1 Ethnographies of Academic Writing Research: Theory, methods, and interpretation,

Ignacio Guillén-Galve, Ana Bocanegra-Valle (Eds.), John Benjamins, Amsterdam

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Academic writing researchers' growing interest in ethnographic approaches reflects a convergence of 'methodological rich points', "those times when researchers learn that their assumptions about the way research works and the conceptual tools they have for doing research are inadequate to understand the worlds they are researching" (Manchón, this volume, p. 87). Concepts and tools from ethnography have allowed writing researchers to shed new light, for example, on the consequences of the social turn for understanding situated writing expertise and how individuals learn to negotiate socially-situated language resources. Other rich points investigated include the time-distributed nature of writing and how its less visible features may negatively impact the processes of text production, control and gatekeeping. Ignacio Guillén-Galve and Ana Bocanegra-Valle's Ethnographies of Academic Writing Research: Theory, methods, and interpretation furthers this development by supporting both initial forays into ethnographic approaches and establishing a standard of practice among EAP writing specialists. The volume, published in John Benjamins' Research Methods in Applied Linguistics (R. Manchón, series editor) summarizes the state of the art with theoretically-grounded discussions and empirically-driven explorations of the methodologies and concepts relevant for carrying out ethnographically-oriented academic writing research.

This 162-page volume's appeal is underpinned by thought-provoking reflections from Theresa Lillis (Foreword) and Dwight Atkinson (Afterword) on the opportunities and challenges afforded by ethnographic approaches, while the volume editors' overview makes a solid case for their timeliness. Six further chapters by Christine Tardy, Jennifer Sizer, Sofía Albero-Posac and María José Luzón, Rosa Manchón, Baraa Khuder and Bojana Petrić, and Natalia Ávila Reyes each contribute practical reflections on particular aspects of ethnographically-oriented research. Contributors clarify key concepts like emic perspectives, thick description, thick participation, deep-theorizing, reflexivity, sustained engagement and trustworthiness while demonstrating how data triangulation, reflexivity, member checks, text histories, textographies, personal literacy histories and talk-around-text can be integrated into research practices.

Five core themes as intertextual threads engage readers across the chapters: ethnography as method vs. ethic, reflexivity, trustworthiness, the value of storytelling, and negotiating the degree of alignment to ethnographic approaches. The first theme reflects a discussion largely

initiated by Lillis' (2008) characterization of ethnographic approaches as 'method, methodology, or deep-theorizing', and illustrates epistemologically-driven questions about whether the ethnographic methods adopted by writing researchers constitute ethnography. In partial response, Atkinson (this volume) notes that Clifford Geertz' interest in doing ethnography was not about the methods as much as "the kind of intellectual effort it [entailed]: an elaborate venture in thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6, in Atkinson, p. 147). Likewise, Lillis (this volume) sets the stage for exploring how ethnography goes beyond methods when she identifies it as a powerful intellectual endeavor that pushes researchers to "constantly question the value (or not) of the particular methodological and conceptual tools we are using" (p. ix). Tardy picks up on this thread by observing that the ultimate goal of thick description, and thus of ethnography, is to strive to "sort winks from twitches and real winks from mimicked ones" (Geertz, 1973, p. 317, in Tardy, p. 23). Getting to this level of detail, however, requires not just adopting the right techniques but fundamentally shifting outlook: how one considers the people one is studying and critically integrates those considerations as research. Developing an ethic of this sort requires "investigating the social world while treating people with respect" (Atkinson, p. 149) and appreciating the vulnerabilities created by an "intimate engagement with participants' public and private lives" (Guillén-Galve & Bocanegra-Valle, p. 8). Practicing this ethic entails being conscious of the precariousness of digging into people's personal space, as poignantly demonstrated in both Khuder and Petrić's study of vulnerable researchers in exile and Albero-Posac and Luzón's review of the challenges in digital academic discoursal practices. Beyond issues of privacy, cultivating this ethic from the individual researcher's point of view means practicing a mindset learned over time, to be constantly revisited and "worked at" (Lillis, p. ix). For Atkinson, "the ethic is the method" (p. 150, original emphasis).

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Two empirically-driven chapters demonstrate how the ethic of ethnography can be put into practice by taking readers through a practical exploration of the second theme: reflexivity, the cornerstone of ethnography. Ávila Reyes, for example, shows how reflexivity can be used to understand the researcher's intellectual journey, acknowledging that "direct answers to our questions [do] not necessarily lead to significant findings" (p. 140). Likewise, Khuder and Petrić present a blueprint for practicing reflexivity throughout the project life-cycle. In addition to questions of ethic, reflexivity also contributes to data quality by enabling trustworthiness, which constitutes the volume's third theme. Drawing on Guba (1981) and Lincoln and Guba's (1985) work on naturalistic social data, volume contributors repeatedly underscore how validity in social scientific research is obtained through trustworthiness instead of truth value, generalizability, replicability or objectivity: "Rather than making

generalizability of findings the responsibility of the researcher ... it is up to the reader to judge if and how the research applies to their own situations" (Atkinson, p. 148). In collecting and reporting on their data, writing researchers can work toward four criteria readers use to establish trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, concepts outlined by Sizer (p. 53) and demonstrated by Khuder and Petrić (pp. 116-119). Fleshing out the construct of trustworthiness further, Sizer and Atkinson each discuss how validity is created in ethnographic approaches as compared to the scientific method.

An important part of achieving trustworthiness through reflexivity relies on storytelling and personal research stories, where "researchers are not simply shadowing participants but acknowledging their situated presence in the research account" (Guillén-Galve & Bocanegra-Valle, p. 7) by making their researcher voice part of the text. Regarding this fourth theme, Sizer underscores how storytelling continues to impact evaluations of ethnographicallyoriented academic writing research, noting that "some researchers from more positivist and/or deductive research backgrounds may dismiss ethnographic methodology, including textography, as mere storytelling" (p. 53) lacking validity and objectivity. Rather than shy away from storytelling, however, several authors (Atkinson, Ávila Reyes, Khuder and Petrić) highlight how it strengthens research transparency, credibility and trustworthiness. In their illustration of researcher reflexivity, for example, Khuder and Petrić demonstrate how to construct a compelling research narrative, showcasing various techniques as opportunities for reflexive storytelling. Explicitly recognizing ethnography's narrational character is central because doing ethnography ultimately entails "getting to know people for research purposes" and "involves learning how to listen to their stories [...]. Ethnographic research is part of an ancient human practice – storytelling – and will ultimately be judged and evaluated on its storytelling capacity" (Atkinson, p. 150).

As the final theme, the degree of writing researchers' methodological alignment to the aforementioned principles remains a key issue for many writing researchers who, like volume contributors, are trained as linguists, not anthropologists. Although the need for "academic border control" (Atkinson, p. 147) or arbiters of "whether specific procedures should be regarded as ethnographic" (Albero-Posac and Luzón, p. 77) is considered unnecessary, Tardy's observation that writing researchers rarely encounter material conditions conducive to ethnographic research presents an opportunity to reflect on the possibilities afforded by ethnographic approaches, whether as 'ethnographically-tinged', 'ethnographically-oriented' or thickly descriptive. To this end, the chapters provide concrete guidance for helping researchers decide on the degree of methodological alignment appropriate for their unique research purposes and argue for those choices while supporting trustworthiness.

Although the volume leaves little to be desired, the fluctuating terminology observed in Sizer, Albero-Posac and Luzón, and Khuder and Petrić raises the question of whether it is pertinent for academic writing researchers to continue using 'qualitative' and 'ethnographic' interchangeably. Previously, this distinction was used as a hedge to signal writing researchers' hesitation in qualifying their work as 'properly ethnographic', as seen in Tardy's analysis of researchers' self-characterization practices. However, the well-argued standpoint exhibited throughout this volume, with its constructive discussions about validating degrees of alignment through reflexivity, clearly speaks for claiming the latter. Another small issue concerns the occasional mingling of research traditions which risks masking original contributors' roles. Sizer's historical overview of textography, for example, cites the 2018 edition of Swales' *Other floors, other voices*, but not his initial 1998 publication. This becomes problematic in the ensuing literature review which discusses textography through the lens of recent publications which appear to pre-date Swales' original contribution.

Such issues notwithstanding, this volume presents an invaluable reflection on good research practices and presents a map of current thinking about ethnography in academic writing research. It provides a solid foundation for moving the field forward, e.g., suggesting how reflexivity, storytelling and personal research stories might be consolidated as scientific practice for achieving trustworthiness. With the contributors' backgrounds in applied linguistics, EAP and academic literacies, this book will be useful reading for those interested in viewing second language writing through an ethnographic lens. Given its robust theoretical and methodological foundation, it also has broader applications to first language writing research and will prove worthwhile reading to scholars in Writing Across the Curriculum and Writing in the Disciplines.

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