WRITING AND POWER. CONCEPTUALISING EARLY SCHOOL WRITING INSTRUCTION FROM A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The primary aim of this theoretical and methodological paper is to conceptualise early school writing instruction (with 6 and 7-year-old students) through a critical discourse analytical (CDA; Fairclough, 2003) perspective. By drawing on empirical examples from two L1 classrooms, the paper provides an example of how a CDA analysis may be operationalised, particularly in an educational setting in primary school years. In doing so, the paper unveils how social power permeates the discourse practices of early school writing and how its effects on writing instruction may be understood. The data consists of video-recorded observations of writing instruction in two classrooms and transcribed semi-structured interviews with two teachers. The conceptualisation shows major differences in the effects of power in discourse in the two classrooms, shaping the discourse practice in various ways. It furthermore becomes evident that these classrooms are sites of power struggles with effects on discourse and where discourse practices, in various ways, (re)construe both the social world of the classroom as well as what is being taught. However, rather than reproducing social power structures per se, this paper suggests that the classroom holds potential for contestation and transformation of structural power, not least dependent on the actions of the teacher.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, early school writing instruction, L1, power, primary school

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article presents a novel application of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding early school writing instruction (ages 6-7). By drawing on CDA, the aim is to shed light on how power relations, discourse, and social practice shape writing instruction in the early years of schooling. This study contributes to the existing literature by showcasing the potential of CDA as a powerful tool for examining the complex intersections of language, power, and ideology in school settings. In critical discourse studies, school settings are often used as examples of how social power institutionalised and practiced (e.g. van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 3; Fairclough, 2003 p. 25; Fairclough, 1992 p. 134; Fairclough, 1989 p. 26). However, and not least from an L1 perspective, research is needed concerning the roles of power and discourse within the classrooms and particularly their implications for (participation in) writing instruction practice in primary school years.

L1 has had different iterations throughout the 20th century, where the Dartmouth conference in 1966 and the forming of the New London Group in 1996 played central roles (Dixon, 1975; Cazden et al, 1996). In Sweden, Thavenius (1999; cf. Malmgren, 1996; Svedner, 1999; Teleman, 2004) argued that L1's formation and impact was related to the different school forms, which were historically segregated, and ideological orientations that catered to students from different social classes (c.f. Bazerman, 2016). However, the impact of L1 has not been studied on early school years. Both in research and in practice, early school writing instruction has prioritised the formal aspects of writing, such as technical skills, spelling and grammar, as a means to crack the alphabetical code. This has led to the formation of early school writing as a form and skill-oriented school subject (Liberg, 2012; Liberg et al, 2012), mirroring other educational contexts such as Australia (Mackenzie, 2014; Mariano et al, 2021), Norway (Matre & Solheim, 2015) and the US (Matsumura et al, 2002). Parr & Jeffery (2021) further show that although writing and writing development is construed as central to early school years in curricula and teaching practices, the ways in which writing is taught show a vast variety in different countries (ibid. p .235). In a Nordic context, Kabel & Bremholm (2021) argue that a partial explanation for such variance can be found in the teachers' autonomy in relation to what is focused on in writing instruction. The Swedish National Agency for Education *(Skolverket)* stipulates that L1 instructional practices should provide the students with an extensive communicative toolbox for various social purposes; meeting those expectations falls upon the individual teacher (Skolverket, 2011 p. 257). While Skolverket provides guidelines for such practices in other ways (e.g. Skolverket, 2022; Skolverket, 2023), the lack of explicated expectations on practice in the curricula calls for studies of how writing instruction is enacted.

Furthermore, few studies of writing instruction have acknowledged that schools and classroom practices are sites of social interactions and of social power struggles

like any social practice, albeit embossed by highly institutionalised practices constituted by established social spaces with social roles. These include lessons in a classroom with a teacher and their students, and social purposes for discourse, such as what to teach and learn in writing instruction – more or less overtly "train[ing] children to fit into and accept the existing system of class relations" (Fairclough, ibid. s.64). Alford (2014 p. 75) further observes that "Schools and teachers are circumscribed by powerful discourses that have material effects", which suggests that the institutionalised practices of schooling, and the effects they have on the social world of the classroom, are results of powerful discourses struggling for dominance (Fairclough, 1992 p. 87). Therefore, it is important to understand the effects of power and discourse on early school writing instruction. The purpose of this study is to explore the potential of critical discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodological framework for conceptualising early school writing instruction, with a focus on the ways in which power relations and social structures are construed and reproduced through discourse practices. This approach sheds important light on the conditions for (L1-) education and writing instruction in particular.

This is a theoretical text that engages with empirical examples observed from two groups of students from their first year of primary school. The following research questions have been employed: (1) How can early school writing instruction be understood as discourse practice; (2) how does social power operate in writing instruction practices in the first year of primary school classrooms? and (3) how can writing instruction practices be understood as effects of power in discourse?

2. A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical and methodological framework of the study consists of Fairclough's Critical Discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003; 1989; 1995). 'Discourse' is, as suggested by Fairclough, "language as a form of social practice" (1989 p. 55), meaning that language and socially conditioned language use are intrinsic to each other in a symbiotic, albeit dialectic, relationship. This does not, however, mean that everything is or can be reduced to discourse, but rather that language is always part of social processes, as it is both constitutive of and determined, by them. Language is, in this sense, rather seen as an element of the social. It is important to notice, as Fairclough does, that the relationship between an event in which language is used and a social structure is not a direct one, but one that is mediated through various social practices determined by social structures. Fairclough explains social structures as "defining a potential, a set of possibilities" (Fairclough, 2003 p. 23) but underlines the complexity of the relation between the structure and the event, i.e. the potential and what actually happens. In other words, events are not to be seen as the direct effect of social structures any more than a text[1] is a direct effect of language, but rather that social structures are mediated through social practices, e.g. teaching practices,

[1] *'Text' is in this article defined in a broad sense as any instance of language in use.*

which may be "[…] thought of as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time" (ibid.).

While social structures and language set out the potentiality of events and texts, the mediating social practices, are linguistically represented as orders of discourse, i.e. specific characteristics of the linguistic elements of a social order (Fairclough, 1989 p. 24). These elements concern what aspects of the world are being represented in a given text (i.e. discourses), how the text can be seen as a way of acting or interacting (i.e. genres), and how it denotes ways of being and identifying (i.e. styles). Linguistic elements of a social practice shape, by inclusion and exclusion, the linguistic variability of social practices – and the orders of discourse, i.e. what configurations of discourses, genres and styles are significant in social practices, such as a specific writing instructional event. When such linguistic configurations become normalised or naturalised in a specific discourse practice, such practices can, in Fairclough's terms, be described as ideological – contributing to production, reproduction or transformation of dominance (Fairclough, 1992 s. 87). Fairclough, however, argues that such normalised configurations, or 'ideologies', are never static, because the discourse practice always carries the potential for transformation of what is established or taken for granted, which for this article further argues for the study of what is 'taken for granted' or deemed 'natural' in writing instructional settings, i.e. what is sought of as 'natural' writing and writing instruction.

Central to social practices such as teaching, are the participants involved in them and further their access to power in said practice. Here Fairclough distinguishes between the 'powerful participant' and the 'non-powerful participant', where the powerful participant generally is controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants with regards to three primary constraints on discourse: (1) contents, i.e. what is said or done; (2) relations, i.e. on the social relations people enter into in discourse; (3) subjects, i.e. the 'subject positions' people can occupy (Fairclough, 1989 p. 76). The relationship between these constraints and their long-term structural effects is exemplified in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Constraints on Discourse and Structural effects using my examples (Fairclough, 1989 p. 74

Constraints on discourse	⟶	structural effects
Content	e.g. foci of writing instruction	**Knowledge and beliefs**
Relations	e.g. between teacher-student	**Social relationships**
Subjects	teacher and students	**Social identities**

This temporal perspective is important as the structural effects depend on how participants continuously act in a recurring practice in relation to the constraints on discourse. In other words, how participants act in relation to the 'rules' concerning what to say, to do and to be in a particular classroom practice are, as previously mentioned, never static, but possible to uphold or challenge by its participants.

3. THE EMPIRICAL DATA OF THE STUDY

Aligning with the purpose of the study, empirical data are drawn on to exemplify discourse practices of early school writing, and consist of transcribed observations as well as teacher interviews. The observational data were collected as a part of a larger research project[2] and were collected during year one of primary school (ages 7-8). Two teachers were selected for observations and interviews from a larger pool of survey responses where 43 teachers self-reported on their writing teaching practices. Based on the survey, three indices were constructed: (1) 'high literacy', including questions indicating to what degree teachers used a combination of formalised and functionalised teaching, aligning with how the term 'high literacy' is used by Langer (2002); (2) 'guided writing', including questions indicating to what degree the writing teaching practice is controlled and led by the teacher; and (3) 'formalised writing', including questions indicating to what degree the teacher focuses on formal aspects of writing. To utilize the possibilities of CDA to describe differences and varieties in how power operates in social practices, two different teachers were selected based on these indices. One teacher, Anne[3] in classroom 1, was selected from among the teachers whose responses constituted the high literacy-index, while the other teacher, Bea in classroom 2, was selected from among the teachers whose responses constituted the formalised writing index.

The observations were conducted, via video-recording (due to Covid-19 restrictions) in the fall semester and spring semester, for a total of four observed lessons. The lessons were carried out without any interference from the researcher and without any kind of instruction regarding what should take place during the lessons, except for them to reflect 'regular' writing instruction. The first two lessons were carried out during the first term of year one, before the end of the year and lasted 43 minutes (classroom 1) and 27 minutes (classroom 2). The two final lessons were carried out during the middle of the spring term in year one and lasted 44 minutes (classroom 1) and 20 minutes (classroom 2). The interviews were conducted at the end of the school year, and concerned the teachers' views on writing and writing instruction, enabling them to "[develop] an extended account and argument about what's happening" (Fairclough, 2003 p 118). The interviews of the teachers

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[2] *Functional Writing in Early School Years: Assessment, Teaching and Professional Development (FEAST) (20-22), led by Åsa af Geijerstam financed by the Swedish Institute for Educational Research*

[3] *The names of the teachers have been altered.*

furthermore strengthen the trustworthiness of the study as a form of member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). However, due to the limitations of the article, the interview data will not be scrutinised in the same way as the observational data, but will be sufficiently summarised in order to disclose the observed teacher's perspectives on writing and writing instruction (see Table 7).

4. CDA AS METHODOLOGY

This study is methodologically organised following Fairclough's (1989, 2003) three phases of CDA: (1) description of text, (2) interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and (3) explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 1989 p. 128). These three methodological stages, including the analytical tools utilised within them, are described in what follows, after which empirical data are presented to illuminate the methodological discussion.

4.1 The first analytical phase: Description

The first descriptive phase concerns linguistic description of texts, which in this study consists of observational data. The main objective of this first analytic phase is to denote three types of meanings construed in the analysed data, namely (1) representations, concerning how the world is represented, (2) (inter)actions, concerning ways of acting and interacting, and (3) identifications, concerning ways of identifying[4]. Various analyses are employed in this first phase of analysis to progress to the subsequent analytic phases of CDA, and these analyses are in the following section described in concerning how they can be associated to one or more of the three types of meaning.

4.1.1 Thematisation

A thematic content analysis inspired by Braun & Clarke (2006) is carried out throughout the data sets, to be able to address representations in the analysed data. As such, the thematisation is conducted through inductive thematic analysis (or bottom-up) based on the utterances made by the participants in the observed practices. Braun & Clarke highlights six inductive phases of thematic analysis which have been adhered to in the present study, namely: (1) familiarisation with the data; (2) generation of initial code; (3) search for themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining and naming themes; and (6) producing report. The transcripts of the observational data have been thematically analysed as four individual pieces of data and the themes are thus identified based on the utterances within each observed lesson. Following the

[4] Note that these three meanings (representations, [inter]actions and identifications) are used in the second phase to distinguish the previously introduced concepts of discourses, genres and styles.

familiarisation with the data, initial codes were formulated within each sub-set, which subsequent themes were based on. After reviewing these themes, e.g. through merging of similar codes and themes or by revising inconsistencies, the finalised themes were defined, which are accounted for in tables 3-6 below.

Figure 2. Example of thematisation based on initial codes and data

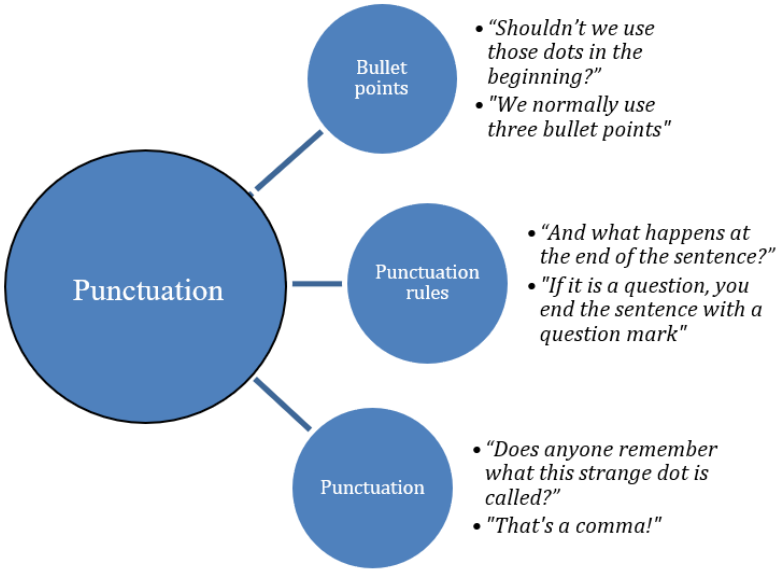

Figure 2 shows how the thematisation was carried out and provides an example of how each theme comprise of a number of initial codes (in this case three codes) based on the observational data.

4.1.2 Exchange types and speech functions

The analysis of exchange types and speech functions is employed to be able to denote what distinguishes (inter)actions and identifications in the observed writing practices. Fairclough's approach to speech function analysis builds on Halliday's (2014 p. 136-137) and distinguishes two primary exchange types, knowledge and activity exchanges, and four subordinate speech functions: Statements, questions, demands and offers (2003, p.167-168). Statements (e.g. "*The word starts with 'a'*") and questions (e.g. "*Are you finished?*") are associated to exchanges of knowledge, while demands (e.g. "*Raise your hand if you want to speak!*") and offers (e.g. "*I can help you with that*") are associated to exchanges of activity. The different exchange types may further be associated with modality in various ways. Fairclough (2003 p. 165) describes modality as what people commit themselves to when making statements,

asking questions, making demands or offers, and distinguishes between the epistemic and the deontic modalities. The epistemic modality concerns the author's commitment to truth, while the deontic modality concerns the author's commitment to obligation/necessity or to act, as outlined in Table 2[5].

Table 2. Modalities of exchange types and modalisations of speech functions

Exchange type	Knowledge exchange (epistemic modality)		Activity exchange (deontic modality)	
Speech function	*Statements*: 'author's' commitment to truth	*Questions*: author elicits other's commitment to truth	*Demands*: 'author's' commitment to obligation/necessity	*Offers*: author's commitment to act
Modalisations	Assert: *The word starts with 'a'*	Non-modalised positive: *Is everyone here?*	Prescribe: *Read after me*	Undertaking: *I'll do that for you*
	Modalised: *You can use a hyphen when someone is speaking*	Modalised: *could you write this another way?*	Modalised: *Everyone should raise their hand before speaking*	Modalised: *I might write it up on the whiteboard*
	Deny: *He did not slip*	Non-modalised negative: *isn't this better?*	Proscribe: *Don't use that!*	Refusal: *I won't do that today*

The modalised variations of the four speech functions may, as Fairclough points out, be realised in a variety of ways, typically through modal verbs, but may also be expressed in other ways such as adverbs denoting 'usuality' (e.g. never, usually, often, always). The various exchanges and speech functions expressed by the observed teachers and students in the observed practices are used to denote *how* the interactants are committing to the verbiage of each analysed utterance. Combined with the thematic analysis, this further provides insight into *what* each interactant is committing to in said utterances. Alford (2015 p. 204) describes modality in statements, questions, demands and offers as "[…] the extent of affinity speakers afford to particular representations". An example from the analysed data, is when one of the teachers says "*The word starts with 'a'*, shows an assertive commitment to a theme labelled 'spelling', in this case concerning what letter a word starts with. From a modal point of view, the commitment could have been modalised (e.g. '*The word could start…*') or denying (e.g. '*The word doesn't start with…'*)[6] drastically altering the teacher's commitment to the particular representation ('spelling').

[5] *In the description phase, the term 'utterance' is used as a collective term for all speech functions throughout the analysed data sets, including their modalised variations.*

[6] While Fairclough further suggests there are levels of commitment ranging from low to high, this is not expanded on in this paper.

4.1.3 Analysing instructional stages

To further denote the actions of each lesson, an analysis of instructional stages is employed. While a more extensive analytic framework for this analysis, such as a macro-genre analysis (e.g. Martin, 1995; Christie, 2002), could potentially allow for a more detailed scrutiny of the data, it is acknowledged that this is not possible within the scope of this study. Therefore, this study relies on a more inductive analysis of instructional stages, which hinges on the expressed progression of each lesson, primarily explicitly expressed by the observed teachers. Drawing on the observed lessons, this can be exemplified with one teacher saying: "*Now, I want you to pick up your pens and your workbooks and copy the text",* thus signalling a change in the activity, and at another point, while the students were discussing something, saying: "*Now you will be given your instructions"*, continued with the teacher giving the instructions for the lesson, again signalling a change in the stages of activity. A lesson starting with an introduction, continuing with a discussion on a specific topic, transitioning to individual writing about the given topic and ending with a summary could thus be denoted as "Introduction^discussion ^individual writing^summary".

4.2 The second analytical phase: Interpretation

The second interpretative phase concerns how the three meanings, representations, actions and identifications construed in the data can be interpreted as ways of representing (discourses), ways of acting and interacting (genres) and ways of identifying (styles). Discourses, genres and styles constitute the three ways in which discourse figures in social practice, in this case in writing instruction.

4.2.1 Discourses, genres and styles

Discourses[7] may, as previously mentioned, be seen as ways in which the world is represented in a text, or in this study the collected data. In this article, discourses are interpreted based on the results of the thematic analyses of the first analytical phase. As for *genres*, which concern ways of (inter)acting, the analysis is a bit more complex. The genres of a text have been analysed in terms of what people are doing (*Activity*) and what the social relations between the participants involved is (*Social Relation*)[8]. In this study, Activity is interpreted based on the results of the analysis of instructional stages.

The second aspect of genre, Social Relation, concerns the particular relations between, and social roles of, interactants – such as interviewer and interviewee,

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[7] Note that 'discourses' here is a count noun, used to describe what aspects of the world is portrayed, and should not be confused with the more multifaceted and abstract term 'discourse'

[8] Analysis of genre can further include analysis of Communication technology, which however is not expanded on in this article.

employer and employee or teacher and student. In this study, Social Relation is interpreted primarily based on the results of the exchange types and speech function analysis (determining the social roles enacted in the observed exchanges between interactants).

The third way in which discourse figures is as *styles*, which are "the discoursal ways of being" (Fairclough, 1989 p. 159) – or how discourses are inculcated in identities. To be – to express identity and personality – is clearly not a strictly linguistic matter. What one is may be expressed in many intrinsic and complex ways, both discoursal and non-discoursal. It is however possible to analyse the ways individuals express *identification* which Fairclough links to styles, i.e. "the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others" (ibid.). In this study, the interpretation of styles in the data thus primarily hinges on the results of the speech function and exchange type analysis in the first analytical phase. This is done as speech functions and exchange types connotate quite specific social roles associable to the speech functions, such as how a participant demanding certain actions of other participants may be associated to a more demanding social role, or how a participant posing questions may be associated to a more inquisitive social role.

Together the three elements discourses, genres and styles comprise *interdiscursivity,* i.e. "the particular mix of genres, of discourses and of styles upon which a text draws, and of how different discourses, genres or styles are articulated together in the text" (Fairclough, 2003 p. 218), connecting the linguistic analysis to the second analytical phase of interpretation. The particular mixings of discourses, genres and styles, i.e. the interdiscursive mixing, constitute the discourse element of the studied social practice (Alford, 2015 p. 95).

4.3 The third analytic phase: Explanation

Fairclough (1989, p.172) states that "[t]he objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them." (ibid.) However, due to the limits of the study and present paper, such a detailed explanation is not possible. The explanatory phase will therefore, in this paper, provide a depiction of what is promoted (1) knowledges about writing; (2) ways in which writing instruction is performed, and; (3) what distinguishes the roles of the participants in the studied writing practices. This will in turn enable discussion of the possible effects of social structures – i.e. the limitation of the potential of the social practice – and whether there are signs of such structures being sustained or challenged by participants in practice.

5. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE EMPIRICAL DATA: INSTRUCTIONAL STAGES, THEMES AND SPEECH FUNCTIONS

In this section, the descriptive phase of this study is presented using the observational data, which will be analysed in detailed, while the interview data will only be sufficiently described as to aid with the explanation phase, i.e. to help explain the observed lessons as social practices. To display the variety of each observed practice, every lesson is described and interpreted individually throughout this section presenting the results of the analyses in the same order for each observed practice.

5.1 Classroom 1, lesson 1 (C1L1): Letters to Santa

This lesson started with the teacher Anne telling the students that they had received a mail from one of Santa's elves, who had put up a small door in the classroom where he sometimes snuck out, which asked the students if they could write him a letter concerning the pros and cons of snow. The lesson lasted 43 minutes, and the stages of the lesson were as follows: Start up^Presentation of task^discussion^building field^writing task^Individual writing^Wrap-up. Note that the stage 'Building field' concern building of shared understanding of the topic at hand (Derewianka & Jones, 2016) Within these stages a number of themes were identified, which are described in table 3.

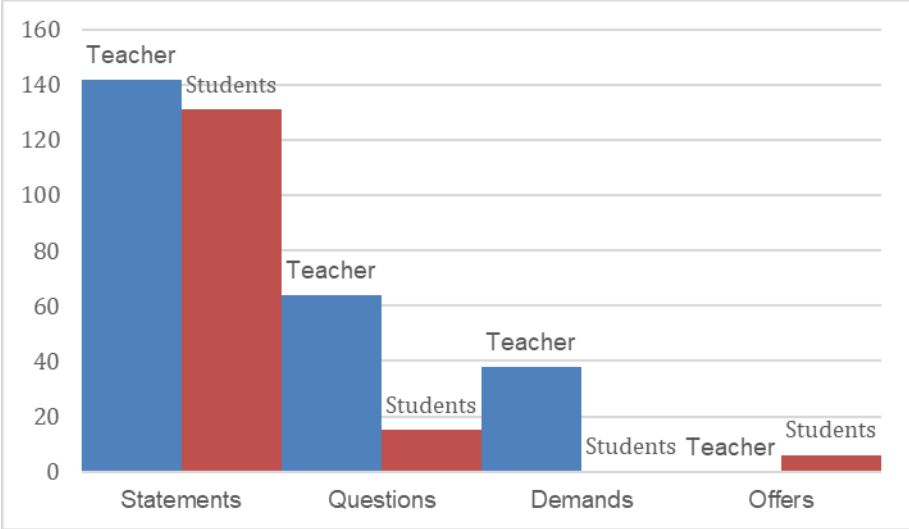
Table 3. Overview of stages and themes in classroom 1 lesson 1

Stages	**Themes**
1. Start-up	order, letter, Santa
2. Presentation of task	letter
3. Discussion	order, supplementary aids, previous personal experiences, friendship, accidents
4. Building field	letter, Santa door, snow - pros and cons, spelling, phonics, mimicking, writing, punctuation, word length, previous lessons, joint writing, teacher-led writing, differences of opinion, order
5. Writing task	letter, supplementary aids, list writing, copying, own words/own way, picture
6. Individual writing	order, supplementary aids, nice writing, writing for an audience, collaboration, list writing, letter recognition, punctuation, genre examples, previous personal experiences, writing task, decoding, reading aloud, finishing task, phonics, picture, spelling, encouragement, snow – pros and cons, quiet reading, genre mixing
7. Wrap-up	order

The themes emerging from the observation are overall expressed by both teacher and students, while some are only expressed by the teacher (such as 'order', 'writing for the audience' and 'genre mixing').

In this lesson there was a total of 410 utterances between teacher and, students which are summarised in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Speech functions in CILI



The most common speech functions are statements and questions concerning the representations associated to the content of the letters which the children are supposed to write to the elf, found primarily in themes such as 'snow – pros and cons' (15,7% of utterances; e.g. "*I like snow because it's fun to ski*") and 'Santa door' (11,6% of utterances; e.g. "*I don't think he can open it*"), while representations not directly related to the task at hand are also quite salient, found in such themes as 'accident' (6,3% of utterances; e.g. "*I saw a man that fell outside on the ice*") and 'friendship' (4,8% of utterances; e.g. "*it's nice to help one another*"). Other representations concerning text production are also present, including formal aspects, in themes such as 'spelling' (0,8% of utterances; e.g. "*it's actually spelled with c and k*"), 'list writing' (1% of utterances; e.g. "*they are called bullet points, which are good for writing lists*"), and functional aspects, in themes such as 'writing for an audience' (1,5% of utterances; e.g. "*what will he think if we right that?*") and 'previous personal experiences' (2.8% of utterances; e.g. "*one time I got to dig with a tractor*").

5.2 Classroom 1 lesson 2 (C1L2): Pollination

During this lesson, the students were instructed to write individual texts on the given subject of pollination. The students were supposed to fill in descriptive sequences on four separate pages of a small book they crafted during the lesson. The duration of the lesson was 44 minutes, and the stages of the lesson were as follows: Start-up^Building field^Presentation of task^Individual writing/crafting. Every stage is associated to a variety of themes found through the thematisation of the data, which are listed in Table 4.

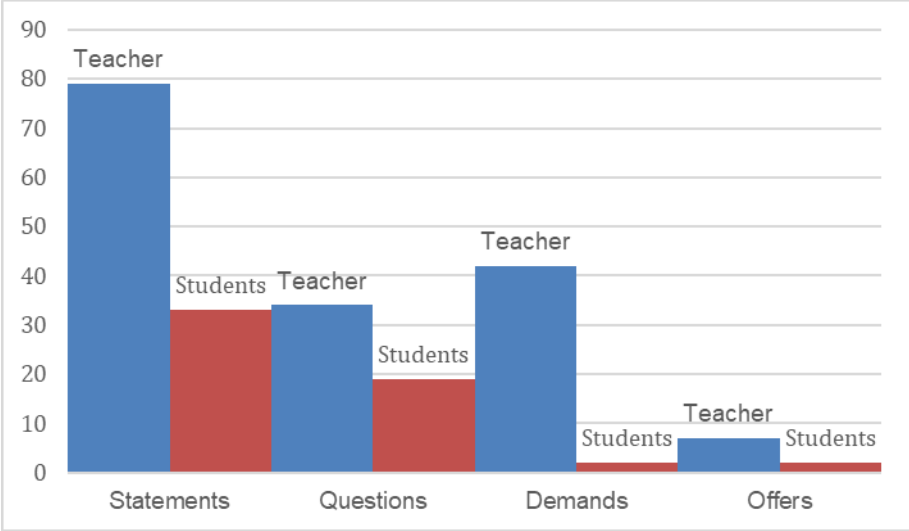
Table 4. Overview of stages and themes in classroom 1 lesson 2

Stages	Themes
1. Start-up	helpfulness, order, engagement, text types, previous lessons, freedom of choice, crafts, gap filling exercise
2. Building field	natural science, technical terms, previous lessons, difference of opinions, exemplifying, order, spelling, phonics, punctuation
3. Presentation of task	instruction, freedom of choice, order, own words/own way, crafts, transcription, demonstration, text type, doubt, helpfulness, forming letters, spelling
4. Individual writing/crafting	instruction, order, spelling, phonics, completion of task, evaluation, encouragement, summary/repetition, instructional content, freedom of choice, correcting, other school activities, learning insights, forming letters, grammar, demonstration, gratitude, helpfulness, curiosity, practicalities, disinclination, problem
5. Wrap-up	Instruction, order

The themes of each stage are often expressed by both students and teacher, but there are some exceptions. The themes 'demonstration', 'correcting', 'other school activities', 'exemplifying' and 'instructions' are only expressed by the teacher, while 'grammar', 'completion of task', 'gratitude' and 'learning insights' are only expressed by the students.

In this lesson there was a total of 228 utterances made by the teacher and students which are summarised in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Speech functions in C1L2



The most common speech functions are statements, primarily concerned with representations associable to the instructional content pollination (12% of utterances;

e.g. "*The seeds then fall down on the ground"*), and demands concerning 'order' (8% of utterances; e.g. "*Please sit down"*) and 'instruction' (5% of utterances; e.g. "*Now I want you to write […]*) made by the teacher. formal aspects of writing, such as 'spelling' (7% of utterances; e.g. "*how do you write [x]?"*) and 'forming letters' (2,5% of utterances; e.g. "*it goes down and then up again*"), and more functionally oriented aspects such as 'previous lessons' (5% of utterances; e.g. "*Does anyone remember I showed you this book before?*") and 'freedom of choice' (3% of utterances; e.g. "*and if you want you can have another one"*). However, there are also many representations, such as 'encouragement' (5,3% of utterances; e.g. "*Great job*!") and 'curiosity' (1% of utterances; e.g. a student asking "*What happened then*?") that depict other dimensions of the studied practice.

5.3 Classroom 2 lesson 1 (C2L1): The teacher's purse

The first lesson in classroom 2 started with teacher Bea telling the students to open their books and to follow her reading some passages about "The teacher's purse" and its contents, which were also written on the whiteboard. The lesson then progressed with Bea telling the students to copy the text from the whiteboard in their books, which was done for the remainder of the lesson. The duration of the lesson was 27 minutes, and the stages were as follows:Start-up^Reading-aloud/Mimicking^Teacher writing/demonstration^Individual copying^Wrap up. A number of themes emerged from the data correlating to the stages of the lesson as described in Table 5.

Table 5. Overview of stages and themes in classroom 2 lesson 1

Stages	**Themes**
1. Start-up	literature
2. Reading aloud/Mimicking	literature, grammar, mimicking, instruction, reading together, reading aloud
3. Teacher writing/demonstration	joint writing, header, artefacts, pictures, writing tools, copying, workbook content, punctuation, previous lessons, grammar
4. Individual copying	copying, punctuation, supplementary aids, grammar, completion of task, reading, writing tools, picture, writing task, letter recognition, other school activities, remaining time, forming letters
5. Wrap-up	Completion of task

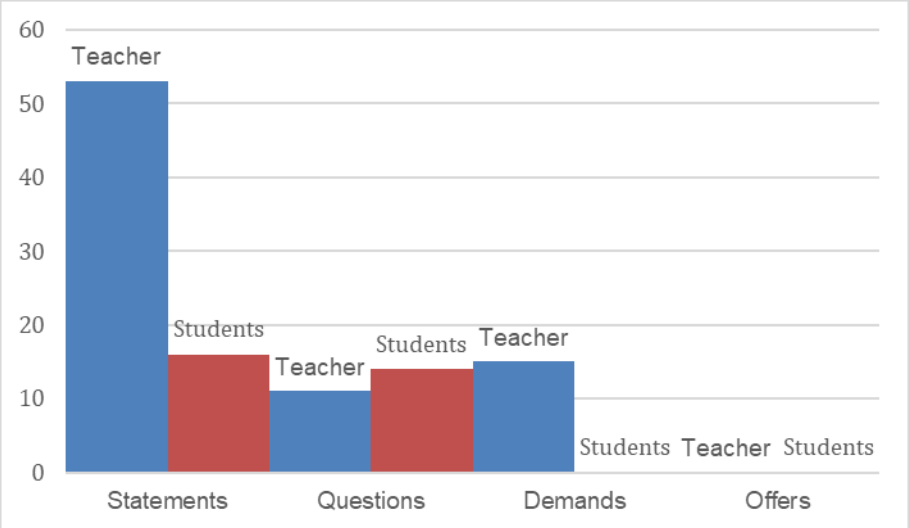
The themes of the stages are primarily and initially expressed by the teacher, and no themes are initiated or only expressed by the students during the lesson.

In this lesson, there was a total of 98 utterances by the teacher and students which are summarised in Figure 5.

The most common speech function in C2L1 are statements made by the teacher concerning representation of the content of the book that was read aloud by the teacher and then copied by the students (27% of utterances; e.g. "*The teacher gets*

her bag"). Otherwise the most salient representations in the lesson concern grammar (19% of utterances; e.g. "*What do we do in the end of the sentence?*") and punctuation (7% of utterances; e.g. "*what is that little dot called?"*), while there are also (<1%) representations concerning multimodal composition (primarily via themes such as 'Pictures', e.g. "*and afterwards I want you to draw a nice picture"*) and practical information about where to find pencils and erasers, etc.

Figure 5. Speech functions in C2L1



5.4 Classroom 2 lesson 2 (C2L2): A memory

Lesson 2 in the second classroom started with the teacher telling the students to turn their books to a certain page, followed by the teacher instructing the students to mimic her. The teacher then read a passage from a book, which was about a child who had their leg in a cast, followed by her copying the passage in writing on a whiteboard while at the same time reading aloud. The students were then instructed to copy the text the teacher had written on the whiteboard. The duration of the lesson was 20 minutes. During the stages (Preparation^Instruction^Reading-aloud/Mimicking^Teacher writing/Demonstrating^Individual copying^Wrap-up) a number of themes emerged from the data, as evident in Table 6.

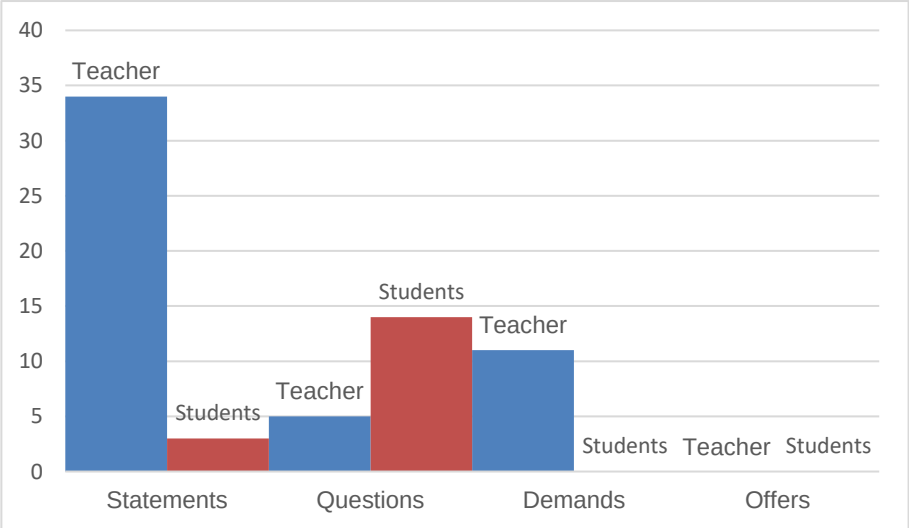
The themes of each stage are, aside from the theme 'punctuation', either expressed by the teacher or the students, meaning that the participants are rarely using exchanging concerning the same theme. Other than this communal theme, the students express the themes 'copying' and 'difference of opinions", while the rest are realised through the exchanges of the teacher.

In this lesson there was a total of 67 utterances of the teacher and students which are summarised in Figure 6.

Table 6. Overview of stages and themes in classroom 2 lesson 2

Stages	Themes
1. Start-up	copying
2. Instruction	reading aloud, mimicking, copying
3. Reading aloud/Mimicking	reading aloud, repeating, difference of opinions,
4. Teacher writing/demonstrating	instruction, grammar, previous lessons, copying text, freedom of choice, punctuation, syntax,
5. Individual copying	copying text, instruction, forming letters, drawing, reading
6. Wrap-up	Instruction

Figure 6. Speech functions in C2L2



The most common speech functions in C2L2 are statements made by the teacher and questions posed by the students concerning representations primarily oriented toward the content of the book which was read aloud by the teacher (21% of utterances; "*Sven draws a cactus*") and then mimicked by the students (21% of utterances, e.g. "*Sven draws a cactus*"), and did otherwise depict formal aspects of writing, through themes such as 'punctuation' (16% of utterances; e.g. "*And what is this line* called?) and 'syntax' (15% of utterances; e.g. "*new sentence here*"). But there are also themes such as 'challenging of instruction' (1,5% of utterances; e.g. "*But that's not what it says*") and 'freedom of choice' (1,5% of utterances; e.g. "*three sentences minimum and four for those who want to*"), which are associated to the writing instruction practice.

6. INTERPRETATION OF THE EMPIRICAL DATA: DISCOURSES, GENRES AND STYLES IN OBSERVED PRACTICES

The interpretative phase is, as previously mentioned, devoted to distinguishing the discourses, genres and styles (Fairclough, 2003 p. 220) in the studied practice, i.e. the linguistic aspect of the social practice. Here follows the interpretation of the description of classroom 1 lesson 2.

6.1 Discourses, genres and styles (Classroom 1 lesson 1 – Letters to Santa)

As previously mentioned, discourses concern what aspects of the world are being represented, which in this study is captured in the themes provided through the thematisation of the data. Based on this analysis, there are a number of discourses salient from the observation of C1L1, which are being represented during the observed instructional practice. The most frequent discourses concern the representations of the letter content, which can be interpreted as a discourse of instructional theme. Throughout the lesson an intermixing of discourses concerning formal (e.g. "*how do you spell [x]?"* and functional (e.g.*"Santa wants to know what we like about snow. But, how should we respond to Santa's letter?"*) aspects of writing are further observable, with a continued focus on the task at hand

The genre of the analysed practice is constituted by the interplay of *Activity* and *Social Relation*, starting here with the interpretation of Activity. The Activity hinges on the analysis of the stages of the practice, which depict a quite recognisable teaching activity (Start up^Presentation of task^discussion^building field^writing task^individual writing^Wrap-up), including an interrupted presentation of task leading to a quite lengthy discussion of matters unrelated to the theme of the task. This is interpreted as a goal-oriented instruction starting with a presentation of what is expected of the participants during the activity, continuing with guidance and eventually the performance of the task. The Social Relation aspect of the genre first of all becomes evident in the institutionalised roles of instructional practices in a classroom, meaning that there are primarily two roles to take on, i.e. as teacher or as student. The role of 'teacher' is enacted first of all through demanding actions of the other participants, who oblige and thus arguably take the role of 'students' who, in this institutionalised practice, are supposed to follow the demands of the teacher. As such, the power relations of the participants are immediately unevenly construed, and the teacher follows, in stages 1 and 2, with a few assertive statements followed by a question, allowing the students to answer, e.g. the teacher saying: "*We'll write what we like on this side, and what we dislike on this side. So what do you like about snow?"*. This is however followed by a number of unchallenged statements by the students in the third stage, while discussing an accident outside the classroom, where both teacher and students make and challenge statements, ask questions of various kinds thus establishing a quite even power relationship between the participants. The uneven power relationship between the roles of teacher and students is

however reestablished throughout the activity, both by the teacher continuously demanding actions by the obliging students (in relation to the progression between stages of the genre; e.g. "*Now I want you to take out your pencils and textbooks*!"), but also through the number and types of exchanges performed by these roles, where the teacher is the most active. These exchanges by the teacher in stages 4, 5 and 6 are primarily assertive statements concerning discourses depicting aspects of writing, but also include some examples of discourses voiced by the students who are unrelated to the writing instruction at hand. These include assertive statements concerning personal experiences unrelated to the discourses represented by the teacher, thus challenging the status quo of the goal-oriented instruction; statements which furthermore are acknowledged by the teacher (e.g. [student]: "*It is scary to drive a quad-bike!*, [teacher]: "Is it? *I can imagine!*"). In this way, the power relation between teacher and students is made a bit more even as a result of the student's taking control of discourses and the teacher enabling them.

As previously described, one way in which Styles are expressed in social practice is through the actor's own, or elicitation of others, commitment to truth and obligation/necessity (see Table 2). In C1L1 the knowledge exchange types (epistemic modality) expressed by the teacher are primarily assertive statements (119/215 epistemic exchanges) which are indicative of commitment to truth (Fairclough, 2003 p. 170), i.e. to the discourses expressed through the assertive statements, asserting a particular aspect of the world, for example what a list is by stating "*The list has at least three things on it*" or asserting the role of order by stating "*…and if you don't know what to do you raise your hand*". The teacher primarily asks non-modalised positive questions (64 exchanges) directed at the students, as opposed to modalised or non-modalised negative questioning which would allow for questioning or denying. In other words, the epistemic modalities indicate that the teacher is indeed committed to the asserted discourses, which is also true for the exchanges by the students, which are primarily assertive statements (131/151 exchanges) and non-modalised positive questions (15 exchanges) directed at the teacher. As for activity exchanges, the teacher only uses prescriptive demands (38 deontic exchanges), showing commitment to obligation/necessity, while the students show quite few examples of commitment through their total of six undertaking offers. Here it should however be stated that the verbal undertakings of the students are probably quite unusual compared to non-verbal compliance with the teacher's demands. Altogether the teacher establishes a quite dynamic style, both eliciting commitments of the students and at the same time committing herself to the discourses expressed.

6.2 Discourses, genres and styles (Classroom 1 lesson 2 - Pollination)

The discourses in C1L2, like C1L1, primarily concern the instructional theme (pollination) as well as formal and functional aspects of writing. However, there are also many representations, conveyed in themes such as "helpfulness" (e.g. "*I'll help you with that*") and "curiosity" (e.g. "*how did he write?*") which depicts other dimensions

of the studied practice, where discourses of emotion and values associated to social relationships become evident.

The structure of the lesson (Start-up^Building field^Presentation of task^Individual writing/crafting), builds on the teacher's explicit transition throughout the lesson, which includes presentations of each stage and the eventual task on which the students are supposed to focus. As for the *Social Relation* of the practice, the participants immediately take on the roles of either teacher or student, as is expected by the setting. By looking at the exchanges by the interactants the relations of these roles are however quite complex. At the beginning of the lesson, during the first stage of the practice, the role of the teacher is established through quite authoritative, demands of certain actions and behaviours (captured by the theme 'order'; e.g. "*Please sit down and be quiet. Take down your books*.") by the other participants, who, in turn, obliges, thus establishing a more passive 'student' role. This creates an uneven social relationship between participants that limits the possibilities of the role of 'student' to partake in the practice, and by effect gives control over discourses to the role of 'teacher'. This is however not the case for the second stage of the lesson, where the social relationship between teacher and students is transformed (albeit with the teacher still demanding order from the students). In the second stage, the roles of 'teacher' and 'student' are both stating facts, asking questions, and answering queries – both as initiators and as responders – which seemingly enables a variety of realised discourses, primarily oriented to the general theme of the lesson (natural science; e.g. "*After a while the seed turns into a plant"*). In the third stage, the teacher again takes social control, asserting the difference of power in the social relationship between teacher and student. This is primarily evident in the teacher's use of prescriptive demands (e.g. "*Your assignment is to […] I want you to write for forty minutes"*) concerning the instructions to the students and in the undertaking by the students, albeit not verbally, but by acting in the demanded way, i.e. undertaking. However, as opposed to the first stage, the students are quite active during this third stage, primarily through assertive statements (e.g. "*you put them in a pot and then they sprout!"*), which again underlines the agency of the students. There is, in this way, a noticeable back-and-fourth movement between the dominant teacher and the equalised relationship between teacher and students associated with the progression of the activity. In the fourth stage of the lesson, the social relations between teacher and students are however quite dramatically turned, where the students initiate the majority of exchanges (e.g. "*How do you write [x]?*") with the teacher primarily answering student-initiated questions and encouraging the students through assertive statements (e.g. "*Like this […] Great job!"*.

In C1L2, the knowledge exchange types (epistemic modality) expressed by the teacher are primarily assertive statements (69/113 epistemic exchanges), which indicates commitment to the discourses expressed by the teacher. The teacher further exclusively asks non-modalised positive questions (31 exchanges) directed at the students, eliciting the students' commitment to said discourses. The students are comparably committed to said discourses primarily through assertive statements (29/52

epistemic exchanges) and non-modalised positive questions (18 exchanges). As for activity exchanges, the exchanges of the teacher are primarily prescriptive demands (38/49 deontic exchanges) directed towards the students, compared to four examples of the teacher's commitment to act through two undertaking offers. This primarily indicates a high level of commitment to obligation/necessity. The students express quite few activity exchanges (4 prescriptive demands, 1 modalised offer and 1 refusal), which indicates a lack of commitment to obligation/necessity or to act. However, as with C1L1, the students are frequently responding non-verbally by undertaking demands of the teachers, such as physically putting the pencils down after being demanded to do so, or writing when told to write. This could well be seen as examples of non-verbal undertaking.

In summary, the Styles of both teacher and students are both quite assertive of the discourses expressed during the lesson, while the teacher is significantly more demanding than the students.

6.3 Discourses, genres and styles (Classroom 2 lesson 1 – The Teacher's Purse)

The discourses in C2L1 primarily concern the content of the book that was read aloud by the teacher and then mimicked and copied by the students, displaying a discourse of reproduction. There are otherwise discourses oriented to formal aspects of writing, such as "grammar" (e.g. "*After the heading there's no full stop, remember*?") depicting writing as primarily form oriented. Altogether a discourse of writing as reproducing form is detectable.

The Activity of the lesson, based on the stages of the practice, is very much oriented toward the completion of a specific task, namely to read a text aloud and to individually copy the same text into a workbook without any noticeable sidesteps (Start-up^Instruction^Reading aloud/Mimicking^Teacher writing/Demonstrating^Individual copying^Wrap-up). Upon completion of the task, the students go on to read quietly. Concerning the Social Relation aspect of the genre, there is never any doubt concerning the relationship between the teacher and the students, primarily due to the activity exchanges initiated by the teacher, where the students are demanded to act in certain ways, which they also do (e.g. "*I read and you read after me*"). Furthermore, there are quite few examples of interaction between teacher and students, and hardly any examples of student-initiated exchanges, arguably cementing the authority of the teacher and making the power relation between teacher and students very uneven. This tendency is the same throughout the stages of the Activity.

In this lesson, the Styles of the teacher and students are quite different from each other. The primary knowledge exchange types (epistemic modality) expressed by the teacher are assertive statements (46/64 epistemic exchanges), establishing an assertive commitment to the expressed discourses – which for example concern punctuation (e.g. "*Full stop. The next sentence starts with a capital letter*"). The teacher elicits the students' commitment to truth through non-modalised positive questions

(11 exchanges). The students almost exclusively use assertive statements (15/18 epistemic exchanges) which are used in mimicking the teacher, making these statements both commitments to discourses expressed by the teacher, as well as undertaking offers aligning with the implicit demands of the teacher.

The students collectively only use two exchanges to ask questions directed at the teacher, which are non-modalised positive. Regarding the activity exchanges, the teacher only uses prescribing demands (15/15 deontic exchanges) showing commitment to obligation/necessity, while the students collectively express one prescribing demand directed at the teacher. Altogether, the teacher establishes a quite dominating style through the prescribing demands and assertive statements concerning the discourses in the lesson, while the style of the students is quite passive and undertaking, albeit with the one prescribing demand directed towards the teacher which could be seen as a way to challenge the power dynamics otherwise apparent.

6.4 Discourses, genres and style (Classroom 2 lesson 2 – A memory)

As in C2L1, C2L2 is primarily oriented toward the students mimicking and copying texts which are read aloud by the teacher, aligning with the discourse of writing as reproducing form, detected in C2L1. Looking at the stage structure and thus the Activity of the lesson, it is oriented toward the teacher demonstrating how to read and then to write what has been read, in a straightforward manner with not many exchanges or stages oriented to anything else (Start-up^Reading aloud/Mimicking^Teacher writing/Demonstrating^Individual copying^Wrap-up). The verbal exchanges of the lesson are primarily in the form of the teacher either commanding the students to act in a certain way (e.g. "*Read after me*"), either through grammatical imperatives or through statements functioning as demands (e.g. "*Now we'll write'*). The students' exchanges are almost exclusively either repeating the statements read by the teacher, which are analysed as undertaking the implicit demand of repeating, or non-verbal actions. The class enacts comparable social roles and relations to the ones seen in lesson 1, while noticeably not involved in explicit interaction with the teacher at any point. There is however one example of a student challenging what the teacher is reading aloud during the third stage ("*wasn't her name [x]?*), which could be seen as an interactive attempt, but this exchange does not generate a response from the teacher. Thus, the relationship between student and teacher is enacted as a dominating relationship by both the teacher and students, albeit from the one example of challenging via a non-modalised negative question.

In C2L2, the knowledge exchange types (epistemic modality) expressed by the teacher are, like C1L2, primarily assertive statements (31/33 epistemic exchanges through statements) concerning representations such as 'spelling', 'punctuation' and 'syntax', establishing the commitment to the instructional content by the teacher. However, the teacher is only eliciting others' commitment to the instructional content (through questions) on two occasions during the lesson. The students only express epistemic modality on three separate occasions during the lesson (two

times through assertive statements and one time through denying statements), which indicates ambiguity as to what the students are committing to. As for activity exchanges, the teacher expresses a total of 21 exchanges consisting of prescriptive demands, while the students express 14 undertaking offers. As in C2L2 this is indicative of a quite strong dominating style of the teacher and a quite passive style of the students.

7. THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON THE OBSERVED PRACTICES

In this section, an overview (see Table 7) is provided to summarise the results from the interviews. In Table 7, the primary interview questions are disclosed (with some central follow-up questions) which were asked of both interviewees, and their responses are listed in relation to each question. The major differences between the interviewee responses concern (1) what is taught in writing instruction during the first school year and (2) what limitations and possible changes the teachers identify concerning their teaching. Anne describes her writing instruction as quite multifaceted regarding what aspects of writing are focused on and describes the limitations on her instructional practice primarily concerning her lack of knowledge or experience, which she states would be helped by having more time with the students. Bea describes her writing instruction as primarily oriented to formal aspects of writing (letter formation, handwriting, grammar, spelling) and describes herself as being limited by not having more colleagues and time for each student. Interestingly, Anne views having more time with the students as a way of changing the limitations to her practice, while Bea rather sees time with the students (or rather the lack thereof) as the limit itself, identifying the funding of the school as the primary solution.

Table 7. Overview of results from teacher interviews

Questions **Teacher**	**(1) What is taught in writing instruction during the first school year?** **(2) Why?**	**(1) How is writing taught during the first school year?** **(2) Why?**	**(1) Who is it that you teach to write during the first school year?** **(2) How should the students ideally act in the classroom?**	**(1) What possibilities and limitations of your role as writing teacher do you identify?** **(2) What changes do you think could help?**
Anne	(1) Learning letters, writing words and sentences, to write different kinds of texts, writing for a specific purpose (2) Because writing is not only one	(1) Collaboratively, individual writing and in pairs (depending on purpose of the texts) (2) In order to build an understanding about	(1) 'Lively boys and quiet but strong girls", children with vivid imaginations (2) Have patience, have courage to try and fail	(1) Limited by her own lack of experience and/or knowledge, hard to know the needs of every student

	thing and "every part is needed"	what and how to write		(2) Having more time with the students
Bea	(1) Forming letters in a correct way, handwriting, poems and rhymes as the students mature, grammar, spelling (2) Because if the students learn to write in an incorrect manner they "risk developing bad handwriting"	(1) Reading aloud, mimicking and copying from whiteboard, gap-filling exercises (2) Because they do not have the cognitive ability to develop writing skills on their own	(1) Students which are "here to learn", small and lovely, sometimes speaking out loud without having been asked to (2) No student should be given the chance to sit and think about something else	(1) Limited by not having enough colleagues, needing more time for individual students (2) more funding from the municipality and more colleagues

8. EXPLANATION: WRITING INSTRUCTION AS SOCIAL PRACTICE

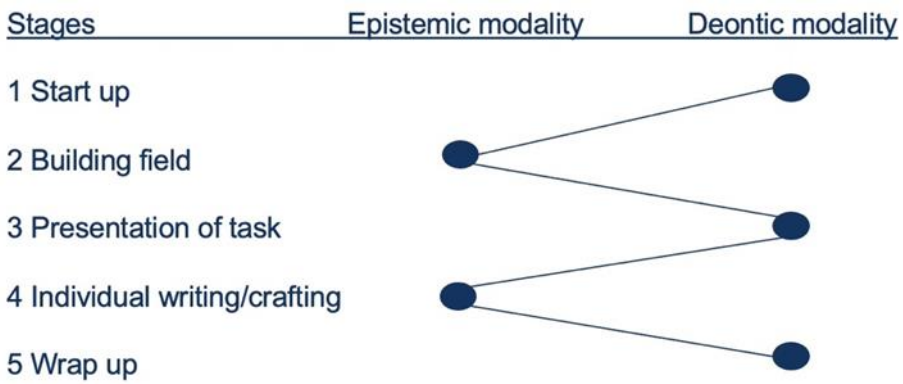
As previously mentioned, the explanatory phase will provide a depiction of what is promoted (1) knowledges about writing in writing instruction; (2) ways of (inter)acting in writing instructional practices, and; (3) identities in the studied practices. This begins with a description of the orders of discourse, building on the configurations of discourses, genres and styles identified in the studied discourse practices of classrooms 1 and 2.

There are particular interdiscursive mixings of discourses, genres and styles visible in classroom 1 associated with the progression of the lessons, and in particular to the stages of the lessons. First of all, the discourses of the two lessons may be summarised as a 'high literacy" view of writing, where writing is construed as multifaceted, including content, form and social function (c.f. Langer, 2002). However, the 'high literacy' view of writing is also accompanied by Anne's navigation of power structures permeating the social practice. At the beginning of the stages of the activities, Anne elicits a commitment to act by the students through prescribing demands directed towards the students associated with 'order' and 'instructions'. This renders her in control of the activities, while the following stages primarily concern the her commitment to the instructional content, her elicitation of the students' commitment to said content as well as the students' own commitment to the instructional content. As such, Anne moves between the epistemic and deontic modalities at every stage as the lessons (e.g. C1L2) progress, and while doing so shifting focus from discourses such as 'order' and 'instruction', to more writing-oriented discourses. This is illustrated by figure 7, drawing, as an example, on the stages of C1L2.

As for the students, it is during the 'epistemic' stages of discourses oriented to writing, that they partake in the exchanges, both as initiators and responders, and where the teacher and students primarily express exchanges realising communal

discourses. This communality of teacher and students exchanging information is on the one hand dependent on the students making assertive statements, but on the other hand seemingly dependent on the teacher's elicitation of the students' commitment to truth. As such, the primary genres apparent in classroom 1 may be described as an 'epi-deontic movement' throughout the lesson, where the shifts in epistemic and deontic modalities enable various commitments of the interactants, in this case in various ways associated with writing. The teacher in classroom 1 thus achieves this movement by first taking control of the classroom through prescriptive demands of order, to then elicit participant experiences interlinked to discourses associated with the instructional content (e.g. during the stage of building field in lesson 1), which is then repeated as the lessons progress. The combination of the teacher's use of demands in the stage progression of the lessons, thus controlling the activities, and using statements and questions committing, and eliciting the students' commitment, to the discourses of the classroom, are indicative of a style that may be labelled 'inclusive control'.

Figure 7. Epi-deontic movement in C1L1

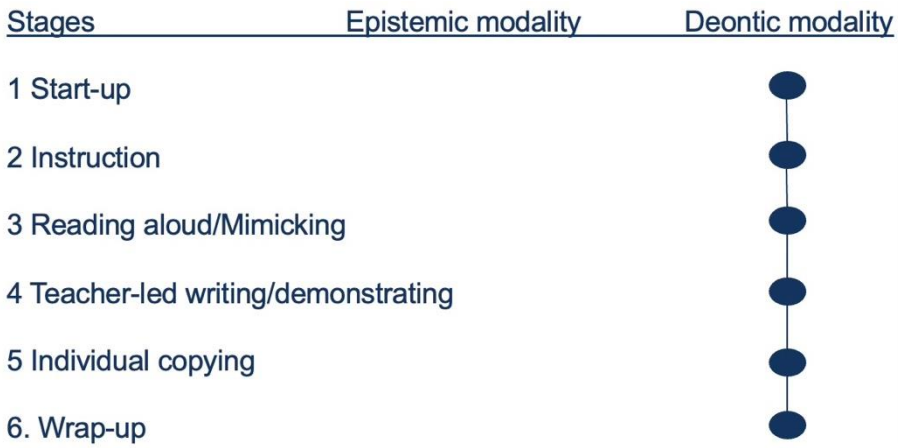


The primary interdiscursive mixing of discourses, genres and styles evident in classroom 2 can be described as 'domination', in the sense that the discourses, genres and styles are oriented towards the perspectives, actions and agency of the teacher and to the primarily passive compliance of the students. The discourses are primarily oriented to form aspects of writing and to writing as copying and mimicking. The genre aspect of the lessons is first of all centered around the active teacher and passive students, who are supposed to mimic and copy the teacher. The genres of the classroom may be described as 'deontic', and is illustrated by figure 8, drawing, as an example, on the stages of C2L2.

Furthermore, throughout the stages of the lesson the students are positioned as passive, by not being asked to commit to, and by not themselves committing to truth through e.g. assertive statements, concerning a few discourses oriented to writing,

such as ‘writing style’, ‘punctuation’ and ‘syntax’. The style of the teacher can be labelled ‘controlling’, being in control of both discourses and actions and subsequently the social roles of the participants, while the students’ style could be described as ‘passive’.

Figure 8. Deontic movement in C2L2



It is however important to keep in mind that both Anne and Bea are institutionally construed as powerful participants – as teachers – facilitating controlling and constraining what is being said, done and what is possible to be within the constraints of the classroom (not least affecting the non-powerful students). Given Fairclough’s theory of dominance (Fairclough, 1992 p. 87), i.e. that the social world of the classroom may be seen as results of powerful discourses struggling for dominance, challenging this dominance may be difficult. It might, in other words, be easier as a teacher to retain control over content, relations and subjects than to endue such power to their students. It could therefore be argued that certain instructional practices where non-powerful students are expected to, to some extent, control the contents of the instructional practice may be conflicting with the power-behind discourse, and in particular with the institutionally construed social role of the powerful teacher, potentially obstructing experientially based instructional practices.

There are differences in how Anne and Bea control the contribution of the students, where Anne actively creates space for contestations and contributions from the students, while Bea does not; differences which could partly be explained, as Kabel & Bremholm (2021) does, as possible due to the relatively autonomous social role of the teacher. As such, Anne allows the students to contest and contribute to the content of the practices, thereby enabling them to produce, reproduce or transform the ideological dominance of the classroom (Fairclough, 1992 s. 87). In other

words, by being allowed to contribute to what is said and written in the writing instructional activities, the students use this opportunity to contribute to the content of the activity, thus affecting the establishment of knowledge and beliefs about writing. While this space for the students to contribute to the content of the practice is created, it must however be interpreted as covertly constrained by the teacher's actions, such as introducing a new instructional stage, or by reminding the students to raise their hands before speaking. However obvious, it is important to note that the teachers therefore are never completely autonomous but constrained by their institutional social roles.

Applying a CDA understanding of power, ideology, and discourse, the institutionalized practices of schooling show how pupils are trained to adapt themselves and accept existing ideological conceptions like writing instruction and writing (Fairclough, 1992 p.87). This reasoning further aligns with Thavenius' (1999) emphasis on the constitutive relationship between different school forms and the foci of L1 instruction. Given this understanding of the social practices of schooling, where writing instructional (social) practice may be seen as mediating dominance, it is in Anne's and her students' case a co-produced dominance where both teacher and students contribute to establishing what writing and writing instruction is and what it entails for its participants. On the contrary and due to the uneven relationship between teacher and students in Bea's classroom, the dominance is reproduced solely by the teacher. It is furthermore important to recall that there is no immediate relationship between societal social structures, permeated by class relations, and individual subjects (Fairclough, 2003 p.23;64), but such structures are always mediated through social practices, such as instructional practices within the classroom. Against this backdrop, this article has shown how the social roles of the teachers – as part of the mediating practices of the classrooms – may use their predetermined social roles as social spaces to either dominate the practice or to enable a more democratic practice with their students. I would therefore argue that, to the extent that teachers may conserve or challenge societal power structures through their teaching, i.e. to more or less train children to fit into and accept the existing system of class relations, the primary potential for this transformational power lies within their navigation of the power structures in the classroom, and in particular within the role as teacher. This does, contrary to Fairclough's (2003 p. 64) beliefs as expressed above, however suggest that it is a simplification to assume that educational institutions reproduce social power structures per se, even if they may very well facilitate such potential through the constraints on discourse. Rather, this study suggests that within the social interplay in the classroom, and particularly in the power struggle between teachers and their students, lies an equal potential for contestation and transformation of structural power beyond the classroom, not least dependent on the actions of the teacher.

Regarding the promoted knowledge about writing conveyed in the classrooms, the first classroom produces a multifaceted view, combining formal and more functional aspects of writing and where the social functions of writing are focused.

Writing furthermore becomes an individual as well as a joint enterprise where the teacher works encouragingly and supporting of the individual writers. In the case of the second classroom, writing becomes relatively one-sided without focus on social purposes of writing. Writing is, however, and like the first classroom, something that can be done both collectively and individually – but then only as a skill-oriented task, copying the text written by the teacher. The promoted knowledge about writing thus becomes solely form oriented without explicit social purpose. There is also a major difference in the way the social relationships between teacher and students are shaped in the two practices, where they in classroom 1 are quite equal (albeit with the teacher being in control) while they in classroom 2 are fundamentally unequal. From a long-term perspective, as outlined in Figure 1 displaying the structural effects of constraints on discourse, this would arguably establish two completely different relationships between student and teacher for the participants which, for example, may be of importance for the students' conceptualisation of authority and their own prerequisites for participating in future educational contexts and practices. Given that writing instruction in different countries differ greatly, as Parr & Jeffery (2021) shows, further research is therefore needed concerning the prerequisites for participation this variety may entail.

Compared to the depiction of language and writing in the Skolverket curriculum, where it is stipulated that writing instruction should provide the students with quite an extensive toolbox suitable for various purposes of writing, the promoted knowledge established in the first classroom aligns quite well, while this is not the case for classroom 2. Although the studied social practices are different regarding the enacted writing instructional practices, the social spaces of the classrooms are socially determined by similar if not identical structural constraints (such as by policy, the national and local organisation of education and established social roles in the classroom contexts). Conversely, the interdiscursive mixings of each studied practice, as well as its social effects on its participants, show major differences. This point to other explanations of how these social practices are socially determined, such as by the enacted social power and ideological orientations (e.g. regarding why, what and how writing is taught) of the teachers. What is interesting, however, is that Bea states in her interview that she believes that her writing instruction would look different if it were not for the financial limitations of the school, not allowing her to teach the way she wants, which points toward the relation between the execution of writing instruction and the economic priorities of the municipality in question. Anne, on the other hand, claims that, in the extent she feels limited in her teaching, this comes from a lack of experience or expertise. Together, the limitations identified by the teachers combined with the analysed practices, suggest that a substantial potential for transformation of practices lies within economic priorities (including possibilities for professional development) and not necessarily changes to syllabi and/or curricula.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The study has shown how a CDA framework may enable a deeper understanding of how social power operates in and behind the discourse of writing instruction in early school years. In this conceptualisation of early school writing instruction from a CDA perspective, it is evident that the classroom is a site of power struggles with effects on discourse and where discourse practices, in various ways, (re)construe both the social world of the classroom as well as what is being taught. The article has further provided an example of how a CDA analysis may be operationalised, and in particular in an educational setting in primary school years. My hope is that future studies will delve deeper into areas such as the relation between classroom discourse and social structures to enhance our understanding of how power operates in (and behind) discourse, and of other ways in which CDA analysis may be conducted in educational settings.

The empirical examples drawn on in the article have shown that depending on the actions of the teacher and students, and specifically their ability (and/or willingness) to navigate the social power structures permeated in the classroom, their subsequent relationship to writing and writing instruction will likely differ over time. In C1, the students are taught that their writing serves social purposes, building not least on their lived experiences and whatever else they may contribute to the content of the writing instructional practice by exercising social power. The C2-students are on the other hand taught, that writing is a goal in itself, and that they, as students, are not to influence the writing instructional practice as anything other than passive participants. While this study merely has given empirical examples from four different lessons – four single instructional events – it has shown how practices, and structural effects of and on discourse, can be exposed and as instances of such may provide different prerequisites for participation in literacy and L1 instruction. To the extent to which writing instruction can have functional and perhaps even emancipatory ambitions where student voices and experience may play central roles in writing instructional practices, the oblique power structures at work in such practices should therefore be addressed. Having said that and in relation to what the teachers in this study themselves state about the observed practices, a central question may well be what 'outer' prerequisites, such as enough colleagues or time for assessment, etc., the teachers actually have to steer their teaching in alternative ways than they already are, making the question of the way, shape and form of writing instruction a highly political one.

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