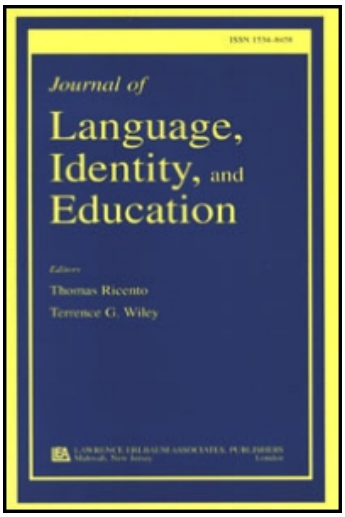
This article was downloaded by: *[Canadian Research Knowledge Network]*
On: *2 July 2009*
Access details: *Access Details: [subscription number 783016864]*
Publisher *Routledge*
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Language, Identity & Education
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t775653670

Investing in Foreign-Language Writing: A Study of Two Multicultural Learners

Mari Haneda [a]
[a] Ohio State University.

Online Publication Date: 01 January 2005

To cite this Article Haneda, Mari(2005)'Investing in Foreign-Language Writing: A Study of Two Multicultural Learners',Journal of Language, Identity & Education,4:4,269 — 290
To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1207/s15327701jlie0404_2
URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0404_2

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND EDUCATION, *4*(4), 269–290
Copyright © 2005, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

Investing in Foreign-Language Writing: A Study of Two Multicultural Learners

Mari Haneda
Ohio State University

Through interpretive case studies, I report how, in an advanced Japanese literacy course, two Canadian university students from different enthnolinguistic backgrounds engaged in composing in Japanese quite different ways. The multiple sources of data, including the viewpoints they expressed in interviews and questionnaires, were examined qualitatively to create a comprehensive profile of each student. Using a theoretical and interpretive framework that builds on the constructs of community of practice, identity, and investment (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Norton, 2000; Wenger, 1998), I argue the following: (a) that learning a foreign language, including writing in a foreign language, is inextricably intertwined with students' life histories with respect to the target language, their changing identities, and their agency; and (b) that, in the more transient community of the classroom, students' differential modes of task engagement can be explained in terms of their movement between communities of practice, past and future.

Key words: community of practice, task investment, identity development, writing practices, foreign-language learning

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in exploring second language (L2) practices in relation to learners' life trajectories, their identities, and issues of power (e.g., Harklau, 2000; Kanno, 2003; McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000). These studies have brought to light the complex interplay between L2 learners' lived experiences embedded in their daily interactions with others and the macrosocial milieux in which their use of the L2 occurs. This dynamic view of L2 practices has also been adopted in an exploration of adult foreign-language (FL) learning with respect to the learning of European languages (e.g., McMahill,

Correspondence should be sent to Mari Haneda, School of Teaching and Learning, College of Education, Ohio State University, 333 Arps Hall, 1945 North High Street, Columbus, OH 43210–1172. E-mail: haneda.1@osu.edu

2001; Pavlenko, 2001). However, it has not been extended to research on less commonly taught languages in English-speaking countries. Addressing this gap in research, this article explores the links between multicultural learners' life trajectories and their classroom learning of Japanese, particularly with respect to writing in Japanese, as they participate in, move from, and enter into, different communities of practice beyond the classroom.

This article reports a post hoc analysis of the data collected during a study that I carried out in a university Japanese-as-a-foreign language (JFL) class that I taught in a multiethnic city in Canada (Haneda, 2004). The main focus of the original study was on the way in which the students and I constructed meaning in writing conferences through our discussion of the students' compositions in Japanese. Although the analysis of the discourse revealed intricate interactional patterns across the nine multiethnic students, it required me to homogenize the individual differences among them. However, salient in the course of data collection and analysis were the students' complex motives for JFL learning which, embedded in their life histories, became apparent in their differential modes of engagement with writing in Japanese. By focusing on two students who were particularly contrastive, the aim of this article is to highlight and explore how this differential engagement with writing came about by situating their learning of Japanese in terms of their life trajectories and the sense of self they constructed with respect to writing in Japanese. In the following sections, I briefly review research in L2 writing that examines the construction of academic identities. Then, I consider research that makes use of the concepts of community of practice and of identity and investment.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

L2 Writing Research

The construction of academic identity has been explored in research on writing in both first and second languages. In the L2 domain, this research has consisted predominantly of case studies of small numbers of writers, which have provided a rich portrayal of the construction of academic identities by English as a second language (ESL) students who are undertaking their higher education in an English-speaking country (e.g., Belcher, 1994, 1995; Casanave, 1992, 1995, 2002; Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; Prior, 1998; Spack, 1997). Underlying these studies is a view of writing as situated social practice during enculturation into disciplinary communities. Casanave (2002, p. 27) defines disciplinary enculturation as follows:

> [It is] a process in which novice community members learn to engage in a community's practices and hence to participate in ways that redefine their identities. Texts

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

> and people's relationships with texts and with other people who are producers and users of texts lie at the heart of the process.

This situated view of enculturation centers attention on the importance of novices' participation in disciplinary practices and the nature of their lived experiences of enculturation at a local level. In so doing, it highlights previously neglected aspects of practice, including the (un)desirable writer identities made available to students in a given academic community, the multiple practices and literate expectations brought to bear by students, and the quality of the mentoring relationships between students and advisors. For instance, Casanave's (1992, 1995) study of Virginia, a Hispanic doctoral student in sociology, documented a case of academic enculturation fraught with conflicts. Questioning what counted as valid knowledge in her classes and not being able to accommodate to the academic identity required in her writing (i.e., positivistic), she left the program after 1 year. By contrast, in a 3-year longitudinal study, Spack (1997) depicts a more positive case of enculturation. Despite her many struggles, Yuko, a Japanese undergraduate studying at an American university, eventually managed to develop a new writing identity for herself in English by successfully reconciling the differences between Japanese and English rhetoric. More recently, Hirvela and Belcher (2001) have drawn attention to the plight of mature ESL students, who, having established themselves as competent professional writers in their countries of origin, face the complex identity-transforming task of developing voice (or "coming back to voice") as academic writers in English. In sum, writing practices, the development of writer identity, and disciplinary enculturation appear to be intricately entwined as they are enacted differently within the affordances and constraints of particular instructional settings.

Communities of Practice

The view of writing as situated social practice may be traced, in part, to the publication of Lave and Wenger's (1991) volume, which radically changed educators' views of learning.[1] These authors argue that learning is not a separate activity but an intrinsic aspect of participation in an ongoing community of practice (CoP). Central to their view is the notion of "legitimate peripheral participation," which refers to the ways in which novices gradually learn to become experts as they enter into and take on multiple roles in a CoP, which they conceive of as involving "centripetal participation in the ambient community" (p. 100):

> Viewing learning as legitimate peripheral participation means that learning is not merely a condition for membership, but is itself an evolving form of membership. We conceive of identities as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice. Thus, identity, knowing, and social membership entail one another. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 53)

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

Of central concern in their theory of social practice are (a) practices central to the reproduction and transformation of a particular professional CoP (e.g., tailors, midwifery), (b) practice as a unit of analysis, and (c) the mastery of knowledgeable skills and the development of identities of mastery as intrinsic aspects of participation. Although Lave and Wenger's work is adopted as the theoretical framework for this article, some aspects of it need to be expanded to address the particularities of the current data.

First, their focus is primarily on participants' centripetal movement within a particular face-to-face CoP. However, this article is concerned with the following: (a) the way in which the two focal students' membership in diverse communities, both synchronic and diachronic, may have shaped their modes of engagement with writing in Japanese; and (b) movement between communities and the "consequential transitions" (Beach, 1999) that these students experienced with respect to the learning of Japanese. It is therefore necessary to consider the implications of the fact that at any given stage in their lives, individuals participate in multiple communities. Underscoring this point, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999, p. 189) suggest that "the notion of [community of practice] could extend to more global communities—such as academic fields, religions, or professions—whose size and dispersion means both that face-to-face interactions never link all the members, and that their focal 'practices' are somewhat diffuse." For this reason, in his more recent work, Wenger (1998) distinguishes the face-to-face CoP from more diffuse communities of "imagination" or "alignment." The insurance claims processors that Wenger studied knew that there were thousands of others who did similar work across the country (imagination); they also strategically aligned themselves with institutional norms by looking professional when their superiors visited them (alignment). At the same time, they held membership in multiple face-to-face and diffuse communities unrelated to their work.

Second, as some scholars (Gutiérrez, 2004; Lee, 2004) have pointed out, the original formulation of CoP did not adequately address tensions that exist within communities.[2] It should be noted that Lave (1996) brings possible tensions within a particular CoP to attention in her discussion of Olsen's (1995) dissertation research, which was later published as a book entitled *Made in America: Immigrant Students in Our Public Schools* (Olsen, 1997). Olsen conducted a 2-year ethnography on Americanization-in-practice in a high school in California. When asked to produce a social map, teachers and administrators created maps of the school that divided students into three academic tracks. However, maps produced by students did not correspond to those created by the adults. In particular, although nonimmigrant students produced racialized maps, immigrant students produced maps of different subcommunities among themselves constructed in terms of national origin, first language, and length of stay in the Unites States. Olsen found that, despite their deep-rooted sense of who they were, immigrant students went through a process of transforming their identities from national to racialized ones

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

through the practices of their daily lives. Olsen's study points to the fact that not all participation leads to full participation and that there can be conflicts within an institutional CoP and within the subcommunities that coexist in such a CoP.

Third, in defining practice as their unit of analysis, Lave and Wenger emphasize the integration in practice of agent, world, and activity (p. 50). Although this wide-angle lens is appropriate for their aim, it results in the blurring of individual agency within the reproductive cycle of practice in a CoP (see also Tomasello, 1999). An analytical consequence is that the way in which individuals agentively negotiate their way within a community and across communities is not dealt with adequately . To consider how individual agents negotiate their entry into communities and develop their membership, I draw on work by scholars such as Norton (2000) and Wenger (1998).

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

LANGUAGE LEARNING, IDENTITY, AND INVESTMENT

The definition of identity adopted in this article builds on the expositions of identity presented by Wenger (1998) and Norton (2000). Wenger explains that identity is "lived" and "a becoming," not merely a category or a personal trait (p. 163); it also involves "negotiated experience," in which people define who they are by the ways they experience themselves through participation as well as by the ways they and others reify themselves (p. 149). The key aspects of identity in Wenger's formulation are that it is social, a learning process, a nexus, and a local–global interplay. That is to say, identity entails the following: (a) membership in a community in which people define who they are by the familiar and the unfamiliar, (b) a learning trajectory in which they define themselves by past experiences and envisioned futures, (c) a nexus of multimembership in which people reconcile their various forms of membership into one coherent sense of self, and (d) a relation between local and global ways of belonging to CoPs (p. 149). In addition, Wenger asserts that, as a result of multimembership in both face-to-face and more diffuse communities, the construction of a coherent identity is "of necessity a mixture of being in and being out" (p. 165): a combination of participation and nonparticipation. Wenger notes that we "not only produce our identities through the practices we engage in, but we also define ourselves through practices we do not engage in" (p. 164). Nonparticipation encompasses types of participation that do not entail full participation. The important characteristics of nonparticipation are peripherality and marginality. Although nonparticipation is enabling at the stage of peripheral participation (e.g., a novice participating peripherally with the goal of full participation), it is severely limiting in the case of marginal participation where there is little chance of it leading to full participation (e.g., the restricted identities made available for immigrant students to appropriate in Olsen's study).

From a different theoretical vantage point (poststructuralist and feminist theories) and based on her study of L2 learning experiences of immigrant women in Canada, Norton has put forward a similar view of identity. She uses the term *identity* "to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2000, p. 5). Further, based on this dynamic view of identity, she has proposed the notion of "investment" in place of that of motivation to encompass the sense of ongoing negotiation between the language learner and the social world. Instead of viewing L2 learners as ahistorical and having fixed motivation, the concept of investment leads to a conceptualization of learners as "having a complex social history and multiple desires" (p. 10). She further explains the following:

> The notion [of investment] presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (pp. 10–11)

A sense of self is closely tied to the envisioned future and one's role in it. L2 learners, like any other people, belong to multiple communities. The implication, particularly for adult L2 learners, is that, given limited time and specific priorities at a particular point in their lives, they invest their time and energy in learning the target language in relation to the particular communities that are important in their envisioned futures.[3]

On the basis of the preceding discussion of community membership, identity construction, and investment, this article explores the way in which two adult learners of Japanese invested in writing in Japanese as they moved from, and entered into, different communities beyond the classroom and as they developed their sense of self in the process. In other words, I examine engagement in writing in relation to students' life trajectories and membership in multiple communities rather than locating it solely in the immediate learning context of the classroom. The research question guiding my inquiry was as follows: To what extent can the different ways in which two adult JFL learners differentially invested in writing in Japanese be explained by reference to differences in their life trajectories and in their membership in multiple communities?

METHOD

Classroom Community

The setting for the research was a full-year JFL advanced literacy course that I taught at a university in Canada during the academic year of 1997 to 1998 (52 in-

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

structional hours in total). The aim of the course was to help intermediate and advanced JFL learners to further develop their Japanese literacy skills. The class consisted of 11 students with diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds (i.e., Chinese, Anglo-Canadian, Korean, and of Japanese ancestry) and diverse goals for their learning of Japanese (e.g., developing literacy competence sufficient to pursue graduate degrees in Japan or North America in their chosen fields, maintaining their heritage language, meeting their degree requirements). The students as a whole were highly motivated to learn Japanese and came to class well prepared; they made efforts to speak with each other in Japanese. The classroom atmosphere was congenial and collaborative.

In the first semester, the students engaged in extensive reading of articles and stories from various sources (e.g., a course textbook, newspapers, novels) and structured writing exercises (e.g., rhetorical devices in Japanese). In the second semester, they studied authentic materials related to three student-selected themes comparing North America and Japan in terms of the status of women, university classes, and the system of employment, each involving a 4-week instructional cycle. Typically, the students discussed readings in class with some expositions provided by me on language use and cultural background, worked in groups to discuss particular topics, wrote short essays in class, and made group presentations on the selected topics. They composed narratives in the first semester and argumentative expository essays on each of the student-selected topics (approximately 800–1,000 characters) at the end of a 4-week instructional cycle. In addition to individualized oral scaffolding in class and written feedback on their work, I introduced writing conferences in the second semester to tailor instruction to individual needs. The students welcomed the conferencing opportunity because of increased opportunities to use spoken Japanese with me.

Case Study Students

Nine out of eleven registered students participated in the aforementioned study of the teacher–student discourse in writing conferences in Japanese. Of these students, I selected two of the most contrastive students in the class, Edward and Jim, for detailed case study because I wanted to illustrate differential modes of engagement in writing in Japanese in the most salient way. Although the two selected students had equivalent Japanese proficiency in speech and writing, they differed considerably in terms of their trajectories with respect to the learning of Japanese.[4] However, common to both was that they were voluntarily taking an advanced Japanese course. Jim, a Japanese Canadian who was born and raised in Canada, used Japanese at home for daily interaction with his family, but rarely read Japanese and really struggled when he had to write in Japanese. His biliteracy experience can be described as "simultaneous" exposure (Hornberger, 1989). By contrast, Edward, an Anglophone Canadian, learned Japanese through a 1-year period of immersion in a Japanese high

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

school. After returning to Canada, he had few opportunities to converse in Japanese, but concentrated on reading in Japanese ("successive" exposure).

The Data

Of the multiple sources of data collected for the original study, this article primarily draws on the following: (a) transcripts of three semistructured retrospective interviews with each student; (b) field notes about learning Japanese written after each class session, and after each of my informal interviews with the students throughout the academic year; and, (c) transcripts of the conference talk. The informal interviews were conducted to follow up on their questionnaire responses (i.e., asking for clarification or elaboration) and to ask for more information about what struck me as significant in their learning of Japanese from my observations in class (e.g., why they thought particular rhetorical strategies were difficult to understand). I talked with them on multiple occasions, including before and after the classes, during their frequent visits to my office, before and after the conference sessions, and over coffee.[5] By contrast, retrospective interviews were more formalized (i.e., particular dates and times being set). They occurred immediately following each conference in the second semester to discover the students' perspectives on composing expository texts in Japanese. Questions addressed included their interests in each topic, their revision and composition strategies for each task, and specific problems they encountered while composing (see the Appendix). For this task, I asked Lawrence, a fluent Japanese–English bilingual who was completing his master's degree in Japanese Studies, to act as an interviewer. My reasons were as follows: (a) he was my former JFL student and I knew that he would welcome this research task, (b) he was not only easy to talk with but he also knew the students well, (c) he went through the process of learning Japanese himself (e.g., as a Canadian Anglophone, he struggled with Chinese characters and the honorific system), (d) he could understand Japanese words that would inevitably be used in the interviews, and (e) the students would feel more comfortable talking with their peer than with me (their teacher) about their learning of Japanese. The interviews were semistructured (Patton, 1990) in the sense that Lawrence changed the order of questions where appropriate and added his own questions at his discretion. Although 20 to 30 minutes were allotted for each interview, four English-dominant students, including the two focal students, spoke at length, approximately 1 hour for each interview. These lengthy interviews resembled life history interviews; the students voluntarily recounted their learning of Japanese. Lawrence transcribed all the interviews and wrote detailed notes about each of them; his field notes and annotations on the transcripts also became a data source. Other types of data collected for the original study were used in a supplementary manner. They included the following: (a) three pieces of expository writing in Japa-

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

nese by each student; (b) questionnaire answers concerning their ethnolinguistic background; (c) ratings of their proficiency in spoken and written Japanese; and (d) for comparison purposes, the transcripts of the interviews with the remaining seven students.

Analyses

I used the following steps to build a comprehensive profile for each student. First, I analyzed the interview transcripts, using open and axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and the questions for the semistructured interviews as a guide. I identified main themes for each student and compared them across the students. I then consulted my field notes to further flesh out the findings of the interview analysis. I also examined the transcripts of the conference talk and the students' Japanese compositions to compare them with what the students said in their interviews, following the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Then, in a table, I summarized on several dimensions what I considered the key characteristics of each student, including their past and current experiences with Japanese, the kinds of problems they encountered in writing in Japanese, their attitudes toward writing in Japanese, and the role they expected the Japanese language to play in their future lives. The compiled information gleaned from the data formed the basis for the case studies reported here.

CASE STUDY: JIM

Jim was born to Japanese parents who were first-generation immigrants to Canada. All his schooling was in English, although at home he used both Japanese and English with English becoming the dominant home language; after he started kindergarten at the local public school, this was particular to interaction with his sibling. Jim stated that the language in which he felt most comfortable was English, particularly in relation to literacy. To maintain his first language (L1), his parents sent him to a Saturday morning heritage language school that included Grades 1 through 8. Jim recalled that he went to his Japanese class to please his parents and to socialize with his Japanese Canadian friends. To maintain his literacy skills in Japanese, he also took a few Japanese courses in high school. On entering university, and although his literacy skills were assessed as below Grade 6, he was placed directly into a 4th-year Japanese course. Asked why he was taking this course, his answer was as follows: "I feel somewhat obliged to learn the language of my native roots" (Questionnaire, January 22, 1998). Thus, although Jim was taking a JFL class, he was not, technically, a JFL student.

He code-switched from one language to the other with ease. When speaking Japanese, he sounded so native-like in such aspects of language use as pronunciation and appropriate conversation strategies that the hybridity of his Japanese, seen

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

in many inserted English words and expressions, went almost unnoticed. Yet, at the same time, he sounded recognizably non-native. Striking in this respect was his restriction to the casual style, appropriate for interacting with family members or peers but not suitable for talking with his social superiors (i.e., the teacher). Canale and Swain (1980) assert that this represents one of the aspects of sociolinguistic competence. This presented a sharp contrast to the exclusively formal style used by most of the other students whose experience with Japanese was limited to JFL classrooms.

In spoken Japanese in class, Jim relied on the casual style within the informal style repertoire, the style he used every day at home. In his writing, too, his literacy practices were limited to the informal style. Outside class, his reading in Japanese consisted almost exclusively of comic books, although he had recently started to read magazines (Field Notes, January 12, 1998). His only writing in Japanese consisted of fax letters to his relatives in Japan, which were conversational in nature. This narrow linguistic repertoire in Japanese stood in sharp contrast to his wide linguistic repertoire in English, which resulted from his sustained reading and writing over many years. In fact, he took pride in his sophisticated writing style in English: "*Moo chotto, eigo de, eigo de, boku wa* essay *toka kakuto nanka suggoku* style *ni ki o tsuketee yappari nani sore ga boku no ebaru* point" (When I write an essay in English, I really pay attention to my writing style. That is what I take pride in. [Conference, February 3, 1998]).

Combined with this sense of self as a highly successful writer in English, he regarded his spoken Japanese fluency as something that was highly positive: "*Nanka shiranaiuchi ni nihonogo hanasete jibum demo suggoi naa to omou*" (Without knowing, I had this ability to speak Japanese, which I thought was pretty amazing; Conference, February 3, 1998). However, he also recalled an incident that occurred during his visit to Japan which deflated his confidence in his Japanese abilities. When Jim was 17, he visited his Japanese relatives for the first time. He stayed with them for 3 months during the summer and spent much time with his cousins who were of approximately the same age. At that time, although he was aware of his weak grasp of Japanese literacy, Jim was confident in his oral competence in Japanese. However, as a result of a series of incidents, he began to suspect that his spoken Japanese was not as good as he had thought; he experienced situations in which Japanese people looked at him with puzzlement. However, it was not until Jim overheard a conversation between some high school students on the subway that he started to lose confidence in his Japanese competence. The high school students in question were arguing about whether Jim was Japanese because of his heavy use of English words and childlike expressions: *Nihonjin mitai da kedo nihonjin jya nai henna yatsu* (He looks Japanese, but he is not Japanese, a strange fellow). By the time he returned to Canada, Jim was aware that there was something seriously amiss with his spoken Japanese as well as with his written Japanese (Field Notes, February 10, 1998).

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

Jim's Engagement in Writing in Japanese: I Don't Have Words to Think in Japanese

There were two interdependent themes recurring in Jim's interviews and conferences: his desire to develop a broader range of vocabulary and his concern to master a refined writing style appropriate for formal essay writing. According to him, his limited vocabulary was his chief weakness in Japanese:

> … my real stumbling block is that all my Japanese language … spoken and written … all that is what I learned from playing games and comic books and watching TV films and listening to Japanese songs … I got a really sort of limited vocabulary. (Interview, April 2, 1998)

To develop his vocabulary, Jim started to read magazines. However, with only Grade 5 literacy skills in Japanese, reading and writing were taxing and time-consuming activities. Because he encountered so many unfamiliar words, reading Japanese newspapers and books to which he had easy access at home seemed an insurmountable task. Jim expressed his frustration with respect to his "insular" vocabulary by recounting what his cousins said:

> My cousins were recently here from Japan … they were saying how I sort of talk as if I was in a comic book (laughs) … kind of too much to my chagrin, I realize that, that's actually true, um, I do seem to use certain comic book vocabulary, you know, and I try to change that … it's sort of an embarrassment for me when I realize, oh my god, that's true, um, so I've tried to change that a bit. (Interview, February 4, 1998)

This self-awareness concerning his lack of vocabulary did not surface as a problem until the focus of the class shifted from narrative to expository writing. Just before the due date for the first expository paper, Jim rushed into my office in a panic, expressing his concern that he would not be able to complete the composition: "I can't think in Japanese, 'cause I don't have vocabulary to think in" (Field Notes, January 25, 1998). His sense of panic appeared to stem from his sense of identity as an accomplished writer in English prose. Although Jim enjoyed crafting his essays in English, he was at a loss when composing in Japanese. In his first conference, Jim expressed his frustration about not being able to express what he meant in Japanese because he lacked linguistic finesse in Japanese: "*Soo jyanai n da yo ne. koko wa suggoku nanka zenzen, doo kaku, doo doo kaku ka zenzen waka n nain da yo ne*" (That's not what I meant, really. Here, I just have no idea how to write, how, I don't know how to express it; Conference, January 29, 1998).

Jim's pride in his competence in English made him want to keep up the same high standard when composing in Japanese (see Uzawa & Cumming, 1989). By contrast, the majority of his classmates who had learned Japanese almost exclusively in university JFL classes took a more pragmatic approach to Japanese com-

position: for them, it was a language exercise, no more and no less. Jim did manage to complete the three expository essays, but to do so, he had to resort to the strategy of writing his entire essay in English and then translating it into Japanese. Ironically, although his oral proficiency in Japanese was much higher than that of the majority of the students, he was the only student in the class who used this strategy. Jim commented that producing a written text in English made it easier for him to look up the words he wanted to use in an English–Japanese dictionary. The next quotation summarizes Jim's perspective on this topic:

> … um, I'm really bad at just coming up on the spot in Japanese, so if I'm coming up with a *proper* composition, I've got to write it in English first, um, which is something I can't seem to break out of, but yeah, I write it in English first. … It's like, for me, um, that way I can pretty much break down the words I want and put the vocabulary in, and I can't do that with Japanese, because my vocabulary in Japanese is somewhat limited, actually it's really limited, um. … (Interview, March 2, 1998, italics added)

Faced with the need to complete his essay by the due date and fueled by his desire to write "proper" essays with stylistic refinement, as in the case of his English essays, Jim came up with several interim solutions, which he consistently drew on in the three writing tasks: (a) using a translation strategy by initially generating ideas and composing in English and then translating into Japanese, (b) taking full advantage of his home environment by asking his parents to suggest appropriate words or expressions, and, (c) being very clear and articulate in his English draft so as to find translation equivalents in Japanese.

As for the refinement of style to which Jim frequently referred in his interviews, he appeared to make gradual progress in understanding the different styles in Japanese over the course of the academic year. Jim recalled in an interview that he was initially puzzled by the teacher's metacomments during the conferences about using an appropriate style. However, as the academic year progressed, he started to understand my "technical vocabulary" (e.g., *dearu*-style that indicates expository writing versus the polite *desu/masu*-style) in which I couched my explanation of the stylistic choices available in Japanese. Jim slowly developed his awareness of register variation in Japanese and the context in which to use each appropriately. This was evidenced by his third expository essay, in which, for the first time, he managed to use the appropriate style with some consistency.

Asked about his projected use of Japanese in the future, he said that he would be using it as he had used it throughout his life: to interact with his family members, including his relatives in Japan, and his Japanese Canadian friends, with whom he had always used a mixture of Japanese and English. He was also motivated to use *chantoshita nihongo* (proper Japanese) when he conversed and corresponded with cousins who were frequent visitors to his home in Toronto and had a tendency to tease Jim mercilessly about his Japanese. With respect to his future career plans,

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

Japanese was not critical. Jim wanted to become an English teacher in an inner city high school. At the time of the study, he was double-majoring in classics and English and wished to obtain a bachelor of education degree at the same university. At the end of the interview, asked about whether he might use Japanese in any other way besides interacting with his family, friends, and people in the local Japanese community, Jim said shyly that, if there were a Japanese student in his class or his school, perhaps he could help him or her (Interview, April 2, 1998).

CASE STUDY: EDWARD

Edward was born to English-speaking parents and grew up in an affluent suburb of the city in which he attended university. In his early school years, his exposure to L2 learning was limited to French classes at school, which he found "inconsequential," because he did not see the use value of mastering French. However, when he was selected as a high school Rotary exchange student to Japan, an entirely different L2 learning experience presented itself. He learned Japanese in a sink-or-swim fashion through 1 year of immersion in a Japanese high school. He lived with a monolingual Japanese family and attended Grade 12 classes at a nonacademic track school, where his classmates spoke hardly any English. Because he spoke very little Japanese, he was given one-on-one Japanese-as-a-second language pull-out lessons for a few hours each day and spent the rest of the day in regular classrooms. At the same time, being an athlete, he also participated actively in extracurricular activities, such as playing soccer and being on a swim team. In these situations, he easily made friends through his participation in nonverbal activities and quickly became fluent in survival-level Japanese. With his outgoing personality, he became a popular *gaijin* (foreigner) at his school and had many opportunities to interact with his peers in Japanese. He commented that, because of his appearance (i.e., a White man with blue eyes and light brown hair), people tended to compliment him on every little improvement he made in Japanese, which boosted his confidence about learning a foreign language. In his words, he felt that he belonged to a "privileged" class: "very unique and valuable." On his return to Canada, he continued his Japanese language study for 2 years with a private tutor and became able to read Japanese newspapers with ease (Field Notes, January 10, 1998). After being assessed as an advanced learner at the university, he was placed directly in senior-level Japanese courses.

Edward appeared confident about his abilities. In a casual conversation with me, he mentioned that he had been not only an academically successful student (labeled as gifted throughout his school life) but also an accomplished athlete ("not a nerd"). He served as president of the student council at the university and represented the school when prospective students visited it. He appeared to thrive on these leadership roles and on speaking in public. In addition, at the time of the

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

study, he was taking a heavy course load, working part-time at a bank, participating in an intramural sports team, and working out many hours in the gym. According to Edward, all this multitasking was "fun."

Edward approached the learning of Japanese with the same intensity and vigor. On a daily basis, outside the Japanese class, he extensively read Japanese newspapers and books on financial investment, materials he thought would help him in his future job. He mentioned that his motivation to develop conversational fluency and literacy skills in Japanese was directly tied to his career goal: obtaining a Master of Business Administration in international business, becoming a business executive in a multinational company, and making "tons" of money. He explained that, to be admitted to a business school of his choice, he had to meet an FL requirement; his chosen language was Japanese. The FL test he needed to pass consisted of basic conversational skills, a reasonable level of reading competence, and some basic writing skills. So Edward welcomed the opportunity to write in Japanese and participate in writing conferences because he thought that it was a good language exercise. Asked about his expectations about composing in Japanese, he said, "I was expecting to enjoy myself writing these [compositions]" (Interview, February 4, 1998)

Characteristic of Edward's engagement in Japanese essay writing, unlike some of his classmates, he did not pay attention to the subtlety of Japanese and the variety of rhetorical strategies available in the language. For instance, Christine, a 4th-year Japanese major, frequently mentioned that she was trying not to offend readers by her direct statements. She felt to make a strong point persuasively in Japanese, one must do it with subtlety and some degree of humility. By contrast, Edward considered writing expository essays in Japanese to be exactly the same as writing expository essays in English: constructing a thesis statement and fleshing out several important ideas. For Edward, it was a matter of articulating his thoughts in Japanese:

> I guess … I figure out what I want to say, in English, right, because I usually have an opinion on the subject, and I figure that out in my head, in English, and then once I get a thesis in my head, then I start figuring out my thesis in Japanese, and all my points in Japanese, that I want to put in my paper, so once I get my thesis and my point … then my focus is how do I communicate this in Japanese, so then I focus on the rest of it entirely in Japanese. (Interview, March 2, 1998)

His neglect of the nuanced use of Japanese also extended to oral Japanese. Although I, as the teacher, pointed out the importance of using appropriate discourse strategies, he did not actively attempt to incorporate them when he spoke in Japanese. For example, in the first conference when I complimented him on his ability to write in Japanese, he responded—without showing any of the humility commonly used in Japanese: "*Ee mochiron watashi wa itsumo yoku benkyoo shimasu kara*" (Yes, of course, I always study hard; Conference, January 29, 1998). Also noteworthy was that he changed his goal of writing in Japanese from a sole focus on language to

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

learning to write clearly in Japanese, using appropriate language. This was because he discovered that his problem with writing in general, the tendency not to spell out his ideas in sufficient detail, also surfaced in his Japanese essays:

> … when I write something in English or Japanese, I always think it's perfect (laughs), and when I go back to revise it, I read it, it makes total sense to me. … I've gotta focus more on, you know, doing the analysis on paper, and making it clear what I'm saying. (Interview, March 2, 1998)

Despite his changing goals with respect to learning to write in Japanese, Edward's focus remained on improving his grasp of Japanese lexico-grammar; he linked his developing Japanese competence to his immediate goal (passing a FL test to get into a business school of his choice) and his distal goal of becoming an English–Japanese bilingual business executive. He stated that the writing tasks were useful because he considered them a step toward his larger goal in learning Japanese: to be able to communicate with Japanese people in speech and writing. For him, writing substantive prose in Japanese was not part of his envisioned future. He stated that spoken and reading competence in Japanese would be more important for him to establish and maintain a business relationship. He considered that his writing in Japanese would be limited to writing a quick memo in appropriate Japanese, but he said his secretary could take over letter writing in Japanese for him. In sum, Edward was very clear about which aspects of Japanese competence would be more important in his envisioned future and hence considered the task of composing in Japanese as a good language exercise through which to consolidate his lexico-grammatical knowledge in Japanese. Unlike Jim, Edward never discussed developing personal connections or relationships with Japanese people. He was centrally concerned with achieving his career goal and considered Japanese competence, both spoken and written, as a means to that end.

DISCUSSION

As described in the case studies, Jim and Edward approached what started as identical classroom literacy activities in quite different ways. In this section, building on the preceding case-study accounts, I consider how their differential investment in writing in Japanese may be explained in light of the theoretical and interpretive framework I outlined in the earlier literature review. In particular, I focus on the way in which differences in their life trajectories resulting from their multimembership in differing communities may have shaped the way in which they invested in writing in Japanese.

Central to the framework adopted in this study is a situated view of learning: learning as an inseparable aspect of participation in the practices of an ongoing

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

community. Moreover, as a result of their participation, people construct their identities in actual practice. Through their progressive appropriation of the communities' knowledgeable skills and practices and through gaining access to their resources, people negotiate their sense of self on an ongoing basis (Lave & Wenger, 1991). A prime example of learning through participation would be children mastering their first language. As they grow up in a particular discourse community, they not only master the discourse practices in which they participate but also appropriate the associated cultural values and norms. Analogously, young children who are first-generation immigrants experience similar processes of language socialization into the host language community through their attendance at school where mastering the target language and appropriating the associated cultural values and norms enable them to become competent members of the host country (e.g., Maguire, 1997; Willett, 1995). It can thus be argued that, when undertaken in an immersion setting at a young age, learning a second language is in many important respects comparable to learning a "mother tongue."

In the case of older L2 learners, on the other hand, there is a much wider range of learning contexts. For example, in many countries, learning a L2 is a required component of the school curriculum. However, unless this L2 learning is an integral part of the students' lives outside school, it does not mesh with Lave and Wenger's idea of participation in a CoP. A second context is that of adult immigrants who need to master the target language to enter into the particular CoPs in the host country to which they wish to belong. Particularly in this latter context, it is clear that learning a L2 involves not only mastering the language code and behavior but also constructing social identities in the host country as they negotiate their "sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time" and "gain access to—or [are] denied access to—powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak " (Norton, 2000, p. 5). The context of this study can be seen as falling somewhere between these two extremes. The students were learning through a formal course of instruction, but their participation was voluntary, and in the interest of some personal goal beyond that of obtaining a good grade.

Also important is that, at any given stage of their lives, L2 learners participate in multiple communities across time and space, and their modes of participation may vary widely from full to peripheral or marginal participation. They may participate as part of the dominant group with full access to material and symbolic resources in one community, or as part of a less powerful group with limited access to the community's resources in another. As Wenger (1998) asserts, as a consequence of multimembership, the construction of a coherent identity is "of necessity a mixture of being in and being out" (p. 165). Accordingly, as L2 learners negotiate their way among the multiple communities to which they belong, they constantly organize and reorganize "a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (Norton, 2000. p. 11) in the light of their evolving memberships. Moreover, because of their diverse life histories and multiple desires, learners, particularly adult L2 learners,

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

may differentially invest their time and energy in mastering the target language in relation to the particular communities that are important in their envisioned futures.

In the case-study accounts, it can be said that the two students' differential investment in writing in Japanese resulted from an interaction among many factors: their learning trajectory with respect to Japanese; their attitudes toward learning Japanese, including composing expository essays in Japanese; their strengths and weaknesses in the target language; their sense of self as a writer or a person; and the different types of community membership in Japan and Canada, and the communities to which they wanted to belong in their projected futures. In what follows, I consider these factors in several clusters.

First, in their trajectories of learning Japanese, the "consequential transitions" (Beach, 1999) appeared to occur during their respective visits to Japan, for these participatory experiences in Japan appear to have had a strong impact on their identities as language learners. Jim suffered a serious deflation of his sense of self as a person of Japanese heritage. In contrast, Edward appeared to develop a somewhat inflated sense of his Japanese competency, which in turn, may have contributed to his inattention to subtle nuances of the Japanese language. From their accounts of their experiences in Japan, it can be speculated that they were reified as nonparticipants in different ways: Jim as a not sufficiently competent ethnic Japanese and Edward as a foreign outsider who could speak some Japanese. In Wenger's (1998, p. 154) terms, although Jim experienced full nonparticipation as a marginalized participant ("outbound trajectory"), Edward experienced enabling peripheral participation ("peripheral trajectory"). However, neither was afforded an "inbound trajectory," which would lead to full participation. As shown in Olsen's (1995) study, a community as a whole is a system of cultural reproduction in which participants are differentially positioned; for some participants, as in Jim's case, only marginalized trajectories were made available, whereas, for others, such as Edward, only peripheral trajectories were made available.

Second, their investment in learning Japanese, particularly writing in Japanese, was formed at "a nexus of multimembership" (Wenger, 1998, p. 158) and intricately connected to their changing identities (Norton, 2000). It was also closely tied to their perceptions of the value of learning Japanese, both in the present and for the future. For Jim, the distal goal was to maintain his Japanese heritage by mastering the language and to become a fuller member of his local Japanese community, and the proximal goal was to write a proper essay in Japanese. His insistence on producing a proper essay can be traced to his identity as a strong writer, pushing him to set himself the same high standard for his Japanese compositions. It can be said that Jim's task investment reflected his commitment to his writer identity and alignment with a larger academic community where his writer identity was nurtured. Perhaps he also extended the alignment to include his imagined community of high school English teachers. As for Ed-

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

ward, his motive for learning Japanese was directly linked to his career goal of becoming a successful business executive. Although Edward did come to recognize that the act of composing in Japanese might help him improve his writing ability in general, this realization did not fundamentally change the nature of his investment in writing in Japanese. For him, composing in Japanese fit his plan of obtaining sufficient Japanese language skills to reach his career goal. Consequently, careful attention to the subtlety of the Japanese language was not one of his priorities.

Seen in this light, the way in which the two students invested in writing in Japanese can be said to have grown out of their life trajectories, both past and present, as well as in their projected futures. Jim's investment in writing in Japanese appeared to be intricately tied to his writer identity as a full participant in a larger academic community, and to the actual local Japanese community in which he hoped to become a fuller participant. By contrast, in Edward's case, his motive to improve his Japanese was more career-oriented, tied to an imagined community of business executives with many privileges. Although Edward's aspired community did not seem as tangible and concrete as Jim's local community of Japanese people, it had a great impact on the way he invested his energy in learning Japanese. It may be the case that with maturity, he will come to appreciate Japanese for aesthetic reasons. However, at the time of this study, Edward was keen on developing Japanese competence to obtain economic capital. Thus, as Wenger (1998) and Kanno and Norton (2003) suggest, an imagined community has as great an impact on a person's engagement with the current task as does a face-to-face community.

Third, it can be surmised that the negotiation of participation and nonparticipation in different communities in the past, present, and the envisioned future may have a significant impact on the way in which learners approach a particular pedagogical task in the classroom. In this respect, emphasis needs to be given to learners' needs, desires, and aspirations, as each seeks out and exploits opportunities to become the person they envisage. As Leontiev (1981) aptly put it, the same action (in this case the classroom writing tasks) may realize multiple activities that participants have in mind. In turn, as their methods of composing their essays make clear, the same action(s) of writing may involve different degrees of investment and be enacted differently depending on the cultural tools and resources at hand.

IMPLICATIONS

Although the two cases I presented focus on JFL students, the argument I developed can, to a considerable extent, be applied to other L2 learning environments, particularly those in which adult learners are voluntarily learning a FL. A pedagog-

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

ical implication that can be drawn from these findings is that L2 learners, particularly adult learners, align themselves with a classroom task not only according to the teacher's pedagogical intention, but, more importantly, according to the way in which engagement in the task is most meaningful for them (i.e., the use value). In this respect, this study points to the need for L2 educators, particularly FL educators, to pay greater attention both to individual students' trajectories and also to their hopes and aspirations for the future with respect to the use of the target language. Awareness of the role played by the target language in the past, the present, and the projected future of individual students, in turn, could valuably be used by a teacher in creating his or her curriculum.

In terms of implications for research, the cultural-historical theoretical and interpretive framework adopted in this article, which builds on the notions of community of practice, identity construction, and investment, may provide a viable perspective in terms of which to account for the differences in L2 learners' modes of task investment. To fully understand L2 learning, I would argue, it is essential that both synchronic and diachronic dimensions of learning trajectories be adequately addressed (for illustrative examples of such research, see Casanave, 2002; Harklau, 2000; Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Prior, 1998; Spack, 1997; Toohey, 2000). A further implication of this study is that FL learning can be profitably examined in terms of learners' movement between CoPs, with the role of participation in the more transient community of the classroom supporting this process.

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

ENDNOTES

[1]Particularly relevant to the development of the social orientation in writing research in North America is a reconceptualization of genre proposed by Miller (1984), in which she describes it as recurrent rhetorical and social action. As Casanave (2002, p. 19) notes, Miller's work paved a path away from "a characterization of genre as consisting primarily of conventionalized textual formalisms to one in which textual patterns and regularities are considered to be aspects of broader social and rhetorical practices."

[2]It should be noted that Lave and Wenger (1991) did discuss a less than ideal example in their account of the apprenticeship of meat cutters (pp. 76–79).

[3]In social psychology, this is captured by the notion of "possible selves" (Markus & Nurius, 1986). That is, one's interpretation of the current situation is inexplicably tied to the way in which one envisions one's future life to be.

[4]The students' oral Japanese proficiency was measured by the Japanese Speaking Test (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1992). Written Japanese proficiency was rated by two experienced Japanese-as-a-foreign language teachers on three pieces of expository writing produced by the students in the first semester; the rating scale used was Hamp-Lyons's (1991) 9-point Global Scale; interrater reliability was 87.3% before any discrepancies were resolved.

[5]The majority of the students were concurrently taking another advanced Japanese course (speaking and writing) that I taught. As a result, I saw them twice a week throughout the academic year.

REFERENCES

Beach, K. (1999). Consequential transitions: A sociocultural expedition beyond transfer in education. In A. Iran-Nejad & P. D. Pearson (Eds.), *Review of research in education* (Vol. 24, pp. 101–139). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Belcher, D. (1994). The apprenticeship approach to advanced academic literacy: Graduate students and their mentors. *English for Specific Purposes, 13,* 23–34.

Belcher, D. (1995). Writing critically across the curriculum. In G. Braine & D. Belcher (Eds.), *Academic writing in a second language: Essays on research and pedagogy* (pp. 135–154). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Canale, M., & Swain. M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1,* 1–47.

Casanave, C. P. (1992). Cultural diversity and socialization: A case study of a Hispanic woman in a doctoral program in sociology. In D. E. Murray (Ed.), *Diversity as resource: Redefining cultural literacy* (pp. 148–182). Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

Casanave, C. P. (1995). Local interactions: Constructing contexts for composing in a graduate sociology program. In G. Braine & D. Belcher (Eds.), *Academic writing in a second language: Essays on research and pedagogy* (pp. 83–110). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Casanave, C. P. (2002). *Writing games: Multicultural case studies of academic literacy practices in higher education.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Center for Applied Linguistics. (1992). *The Japanese speaking test.* Washington, DC: Author.

Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1999). New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research. *Language and Society, 28,* 185–201.

Gutiérrez, K. (2004, June). *Rethinking community.* Keynote paper presented at the Sixth International Conference of the Learning Sciences, Santa Monica, CA.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1991). Reconstructing "academic writing proficiency." In L. Hamp-Lyons (Ed.), *Assessing second language writing in academic contexts* (pp. 127–153). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Haneda, M. (2004). The joint construction of meaning in writing conferences. *Applied Linguistics, 25,* 178–219.

Harklau, L. (2000). From the "good kids" to the "worst": Representations of English language learners across educational settings. *TESOL Quarterly, 34,* 35–67.

Hirvela, A., & Belcher, D. (2001). Coming back to voice: The multiple voices and identities of mature multilingual writers. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 10,* 83–106.

Hornberger, N. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research, 59,* 271–296.

Kanno, Y. (2003). *Negotiating bilingual and bicultural identities: Japanese returnees betwixt two worlds.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 2,* 241–249.

Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning, in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 3,* 149–164.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, C. (2004, June). *Every shut eye ain't sleeping.* Keynote paper presented at the Sixth International Conference of the Learning Sciences, Santa Monica, CA.

Leontiev, A. N. (1981). The problem of activity in psychology. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 37–71). Armonk, NY: Sharpe.

Maguire, M. (1997). Shared and negotiated territories: The sociocultural embeddedness of children's acts of meaning. In M. Pollard, D. Thissen, & A. Filer (Eds.), *Children and their curriculum: The perspectives of primary and elementary school children* (pp. 51–80). London: Falmer.

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist, 41,* 954–969.

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

McKay, S. L., & Wong, S-L. C (1996). Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students. *Harvard Educational Review, 66,* 577–608.

McMahill, C. (2001). Self expression, gender, and community: A Japanese feminist English class. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 307–344). Berlin, Germany: deGruyter.

Miller, C. R. (1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 70,* 161–167.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity, and educational change.* Essex, England: Pearson Education.

Olsen, L. (1995). *From nation to race: The Americanization of immigrants in the high school of the 1990s.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

Olsen, L. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools.* New York: New Press.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pavlenko, A. (2001). "How am I to become a woman in an American vein?": Transformations of gender performance in second language learning. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 133–174). Berlin, Germany: deGruyter.

Prior, P. (1998). *Writing/disciplinarity: A sociohistoric account of literate activity in the academy.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Spack, R. (1997). Acquisition of academic literacy in a second language: A longitudinal case study. *Written Communication, 14,* 3–62.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory and procedures and techniques* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

Tomasello, M. (1999). *The cultural origin of human cognition.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Toohey, K. (2000). *Learning English at school.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Uzawa, K., & Cumming, A. (1989). Writing strategies in Japanese as a foreign language: Lowering or keeping up the standards. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 46,* 178–194.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Willett, J. (1995). Becoming first graders in an L2: An ethnographic study of L2 socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 29,* 473–503.

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009

APPENDIX
Interview Guides

Eight Core Questions Common to Three Interviews

- How did you find the topic for this writing assignment?
- What expectations and aims did you have for this particular writing assignment?
- What aspects of the conference talk were helpful for revision of your text?
- Can you explain why you thought so? Can you give some examples?
- Were there any rules and/or ideas that you had learned from the second conference and applied to your revision? If so, can you describe them?

- What aspects of conference talk do you think could be done differently to enhance your learning of Japanese writing?
- What were the things that remained unclear even after the conference?
- What aspects of writing did you pay conscious attention to while writing this assignment?

Additional Questions for the Second Interview

- What difficulties do you have in writing English essays (if the L1 is not English, please ask [student name] composing in the students' respective L1s)?
- Can you compare your experience of writing in Japanese with that of writing in English or your strongest written language? What problems are specific to your Japanese writing experience?
- Is revising your text helpful in your language learning? If so, how is the act of revising your text enhancing your learning of Japanese?
- What aspects of text did you pay conscious attention to while revising this assignment?
- What expectations do you have for your own composition in Japanese?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Additional Questions for the Third Interview

- Did you use similar composition and revision strategies for tasks #1, #2, and #3? If different, how were they different?
- How do you think the topic influenced the way you wrote? Can you compare your experiences of the three writing assignments from this point of view?
- Do you think writing in Japanese helps you learn the Japanese language? If so, can you describe how it helps? Did the process of revision help you learn? If so, how?
- How does writing Japanese essays in Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) class differ from writing essays in English for other courses? What is your view of JFL writing?
- Can you comment on your overall impressions/experiences of the three writing conferences and participation in the research (i.e., interviews)? In what ways were they helpful (unhelpful)? a) conference sessions; b) revision; c) interview sessions

Downloaded By: [Canadian Research Knowledge Network] At: 19:34 2 July 2009