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How do we play the genre game in preparing students at the advanced undergraduate level for research writing?

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The study described in this article sets out to understand the barriers and affordances to successful completion of the short research thesis required in many advanced undergraduate courses or Honours programmes. In the study, the genre features of students’ research projects and the criteria used to assess them were analysed and both students and supervisors were interviewed. The article focuses on one particular student from the case study and the findings provide in-depth insights into the complexities of genre acquisition in one particular department at a South African university, where writing and knowledge of the genre are often not taught, but must be acquired through a form of apprenticeship. The article concludes by raising some questions about how research genres can best be mediated in developmental contexts, where the teaching of writing may not be valued.

Keywords: genre; honours; research; writing; economics

Introduction

The Honours degree described in this research project is not a universal form of degree award; in fact it is not widespread outside Britain and the former British colonies. In South Africa, where this study was undertaken, the way in which the Honours year is perceived varies from one academic department to another. Some Honours programmes are seen as neither undergraduate, nor postgraduate, but somewhere in between, a bridge between undergraduate and postgraduate study; others are seen as advanced undergraduate studies. However, what does seem to be common across most Honours programmes in South Africa and Australia (Manathunga and Goozee 2007) is that this is often a fairly problematic pedagogical space. The Honours degree follows on from structured undergraduate degree courses with the goal of preparing students for postgraduate study. Students are usually introduced to research and required to complete a short research paper, which often presents difficulties for both students and supervisors.

In this article I describe a study which has investigated access to the genres of economics research writing at Honours level and highlighted some of the complexities of the Honours programme.

I focus in on Helen, a particular student from the case study who, as a middle-class white girl from a fairly elite schooling background, is in the process of acquiring the research genres required at the Honours level. The purpose of my project has

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been to try to understand how knowledge of the genres facilitate or hinder students’ access to, or success in, literacy practices such as the research paper and the research journal article. I am particularly interested in the way the gaps and spaces have been mediated between what is required in the discipline at this level and the literacy practices that the students bring.

In the academic department in question, the academic literacy requirements at Honours level are not explicitly addressed through a research and writing course. The pedagogy of research writing is the responsibility of the supervisor. In a large department, like this, supervision varies tremendously, but the two supervisors interviewed for my study, who were described as some of the best in the department, said they were reluctant to be too explicit about writing ‘formats’ because there were so many options and they believed that study at this level is about research, about uncovering something new, therefore the gaps and spaces are important. As Helen says of her supervisor:

He wanted it to really be my paper so he would let me bounce ideas off him and clarify concepts . . . but when it came to telling me which direction I should take or structuring more or even when it came to writing the paper he preferred to let me just get on and do it on my own.

However, this means that the writing task and the genres are not made explicit to the students and they struggle with a range of ambiguities as they write the research paper.

Theoretical frame

I am interested in genres because, as genre theorists indicate, the genre can give one access to constructing meaning:

Genres . . . are frames for social action. They are environments for learning. They are locations within which meaning is constructed. Genres shape the thoughts we form and the communications by which we interact. Genres are the familiar place we go to create intelligible communicative actions with each other and the guideposts we use to explore the familiar (Bazerman cited in Swales 2004, 67).

If we see writing as a social practice (Gee 1990, Street 1995, 1997) and we see knowledge as always constructed by language and by the historical circumstances and specific environment in which it arises, then the genres and discourses of a particular discipline are grounded in disciplinary ways of knowing. A growing body of literature on academic literacies, e.g. Lea and Stierer 2001; Lea and Street 1998; Lillis 2001, sees literacy and identities and the institutions where literacy takes place, as constituted in, and as sites of discourse and power. The discourse of economics then, is a particular formation of stories and practices, which construct both knowledge and power and students must learn to conform to the conventions of the discipline and form discipline specific scholarly identities.

However, the academic literacies approach to research has, through ethnographic studies, highlighted the contested nature of academic conventions and illustrated the ways in which conventions can impact on meaning making (Clark and Ivonic, 1997; Lillis and Scott 2007; Paxton et al. 2008). In Prior’s (1998) ethnographic study of situated disciplinary practices at graduate level, he finds it difficult to support the
In my study Bourdieu’s notions of ‘field’ ‘capital’ and ‘practices’ have been useful in understanding the affordances and barriers to genre acquisition. Bourdieu sees a ‘field’ as a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them (Jenkins 2002, 84). For Bourdieu, a field is a system of social positions and these positions stand in relationships of domination, subordination or equivalence to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the goods or resources (capital) which are at stake in the field. Bourdieu describes power multidimensionally, in terms of the kinds of capital available in the field. The new students bring different practices, ‘a feel for the game’, with them according to where they grew up and where they went to school and what they learned in their undergraduate studies and some are better equipped than others to succeed. As Bourdieu (1991, 17) indicates, practices ‘should be seen as the product of an encounter between a habitus and a field which are to varying degrees “compatible” or “congruent” with one another’. When there is a lack of congruence the individual may not know how to act, may be bereft of words in the new field of research studies in economics. And access to the goods, or resources, ‘the capital’, particularly the cultural capital (legitimate knowledge and skills) may be limited or even withheld by all sorts of gatekeeping manoeuvres.

Allan Luke (1996) has used Bourdieu to critique the genre based pedagogies of Australians such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) who see mastery of powerful text types as leading to educational achievement and thus providing access to the dominant economies and cultures. Luke (1996) argues that these approaches fail to come to grips with their assumptions about the relationship between literacy and social power (309) and he points out that the value of embodied cultural capital achieved through literacy training depends on the value of that capital in the market. In Bourdieu’s words, ‘The conversion or transformation of capital is mediated by one’s position within the relations of power and knowledge in a social field’ (Bourdieu cited in Luke 1996, 327). Thus Bourdieu moves away from a simple transmission/carrier model of power-power is not something that can be bought and sold and ‘textual power’ is never independent of ideology, culture and economics. Luke then argues that without a rigorous sociological analysis, teachers have to rely on anecdotal accounts of what kinds of textual performances are empowering for particular individuals. His critique is very helpful in understanding the case study that follows.

**Method**

In order to understand more about the affordances and barriers to genre acquisition, we selected 7 research projects from a group of 47 economics Honours projects. We made this selection by choosing two excellent (Patrick 84%, Anton 87%), three middle (Tshepo 74%, Diana 68.5%, Helen 60%) and two weaker projects (Asanda 56%, Khanya 25%). A research assistant, Dr Ellen Hurst, and I analysed these projects using a framework we adapted from Martin and Rose (2003). We were...
assisted in our analysis by the assessment reports from the students’ supervisors and the examiners.

Helen (60%) and Patrick (84%) were the only students amongst this group who continued to the Masters programme at this university. In this article I focus particularly on Helen’s project and she has assisted my analysis by acting as an informant or ‘expert witness’ (Herrington and Curtis 2000) to shed further light on her writing practices and experiences.

Helen’s Honours supervisor (and internal examiner) was interviewed, alongside another popular supervisor in the department, in order to get a clearer understanding of the pedagogic interventions and assessment criteria they have used, as well as the reasons for the recent introduction of the journal article as the assessment genre for the Honours project.

Departmental context

My experience working with this department over the last 13 years has provided me with insights into the culture and the discourses, particularly at the undergraduate level (Paxton 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). Until recently, my primary focus has been academic literacy development work at undergraduate level. In partnership with staff in the department, we have established academic literacy components in the first year extended courses in microeconomics.

As with many economics departments around the world, large numbers of students are drawn to study economics and staff members are faced with many challenges such as limited resources to teach large classes of very diverse students. In addition, this department is regarded as being in the forefront in terms of generating valued research and staff members are feeling increasing institutional pressure to publish and to improve postgraduate throughput. Thus the department has moved to streamline the Honours and Masters programmes to ensure that students graduate and that they graduate within a given time limit.

From my interviews with the supervisors I found it difficult to establish what the departmental requirements are at Honours level. Both supervisors said there were a vast range of formats that could be followed in a subject like economics and because of this it was difficult to set clear criteria for assessment at this level. However, clearer requirements do emerge when one studies the feedback on some of the examiners’ reports. Each project is marked by two examiners, one of whom is the supervisor. If the marks vary by more than 10% a third examiner is brought in. Nearly all the examiners’ reports focus on the quality of the writing, the argument and its coherence and structure and there are sometimes quite detailed comments on the writing. An example of one of these comments follows:

The things that need to be emphasised when the student redrafts, are the appropriate register for academic writing, a clear structure and a closely formulated research question.

One examiner sets out genre requirements very explicitly in his report. He says:

An honours long paper should consist of the following:
Identification and clear statement of an economic problem
The department has changed the genre of the Honours project from a research project to a journal article for a number of reasons, but perhaps particularly, because students were taking too long to complete their projects and to graduate. The journal format was perceived as shorter, easier to mark and possibly leading to a joint student-supervisor publication. However, as Helen indicates, students were given very little guidance as to what form a research journal article should take:

H: There were very little specifications for this; it has to be in the format of a journal article and there are word restrictions and it has to look and sound like a journal article . . . I mean it doesn’t mean it necessarily (giggle) ends up looking like a journal article but it was supposed to look like a journal article. Ideally what they want is to get as much publishable material out of the Honours class as possible.

The implication here is that what is important is that the students go out and collect fresh and innovative data and produce findings that are interesting. It seems that writing and format are not as important because supervisors will end up doing most of the work in rewriting in order to publish if the content is worthy of publication. But the lack of guidance in writing up the research had consequences for the students because when it came to assessment, some were not as successful as they would have liked. As Helen’s supervisor indicated she has succeeded in bringing in data with potential but she scored only 60%.

My discussions with supervisors and lecturers indicate that they do not regard writing as central to the real work of research, in fact, they seem to separate writing from the act of researching. They often refer to the ‘writing up’ of the research project as if it is something that happens rather briefly at the end of the research project. Yet my experience working with the department has shown that students’ failure to complete the dissertation, particularly at Masters level, was often related to writing. As Kamler and Thomson (2006, 11) say, the notion of ‘writing up’ obscures the fact that writing is thinking; it is not that we do the research and then know, but rather that the data is shaped and crafted by the writer and ‘the writer imposes her view of reality through the writing’.

Helen is a student from a middle-class background and privileged schooling. She had majored in economics but studied quite a few politics courses along the way. She chose to do her Bachelor of Business Science Honours year in economics and her project was called ‘An informal sector analysis and migration study: Car guards of Cape Town’. When I interviewed her, she was clearly very disappointed with her mark of 60% on the Honours project, but she had been accepted for the Masters degree probably because of her overall performance on the coursework for the degree and because of the quality of the data she had collected. In my interview with her supervisor, he said that he felt good work and extensive reading had gone into the paper ‘which made its still unrealised potential a source of frustration’ but that the current ‘draft’ was far from ready.
Form and content

Bazerman’s metaphor of genre as a frame is a useful way to view Helen’s project—she has had difficulty with her frame and this impacts on the way meaning is constructed. Genre knowledge is not just knowledge of formal conventions but knowledge of structure, appropriate topics and relevant details. From her introduction it appears that Helen is posing too many research questions. Investigating the car guarding industry would be an adequate research project at this level, but she introduces another research question relating to the migration patterns and effects that car guarding exhibits i.e. ‘What attracts migrants to Cape Town and South Africa and why do they stay?’.

This leads to confusion in the way she has organised her project as illustrated by the list below of section headings in the project:

- Introduction
- Industry Research
- The informal sector
- Methodology (brief one paragraph with no mention of case studies or the model)
- Findings (analysis of demographics of car guarding)
- Migration
- Case Studies
- Conclusion
- Appendix (where the adapted migration model is presented).

The central flaw in the way she has organised her material is that the model, her own adaptation of Field’s migration model, which should have been central to her methodology and analysis, is hidden away in the appendix at the end. The last sentence of her Appendix, ‘The case studies clearly validate the theory of migration present in the model and the assumptions present’, seems to be the key to the paper and if this section were in the body of the text, it would form a transition to the ‘Case study’ section (descriptive material on the five car guards who were interviewed) which supports the model! Secondly the ‘Findings’ does not really read as a Findings section, but rather as a discussion of the demographics of the case study sample and the section titled ‘Migration’ seems misplaced as it provides background information on migration and should have been integrated into her section on ‘Industry Research’ which sketched the background to the car guarding industry.

The inadequate structure impacts on the content. She does not present a clear argument and the project lacks coherence. If she had been clearer about the form in which to present a qualitative case study, she would have selected her content differently and integrated the model into the case study findings.

The supervisor comments on this:

The model developed by the author remains in an appendix and is not cohesively tied to the material gleaned from the case study interviews. The attempt to adapt Fields’ model to encompass highly skilled migrants from elsewhere in Africa is interesting. The case studies should help inform the structure and relative magnitudes and predictions of the model.
In the interview she tries to explain the way she has organised her material:

Interviewer: and what I could not understand was why the model was put in the Appendix?
H: that was purely because I was over my word count Â something had to go . . . and also I was having trouble linking it in to my other discussions on migration, it wasn’t joining smoothly with the rest of my argument.

Acquiring the new practices

Postgraduate and undergraduate genres are characterised by quite different textual features and conventions. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) describe the latter as pedagogic genres because of their classroom-based contexts and functions. Helen is struggling to acquire the new postgraduate research writing practices and finding that undergraduate practices have little value in the new context of research writing. Essay writing had been the genre of both her undergraduate studies and the course work modules for the Honours degree. She recognises that the new genre of journal writing takes a different form and she calls it ‘a new style of writing’:

H: It was quite a large leap from undergrad years in terms of expectations and standards and stuff and especially I think what we were all lacking . . . maybe me in particular as well, was knowing how to write a journal article, that new academic standard of writing that we haven’t been subjected to . . . in all your undergrad stuff everything you’re writing is essays, and in this [research writing] if you’re used to writing an essay then its probably going to be quite different so it’s a new style of writing.

But there are no spaces in the Honours curriculum for formal teaching of research writing. As Helen says, you have to be guided by your supervisor and find the pedagogic spaces in the supervisory relationship:

Interviewer: So what were you told about what this project should look like? What was the teaching that you had around the writing of this?
H: Well there’s not really any teaching around writing of it. Obviously we each have a supervisor who’s guiding us in what the project should be in the end but there isn’t any formalised education in the classroom.

When asked what the nature of this guidance was, she says:

H: . . . they tell us that ‘we can’t actually teach you how to write a journal article you have to just go and read as many as you can, to try and get a feel for it’ but I found it a very hard lesson to learn. I still don’t really know how to go about it.

Although Helen’s bibliography shows that she has looked at some case studies in journal articles, it seems that reading journal articles has not given Helen the resources she needs to write up a case study. In Bourdieu’s words, Helen’s practices are still not ‘compatible’ with the field; she does not yet have a ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu 1991, 17):

Interviewer: Do you have a sense of how many times you redrafted or was it just sections that you were giving him.
H: I probably redid it twice but I had great difficulty in making any substantial changes, it was a real mental block for me once I’d actually written it, to try and change it (laughs). I don’t know if that makes any sense but it was difficult for me to see what to change when I’d already written it.

Interviewer: You didn’t revise theory and then go on to . . .

H: No, no all the revising was very superficial . . . editing . . .

Interviewer: Oh just editing . . .

H: I had a real problem with that Â I found that my supervisor was trying to get me to . . . He said that the tone of the paper was not right and the story . . . he said that it was like an essay and not like a journal but I had great difficulty in sitting down and thinking how to edit it to change it . . . I spent long hours sitting looking at the screen trying to think how to rewrite it and not getting anywhere.

It seems that, in many cases, Helen was able to recognise what the problems were but she did not know how to realise them:

H: . . . but I still feel like . . . I mean . . . because it is our first time writing an academic paper, that we needed more direction in terms of that. Because for me, he [the supervisor] did give me a lot of feedback on the stuff I had written but I had trouble knowing how to move forward from it, so I knew what was wrong, but I did not know how to fix it.

Conflicting norms and values of the field

Helen seemed more disposed to qualitative research but these interests conflicted with the norms and values of the field and, particularly, those of the economics department which increasingly regards quantitative research and statistical data as more valid than qualitative. She repeatedly said that her paper was not ‘academic’ and not ‘theoretical’; meaning perhaps that the paradigm she was working in was not valued in the department:

I always wanted it to be a more social anthropological paper, it was always such an interesting human topic, but when it came to actually relating to hard economics, like . . . I feel I could have done a lot better marks wise and quality wise if it was more academic and theoretical and based on hard data.

Her supervisor too, had encouraged a qualitative approach because he felt that the case studies would give more insight into the problem:

He thought it was important to get the lay of the land first before you start drowning yourself in large numbers (150Â200). Once I’ve got a very good perspective and feeling for how car guarding works and operates . . . what the people’s lives are like, then I’m in a position to move on to looking at the figures.

But his thinking was not supported by his colleagues and she was aware of this:

. . . other people in the department advised me quite strongly, saying it was very difficult to actually get it [qualitative research] right, to get it to say what you want it to say, so quantitative is better.

These departmental tensions a propos quantitative vs. qualitative research genres remind us that genres are ‘always sites for the contestation of difference’ (Luke 1996, 318). Helen tries to deal with these tensions by including some statistical data in her
project. In the ‘Findings’ section she has drawn up statistical tables to illustrate the demographics of the car guards she has interviewed.

It was her lack of clarity about the case study genre and a feeling of insecurity in terms of its validity in this department that has led her to mix her methodologies. However, as her supervisor says in his report, the interview sample was too small to present it as if it were a conventional statistical sample. In his examiner’s report he seems to spell out the genre expectations for her, but this was too late for her to revise and improve her score:

My biggest concern is the tendency to present statistics as if the work was based on a conventional sample rather than a small set of detailed interviews. This was explicitly not a conventional survey and to present data as if it were, actually weakens the report. Instead it should be focusing on key issues that the interviews raised – features such as: information asymmetry, expectations formation, information and transactions, cost of entering the local labour market.

**Style and tone**

The informal and sometimes strongly political tone of her writing also reflects her uncertainty about genre, which her supervisor comments on in his examiner’s report:

Style: This is an area that needs work. The ‘voice’ or ‘register’ of the article is uneven. The tendency to slip in and out of the first person singular is disconcerting. The writing needs work.

Her anger in relation to the corruption and injustices being perpetrated by the government Department of Home Affairs is evident in her discussion of migration and she uses emotive language which was not sufficiently objective for an economics research paper. The extract below from Helen’s research project illustrates her use of the first person and strong modals more typical of political speech writing:

The difference in education and skills levels between local and foreign car guards caused me to question why these foreigners were unable to find other forms of employment. They all had official refugee status and all would like to work in the formal sector. They unanimously feel that car guarding is humiliating and degrading for educated people such as themselves. In light of the skills shortage present in South Africa, I must question why this abundance of refugee skilled labour is not used to its full potential.

But she seems to recognise that this has been a problem because in her interview she points out that when you use an informal tone in your writing ‘people kind of don’t take what you’re saying seriously enough’.

She is keen to conform to the norms of her field, therefore she says she will never again attempt a case study as it was ‘a horrible experience’; for her Masters research project she will put aside her interest in ‘the human topic’ and do a large scale quantitative study of migration using data sets available in the economics department. She is beginning to believe in the game she must play. As Bourdieu (1991, 14) says participants have to have a ‘total and unconditional investment’ in the game and its stakes. The creation of the specific genres of her discipline demand the formation of a discipline specific identity and Helen is beginning to take on that identity.
Helen’s is an interesting story of acquisition, a story of some barriers and some affordances. She seems to be in the process of acquiring the genre knowledge; she is able to recognize her problems, but not quite realize them. She will probably write a Masters dissertation, which is very acceptable in her department.

Conclusion
The study shows that Helen has had difficulty acquiring the writing practices and genres of the discipline, and yet Helen is a white English speaking student from a more privileged educational background who would normally be expected to achieve. She stands in contrast to many of her student peers whose cultural experiences may be very different from hers. They may be speakers of English as an additional language or from schools that have not prepared them well for academic study and they may face far greater difficulties than Helen in trying to gain access to the discourses of the academy. As literacy practitioners we believe that this student diversity makes it even more imperative that practices and expectations which are new and different are made explicit to the students and that new genres are mediated appropriately.

However, my study illustrates the complexities of this kind of literacy education. In the department described above, it is up to the supervisor to ‘guide’ the writing of the research project. But supervisors indicate that they are reluctant to spell out the format for a research project; students are encouraged to discover the appropriate genre by reading research articles. There are a multitude of reasons for this but one very valid reason is that the genres that students are expected to acquire in a discipline like economics, are becoming more and more varied and complex and they are often contested. Genres are not static and there is always a danger that through identifying, naming and teaching them very explicitly, they may become reified and frozen. There is then a risk that we may represent the historical products of struggles and cultures ‘as the canonical rules of the culture’ (Luke 1996, 333).

Furthermore, in the case study described, one begins to question what capital is valued in this field and to what extent genre and writing are valued. Despite the fact that Helen may not have had the genre knowledge (linguistic capital) to gain a good mark in her Honours project, she has enough of the social and cultural capital to collect very interesting data and adapt a fairly sophisticated migration model to fit her data, all of which was useful in the market and thus she has been admitted to do a Masters degree. Luke (1996) argues that genre knowledge is no guarantee of power, because power is sociologically contingent. He says ‘... the value of embodied cultural capital gained in literacy training depends on the relative distribution, weight and scarcity of the capital on the market, rather than to any intrinsic power of the skill, text, competency or genre acquired’ (329).

What does this mean for those of us who are the literacy educators, often working on the margins of the supervisor-student relationship? Luke (1996) indicates that teaching genre may not be enough. He says that we need to focus the critical literacy curriculum on the discourses, registers and knowledges required in particular sites to allow the analysis and critique of social identities and power relations within those fields and sites. Therefore perhaps the role we can play as literacy educators is to do as Luke suggests and reframe the text not as a genre but as ‘a social strategy historically located in a network of power relations in particular institutional sites and cultural fields’ (1996, 333). This means that we may need to mediate the
pedagogic spaces between in various ways such as writing workshops and Writers Circles, as conceptualised by Aitchison and Lee (2006) and Chihota (2007). Circles are small, safe spaces where groups of students from a variety of disciplines meet to read and discuss aspects of their research. Spaces like these may lead to a critique of cultural fields and discourses and assist students in understanding the norms, values and expectations of their field and the power relations within them. My call for ‘mediating the pedagogic spaces between’ echoes Engbretson et al. (2008) who, in a recent edition of this journal, challenged the traditional notion of ‘good’ supervision as a private contract between supervisor and student and argued that in the new changing climate of research education in Australia which is also marked by greater diversity in the student population, ‘good’ supervision should be seen as one critical component in a whole research curriculum.

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