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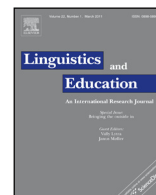

Valued voices: Students' use of Engagement in argumentative history writing

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ABSTRACT

In this study, we explore rhetorical moves used by students in argumentative, analytical writing in a college-level world history course. Drawing on the system of ENGAGEMENT within the APPRAISAL framework from Systemic Functional Linguistics, we investigate differences between higher-graded and lower-graded essays in the combinations and patterns of resources used to expand and contract dialogic space while building an argument. The results show that while both higher-graded and lower-graded essays made use of some of the same moves, the higher-graded essays did so in a way that consistently furthered an argument. In addition, the higher-graded essays showed a recurring pattern of ENGAGEMENT resources used for including and interpreting source texts. These findings illustrate that beyond simply including ENGAGEMENT resources, students need to learn how to use these resources in purposeful and strategic ways.

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Introduction

We have learned a great deal about the experiences of linguistically and culturally diverse college students in writing classrooms and across the curriculum in the last 20 years (see the works of Hyland, 1996; Lee, 2010a, 2010b; Leki, 2007; Mahboob, 2013; Mahboob, Dreyfus, Humphrey, & Martin, 2010; North, 2005; Ravelli & Ellis, 2004; Schleppegrell, 2004; Silva & Matsuda, 2001a, 2001b; Sommers & Saltz, 2004; Sternglass, 1997; Woodward-Kron, 2002; Woodward-Kron, 2005; Zamel & Spack, 2004). However, the study of undergraduate student writing is still limited, despite the high stakes for students when faced with academic writing tasks. Much of college learning takes place through literacy experiences, especially through reading, and this learning is most often displayed through writing (Leki, 2007). Academic writing, in particular, can be daunting for students as writing expectations and demands vary across disciplines and genres (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). In the present study, we investigate argumentative writing in a college-level history course, and examine the specific ways in which students acknowledge and incorporate multiple voices and perspectives using the APPRAISAL[1] framework (Martin & White, 2005) from Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) is a social theory of language that provides a framework for the contextualized analysis of student writing. Throughout their education, students are exposed to and perform a number of different types of writing in a variety of contexts. Christie and Derewianka (2008), in their work on writing development, show

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[1] Consistent with SFL conventions, names of systems within the APPRAISAL framework are written in capital letters.

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that as students progress from elementary to secondary school, the topics of study change from the familiar and everyday to the generalized and abstract, and writing tasks change from description to reflection and argumentation. Martin (1989) characterizes argumentative, analytical texts by the need to persuade the audience to a certain intellectual position on a particular issue, arguing for the credibility of a well-formulated claim or thesis. In college, the argumentative, analytical essay is one of the most common genres, and represents "undergraduates' induction or possibly assimilation into a student role and often has a considerable bearing upon relative success or failure in that role" (Wu & Allison, 2005, p. 106).

Within the school subject of history, a range of genres has been identified along a developmental continuum (Coffin, 2002, 2004; Eggins, Wignell, & Martin, 1993). Students learn initially to write story-like historical recounts, which typically contain less-complex descriptions of linear cause-and-effect relationships. Later, students develop toward writing abstract historical arguments about historical figures and events, which incorporate complex interrelationships among ideas. Argumentative, analytical writing is one of the most prominent types of writing in college-level history courses, and involves selecting facts, and arranging, interpreting, and generalizing across these facts in order to create meaning (Eggins et al., 1993), allowing many choices for the author to make in the construction of an argument.

SFL-based studies of analytical, argumentative history essays have identified a number of linguistic and rhetorical features of this genre. These include strategic use of conjunctive relations, nominalizations, and organization through connections between macro-Themes and hyper-Themes (de Oliveira, 2011; Eggins et al., 1993; Martin, 1992; Martin, 2002; Veel & Coffin, 1996). In addition, evaluation has been found to be one of the major components of analytical, argumentative history writing. Evaluation allows authors to create interpretations of events, people, and ideas, and to position their own viewpoint in relation to those of others. Martin, Maton, and Matruglio (2010) argue that one of the greatest challenges for students is to learn to go beyond telling stories about the past, to making their own evaluations and interpretations of the past in "uncommonsense" ways (p. 441). Similarly, Coffin (1997) found that as students move from narrative history genres to argument, there is a change from predominant use of *recorder voice*, in which the author presents information as factual without evaluation or interpretation, to increasing use of *interpreter voice*, in which the author evaluates behaviors. Martin (2002, 2003b), however, points out that argument genres include fluctuations between these voices in order to present historical information as factual while interpreting that information using evaluations.

Within SFL, the Appraisal system offers a systematic framework for investigating evaluation (Martin & White, 2005). Appraisal consists of three main subsystems reflecting the choices an author can make in terms of how they appraise, grade, and give value to social experiences. The Attitude subsystem concerns appraisals of people and things, and emotional/affectual responses toward participants and processes. The Graduation subsystem adjusts the force or focus of these evaluations. Finally, the Engagement subsystem positions the author's voice in relation to others' voices.

There have been a number of studies of how Appraisal resources are deployed in history genres. Coffin (2006) concluded that Attitude plays an important role in history writing, with narrative genres involving evaluation of individual human participants, and expository genres involving evaluation of processes and their historical significance. Coffin also found that analytical history genres increasingly make evaluations of historical significance, employing the Graduation system. Similarly, de Oliveira (2011) observed that in expository genres, students increasingly used the resources of Appreciation to present negative and positive assessments, and Graduation resources (e.g., adverbs) to increase or decrease the intensity of these evaluations. Although these studies have shed light onto the use of Attitude and Graduation in history writing, there has been little work on the role of Engagement, despite the fact that the resources writers use for Engagement are particularly important for academic argumentation.

Academic arguers must make claims against a background of already-existing perspectives, and the analysis of Engagement resources can help us understand how successful academic writers create a balance between introducing their own perspective, acknowledging the existence of other perspectives, and effectively estimating what their audience's assumed perspective will be. Following Bakhtin (1981), Martin and White (2005) describe construal of voice in text as either monoglossic (single-voiced) or heteroglossic (multiple-voiced). When writers use resources for monoglossic propositions, such as bare assertions or presuppositions, they are expressing no room for alternative points of view and projecting complete agreement on the part of the audience. However, when they use resources for heteroglossic propositions, they are acknowledging the possibility of other perspectives. Heteroglossic resources can either be dialogically expansive (e.g., reported speech or modalized verbs), acknowledging or inviting differing perspectives, or they can be dialogically contractive (e.g., negations or explicit proclamations), refuting opponents while still keeping a specific viewpoint in play. The resources a writer uses indicate how he anticipates the audience will view the proposition, as "novel, problematic or contentious, or as one which is likely to be questioned, resisted or rejected" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 93).

Recognition and inclusion of multiple voices plays an especially important role in history writing. Different from other disciplines, such as science, history writing has a more open structure in that static historical events and figures are given fluid interpretations based on the insights of the interpreting author at the point in time when the interpretation is made (Halldén, 1997). Because of this, expert history writers define texts by their authors, whereas novice history writers view history as a collection of information without considering the author's voice (Halldén, 1998; Wineburg, 1991, cited in Hewings & North, 2006). Nonetheless, the existence of multiple possible interpretations of history is typically not taught in history courses, and is often not represented in history textbooks (Britt, Rouet, Georgi, & Perfetti, 1994).

Given the importance of recognizing multiple voices, the Engagement framework is a profitable approach to analyzing history writing, one which only a few scholars have taken. Coffin (2006) notes that as students progress toward writing analytical genres, there is increased negotiation of alternative voices and acknowledgment of similar and opposing

perspectives, although integrating these voices and perspectives with the author's own is a difficult skill to acquire. de Oliveira (2011) found that ENGAGEMENT resources used in expository history writing included projection using mental processes, concession using conjunctions (e.g., *but*, *even though*, *although*), and acknowledgment of alternative voices using modality. Similarly, Coffin (1997, 2006) found that persuasion in the arguing history genres is assisted through positioning alternative voices using modality. Coffin notes that modality can be used to challenge the views of another (e.g., *X does not necessarily*), or to make categorical statements (e.g., *X clearly demonstrates*). However, these studies have been limited to only cursory investigations focusing largely on specific linguistic forms that are used to enact ENGAGEMENT resources, rather than how students make strategic and purposeful use of ENGAGEMENT for argumentation in history writing.

Although not focusing specifically on history writing, several recent studies that have investigated ENGAGEMENT in argumentative, analytical writing (e.g., Chang & Schleppegrell, 2011; Coffin & Hewings, 2005; Lee, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b; Ryshina-Pankova, 2014; Wu, 2006; Wu & Allison, 2005). The majority of these studies use ENGAGEMENT to analyze the differences in the resources deployed in higher-graded (HGE) and lower-graded essays (LGE), and nearly all agree that the inclusion of multiple voices is vital for successful student writing. For example, Wu and Allison (2005) used ENGAGEMENT to analyze the Thesis and Reiteration stages of HGE and LGE English essays, finding that the HGE writers tended to make more effective use of resources for expanding dialogic space. Lee (2008b) demonstrated how presuppositions, which are technically monoglossic, imply an intertextual agreement with the putative reader. The HGE she analyzed made use of this resource effectively, whereas the LGE did not, as it relied heavily on monoglossic facts and assertions. Ryshina-Pankova (2014), in her analysis of student blogs, pointed out that the quantity of heteroglossic resources deployed is not nearly as important as the way in which the resources are varied and woven together.

These previous studies have shown that ENGAGEMENT plays a vital role in argumentative, analytic writing. In our study, we build on these findings by investigating the usages of ENGAGEMENT resources that are valued in argumentative history essays written by college students at an English-medium university in the Middle East. In the next section, we describe our methodology followed by the findings.

Methods

The data for this paper are drawn from a 4-year longitudinal study of literacy development at an English-medium university in the Middle East. While the larger study followed the entire class of 2013 at this institution ($N = 85$), the present study draws on writing completed by 14 students as part of a compulsory world history course taken in their first year. Beyond the subject matter, the course aims to introduce history as a discipline and focuses on helping students to develop their reading, writing, and research skills. To achieve this goal, the students write six short (1–2 pages) argumentative essays that answer a question posed by the professor about an assigned reading. The students are to produce a well-structured essay following "the typical 5-paragraph format" with a clearly stated thesis statement and a 3-part argument (Professor interview, October 2009).

In these essays, great emphasis is put on students' ability to write analytically and argumentatively, as reflected in the grading rubric. In the rubric, the category of *Argument* makes up 30% of the grade, and includes features such as a "clearly stated thesis statement", "consistent organization", "explanation [. . .] of how evidence presented is relevant to the thesis", and "relevance of the argument to the [prompt]". Other categories also contain criteria related to argument, such as the *Evidence* category (30%), which includes "evidence related to the thesis statement" and the *Synthesis and Analysis* category (20%), which includes "making links between different historical events or different historical sources" and "sensitivity to biases, limitations, etc. of sources" (Assignment rubric, 2009). The rubric also states that points will be taken off for writing that is "narrative" and "chiefly descriptive", rather than analytical and argumentative. The professor explained that students experienced difficulty writing these essays, saying that many students relied on narration and description rather than argument and analysis, particularly at the beginning of the semester. Given the expectation of argumentative, analytical writing in this required course and the challenges experienced by students in successfully writing these essays, we embarked on an analysis to identify differences in the linguistic resources deployed in the higher- and lower-graded argumentative essays.

Several methodological decisions had to be made. First, we had to decide which essays to analyze out of a total corpus of 458 essays (each student wrote six essays during the semester). Our initial review of the essay prompts and source texts led us to believe that not all prompts and source texts lent themselves to argumentative writing.[2] For example, out of the three questions listed in (1) (prompts for an essay based on a book chapter about the combining of disease pools in Eurasia), only question 2 would seem to require analysis and argument. The other questions only seemed to invite students to re-present what the author discusses in the source text, rather than construct an original argument.

(1) Q 1: According to McNeill, to what degree does disease influence culture (example: religious belief)?
Q 2: How compelling do you find McNeill's evidence that the settlement of Southern China was slowed by the "disease gradient"?
Q 3: What happened when the "four divergent disease pools" (p. 124) began to mix at the beginning of the Christian Era?

In addition to this possible constraint imposed by the prompts, we noticed that many students produced interpretative and argumentative essays when they responded to primary source texts that did not contain an argument, whereas when they responded to secondary sources that contained an argument, most did not. When the source text itself was argumentative in

[2] For a more extensive analysis and discussion of effects of the source texts and prompts on students' writing of argument genres, see Miller et al. (2014).

nature, the students often parroted the author's argument, using the same Appraisal moves as in the source text. Although an original argument—such as one arguing against the conclusions of the argumentative source text—would have been valued by the history professor (as seen in the rubric criteria, "sensitivity of biases, limitations, etc. of sources"), very few students did so.

Because our concern in the present study was analysis of argumentative writing, we limited our analysis to a source text and prompt that lent themselves to argumentative writing. Our analysis of the source texts and prompts led us to select the first essay that students wrote in the course. The source text—Hammurabi's Code, a code of laws in ancient Babylonia devised by King Hammurabi—lacked an explicit argument of its own. Therefore, students were unable to simply mimic the argument of the source text. Among the five prompts about this source text, a majority of students (32 out of 62) responded to the question "What sort of picture do you get about the treatment of Babylonian women?". We only included in our analysis the essays written in response to this prompt in order to remove any variance due to the prompt selected. Furthermore, we found that this prompt elicited the highest percentage of arguments, possibly because it asks for students' subjective evaluation (see Miller, Mitchell, & Pessoa, 2014 for further discussion).

Our initial analysis focused on six papers (3 higher-graded and 3 lower-graded). For this analysis, we used the complete Appraisal framework to examine the linguistic resources used by students to evaluate people, events, and things. We found no notable differences in the use of Attitude or Judgment between the higher-graded essays (HGEs) and lower-graded essay (LGEs); however, there were salient differences in the use of Engagement. The HGEs more effectively considered multiple perspectives and sides to an issue, whereas the LGEs seemed to have difficulty navigating the inclusion of multiple voices. With this hypothesis, we decided to engage the history professor in a think-aloud protocol about some of these essays.

We asked the professor to read through four essays, noting aspects of what he would consider analytical writing, and to tell us whether these essays would receive a high or a low grade and why. The think-aloud protocol confirmed our preliminary findings and our hypothesis about students' use of Engagement. Evaluating things, events, and people (Attitude and Judgment) was not something that the professor valued in particular. In contrast, showing complexity in an argument and entertaining different perspectives (Engagement) was highly valued.[3] The professor emphasized that he wants students to know history "on its own terms." If a student argued that something is "unfair", the professor wanted to know *according to whom* and *as opposed to what* in historical terms. For example, in their analysis of Hammurabi's Code, the professor would value a response that argued that the treatment of women was "unfair" *compared to the treatment of men in that historical time* (Professor interview, November 2013). The professor valued the students' ability to identify complexity in issues and recognize different perspectives, and potentially argue for one perspective over another. In addition, the portion of the grading rubric that evaluates students' ability to make "links between different historical events or different historical sources" and to have "sensitivity to biases, limitations, etc. of sources" clearly relates to engagement with other voices. Although not explicitly stated in the rubric, it was clear that concession was highly valued by the professor, as represented in the thesis statement example given to us by the professor in (2). In this thesis statement, the student writer recognizes the negative aspects of Hammurabi's code for women, while also recognizing some rights it gave women, resulting in an essay that was more "balanced and less absolute" (Professor interview, November 2013).

(2) Although the Code was largely oppressive toward women, it also allowed some privileges.

Although Engagement resources were not explicitly taught in this class and were not the focus of the professor's evaluation of these essays, the rhetorical moves that create a balanced and historically sensitive argument can be realized through Engagement resources.

Therefore, with the professor's comments and the emergent patterns from our initial analysis in mind, we embarked on an in-depth analysis of Engagement in 14 student essays to examine the ways in which HGEs and LGEs recognized different perspectives on an historical issue, incorporated different voices, and used concession and counter moves. We selected the 7 highest-graded essays (score of 90 or higher; average length: 670 words) and the 7 lowest-graded essays (score of 75 or lower; average length: 510 words) that responded to the prompt in question, and performed a detailed analysis of Engagement resources.

Examining HGEs and LGEs is in line with previous research on academic writing (e.g., Hyland & Milton, 1997; Lee, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b; Wu, 2007; Wu & Allison, 2005). The features of this particular genre that are valued are likely to become salient through comparison of the two. This kind of analysis can also provide insight for pedagogy as it can help teachers become aware of their expectations, which can then enhance their writing teaching practices. If teachers can recognize what they value in student writing, and have a vocabulary to describe it, then they are more likely to be able to teach it effectively.

Coding of the 14 essays was done separately by two of the authors of this paper using UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell, 2008), a software tool for text annotation and analysis that allows for systematic manual tagging of text, as well as storing, organizing, and recalling analyzed text segments. Coding of texts was done using an Appraisal analysis scheme based on Martin and White (2005). After the two coders finished their independent analyses, the three authors discussed the analyses in detail, addressing different interpretations and conflicts before coming to a consensus on the interpretation of the data. In the next section, we present the findings of our analysis.

[3] It should be noted that the professor was not aware of Engagement or other Appraisal systems. Relationships between what the professor valued in writing and Engagement are our interpretations.

Table 1
Explanations and illustrations of heteroglossic engagement moves found in student history writing.

Engagement move	Description	Rhetorical effect	Example	Possible discourse markers
Proclaim: Endorse	Writer references an outside source and indicates support for the ideas or conclusions of the source text/author.	May strengthen the writer's argument by providing a particular interpretation of the sourced evidence.	[direct or indirect reference to the source text]. This depicts that the Babylonian women had no right to freedom of choice.	X proves... X shows... X demonstrates...
Proclaim: Pronounce	Writer inserts own voice explicitly into the text.	Emphasizes the point being made and rejects alternative perspectives.	... I believe that Hammurabi's code was fair with women...	The fact is... I contend that... Indeed...
Disclaim: Deny	Writer rejects the perspective that is projected onto the reader.	May be confrontational (dis-aligning) or corrective (aligning).	They were not seen as equally as men [...] Men and women were not treated fully and genuinely.	No Did not Never
Disclaim: Counter	Writer advances a perspective that is contrary to typical expectations.	Often positions the reader as sharing writer's surprise at the counter-expectational case (aligning).	Every single law is addressed to the men... even when the laws are closely referring to female issues.	Yet But Even
Concede + Counter	Writer anticipates resistance from the reader, suggests that having opposing perspective is understandable, then explains why it does not hold to be true.	Aligns the reader to the speaker's position.	There are *some* rights given when "a man wishes to separate from a woman"... Although even this is for the sole reason that the woman can bring up the children, not for her own benefit.	Admittedly... + but... While... + still... Sure... + however...
Entertain: Modality	Writer keeps alternative perspectives in play in a context where likelihood of disagreement is high.	Avoids alienating the reader by allowing room for multiple voices or interpretations.	This can perhaps also mean that women were less literate than men.	Perhaps Possibly May
Attribute: Acknowledge	Writer uses a framing device to bring an external voice into the text, yet without displaying an overt attitude towards the external perspective.	Demonstrates interaction with another voice, broadening the range of perspectives on the topic.	A law from Hammurabi's states, "if a man take a woman to wife...	According to... X suggests... X says....

Note: Adapted from Martin and White (2005).

Results

We present our findings in two parts. In the first, we highlight differences between the HGEs and LGEs in their deployment of two types of ENGAGEMENT resources to manage alternative viewpoints: *disclaim: counter* moves, and *concede + counter* moves (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 120–126). In the second part we demonstrate how the authors of the HGEs created more effective patterns of ENGAGEMENT resources, at the paragraph level, than the authors of LGEs. Table 1 provides an overview of the ENGAGEMENT moves that we discuss in our analysis.

Managing alternative viewpoints and maintaining a consistent argumentative position

As we coded the data set, we noticed substantial differences between the abilities of the HGE and LGE authors to maintain a consistent argumentative position throughout the essay. These differences became especially salient in problematic moments in the LGEs, moments where the student unsuccessfully attempted to use counter, or concede + counter, moves. We found their attempts to integrate these ENGAGEMENT resources frequently (1) undermined the essay's already established central argument, or (2) projected a position on to the reader that was contradictory to one that had already been established.

To understand the effectiveness of the students' countering moves, it is important to look at them in light of the central argument established in the essay where they appear. Consider (3), the final sentence of the first paragraph of HGE1 (for the full text, see Appendix 1: HGE1):

(3) The main view we get throughout the laws is that, women were considered to be much less important than the men, and their lives consisted of mainly being confined to household tasks, with few rights in important matters such as divorce and marriage.

The student clearly asserts the essay's the central claim: women were considered to be less important than men.

In Paragraph 2, the student begins with a monoglossic assertion, followed by a sentence with a counter-expectational adjunct (*even*), as seen in (4).

(4) The first-most noticeable fact is the language itself in which each of the laws is written. Every single law is addressed to the men, with the use of the pronoun "he" throughout the text, **even** when the laws are closely referring to female issues.

Martin and White (2005) explain that counter moves of this type "project on to the addressee particular beliefs or expectations," and that they are often "aligning rather than disaligning in that they construe the writer as. . . just as surprised by this 'exceptional' case as it is assumed the reader will be" (p. 121). The author of HGE1 effectively deploys this counter move in a way that both aligns herself with the reader and supports her thesis. She reveals the text's naturalized reading position to be based in a belief that equal importance between men and women implies equal treatment. If the reader agrees that the laws' language is an extreme or unexpected example of unequal treatment, the language therefore serves as evidence of women's lack of importance in the society.

This student also makes strategic use of the concede + counter move, as seen in (5), from Paragraph 6.

(5) There are *some* rights given when "a man wishes to separate from a woman" (laws 137 and 138, note how a woman is not allowed to ask for a divorce), such as some land and the dowry. Although even this is for the sole reason that the woman can bring up the children, not for her own benefit.

According to Martin and White (2005), writers use the concede + counter move as they try to align a resistant reader to their position. The concession "validates the reader's contrary viewpoint by acknowledging that it is understandable. . . [before showing that] the usual or expected implications do not arise from the conceded proposition" (pp. 125–126). Though the first sentence here is monoglossic, in this context it operates as a concession. The fact that the student italicizes "some" supports this interpretation. The student anticipates a reader who would point to these laws as evidence that contradicts the central argument. She concedes that it would be an overstatement to claim that women had no rights, but immediately counters that the few rights that did exist were limited and mostly aimed to protect children. This is a sophisticated move because of how the author anticipates the opposing viewpoint and explains how the laws in question are still consistent with her central argument.[4]

In contrast to HGE1, the author of LGE1 (see Appendix 2: LGE1) attempts to incorporate these same moves, but does so with considerably less efficacy, to the detriment of the overall argument. The thesis, though it is not clearly articulated in a single sentence, appears to come from (6), which appears in Paragraph 2[5]:

(6) During Hammurabi's reign, women were always neglected. They were not seen as equally as men. There was great gender discrimination. Men and women were not treated fully and genuinely. To be precise women were not treated as human! Hammurabi's codes were really cruel and harsh for the then women society.

A concise gloss of the thesis would be: women were subjected to gender discrimination and cruel laws. Regardless of the difficulty of pinpointing a clear articulation of the thesis, the student's position on the issue is unambiguous. The disclaim: deny moves in the second and fourth sentences supplant the idea that there might have been equal treatment between men and women, and thus provide insight into how the student is positioning the reader—as someone who would expect such equality.

In Paragraph 3, the student uses the counter-expectational *even*, but in a way that creates potential difficulty for the reader, as seen in (7).

(7) The Babylonian women's lives were really in a miserable condition. They had to live their life under the control of their so-called husband. They were not allowed to do anything according to their own wishes. **Even** in the codes, there was gender discrimination.

Given that assignment requires the student to make claims about the treatment of women based on Hammurabi's Code, the suggestion that gender discrimination in the codes should be treated as an exceptional case is confusing. The student suggests that an expected proposition, one that has already been established, is counter-expectational.[6] While this use of the counter move is not too problematic for the overall argument, it does create the impression that the author does not

[4] It is worth pointing out that the structure of this concede-counter is somewhat unconventional. The phrase "note how a women is not allowed to ask for a divorce" is embedded as a counter within the concession, followed by further countering in a separate sentence. Nonetheless, the author maintains a consistent argumentative position as she highlights her interpretations that go beyond the text's surface level.

[5] It is noteworthy that this student violates genre expectations and the explicit instructions of the professor by delaying the articulation of the central argument until the second paragraph. The first paragraph contains monoglossic statements that are irrelevant to the writing task at hand.

[6] The student does, however, use the counter-expectational "even" effectively later in the paragraph.

have a completely competent grasp of the position that he is advancing; it stands in stark contrast to the effective use of the same move in HGE1.

In Paragraph 5, seen in (8), the student uses both a counter move and a concede + counter move, each of which undermines the central argument:

(8) **But besides these torturing, there were a few beneficial rules for the women too**. The Babylonian society was not that much mean to provide nothing for the women. **Though the women were evaluated callously and brutally but there were such regulations from which the women could be benefited.**

The counter in the first sentence of this paragraph is particularly problematic because, based on what has already been stated in the essay, the student has left himself little room to make such an assertion. To this point, the entire essay has been dedicated to using the laws to show the "miserable condition" of Babylonian women. The previous two paragraphs have repeatedly used disclaim: counter moves to emphasize the severity of the women's situation (e.g., "women were not treated as human!," Paragraph 2; "They not allowed to do anything according to their own wishes," Paragraph 3; "they had no rights to tell anything of their wishes," Paragraph 4). Essentially, the student has been contracting the dialogic space away from a reader who would argue that the women had rights, yet the student begins the paragraph with a counter move advancing this exact alternative "opposing" viewpoint.

The concede + counter found two sentences later continues with the logic established in the first sentence of Paragraph 5, further undermining the logic of the central argument. The student concedes the point he has established in the preceding paragraphs (about poor treatment of women) as if it were an opposing one, then counters that some of the laws were beneficial to women. An effective concede + counter would have reversed these propositions, acknowledging a reader who might think the laws were beneficial before explaining how they were not.[7] This student's inconsistent use of these ENGAGEMENT resources harms the integrity of his argument.

In (9), the conclusion of LGE1, the student again uses a counter move problematically, reinforcing the confusing position advanced in Paragraph 5:

(9) Thus, from the codes of Hammurabi, these can be said that the Babylonian women were suffering that time because of negligence and inequity. **But at the same time, there were some laws which were really favorable for them.**

This counter move, inconsistent with the central claim, is particularly damaging to the argument, given that it is the final sentence of the essay. The reader is left with impression that the treatment of women was both good and bad, when the nearly the entire essay had focused only on negative aspects.

Overall, the author of the LGE seems to be aware of the need to make space for alternative voices, and even does so in a way that is consistent with his argument in a few cases. His use of these ENGAGEMENT moves suggests that he knows that anticipating and rejecting an opposing viewpoint is desired by the genre and/or professor, but he is unable to use them effectively with consistency.

Patterning of ENGAGEMENT *resources for inclusion of source texts*

Another major difference between HGEs and LGEs was found in the patterns in which ENGAGEMENT resources were deployed. In particular, we noticed differences in the use of ENGAGEMENT resources for the incorporation of voices from source texts. As intertextuality is a major feature differentiating undergraduate writing from earlier school writing (Wu & Allison, 2005), students' ability to purposefully and strategically incorporate source authors' voices is a key aspect of their ability to write university-level academic texts. Voices from source texts are especially important in history writing because they allow the author to build an interpretation of historical information while simultaneously maintaining a neutral voice (Coffin, 1997).

In our analysis, we found that the HGEs more often implemented a paragraph-level pattern in which the paragraph begins with a monoglossic assertion, then a reference to the source text, followed by a *proclaim: endorse* move. Martin and White (2005) describe proclaim: endorse as construal of external voices as "correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable" (p. 126). Here, proclaim: endorse is used not only to construe the source text voice as correct or valid, but to offer an interpretation of the source text that supports the student author's assertion. This pattern allowed students to incorporate information from source texts, then build an argument based on their own interpretation of that information. For example, in Paragraph 2 of HGE1, the student begins the paragraph with (10), a monoglossic statement.

(10) The first-most noticeable fact is the language itself in which each of the laws is written.

This monoglossic statement functions as a hyper-Theme (or topic sentence), identifying and organizing the content of the paragraph. The next sentence (11) includes reference to the source text.

(11) Every single law is addressed to the men, with the use of the pronoun "he" throughout the text, even when the laws are closely referring to female issues.

[7] This student does use a concede + counter move more effectively in Paragraph 4: "Though these sound crazy, but that was the conditions of poor Babylonian women."

Here, we see that immediately after referring to the text, the author contracts the dialogic space using a disclaim: counter move (*even when the laws are closely referring to female issues*[8]). This move begins the interpretation of the source text by emphasizing that the language of the laws is counter to the expectation of a reader who would think that laws about women should address women directly.

In (12) we see the next sentence, in which the student interprets the source text further:

(12) The general idea we get from this is that women were regarded as negligible when it came to issues that would deeply affect society (like laws).

Here, proclaim: endorse (*The general idea we get from this*) is used to interpret the source text in a way that supports the assertion made in the monoglossic hyper-Theme. While Martin and White (2005) describe endorsement as allowing the author to "enter into a dialogic relationship of alignment with [a prior] speaker" (p. 126), what we see in the higher-graded essays is slightly different in that, rather than aligning herself with Hammurabi, the student uses endorse moves to align herself with the putative reader in a shared interpretation through use of the pronoun "we". In effect, rather than endorsing the source author, the student creates an interpretation that she anticipates the reader will have, and then endorses that interpretation.

This general pattern of monogloss + source text + endorse was found repeatedly throughout the higher-graded essays as a way for students to incorporate and interpret the source text in support of an argument. In addition, we occasionally found at the end of paragraphs in HGEs an additional expansion of the dialogic space, as found in (13), the end of Paragraph 2 in HGE1:

(13) This can perhaps also mean that women were less literate than men; hence few women could actually read the laws in order to implement them.

Here, the student is further interpreting the source text; however, this interpretation identifies a cause that involves extrapolation beyond the scope of the original text. Because the interpretation may be less warranted by the source text, the student includes a dialogically expansive entertain: modality move (*perhaps*). Martin and White (2005) describe entertain moves as "[projecting] for the text an audience which is potentially divided over the issue at stake and hence one which may not universally share the value position being referenced" (p. 108). By using an entertain move, the student leaves room for other possible voices, which allows her to make an interpretation that she is less confident about.

Although the general pattern of monogloss + source text + endorse occurred often throughout the HGEs, we did see slight variation. In some instances, the reference to the source text is combined with the endorse move, such as in (14), Paragraph 5 of HGE1.

(14) One of the aspects of the treatment of women that stands out the most is the idea that Babylonian women were under the control of men. **This is evident** in the laws concerning marriage and divorce.

Here, following the monoglossic hyper-Theme, the student begins interpreting the source text while introducing it using a proclaim: endorse move (*This is evident*). Another variation found in a number of higher-graded essays was the use of attribute: acknowledge (*A law from Hammurabi states)* for the introduction of the source text, as in (15) from HGE2.

(15) Also, people are divided into classes; men are in a higher rank than women. A law from Hammurabi's states, "if a man take a woman to wife, but have no intercourse with her, this woman is no wife to him." This demonstrates how women were treated like a tool for men, if they found it good to them they would take it, if not, they are to be thrown away.

Although a different resource is used for introducing the source text, we still see the same general pattern which begins with a monoglossic hyper-Theme, followed by reference to the source text, followed by an endorse move (*This demonstrates how women were treated like a tool for men*. . .).

This pattern of ENGAGEMENT resources used to interpret the source text can be contrasted with LGE1, which includes the source text to a much lesser degree. For example, consider (16), Paragraph 2 of LGE1:

(16) In the code of Hammurabi, there are many sorts of laws. Moreover, there are many laws regarding women's right and responsibilities. During Hammurabi's reign, women were always neglected. They were not seen as equally as men. There was great gender discrimination. Men and women were not treated fully and genuinely. To be precise women were not treated as human! Hammurabi's codes were really cruel and harsh for the then women society.

Whereas in the HGEs we saw more sophisticated weaving of ENGAGEMENT resources in order to build an argument based on interpretation of a source text, in this paragraph from LGE1, we see a higher proportion of monoglossic statements and assertions. The limited use of heteroglossia appears in the form of disclaim: deny (*They were* ***not*** *seen as equally as men*, *Men and women were* ***not*** *treated fully and genuinely*, *To be precise, women were* ***not*** *treated as human!*). Although this is dialogic in that, through the denial, the author is acknowledging the existence of a point of view that would think that women should be seen as equal to men, there is no evidence of engagement in interpretation of the source text.

When the LGEs did incorporate the source text, we saw a significant difference in the way that this happens. Consider (17), Paragraph 4 from LGE1:

[8] Although in this instance the student uses a counter move to bring in the source text, a more effective move may have been to cite the source text more directly using *attribute: acknowledge*. Direct reference (including quotation) was, in fact, the most common way that students brought in the source text.

(17) In the Babylon society, the women were handled more as like products. That means they had no rights to tell anything of their wishes. They had to simply follow the instructions given by their husbands or masters. They were sold as like as the products, if their husbands didn't like them or if they didn't want them anymore to live with. Though these sound crazy but that was the conditions of poor Babylonian women. According to one of the codes of Hammurabi, the Babylonian men were so mean that if they had no intercourse with their wives then their wives were not considered as their wives anymore. (Code no: 128)

Here, the author waits until the end of the paragraph to introduce the source text. Although the resource used here is the same as in some of the HGEs (attribute: acknowledge; *According to one of the codes of Hammurabi*), the LGEs tended to include this only at the end of the paragraph, limiting the development of the student's argument. The excerpt from the source text is provided as follow-up evidence for the claims that the student has already made, rather than integrated into the development of the argument itself. In addition, because the source text is brought in at the end of the paragraph, there is no opportunity for interpretation of the source text. This is a striking contrast to the use of proclaim: endorse moves to interpret the source text in the HGEs.

In addition, we also found a greater use of *proclaim: pronounce* moves in the lower-graded essays. Martin and White (2005) describe pronounce as constituting "an overt intervention into the text by the authorial voice" which has the effect of "[making] more salient its subjective role" (p. 127–128). This can be seen in (18), Paragraph 3 of LGE2:

(18) In addition to the hereditary law there was also a law which justified women to re-marry. This is stated in the law 134 "If anyone be captured in war and there is not sustenance in his house, if then his wife go to another house this woman shall be held blameless". This law again approves women position in society and her right to choose. There is also another mention to this case in law 137 "When she has brought up her children, a portion of all that is given to the children, equal as that of one son, shall be given to her. She may then marry the man of her heart." **I just want to add** that the laws were mostly made so that they suited both sides well. If women became widow she had a chance to marry second time which **in my view** at that time was ok.

Here, the student begins the paragraph using a pattern similar to some of the higher-graded essays; he begins with a monoglossic hyper-Theme, followed by reference to the source text (using attribute: acknowledge; *This is stated in the law 134*). However, the student then proceeds by using multiple pronounce moves (*I just want to add; in my view*). This can be contrasted with the use of endorse moves following references to the source text in the HGEs.

Similar pronounce moves appeared in body paragraphs of four of the seven LGEs. In the HGEs, however, proclaim: pronounce moves appeared only in the introduction (as a thesis statement in direct response an essay prompt asking for the student's position), or in the conclusion, which is a more appropriate place for the student to directly offer their own opinion; pronounce moves did not occur in any of the body paragraphs in the seven HGEs.

Overall, the analysis shows that the HGEs implemented a pattern of Engagement resources that allowed the inclusion of information from a source text and interpretation of that information in support of the student's assertion. Using this pattern, HGE authors were able to interpret historical information within the reasoning and development of an argument, while still maintaining a neutral, objective voice. On the other hand, the LGEs used more bare, monoglossic assertions, either without reference to the source text, or with references that were not included as part of the development of the argument. These, together with the greater use of pronounce moves, created a student voice that was more subjective in nature.

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal systematic differences in the use of Engagement resources between the HGEs and LGEs. Previous research on the use of Appraisal in history writing has largely focused on the use of Attitude and Graduation, and the few studies that have investigated use of Engagement resources (e.g., Coffin, 1997, 2006; de Oliveira, 2011) have paid more attention to the specific grammatical forms that were used to enact individual Engagement moves. The present study adds to this literature through investigation of the patterns and combinations of Engagement resources that are valued in argumentative history writing.

We see that although both groups of texts include Engagement resources, the HGEs did so purposefully and strategically in the process of building an argument that is consistent, more objective, and includes interpretation of a source text as part of its development. Differing from Nussbaum and Kardash (2005), who observed that undergraduate students tended "not to consider counterarguments" (p. 197), the present study found that both the LGEs and HGEs did show instances of concede + counter moves; however, it was only the HGEs that were able to do so in order to contribute to a consistent argument. This resonates with Ryshina-Pankova (2014), who suggests that it is not only the presence or absence, but also the nuanced usage of Engagement resources that is important.

Similar to Hood's (2006, cited in Chang & Schleppegrell, 2011) findings that the accumulation of inconsistent values weakened the arguments of student writers, we found that the inconsistent positioning of author and reader does the same. It is not enough for students to merely demonstrate awareness of alternative voices; when this is done without consistency, it undermines the force of their overarching claim. While Wu and Allison (2005) have made similar observations about inconsistencies between the Thesis (introduction) and Reiteration (conclusion) stages of HGE and LGE, our data suggest there is a substantial room for problematic inconsistency in the intermediate stages of an essay, too. Our analysis points to the potential importance of considering the entire essay, given that one confused concede + counter pairing in a body paragraph can do much to undermine the position established in the thesis.

The analysis also revealed a recurring three-move pattern of Engagement resources used in the HGEs for making claims and incorporating and interpreting source texts. Although the LGEs used some of the same resources (e.g., attribute:

acknowledge), the configuration of these resources differed, such as placement of references to source texts at the ends of paragraphs (LGEs), rather than as part of the development of the paragraph (HGEs). This supplements Ryshina-Pankova (2014), who found that authors of both stronger and weaker texts (blog entries) made use of contracting and expanding ENGAGEMENT resources, but that differences between the groups arose in the order and location of their use. This finding also highlights the role of qualitative analysis, and suggests that analyses that consider only the presence or absence of ENGAGEMENT resources may be insufficient on their own. In addition, the finding that endorse moves were used to endorse an interpretation of the source text, rather than the voice of the source text itself, highlights the room for continual development and refinement of the APPRAISAL framework.

The pattern of ENGAGEMENT resources found in the HGEs allowed students to make assertions based on interpretations of source texts, contributing to the more neutral, objective voice that is typically valued in academic writing. On the other hand, in the LGEs, a more subjective voice was seen as a result of arguments that did not include the source texts as part of their reasoning, and greater use of proclaim: pronounce, projecting a subjective voice of a single author. Whereas Coffin and Hewings (2005) found that proclaim: pronounce was used in HGEs to reinforce viewpoints that were potentially contentious by closing off opportunities for counter-argument, the findings of the present study suggest that this contraction of the dialogic space may lead to a subjective voice precisely because it does not leave room for considering other alternatives. This is similar to other studies that have also found greater use of proclaim: pronounce in LGEs (e.g., Ryshina-Pankova, 2014; Wu & Allison, 2005), and is also consistent with the professor's statements that he values analysis of history "on its own terms", using objective criteria based on historical information rather than students' opinion (Professor interview, November 2013).

Implications

A methodological implication of this study stems from the use of ethnographic methods and text analysis as mutually beneficial methods for the analysis of student writing. In our initial text analysis, we found that there were few differences between the HGEs and LGEs in their use of ATTITUDE and JUDGMENT, and we began to notice differences in use of ENGAGEMENT. A subsequent semi-structured interview and think-aloud protocol with the history professor provided us with an emic perspective of what is important for this genre in this discourse community, and what is valued by this professor. We learned that recognition of the complexity of an argument and acknowledgment of alternative voices are valued, helping us to fine-tune our text analysis of ENGAGEMENT resources. Other researchers have also suggested that ethnographic methods can provide a deeper understanding of the contexts of culture and situation in which students negotiate texts and genres (e.g., Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Geertz, 1983; Starfield, 2005). This supports Martin's (2003a) suggestion that interpretation of evaluations can be aided by ethnographic methods, which can provide access to an audience's reading position. In the present study, ethnographic methods provided access to the reading position of the professor as the audience as well as the evaluator of the texts. This also resonates with Lancaster (2014), who found mismatches between the ENGAGEMENT features that graduate student instructors described as valued, and those that appeared in higher-graded student writing.

In addition, there are a number of pedagogical implications of the present study. First is that writing teachers, as well as teachers across the curriculum, need to be mindful of the source texts and prompts they use for their writing assignments. During the process of selecting texts for the analysis, we learned a great deal about the source texts and essay prompts used in this course, as well as the resulting student writing. Although argumentative, analytical writing was valued in this course, it is possible that the genre of the source texts and the wording of the prompts constrained the students' responses in unexpected ways, sometimes limiting their ability to produce an argument. In fact, a separate analysis (reported in Miller et al., 2014) found that, depending on the source text and prompt combination, as few as 15% of essays were arguments.[9] Students who experience challenges due to busy schedules or weaker linguistic skills may likely choose to respond to prompts requiring less analysis, or respond by simply parroting the arguments of the source texts rather than constructing their own argument. In our corpus, fewer students chose to respond to the prompts that seemed to require more analysis. Students realized the differing nature of the source texts and prompts early in the semester, and often opted to answer the "easier" questions, those requiring only recount (Student interview, October 2009).

When asked about the prompts, the professor recognized that some prompts asked for "reading comprehension" (i.e., they asked students to look for and recount discrete pieces of information from the source text), while others required "higher-level" responses (i.e., greater analysis and argumentation) (Professor interview, November 2013). He stated, however, that he wants the students to take the "reading comprehension" type of questions and do something extra with them by, for example, synthesizing information in order to make a point that was not in the source text, making a judgment based on the source reading, "imposing order" on the text (e.g., "The **most pressing** problem that China has is. . ."), drawing connections with other readings, or discussing the potential biases or limitations of the source text and author. In this way, "the students can make the material their own" (Professor interview, November 2013). This is similar to Martin et al.'s (2010) point that a challenge of argumentative history writing is for students to move beyond telling stories, and to work towards making interpretations of the past. We found that although these types of 'extra' analysis were mentioned in the grading rubric

[9] However, the source text (Hammurabi's Code) and prompt (What sort of picture do you get about the treatment of Babylonian women?) combination from which the essays for the present analysis were drawn yielded the highest proportion of argumentative essays, nearly 80%.

("making links between different historical events or different historical sources" and "sensitivity to biases, limitations, etc. of sources" within the *Synthesis and Analysis* category), they were not explained explicitly in the assignment description. The professor stated that if a student gets a high grade, then he will individually advise the student to, next time, go beyond the source text in order to get a higher grade. This was reflected in the students' writing as well; only the most advanced students were consistently able to respond to a prompt that encouraged recount about a secondary source by writing an argumentative, analytical essay.

We propose three ways to address the constraints imposed by the source texts and the prompts. First, writing teachers and teachers across the curriculum need to carefully design their writing assignments so that they meet the intended goals. If a goal is to have students write argumentative and analytical genres based on a source text, then the source text and the prompts need to offer affordances for such writing. As our findings indicate (here and in Miller et al., 2014), compared to an historical argument, a non-argumentative primary source may be more conducive to eliciting arguments that take differing interpretations and perspectives into account, at least for novice writers who are less familiar with constructing their own argument.

Second, if going beyond giving discrete information is what is expected of students, then teachers need to be more explicit about this in their explanations of assignments, in their prompts, and in their rubrics. In this course, it was not clear that students were expected to do more with some questions than re-present information from the source text. From the prompts we analyzed, it was not clear how students could respond by using the more "higher level" components of the rubric, such as drawing connections to other readings or discussing the potential biases or limitations of the source, as the prompts never explicitly directed students to do so. If this is what students are expected to do, then perhaps teachers need to ask questions such as:

- *How is the status of women in comparison to men portrayed in text A and text B?*
- *To what extent do you find the author's arguments compelling?*
- *Which of the author's reasons for X do you find most pressing and why?*

Third, teachers could implement a developmental trajectory of genres that they want their students to complete, starting with recount genres and progressing toward more argumentative genres over the course of a semester or a program of study. As with the sequence of history genres identified by Coffin (2006), teachers can ease students into writing argumentatively by first having their students write recounts, reports, summaries, and explanations based on prompts that only require information stated explicitly in the source text, and moving slowly into personal reactions and culminating in writing argumentative genres. In the future, the professor of the history course in the present study could implement this system using the framework of the developmental trajectory of genres suggested here, making this progression, and the linguistic resources typical of each stage, explicit to the students.

In regard to the use of ENGAGEMENT, our analysis confirms previous work showing that incorporating various perspectives on an issue is a valuable feature of argumentative, analytical writing. Thus, this should be emphasized in teachers' explanations of assignments and in their rubrics. Teachers can start by making students aware of the importance of multiple voices about an issue: the source text has a voice, the student has a voice, and there may be other past and potential outside voices. Students need to be conscious of these voices, and endorse, concede to, or counter them in ways that support their own position. In doing this, appreciation for the complexity of an issue is shown, which is valued in argumentative academic writing. To achieve this successfully, and as our analysis shows, consistency in an argument is key. A student that entertains a different opinion in the thesis statement needs to follow this line of argument in the entire paper, showing consistency of thought.

In more tangible terms, teachers should show students the language needed to achieve these rhetorical features of argumentative writing. This can be achieved by drawing on the ENGAGEMENT system to make explicit to students the linguistic resources that they can draw on to incorporate different voices while arguing for their own position. Using the Teaching and Learning Cycle (Coffin, 2006; Dreyfus, Macnaught, & Humphrey, 2011; Mahboob & Devrim, 2013; Rothery, 1994), the use of ENGAGEMENT in writing samples can be deconstructed in class, followed by the co-construction of, for example, thesis statements that use concede + counter moves, and culminating with students doing independent construction of their own concede + counter moves to use in their texts.

In this process, students are equipped with linguistic resources necessary to effectively make use of combinations of ENGAGEMENT resources to further their argument. For example, after incorporating a source text in the argument, the student writer can use words and phrases of endorsement to interpret the source text, such as *X shows*, *illustrates*, *demonstrates*, *finds*, *proves*, or *points out*. Similarly, words and phrases that cue concede + counter moves can be taught, such as *although, though*, *whereas*, *while*, *I acknowledge X's position that*, *proponents of X are right to argue that*, *while it is true that* (Graff & Birkenstein, 2010). Teachers can also provide students with counter-expectation words such as *even*, *only*, *just*, and *still* (Martin & White, 2005), and show how these can be used to make contrasts while consistently supporting an argument. Once teachers understand the ENGAGEMENT moves that are valued in the genres they ask their students write, and understand the linguistic elements that enact those moves, they can then make the writing of these genres more transparent to their students. In this way, teachers can "[make] the linguistic basis of the rhetorical moves explicit" (Chang & Schleppegrell, 2011, p. 150). Both experienced and inexperienced writers can benefit from explicit instruction.

Future work

The present study found important differences in patterns of Engagement resources between the HGEs and LGEs. Yet, there remains much to be discovered about effective rhetorical patterning, especially using the resources of Engagement. The present study found that it was not only the existence of Engagement resources, but the patterning of their deployment that was important. Future research should build on this by investigating other patterns that may exist, both in history writing and writing in other disciplines.

In addition, future work should investigate ways in which these resources are taught and learned. In the present study, we found that although the history professor values these patterns of Engagement resources, they were not taught explicitly in class. Future research should investigate possible methods and materials for the explicit teaching of these. Furthermore, longitudinal analysis of students' use of these patterns of Engagement resources would also prove beneficial for our knowledge of how they are learned. Although the Engagement moves discussed here were not explicitly taught, they are likely used in the texts students read, and students might notice and adopt some of these over time.

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Appendix 1. HGE1

Hammurabi's Code is a set of written laws from the ancient Babylonian civilisation; which makes it an important source for finding out about the treatment of women, in terms of the laws that were applied in society; which themselves reflect the cultural attitudes during that time period.

The main view we get throughout the laws is that, women were considered to be much less important than the men, and their lives consisted of mainly being confined to household tasks, with few rights in important matters such as divorce and marriage.

The first-most noticeable fact is the language itself in which each of the laws is written. Every single law is addressed to the men, with the use of the pronoun "he" throughout the text, even when the laws are closely referring to female issues. The general idea we get from this is that women were regarded as negligible when it came to issues that would deeply affect society (like laws). This not only gives the sense that Babylonian women were considered as incapable of applying laws in society, but also shows that men were given a superior right to enforce the law over women. This can perhaps also mean that women were less literate than men; hence few women could actually read the laws in order to implement them.

An important aspect that connects society and the economy of a place is the jobs that people take up. However, the impression left by most of the laws is that women were confined to the household and that almost all professions were occupied by men. Evidence of this is that; every law concerned with the economy or a profession in any way (48 for debt; 53 and 54 for farming; 104 for trading; 215 for a physician and 229 for a builder) refers exclusively to men. This clearly illustrates that women did not take up jobs as much as men did. Although this is a bit of a grey area, as the women could have taken up many professions, but the ones referred in the laws were the ones that had problems associated with them; and so these needed to be clarified via law enforcement.

Law 128 is particularly interesting, as it considers a marriage's basic foundation to be sexual intercourse; especially putting blame on the woman to be "no wife" if there is no intercourse. This leaves us with the impression that women had few consensual rights in a marriage. Rather than forming emotional connections with their wives, men were encouraged to find a sexual connection first.

One of the aspects of the treatment of women that stands out the most is the idea that Babylonian women were under the control of men. This is evident in the laws concerning marriage and divorce. There are some rights given when "a man wishes to separate from a woman" (laws 137 and 138, note how a woman is not allowed to ask for a divorce), such as some land and the dowry. Although even this is for the sole reason that the woman can bring up the children, not for her own benefit.

Laws 133-134 further emphasise this point by directly stating that women were not allowed to get their own "sustenance" by earning on their own, but expected to enter another household and depend on another man if their husbands were not present. This also stresses on the point above on women not being part of many professions; perhaps it was a culturally frowned upon for women to be in a workplace, hence they were deeply encouraged to not seek work but rather depend completely on men for their economic needs.

Most of Hammurabi's laws give severe punishment for the crimes, the most common one being thrown into the water. Although we can see by comparing laws 142 and 143 that women were likely to be punished more severely than men for similar crimes. Both laws essentially refer to either spouse "neglecting" the other and leaving them; however if the husband is guilty (he leaves and neglects her), there is no punishment for him. If the woman leaves her husband, she is severely punished. This demonstrates that the laws were very biased against Babylonian women, and were used to repress women;

perhaps to discourage them from standing up against the ideologies created by men – by stressing on the importance of men above women.

Even the very basic idea of gender equality is missing in the Code, hence showing the huge gender gap in Babylonian society. Laws 211 and 212 illustrate to us that women were simply not equated with men. If a woman and her unborn child die when a man "strikes" her, it is not the man who would be punished, but his daughter. This clearly shows that the loss of a woman's life was only equated to another woman's. This shows that women in Babylon were clearly regarded to be lesser worth in value as human beings than the men. Daughters were also not considered to be important – the sons were the heirs of the family; made clear by the harsh death sentence if "any one steal the minor son of another" – no similar laws are mentioned regarding daughters.

In conclusion, Hammurabi's Code gives the impression of women in Babylonian society to be considered inferior to men, and placed mainly in the household to look after the children, the Code was also skewed positively towards men's rights, and women were mainly disregarded when it came to the basic structure of society.

Appendix 2. LGE1

The sixth king of Babylon, Hammurabi enacted a code of laws in the middle chronology, known as the code of Hammurabi, which is an example of an ancient legal code. These codes were written on a stone tablet which was approximately 2.4 meters. That tablet was found in the year 1901. Presently this code is displayed at the Louvre of Paris.

In the code of Hammurabi, there are many sorts of laws. Moreover, there are many laws regarding women's right and responsibilities. During Hammurabi's reign, women were always neglected. They were not seen as equally as men. There was great gender discrimination. Men and women were not treated fully and genuinely. To be precise women were not treated as human! Hammurabi's codes were really cruel and harsh for the then women society.

The Babylonian women's lives were really in a miserable condition. They had to live their life under the control of their so-called husband. They were not allowed to do anything according to their own wishes. Even in the codes, there was gender discrimination. Men were always treated in a better way than the women. In every aspects of life, women were evaluated cruelly and heartlessly. From the code of Hammurabi, an example can be cited as an evidence of torturing women. That is, when a question was raised about the purity of a woman, and if that was proved false, even then the women had to jump into the river only for the sake of her husband which is really unbelievable and cruel as well. (Code no: 132)

In the Babylon society, the women were handled more as like products. That means they had no rights to tell anything of their wishes. They had to simply follow the instructions given by their husbands or masters. They were sold as like as the products, if their husbands didn't like them or if they didn't want them anymore to live with. Though these sound crazy but that was the conditions of poor Babylonian women. According to one of the codes of Hammurabi, the Babylonian men were so mean that if they had no intercourse with their wives then their wives were not considered as their wives anymore. (Code no: 128)

But besides these torturing, there were a few beneficial rules for the women too. The Babylonian society was not that much mean to provide nothing for the women. Though the women were evaluated callously and brutally but there were such regulations from which the women could be benefited. The women had the privileges to own their husband's property legally when their husband wished to leave them and their children. Women used to get a partial part of the assets of their husband to live their rest of the lives happily. One of the codes of Hammurabi says that if a man wished to separate from his wife who had borne him children he had to give her the dowry and the part of his property so that she could rear her children. (Code no: 137)

Thus, from the codes of Hammurabi, these can be said that the Babylonian women were suffering that time because of negligence and inequity. But at the same time, there were some laws which were really favorable for them.

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