teachers from English dominant countries, covered writing in addition to speaking and reading. Through a writing class that focused on personal argumentative essays, Hwan received scaffolded support from his teachers that he believed helped to raise his competence and increase his confidence in English writing. He described his learning-to-write experience in English:

These were probably my first writing lessons, I mean, in terms of learning how to write in English. The teachers didn't focus on finding fault in my writing like, “the way you write is correct or wrong.” Their comments went like, “you did well on this and that, but you could add this. That would improve your writing.” For example, they never said to me, “your argument doesn't make sense” or something. Instead, they commented, “you have a good point, and there is logic, but how about this?” This boosted my confidence. While going through this type of process every week, I saw my writing getting better. (First interview with Hwan)

Hwan's English teachers, according to his comments, helped him not only improve his English writing, but also take English writing seriously. The teachers' feedback practices were

described as supportive and non-judgmental, which in turn encouraged him to invest his time writing in English. During interviews, Hwan often contrasted his English learning experiences in after-school programs with what he went through in his regular school classes in which he thought teachers took an authoritarian role and viewed students primarily through the lens of their performance level on high stakes tests.

The type of writing he learned in the after-school program and in his TOEFL preparation courses in later years was the five paragraph essay. The lessons and teacher comments were mostly about organizational patterns. Hwan described his different understanding of English and Korean writing as a cultural difference:

Koreans do not state their point in the beginning. They hide it until they reach the last part of writing. But Americans just give away their point or argument right away. That's what I learned. There are skills to use in English writing such as how to organize paragraphs and words to connect paragraphs and sentences. (First interview with Hwan)

What really helped me was that I got to understand that the way they [English speakers] write is different from Korean writing. I differentiate my Korean and English writing. Korean teachers and professors seem to prefer implicit, indirect ways of idea development, but foreign teachers prefer to notice a main point at a quick glance rather than an essay with sophisticated words or glamorous style. (Second interview with Hwan)

According to Hwan, as expressed in the above excerpt, Korean writing is inductive and indirect in the sense that the writer does not “give away” her argument or point in the beginning, yet English writing has a deductive and direct rhetorical pattern. He implied that Korean writing in the school setting requires a more sophisticated style (through literary devices and nuanced positions on issues) than English writing that prefers straightforwardness. His conceptions of

English writing were based on his after-school sponsored writing experience, which mainly asked him to write personal essays by employing the five-paragraph essay structure.

Like Hwan, Jun, Ki and Lin, the returnee students from Intermediate English Writing, saw themselves as confident users of English, but they had more extensive experiences with academic literacy in English than Hwan. While staying overseas, their parents and older siblings took on the roles of what could be called “literacy brokers.” (Lillis & Curry, 2010) When Jun began her schooling in the United States, her parents had her read extensively and write a one-page reflection journal every day, which Jun found, in retrospect, one of the most effective ways to improve her English literacy. Ki’s parents bought him a couple of books written in English every week so that Ki could improve his reading. Lin’s family used only English while they stayed in the United Kingdom in order to support Lin’s enculturation into her L2 learning community. These students reported a gradual improvement in English fluency that they would not have experienced without their study abroad experience.

These returnee students commented that the school-sponsored writing during their study abroad was challenging, but they became invested in learning to write in English. Lin commented on her exposure to diverse types of writing during her middle school years in Australia:

(At the Australian middle school) I had book report assignments. Writing assignments were diverse, not just essays stating my own opinion. I sometimes had news report assignments. In the English literature class, we were asked to create a play, a fictional story and a personal narrative. I liked all of these because they were not about stating my opinions. Of course, they weren’t easy, very challenging. When I felt challenged, I asked

for help from teachers, I mean, I talked to them one-on-one. They were helpful. My English improved because of that experience. (First interview with Lin).

As Lin described it, she was exposed to writing a variety of genres, from book reports, to news reports and to literary genres such as fiction and drama in her literary and other content courses. For her, this writing experience was challenging, but rewarding. She also pointed out a supportive learning environment at her Australian school in which her teachers provided feedback and encouragement.

Ki, an English major who was probably the most enthusiastic student about writing in English among all the participants, reported a more intense L2 writing experience during his study abroad. His passion for writing grew through a creative writing program offered to children by the university in which his parents worked as researchers. He was given writing assignments that directed him to change stories of famous novels or transform a literary work into a different genre. Ki pointed out that this writing experience served as a turning point in his learning. He fell in love with writing and spent most of his free time reading books and writing reflections and creative stories.

Many of these types of school-sponsored L2 writing opportunities that the returnees experienced overseas did not carry over when they returned to Korea. The returnees all remarked that their English writing instruction took different directions in Korea. In the private after-school English programs in which Jun and Lin enrolled so that they would be able to continue to use English, communication oriented tasks such as debates, conversation and presentation were common. Writing lessons in these programs focused on the five paragraph essay model. Ki did not attend an English language program, but he also practiced these types of writing in addition to his continued devotion to reading literary works. The prevalence of teaching the five

paragraph essay was due mainly to the fact that most high stakes English tests (e.g., TOEFL) and English essay contests held in Korea assigned personal essays. Furthermore, elite private high schools and top colleges often had admission tracks in which students who demonstrated English proficiency through these tests and contests had an advantage. These returnee students possessed oral fluency and writing competence that tended to work favorably in high stakes tests and admission into their high school and university. Lin reported that she grudgingly practiced this type of writing. In the interview excerpt above, Lin made comparisons between her writing experiences in Australia and Korea. One of the reasons Lin found the Australian school writing tasks enjoyable was that they were not “about stating my [her] opinions.” This comment indicates that these assignments were different from typical personal argument essays she experienced after coming back to Korea. Lin described her exam-oriented L2 writing experience as a returnee in Korea as:

In TOEFL writing (...) topics are limited (...) I remember one particular writing teacher [at the language institute] told us to make up evidence, “you need a minimum number of words in this part. Make up whatever evidence, number or statistics.” When I first received this type of guidance, I wanted to resist. That’s not solid evidence, but just filling up the space. We did this to meet the minimum requirement of words to fit into the format. Following this kind of instruction, I wasn’t writing with my original ideas. It was boring. It was like same old, same old essays. (First interview with Lin).

Lin expressed satisfaction with the way speaking and debate activities were organized in an after-school program in which she enrolled to keep using and learning English, but she found the writing lessons “boring” and also inauthentic in the sense that she just practiced writing only for tests. Jun also experienced test preparation oriented English writing through her after-school

language programs. She was committed to earning a high score in the TOEFL and being recognized as one of top performers in essay contests because they were critical factors in university admission arranged for returnees.

The returnees engaged in diverse types of writing overseas through school sponsored writing, but the English writing they practiced in Korea focused on exam-oriented writing. Jun and Lin remarked that, because of their years of practice with the five paragraph essay in Korea, they got in the habit of drawing on this organizational structure by default in most types of English writing.

To an open question about preferences between writing in Korean and English, all the returnee students responded that they preferred to write in English. Jun explained:

I feel more comfortable with writing in English. You know, many students are good at writing in Korean. And there are excellent writers among them. Yes, absolutely. If you want to stand out among them, it takes tons of efforts and practice. English writing is different. It is not that most students have been exposed to it. I've been writing in English probably a lot more than regular Korean students. That gives me confidence and comfort because I am aware that I have an advantage. I can write with confidence when it comes to writing in English. When I write in Korean, I don't have the same level of confidence.

(First interview with Jun)

She viewed her writing abilities in Korean and English in comparison to other Korean students who were going through the same intense competition. Her perceived advantage in English proficiency provided confidence and comfort in English writing. Similarly, Ki remarked that he definitely had an advantage in English writing. When writing in Korean, he was under pressure because of the concern that his writing might be seen as below standard. Their

preferences for, and thus investment in, English writing were not necessarily because the returnees had a higher linguistic fluency in English than in Korean. It was a carefully measured decision to maximize opportunities in college admission, and future studies and employment in Korea. Therefore, the returnee students did not actively pursue opportunities to develop their L1 writing competence, and their domains of L2 writing mainly included exam essays. They, except for Ki, did not report exposure to diverse genres of English writing after returning to Korea because of the nature of test tasks – e.g., personal essays.

All the returnee students expressed the need to expand their English writing experience. They hoped they would become engaged in more diverse types of writing in Intermediate English Writing (e.g., different types of English writing other than the five paragraph essay for Jun, and movie review and expository writing for Lin). Jun and Lin, however, did not disregard the necessity to improve their Korean writing. Even though it is not necessarily “comfortable” for them to write in Korean, Lin said Korean writing skills and intercultural sensitivity would also be important in her career as a businessperson. Jun wanted to be a bilingual scholar adept at using both languages. When I asked her about her preferences for a medium of instruction in taking her disciplinary courses, Jun said that it was important for her to understand her subject matter in Korean, especially key concepts and terms and that it was not necessarily preferential for her to take English medium courses²⁴. Both Lin and Jun envisioned themselves involved in both of their L1 and L2 communities as a business professional and a scholar respectively.

5.2.2 Student perceptions of L2 writing before instruction

The focal participants brought varied expectations and conceptions of L2 writing into the classroom based on their previous L2 writing experience and perceived needs for L2 writing.

²⁴ Hahn University offers around 25% of all courses in English.

This section describes the students' needs and conceptions of L2 writing that they expressed in their first interviews.

The three traditional students, Soo, Ahn and Seon, did not mention any L2 writing related goals they would like to achieve when they entered their English courses. The goals they did express were closely linked to their broad purpose for English learning – improving their oral fluency. Soo and Ahn from English 1 entered the course without any particular expectations. They, in the words of Ahn, “didn’t know what to expect in English 1.” According to them, the realization that the course would deal with speaking and writing taught by an instructor from an English-speaking country provided relief and satisfaction for them. The course seemed to match their broad, but not yet specified, goals of learning English. Seon, a traditional student from Hank’s Intermediate English Writing, decided to take the course primarily because she wanted to develop her spoken English. Her original plan was to take one of the speaking or presentation courses within the Hahn-ELP program, but all the oral English courses overlapped the schedule of her other enrolled courses. Seon expected that practicing English through writing would actually help to improve her oral fluency, which was her ultimate goal. She described her expectations for the course as:

I hope this class will provide opportunities to write a lot in English, I mean, thinking in English; and learning and using new expressions (...) We’ve had only a few classes so far. I get this feeling that this class is (...) about expressing our thoughts. That’s what I wanted... My immediate goal is to improve my English as quickly as possible. I’d like to write about my daily lives and more practical stuff in this class (...) Learning vocabulary is important, but more important is its nuances. A particular word can be used in different ways, a certain meaning in one context and another meaning with different sentence

structure in a different context. By using more diverse vocabulary and expressions I hope I will be able to speak English with more sophistication. (First interview with Seon)

To my question about what she wanted to learn in the writing course, Seon mainly spoke of her motivation to improve her general English proficiency. Seon, a senior who wanted to work overseas for a global company, but did not feel confident about her English, wanted to improve her overall linguistic competence. Notable in her comments was that Seon did not separate speaking from writing. Seon believed that if writing tasks and assignments dealt with personal, daily life topics, the course would help her improve her speaking. Expansion of her productive vocabulary was a major goal for Seon.

Yeon, by contrast, expressed her strong motivation to improve her L2 academic literacy. Yeon was the only student among the traditional students who stated L2 writing-related needs at the beginning of the semester. For her, being competent in English meant “being good at public writing” and “writing with sophistication.” She pointed out that she needed practice with the “academic style” of English writing, which she had not been taught previously. Since she wanted to pursue a graduate degree and become an effective writer both in Korean and English, Yeon strongly felt the need to practice extended academic writing. Yeon also believed that the oral vocabulary she lacked could be acquired through the process of writing. Her belief aligns with Seon’s comments on the role of writing in increasing productive vocabulary. Therefore, Yeon took an ambivalent position about speaking activities and tasks in class. From her perspective, role plays and group discussion without sufficient linguistic resources to draw upon did not seem very effective. She found herself and other students often getting stuck in speaking-oriented tasks without enough productive vocabulary to draw upon. Yeon believed that extended writing would

not only help her become a better academic writer, but also render her speaking “approximate to the level of my [her] writing” eventually.

Hwan, an early immersion student, did not express any L2 writing specific needs regarding his English 1 course. As a confident speaker and writer of English who stood out as one of the most fluent speakers of English in the English 1 class during my observations, Hwan did not seem to have overriding needs to improve his writing. Regaining his confidence in using English through speaking-oriented opportunities was his goal because he had not had opportunities to use English since high school. No writing specific goal was shared by Hwan. Hwan believed that his career objective, working overseas for a major accounting firm as a CPA (Certified Public Accountant), would not involve essay-type writing, but require oral competence in English. Extended writing assignments, according to him, were not very common both in his Korean- and English-medium disciplinary courses. His self-sponsored English learning reflected his oral language-oriented goals. Hwan attended weekly English debate sessions organized by an English conversation club on campus in which he sometimes worked as a moderator of debate sessions that attracted domestic and international students. These weekly sessions for Hwan were enjoyable and useful since they allowed him to be exposed to diverse views on a variety of social and political issues as well as to maintain his oral fluency. Another self-sponsored English learning practice Hwan was committed to was personal journal writing in English through which he tried out lexical items he understood, but was not able to use. His views of writing as an aid in developing language were similar to Seon’s.

Returnees in Intermediate English Writing voluntarily enrolled in the course. They had options to take other non-English courses to fulfill general education requirements, but they opted to take this particular course. The three returnees entered the course with clear reasons in

mind. Their academic and career objectives involving the use of English served to motivate them to improve their writing and led them to set up more concrete goals than the other participants.

The following are perceived writing needs for Intermediate English Writing as described by Jun and Lin in their first interviews:

My writing sometimes doesn't flow well. I wish it ran smoothly so that people could understand it without making much effort. My paragraphs sometimes don't seem connected to each other. I don't know how to fix that. I guess it's not good when there's no close link among the paragraphs. (...) It'd be great if we practice other ways of writing that allow me room for flexibility. Not a typical essay, but something that's more advanced. So far I've been practicing this structure mostly. A hook in the introduction, three reasons, reason 1, reason 2, reason 3, and finally one conclusion paragraph. I'm sort of in a rut. (First interview with Jun)

What I noticed in college is that all the tight rules I learned don't seem to be applied that much [in writing] (...) In some papers I need to cite sources and back up my point (...) Also, look at newspaper columns and movie reviews. They might not have a thesis statement or topic sentence. They just flow with logic (...) I'd like to learn to write other types of writing rather than argument essays. It would be helpful to do some analytic, descriptive and explanatory types of writing. (First interview with Lin)

As the above excerpts indicate, Jun and Lin's perceived needs for L2 writing were similar. Both of them spoke of strong needs to break out of the five paragraph essay model they had learned and practiced previously. Jun's comments indicate that her main challenge, lack of flow or disconnection among body paragraphs, came from her adoption of the five paragraph essay model that emphasized three reasons or points. Jun said she often had a hard time connecting

these points, and thus she noticed lack of flow in her writing. This structure had been working favorably for Jun because the high stakes tests she took during high school asked her to write personal essays of an argumentative nature. However, her message that relying on the five paragraph essay model did not seem to improve her writing further was clear. Jun wanted to learn “other ways” of writing, not a “typical” five paragraph essay.

Lin similarly expressed her need to pass the bounds of the five paragraph essay perhaps even more acutely than Jun. The “tight rules” in her comments referred to the essay structure she was constantly encouraged to follow during her out-of-school language programs. Lin went further than Jun in discussing the drawbacks of the five paragraph essay. Her observation of academic writing and other types of writing (columns and movie reviews) made her realize that she needed to learn different types of writing beyond (five paragraph) argumentative essays. As a sophomore majoring in English and business, Lin was being exposed in her major courses to other types of English writing such as literary analysis and reading response. Lin therefore distinguished the argumentative essays she practiced in TOEFL preparation courses from the writing she was experiencing at the university. She reported in another interview that source-based writing she had experienced in the previous semester gave her a different sense of what argument was. In her coursework in English literature that semester, she was expected to support her claims with evidence from readings. She found this type of text-responsible writing challenging, but felt that her argument constructed this way was “solid” and not an “empty barrel that made a loud noise” any more. Due to her increasing awareness of different genres and their conventions, Lin expressed her hope that essays of an analytic and descriptive nature would be dealt with in the Intermediate English Writing course.

Another returnee, Ki, also reported his goals in Intermediate English Writing in relation to improving his writing. He viewed the course as a general introduction to college-level writing, which he hoped could become a stepping stone for him to “lay foundations in English writing.” The necessity to break away from test-prep oriented writing was also brought up by Ki, but, he, unlike Jun and Lin, did not comment on the challenges that originated from the adoption of the formulaic essay model. It was because his self-sponsored extensive writing experience with the support of his parents (university professors) exposed him to a range of genres during elementary and middle school years. Ki spoke of his test-prep oriented English writing in high school, but he demonstrated awareness of and experience with diverse types of writing including short stories, poems and reflective reading journals that he voluntarily engaged in. He also remarked that he learned, under the guidance of his parents, how to develop coherent paragraphs and expand ideas. Ki’s challenge, an area he wanted to improve during Intermediate English Writing as well as through self-sponsored efforts, was vocabulary expansion. Despite a large-size receptive vocabulary, Ki said he did not seem to produce it in his writing.

5.2.3 Student perceptions of L2 writing after instruction

This section reports how focal participants’ preconceptions and notions about L2 writing interacted with the actual writing instruction they received over the course of one semester. In other words, I examine how particular writing approaches in the two courses affected students’ perceptions of L2 writing. Follow-up interviews conducted with them during the second half of the semester reveal how their experiences in the two Hahn-ELP courses impacted their perceptions of L2 writing.

The traditional students from Kate’s English 1 course all remarked that writing in English using a sequence of stages (multiple drafts and feedback from the teacher and peers) was a new

experience for them²⁵. Since they did not expect they would engage in this process-oriented approach to English writing in college, they viewed this experience in a positive light. The benefits of the course were described by Soo as:

Without this course, I wouldn't have gotten opportunities to speak and write in English in my first semester. The class was helpful because I clearly saw where I stand in terms of my speaking and writing ability. (...) Previously I wasn't even given opportunities to think about my English speaking and writing abilities. We just learned grammar and reading. (Third interview with Soo)

Soo's remarks indicate that writing in English was new territory for her. She found the course helpful because it provided her with lessons on speaking and writing in English, which she lacked in her previous English instruction. Yeon also saw value especially in writing assignments which involved the teacher's detailed feedback on her drafts. As novice L2 writers receiving L2 writing instruction for the first time, the traditional students had no established notions and assumptions related to L2 writing²⁶. Therefore, the instructor's pedagogical approaches and their own perceived challenges in completing major assignments contributed to their emerging notions of English writing. Their instructor, Kate, prioritized teaching organizational structure when she delivered lessons and provided feedback in the two major writing assignments (i.e., argument, and compare and contrast essays) of the course. Discourse markers and connectors (e.g., conjunctions and linking adverbials) were also addressed by Kate to help students organize their essays. These students seemed to view a prescribed discourse pattern as a main feature of English writing. For them, the basic organization of English writing

²⁵ They all reported process-oriented writing experience in Korean, but not in English, during high school years.

²⁶ The traditional students reported they wrote short pieces in English once or twice a year only as part of their assessment in high school, but they said this did not involve any instruction or feedback. They wrote a paragraph length essay as an in-class exam or take-home essay.

(i.e., tripartite structure) was similar to the way they wrote in Korean, but discourse modes, structural elements (e.g., hook, thesis statement, topic sentence, supporting sentence) and a prescribed order for these elements left them with the impression that pre-determined organization plays a central role in English writing. Similarly, learning and using in their writing a range of discourse markers, linking adverbials, and conjunctions also gave them the perception that English writing was heavily structure- and rule-governed. Soo considered the organizational patterns she practiced in class as the most distinct features of English writing. In response to my question on what she learned about writing, Soo spoke of the “uniqueness” of writing assignments in the course. By comparing her writing experience in the course to her experiences with Korean writing, Soo described her newly formed impression of “English writing”:

I had already gathered ideas to include in the compare and contrast essay. My challenge was in arranging my ideas, I mean, having them flow smoothly. I originally thought these ideas were linked to each other, but once I started to write, moving from one idea to another was not easy. That was the most difficult part (...) When I write in Korean, this doesn't happen (...), but in Korean writing we usually write about a particular topic or issue. In [Korean] essays and essay tests, some reading passages are given, and I interpret them and describe my thoughts. There's not much need to think about this type of structure. (Third interview with Soo)

In one of the major writing assignments, a compare and contrast essay, Soo was asked to find three points of comparison on a self-selected topic and put them in an organizational structure provided by the instructor. She commented that the given structure was quite simple, but she found it challenging to write an essay that flowed well while following that structure. A major difference between writing assignments in this course and her school- or test-based

Korean writing, according to Soo, was the emphasis assigned to a pre-determined structure that decided the direction of the essay (e.g., finding three points). In Korean writing, she did not have to focus as much on structure as she did with her English writing assignments²⁷. Soo seemed to form the conception that organizational patterns are critical and challenging aspects of English writing.

Ahn's perspectives about the discourse pattern oriented instruction provided in English 1 were different from Soo's. She did not necessarily associate the organizational patterns addressed in the course with "English writing." Unlike Soo, Ahn did not report large challenges in organizing her essay. To Ahn, the English essays she wrote in class used "very basic" writing structures. When asked if she drew on similar structures in her Korean writing, Ahn responded:

I have been writing a lot longer and more difficult pieces of writing in Korean. Speaking of organization, I don't seem to follow that [organizational structures introduced in English 1] in my Korean writing. I guess the structure we learned in the course is very basic (...) Hmmm, how can I explain this? It's [My Korean writing is] more flexible. I guess I draw on sort of all my years of experience with writing when organizing my [Korean] writing. It depends. In one writing task, I use this. In another, I use something different. (Second interview with Ahn)

As the above comments explain, Ahn had been dealing with more challenging writing tasks in Korean. For Ahn, the organizational structures based on the five paragraph essay and discourse modes were "very basic" and therefore did not appear to match the structures she employed in her Korean writing. Her comments indicate that she determined organizational structure in Korean writing based on the nature of the tasks and contents. The comments also

²⁷ In another interview Soo reported that her use of detailed outlines provided a basis for organizational structure in her Korean writing .

show her awareness of variance in rhetorical contexts and thus the necessity of rhetorical flexibility. Ahn, in a different interview, described the flexibility in her Korean writing. Even though she made detailed outlines at the beginning, the original organization often changed during the process of drafting. As a writer of Korean who was aware of the flexible nature of rhetorical patterns, Ahn did not seem to view prescribed patterns as inherent features of English writing. They were simply “basic” structures she no longer had to be conscious of in her Korean writing.

Unlike Ahn, Yeon reported the usefulness of learning organizational structure. Yeon valued the lessons on organizational patterns she had not been explicitly aware of:

I liked writing lessons because the teacher focused on how to organize essays. She taught organization in a very explicit way. Things in the introduction, some other things in body and conclusion (...) We practiced how to give a good structure to essays, which was the most helpful for me. This is not very complicated, but if I’m not aware of these things clearly, I would miss some important things (...) Because of this experience, I tend to focus on organization when I read. (Second interview with Yeon)

At the beginning of the semester, Yeon expressed rather broad needs related to English writing – academic writing with sophisticated style and vocabulary. But after receiving instruction on how to organize paragraphs and essays as well as the instructor’s feedback on organization, discourse markers and mechanics, Yeon realized that she needed practice with the “basics of English writing” first rather than targeting for a high level of academic English. Another focus of teacher feedback was in response to errors in conjunctions, linking adverbials and punctuation. Yeon commented that this feedback also taught her “basic but critical things” in English writing. Through the writing experience in English 1, Yeon realized that her first step in

learning English academic writing should begin with practicing formal features such as organization patterns, discourse markers and mechanics.

Hwan did not report any new knowledge gained through the writing instruction and assignments in English 1. The writing lessons and assignments reminded him of writing experiences in his previous after-school English programs. As an early immersion student who had previous experience with the five paragraph essay model for several years, Hwan reported that the writing assignments in English 1 provided him with opportunities to “brush up” his writing skills. In response to my question on what he learned through the course, Hwan reiterated the importance of adopting clear organization and using relevant discourse and meta-discourse markers to show transition of ideas and mark paragraph boundaries. The course confirmed Hwan’s belief that English writing prefers a straightforward discourse pattern utilizing diverse discourse markers and connecting words.

Other than reactions to the foci of English 1, students shared challenges they experienced while completing the major writing assignments. Soo and Ahn spoke of the predominance of linguistic processing in their writing that originated from their lack of control over English lexis and grammar. Soo described her challenges in writing a paragraph length assignment:

It took three to four hours to translate my draft written in Korean (...) I actually had to write in Korean first because it’s not easy to write directly in English. So I drafted in Korean first and then revised it again in Korean too. Then I began to translate it into English. There were a lot of expressions I didn’t know how to translate. I looked them up in the dictionary. After doing a rough version in English, I still saw lots of weird expressions or words. I tried to fix them. (Third interview with Soo)

As this interview excerpt illustrates, it took Soo several hours just to translate one paragraph of what she first wrote in Korean into English. Without much previous experience in L2 writing, she did not expect that her lack of linguistic resources would be such a large obstacle in L2 writing. In addition to the instructor's comments on organization and discourse markers, Soo said she needed feedback on her vocabulary use. Even though dictionaries helped her find expressions she did not know how to express, she felt that many of them were not accurate representations of her intended meaning. She "wondered about authentic expressions native English speakers use", but found it almost impossible to figure them out through the assistance of dictionaries only.

Ahn, who considered the organizational patterns taught in the course "very basic," considered her most significant challenge to be sentence construction. She found herself repeating simple sentences and drawing on similar phrases over and over. Her lack of control over sentence structures, Ahn supposed, prevented her ideas from flowing effortlessly. Believing that her difficulty using varied types of phrases and sentences originated from her lack of practice, Ahn commented that practicing sentences should take priority in her learning to write in English.

The students in English 1 reacted to writing lessons and assignments in varied or, in some cases, similar ways. Soo and Yeon came to associate English writing with the organization of basic discourse elements into prescribed patterns. Hwan reinforced his preconceived notions of English writing as a linguistic activity in which straightforward organizational patterns take a central place. Ahn, on the other hand, perceived the prescribed patterns taught in the course as something rudimentary she would not draw on when engaging in her Korean writing tasks. She indicated that different rhetorical contexts determined organizational patterns. One common

challenge across the traditional students was their attention given to “text generation” or the time-consuming process of translating their ideas from L1 to L2 (Manchon, 2016). Because of this challenge, the two traditional students, Soo and Ahn, associated L2 writing with a mentally intense process of producing language. They reported that after investing a great amount of time in language processing, they were still left with uncertainty about the accuracy of their texts.

Even though students reported that learning to write in English provided opportunities to learn about their learning gaps, the four focal participants’ perceived needs related to L2 writing after taking one semester of English 1 class did not undergo significant changes. To my question in the final interview about what he wanted to improve in his English, Hwan responded that he wanted to keep practicing oral English through the English debate club and continue to write his personal journal to expand his productive vocabulary. No expressed goals linked to learning-to-write in L2 were reported by him. When specifically asked if he had goals in relation to L2 writing, Hwan said that an essay type of English writing would not be necessary in his academic studies or career. As a business major who wanted to become a CPA, he did not view extended English writing ability as critical. Soo and Ahn also shared with me their goals to improve their oral fluency. Soo’s comments summarize the motivation behind these goals:

My goals are very general and maybe vague. Most students prepare for tests like TOEFL and TOEIC. It’s inevitable to take these tests. To be honest I’m not interested in them at all. But I need scores to be hired by big corporations or to be accepted into graduate school. And I want to improve my speaking. That would help me make friends from different national backgrounds. My goals are really broad. I don’t know. (Third interview with Soo)

As a freshman who did not designate her major and had just begun to navigate university life, Soo said she did not have very specific needs for English learning. Therefore, she spoke of English requirements such as test scores and oral fluency that would be externally demanded of her by future employers or graduate schools. Learning to write extended English prose was not on Soo and Ahn's English learning agendas.

The students from Hank's Intermediate English Writing reported varied responses to the writing lessons and assignments provided in the course. The returnees, Jun, Ki and Lin entered the course having familiarity with the traditional five paragraph essay model and experience with English writing during their study abroad years. Their instructor, Hank, prioritized teaching so-called "personal academic essays" in which a specific discourse mode was first introduced, and students employed this mode to write about one of the topics provided by the instructor or of their own choice. Each of the three discourse modes (Process Analysis, Compare and Contrast, and Argument) guided the three major writing assignments. Discourse elements such as hook, thesis statement, and topic sentence were considered essential for giving an essay a smooth flow and coherence. In addition to the discourse modes and arrangement of discourse elements, Hank emphasized a personal "voice" and sophisticated "style" that are often advocated by scholars from the expressivist camp (Elbow, 1998; Raimes, 1991). Other emphases in the course included using the "right tone" through sentence crafting (different lengths and types of sentences) and creating discursal identity that could appeal to the "sophisticated" reader. Students completed their writing using a multiple stage model (outline, two drafts, peer review and final version), and Hank provided feedback at least twice for each major writing assignment. Hank drew on diverse strands of L2 writing pedagogy such as current traditional rhetoric, expressivism and process writing. While sticking to formulaic requirements (e.g., adoption of a required specific

mode, thesis statement and hook), students, at the same time, were expected to deliver novel ideas, display a sophisticated style, and use the “right” tone²⁸.

Seon commented that it was her first time to learn about discourse modes. As a traditional student who did not have extensive experience learning to write in English in the classroom setting and who took the course mainly to improve her oral fluency and linguistic accuracy, Seon spoke of many things she was newly exposed to in the course. When asked about writing assignments, each of which aimed to acquire a particular discourse mode, Seon commented:

I like it that I am exposed to various types of writing. Without this class, I wouldn't have been able to practice many different kinds of English writing. (...) I write on Tumblr and on my blog in English, but what we practice in class is different. I haven't heard about “process analysis” writing before. I like these [assignments in Intermediate English Writing] because we use a different structure for each assignment. (Second interview with Seon)

For Seon, writing according to a particular discourse mode was a new experience. She compared posts on her SNS pages to the types of writing she was given in Intermediate English Writing in order to emphasize the different nature of the major assignments that provided clear direction and structure for her writing. Seon, in another interview, spoke of the usefulness of handouts that introduced a typical organizational pattern²⁹ for each of discourse modes.

In response to my question to challenges she encountered in completing assignments, Seon spoke of her lack of control over “language.” She explained her difficulty in completing assignments:

²⁸ Hank said developing a unique tone and style for L2 writers was challenging. Therefore, he did not put too much weight on these in evaluating his students' writing.

²⁹ See p. (Chapter 4) for one example of organizational structure the instructor provided for students.

The instructor asked for around eight paragraphs, which is a lot for me (...) When I write a long paper in English, I reach a certain point in which I run out of expressions. All the expressions I know are already on the paper before I get to the last part. I am hesitant to use the same words or expressions. It's really hard to think in English (...) I don't know how to close the gap between what I used and real, authentic expressions. My final product doesn't exactly reflect my thoughts. That's the problem. The way the teacher understood my writing was different from what I was trying to say (...) He's a native [English] speaker, but it seems that my ideas didn't come across to him. (Second interview with Seon)

Seon's biggest challenge in the course was her lack of lexico-grammatical repertoire to deliver her intended message. She spent many hours translating her ideas and thoughts into English, but she had the feeling that her writing "doesn't reflect my [her] thoughts". In the first writing assignment in which Seon was asked to write a process analysis essay, she chose one of the topics suggested by the instructor, "How to lose weight without losing your mind." Seon, in addition to introducing less stressful ways to go on a diet, wanted to tell the reader that before going on diet, they should realize that standards set by society and the media are unrealistic. To Seon, this realization could help people lead to a diet without much stress. However, Seon saw herself struggling in translating this idea onto paper. She said there would be ways to convey her message unambiguously if she were a fluent user of English. According to Seon, her message, because of her lack of linguistic resources, became unclear, which understandably led to misunderstanding on the part of the instructor. The feedback she received from the instructor was mainly about a thesis and focus. The instructor commented, "Remember... without a clear thesis statement, your focus will drift. You can see it here. The first topic sentence is weak in terms of

focus.” (See part of Seon’s draft with instructor feedback in Appendix H.) Seon felt that these comments resulted from differences between the intention in her mind and the meaning projected on the paper. Perceived needs for English writing for Seon were similar to what she spoke of at the beginning of the semester, *i.e.*, narrowing the linguistic gap. However, she seemed to feel challenged to close the gap.

Jun and Lin, who had been exposed to organizational patterns based on discourse modes and the five paragraph essay model while preparing for the TOEFL and essay contests, viewed the Intermediate English Writing course as similar to their previous learning-to-write experiences. They, at the interviews at the end of the semester, reflected on the course:

(...) The class became an opportunity to brush up my writing skills. I haven’t been writing in English that much since high school because of test preparation. This class reminded me of the writing tasks I worked on and the skills I learned before. (Third interview with Jun)

First of all, I re-learned essay structures. Since high school, I haven’t been writing a lot in English. I remember the teacher made lots of suggestions on my draft [of the first writing assignment in the course] (...) Through this class, I reviewed what I learned while preparing for the TOEFL (...) This class was not necessarily about learning different types of writing. It was an essay class. (Third interview with Lin)

As these reflections illustrate, both Jun and Lin found that the course content mirrored what they had previously practiced. Jun, a returnee whose English writing had been limited to exam writing during secondary school, showed an ambivalent attitude toward the course. Jun, at the beginning of the semester, expressed her desire to break away from the five paragraph structure. Even though the instructor told the students that the five paragraph essay was a basic

structure from which students needed to expand into a structure with more than five paragraphs, it was hard for Jun to figure out ways to add more paragraphs. Jun also found it too risky to pass the bounds of the structure because she was concerned that her essays would lose focus. Jun's initial needs for L2 writing, learning a "more advanced" structure that "allowed me [her] more flexibility," were not addressed in the course, but Jun reported that she saw improvement in the flow of her writing. Jun felt that the process of writing multiple drafts and receiving feedback provided her with opportunities to develop ideas with a better flow.

At the beginning of the semester, Lin expressed the need to learn to write analytic and expository genres of writing. Her perceived needs were not addressed in Intermediate English Writing, but she said that she was able to review "essay" writing. She remarked that what she learned in the course would be helpful in English courses offered by the Hahn-ELP. Lin differentiated the writing assignments in this course from other types of writing in other contexts. Lin used the term "essay" to refer to writing drawing on the basic structure of the five paragraph essay. The course, in some sense, reaffirmed her assumptions of English "essay" writing. She compared her experiences with "essay" writing to Korean writing:

[English] essays give you a straightforward direction. But when you read some [Korean] writing pieces composed by really good writers, you recognize their points in the later part of the text. You get to gradually understand the point while you are reading. I think that's more of Korean writing style. But in essays, it's like "this is my point." They just say things at the beginning (...) I think Korean writing style sounds better because it is really hard to write like that. It has a bigger impact on the reader. It flows smoothly, so [readers] follow the flow effortlessly. And finally this realization comes to the reader, "oh

this is what the writer meant.” At this point, all the things they have read come to their mind again. (Third interview with Lin)

Lin made “generalizations” on differences between English “essay” writing and Korean writing. According to her comments above, English “essays” practiced in English language classes and for test purposes were quite different from “Korean style writing.” To her, Korean writing is more nuanced and sophisticated in its development of ideas. At the same interview Lin also said “Korean style” writing does not draw on many discourse markers and that was the reason Korean writing sounded “less artificial” than English “essays.” She also made note of the different rhetorical requirements of writing in her disciplinary and other courses than those of English “essays.” (See her comments on her disciplinary writing in the previous section.) The Intermediate English Writing course confirmed her assumptions of different types of writing in different pedagogical settings and across the languages. Lin shared her difficulty writing in the “Korean style” because of her years of practice with English “essays” after returning to Korea. Her Korean teachers pointed out a rigid structure and frequently-used discourse markers in her Korean writing and advised her not to follow such a prescribed structure, but she found it really hard to break away from the “essay” structure and style. Her comments, “Korean style writing sounds better,” indicate, however, her desire to write in the “Korean style” that “sounds better” and is adopted by “really good writers.”

Finally, Ki, a returnee who had extensive self-sponsored writing experience, especially in creative writing in English, evidenced rather different perspectives on the course than the other two returnees, Jun and Lin. Writing assignments in Intermediate English Writing became a venue for Ki to explore his deep-seated thoughts, and finally discover and articulate his authentic inner self. He also reported the messy and recursive process of his writing that originated from

the time-consuming and complicated nature of self-discovery. Ki was aware of the significance of, and thus attentive to, formal requirements in the course (pre-defined organizational pattern according to a particular discourse mode), but he also told me that the instructor emphasized creativity in ideas and sophistication in style in addition to these formal requirements. Since he identified himself as a creative writer in English, he expressed great excitement about Hank's emphasis on creativity and style. He explained the process he went through to complete the first draft of a compare and contrast essay. In the essay, he compared two different points in his life, i.e., before and after bad habits were given up:

It was really hard to come up with a focal point in this essay (...) I didn't want my writing to sound contrived or plain (...) At one point, this idea came to mind, "let's view this issue from a broader perspective. I'd better not focus on benefits or significance of giving up bad habits. What did I really want out of this habit change at the bottom of my heart?" It took four drafts to complete this assignment. A new idea occurred to me while I was writing the third draft. I had to start over again. [In the third draft] I realized that what I really wanted was radical changes in my life rather than just changing my daily habits (...) I probably got to know what I was really thinking because of this writing process. At the beginning I was influenced by what people usually say about bad habits. I didn't think of other sides of the story. This writing got me to think over and over again. I came to dig deep into my personal experience. (Second interview with Ki)

These remarks clearly show Ki's investment in the assignment. It took several days for him to complete the first draft through a recursive writing process entailing four drafts. More outstanding in these comments was the indication of writing as self-exploration or self-discovery. Ki went through an intense process of searching for meaning because of his belief that writing

provides an opportunity to explore ideas and thoughts that are sometimes invisible initially. The focus of the instructor's comments on Ki's writing was different from that on the other participants' writing. The comments on the latter usually focused on formal requirements (e.g., the inclusion of thesis statement and adoption of a required discourse mode) and focus of the essay. However, the comments made on Ki's drafts were mainly about tone and style (e.g., "Your style of writing is very nice. You have a nice ear for prose. Good work in sentence crafting. We could smooth the overall flow and pacing of the essay.") The instructor's feedback encouraged Ki to develop his own "style" of English writing, which was always his priority in his creative writing. He said it was the first time for him to receive feedback on his writing "style" in the school setting.

The students in Intermediate English Writing responded to writing lessons and assignments in different ways. The traditional student, Seon, realized how challenging it was to deliver her message through extended L2 writing. She hoped to expand her productive linguistic repertoire through writing, but found it challenging to do that through her own effort. For Jun and Lin, the course became a space to relearn and refresh what they were previously taught. Ki viewed the writing assignments as an opportunity to listen to his inner voice, express himself, and develop his writing style.

As diverse as their reactions to Intermediate English Writing, each student expressed varied levels of need for L2 writing toward the end of the semester. Seon wanted to keep improving her linguistic fluency, so learning-to-write L2 academic discourse was not her main interest. As a confident writer in Korean, she expected that once she gained control over "language," she would be able to handle most rhetorical contexts in L2. Taking a writing course was one of the routes she selected to increase her linguistic fluency and accuracy. Seon reported

that she wanted to continue to be exposed to English through reading novels and American TV shows, which she believed would help her acquire “authentic” expressions. Learning-to-write in L2 was not on her English learning agenda.

Jun’s goals for writing after taking the course remained similar to those she established at the beginning – improving her general writing skills. She had a general understanding that L2 writing skills might be important in her pursuit of a doctoral degree in an English speaking country. However, Jun, who began to take many disciplinary courses, did not see any critical role for writing in her major. In both Korean and English medium business courses, she had not been asked to write extended papers. Personal essays she practiced in Intermediate English Writing resembled the tasks she had practiced to prepare for high-stakes tests, and thus she perceived these essays as belonging primarily to English classes and exams. For these reasons, Jun had no strongly felt needs or specific goals to improve her L2 writing.

By contrast, Lin, whose views about Intermediate English Writing were similar to Jun’s, expressed specific needs for writing both in English and Korean. Lin, while taking general education courses offered in Korean, felt challenged in completing writing assignments in Korean. Writing assignments in her major courses in English literature seemed like a totally different type of writing from “essays” she was used to and practiced in Intermediate English Writing. Through these experiences, Lin was slowly building her awareness of different assumptions and conventions among different types of writing. At the end of the semester, Lin spoke of the necessity to increase her writing competence in varied types of writing across the two languages. Even though she did not share specific plans to accomplish the goals, it seemed that her growing awareness of the necessity of rhetorical flexibility to address varied writing demands would very likely help her become an effective writer.

Ki, motivated by the instructor's encouraging comments on his style and tone of writing, wanted to keep developing his own "creative" style of English writing. To accomplish his goal to become a creative L2 writer at the professional level, Ki wanted to engage in diverse types of writing including fiction, poetry and journalistic writing. Since he identified himself as a writer of English rather than Korean, he was concerned about the stereotype that L2 writers do not have an individual, unique writing style. As an aspiring writer of English, Ki wanted to prove the conventional conception wrong.

The eight focal participants from the two courses in the Hahn-ELP showed great diversity in their linguistic, literate, cultural, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. These varied backgrounds led to a range of conceptions, attitudes and identities regarding L2 writing instruction. The quintessential pedagogical genre (the five paragraph essay) almost exclusively taught across the Hahn English courses contributed to reinforcing some students' conceptions while for others it resulted in newly forming perceptions of English writing. Because of the scarcity of L2 writing assignments in the EMI content courses they took previously and/or simultaneously, most of the participants did not indicate pressing needs to learn-to-write for academic purposes. Instead, many of the Hahn informants expressed concerns for expanding their productive vocabulary.

5.3 Comparisons of the two L2 writer groups and discussion

In this section I compare directly, based on the findings in the previous sections, how L2 writers' perceptions of need for L2 writing are similar or different within and across the two programs. It should be noted that direct comparisons between the two L2 writer groups need to be made with varied individual backgrounds and local contextual factors in mind. The comparisons therefore are made by delineating these varied factors in each setting, including

students' linguistic/literacy backgrounds, concurrent and future L2 writing demands, and academic and career goals. Another important circumstantial aspect that affected students' perceptions of need for L2 writing is the nature of L2 writing instruction they received (e.g., basic tenets in pedagogical approaches). The current section discusses the findings in light of the relevant literature and provides pedagogical and policy implications.

5.3.1 Variation in perception of need for L2 writing within each program

Because of varied student backgrounds (language proficiency, literacy backgrounds, majors, career paths, and others), a range of student perspectives and needs for L2 writing were identified in each setting. The variance suggests that there is no single coherent pattern of student conceptions and needs for L2 writing in each of the settings. One perspective possessed by some of the Southern participants was that they saw writing tasks and papers they practiced in their FYC classes as belonging to "language arts courses." The two international students who received writing instruction mainly through their L1 courses in their home country tended to perceive their writing assignments as "an end in themselves" within the writing courses. Previous writing experiences limited primarily to their L1 language arts courses and writing requirements from their concurrent coursework (e.g., lab reports) played a large role in their perceived disconnect between writing instruction in English Composition 101 and writing out of the course. They instead expressed needs for improvement of other language-related skills (listening, reading, vocabulary, and grammar) while undertaking writing assignments in their English Composition 101 course. Students who were aware of gaps between their current writing proficiency and expectations in their current and future rhetorical situations reported learning-to-write needs. Susie (late-arriving student) and Floyd (early-arriving student), because of their U.S. high school writing experiences, were cognizant of their own challenges in writing. On the other

hand, Alex, a U.S. born L2 writer, who had extensive reading and writing experience in L2 and saw himself as a confident writer, did not identify any EAP oriented needs. Because of his experience in high school, he viewed writing assignments as an opportunity to expand his intellectual horizon and as a means to help him become a responsible and informed citizen.

The profiles of the Southern focal participants, including diverse L2 writer populations from international students to early-arriving and late-arriving students, match the recent L2 writing literature that reports growing diversity among the L2 writer population in terms of linguistic, literate, cultural and educational backgrounds (Ferris, 2009; Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009). Because of the university's location in a large city that attracts a large immigrant population, early-arriving and late-arriving students often comprised the majority of FYC classes for L2 writers, which is increasingly observed in many ESL composition programs located in California and New York (Goen et al., 2002; Holten, 2002; Roberge, Losey & Wald, 2015).

The disparate (and often unidentified) perceptions of need among L2 writers described indicate that varied individual language/literacy learning histories and L2 language proficiency play a critical role in student perceptions of need. The international students in the study expressed multi-dimensional language-related challenges in and out of the writing course, but did not report, in their first semester, pressing needs for learning-to-write in L2 for their coursework. Extensive knowledge on vocabulary and grammar, often cited as the international students' strengths (Reid, 1997), was not self-reported by them. Rather, vocabulary and grammar (including surface level grammar and sentence construction issues) were cited as challenging areas in writing. Challenges such as academic register and reading skills that early-arriving students reportedly face in handling academic literacy (Roberge, 2009; Ferris, 2009) were not identified among the three early-arriving students. The main reason would be that the three early

arriving students in the study had been investing in their academic success as evidenced in their college credits they earned during high school. This pattern shows the particularity and idiosyncrasy of L2 writer characteristics that might exist in many L2 writing classrooms that intend to be inclusive of diverse L2 student populations (Roberge, Losey, and Wald, 2015).

The majority of the Hahn freshman participants did not see any urgent need for learning to write in L2. Extended L2 writing papers were not assigned in the freshman students' coursework in their first semester. When some of the Hahn participants expressed needs for L2 writing, their needs were divergent (often unspecified) including writing for their coursework (for Lin, an English major) and post-graduate work in an English speaking country (for Jun), writing in future work setting (for Lin) and creative writing (for Ki).

The lack of needs among freshmen traditional students coincides with Japanese undergraduate students' specific needs for L2 writing in Sasaki (2009). As the Japanese undergraduates, especially those who had not experienced study abroad, did not see imminent or future needs for L2 writing, most of the Hahn freshman participants did not identify immediate or target situations in which they would engage in L2 writing. Instead, they reported developing oral language as a priority in their English learning. The freshmen's lack of L2 writing needs also aligns with the findings of survey studies that examined English learning needs of Korean university students, few of whom expressed L2 writing related needs because they prioritized oral language development in their English learning (Chong & Kim, 2001; Kim, 2007). However, learning-to-write needs in L2 expressed by the Hahn returnees have not been widely documented in L2 writing research from EFL contexts. L2 writing needs of these students reflect a growing diversity in student population at some prestigious Korean universities in the recent decade (Shin,

2012). These universities increasingly enroll students who previously studied in English-speaking countries or attended English medium elementary and/or high schools in other contexts.

As described above, the student backgrounds and needs for L2 in each of the program show great diversity. While research and theorization of the internal variety in student populations and their needs in an L2 composition program is gaining footholds in research from North American contexts, the variation in L2 writing goals and needs among students from non-English dominant contexts has not been extensively documented in L2 writing research. It is likely that there is less variety in L2 writer needs in many EFL settings than in ESL environments because many students learning English in the same institution are assumed to share similar language learning histories and educational backgrounds (Reichelt et al, 2012). However, the Hahn focal participants showed great diversity in their literate, cultural, educational and socio-economic backgrounds as different characteristics of the three groups of the Hahn informants indicated. These differences contributed to a range of conceptions, attitudes and needs regarding L2 writing instruction.

5.3.2 Comparison in perception of need across the programs

Because of the substantial internal variation in student perspectives on L2 writing in each program, it is difficult to make direct comparisons as two separate groups. In this section, I first address the issue of undefined needs for L2 writing among some Southern students and scant needs for L2 writing among some Hahn freshman informants. Then I make comparisons by reporting common perspectives shared by some students across the two programs (similarities) and the perceptions of need that appeared only in one setting (differences).

As described above, many focal participants across the two settings did not express specific needs for learning-to-write in L2. One important factor that contributed to unclear or

unidentified needs for L2 writing among these participants concerns “the fragmented nature of undergraduate education” (p. 66, Casanave, 2005). This factor is especially relevant in the first two years, during which students take numerous general education courses and are not yet familiar with the nature and extent of L2 writing requirements in their future disciplinary courses (Johns, 2009). Both universities offered general education courses encompassing introductory courses in liberal arts, social sciences and natural sciences, and therefore most students’ coursework was, at least in their first year, not focused on their chosen field. First year writing (English at Southern University and Korean at Hahn University), freshman seminar (an introductory course to university studies and life), and other introductory courses in humanities and social sciences were taken by both groups of freshman students. Hahn students’ academic literacy demands seemed more complicated than their Southern counterparts because of the requirement of completion of at least five EMI courses in their discipline along with their coursework in Korean. The Hahn freshman informants were uncertain of academic literacy demands both in Korean and English.

Another factor that contributed to students’ unclear L2 literacy needs was unpredictability of students’ academic and career goals. Some students from Hahn University began their university careers without declared majors or specific career plans. Some of the Hahn freshmen students reported that intense competition in earning admission into a prestigious university did not allow them to explore career options. Similarly, a few Southern students who designated their majors reported that their majors could change after the first year. The first year curriculum and the uncertain nature of academic lives as freshmen seem to make it challenging for them to identify clear goals or purposes for L2 writing.

Even though many participants from both settings reported lack of needs for learning-to-write in L2, there were differences between the two groups in terms of changing specificity in L2 writing needs. In other words, while some Southern students were in the process of learning about academic literacy demands during the semester, Hahn freshmen's L2 writing needs did not undergo significant changes. For example, the two Southern international students lacked strong needs to learn to write in L2, and possessed limited conceptions of writing at the beginning of the semester. These students reported at the end of the semester that they needed to learn to write a particular genre assigned as a final paper (critique paper) in one of their disciplinary courses. When Amanda, an early arriving student, decided to change her major from nursing to psychology, she expected that she would need to write more traditional essays in her changed major. Unlike these Southern students, the Hahn freshmen who did not report needs for learning-to-write in L2 at the beginning did not express any newly identified needs at the end of the semester.

A qualitative difference between the two groups of students who reported learning-to-write goals was identified. Whereas the Southern students' needs were linked to immediate academic work, the Hahn informants often related their needs to L2 target communities after graduation. For instance, the Southern participants (Susie and Floyd) were aware of gaps in their L2 writing because of their high school writing experiences. Because they expected that these gaps could become a source of struggle in their academic writing, they reported their desire to fill these gaps. On the other hand, some of the Hahn informants' needs for learning-to-write in L2 did not orient toward their current or future coursework at the university (Lin, who wanted to improve her L2 writing for her current coursework as an English major, was an exception). These students wanted to improve their L2 writing for their future academic and professional

careers (e.g., graduate studies in an English speaking country and working for a global company). Even though Hahn students were required to take five EMI courses, non-freshman informants reported that they did not encounter L2 essay or paper assignments frequently in these courses. The differences in the students' identified L2 writing needs across the two settings suggest that the linguistic ecology in each setting contributed to the identified and developing needs of L2 writing.

Different perceptions of need between the two groups of students were also influenced by instructional approaches taken in L2 writing lessons in each setting. A few Southern students saw a connection between what they learned in their FYC course and writing assignments in their coursework. Min, Bo and Floyd noticed that summary skills they learned in their English Composition 101 could be applied to writing assignments in other courses they concurrently took. Seeing this connection probably helped these Southern students become sensitive to writing lessons and assignments in their writing courses. Some of the Hahn participants, the traditional students except for Ahn, formed the conception that a prescribed text structure was a main characteristic of Anglophone academic writing. The requirements to incorporate the discourse modes and five paragraph essay structure in their writing prompted some students to contrast "English" writing in their L2 courses with their writing experiences in Korean, which they perceived as rhetorically more flexible than English writing. It is likely that these students did not see situations in which they would write a personal essay that adopts the five paragraph structure. Lin, a returnee who experienced both Korean and English writing in her previous and current coursework, saw the five paragraph essay as a pedagogical genre identified mainly within English courses and high-stakes tests, but not in other Korean and EMI courses.

Other than these often different needs across the two settings, one noteworthy need identified among some of the Hahn informants was that these students viewed L2 writing as a venue through which they could increase their productive vocabulary and improve linguistic fluency (Manchón, 2011). Soo reported that engagement in L2 writing itself allowed her to notice lexico-grammatical gaps (Schmidt, 1990). Yeon believed that writing would be a great tool to improve her oral fluency. These students' perspectives linking writing and speaking coincide with recent pedagogical and research interests that explore interfaces between L2 writing and second language acquisition (SLA) (Manchón, 2011; Ortega, 2011; Williams, 2008). The students' interests in improvement of oral language were evidenced by Hwan's report that he kept a personal diary to increase his productive vocabulary. These students' accounts indicate great potential to teach L2 writing as a means to learn language especially for low-proficiency L2 writers.

5.3.3 Implications for teacher education and policy

The findings of this chapter suggest implications in L2 writing teacher preparation and institutional policy. The backgrounds of the students in each of the programs suggest a need for L2 writing teachers to understand and address increasing diversity in linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds among the L2 writers they serve. The credit-bearing L2 writing course option targeted for a wide range of L2 writers in the Southern-ELP raises a case in point on how to serve diverse L2 writer populations. The inclusion of diverse L2 populations, as observed in the Southern-ELP, offers benefits for these students. Some students who previously were not often the focus of L2 writing courses or programs (e.g., late-arriving students) would likely receive writing instruction that could meet their needs. The Southern-ELP also made efforts to avoid potential (often unintended) stigmatization or marginalization of these populations. The

Southern-ELP provided the L2 sections of English Composition 101 and 102 on an equal footing with mainstream sections of FYC. L2 writers were allowed to choose either a mainstream or L2 section to fulfill the FYC requirements, and there was no indication in their transcript that they took non-mainstream FYC courses, which could prevent possible stigmatization by stakeholders in students' entry into academic or professional careers because they could possibly associate L2 writing courses with remediation.

One challenge resulting from the inclusion of varied L2 writer populations is that L2 writing instructors need to address potentially a wide range of student needs. Students who are new to an English speaking country without extensive exposure to L2 academic discourse would have multiple literacy-related challenges including listening, reading and vocabulary along with learning-to-write needs. Other students who have extensive writing backgrounds might want to learn to write academic genres they would encounter in their disciplines. These two heterogeneous populations might be in the same class. In an ideal situation, students can be placed in a different level of language and writing courses depending on their proficiency and particular needs. If international students and late-arriving students need the development of linguistic proficiency and other linguistic modalities, they could take a course that aims to improve their overall linguistic proficiency. Similarly, early-arriving students who lack extensive writing experience in the academic discourse could be taught in a course that aims to raise awareness of varied rhetorical situations and teach academic registers and styles. However, many universities probably do not have resources and/or placement mechanisms that make it possible to implement this type of overarching curriculum. From students' perspectives, many of them would not want extra language or literacy related coursework that could strain them financially and, at worst, delay their graduation. When requiring additional coursework related to language

and literacy, administrators and policymakers might need to consider varied factors such as credit assignment, financial burden and graduation timeline.

Instructors who teach in writing programs that accommodate varied L2 writer populations in the same course need to teach both student groups: those who have just begun their academic studies in L2 and those who completed their whole schooling until high school only through L2 (in the case of many early-arriving students). Therefore, instructors would find it challenging to deliver lessons that address varied and possibly conflicting needs of different groups and individuals of L2 writers. L2 writing teachers who teach in this type of writing program need to be equipped with expertise and experience in addressing lexico-grammar, reading skills, formative feedback, genre-informed approaches, and others. While teacher education programs need to make effort to prepare teacher learners to be equipped with expertise addressing varied L2 writing related issues, L2 program administrators and policy-making university officials should strive to devise ways to provide support for L2 writers who need additional support outside of the L2 writing course. In addition, L2 writing programs, when making placement decisions, designing a curriculum and serving L2 writers in the program, need cooperation and dialogue with university-wide support services and programs. These services include intensive English program, tutoring service, L2 teacher training program, and mainstream composition program. Even though the Southern participants were assigned some writing assignments in their general education courses, many of them were uncertain about the nature and amount of writing assignments in their future disciplinary courses. This poses a question on how these L2 writers receive support for the rest of university years, during which their needs for L2 writing would possibly become clearer because of their growing familiarity with writing demands in their disciplinary courses. Without this type of multi-pronged approach

to serving L2 writers, it would be challenging to address diverse L2 writer needs only through the L2 composition courses.

Hahn focal participants' expressed lack of needs for L2 writing, particularly writing-to-learning language, raise a different set of issues and challenges for L2 writing teachers, administrators, teacher educators, and policy makers who work in a similar tertiary setting. First of all, lack of need for learning-to-write particularly among freshman participants poses challenges in setting writing related course goals, designing major writing assignments, and deciding pedagogical approaches. If students do not have many occasions to write essays and papers in L2, as many Hahn informants reported, pedagogical focus on learning-to-write might need to be reconsidered. In L2 instructional settings in which most learners have little experience of producing language (either in oral or written form), and do not see urgent current or future needs for writing in L2 academic genres, L2 language program administrators and teachers probably need to conceptualize L2 writing by taking into account learner perspectives. Current traditional rhetoric that purports to teach a basic organization or genre-informed approaches that aim to teach L2 academic tasks and genres in English dominant universities might not be the best fit for these students' current and future needs for target situations.

As suggested in recent research, L2 writing encompasses not only learning-to-write, but also writing-to-learn content and writing to-learn language dimensions (Manchón, 2011). L2 writers in foreign language settings tend to prioritize development of linguistic competence as indicated by the Hahn informants (Reichelt et al., 2012). Therefore, in setting goals for "language" learning, language learning potential through writing can be considered. Class activities and homework assignments can be designed so that students can utilize writing as a tool for noticing, hypothesis testing and metalinguistic reflection, which potentially elicit

modified output and eventually assist language acquisition (Swain & Lapkin, 2002). In this case, class activities and tasks do not have to be strictly categorized as either speaking or writing. In freshman English language programs that address four linguistic modalities with a primary focus on speaking, as often observed in many Korean universities (Cho, 2006; Kim, 2007), writing is often addressed separately from other linguistic modalities by mainly dealing with discourse modes and the five paragraph essay. Linking speaking and writing within English language programs has a potential to motivate students to acquire language in an environment in which they identify linguistic gaps and test out varied lexico-grammatical features (Williams, 2008).

To help L2 writing teachers (also L2 teachers more widely) become effective writing teachers, teacher educators could begin with raising consciousness among novice teachers of diversity in student backgrounds and the potential variance in their needs for L2 writing. Sensitivity to these varied needs could be a crucial first step for teacher learners to become effective L2 writing teachers who would be willing to develop their expertise over time in order to accommodate diverse learner backgrounds and purposes of L2 writing. In addition, as the oral and written modalities can be integrated in many learning tasks and activities, strict division of labor between “language” and writing might not serve L2 writer’s best interests especially when they instruct L2 learners who need support with their language development and those who possess needs both for language and writing development.

The findings of the chapter provide implications for ELP administrators and policy makers. College writers in many global contexts would often possess needs to improve their writing competence both in their L1 and L2, as evidenced in the aspirations of Yeon, Jun and Lin to become competent biliterate academic writers. One factor that appears to keep these students from effectively developing their biliterate competence in the study was a mismatch between

writing instruction and experiences in their L1 and L2. Whereas these students have experienced L1 text-responsible writing in their previous and current institutional settings, L2 writing instruction in the Hahn-ELP primarily addressed formulaic textual organization. These incommensurate goals and approaches would not likely facilitate the development of biliteracy, but could lead learners to form different conceptions of writing between the two languages. The first step administrators and policy makers could take in order to promote bilingual written competence among learners is to encourage a dialogue among programs that offer instruction and services in L1 and L2 literacy (e.g., L1 composition program, ELP, and tutoring service at Hahn University). Sharing curricular goals, learning outcomes, and pedagogical focus among these programs would enable each of the parties to see a big picture of literate experiences of students in different languages. This information could help administrators and policy makers in an ELP set up course goals and pedagogical directions by utilizing rhetorical resources and writing competence that students possess in their L1 writing. There is increasing research evidence that transfer in writing competence is bidirectional. In other words, writing competence developed in either L1 or L2 could contribute to the enhancement of literate competence in the other language (Cummins, 1984; Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2008). The university-wide dialogue and cooperation that aim at promoting biliterate competence would contribute to the improvement of curricular and pedagogical practices of programs that provide L1 or L2 literacy instruction.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The current chapter will begin with the summarization of the major findings by revisiting the research questions. In the next section I discuss research implications and future directions.

6.1 Summary of the findings

This cross contextual study sought to identify practices of teaching and learning L2 writing to shed light on the situated nature of L2 writing by answering the two following overarching questions:

1. How is L2 writing conceptualized by an administrator and teachers in two contextually different programs, one in a U.S. university and another in a Korean university? In what ways is L2 writing similarly or differently conceptualized?
2. What are L2 writers' perceptions of need for L2 writing in these two contextually different programs? In what ways are these perceptions similar or different within and across the two programs?

The Southern-ELP adopted an L2 curriculum that prioritizes the acquisition of literacy tasks and elemental genres that they believed to be the core components of academic writing. Because of the complexity and uncertainty of academic literacy in early years of university study as well as the necessity of the enculturation of L2 students into Anglo-phone university cultures, the Southern-ELP focused the teaching of basic academic tasks and key elemental genres. Rhetorical patterns were often of primary concern for all the instructors, and elemental genres such as exposition and argument were the most frequently employed target genres for teaching. This pedagogical focus shows that acquisition of academic genres and tasks was the program's primary concern. To ease students into the acquisition of genres, multiple-staged process writing was widely adopted. During the writing process, teachers intervened frequently to guide students to acquire formal characteristics of genres. The Southern instructors did not perceive writing as a separate skill that can be developed independent of other language modalities. The understanding

of academic writing as “text-responsible” led the instructors to treat reading and reading skills as essential in learning to write in academia. Support for a range of linguistic areas (oral/aural/reading) was also seen as critical for the successful academic socialization of L2 students.

The Hahn-ELP, on the other hand, did not prioritize writing in English courses; its pedagogical focus in the four-skill oriented freshman classes was on improving students’ oral language proficiency and enhancing confidence as an English speaker. In L2 writing lessons, the Hahn instructors associated teaching L2 writing mainly with organizational patterns. The five paragraph essay and diverse discourse modes (argument, compare & contrast, process analysis) were explicitly taught so that students can master the organizational pattern and discourse elements. The instructors adopted a series of stages so that students could acquire, through peer review and instructor feedback, the rhetorical pattern stipulated by the essay model and discourse modes.

The two programs’ pedagogical conceptualization of L2 writing was not parallel to each other in many aspects other than the adoption of process writing by both programs. First, the degree to which L2 writing was incorporated in the curriculum showed great discrepancies. This difference is assumed to originate from different linguistic ecology at each institution. The Southern-ELP’s writing instruction, because it served mainly L2 undergraduates who were required to display and transform knowledge in their subject area courses through L2, focused on academic literacy demands. By contrast, the needs for L2 writing were not clearly identified by or communicated to the instructors in the Hahn-ELP.

The Southern-ELP linked L2 writing instruction with academic tasks by offering pedagogy aligned with EGAP and ESP perspectives, which led the instructors to assign

elemental genres (e.g., problem-solution, exposition, and argument) that they believed are key text types appearing across the undergraduate curriculum. By contrast, writing was viewed mainly as an organizational pattern in the Hahn-ELP. The program's writing pedagogy reflects current traditional rhetoric in that it covered a generic textual organization (e.g., a deductive five paragraph essay pattern). The two teacher groups' perspectives on L2 writing indicate the dominant role of disciplinary and teacher training backgrounds. The discrepancies in pedagogical and experiential resources in teaching writing led to rather divergent approaches.

With regard to students' perceived need for L2 writing, there was a huge internal variation in both settings. The seven focal participants from the Southern-ELP showed great diversity in their perception of need in L2 writing. Their linguistic and literacy backgrounds had the biggest impact on their conceptions of L2 writing. Literacy demands from the courses they were taking concurrently also contributed to their evolving or unchanged views on the roles of L2 writing in their academic careers. Although these seven students were enrolled in FYC courses in the same ELP, their attitude toward and perceived roles of L2 writing varied greatly.

The majority of the Hahn freshman participants did not see any urgent need for learning-to-write in L2 because extended L2 writing papers were not assigned in their coursework in the first semester. When some of the Hahn participants expressed needs for L2 writing, their needs were divergent (often unspecified) including post-graduate work in an English speaking country, writing in future work setting and creative writing.

Even though many participants from both settings reported lack of needs for learning-to-write in L2, there were differences between the two groups in terms of changing specificity in L2 writing needs. Whereas some Southern students were becoming aware of literacy-related demands during their first semester, Hahn freshmen's L2 writing needs did not undergo

significant changes. The Hahn students who did not express any goals in L2 writing in the beginning did not form new L2 academic literacy needs throughout the semester. Another difference in the two groups' needs for L2 writing was that while the Southern students' needs were immediate, the Hahn informants often referred to target L2 communities after graduation.

Different perceptions of need between the two groups of students were heavily influenced by instructional approaches to teaching L2 writing adopted by each program. Some Southern students saw connection between what they learned in their FYC course and writing demands in their coursework whereas this type of connection was not observed among the Hahn informants. Some of the Hahn students who have previous experience with L2 writing viewed the writing tasks in English courses as a pedagogical genre used only in English language courses. One interesting perspective about L2 writing shared by some Hahn informants was that they saw L2 writing as a tool through which they could increase their productive vocabulary and improve linguistic fluency.

6.2 Research Implications

Findings from this study suggest that teaching and learning L2 writing is a situated practice intertwined with linguistic, cultural, educational, ideological and material factors in a particular context. Therefore, it is probably not very surprising that L2 writing is practiced and understood differently across the two different linguistic and sociocultural contexts. Descriptive cross-context case studies can make a contribution by providing background information on why a particular pedagogical approach is taken and why a certain conception of L2 writing is prevalent in a specific context. It can bring to light gaps or mismatches between what L2 writing teachers and administrators believe to be of importance to students and what L2 students perceive to be critical in their academic and professional lives. Even if students do not express

overwhelming needs for L2 writing, descriptive studies of contexts can assist stakeholders in understanding contextual factors that contribute to unidentified or scant needs. Through a study like this, stakeholders in L2 writing would very likely be informed of some important contextual components that they paid little attention to.

Case studies of L2 writing contexts can provide implications for other strands of L2 writing research. For instance, when deciding types of L2 writing tasks in experimental studies that track L2 students' writing development, researchers could first examine what particular types of writing tasks are relevant to L2 writers' current and prospective academic/ professional careers. By linking a particular task of the researcher's choice with linguistic, geo-historical, and sociocultural situations, the researcher would be able to help readers make meaningful connections with data. As Leki, Cumming and Silva (2008) suggest, it would be "counterproductive to analyze English learners' writing or language development without embedding the inquiry in the human, material, institutional, and political contexts where they occur" (p. 9).

This study suggests potential benefits of conducting the examination of contexts by teachers. I conducted the present study as an "outsider" by observing classes and interacting with many teachers and students. This extensive contact and interaction provided varied perspectives and wide-ranging contextual components, which were not visible while I was teaching. If a smaller-scale project than this project is conducted by a teacher or a group of teachers, they would be able to see a complicated interplay of contextual and circumstantial factors. An increase in teacher-generated action and other context-sensitive research from diverse linguistic, geographical contexts could also inform many L2 writing teachers who could then determine the transferability and possible relevance of studies from analogous settings to their own.

The current study also provides a research implication in terms of the interaction of two different strands of L2 writing research, i.e., learning-to-write (LW) and writing-to-learn language (WTL) (Manchón, 2011). Some of the L2 writers in the study were clearly aware that they were engaged in both LW and WTL dimensions through their major writing assignments. This awareness by the student writers not only indicates the necessity of expanded conception of L2 writing in pedagogy, but also implies that L2 writing research can become fuller and more productive when these two dimensions are considered. One interesting pattern in the study was that students' linguistic proficiency, needs for L2 writing, and writing tasks (types of writing assignments) all seem to be intertwined to affect the interaction of the LW and WTL dimensions of L2 writing. Future research on interfaces of these two strands can examine how varied factors such as students' goals and needs, language proficiency and other contextual components interact with these two dimensions of writing.

6.3 Coda

The present study described different pedagogical perspectives across the two contexts, and explicated varied contextual factors that impacted on teaching practices. Cross-contextual research shedding light on the situatedness of L2 writing could inform stakeholders in L2 writing (administrators, teachers and teacher educators) of a complex interplay of contextual factors affecting L2 writing instruction in various contexts. When L2 writing teachers raise sensitivity to contextual factors and build expertise in a range of pedagogical approaches, they would be able to come up with effective and creative approaches to teaching writing across varied teaching communities.

In my recent follow-up interviews with some of my focal student participants, some of them reported changes in their perspectives of L2 writing needs as they gained more academic

experiences, set new or changed academic and career goals, or took a new L2 literacy class³⁰. Some of them did not comment on any changes in their perceptions of L2 writing. This indicates that students' perspectives can be fluid and changeable, and contexts surrounding them are not static. Their report made me realize that examining student perspectives should be an ongoing effort in order to provide effective pedagogy and that a longitudinal study would provide a fuller, more dynamic picture of L2 writing contexts.

The aim of this cross-contextual study has been to increase our understanding of the socially-situated nature of L2 writing. The findings of the study suggest that pedagogical scholarship of L2 writing established with English dominant settings in mind may not be sufficient to address local exigencies of L2 writing in many different non-English dominant contexts and increasingly diversifying ESL settings. These findings invite L2 writing teachers and teacher educators to become more aware of a range of contextual factors and students' perceived needs influenced by these factors. This study also suggests a necessity to expand our pedagogical scholarship with a broader conception of L2 writing, as argued by scholars working at the intersection of L2 writing and SLA (Manchón, 2016; Ortega, 2011). Continued effort to document different L2 writing settings would contribute to bringing together different strands of context-sensitive L2 writing research and to creating pedagogical scholarship that attempts to address the needs of socially situated practitioners and their students.

³⁰ I decided to follow up with some of my focal participants to examine their long term trajectory of L2 writing practices. These subsequent interviews happened after all my data for this study was collected. Therefore, these interviews are not part of the present study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Consent Form for Directors

Consent Form for Directors

Georgia State University
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL

Title: Two Perspectives on Writing: A Cross-context Study of Second Language Writing

Administrators

Principal Investigator: Diane Belcher
Student P.I.: Hae Sung Yang

I. Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine similarities and differences in the cultural norms of L2 writing in two contexts – a writing program at an American university and an English program at a Korean university. You are invited to participate because you are director of one of these programs. Participation will require the sharing of the program book and curriculum-related documents and one hour of interview today.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to share the program book and curriculum-related documents and to be interviewed by the student PI. In the interview you will be asked about the program goals and objectives related to undergraduate writing courses. The interview will take place today. It will last about one hour. It will take place in your office or in a reserved room in the library. The interview will be audio recorded.

III. Risks:

This study offers no more risks than in a normal day of life.

IV. Benefits:

Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about similarities and differences in views and practices of second language writing between the two linguistically and socio-culturally different contexts.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. Diane Belcher and Hae Sung Yang will have access to your information. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board or the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)).

We will audio record the interview. Audio will be stored on the Student PI's password-protected computer. I will transcribe the audio. Excerpts from the transcriptions may be used in reporting research findings. Your name and most other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. However, the position you hold at the university will be reported. You may be identifiable from this information. Audio recordings will be deleted after we report the findings. The Student PI will retain transcriptions for research purposes.

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Diane Belcher at 404-413-5200 or dbelcher1@gsu.edu or Hae Sung Yang at 404-413-5200 or hyang20@gsu.edu if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study. You can also call if you think you have been harmed by the study. Call Susan Vogtner in the Georgia State University Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu if you want to talk to someone who is not part of the study team. You can talk about questions, concerns, offer input, obtain information, or suggestions about the study. You can also call Susan Vogtner if you have questions or concerns about your rights in this study.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix B Consent Forms for Instructors

Consent Forms for Instructors

Georgia State University

Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL

Title: Two Perspectives on Writing: A Cross-context Study of Second Language Writing

Instructors

Principal Investigator: Diane Belcher

Student P.I.: Hae Sung Yang

I. Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine similarities and differences in the cultural norms of L2 writing in two contexts – a writing program at an American university and an English program at a Korean university. You are invited to participate because you are an instructor in one of these programs. A total of eight instructors will be recruited for this study. Participation will involve two interviews (one hour for each interview, a total of two hours) by the student P.I., four time class observation by the student P.I., and the sharing of the syllabus, assignments, and in-class activities.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to share the syllabus, assignments, in-class activities and instructor feedback, to be interviewed by the student P.I. one at the beginning of the semester and the other 4 or 5 weeks after the first interview, and to allow him to observe your class four times and recruit student participants from your class. In the interview you will be asked about your role in your class and challenges and strategies for meeting these challenges. Each interview will last about one hour. It will take place in your office or in a reserved room in the library. The interview will be audio recorded. The student P.I. will also introduce the study to your students and ask them to participate in interviews twice.

III. Risks:

This study offers no more risks than in a normal day of life.

IV. Benefits:

Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about similarities and differences in views and practices of second language writing between the two linguistically and socio-culturally different contexts.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. Diane Belcher and Hae Sung Yang will have access to your information. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board or the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)).

We will audio record the interview. Audio will be stored on the Student PI's password-protected computer. I will transcribe the audio. Excerpts from the transcriptions may be used in reporting research findings. Your name and most other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. However, the position you hold at the university will be reported. You may be identifiable from this information. Audio recordings will be deleted after we report the findings. The Student PI will retain transcriptions for research purposes.

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Diane Belcher at 404-413-5200 or dbelcher1@gsu.edu or Hae Sung Yang at 404-413-5200 or hyang20@gsu.edu if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study. You can also call

if you think you have been harmed by the study. Call Susan Vogtner in the Georgia State University Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu if you want to talk to someone who is not part of the study team. You can talk about questions, concerns, offer input, obtain information, or suggestions about the study. You can also call Susan Vogtner if you have questions or concerns about your rights in this study.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix C Consent Forms for Students

Consent Forms for Students

Georgia State University
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL

Title: Two Perspectives on Writing: A Cross-context Study of Second Language Writing
Students

Principal Investigator: Diane Belcher
Student P.I.: Hae Sung Yang

I. Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine student views of second language writing. You are invited to participate because you are a student in one of English writing courses. Participation will involve two interviews (one hour for each interview, a total of two hours) by the student P.I., and the sharing of your writing done in this writing class. A total of 16 students will be recruited for this study. Participation will require the sharing of your writing for the class and a total of two hours for two interviews.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to share your writing in the class and to be interviewed by the student P.I. twice, one at the beginning of the semester and the other 4 or 5 weeks after the first interview. Each interview will last about one hour. It will take place in a reserved room in the library or in a public place on campus. The interviews will be audio recorded.

After the two interviews, each participant will receive a \$30 gift card.

III. Risks:

This study offers no more risks than in a normal day of life.

IV. Benefits:

Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about similarities and differences in views and practices of second language writing between the two linguistically and socio-culturally different contexts.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. Diane Belcher and Hae Sung Yang will have access to your information. Information may also be shared with those who make sure the study is done correctly (GSU Institutional Review Board or the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)).

We will audio record the interview. Audio will be stored on the Student PI's password-protected computer. I will transcribe the audio. Excerpts from the transcriptions may be used in reporting research findings. Your name and most other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. However, the position you hold at the university will be reported. You may be identifiable from this information. Audio recordings will be deleted after we report the findings. The Student PI will retain transcriptions for research purposes.

VII. Contact Persons:

Contact Diane Belcher at 404-413-5200 or dbelcher1@gsu.edu or Hae Sung Yang at 404-413-5200 or hyang20@gsu.edu if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study. You can also call

if you think you have been harmed by the study. Call Susan Vogtner in the Georgia State University Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu if you want to talk to someone who is not part of the study team. You can talk about questions, concerns, offer input, obtain information, or suggestions about the study. You can also call Susan Vogtner if you have questions or concerns about your rights in this study.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix D Administrator Interview Guide

Administrator Interview Guide

Background information about the program:

1. When was the program founded?
2. What changes have occurred in the program since you started working in the program in terms of the student population, courses offered and university policies?
3. Describe diagnostic or placement tests to place students in your program if any.
4. Describe the current student population the program serves.

Programmic and curricular goals:

5. What are university policies with regard to teaching English literacy skills for the population the program serves?
6. Describe the overall curricula of the program.

Goals and practices of writing courses:

7. Describe the curricula of writing courses within the program.
8. Describe the goals and objectives of writing courses for undergraduate students.
9. Describe how other language skills (listening, reading and speaking) are integrated in writing courses.
10. Describe focused writing tasks and genres (including pedagogical genres) in writing courses.
11. How would you compare different student populations (international students and generation 1.5 students in the ESLP; Korean students, international students and those admitted through special admissions programs in the GEP)?
12. Could you introduce assessment standards or guidelines, if any, at the programmic level?

Reading assignments:

1. How much reading are students expected to do for your course? What types of texts are they required to read (textbook, articles, etc)?
2. How well are students expected to know the material in the readings? Is the same content covered in lectures?
3. Are students expected to read critically or mostly for comprehension?
4. How are students held accountable for what they read (quizzes, discussion board, midterms, final, papers, etc.)?
5. How do reading and writing interact in your course? (do the assigned readings feed into the writings?)
6. What difficulties or problems do students say they have with the readings?
7. How would you compare the refugee students and the other students as far as their reading is concerned? Do you think they face any particular difficulty? What helps/hinders them in completing their reading assignments? Do they ask for assistance in fulfilling their tasks? Have they needed extra support? What type?

Appendix E Instructor Interview Guide

Instructor Interview Guide

Background information about the instructor (first interview):

1. Could you share your previous English teaching experience?
2. Describe writing courses you have taught before.
3. Describe one writing course you enjoyed teaching.
4. Describe one writing assignment that you remember was successful in your previous writing courses.

Goals and practices of teaching writing (first interview):

5. What is the goal of the writing course?
6. How would you compare different student populations (international students and generation 1.5 students in the ESLP; Korean students, international students and those admitted through special admissions programs in the GEP) in their English competence?
7. Describe major writing assignments of the course.
8. What do you think are major challenges of your students in completing writing assignments?
9. What resources do you think your students have to work on the major writing assignments?
10. What do you look for in grading student writing?
11. What kinds of feedback do you give to your students on their writing?
12. Describe materials and textbook you use in your course.

13. What are the roles of other linguistic modalities (listening, speaking, and reading) in your writing course?

Challenges and strategies for meeting these challenges in the classroom (second interview through stimulated recall):

14. Do you think the class went the way you planned?

15. What was the main objective of the class (on xxx-day)?

16. Could you explain why you chose a xxx activity in class?

17. Could you explain the purpose of a xxx activity in class?

18. What aspects of the class do you think went well?

19. How do you think was a xxx activity accepted by your students?

20. Was there anything you did differently from your lesson plan in last xxx-Day's class?

21. Is there anything you would do differently in last xxx-Day's class?

22. How do you think was a xxx writing assignment accepted by your students?

23. You have provided feedback and grades for the last writing assignment. What challenges do you think your students had in completing the assignment?

Appendix F Student Interview Guide

Student Interview Guide

Background information about the student (first interview):

1. Can you share your secondary school experience in learning to read and write in your native language as well as in English?
2. What classes and experience helped you learn to write in your native language?
3. What classes and experience helped you learn to write in English?
4. Describe your reading and writing in your native language besides school assignments.
5. Describe your reading and writing in English besides school assignments.
6. How important are English writing skills in the courses you are taking?

Goals in the writing course (first interview):

7. What are your expectations for this writing class?
8. What areas of writing do you want to improve? (idea development, organization, language)
9. What are your strengths in English writing?
10. What are your challenges in English writing?

Challenges and strategies for meeting these challenges in the classroom (second interview):

11. Describe your writing process of the last major writing assignment.
 12. What did you enjoy the most in the writing process?
 13. Describe challenges you faced while working on the writing assignment.
 14. How did you cope with the challenges?
 15. What did you learn by working on this assignment?
-
16. What type of writing assignments do you enjoy working on?
-
17. Describe English writing assignments in other courses. How does the writing course help you cope with these assignments?

Appendix G Survey on Learning Experience

Survey on Learning Experience

Please provide the following information about your language learning experience.

1. Major: _____
2. Year in your program: (circle) Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior
3. Describe your English learning experience in and out of school including after-school programs and cram schools.

	English Learning Experience
Elementary School	
Middle School	
High School	

4. Describe your Korean writing experience
5. Describe your study abroad experience.
6. What are your plans to study English during college?

Appendix H Seo's draft with instructor feedback

Seo's draft with instructor feedback

Intermediate English Composition

date —

(i persuasion)

Body — How to do it practically
— Conclusion →

3 Ways to Lose Weight without Stress

Good detail!

you already saw
this... don't repeat
yourself.

Very good hook!

(process)
(Big focus)
* think object?

Have you ever written "Losing weight" on your new year's resolution like a ritual event? Then, congratulation, you are ^{among the} 45.5% of Korean ^{who did the same.} According to the Korean Economy Daily, almost half of Korean set the diet plan for the New Year, but it also mentioned that nearly the whole of people have not kept their word; so don't worry, you are not alone. Every time we write down "Don't eat anything after 7pm" on the paper and pin it to refrigerator, but definitely in few days you will lose your mind with your hunger and be out of control tasting high calorie foods in compensation for short moment of patience. Just stop to eat and let you think, have you asked yourself the reason why you have to lose your weight? For what we are struggling to be thin?

We need a clear thesis statement here.
We need a "topic" + an "idea"

We are tend to prefer thin and skinny body, but the standard everybody sharing and requiring is abnormal. If you want to know how many kilograms you have to be in "normal class", you can google and find the chart. If you are women and have 166cm of height, 60.6kg is the average weight for normal people. However, you will find another column of table which shows your "beauty weight" is 51kg. Probably your eyes are moving around and thinking like "Oh, I have 58kg so that's why I'm not pretty that much. Almost everybody has "beauty weight" nowadays, so anyway I have to go on a diet." No, it's not the reason you are not pretty. No, a person with 166cm of height and 51kg is just underweight.

Remember... without a clear thesis statement, your focus will drift. You can see it here... the 1st topic sentence is...