

Developing Dialogical Academic Writing
Through the Use of
Student Empowered Peer Review

by

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Caroline Coit

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Preface

The incentive for this research originated in the classroom. As an instructor teaching four academic writing classes to upper-level students in an EFL department, I was deeply struck by the looks on the faces of my students whenever I assigned them something to write or asked about the status of their other writing assignments. The fear and uncertainty that controlled the following discussions moved me to ask what caused this fear and what could be done to reduce it. I was surprised to learn that although these students had been carrying out academic writing since they had entered the university some three to six years earlier, they were not able to differentiate between the genres involved in the academic writing they carried out and those they read in literature, journals, and newspapers. For most of them, the differences were some secret “ability” that until now had remained nebulous to them. Due to their feelings of uncertainty, many of the students avoided carrying out writing tasks whenever possible. The less they wrote, the less fear they had to face, but the more likely this fear would stay with them throughout their university years and would influence their futures as writers later in life.

Considering the fact that given the right opportunity and the right listeners most people like to talk, I asked myself why many students did not like to write and what could be done to change this. It could not be that they had nothing to write about; this was their chosen field and when given the opportunity to talk they did. The problem must lie much deeper. If I was going to change anything I knew I was going to have to do something different. Just doing more of the same was not going to make a difference.

1 Introduction

1.1 Academic Writing at Universities

“Of all skills students say they want to strengthen, writing is mentioned three times more than any other.” (Light 1992: 5)

As students in Germany enter the university, writing almost always takes on a new and challenging dimension. As students leave their protected classrooms at the *Gymnasium* for the mass education settings at universities, they quickly realize that the demands placed on them also change just as drastically. Although some elements of the kind of writing required of students at the university are taught at the *Gymnasium*¹, where they are mainly required to analyze texts and then to add their own opinions (Foster 2002), students generally find that at university quite a different kind of writing is demanded of them than they have been prepared for (Foster 2006). Students find they are required to navigate across a much more complex terrain than they had to at the *Gymnasium*.

“In most national education systems, students’ writing development plays an important – though often unacknowledged – role in the crucial transition from secondary school to university.” (Russell & Foster 2002: 1)

At university, students are expected to learn to write specific types of technical texts that are pertinent to the fields they are studying (Graefen 1996; Kruse 1996). This includes adopting a style of writing appropriate to the academic field and genre² the student is writing in (Kruse 1997). Students must also learn to apply a rhetoric that is characterized by an exact, systematic logical argumentation and empirical rationale. Academic writing³ requires students to incorporate and synthesize diverse sources of knowledge into an authoritative viewpoint (Foster 2002). The personal views that were called for at the *Gymnasium* are subordinated to the ability to integrate authoritative others into a multi-perspective, where one’s own voice also takes on the persona of an authority (Bartholomae 1985). When incorporating the ideas of other researchers, students are also responsible for demonstrating

¹ See the *Richtlinien: Deutsch* and *Englisch* in the various German states.

² For a brief definition of “genre” as it is used here and in further discussions in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

³ For a definition of “academic writing” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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critical evaluations of the works of these researchers, both in and of themselves and in comparison to other related texts (Flower & Hayes 1980). Many students are not even aware that they are meant to assume authority in their papers – after all they are only novices – so many students consider their task to be “‘a collation of other peoples’ views, objective and impersonal’” (Foster 2002: 220). It is not without good reason that the term ‘academic writing’ (*wissenschaftliches Schreiben*) is not used to describe the writing students carry out at the *Gymnasium*, but is restricted to identifying the kind of writing that is carried out at universities and beyond.

Because these characteristics of text production are not just extensions of skills learned at preparatory schools but unique skills that specifically belong to a university education (Foster 2002), learning to adjust to this incorporative rhetoric as distinct from the rhetoric of personal argument practiced at the *Gymnasium* often “creates significant dissonance for German students” (Foster 2002: 193). University counseling centers in Germany report that writing is considered the area of study that causes students the most problems and worries in their studies at university (Kruse & Jakobs 1999). In a study conducted at two major German universities, Foster (2002) found that: “Students identify the writing required in seminar papers as the single most difficult learning/writing challenge at university” (217). Kruse, Jakobs, and Ruhmann (1999) also found writing to be one of the greatest challenges to students in their learning process at university and that many students have difficulties adapting the rhetorical strategies they brought with them from the *Gymnasium* to the new strategies they need for academic writing. No matter how well students are prepared at their *Gymnasiums* before coming to the university, the new and different challenges they are introduced to at university create the need for new and different methods for dealing with them.

Despite these differences students are confronted with in their writing needs at universities, until recently the teaching of academic writing has not been regarded as worthy of receiving much attention from German universities. In the context of content courses taught in the mother tongue, university educators and administrators generally presume that their students have already been sufficiently prepared for the kind of writing they will do at university

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during their time at *Gymnasium*, and that the kind of writing they will have to carry out is simply an extension of that (Furchner et al.1999).

As a consequence the teaching of writing to native speakers is traditionally left up to the teachers at the lower preparatory schools (the *Gymnasium*, *Realschule*, and *Hauptschule*) and courses specifically intended to teach academic writing to native speakers are not often offered as a regular part of the curriculum at German universities. It is generally assumed that those students who make it to the university can then learn to adapt their writing strategies to their new academic disciplines more or less on their own (Kruse 2003; Dias et al.1999), based on the theory that once learned is forever learned.

From the first semester on, students find they have to accommodate the new academic writing skills they need to learn to the content material they are learning in their courses. There is little help available to assist students in learning to integrate the new language and knowledge of their varying disciplines with the different structures and mechanics required in the diverse genres and rhetorical modes they meet in their disciplines (Björk et al. 2003; Foster & Russell 2002). Left to themselves, students must through trial and error meet the challenge of new and more complex writing needs at university by adapting and adopting new processes to those skills which they have already acquired.

Students of English as a foreign language at German universities have been somewhat more fortunate than other students in that since the late 1960s academic writing courses have frequently become a part of the regular curriculum. However, the titles of these courses notwithstanding, as a part of the EFL program, they often tend to be more of a substitute for language skills classes focusing on grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation than on the actual academic writing needs of their students. Thus students in these departments, too, feel the pressure to adapt to the needs of academic writing on their own.

1.2 The Changing University Scene

As times have changed, so have the needs of students and the society they live in. More so than their predecessors, today's students must be prepared to adapt to a constant flow of new

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and different situations with which they will be confronted as they work throughout their lives. Universities are under pressure to respond to these new needs of students and society. The new European BA/MA system of study that has been recreating courses of study at almost all European universities since the beginning of this millennium is one of the most serious attempts by politicians and educators to modernize the university curriculum so that it reflects these needs. However, what has possibly had even more influence than the new BA/MA curriculum on universities' abilities to meet these needs of their students and society is the changes in numbers which have been taking place at universities over the past decades. Although the term 'elite university' is often heard when politicians talk about today's universities, the term 'mass university' is more fitting to most institutes of higher education.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, most universities in Europe changed from elite to mass universities (Rienecker & Jørgensen 2003; National Science Foundation 2008⁴). Due partially to attempts to "achiev[e] social justice" (Ben-David 1977: 142), universities increased their intake of students, so that no longer just the top 5-10% of the population attended university. Recent figures show that roughly one-third of German school students earn an *Abitur*. Approximately, three out of four of these *Abitur* holders go to university at some point (Anweiler 1996). These changes have brought a more diverse student population, many of whom are not as well prepared as their carefully selected elite predecessors were.

Over the past decades, as at other times of increases in student population (Flexner 1930), the number of faculty positions has not kept pace with student numbers. Many of the classes which are classified as "seminars" appear more like lectures than the cozy classrooms of old. Just at a time when a more diverse student population is in greater need of exclusive counseling and attention, educators are forced to divide their time among ever-greater numbers of students. Despite (or possibly because of) these changes in student composition and population, recent European reforms in the programs of study have made attempts to shorten or at least limit the length of time students study. At the same time, governments have also been concerned with the high dropout rates of students and have put pressure on universities to improve the learning situation (Kramer et al. 2003).

⁴ A graphic of the increases in the numbers of students in EU and EFTA countries from 1975 to 1991 can be found in Appendix 1.1.

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As universities have moved away from the elite system of education over the decades to the mass education of today, writing at universities has also taken on a different role. The major purpose of the writing students carry out at a university is not to express ideas that are to be transmitted to the world at large or to be discussed with the professor and fellow students. Most writing students do at university today has taken on the all-encompassing role of being a method of evaluation (Leki 1994). Writing is often the factor which decides whether a student is successful at university or not. A student's ability to master seminar papers, reports and exams determines whether a student will be successful at university. Writing has become the key to survival in many fields of study. Being responsible for ever larger numbers of students, teachers are finding that little time is left to view writing as a learning process in which valuable one-to-one feedback can create a learning atmosphere in which students can grow and develop. Most writing assignments at universities become isolated writing experiences for students (Graff 1987); they act as pivotal qualifications for the continuation of their university careers, and can make or break students' personal goals.

1.3 Meeting the Challenges of a Changing World

Despite the need for evaluative material and the time pressures of mass education, it is important not to forget that beyond being a valuable tool for weeding out the good from the bad (Johnson et al. 1991), the real objective in teaching and learning academic writing at universities extends long past the day the graduate walks out the doors of the university for the last time. Today's technological advancements in our globalized world have underscored the importance of life-long learning for the individual and society at large. The learning for today must also focus on continued learning tomorrow. Setting their goals to prepare their students to become active life-long participants in the written discourse communities⁵ of their choices (Rorty 1979) is one method by which German universities can make a valuable move toward addressing the future needs of their students to remain active participants and creators of their own continued learning.

⁵ For a definition of "discourse community" as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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1.3.1 Writing in Many Genres

However, there is more at stake than just the students' survival at university and beyond. Both individual students and society at large are dependent on how well students learn to write. "As the kinds of organizations and the jobs in them that students will enter have become more specialized, the writing has become more specialized as well" (Russell 2003: v). The ability of students to meet the demands of different genres and rhetorical settings in the workforce depends in large part on whether and how they have developed their writing at university (Foster 2002; He 1993). "In a larger sense, written communication is essential to the successful continuation and future development of important institutions – professional, governmental, industrial, commercial, and nonprofit – that increasingly depend on specialized written communication in a global environment (Russell & Foster 2002: 1). Students will need a greater diversity of linguistic resources and rhetorical flexibility to successfully enter professions and institutions and to transform those institutions as the pace of change continues. Students need sufficient practice in the new genres and rhetorical strategies that belong not only to the world of academia (Swales 1990) but to the world which the students will be entering after university. Research in genre theory⁶ verifies the need of students to gain practice in the targeted genres (Hyland 2007). So ministries of education continually take note of universities' responsibilities to improve students' writing.

1.3.2 Stake-Free⁷ Practice

In addition to students' needs to practice writing in multiple genres and rhetorical modes while at university, they also need opportunities in which they can practice writing for the sake of practice (Ruhmann 2000) or to put it in Krashen's terms for "sheer practice" (1984: 33). There is much to be said for the old adage "practice makes perfect". Just like dancers do not go out on the stage without practicing first, academic writers, too, need opportunities to practice academic writing when there is no grade or teacher evaluation at stake. Such an environment promotes experimentation with new ideas, styles, and techniques. How are students to learn whether or not their ideas are practicable unless they try them out? Most students, however, are not willing to take risks in writing when they know it could damage

⁶ This research will be discussed in detail in chapter three, Writing Theories.

⁷ For a brief definition of "stake-free" as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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their grade. When writers feel free to experiment and to express themselves, they are also more likely to enjoy putting their ideas down on paper so that others can read them (Gilbert 1922). It can also be assumed that when students are given the opportunity to practice expressing their ideas in a stake-free environment, they will be likely to acquire a more favorable attitude toward writing than when only practicing writing under the threat of receiving a grade each time they write.

1.3.3 Dialogical Feedback

As well as needing to practice (Bruner 1966b) what they are learning students also need to receive dialogical⁸ (Pica 1986) feedback. Academic writing is an act of communication, a “dynamic, functional, intersubjective process of reciprocal negotiation among writers and readers, in which discourse mediates interactions among conversants” (Russell 1997). Students also need to be given opportunities to receive feedback that looks at what they have written as being material for further discussion. Universities need to find and develop possibilities for students to also practice their academic writing skills within a dialogical realm (Bakhtin 1973).

How universities address the needs of their students to learn to master the academic writing skills they will continue to use as active participants throughout their lives will vary from institute to institute. But irrespective of how, there can be no doubt that universities will have to take a more active part in their students’ writing development. If the German educational system is to take the warnings of the PISA study to heart, then a closer look at what goes on when German students are required to carry out academic writing assignments is an important step in the process of improvement and advancement.

1.3.4 The Need for Research

“European higher education seems to be at a historical point where the pedagogy of trial-and-error is inadequate.” (Björk et al. 2003: 9)

⁸ For a brief definition of “dialogical” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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The lack of emphasis on viewing the teaching of academic writing as a field of its own in Germany has had the obvious consequence that very little research pertaining to the specific needs of German university students regarding academic writing has been carried out. Although an abundance of research has been carried out in Germany regarding the teaching of writing, it has almost all focused on how to teach writing to students at lower-level schools⁹. Especially in recent decades, German researchers have made a concerted effort to offer assistance to public school teachers teaching writing in both the mother tongue and foreign languages. Today, a broad spectrum of research for teachers and teachers-in-training exists in the areas of methodology and pedagogy for the teaching of writing at all lower-level schools in Germany (Weskamp 2001; Müller-Hartmann 2005; Kupetz 2006). On the other hand, little research exists in Germany to assist university teachers of academic writing in their teaching. What research there is consists mainly of books to be used by students intended for self-study (see, for example, Aczel 2001; Esselborn-Krumbiegel 2004; Boeglin 2007; Krämer 1992; Purser 2004). Due to the absence of courses for academic writing in the mother tongue in Germany, the lack of research about teaching academic writing at the university level goes almost unnoticed, since there are no teachers who are dependent on it. However, for teachers of academic writing in the foreign languages, this lack of research becomes noticeable. Those entrusted with teaching academic writing in foreign language departments have been forced to either build upon their own personal experiences in learning to master academic writing (see Matsuda 2003), or to depend on foreign sources for literature on teaching it.

However, recent research in cross-cultural comparisons has begun to look at the many influences on students' writing which exist in different countries that go beyond "discourse activities, the tasks, and forms of disciplinary genres" (Foster 2002: 196) involved in academic writing. When teachers simply transfer the research from one culture onto another culture without taking into account the specific needs of the students in the individual cultures, they may be assuming circumstances that do not exist and missing valuable opportunities that do exist within the different systems. In his 1995 study, Stuart Greene discusses the importance of the influences of "social, historical, and cultural contexts" (213), such as family and ethnic backgrounds, on the development of rhetorical behaviors. Other

⁹ The term "lower-level schools" is used here to designate all pre-university (primary and secondary) schools.

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researchers have emphasized the need to look at the situatedness of all learning and communication that goes on. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) underscored the importance of the multidimensional conditions that have an effect on achieving success in learning.

Researchers referring to activity theory stemming from the work of Lev Vygotsky (1978) and Alexei Nikolaevich Leont'ev (1981) on cultural mediation argue that context must be viewed holistically as “an ongoing accomplishment, not a container for actions or texts” (Russell 1997: 513). In his study of cross-cultural comparisons of university students, Foster (2002) has shown how important it is to take into account broader influences on student writing that go beyond the constructs of domain subject matter and genre discourse strategies. Educators must also consider the effects institutional, social, and personal conditions have on the development of students’ writing strategies. The study of writing, thus, ceases to be preoccupied with the psychology of an individual, but instead focuses on the interaction between an individual, systems of artifacts, and other individuals in historically developing institutional settings. Helpful as research derived from different cultural contexts can be, it is important not to view these products of research as guiding lights, but as “impulses to think about oneself” and “to learn more about oneself” (Bräuer 1996: 318).

1.4 The Purpose of this Dissertation

One purpose of this dissertation is to do just that: to gain a concrete understanding of the situation surrounding the discipline of academic writing as it unfolds for students at German universities today. In the process of assessing the cultural-historical situation as it exists for German university students, an attempt will be made to develop possibilities within this realm to help students and teachers to fulfill the specific needs and desires they have. This attempt to match and adjust the cultural-historical context that exists to the socio-epistemic needs of students will be carried out under careful consideration of the broader background of current theories of writing. These theories of writing will be used as the driving forces for setting goals to be realized in helping students more easily adapt to the demands of academic writing that universities and society place on them.

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In order to set the scene for these theories of writing, chapter 2 begins with a description of the background and development of learning theories, on which most modern theories of writing are based. This section attempts to give not only a clear picture of the currents of thought that have brought us to where we are today but also a clear picture of the trends that have had the most influence on developments taking place within the field of writing today.

Chapter three continues with an overview of the theories of writing that have been most dominant in research over the past 60 years. These theories are described from a research perspective with special attention being given to the influences they have had on classroom teaching practices. In doing so, this chapter sets the theoretical scene for the goals and motives students, teachers, universities, and society have for wanting to teach, learn, and use academic writing at universities and beyond.

Following the theoretical description of the motives and incentives for teaching, learning, and using academic writing at universities, chapter 4 then takes a look at the actual teaching practices that go on in writing classrooms today. Based on a questionnaire for teachers of academic writing, in which teachers from thirteen countries around the world participated, this chapter describes some of the fundamental classroom practices that prevail in writing classes in Germany and other countries around the world. The survey of teachers also makes it possible to gain an insight into the institutional differences that exist from country to country. These cultural-historical differences are later drawn upon as a basis for creating a teaching approach which is specifically geared toward the situational contexts surrounding students in Germany.

Based on the findings concerning the actual teaching practices from the previous chapter, chapter 5 analyzes the effects these current teaching practices and contexts have on the teaching and learning of writing at universities. This analysis is carried out by examining the extent to which these practices are actually commensurate with and foster the goals that were set by the writing theories described in chapter 3. Such a needs analysis makes it possible to determine gaps that exist between the writing needs of students and the extent to which they can be theoretically fulfilled.

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Chapter 6 then looks at some current attempts by universities to institute improvements in and around the field of academic writing as a response to recent criticism regarding the learning of academic writing at universities. The second part of the chapter addresses the question as to whether these and other measures developed to improve the teaching of writing meet the expectations set by current writing theories. On the basis of this examination, gaps were found to exist between current theories and practices. As a response to the critique, the next chapter introduces an alternative method to be used in writing classes which it is hoped will at least partially fill these gaps.

The alternative method, known as student empowered peer review (SEPR¹⁰), which is introduced and discussed in chapter 7 was designed for and tailored to the specific needs of students studying English at German universities. SEPR is intended to fill some of the gaps that currently exist between theory and practice in writing classes. It is intended to meet the needs of students to learn to write as members of discourse communities and to become life-long learners. This chapter describes how the method addresses these needs and discusses the pros and cons of its use from a theoretical and practical standpoint.

In order to test whether SEPR is truly a valid alternative to traditional teaching methods, a classroom study is described in chapter 8. The study was carried out in three EFL writing classes at a German university. It compares the grades students received on essays in one class using SEPR with grades received on essays in two other classes using the traditional teaching method. Also important in the study were the responses to a questionnaire the students filled out, which pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of the use of SEPR vis-à-vis traditional methods.

In chapter 9, the final discussion highlights the main points of the dissertation and its results. Conclusions based on the advantages of using SEPR are followed by suggestions for further possibilities for its implementation. Finally, a call for more research with respect to the topics discussed in the dissertation is made. Only through research that is done locally will it be possible to properly adapt old and develop new teaching methods to the teaching of writing

¹⁰ SEPR is an acronym pronounced as a word.

1-Introduction

within the cultural-historical setting which makes up the background in which students and teachers of academic writing in Germany find themselves.

2 Learning Theories as a Basis for Writing Theories

2.1 Two Schools of Thought

Throughout the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, promoters of learning theories were mainly divided into two camps, the behaviorists and the cognitivists. Until the late 1950s, supporters of the theory of behaviorism reigned in psychological and educational circles and had a major influence on the methods and materials teachers used. For behaviorists (Bloomfield 1933; Skinner 1957; Thorndike 1932; Watson 1913), learning was mainly the formation of *habits*. Little attention was given in education to the idea of the previous knowledge that learners brought with them to the learning process, or to how learning took place. The minds of learners being taught new material were looked upon as a blank slate to be filled with the new information. In accordance with the notion of stimulus and response, it was the teachers' responsibility to give the proper stimulus and then to elicit a response. In the case of a successful response, repeated reinforcements could turn the stimulus-response activity into a habit. For decades this basic idea infiltrated almost every educational approach in almost every educational field in schools and classrooms throughout the Western world (Gardner 1985).

Although cognitive psychology did not gain ground over behaviorism until the late 1950s, experiments in the area of cognitive psychology had been being conducted since the previous century. Parallel to studies by behaviorists prior to and during the first half of the 20th century, cognitive psychologists, who were interested in studying the internal mental processes that go on when learning takes place, were also carrying out systematic research. Wilhelm Maximilian Wundt (1832-1920) is known to posterity as the “father of experimental psychology” and the founder of the first psychology laboratory. As Boring (1950) stated, the idea of a science of psychology was in the air, a manifestation of the *Zeitgeist*, in the mid-nineteenth century. At the beginning of the 20th century, Gestalt psychologists in Germany carried out systematic research in the areas of perception, problem-solving, and memory. They were interested in how people understand, diagnose, and solve problems, concerning themselves with the mental processes which mediate between stimulus and response.

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However, there was much criticism of these early studies. For one, they were criticized for going too far in their insistence on rigorous procedures, which were thought to preclude real-life processes (Bartlett 1932). In addition, many of the prior attempts to study what goes on inside the brain were not well enough developed and “tended to be dismissed as crude and imprecise” (Bourne et al. 1986: 28). As a consequence, through the first half of the 20th century, behaviorism with its portrayal of “the organism as a mechanism that reacts to its environment in an essentially automatic way, that is, without cognition” (Bourne et al. 1986: 27) remained the dominating influence in psychology. However, even as approaches based on behaviorism continued to expand, the groundswell of thought in the field of cognitive psychology bore with it ideas which would eventually have a revolutionary effect on how educators look at learning.

By the 1950s, as misgivings concerning basic principles of behaviorism such as rote learning (Bruner 1966a: 29) continued to grow, there was a resurgence of interest in studying the mental processes that mediate between the stimulus and response. These renewed attempts were now strongly motivated by an interest in “casting off the shackles of anti-mentalist behaviorism and recapturing the functionalist idea of mind as an instrument operating not blindly but with intention” (Bruner & Goodnow 1986a: xv). As work continued to flourish in this area, research in how humans process information crossed over to many diversified areas of research, some old, others new. During the 1950s, it was three areas in particular which pioneered groundbreaking ideas which reinforced one another in their cognitive principles¹¹. Although the majority of the studies in cognitive processes did not attract much attention from the mainstream at the time they were published, they did do the groundwork for the coming cognitive revolution. This research eventually brought about an avalanche of new thinking that in the end revolutionized all walks of life. It truly was the dawning of a new age (Oppenheimer 1958).

2.2 Cognitive Approaches to Learning

Although most of the basic ideas of the cognitive psychologists were not new, they were now being strengthened by the new research and new theories. Supported by post-war political,

¹¹ For a brief summary of these three areas see Appendix 2.1.

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economic, and social motivations, they were at last given the extra impetus needed to successfully displace behaviorism with a mentalist concern for how learners learn. After decades of efforts by researchers attempting to discover the secret of how the human mind functions, the time had finally arrived for cognitive theorists to apply their ideas to theories of learning. By the end of the 1950s, cognitive psychology was well on its way to firmly establishing itself as the norm in the area of educational research around the world.

2.2.1 Cognitive Constructivism

“If intelligence is not a sum of traces laid down by the environment nor of associations imposed by the pressure of things, the simplest solution consists in making it a force of organization or a faculty inherent in the human mind . . .” (Jean Piaget 1952: 369)

One of the first learning theories to grow out of this cognitive research was cognitive constructivism. Learning researchers took the information-processing theories a step further and began theorizing about how the brain stores and organizes information. Rather than conceiving of the learner’s mind as a “black box”, to be filled almost at a one-to-one ratio by the knowledge of the teacher, cognitive psychologists imagined the mind to consist of networks of knowledge with connections linking their parts. As early as the first half of the 20th century, Piaget (1952) had suggested that an individual’s new experiences are not simply randomly added to the brain like grains of sand added to a box, but instead were at first assimilated into an already existing framework in the mind. The information is, of course, only likely to be assimilated if it is properly placed within the area of the framework with which it has something in common.

Once the new information has been integrated, the individual’s mental representation of the external world is accommodated to the new information. A child’s cognitive development thus consists of a constant effort on the part of the learner to adapt to the environment in terms of assimilation and accommodation. Through this process, learners construct new knowledge from their experiences. Rather than being looked upon as being an act of transmission of knowledge by a teacher to a learner, learning is an internal process of interpretation in which learners create (construct) their own interpretations of the world based upon their past experiences (existing mental framework) and their new interactions with the world. Consequently, when new material is learned, it will be best remembered if it is

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integrated into an existing structure in which these processes of accommodation can take place (Bruner 1966a). Otherwise the material may be isolated and eventually forgotten (Piaget 1952; Bruner et al. 1986).

Cognitive constructivism, therefore, views each learner as a unique individual bringing unique needs and backgrounds (Gredler 1997) to the learning situation. How learners construe the world is not only dependent upon the material to be learned but also on the learners' prior knowledge. Meaning can no longer be found in the material alone but rather is a symbiosis of the learner in conjunction with the material. This idea opened the way for the possibility that knowledge is open to interpretation. The formalist or positivist attitudes toward knowledge and knowledge building which had reigned throughout the first half of the 20th century were now called into question (Hacking 1981). Knowledge was no longer an absolute static entity that students would absorb and then replicate, input and output being identical in form. Knowledge now became contingent upon convention, human perception, and social experience (von Glasersfeld 1989). The entrance to the pathway which would allow for multiple interpretations and perspectives of knowledge in the world was reopened.

2.2.1.1 Applying Cognitive Constructivist Influences to Education

Although cognitive psychologists had been theorizing about how new knowledge is acquired for decades (Richards & Rogers 1989), until the 1950s, there had been almost no research conducted into how these learning theories were to be integrated into the educational classroom. Many educators who were inspired by this new area of research were asking themselves what all this meant for them. If drills, rote memorization, and error-free exercises were not the solution to learning, then what should replace these methods? A paradigm shift that was as deeply rooted as this one was going to require an entirely new approach to teaching.

Changing, not simply adapting, teaching materials requires a lot of concerted effort from many people, and money to support it. Had it not been for the political crisis at the time, efforts might have come much later. But the Sputnik shock became the impulse for improvements in the curriculums around Europe and the United States (Ben-David 1977).

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Many scientists and scholars were becoming interested in rewriting school textbooks to create improvements in the curriculums and money was made available to carry this out. Governments in Europe and the U.S. began financing projects for updating the curriculum in the sciences by including the most recent advances as well as daring ideas involving the school experience. In all this turbulence, almost no field, including writing, remained untouched.

2.2.1.1.1 Jerome Bruner and Woods Hole

In the summer of 1959, one of these well-financed projects, a 10-day meeting of thirty-five scientists and educators took place at Woods Hole in Massachusetts, USA. Its goal was to generally appraise and give recommendations for fresh approaches to education. Jerome Bruner (1966a), the chairman, summarized the importance of their ideas for education in a 92-page report first published in 1960. The report eventually became a manifesto for applying cognitive principles to learning (Brown 1987), paving the way for a boom in education research based on cognitive principles.

Without mentioning behaviorism (B. F. Skinner had been an invited guest), Bruner (1966a) stated that the consensus of the group was that: “Education had become concerned with highly simplified short-term situations and thereby lost much of its contact with the long-term educational effects of learning” (4). Too much emphasis had been given to learning specific skills rather than to learning “to grasp the underlying structure or significance of complex knowledge” (6) and classroom discussions and textbooks spent too much time talking “about the conclusions in a field of intellectual inquiry rather than centering upon the inquiry itself” (14). Due to mass education in recent decades, learning had, in other words, been compromised for a more simple approach. The group ardently argued for teaching the “fundamental structure of a subject” rather than focusing on details and end results, as behaviorism had done.

Discovery learning became the new buzzword in education for teaching “fundamental structures” in the sciences. If learning was problem solving, as artificial intelligence was suggesting, then through learning by doing, students would go through the steps of problem solving to come to their own conclusions while acquiring the fundamental structure. Rather

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than being taught the conclusions, the students would discover the conclusions for themselves. By discovering the processes of problem solving for themselves rather than simply having the solutions presented to them, the students would not only be better able to understand them, but would also be able to carry the problem-solving processes out. “Knowing is a process not a product” (Bruner 1966b: 72). It was no longer the product that counted but the process that led to it.

2.2.1.1.2 Applying Memory Models to Learning

In applying cognitive constructivist notions to cognitive or semantic networks, the Woods Hole report summarized how learning the fundamental structure of a subject improved learners’ abilities to store the new information in their memories. Learning the fundamental structures of a subject meant that the material to be learned would be more comprehensible and a mental framework (or schema) for the new subject would be created in the learners’ minds. Without their first learning the fundamental structure, new material would be stored as isolated and scattered information bits and would eventually be forgotten. In order to assure that this would not happen, educators attempted to develop methods for structuring concepts for learners that would reflect the fundamental structures being introduced.

Based on the idea of cognitive structures or semantic maps, David Ausubel (1960) developed a method for improving the retention of new material that was to be integrated into an already existing structure. He fostered the use of an “advanced organizer” as an instructional strategy. Advanced organizers could be in the form of images, semantic maps, or hierarchical structures depicting the students’ previous knowledge about a topic. Advanced organizers were used to call up the semantic maps students previously had for the topic being discussed. This was to enhance the chances that the new information would be assimilated within the proper framework. In this process, the material to be learned would become more meaningful through the activation of its relationship to other knowledge the student already had. Ausubel’s “meaningful learning theory” held that learning results when learners consciously and explicitly tie new knowledge to relevant concepts within their schemata (existing concept propositional frameworks held by the learner). Therefore, “[a]ssimilation is characterized by an active process of relation to, differentiation from, and integrative reconciliation with

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existing relevant concepts. The more active this process is, the more meaningful and useful the assimilated concepts are” (Ausubel 1968: 515).

2.2.2 Social Constructionism

Although cognitive constructivism emphasizes the internal processes in which the learner actively constructs or builds new ideas based upon current and past knowledge, the process of learning is not a purely personal endeavor. Learning is not a process that takes place only inside learners’ minds, nor is it a passive development of their behaviors. Despite the work carried out by some cognitive scientists¹², the majority of cognitive psychologists did not deny the co-equal role of both the individual and the social world in the construction of knowledge (Cole & Wertsch 1985). “There are no more such things as societies qua beings than there are isolated individuals. There are only relations and the combinations formed by them, always incomplete, cannot be taken as permanent substances” (Piaget 1932: 360). By the 1970s, researchers from many fields also began studying the origins and extent of social influences on learning as related to the mentalist theories of learning. This research eventually paved the way for the area of research referred to as social constructionism, which studies how meanings and understandings (both personal and social) grow out of social encounters.

2.2.2.1 Lev Vygotsky

A significant contribution to social constructionist theory was made by the Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934). Until the 1960s, when the interpretative translation of *Thought and language* (1962) was published in English, Vygotsky’s work had remained virtually unknown in the West. Since then a major compilation of his works has been translated into other languages and has become a major impulse for many of the psychological investigations into socio-cultural thought¹³.

Perhaps Vygotsky’s most important contribution concerns the relationship between speech and thought. Vygotsky described two types of speech: external speech and inner speech.

¹² Many cognitive scientists became entranced with the similarity between artificial and natural intelligence, emphasizing only the computational side of intelligence (Bruner & Goodnow 1986a: xv).

¹³ Both socio-cultural thought and social constructionism adhere to the theory that higher order functions develop out of social interaction. They are basically two terms for the same idea.

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External speech is carried out in social interaction, whereas inner speech mediates and regulates a person's thoughts, which in turn are mediated by the semiotics (the meaningful signs) of inner speech. For Vygotsky, external speech in the form of social communication was very important. It is external speech that makes inner speech possible in the first instance. Therefore, thought itself develops socially (Broughton 1981; Bruner 1985; Rogoff 1990; Wertsch 1985a). This is not to say that thinking cannot take place without language, but rather that thought is mediated by language and thus through language and social interaction, thought develops to a much higher level of sophistication. Just as a bride's dress, as a sign representing feelings such as joy, togetherness, and a binding relationship provides much deeper meaning than its physical properties allow, inner speech as signs provides much deeper meaning than the lower psychological functions would otherwise allow.

2.2.2.2 The Value of Social Contexts for Learning

If social interactions are the origins of higher thinking, then the social context in which such interactions take place is important. When learning takes place within an academic level close to the students' level of knowledge and thinking, a narrow gap between what is learned and what is to be learned is created. A concept that has become valuable for education in this context is Vygotsky's idea of the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Vygotsky defined the ZPD as the gap between a learner's current development level when working alone and the learner's development level when working in collaboration with others. Vygotsky's often quoted definition of ZPD is: "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving [without guided instruction] and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky 1978: 86). He had observed that when children were tested on tasks on their own, they rarely did as well as when they were working in collaboration with an adult. Not that the adult was teaching them how to perform the task, but through social interaction they were able to perform better than when working alone.

Although each learner within a specific group appears to be on the same educational level as all the others, cognitive constructionists speculate that peer-to-peer relationships, too, can foster learning within the ZPD. From cognitive constructivism we know that one peer's knowledge is not exactly identical to another peer's. Even though peers within a class may

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have been introduced to the same material, upon assimilation each student accommodates this new knowledge in a unique way with a unique perspective. It is these fine differences in knowledge which – when expressed in social interactions and problem-solving – are able to take the learning of the participants to the next step.

2.2.2.3 Reality as a Social Artifact

How psychologists view reality also plays an important role in how they look at contexts for learning. Social constructionism looks at knowledge as being in perpetual evolution, changing from day to day. In other words, knowledge is in a process of continual construction and reorganization. Reality does not exist prior to humans' social invention of it (Kukla 2000). A social construction may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it, but in actuality is an invention or artifact of a particular culture or society (Rorty 1979). Social constructs are human *choices* rather than laws resulting from divine will or nature. These choices made by persons and groups interacting in a social system become habitual roles that, when made available to other members of society to enter into and play out, eventually become institutionalized. In this process, knowledge and peoples' concepts of reality become embedded in society. Social reality is thus a product of humans and is socially and culturally constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gredler 1997; Prawat & Floden 1994). Consequently, social constructionism not only acknowledges the uniqueness and complexity of the learner, but actually encourages, utilizes and rewards the learner as an integral part of the learning process (Wertsch 1997) – that is, as being an active constructor of reality.

2.2.2.4 Applying Cognitive Constructionist Influences to Education

As a consequence of their view of learners as being active constructors of their own reality, social constructionists fostered the use of collaborative learning in schools as an important means of offering learners the opportunity to participate in the social construction of knowledge. Social constructionists hypothesized that when learners are given the opportunity to contribute to the building of social knowledge within their classes, they will gain important experiences which can carry over into real life.

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2.2.2.4.1 Collaborative Learning

The idea of learning with others is not new. Learning together in one form or another has been around for as long as mankind. When humans first lived in groups learning was always collaborative. As societies grew and people and their tasks were divided into smaller units, learning also became more divided. Hierarchies between learners based on age and ability soon developed. Learning within the trades and in schools began to be passed down from the knowledgeable to the less knowledgeable or from the expert to the learner rather than from peer to peer. When learners of the same level did collaborate together this was often looked down upon as being an attempt to avoid work or to even cheat (Raines 1996). As a consequence, the term ‘collaboration’ has also taken on a negative connotation. Generally speaking, at schools and at the workplace honors and awards are not given to groups but to individuals who have demonstrated success in achieving more than the others. Despite this, collaboration among students, friends, and colleagues outside of official realms has continued to be carried out as a private act (Trimbur 1993).

However, not only in the private realm has collaborative learning met with a revival of interest from time to time, but also in education. Many independent thinking educators throughout history have reacted against the general consensus that learners learn best alone and have supported the positive effect collaboration can have on learning (Dewey 1942). Those educators favoring collaboration in schools were saying what was common knowledge to those functioning outside of schools in the real world: that through collaboration with others, a task can often be completed much more effectively, or that several people working together can often come up with better ideas and results than an individual working alone (Lewin & Grabbe 1945).

2.2.2.4.2 Choosing to Use Collaborative Learning

Whether or not teachers are willing to accept and make use of collaborative learning theories, however, depends on many circumstances. A teacher’s personal ideologies as well as the political ideologies of the day can influence how educators view the sharing and learning of knowledge. The past century, for example, witnessed the waxing and waning of collaborative learning practices in schools as changes in the political arena took place. At times of political

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liberalism, such as the 1930s in the U. S., when classroom authority was being called into question, collaborative practices were likely to be viewed more positively than, for example, during the 1950s, when Cold War politics in the Western world created a distrust in collective behavior (Holt 1993).

In addition, how teachers look at the construction of knowledge influences their interest or lack of interest in collaborative learning practices. If teachers look at knowledge from a positivist/objectivist viewpoint, then there is little need to bring students together. For positivists, knowledge is ‘out there’ and all a learner has to do is take it in, similar to a shopper in a store full of goods. “The myth of the independent scholar” (Sullivan 1994: 11) sitting alone and creating visions of the world around him also does little to encourage the use of group work. Where there is no need to construct knowledge, there is no need to collaborate about its meaning. For social constructionists, by contrast, who see knowledge as being created interactively, collaborative learning is not only a good way for students to learn for the real world but a downright necessity.

Moreover, teachers’ personal beliefs and values can influence whether they make use of collaborative learning in their classrooms. For many teachers, the application of collaborative learning in their classrooms means adopting an entirely new attitude toward the role they play throughout the learning process. It means giving up control to students who are less able and allowing them to do part of their, the teachers’, job. It is no longer the teachers who have total control over what is done; students in groups can make decisions about their own and their fellow students’ learning. Many educators who have been trained in “the older ways” may just not be willing to adapt to “new fangled” ideas that do not conform to their world picture, especially if they have not been tried and tested by many others already. Due to the many constraints which collaborative learning encounters on both personal and public levels, it has been especially sensitive to changing tides of thought over the decades and centuries.

2.2.2.4.3 The 1960s and the Impetus for Social Change

Despite the anti-sentiment toward social-learning practices which had dominated the behavioral years, the revolutionary thinking that came about as a result of the 1960s era made it possible for seemingly radical conceptions and attitudes toward a student-centered

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approach in classrooms to take hold (Bremer & von Moschzisker 1971). Thus at a time when social constructionist notions of learning were fostering collaborative learning, a political openness to change also opened the doors for other fields to gather their support for collaborative learning at schools. Due to the fact that collaborative learning involves so many points of contention, theoretical justification for the use of collaborative learning also came from other fields, such as social science and linguistics.

Work in the field of the social sciences places emphasis on the positive social effects peer interactions can have on the development of students' attitudes to their own learning and that of their peers (Schwartz 1974). By making it possible for students to give and receive mutual aid, collaborative learning creates a less threatening environment for the learners to learn in. This can have a positive influence on learners' motivations to learn and to interact with one another (Johnson et al.1991). Being in the position to give and receive mutual aid also reduces the feeling of competition among learners that normally exists in teacher-centered classrooms. In peer relations, it is possible for learners to experience an equality that is difficult to achieve in teacher-learner relations, even when the teacher tries to minimize coercion. In this environment of equality, learners are more inclined to think (and act) autonomously than when interacting with teachers (Piaget 1932).

By helping students to feel more responsible for their own learning and that of their peers, collaborative learning can motivate students to take a more active role in their own learning and that of their peers (Johnson et al.1991). Students in such an environment are more likely to ask for help from their peers (Schwartz 1974), thus reducing their sense of being left to fend for themselves. But in a non-threatening collaborative learning environment, students are not only more likely to ask for help from their peers but also more likely to offer help. Giving help to others can help the help givers learn the material better and can strengthen their problem-solving skills (Hertz-Lazarowitz 1992). In the process of giving help, students learn "to cross the line from making supportive comments about a peer's work to making suggestions for improvement" (Kail & Trimbur 2000: 33). These are the kind of critical thinking skills that educators in teacher-centered classrooms find it difficult to teach.

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Collaborative learning in classrooms also found support in the newly founded area of linguistics: socio-linguistics. Dell Hymes (1971) theorized that a learners' knowledge of language was not only of a mental state but also socially responsible, saying that language must be appropriate for the social circumstances in which it occurs. Social factors relating to the particular time, place, and people involved in the communication are what determine the appropriateness of the language not fixed rules that can be found in grammar books or dictionaries. Hymes coined the term "communicative competence" to define the competencies speakers must have in order to be able to adapt to the diversities that are called for within the different speech communities¹⁴ and thus to be able to decide on "the norms that apply to the situation at hand" (Gumperz 1972: 15). Because the social factors involved in a speech event (which takes place within a speech community) are not fixed but constantly changing, socio-linguists emphasized the importance of learners socially acquiring the communicative competencies so that all of the factors that play a role in a particular speech event would be present. This could best be accomplished in classrooms through collaborative learning groups.

2.2.2.4.4 Using Collaborative Learning

Thus by the early 1970s, researchers from many fields were calling for the use of collaborative learning practices in classrooms. The term collaborative learning as it is used in teaching circles today was introduced by British educator Edwin Mason¹⁵ in 1970. The terms collaborative learning and cooperative learning, used interchangeably, are used by educators and researchers to describe many types of joint activities among learners. In its broadest sense, collaborative learning has no rules and simply enables learners "to work jointly with others or together especially in an intellectual endeavor" (Encyclopedia Britannica 2008).

In spite of this, in the beginning many teachers just did not know how they were to apply this new student-centered approach to teaching. How were the groups to be organized? What tasks were most appropriate for group work? In order to give teachers guidelines, some researchers specified pre-conditions which were necessary for specific types of group work to

¹⁴ For a definition of "speech community" as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

¹⁵ As Edwin Mason (1970: 16) wrote: "I cannot think of any part or moment of life in which we are not reacting to the presence of other people, or carrying over into relationship with everything else, what we have learned (by no means all of it consciously) from collaborating with other people while exploring the world with them."

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function properly (Hertz-Lazarowitz 1992). Researchers described the benefits of using pair work vs. small groups and others designed tasks which were specifically geared for group work.

The main incentive in designing these new tasks was to foster communication among the participants. Much of the research in socio-linguistics called for enabling students to carry out functional tasks in which all of the factors that play a role in a particular speech event would be present. Since not all situations can be brought into the classroom, educators suggested using simulations to emulate different situations. However, researchers hypothesized that real-life situations which are of interest to the students would be even more beneficial than simulations. Through real-life situations all of the factors involved in the speech event would be present. Educators further hypothesized that through the use of real-life topics which were of personal interest to the learners, learners would be more motivated to interact and negotiate with the other learners about the topic and would therefore be more likely to learn appropriate competencies than in make-believe situations.

This approach to learning, which came to be known as communicative learning, supplied students with topics which they could discuss or problems to which they could find a solution. Students of Spanish, for example, were no longer asked to act out or discuss imaginary situations which took place between Maria and José in Spain. Instead of discussing whether José liked Maria's new dog, they discussed what they thought about their own pets. Instead of talking about how to cook a meal, many teachers actually cooked a meal in class. Many ideas for later developments in the Natural Approach in foreign language teaching (Krashen & Terrell 1983) came as a result of these early attempts to help learners achieve communicative competence.

2.2.2.4.5 Tasks with a Real Purpose

As teachers began assigning students to work in groups (Bastian et al. 1997), it became quite obvious that they no longer had total control of all that went on in the individual groups nor could they be aware of all that went on when students worked in groups. So that the teacher could see what the members of the group had accomplished, one method that proved to be very useful was group presentations.

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As students presented their findings and work, teachers found that what was being presented also proved to be of interest to the other students (Krüger 1975). In some ways it seemed that group presentations were an extension of the collaborative work that had gone on in the other groups. Teachers began to view group work not only as tasks that were carried out by the students simply for the purpose of their own learning and for the teacher to evaluate in the end, but also tasks that groups carried out for the benefit of the other students (Gzerga 2005). Students were no longer carrying out tasks intended for their own learning but were adding to the socially constructed knowledge of their fellow students as communities of learners (Lave & Wenger 1991). The tasks they were carrying out were endowed with a real purpose to pass on information to others. Today, an outgrowth of this phenomenon that can be found in many seminars at German universities is oral presentations, referred to as *Referate*, which are presented by individual students as well as groups of students for the purpose of teaching the others.

2.2.2.4.6 Change Did Not Come Overnight

However, in spite of the concerted efforts researchers and educators made to give theoretical and practical support for the use of collaborative learning in classrooms, major changes did not come overnight. A collaborative learning approach to teaching is a drastic change from the teacher-centered, individual learner, and individually tested classroom that has reigned over the past centuries in almost all educational systems around the world. With teacher-centered classrooms being so ingrained in so many political, personal, theoretical, and philosophical aspects that influence teaching approaches and methods, it was going to take more than just new text books and some training programs for current and future teachers to truly make collaborative learning a stronghold in most classes. As a consequence, several decades would, thus, come and go before a major influence on mainstream classrooms¹⁶ could be felt by this paradigm shift (Hairston 1982; Applebee 1986).

However, even in the early 1970s, before collaborative learning became accepted as a prime source of teaching methods which could be used in the mainstream, many teachers and

¹⁶ For a more detailed definition of “mainstream classrooms” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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schools in Germany began testing the advantages of these methods in what were at first called “work groups” (*Arbeitsgruppen*). These less teacher-centered meetings between students and teachers frequently took place outside of regular school hours as experiments in new methods of learning and teaching. Today, the term AG (*Arbeitsgruppe*) is still a common term used at schools to describe learning situations that are more learner-centered than usual.

2.3 The Dialectical Approach to Learning

2.3.1 Dealing with the Cartesian Dualism¹⁷

By the 1990s, research on learning theories within the field of cognitive psychology had almost entirely replaced behavioral theories of learning with cognitive constructivist and social constructionist theories of learning. Both cognitive constructivism and social constructionism were considered by educators to be valuable contributions to how they looked at the learning processes. However, despite the positive support these changes received from the mainstream of research¹⁸, many researchers were well aware of the rivalry between the two camps: the cognitive constructivists and the social constructionists. Although researchers from both schools of thought had made attempts to view the inner speech as described by Vygotsky as mediation between the individual’s internal mental networks and the external social world, many researchers were still not satisfied with the metaphorically distinct views of what goes on when learning takes place (Nystrand et al. 1993; Kent 1993). Researchers from different fields set out to address the issue of dualism between mind and society, internal and external, individual and community (Russell 1997). These researchers were no longer asking themselves how the mental and the social aspects affect learning or which aspect is the more influential or the more profound, but rather how the two dimensions dialectically interrelate and interact.

¹⁷ Cartesian dualism set the agenda for philosophical discussions of the mind-body problem for many years following the death of Renè Descartes in 1650.

¹⁸ For a more detailed definition of “mainstream research” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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2.3.2 Activity Theory (AT)

Researchers attempting to view learning from a dialectical perspective were motivated to draw on research developed during the 1930s in Russia. Activity theory (AT), as it is known today, was first developed from Vygotsky's psychological theory by one of his main collaborators, A. N. Leont'ev. The object of analysis in AT is not the mind or society "but what is in between – the social intercourse" (Russell 1997: 509).

AT attempts to integrate the mental operations of individuals with the social (Wertsch 1981). Vygotsky claimed that human individuals never react directly (or merely with inborn reflexes) to the environment. The relationship between human agents and objects of the environment is mediated by cultural means, tools and signs. Vygotsky formulated a new theoretical concept of artifact-mediated and object-oriented action (Vygotsky 1978: 40) in an attempt to gain insight into what goes on when individuals and/or groups learn (Engeström 1993; Cole & Engeström 1993).

AT includes the notion that an activity is carried out within a larger social context. By locating its situatedness within the larger spectrum of collective actions or networks, AT makes it possible to analyze a particular action or group of actions in both their synchronic and diachronic relations, thus taking in the cultural-historical context. Because the focus of attention in many learning theories centers on the steps and parts of the material being learned, learning tends to dissolve into the parts of the action and more or less disappears as a discretely perceptible whole entity. Learning thus loses its cultural-historical context. AT, on the other hand, embraces the human agents, the material tools, and the goals and motives which are involved in a learning activity while at the same time allowing for ongoing learning activities over time. Therefore, an activity system "is any ongoing, object-directed, historically conditioned, dialectically structured, tool-mediated human interaction" (Russell 1997: 510).

As illustrated in Figure 2.1 below, an activity system is seen as a human being (subject) working on an object in order to attain a desired outcome. In order to carry this out, the subject makes use of tools. It is here that activity systems differ from other contemporary views of task completion. Tools within AT can refer to material objects put to use or to other

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external or internal factors which can have an influence on the developments of the activity. How tools are used can vary across time but also from subject to subject and from activity to activity.

In addition to the importance of tools for how a subject “works” on an object, the motives involved in the activity also play an important role. The motives relating to many activities are traditionally the “taken-for-granted frameworks that organize participation in everyday activities and social institutions” (Renshaw 1992: 55). AT makes it possible to view motives more discretely and to take into account their differences when analyzing the process and outcome of the activity. It is therefore “the subject or subjects (the person or persons engaged in the activity) who interpret what activity they are involved in” (Dias et al. 1999: 24) and not the task or task giver.

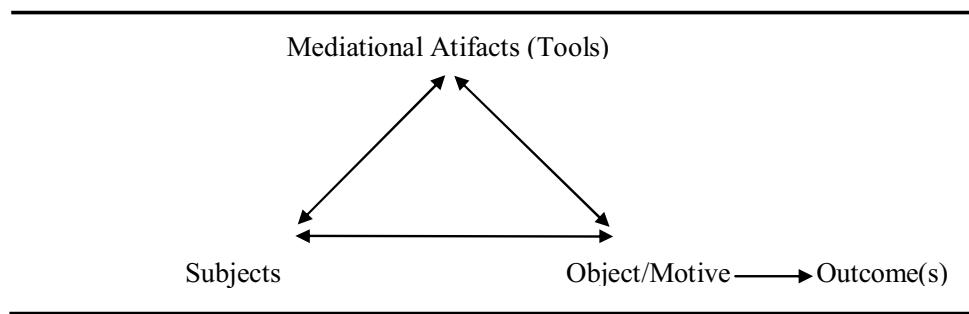


Figure 2.1 An Activity System

2.3.2.1 Three Levels of Analysis

Traditionally, AT is considered to have “three distinct but interrelated levels of analysis, each level associated with a specific unit of analysis” (Wertsch 1985b: 202). The most global level is the level of *activities*. The *activity* level is marked by the object towards which it is directed or the *motive* which drives the activity. Examples of an activity are shopping, working, or playing. The *object* and/or *motive* is determined and defined by the subject. Whether the subject is shopping, working, or playing depends very much on the subject’s perspective. Thus, an individual may be repairing a car and be involved in the *activity* of work or play or school-going depending on the motive that drives the *activity*.

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A second level of analysis is the level of *action*. *Actions* are the particular goal-driven tasks which are undertaken by participants to accomplish the object of the *activity*. A goal may be to write a paper for class, read a handbook for a sport, or prepare a meal. Goal-driven *actions*, unlike *activities*, which by definition are ongoing, have definite beginnings and ends. Thus, the *action* of playing baseball may realize different *activities*: work or play. Conversely, the motive of play may be realized through different actions/goals, such as working on a puzzle, reading a book, taking a walk, or watching TV. How the subject defines a specific *action* is “inevitably, and most often unconsciously, defined by the larger encompassing *activity* within which it occurs. Thus the *action* of preparing a dinner cannot but be influenced by whether the preparer regards it as a domestic, wage-earning, charitable, teaching, or recreational *activity* – and, of course, such driving *motives* may overlap” (Dias 2000:17-18).

A third level of analysis is the level of *operations*. The level of *operations* indicates the circumstances under which the action is carried out and the means by which it is carried out. For example, an individual may want to write a note for a colleague at work. Depending on the length of the note and the availability of a computer, paper, or pencil, he may decide to send an e-mail, print it out, or jot it on a piece of paper. Each of these operations is subordinated to the same action/goal, which is writing a note. Unlike actions, operations are often routine and automatic. An example from Leont’ev, which is often cited, is the shifting of gears in a car while driving. This illustrates how what was once an *action* that was carried out to make the car move off and accelerate becomes with time an *operation*, a means of accomplishing the *action* of driving, getting from one point to another.

Through its multi-layered view of social action, AT attempts to bridge the gap that exists between the two schools of thought in cognitive psychology. By not bracketing off individuals from contexts, by viewing learning as being situational, and by including short-term as well as the long-term learning goals in the analysis, AT makes it possible to analyze the learning of an individual within the individual’s cultural-historical setting. Each task becomes a part of the larger process of an activity no matter what it is and no matter whether it takes place at school, at the workplace, or on the playground. In AT the learning of an individual can be analyzed and at the same time the individual’s learning can be embedded in the larger process of the activity. AT makes it possible to see the ecological interrelatedness

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of the parts that effect learning and to uncover internal contradictions in teaching practices which educators normally tend to overlook (Dias et al. 1999).

2.3.2.2 Applying Activity Theory (AT) Influences to Education

It is only in recent years that researchers have begun to look at classrooms through an AT perspective. However, unlike previous approaches to teaching that have come out of various learning theories, AT does not suggest an approach to learning which can be used for teaching in all situations and all disciplines. By its very nature as a diagnostic tool for the social contexts in which learning takes place, AT must first analyze the social context of the activity it is describing before making suggestions for specific approaches or methods to be used.

AT diagnoses the situation with the cultural-historical elements that play a role in order to gain a holistic overview of what goes on within the individual countries, within the individual disciplines, and within the individual classrooms. Only then is it possible for AT in combination with the specific goals set by the individual disciplines to recommend approaches and methods which can be used to achieve those goals. Even though AT builds upon the previous cognitive theories in an attempt to dialectically understand what goes on between them, this does not mean that in all cases an AT analysis would necessarily build entirely upon all of what these theories stand for. An AT analysis in its own right opens these choices to the individual context for adaptation.

As the object of this dissertation is to look more closely at the activity of writing in EFL academic writing classes in Germany, an AT diagnosis of these classes in reference to current writing theories will be undertaken. Based on this analysis, it will then be possible to make suggestions for improvements in the applications and methodologies used to teach academic writing in EFL departments at German universities. However, before doing this, the next chapter will first look more closely at the development of writing theories over the past 60 years before an analysis based on AT and current theories of writing is carried out.

3 From Theory to Practice: Changes in the Teaching of Writing

3.1 Bringing Changes to the Teaching of Writing

“Your theory determines your approach, which in turn determines your syllabus design and the various classroom procedures you will employ.” (Brown 1987: 247)

As the cognitive revolution came into full swing starting in the 1950s, the first fields to be affected by these new impulses for changes in teaching approaches and methodologies were the natural sciences (Brown 1987). This had to do with both politics and financial backing. Other fields were slower to react, the field of teaching writing being one of the last to have been influenced. This was partially because, at the time, the field of writing was not even seen as a separate domain of study; it was mostly considered to be a sub-skill that was embedded within L1 courses. There was little consideration given to theorizing about the needs of learners and how they create a written text. When writing was taught, it was mainly looked upon as being a mechanical tool to be acquired through exercises in spelling and grammar. But with all of the changes in perspectives about learning that had been taking place in other fields since the late 1950s, eventually new theories relating to the teaching and learning of writing began to develop and take shape.

3.2 Writing Theories

A theory of writing is a rhetorical system “based on epistemological assumptions about the nature of reality, the nature of the knower, and the rules governing the discovery and communication of the known” (Berlin 1987: 4).

As a result of the changes in the general learning theories, newly accepted ideas and theories have entirely changed how researchers look at approaches, methods, and objectives of teaching writing today. Table 3.1 below lists four major theories of writing which have more or less chronologically developed in the field of writing over the past 60 years. Each theory is subdivided into five categories, in order to give a clearer picture of the main characteristics that make up that particular theory. Each theory represents a unique perspective on how writers write.

3-Writing Theories

In Table 3.1 below, the five sub-categories which illustrate each writing theory more closely are: 1) learning theories, 2) models of writing, 3) approaches to teaching writing, 4) methods of teaching writing, and 5) sources for learning. These five sub-categories differ from those on which most researchers on writing base their descriptions of writing theories. The majority of research articles which can be found describing writing theories over the past years have been based on the four categories used by Berlin (1987), which are listed in the quotation above. Although the four categories have proven to be reliable when describing writing theories, there are several reasons for choosing the five categories that have been used here.

On the one hand, the five categories chosen here have much in common with those used by Berlin (1987), but on the other hand, for teachers they have certain advantages over Berlin's. The first category, the development of the 'learning theories' which each of the theories of writing is drawn from almost parallels the developments that have taken place in what Berlin terms the 'nature of reality'¹⁹. However, 'learning theories' is somewhat clearer for teachers, who are more likely to have learned about learning theories than about general philosophy. Learning theories are also easier to limit to a specific time period than philosophies of nature, which tend to be more visionary and less time-bound (Johns 1990). The second category in the table below, 'models of writing' comes close in meaning to Berlin's 'nature of the knower'. Both categories take into consideration what goes on inside writers' minds when they write. But a 'model of writing' comes closer to expressing teaching styles than does Berlin's term.

The next two categories in the table below, 'approaches to teaching writing' and 'methods of teaching writing' reveal the underlying principles influencing how teachers proceed in the classroom. Admittedly, Berlin's 'rules governing the discovery of the known' also deals with these procedures but, today, teachers are more familiar with the terms 'approach' and 'method' so that these are likely to be more useful to teachers.

¹⁹ As philosophers' and educators' perspectives on the sources of knowledge shifted from the objective and positivistic to the subjective and then to the social constructionist perspectives, the theories of learning also shifted from the objective to the subjective to the social.

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The final category in both Berlin's description and the present table deal with language and content. Berlin's phrase 'the communication of the known', however, appears to place the emphasis on the final product and evaluating how students write after the fact. 'Sources for learning' focuses on the input which guides the writer before and during the process of writing. These sources are thus important for teachers' constructs of which influences can best stimulate their students to become better writers.

Learning Theories	Theories of Writing	Models of Writing	Approaches to Teaching Writing	Methods of Teaching Writing	Sources for Learning
Behaviorism	Product Oriented	Transmission Models	Stimulus-Response	Outlines Controlled Guided Editing	Reading Grammar Exercises Vocabulary Exercises Final Feedback
		Natural Acquisition	Natural Gift Apprenticeship		
Cognitive Constructivism	Process Oriented	Cognitive Processes	Learning by Doing Process Writing Generation of Ideas	Brainstorming Mappings Free-Writing Writing Drafts Intervention Revision	Experiences Writing Problem-Solving Interim Feedback Portfolios
Social Constructionism	Post-Process/ Social Constructionism	Social Processes	Communicative Competence Student-Centered/ Collaborative Learning	Rhetorical Analysis Discourse Analysis Genre Analysis	Discussions Writing Feedback Discourse Communities Speech Acts Tasks with a Purpose
(Dialectical) Activity Theory	Dialogical Genre Studies (New Rhetoric)	Triadic Model of subject, tool, motive	Cultural-Historical Tool Mediated Situated Learning	Stabilized-for-now Genres Analysis of Activity Systems	Situated Writing School-Based and Workplace-Based Projects

Table 3.1 Theories of Writing

3-Writing Theories

In the following descriptions of the major theories of writing that have influenced teachers and researchers over the past decades, the dates given for the major theories are in reference to the numbers of research articles in major international journals which appeared at that time. As is often the case, research that can be found in academic journals tends to center around one specific theory or idea for a time before moving on to the next. However, it should not be forgotten that at most times in history there have been alternative and competing theories, so that with a constant waxing and waning of ideas it is difficult to claim that one and only one theory is or was the reigning theory among researchers at a particular period in time.

In addition, it should be mentioned that although the theories are listed chronologically, the development of the last three theories can be seen as being more of an evolution of a theory than a complete change from one to the other as was the case after the fall of behaviorism. Despite the fact that some basic ideas or methods used in the various theoretical approaches are at times negated by a following approach, in general it can be said that the flow from one theory to the next has been more to improve the previous theory by adding to it than to negate it entirely.

With that in mind, the following description of theories of writing attempts to at least bring into perspective the latest currents of thought that were most prevalent amongst researchers from around the world throughout the different decades. Due to the fact that writing research in the L1 most always pre-dated similar research which followed in L2 circles, the first sections and dates that are given for each of the theories focus on research that was carried out regarding the L1. Special notice is then given to the status of research in the L2 at the same time. Where appropriate each section on the different writing theories will also give a brief description of the situation that existed at German universities in both the L1 and L2 at that time, too.

3.3 The Product Approach

3.3.1 Teaching the Product Approach in L1 Classes

Until the 1970s, the teaching of writing had been based on generally accepted theories of writing which had “not grow[n] out of research or experimentation” (Hairston 1982: 78). Based on the ideas supported by behaviorism, throughout the first half of the 20th century most educators simply looked upon writing as being almost a one-to-one transmission of ideas from the writer’s mind to paper (Berlin 1987). Writing was looked upon as being an ability or talent that a person either had (was born with) or did not have. This natural talent could, however, be enhanced through reading. Talented writers could acquire good writing styles by reading pieces of literature that were considered “high” quality. This ability to write well would then transfer to naturally good writers by way of osmosis, little else being necessary. Young (1978) refers to this as the “vitalist” attitude toward composing or as Hairston (1982) put it, it is “the assumption that no one can really teach anyone else how to write because writing is a mysterious creative activity that cannot be categorized or analyzed” (78). When giving grades, the correctness of the final product was what counted most. Thus, the term given to describing this early approach to teaching writing is the “product approach”²⁰.

In spite of the vitalist attitude toward learning to write, certain possibilities existed which enabled teachers to help their students improve the basic talents they brought with them. Teachers could, for example, assist their students in improving their writing by helping them to improve their language skills. No matter whether the students were learning to write in their native tongue or in a foreign language, supplying the learners with vocabulary and grammar exercises was favored as a method for improving the students’ writing (Kolln 1981). The decontextualized behaviorist stimulus-response methods of teaching the units of writing were considered the important steps in helping students to carry out error-free writing. But as Faigley (1992) stated, these isolated tasks removed the writer “from any specific setting and are represented as living outside of history and having no investment in particular issues” (15). Despite this fact, grammar and vocabulary exercises which could be helpful for writing and editing drafts were generally considered to be basic training for

²⁰ Many researchers have also referred to this method of teaching writing as the “current-traditional approach”.

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teaching students to write (Noguchi 1991; Applebee 1986). It was then assumed that the carefully and meticulously marked spelling, grammar, and vocabulary errors which the teachers marked for the students on their final products would show the students the isolated learning steps they had not yet acquired. This was an important response by the teachers to help students avoid future errors. Therefore, pointing out the mechanical structures which the students had still not learned to master was considered one of the writing teachers' most important tasks (Leki 1991a; Raines 1996).

When students wrote longer texts on their own they were expected to carry out a three-step writing process. As Berlin (1987) and others suggest, the idea of a writing process has been a component of most twentieth century writing theories (Susser 1994). However, prior to the 1970s, these writing processes were viewed quite differently than processes as we know them today. Throughout the 1960s, because writing was considered to be "a transmission of ideas from the writer's mind to paper" (see text above) the steps in the writing processes were linear, with each step following the preceding one (Bogel & Hjortshoj 1988). Pre-writing consisted of drawing up an outline. The second step consisted of writing out the text. The third step was to edit the text carefully, looking for all language errors. Once the students had completed their outlines, they could begin writing their texts, which were to follow the outline strictly. When editing their texts, writers were mostly concerned with finding and correcting language errors. In writing classes, perfection in language use was considered of utmost importance.

In some countries, students, especially at lower-level schools, were not left totally on their own to complete a finished text. Students were taught to structure their texts through what was known as 'guided composition'. On most writing assignments and exams, the teacher supplied the students with carefully ordered questions the students were to answer (Omaggio-Hadley 1986). The questions were asked in the form of a template, so that when students responded to the questions, a well-structured final text resulted, even though the writers might not even be aware of it (Rienecker 1999). Teachers hoped that by guiding their students in organizing a text in this manner long enough, one day they would be able to construct their own texts without help. Unconscious behaviorist repetition, it was assumed, would make this possible.

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3.3.2 Teaching the Product Approach in L2 Classes

3.3.2.1 Learning to Speak Had Priority over Learning to Write

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, L2 classes generally placed more emphasis on the need to teach students to speak the foreign language than on the need to teach writing. Political, economic, and social threats had become motivating forces for a growing interest in teaching second and foreign languages at universities. Foreign languages were no longer intellectual luxuries but had become matters of utmost importance. Seen as a political need to learn to speak the languages of other countries and to understand their cultures, the teaching of foreign languages took on a new feeling of urgency. The threats of the Cold War following the Second World War and the launching of Sputnik led to governments putting the ability to speak and function well in a foreign language on their priority lists.

However, it was not only the political interests which made learning to speak a priority in foreign language classes, the linguistic theory that dominated the day viewed language as being primarily what is spoken not what is written (Brooks 1964). Because writing was not considered the root of a language, there was a need to first speak the foreign language before learning to write it. Much effort was put into creating materials which supported students learning a foreign language under an oral approach to teaching. Teachers of foreign languages assumed that once students had mastered the structures and sounds of the foreign language, they would be able to write in it (Fries & Fries 1961). Just as being able to write in the L1 was an ability that students either had or did not have, being able to write in the L2 depended on this same ability. Therefore, good writers only needed to learn the spoken language well enough and their ability to write well in the L2 would follow automatically. Allowing the students to write longer texts before their oral skills were strong enough was viewed as an invitation to make errors that could be damaging for future learning.

As was consistent with the behavioral principles, it was not considered necessary to teach writing as an extra subject, as it would come naturally to all good writers once they had a command of the language (Kaplan 1966). Therefore, the teaching of writing mainly consisted of writing out grammar exercises used to teach speaking. Correct spelling of individual words was imperative and dictations were often used to test this ability. Just as in the L1 lessons,

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foreign language students' abilities to write well could be enhanced through written grammar and vocabulary exercises as well as through reading "quality" literature. As students' levels and needs called for more writing, methods were developed which took great care to help students avoid errors at all costs. Methods such as controlled compositions which focused on sentence-level structures or guided compositions for L2 learners were developed (Paulston 1972; Paulston & Bruder 1976). Both controlled and guided compositions offered students "assistance such as a model to follow, a plan or outline to expand from, a partly-written version with indications of how to complete it, or pictures that show a new subject to write about in the same way as something that has been read" (Pincas 1982: 102; see also Paulston & Dykstra 1973; Gorman, 1979). Just as in the L1, not creativity but the ability to follow a set plan was important and, of course, correctness of the final product was what counted most.

Although this method of teaching writing seemed to be sufficient for the needs of most foreign language students, it was not sufficient for foreign students wanting to attend a university in another country. Following WWII, a large number of foreign students had begun enrolling at institutes of higher education in the United States and Western Europe. As these students began to become noticeable in their regular university classes, a new movement toward developing pedagogical approaches for L2 writing began to emerge. In English speaking countries this movement contributed to the founding of the organization of "Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages" (TESOL) in 1966. Today this organization is still very active in furthering the interests of L2 teachers and L2 learners of English.

3.3.3 The Product Approach at German Universities

3.3.3.1 In the L1: No Need to Teach Writing

In Germany the teaching of writing was not seen as a necessary part of the regular university curriculum. Although the teaching of writing had been an integral part of university curriculums especially in English speaking countries since the nineteenth century, the tripartite system of education, thirteen years of schooling for *Gymnasium* students, and the strict criteria for grading at the *Gymnasien* had long managed to limit the need for teaching

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writing to the lower-level schools in Germany (Kruse 2003). At the *Gymnasium*, grammar and spelling were the determining criterion for a student's success in writing. Guidelines for teachers required them to first read the text for language mechanics before going on to evaluate the content in a second reading²¹. Language mechanics carried a 50% weight in the grade that was given, and in some states, a paper that did not receive a passing grade on the first reading did not even qualify for a second reading. Students who could not successfully demonstrate the ability to use the mother tongue correctly in written form were destined to do poorly in their subject(s) despite a working knowledge of the material being learned, and they were not likely to make it to the university.

As a consequence, German universities did not see it as their responsibility to attempt to teach writing to their students. As long as they were receiving only the *crème de la crème*, any continued knowledge about writing that was to be passed on to the students was carried out via reading materials students were assigned to read for class. The students were to use these texts as models for their own writing. Without the added task of teaching writing, universities could continue to look upon their role as that of strictly passing on to their students the ability to reason and think abstractly (*wissenschaftliches Denken*). For that reason, to this day the majority of research in the area of teaching and learning academic writing originates from areas outside of the German realm.

3.3.3.2 In the L2: Writing Will Come Naturally

In Germany, the methods used to teach writing to foreign language learners at the university level were similar to those used to teach second languages in most Western countries. Consequently, at German universities the teaching of writing was limited. The goal for students learning a foreign language at university was to be able to read and critique the literature of the language being studied. Foreign language departments mainly looked upon their objectives as enabling their students to ultimately be able to partake of the intellectual stimulation which could be found in the literature of the language. When students wrote critical analyses about the literature they read, knowing how to write in the foreign language was not important, since students were not required to write their papers or exams in the foreign language but in their mother tongue. Therefore, teaching the students to write

²¹ See for example "Richtlinien von NRW"

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extensively in the foreign language was never looked upon as being necessary and there was no need for extra courses which specifically taught writing. Not until the 1970s and 1980s, when the requirements for examinations requiring EFL students to write their final exams in English began to be implemented, did administrators of foreign languages see a need to establish writing courses that were specifically geared toward writing.

On the other hand, foreign students in Germany learning German in order to study at a German university had different purposes for learning the language than their counterparts in the foreign language departments. Because these L2 learners were preparing to be able to study in many different fields, the goal for these students was to gain enough of a command of the German language that would enable them to function in many different fields at the university level. This consisted of having a good working knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary. Once this was achieved, it was assumed capable students could manage the rest on their own since it was assumed that knowledge about writing in the L1 would automatically transfer to writing in the L2.

In 1951, the Goethe Institute, a nonprofit organization, was founded to assume the task of preparing foreign students to study at German universities (Goethe Institute Germany 2007). In 1953, the first German courses to prepare students for the German language entrance exam, which also included a short writing section, were offered in Bad Reichenhall. Materials written specifically by the Goethe Institute made attempts to cover the formal grammatical and semantic needs of these future university students. These exercises consisted of mainly “guided compositions”. By the 1970s, the need to teach foreigners German had become so great that many universities set up their own “German for Foreigners” (DaF)²² programs. In 1971, the University of Cologne offered its first courses of German for Foreigners to help them prepare for the entrance examination. Although these courses did not go far enough in preparing the foreign students for the advanced level writing that would be required of them in their studies, they were at least an attempt to teach the basics of writing which were specifically geared toward L2 learners.

²² DaF stands for *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*.

3.4 The Process Approach

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, as changes in the teaching of the sciences began to assert themselves, researchers in the area of teaching writing in the L1 also began to take notice. After lying almost fallow without much change for centuries, the field of teaching writing experienced a lively awakening in the second half of the 20th century. Although some early attempts to influence areas of teaching writing had come as early as 1949, when, for example, in the United States the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) was founded, actual impulses for change based on cognitive psychology did not take effect until the 1970s, when the hold that behaviorism had had on the field of education was truly broken (Bogel & Hjortshoj 1988). It was not until then that the theories concerning writing instruction as we know them today began to unfold.

3.4.1 Teaching the Process Approach in L1 Classes

For centuries prior to this, writing teachers had concentrated on the finished products students submitted to them. Cognitive constructivist researchers were now saying that the focus must be placed on the process of writing itself rather than on the finished product. It was no longer just the product that counted but also the process of writing. For writing classes, the message was clear: the students must carry out more holistic writing (Berlin 1987), not just spend time learning isolated components, such as vocabulary lists and grammar rules, or attempting to learn from other people's writing (Gorman 1979; Lunsford 1979). But what exactly did this mean for writing teachers? If the process was to be emphasized, then it became clear to educators that they would need to understand the process of writing better. Was writing simply organizing existing ideas and then transferring them to paper (Flower 1979)? In order to find out what processes students actually used, researchers realized they would have to take a closer look at the mental processes that went on when students wrote.

3.4.1.1 The Processes Are Recursive

In her seminal paper on writing processes, a young doctoral student, Janet Emig (1971), changed the way researchers looked at writing. In order to find out which mental processes students use when writing, she developed a new method of research called the think-and-

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write protocol, in which writers spoke into a tape recorder the thoughts they had as they wrote a paper. Emig's resulting study of American 12th graders' writing processes revealed that what teachers thought about students' writing processes was wrong. The usual method of assigning an outline which was to be strictly adhered to during the writing process was called into question. Researchers began to look at what else was involved in the process of writing and how and when these processes were carried out. Outlining was now destined to become just one of many steps in a whole new conception of processes.

New data strongly implied that changes needed to be made in the way composition was taught (Emig 1971). Focusing on what goes on in the minds of writers, Emig claimed that during the process of writing most students were developing and generating their ideas about the subject matter they were writing about. This new view of writing based on *mental* processes gave way to the idea that writing is not simply a transcription of a pre-planned scheme of what one already knows but a learning process in which writers gain a clearer understanding of what they know and what they want to say (Hairston 1992). Because writers develop their ideas as they write, it became obvious to Emig that writing processes are not simply linear as had been assumed but rather recursive. After developing their ideas during the process of writing, writers need to go back and make changes and adjustments to their original ideas.

Through the idea of process writing, students were not only allowed to be recursive in their process of writing but were even encouraged to constantly look back and, if need be, change ideas and the directions in which they were flowing (Gorrell 1983). Writing was no longer a one-way street where turning back was not allowed, but a cyclical movement with constant checks and necessary changes. This took away much of the demand on the writers to plan their writing perfectly before beginning to put their ideas down on paper. Students were encouraged to accept that there could be differences in what they had planned and where they really want to go in the end. Writing took on an organic metamorphic life of its own, one that each student could create in the process. This did not, of course, go without its critics, who feared that "creativity" in the process of writing would result in a loss of structure and exactness.

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What followed was a burst of research on writing in first languages in which researchers looked at the processes writers use (Emig 1971; Faigley & Witte 1981 Flower 1979). Comparisons between skilled and unskilled writers (Perl 1979), between novices and experienced writers, and descriptions of different kinds of writers, such as basic writers (Lunsford 1979), were just some of the areas that researchers began to look at. What came out of all the research was responsible for a “paradigm shift” (Hairston 1982) in the way writing was looked at and taught.

3.4.1.2 New Steps to Aid the Writing Process: Applying Theory to Practice

As researchers were investigating the *mental* processes different writers use when writing, other researchers were busy developing practical steps that could help these writers be able to carry out these processes better. As process writing began to gain momentum, three steps were usually designated as the basic building blocks: prewriting, writing, and editing. At first glance, these steps did not differ greatly from those that had been used previously: outlining, writing, and proof-reading. However, the new steps were now more expanded than their predecessors and consisted of new sub-steps.

In their discussions to the writers regarding the many new steps that were being introduced to help in the process of writing, text books often stated that the writers could return to the steps at any time throughout their writing. Other than this, little else was done to help the students actually learn to do this. Just the same, the many new steps which the writing process was now broken down into helped emphasize that writing is really a process and not simply the transcription of previous thoughts to a well-formulated text carried out in good grammar and style. The following sections discuss briefly some of the new steps that were introduced to writers as a part of process writing.

3.4.1.2.1 Prewriting

The majority of new steps that were developed for writing classes pertained to the pre-writing phase. Prewriting no longer consisted of simply writing out an outline but rather first going through processes concerned with finding a topic, developing a thesis statement, thinking about the audience, thinking about the purpose, and gathering information and ideas. Although none of these ideas was new to writing theory, what was new was that students

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were now supplied with methods and techniques in order to give careful consideration to each of them.

As early as the 1960s at the Creative Education Foundation at the State University of New York in Buffalo, for example, researchers were working on a specific set of procedures which groups of individuals could use to develop ideas and solve problems. They developed the method of brainstorming to help writers generate ideas and gain an overview of what they already knew about their topics. Brainstorming was seen as a creative measure to help the writer with the problem-solving aspects of writing. Intuition was considered by cognitive psychologists to be a much-neglected but essential feature of productive thinking (Bruner 1966a). The use of brainstorming for awakening the creative, intuitive, and non-analytical thought processes in the minds of student writers also became an important tool for getting started (Osborn 1963) and for other stages of the writing process.

At Cornell University, other researchers were pursuing a further development of the concept of “advanced organizers”, which David Ausubel had developed to help learners call up the previous knowledge they have about a topic. Based on the cognitive constructivist principle that structures of knowledge are organized hierarchically in the mind, researchers developed the idea of concept mappings (Ausubel et al. 1978) to help students better visualize the hierarchies they already possess. Concept mappings could then be used to integrate new ideas within this existing structure. Today concept maps with their circles and links depicting a topic and the relationships between them are an integral part of the writing processes taught in writing classes.

As a part of the prewriting processes to collect ideas and organize them in mappings, outlines, or clusters, other methods such as free writing and journal writing were fostered in order to get students to begin writing as early on in the process as possible. Many of the ideas generated through this early writing could then be used in the second step known as writing.

In addition to producing helpful methods for generating and collecting ideas, many process oriented researchers also emphasized that writers think about their audiences and their purpose for writing (Flower & Hayes 1980). Although the needs of the audience had been a

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basic part of rhetoric since the early Greeks, during the product approach era, it had received less attention than it was now getting.

3.4.1.2.2 Writing

Writing was no longer looked upon as a transfer of ideas from the mind to paper but as a method for generating ideas as well. Writing now consisted of many drafts which added or rearranged new ideas that had been generated through previous processes. Writing a second draft was not simply editing a given text for language problems and making “slight” changes. Instead, follow-up drafts could become entirely new drafts with entirely new ideas possibly even rearranged around a new thesis statement. This meant that there could be differences between the ideas writers had before starting their papers and those they had as the paper progressed. Consequently, the idea that an outline was to be strictly adhered to was no longer valid.

3.4.1.2.3 Editing

The final step in the writing process, known as editing, was concerned with checking for spelling, punctuation, language mechanics, and vocabulary problems. What was new about this was the idea that such concerns were to be delayed until the final draft. Good grammar and vocabulary were no longer the stronghold of a good paper but the final embellishments.

3.4.1.3 Intervention and Revision

In addition to emphasizing the need for teachers to reconsider what they thought about the order and kinds of steps writers use during the writing process, another important argument Emig proposed in her groundbreaking research was that teachers should intervene in the students’ writing process (Emig 1971). It was not only important to teach students to carry out processes as they write, but also to supply students with feedback at the various stages in writing. Teachers were encouraged to intervene at any or all of the steps involved in a writer’s process. This idea brought with it many consequences for writing classrooms. The idea of intervention in the writing process drastically changed how both teachers and students looked at writing.

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Through the idea of intervention in the process, students are no longer left entirely to their own devices while writing. By receiving corrections and comments at the various steps along the way, the act of writing becomes less threatening for writers. Much of the fear of writing disappears when students know they will receive interim feedback on their writing processes before what they have written is turned in for a final grade and evaluation. Interim feedback can help writers become aware of how well they have fulfilled the demands of the task thus far, helping students to feel more confident as they continue to write. Interim feedback can also help guide writers and alert them to new perspectives in their writing that they may not otherwise have thought about. Research on the use of interim feedback in writing classes has also revealed that it helps students in their mental process to gain a greater awareness of the needs of their audience. It is the “comments, questions, and suggestions a reader gives a writer [that] produce ‘reader-based prose’ (Flower 1979) as opposed to writer-based prose” (Keh 1990: 294) that is produced when writers do not have a feel for their audience.

When writers are able to receive interim feedback on the processes of writing, students look at feedback quite differently. Under the product approach to writing, when students receive their graded papers back from the teacher, after glancing over the corrections and feedback the teacher has given them, they have little incentive to do much else with the feedback. Writers often perceive feedback as lists of errors that they cannot do anything about now that grades have been given, and in some cases they feel that it is just best to forget them. Under the process approach to writing, students receiving intermittent feedback are motivated to integrate the corrections and suggestions in their work in progress (Krashen 1984). Thus, revisions become a part of the writing process, not just a last-minute editing job. Research on intervention in the writing process has shown that students look at corrections more carefully when they are carried out on papers which are to be revised than when they are made on the final product (Ferris 1995; Chandler 2003).

Through their involvement in and the understanding they had gained about the processes of writing, process-writing teachers placed much more value on the processes of writing than writing teachers who adhered to product-oriented writing. For many researchers in the field of process writing, the processes of writing were for the act of writing as important as, if not more important than, the final product. If this was the case, then evaluation could no longer

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be based solely on the final product but also on the processes. Changes would have to take place in how teachers evaluated student writing.

3.4.1.4 Portfolio Evaluation

A logical consequence of teachers requiring their students to carry out prescribed steps in the writing process and to receive feedback through intervention was the idea of using portfolios as a means of collecting and presenting this work. Portfolio evaluation, as it has come to be called, makes it possible for teachers to view their students' writing processes holistically as a sum of all of their parts. Portfolios include not only the students' final products but also the various steps and drafts the students have written. It enables teachers to compare and evaluate the development writers make throughout the process of writing a paper. Portfolios also often include journals kept by the students (Belanoff & Dickson 1991), in which they reflect on their own learning styles and their development throughout the process. By including the various steps and drafts involved in the students' writing as well as reflective writings in addition to the final papers, portfolios not only enable teachers to gain an insight into their students' overall development, but help students themselves to gain a perspective and interest in their own development (Carroll et al. 1996). Portfolio evaluation, thus, motivates both students and teachers to focus on the change and accomplishments students have made in the process of writing a paper, not simply the correctness of the final product (Bräuer 1996).

The idea of portfolio evaluation eventually became broader in scope, going beyond simply assessing a student's development over the course of writing one paper. In recent years, many projects have made use of portfolio evaluations in order to emphasize a student's development over a semester or longer. Through portfolio evaluation, the writing process takes on a new definition. The process and development of a writer can also be perceived as a writer's development from paper to paper. Rather than considering students' final grades to be the summation of the results they have received on individual papers they have written over the course of the semester (Leki 1994), portfolio evaluations can look at the amount of effort students put into learning throughout a semester or longer, and place an emphasis on the progress the students have made. This outcome-based method of evaluation is a "feet

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forward” type of evaluation in which the students’ development is what counts (Arter & Spandel 1992; Raines 1996).

3.4.1.5 Peer Review as a Step in the Process Approach

Another change in how researchers looked at methods for teaching writing that came about as a result of teachers emphasizing processes over product was the use of peer review in classes. Peer review has long been used by academics to give other academics feedback on a paper, text, or other piece of work they have written or are writing. Since the middle of the 20th century, the term peer review has come to designate a method used to select and qualify research which has been submitted for publication. Articles which have been submitted to journals, requests for the funding for academic projects, and proposals for presentations at conferences usually undergo a peer review process before they are accepted or rejected. By having one’s peers make decisions about the credibility, reliability, and significance of a piece of research, peer review helps assure that the decision will be more democratic and less subjective than an individual judgment.

On a more personal level, however, peer review has traditionally been used by academics to obtain assistance in the process of writing an article or book from other peers. Professors and professionals frequently ask colleagues for their comments on the content and development of ideas they are writing about before submitting their writing to a publisher. As the following quote from Bruner and Goodnow (1986b) demonstrates, acknowledgements in almost every book written for academic purposes testify to this.

“Many colleagues have given us valuable comment and criticism at various stages of our work [...]; our colleagues and colloquia were the principal means of getting the necessary corrective” (xx).

It is especially this use of peer review as an informal, supportive, and thought-provoking method of receiving feedback which colleagues take advantage of before, during, or after writing a paper that this dissertation compares the use of peer review in classes to.

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Starting around the 1970s, the idea of using peer review in L1 writing classes developed as a logical consequence of teachers using the process approach to teaching writing. There were several reasons for this. To begin with, attempting to check and give advice on the many process steps, the interim drafts, as well as final papers could easily become over-demanding and too time-consuming for teachers (Keh 1990). On the one hand, teachers were praising the process approach to teaching writing for motivating their students to write more drafts than they had under the product approach, but on the other hand, they often found it hard to keep up with all of the feedback required of them for the different drafts. Consequently, process teachers began to feel the need to turn to peer review for assistance in giving interim feedback.

Moreover, teachers were beginning to find that when they gave interim feedback on student papers, they often intervened as though they were correcting a final draft. Researchers discussed the fact that when teachers made suggestions on interim drafts, students no longer felt free to view them as simply input but rather as rules to comply with (Sommers 1982). Researchers referred to this as a form of appropriation of the students' writing (Brannon & Knoblauch 1982). In addition, teachers often found themselves making exactly the mechanical corrections on the interim drafts that process writing was suggesting should wait until the structural aspects were managed. Thus, the idea of writers developing during the process seemed to get lost when teachers were responsible for all of the feedback throughout the writing process (Zamel 1976).

As a consequence, some process writing teachers began to think of peer review as a valid alternative to teacher-centered feedback on mappings, outlines, and other interim feedback they would normally have provided. However, without much practical research having been carried out on peer review as yet, many teachers during the 1970s who were trying it out for the first time relied more on an intuition that it would work than on existing theories (Bruffee 1984). Without at least theoretical backing for using peer review, the majority of writing teachers were not willing to venture into this unknown territory. Therefore, peer review remained more a topic of discussion among insiders than a mainstream issue.

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3.4.1.6 Prevalence and Reality of the Process Approach in L1 Classrooms

“The current vogue for process-oriented approaches is one of those oddities in education, a clear instance of research driving practice.” (Applebee 1986: 96)

Despite what Applebee (1986) described as a “groundswell of support” (95) for process oriented teaching in L1 classrooms, in a study he carried out, which looked at actual classroom practices, he found that: “The typical pattern of instruction was to give an assignment, allow the student to complete it, and then to comment extensively on the students’ work.” He also found that: “Few papers went beyond a first draft, and even on the first drafts 60 percent showed no revisions of any kind” and that “[p]eer response groups, editing sessions, the provision of broader audiences, deferment of grading – the panoply of process activities was used in the minority of classrooms” (100). In summary, he found that process-oriented writing was failing and that there had been no widespread movement toward process-oriented assignments in American schools and colleges.

Although since 1984, the major grammar and composition series have included sections with labels such as prewriting, writing, and editing (Applebee 1986), the central question remains one of how these approaches are to be implemented. All process activities are not appropriate for all writing activities. Different tasks pose different problems and require different writing processes. Indeed, the universe of writing tasks is large and diverse. Essay exams, for example, require one set of approaches and research papers another. “The journalist dictating a late-breaking story over the telephone writes in one way, the short story writer in another” (102). Moreover, writers themselves have different and personal preferences for which processes are most suitable for them.

In part because studies of writing processes have ignored this diversity, process-oriented instruction often degenerates into a lockstep formula. A glance at many composition textbooks reveals a much different view of the order of the processes than had been emphasized by Emig’s research, namely that they be personal, complex, and recursive. Whether textbook writers have misunderstood the research that has been carried out by the cognitive constructivists or it is simply for purposes of simplification that they define writing processes more structured is not clear. But the fact is that the processes as they are described in most textbooks are by far much more rigid and linear than cognitive constructivists

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describe in their research articles. The idea that processes reflect mental functions that are unique to each writer seems to have gotten lost when designing teaching techniques to help teachers apply this new research to actual classroom practice. Processes are not looked upon as being individual and recursive but often take on a scheme which can be followed by all students at all times. Rather than suggesting a range of strategies for solving problems, process instruction has tended to “become just another series of practice exercises” (Applebee 1986: 102).

3.4.2 Teaching the Process Approach in L2 Classes

3.4.2.1 Writing Classes Are Instituted

Due to pressures to improve foreign students’ abilities to write better before starting their university classes and the new needs of foreign language learners to be able to write well in the foreign language, by the end of the 1960s, many L2 departments around the world (especially ESL & EFL) were beginning to introduce writing classes to their curriculums. However, despite the strong support for the process approach to writing that dominated much of the research on writing in L1s during the 1970s, it did not have the same effect on research carried out on the teaching of writing in L2 classrooms. Most L2 teachers looked upon writing instruction in the L2 as something completely different than writing instruction in the L1. Learning to write in the L2 still meant first learning the basics of the language. Research about teaching writing in the L2 generally lagged behind the developments which were taking place in the teaching of writing in the L1. The idea that writing in the L2 was mainly a mechanical tool to be acquired through exercises in spelling and grammar (Young 1978) continued long after changes in the theories of writing in the L1 had become well established. As Susser described in 1994, until recently, a gap of at least 10 years could be found in the research describing recommended teaching methods to be used to teach writing in the L1 and the L2. As a consequence, writing instructors in these classrooms were not so eager to adopt the new changes that accompanied the process approach.

Rather than seeing writing in the L2 as opening possibilities for students to generate ideas and to carry out the processes when writing, learning to write in the L2 was still very controlled. Throughout the 1970s, students in L2 writing classes in most Western countries –

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whether they were attending an ESL class in the country where the language was spoken or an EFL writing class in their home country – were still not often asked to write a complete text in the foreign language. Despite research in the area of cognitive psychology which recommended the holistic approach to learning by doing, the special needs of L2 students to first learn to grasp the parts of the language were used as arguments for not adopting this holistic process-oriented method of teaching writing. Even more so than in L1 writing classrooms, the lessons involved in writing in L2 classrooms still looked more like grammar lessons than writing classes. Errors in writing were still to be avoided at all costs.

In spite of this, throughout the 1970s, some very outspoken L2 writing instructors began furthering the idea that writing in the L1 is similar to writing in the L2 (Zamel 1976). As a consequence, they advanced the notion that L1 composition research should be applied to L2 composition studies. They advised teachers of L2 also to concentrate on context and not to penalize students for surface inaccuracy (Rivers & Temperly 1978). Others criticized the use of the template-like models used in guided and controlled compositions and encouraged teachers to make use of process writing techniques (Gorman 1979). Raimes (1979) even went so far as to claim that, “We do the writer harm if we are interested solely in the product and not in the process of writing” (4).

Eventually, as process writing came to be promoted by ESL textbooks and in publications, many ESL/EFL teachers, too, began to adopt a process-oriented approach to their teaching. In 1994, Bernd Susser claimed that: “By the late 1980s [in the United States] process writing pedagogies had reached the mainstream of ESL writing instruction” (39). This had, however, not been without strong criticism on the part of researchers in both L1 and L2 pedagogy all throughout the 1980s. Lively debates between researchers on both sides of the issue could often be found in various writing journals. Many of these debates helped clarify misunderstandings that critics of process writing held. Some process critics, for example, admonished process advocates for their emphasis on fluency at the expense of accuracy (Widdowson 1984), claiming they were ignoring the product (Barnes 1985). Process writing supporters, however, replied that “a process approach is by its very nature concerned with product” (Zamel 1984: 154).

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3.4.3 The Process Approach at German Universities

3.4.3.1 In the L1: Still No Need to Teach Writing

Although as early as the 1970s, mentions of the use of teaching process writing at the lower-level schools could be found in research articles within the German-speaking realm, discussions about teaching process writing within the field of academic writing remained marginalized due to the fact that writing classes at universities in the L1 still did not exist. Despite the growing numbers of students at German universities, educators continued to see no need to introduce writing classes at this level. As a consequence, when students did learn about the processes of writing it was either in classes that were not marked as such but in which the teachers took on the responsibility to add it to their syllabuses or in education classes which did not teach it but described its methods to students studying to become teachers at the lower-level schools.

3.4.3.2 In the L2: Writing Classes Also Added to the Curriculum

Just as in many other countries around the world, toward the end of the 1960s, Germany, too, was taking note of the need to improve the writing abilities of its foreign language learners. At the same time as other countries were feeling the need to prepare their foreign language learners to write better in their new foreign language, German administrators were adding writing courses to their DaF programs and to their foreign language departments. Much of this need to improve the students' writing was intended to help prepare DaF students for the short writing section on the university language entrance exams or to prepare FL students for the newly added writing tasks on their final exams which now had to be carried out in the foreign language.

However, despite the addition of these writing courses to the curriculums, the idea that L2 writing was not similar to L1 writing deferred the acceptance of the use of process writing in these classes as it did in the majority of L2 writing classes around the world throughout the 1970s. As a consequence, the newly created writing classes in L2s have generally remained more like the product oriented language classes of old. As will be discussed later on, without proper theoretical and practical training in the teaching of writing, many teachers just do not

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have the essential foundations that are necessary to be able to apply modern theory and practice to their teaching.

3.5 The Post-Process Approach

3.5.1 Teaching the Post-Process Approach in L1 Classes

Against this background, even as heated discussions about process-oriented writing were still flaring, a new area of interest began to develop. Although throughout the 1970s the emphasis at L1 writing conferences and in writing journals was on topics pertaining to the internal cognitive processes of writing, **throughout the 1980s**, the emphasis in L1 and L2 writing research shifted from the mental to the social aspects of language use. Many educators who were interested in writing began to question what they considered to have been a one-sided emphasis on the internal cognitive aspects of individual writers. “Practitioners began asking whether the students’ processes should be the be-all and the end-all of writing instruction and whether self-expression and exploration of writer processes and meaning discovery should crowd out issues such as audience and rhetorical purpose” (Johns 1995: 278). Researchers were questioning the fact that form had become secondary to processes (Zamel 1984). Coe (1987) argued that form should be a central issue in the teaching of writing.

Especially social constructionist researchers were asking themselves how and in what way the social aspects of language affected students in their writing. The very mentalist views of language that had freed writing theories from behavioral approaches to learning were now being challenged by socio- and functional linguistic views of language as social discourse. Studies carried out by researchers such as Labov (1970) and Hymes (1974) took a much broader view of linguistic analysis than the language competence described by Chomsky could accommodate. The new social research proposed situating syntax and autonomous language forms within the full set of “conventional resources” a speaker or writer draws on to communicate within a given “speech community” (Hymes 1974). Moreover, studies in the pragmatics of language use by researchers, such as Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), were a strong reminder that despite the ability of Chomsky’s abstract descriptions to explain referential connections between a person’s competence and performance, language was also a socially conditioned repertoire of “speech acts”. Language was not only a “way of knowing”

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but also a “way of doing”²³. These challenges to Chomsky’s theory helped to establish the idea of language as a social and functional phenomenon.

Another area of research that was influencing many social constructionist researchers in their view of writing was contrastive rhetoric. In early studies which analyzed the organization of paragraphs in ESL student essays, Kaplan (1966) had claimed that paragraphs are developed differently depending upon the cultural and language background the writers stem from and showed that contrastive rhetoric “was useful in accounting for cultural differences in essays written by college students for academic purposes” (Connor 2002: 495). Although throughout the 1970s, process approaches had dominated the writing scene in international journals and at international conferences, during the 1980s, contrastive rhetoricians began to include “linguistic text analysis as a tool to describe the conventions of writing in English and to provide analytical techniques with which to compare writing in students’ L1 and L2” (496). The majority of studies focused “on methods of analyzing cohesion, coherence, and the discourse superstructure of texts” (496). They analyzed and compared texts from the discourse communities²⁴ (Cook-Gumperz 1986) students were to be writing for to the texts L2 students wrote.

These studies helped L1 researchers gain a better understanding of the linguistic and cultural expectations and demands readers from a specific audience bring with them when reading the various genres (Richards 1990). In particular, academic writing researchers began to investigate the role language plays in enabling writers to position themselves with respect to the expectations placed on them by certain social situations and within the specific discourse communities. For the proponents of the social constructionist views, the language, focus, and form of a text stem from the community for which it is written. “Academic discourse communities, for example, have their own conventions for establishing the ‘truth’ – for example, through developing hypotheses and analyzing data, and for maintaining or extending it through the discourse community” (Johns 1990: 32).

²³ A famous example to illustrate this is the statement: “It is hot in here.”

²⁴ For a definition of “discourse community” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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Communicative competence *in writing* became as important as communicative competence was becoming in oral communication. Researchers looked at the problems minority students (Shaughnessy 1977) as well as traditional students (Heath 1984; Smitherman 1986) have when attempting to become communicatively competent members of a discourse community. Sommers' (1980) study of students' revision practices looked at the discrepancies writers anticipate between their readers' expectations and their texts. The problems students faced in writing could not simply be explained in cognitive terms, because as the studies showed, many of the problems students had in writing "resulted largely from [their] lack of practice and familiarity with the forms and conventions of academic discourse" (Nystrand et al. 1993; see also Bizzell 1982b; and Shaughnessy 1976).

As the emphasis in research shifted from the mental processes of writing to the social aspects of writing, the theory of writing supported by this research came to be known as the post-process/social constructionist approach to writing. In principle, the post-process/social constructionist approach recognized the social constructionist perspectives on learning with its emphasis on how meaning grows out of social encounters rather than focusing on the information processing aspects of the brain. Although the processes of writing still continued to be looked upon as being an important aspect in the teaching of writing, the idea of writing as a social encounter became more and more evident in the research of the day. Research on evaluating writing in the 1980s thus moved from emphasizing evaluation of the processes students had applied to their writing to analyzing how well students had complied with the structural and language expectations of the discourse community they were writing for.

It may be important to note here that the terms post-process and social constructionism which signify the shift that took place as educators began to emphasize the principles of teaching and learning as a social encounter are not used by all researchers. In some cases, researchers do not recognize a difference in meaning between the terms constructivism and constructionism and use them interchangeably. This is in part due to the fact that cognitive constructivism views constructed knowledge as being socially constructed so that an emphasis on social learning is a part of it. In spite of that, a differentiation of the two views of writing theory is important for understanding the two currents of thinking that have brought

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about changes in how researchers have looked at the teaching of writing and in order to gain a clearer picture of the influences that are shaping how we view writing today.

3.5.1.1 Teaching the Patterns

Since for many social constructionists learning to write was essentially a process of socialization into the various discourse communities, the question many researchers were asking themselves was: how could writers best learn to position themselves within the discourse communities they were striving to join? In addition to teaching process writing as it had been described in the research of the 1970s, some researchers also recommended teaching the structures and the patterns of language use that were peculiar to each of the communities students were writing for (Bizzell 1982a).

During the 1980s, the developments that were made in research approaches such as text linguistics and discourse analyses, which extended beyond the sentence level, greatly improved the methodological orientation of social constructionist research. From a text linguistic perspective, texts were analyzed for their cohesion which refers to the links or relationships that are explicitly expressed in a text (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Cohesion in a text is created through lexical and grammatical references between items and is “the predominant means of connecting sentences in discourse” (Witte & Faigley 1981: 218). Social constructionist researchers emphasized that: “Clearly, cohesion analyses measure more sophisticated aspects of language development than do error analyses and syntactic analyses” (225). This brought about the teaching of transitions and phrases of repetition in order to create a cohesive text. The vocabulary that was used also reflected the cohesiveness of a text. Whether it reflected the proper register, formality, or fitting jargon for the community it was written for was also being emphasized. Researchers quickly developed core word lists for students to learn which were divided into various categories of academic writing and other subject areas for students to use (Johns 1990).

In addition to text linguistic analyses, especially contrastive analysis researchers also looked at broader structural patterns of paragraphs (Kaplan 1966) and later whole essays for their coherence. A text was considered coherent when it reflected a specific kind of text structure

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that was expected for a specific genre within a specific field for a specific discourse community. “One function of discourse communities is to prescribe and prefer forms” (Coe 1987: 19). Here attention was given not only to the structural elements (introductions with their theses statements; body paragraphs with their topic sentences, general support and details; and conclusions with their so what responses), but also to various options for the structural development of rhetorical modes (description, exposition, comparison and contrast, and argumentation). If students could be taught the expected structures of the various rhetorical modes, it was felt they would more easily and quickly adopt the correct patterns. Text books on writing began to include descriptions of typical structural patterns that are used in school writing tasks, such as book reports, essays, and lab reports (Becker-Mrotzek & Böttcher 2006).

3.5.1.2 Viewing the Audience

Although the choice of audience had been an aspect in the research on process approaches, social approaches now looked much more deeply into the needs of the audience the writer was writing for than previously. In addition to thinking more about the structural and text linguistic expectations the readers would have, also having “knowledge of the audience’s attitudes, beliefs, and expectations [was] not only possible ...but essential” (Ede & Lundsford 1984:156). Social constructionists recommended to “write successfully for different audiences, all writers must first define the audience by making warranted assumptions about it, and then shape the writing to appeal to that audience” (Taylor 1994: 67).

As a consequence, greater attention was given to the background knowledge the readers would bring with them. Some textbooks supplied students with a type of “Audience Profile Worksheet” so they could give more detailed thought to who they were supposed to be writing for. Questions regarding the intended audience such as position, attitude, age, political leaning, gender, or religious persuasions were supplied to help the writers. Questions concerning the style of writing in regard to register, formal-informal, tone, and voice were also directed toward the specific audience the writer was addressing. In addition, questions concerning the purpose both the writers and readers have concerning the text were supplied.

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For the social constructionists, who believe that the nature of a text is determined by the community for which it is written, the reader of academic texts “is a seasoned member of the hosting academic community who has well-developed schemata for academic discourse and clear and stable views of what is appropriate” (Silva 1990: 16). In the classroom and on many peer review boards of journals and conferences, “the expert reader, an initiated member of the discourse community, is all-powerful . . . [T]he reader/audience has the power to accept or reject writing as coherent, as consistent with the conventions of the target discourse community” (Johns 1990:31).

3.5.1.3 Writing Across the Disciplines

As interest in the specific vocabulary, phraseology, grammar, and structure geared toward the different discourse communities grew, an interest in the specialized genres within the individual disciplines also grew. Researchers began to look at genres from a more contextual perspective and less generically (Russell 1995; Dias 2000). “When students write in academic disciplines, they write in reference to texts that define the scholarly activities of interpreting and reporting in that discipline” (Faigley 1986: 536). Writing within a field was viewed as “situated cognition embedded in disciplinary activities” (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1992: 2). Academic writing was no longer viewed as being one type of genre which all students could use in all fields but one that has many faces that change based on the discipline. Connor and Johns (1989), for example, discussed the differences in argumentation techniques between business people and engineers. This interest in the specialized discourse competency which pertained to the various disciplines has been responsible for the movement in many countries which has become known as Writing Across the Disciplines (WAC). WAC programs often place writing courses within specialized fields and no longer depend on the language departments to be the only ones responsible for teaching writing (Russell 2002).

3.5.1.4 Peer Review

In addition to teaching the forms and conventions which were necessary for writing within discourse communities, the post-process approach also valued the use of collaborative learning as a means of assisting writers in profiting from the social aspects of learning. The idea of using peer review in writing classes was in the air, having received some attention

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from the process-writing teachers in the 1970s. The practical uses for peer review had become obvious to many process-writing teachers and now for the social constructionists peer review made it possible for teachers to truly respond to the paradigm shift from a teacher-centered classroom to a student-centered classroom that was being called for (He 1993). However, despite the theoretical support which existed for using collaborative learning in classrooms, peer review was a new and different kind of collaborative work which meant the need to explore new grounds for justification.

What support teachers could find in journals regarding writing mostly came from writing centers. In writing centers many of the peer review advocates had experienced how successful peer tutoring was at giving students feedback. Teachers such as Peter Elbow, Donald Murray and Kenneth Bruffee, who had experiences with writing centers, became strong proponents of peer review in classrooms. Others saw peer review as a political attempt to “offer a form of social organization in the classroom capable of actualizing the desire for community, mutual aid, and non-authoritarian styles of human relations” (Kail & Trimbur 2000: 29). Rhetorical expressionists propounded its advantages for giving students the ability to express themselves and to find their voice without interference from a teacher (Elbow 1973).

By the 1980s, peer review began to be acknowledged by the mainstream in L1 teaching circles. Collaborative learning appeared for the first time in 1982 on the list of topics for the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC). Even though it was at the bottom of the list of ten suggested topics that year, one year later “it appeared again, first on the list” (Bruffee 1984: 393). Since then, educators have carried out research relating to its practices and effects on learning. As with most topics in education, interest in peer review has peaked and declined over the decades since its heyday during the first half of the 1980s. But despite the fact that other topics have since moved into first place, peer review continues to be an important part of process and post-process writing and a hotly debated topic in the field of academic writing. Research has not always been favorable to peer review in every respect, but in general the verdict of researchers on the uses of peer review in L1 classes lauds its use.

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3.5.1.5 Prevalence and Reality of the Post-Process Approach in L1 Classrooms: Prescriptive vs. Descriptive

As with many teaching methods which are originally intended to be descriptive in nature, over time they tend to become more and more prescriptive. Despite the fact that social constructionists were emphasizing the uniqueness of different genres within the different fields, the early pedagogical approach to textual organization, or what Raimes (1983) called “the paragraph-pattern approach” tended to become prescriptive without regard to context (Matsuda 1997). Rather than remaining open to change as the social constructionists had originally supported, the social approach to teaching writing came to imply adherence to form and treated the “socially constructed categories as stable natural facts” (Bazerman 1988: 7).

Students were taught certain rhetorical moves which accompanied certain linguistic and rhetorical conventions (Connor 2002). Through a process of socialization into the academic writing communities, students were taught to produce exactly the right forms and conventions to gain entrance to these discourse communities. In addition to the traditional grammar and vocabulary exercises, which could still be found in most writing classes, new materials on rhetorical styles and patterns and specialized phrases pertinent to the various discourse communities were simply added to the curriculum (Silva 1990). When researchers and teachers called for the common teaching of “set phrases, rituals and gestures, habits of mind, tricks of persuasion, obligatory conclusions and necessary connections that determine ‘what might be said’ and constitute knowledge within the various branches of our academic community” (Bartholomae 1985: 146) their objectives were clearly to help students learn to make certain rhetorical and linguistic moves in order to contribute to the ongoing conversations in a field. In the end, however, these “prescriptive” conventions helped to place a renewed emphasis on the products and in doing so to take some of the emphasis away from the processes that were still trying to gain ground in many writing classes.

3.5.2 Teaching the Post-Process Approach in L2 Classes

“A fallacy of some repute and some duration is the one which assumes that because a student can write an adequate essay in his native language, he can necessarily write an adequate essay in a second language.” (Kaplan 1966: 3)

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3.5.2.1 Teaching the Patterns in L2 Classrooms

As the ideas behind the post-process approach to teaching became more widespread, they also found support among L2 (especially EFL) researchers. Throughout 1980s, within the area of second language acquisition (SLA), contrastive rhetoric became a focal point of much discussion about the difficulties various nationalities have when learning to write in a foreign language (Ramanathan & Kaplan 2000; Silva 1993; Matsuda 2001). Many research studies focused on comparing writing in the L1 with writing in the L2. Because L2 writing is expected to constitute the reader's context and not the writer's, contrastive rhetoric researchers identified "possible sources" which could bring about a "lack of coherence in ESL texts" (Matsuda 1997: 47) written by foreign students.

Contrastive rhetoricians grouped the possible causes for a lack of coherence in L2 students' texts into three sources: linguistic, cultural, and educational. The linguistic influence "emphasizes the prominence of the writer's L1 as an influencing – if not determining – factor in the L2 organizational structures" (47). The cultural influence is a result of the cultural background of the writer (Leki 1992: 90). Because "cultures evolve writing styles appropriate to their own histories and the needs of their societies" (Leki 1992: 90), learning to write in a foreign language involves more than simply learning the vocabulary and grammar of a language well. "[T]he fact that the student knows the conventions of his or her own writing system does not mean the student understands the conventions employed in the target language" (Kaplan 1988: 296-297). "The pedagogical application of this view involves the teaching of organizational structures that fit the cultural conventions shared by the readers" (Matsuda 1997: 48). In addition to the linguistic and cultural influences, educational influences take into consideration how writers acquire the structures they use in their writing in the first place. This explains the structures of L2 texts in terms of the educational background of the writers.

In addition to teaching the structure, specialized phrases which were to be used in the various genres were viewed as keys to a better understanding of the "hidden" structure of the foreign language being learned. In some cases, teaching contrastive rhetoric fostered the teaching of even stricter rules and regulations than were taught in the L1. Detailed lists of phrases which could be used by foreign language learners in the various situations were created, so that

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students could insert them in the proper places as they wrote. These supposedly new methods were in actuality simply additions to the old idea that writing classes in the L2 were language classes, where lists and rules were more important for creating an error-free final product than free writing, in which the writers generate and create ideas in the process of writing.

On the other hand, some researchers became concerned that teaching the patterns so restrictively would rob the students of their own creativity and culture. Such prescriptive applications of contrastive rhetoric research have often led contrastive rhetoric-based approaches to be frowned upon by some teachers and researchers (Silva 1990). These opponents claim that because the writer's linguistic and cultural background is a significant part of the writer's identity, the forced teaching of a new cultural and linguistic identity is a violation of the writer's personal identity. For this reason prescriptive pedagogical approaches based on this theory have been called "composition and colonization" (Land & Whitley 1989: 289). To avoid this, some researchers say that students should not be forced to acquire academic literacy in order to become a part of the academic discourse community. Instead, it is the academy which should change in order to adapt to the many cultures the students represent (Bizzell 1987).

3.5.2.2 Peer Review in L2 Writing Classes

From both the cognitive constructivist and the social constructionist schools of thought, the use of peer review for giving feedback in L1 writing classes became a generally accepted component of the writing processes. However, within the field of L2 writing, instructors and researchers were not as eager to adopt the use of peer review. For many teachers, the idea of peer review did not even enter the question. Teachers asked themselves how students who were not native speakers could be entrusted to give a fellow-student advice. The fear that students would not be able to help their fellow students was strong, but the fear that students would give their fellow students wrong, if not damaging, advice was what kept many teachers from even trying out peer review in their classes (Nelson & Murphy 1993). Despite the negative opinions held by the majority of L2 writing teachers concerning the use of peer review in academic writing classes, the research that was carried out on peer review in L2 classrooms did not generally perceive peer review in a negative light.

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Although the use of peer review in L2 classes was claimed by some researchers to be an unproductive experience (Mangelsdorf & Schlumberger 1992), the majority of research on peer review in the L2 substantiated the positive effect it had on learners. Even in studies in which researchers found that L2 students did not think their peers were qualified enough to criticize their writing and preferred teacher feedback (Nelson & Carson, 1998), the researchers did not draw the conclusion that students did not like peer review. In a study by Mangelsdorf (1992), 69% of the students reacted positively to peer reviews, and Mendonça and Johnson (1994) found that 53% of revisions made in students' essays were a result of peer feedback being incorporated into their work. As a consequence, the use of peer review in L2 writing classes has been and remains today a controversial topic for teachers and researchers of L2 writing classes.

3.5.3 The Post-Process Approach at German Universities

3.5.3.1 In the L1: Still No Extra Writing Classes

Without an interest in addressing the teaching of writing in L1 classes at German universities, learning to write was still mainly seen as a private matter for students to cope with at home. Just as the teaching of process writing was largely ignored, the teaching of post-process approaches was also largely ignored. As a consequence, students were not given extra assistance in learning to write in different rhetorical categories and there was no need to assist students in carrying out peer review. Questions concerning the style of writing in regard to register, formal-informal, tone, and voice were dealt with by the teacher in the form of feedback on papers. Learning to write took place through critical readings students were assigned to read that were written by professionals, through writing itself, and by means of error recognition from the feedback they received on their finished papers.

3.5.3.2 In the L2: A Lack of Trained Writing Teachers

Despite the push by researchers that learning to write in an L2 is no different than learning to write in an L1 throughout the 1980s, very little changed in the basic teaching methods used in academic writing courses at German universities. This was due to several factors. For one,

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both administrators and teachers of writing in the L2 still considered writing classes to be the part of language-skills classes focusing on grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation rather than on writing. As L2 instructors were considered mainly teachers of grammar, the major concern in hiring them was that their knowledge of the language be at a native-speaker level so that they would be able to check and mark the correctness of the final products with respect to language mechanics. Without any training for writing teachers in either the L1 or L2 in Germany, it was often simply luck when the foreign ESL teachers who were hired had also been trained in the latest methods of teaching writing in their home countries.

On the other hand, even if the ESL teachers were trained as writing teachers in their home countries, the training they received may not have been geared toward the specific German audience the teacher was now standing in front of. This often presents even trained teachers with problems when they attempt to implement what they had learned on their home turf. In an e-mail interview, an American who had been teaching writing at a German university for over a year reported on the difficulties he had had when he tried using peer review in his classes. In response to the question "Do you use peer review?" he responded:

I don't use peer review in my writing classes anymore, which is quite a pity really - the first two times I taught the course, I tried to introduce activities involving peer writing/review which I had become familiar with back in the States while working at my university's Writing Center, and which I was quite enthusiastic about. Unfortunately the students never really seemed to embrace this sort of activity (not to mention that I usually have 30-35 students in this course, which makes it rather difficult - for me, anyway - to manage peer work), and so I eventually abandoned peer writing altogether (though I hope to return to these ideas after my initial disillusionment has subsided). I could go on about this topic all day, so I'll just cut to the chase and give you the short answer, which is "no". (Excerpt from e-mail received 8/7/2007 1:19 pm).

Simply moving styles of teaching across oceans and borders without the luxury of having enough experience to be able to adapt them to the new audiences and contexts a teacher is dealing with can obviously be very frustrating and even misleading. Research on teaching is

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not carried out in a vacuum and consequently cannot simply be applied to different situations as if it were. Without sufficient research into the specific situation at German universities, process writing has had to and will continue to have to make adjustments to the needs of the students on a personal rather than a research-oriented level.

3.6 The Genre Studies Approach

3.6.1 Teaching the Genre Studies Approach in L1 and L2 Classes

“In the 1980s, these cognitive studies were supplemented by social analyses that, in each of the disciplines, probed the character of interpretive and discourse communities and, later, investigated the dialogical nature of written communication.” (Nystrand et al. 1993: 273)

Even at the same time as the social aspects of teaching writing were gaining ground within research, criticism was already being expressed concerning the inability of the post-process approaches to connect with the process approaches. Just as researchers had criticized the cognitive constructivists for their one-sided emphasis on the cognitive aspects of individual writers, researchers were now criticizing social constructionists for their one-sided emphasis on the social aspects of writing communities.

Many researchers had hoped that the social constructionist supplement to the teaching of writing would supply the missing “dialectical relationship between thought and language” (Bizzell 1982a: 223). However, rather than supplying the amalgamating effect many researchers had hoped for, the social constructionist approach to writing had been regarded by the majority of writing teachers and researchers as a discrete approach, complementary to the cognitive process-oriented approach. In general, the development of the two approaches tended to be separate-but-equal approaches, with each approach being taught in its own way. Researchers were, thus, beginning to criticize the social constructionist theorists for their inability to view discourse as a forum where individual cognition, on the one hand, and socially constructed conventions, on the other hand, “dialectically interpenetrate” each other (Vološinov 1973: 41).

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In addition, other criticisms of the social constructionists' interpretation of teaching writing began to come to the fore. With its adherence to form and treatment of the "socially constructed categories as stable natural facts" (Bazerman 1988: 7), the post-process approach to teaching writing was actually doing more to sustain the discourse communities than to develop them, as the original constructionist theory had implied. Although the post-process approach emphasizes the role of discourse communities in the construction of meaning, it is at the same time only a slight modification of "objectivist assumptions which include 'social context' among other 'objective constraints' acting upon discursive practice" (Knoblauch 1988: 136-137). By socializing writers and training them in specific methods of reading and writing, "meaning can indeed seem to reside in texts and each text can indeed seem to have a single meaning if indeed everyone reads that way" (Nystrand et al. 1993: 313). Similar to the informed readers Fish (1976) described in the area of literary criticism, whose strategies "exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way round" (483), informed writers, too, were being taught to fulfill the expectations of the respective discourse communities rather than the other way around.

3.6.1.1 Writing Is Dialogical

"Each producer of a message relies on its recipients for it to function as intended."
(Hodge & Kress 1988: 4)

Confuting both the cognitive constructivist view that meaning is in the individual and the social constructionist view that meaning is in the community, Bakhtin suggested a third position known as dialogism (Bakhtin 1986). Writing takes on a meaning only dynamically through the interaction of both the writer and reader. An intellectual shift in the nature and locus of meaning in discourse "affirmed the premise that meaning is largely a function of writer and reader interpretation" (Nystrand et al. 1993: 313). Echoing Bakhtin, research on writing was emphasizing that the meaning of a text rests on a dialectical relationship between the writers and the community and its members (Bazerman 1986). The meaning is not to be "found in the golden mean and is not a matter of compromise between thesis and antithesis, but lies over and beyond them, constituting a negation of both thesis and antithesis alike, i.e., constituting a dialectical synthesis" (Vološinov 1973: 82).

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Following Bakhtin's dialogism, meaning is an unfolding process of negotiation and contention among the conversants. Meaning is a dialectical relationship, a situational means of sharing meaning. The meaning of any text is always relative to other texts/discourses, whose meanings are unstable and continuously being transformed by the context of the situations (Halliday 1978). The meaning of a text does not have a beginning and an ending. Just as the meaning of a text is in a constant flux, so is the social situation surrounding any text. The implication is that discourse communities are only "stabilized-for-now" (Schryer 1994) contexts whose dialectical relationships are ongoing constructs of individual and group cognitions. Some researchers recommended paying less attention to the formal features of writing and more attention to the social situations in which writing as a social action occurs (Bizzell 1982a).

Starting in the early 1980s, already before many proponents of learning theories were taking notice of the conflicts, new currents in writing research began to emphasize the need for a more dialectical approach to the teaching of writing, which would investigate the "dialogical nature of written communication" (Nystrand et al. 1993: 273).

3.6.1.2 Genre as Social Action

In her seminal article, "Genre as Social Action," Carolyn Miller (1984) lays out many of the theoretical principles underlying current reconceptions of how researchers today look at writing. Basic to her principles are her reconceptions of what genres are. Genres, she explains, are "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations" (159). Genres are thus social actions writers carry out to deal with recurring situations. For Miller, action implies both situation and motive, both of which are interpreted as being socially and communally constructed. At the level of the genre, motive becomes a conventionalized social purpose, or exigence, within the recurrent situation. "Exigence is a form of social knowledge – a mutual construing of objects, events, interests, and purposes that not only links them but also makes them what they are: an objectified social need" (157).

Traditionally, the study of genre has "referred to analyses of works of literature, such as different types of poetry, novels, and literary essays" (Johns 2003), in which genres are categorized, based on the various elements of fiction (characterization, style, plot, etc.) and

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are classified according to stability over time. The idea of genre “seems to prescribe an unchanging, fixed, and authorized rubric, with the strong implication that adherence to form is tied in with effective writing” (Dias et al. 1999: 19). But such attempts to understand genre by treating “socially constructed categories as social stable natural facts” (Bazerman 1988: 7) only provide researchers with “inadequate accounts of the semiotic reality” (Dias et al. 1999: 20).

Through the research field which has come to be known as Genre Studies, the view of genre has been expanded to include a much broader perspective. The term ‘genre’ is used in writing research today to include the social nature of almost all oral and written discourse, not only literary discourse. Genre analyses emphasize the social contexts and social practices in which texts are produced, including the subject, purpose of the text, and the social factors surrounding the discourse community in which it is written (Luke 1994). The new conception of genre has moved from a traditional linguistic and formal analysis of the textual structures to a view of texts as a process of social practices that are both situated and evolving. This conception of genre “acknowledges regularities in textual form and substance as the more obvious features of genre, but goes on to examine the underlying, non-textual regularities that produce these regularities in texts” (Dias et al. 1999: 20). “In other words, the new term ‘genre’ has been able to connect recognition of regularities in discourse types with a broader social and cultural understanding of language in use” (Freedman & Medway 1994: 1).

Therefore, genre knowledge is much more than the knowledge of textual forms and constructs that allows writers to generate typified responses to specific exigencies. Instead a genre is a form of social action, a response to writers’ interpretations of a situation with regard to their own and other’s motives and the role they must adopt as part of that response (Dias 2000). A genre is a means of mediating private intentions and social exigence. It connects the private with the public and the moment with the recurrent. As a consequence, “a rhetorically sound definition of genre must be centered not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish” (Miller, C. 1984:151). A classification of discourse must lead to an understanding of how discourse works. It must reflect “the rhetorical experience of the people who create and interpret the discourse” (Miller, C. 1984: 152). “The critic who classifies a rhetorical artifact as generically akin to a class of similar

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artifacts has identified an undercurrent of history rather than comprehended an act isolated in time” (Campbell & Jamieson 1978: 26).

Another point that Genre Studies emphasize is the fact that genres are always in flux. As Schryer (1994) puts it, genres can only be viewed as “stabilized-for-now”. Genres must be perceived as provisional, always open to contestation and change or even decay from disuse and irrelevance. Modes of response cannot be viewed as predetermined, as they are constantly being created and recreated in terms of past experiences, prevailing needs, and demands (Dias 2000). If writing is a form of social action, and genres are potentially always in flux, it is natural that researchers will ask themselves how writing courses can be constituted to account for forms that are essentially unstable.

3.6.1.3 Situated Activity

“A study of the writing class as an Activity System posits a dynamic reality: shifting interests, changing participants, roles, relationships, contexts, and goals; a multilayered reality operating on multiple planes, and continuously constructed.” (Dias 2000: 21)

In order to gain a better understanding of the contexts in which the social actions of writers take place, Genre Studies researchers use the term “situated activity” to define them. Contexts are more than just the containers or surroundings, the places or situations, or the conditions within which writing takes place. Context is defined by the object, the goals as well as the mediational means of language, symbols, artifacts, and all other materials belonging to the larger social, spatial, and temporal contexts. A view of writing as a socially situated act involves a radical change in focus, a shift of attention from writers as being autonomous individuals to writers as being “integrally and inevitably bound up within a social context, as participant[s] in the activities of a group or community” (Dias 2000: 15; see also Elbow 1981). Such a shift from a static and fixed to a moving and dynamic environment has led researchers to look more closely at how the social motives for writing are influenced by the different contexts.

Genre Studies experts have been especially interested in studying what goes on at universities as well as the workplaces for which writing courses are expected to prepare students (Bazerman 1988; Odell & Goswami 1985). Because learning takes place through activities in

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communities of practice and among members of those communities, the term “situated learning” (Petraglia 1995) is used to describe “the ways in which educational contexts shape learning rather than merely furnish a site for it” (84). A key to understanding the nature of situated learning at universities lies in discriminating the social motives at play. But it is important to recognize “that these social motives may not be easily available to or expressible by the player, especially in institutions whose values are so naturalized to the participants as to become tacit” (Dias et al. 1999: 44). Educators began to recognize that much research was needed in order to gain an understanding of which social motives are at play in university writing and to understand the effects they have on students’ writing.

3.6.1.4 Genre Studies Analyses Based on AT

By the early 1990s, many researchers – especially in North America – were beginning to carry out practical research based on the Genre Studies approach that writing is a social activity in order to come closer to understanding the social motives that are at play when students carry out writing at universities. Rather than look at the corresponding mental activities as the cognitive constructivists had done or at the discourse communities in the “world out there” as the social constructionists had done, Genre Studies experts look at what that takes place within activities and systems of activities.

As a consequence, Genre Studies researchers take advantage of the underlying principles of activity theory (AT) in carrying out their analyses of the activities that take place when students write. AT has advantages over earlier conceptions of “learning by doing” in that it broadens the scope of analysis when looking at what influences writing. The activity approach to writing places the cognitive and social needs of writers in a cultural-historical setting. By broadening the scope to non-textual and social aspects, the activity approach makes it possible to gain a dialectical understanding of what goes on when a written text is created. Writing is no longer looked upon as being simply a process carried out by an autonomous individual but an activity involving groups, objects, and tools over time and in relation with other groups. Rather than assuming an “institutional surround that is a neutral, if not invisible, agent in classroom events” in which students are “cocooned from the social, political, and economic realities that shape their lives as students” (Dias 2000: 16), AT offers the conceptual tools to analyze human activity in context.

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By bringing the social motives to light that influence students in their writing, we make many of the conflicts that are inherent in these social motives also come to light. Complications arising out of the immediate classroom situation, such as the purpose of writing and the roles students and teachers play in the act of writing, are both “pervasive and inescapable” (Dias et al. 1999: 44). However, these classroom complications are additionally intensified by the larger system of the university, which imposes a range of other demands on the students’ and professors’ time. The need to grade papers within time limits set by university calendars, for example, determines when the pieces will be read, how many times, and with what end in view. Additionally, social motives which lie outside of the classroom and university, such as political and cultural interests, also produce tensions for students as writers.

In an attempt to gain a clearer understanding of how social motives can influence the writing students carry out at universities, the following brief overview looks more closely at a few of the different factors that play a role in university settings. By better understanding what influences writers at universities, Genre Studies experts hope to eventually have an influence on how teachers and universities integrate writing into their curriculums.

3.6.1.4.1 Types of Knowledge Transmitted

Researchers have found that among other things the purpose of writing is responsible for determining the type of knowledge the writer transmits. In looking at the types of knowledge found in the various argumentative discourses produced at universities and in workplaces, Willard (1982) distinguishes two types: that kind whose goal is knowledge-oriented (epistemic) and that kind whose goal is to get things done (instrumental or practical). An example given by Freedman and Adam (2000) to distinguish the two types of discourse is “the distinction between the arguments of legal scholars, on the one hand, and those of practicing lawyers, on the other” (135). At universities, the goal of writing does not have a practical purpose, but is rather epistemic in that it is “an end in itself” (175), whereas at the workplace, “texts are usually action-oriented – for instance, toward making policy changes or making administrative decisions” (173).

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3.6.1.4.2 The Roles of Writers and Readers

In addition to looking at types of knowledge elicited by the different social settings, Genre Studies also look at the roles writers and readers have on what is written at universities. Basing their research on activity theory, Genre Studies researchers go beyond studying the textual regularities in writing to include observations of the psychological tool, which “alters the entire flow and structure of mental functions. It does this by determining the structure of a new instrumental act just as a technical tool alters the process of a natural adaptation by determining the form of labor operations” (Vygotsky 1981: 137).

Due to the different roles students and teachers bring to the act of writing, it is very possible that they each view the activity very differently. The role each participant plays in the writing process determines the activity or goal of that task and the operations applied to realize it for that participant. It is, therefore, possible that the writing that goes on in university courses can be viewed as completely different activities, depending upon who is viewing it at the moment. It is these differences in the perceptions of the activities as they are carried out by the writers and readers in university classes that can cause conflicts and misunderstandings.

3.6.1.4.3 The Role of Power

In addition to analyzing the observable differences in roles writers and readers bring to the writing process, Genre Studies experts also look at the role power plays in writing, both inside and outside of the classroom. There has been a tendency to ‘write over’ social contexts as contexts that are simply given, as being conflict-free and to assume that ‘speech communities’ are benign, consensual social bodies, where ‘common goals’, ‘motive strategies’ and ‘private intentions’ occur naturally and unproblematically (Fairclough 1989). As Schryer (1994) explains, genres are stabilized-for-now sites where battles over values and power are played out. Not acknowledging differences in sources of power, marginality, and exclusion is to take these variables outside the scope of genre and rhetorical studies and to accept them as natural occurrences in institutional life and societies (Fairclough 1989).

It is necessary, therefore, to also go beyond the immediate context of students writing for a grade to include a broader perspective of the powers at play in writing contexts. It is necessary to look at “the social consequences of textual creation: how discourse communities

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use mastery of writing to enrol and initiate new members, as well as to exclude others; and how texts themselves reshape the social and even material environments in which they are produced” (Freedman & Medway 1994: 2). It is necessary to look beyond the immediate roles teachers and universities play in determining the social motives of writers and to include a broader perspective of the roles of power that exist beyond the university walls.

3.6.1.4.4 The Role of Politics

Michael Halliday (1993) and colleagues at the University of Sydney have also pointed out the political implications of genre, and how the values of particular ruling elites can be incorporated into certain genres. Not examining genres from a political perspective may have the effect of “naturalizing the discourse practices of the professional middle classes” (Trimbur 1993: 390). Coe (1994) calls for an inquiry into social motives that goes beyond a simple consideration of strategies to a consideration of the ends those strategies serve. Researchers need to ask what types of communication genres encourage and what types they constrain. Do genres “empower some people while silencing others?” (186) After all, in a society marked by many harmful inequalities and inhumane relations, it can be assumed that any form of social action may equally be expected to serve injustice and exploitation just as it serves justice and equality (Freedman & Medway 1994). For example, Van Nostrand’s study (1994) of defense department procurement genres shows that perceiving them as just another text sort underscores the danger of a genre analysis detached from questions of which “genres have power, where, when and to whom” (Luke 1994: ix).

3.6.1.4.5 The Role of Culture

Genre Studies researchers also point out that genre is not only a social but also a cultural phenomenon. Researchers discuss matters of educational variance and differences across cultures (Luke 1994). Rather than basing research only on psychological models of learning, it is crucial for researchers to also move towards a culturally-based pedagogy (Cope & Kolantzis 1993). It is necessary to view genres as inescapably implicated in political, economic, and cultural processes (Freedman & Medway 1994).

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Especially in today's globalized world, educators tend to forget that despite similarities, differences in social backgrounds and assumptions still exist. Many current researchers are critical of traditional genre theory and its uncritical acceptance of the status quo. Herndl (1993) suggests that partly because of its reliance on the cultural pluralism of anthropology, research on academic writing "lends itself to a mode of reporting that reproduces the dominant discourse of its research site and spends relatively little energy analyzing the modes and possibilities for dissent, resistance, and revision" (349). Recent research on cross-cultural differences emphasizes the importance of taking cross-national aspects into consideration when thinking about social contexts (Foster 2006). Research carried out in one country may not be entirely transferable on a one-to-one basis in another country and could even be improperly construed when transposed into a different setting.

3.6.1.4.6 Designing Writing Courses

Establishing writing as a socio-cultural phenomenon has a powerful heuristic advantage for teachers. It enables them "to reanalyze and rethink the social, cultural, political purposes of previously taken-for-granted genres, and leads to an archaeological unearthing of tacit assumptions, goals, and purposes as well as the revealing of unseen players and the unmasking of others" (Freedman & Medway 1994: 2). Genre Studies help teachers get a better sense of the ends they may have, and it enables them to see their work in the teaching of writing as a part of the larger social agenda extending beyond the classroom. For teachers, consequently, failure to understand genre as social action often turns experiences that should be geared toward helping students achieve social emancipation into a rote methodology for producing texts that fit certain formal requirements.

It is, therefore, necessary to keep in mind that learning takes place within a social and cultural context. A newer understanding of learning must take the settings in which learning takes place into consideration. Discussions about teaching writing need to move beyond issues of language mechanics, technicality of text descriptions, and composing strategies to discussions of how to shape pedagogies that take up issues of textual access and power, and are concerned with matters of pedagogical variance and difference across cultures (Luke 1994). "A view of writing as social practice sets a perspective for examining what it is we do and

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might do as teachers of writing; however, it does not provide a convenient or practical way into that inquiry” (Dias 2000: 15-16).

3.6.1.5 Teaching Genres

Viewing genres through the lens of activity theory makes it possible to see how much more is at play in the construction of genres than is otherwise obvious. For students “genres serve as keys to understanding how to participate in the actions of a community” (Miller, C. 1984: 165). For them, learning a genre is not just learning a pattern of forms or even a method of achieving their own ends, but – more importantly – what ends they may have (Miller, C. 1984). If genre is in the first instance a social and cultural phenomenon, then claims about its teaching have to be based on social models of teaching and learning based on the social practices of writing (Luke 1994: x). Looking at the teaching of writing, therefore, as ‘situated learning’ in which educational ‘contexts shape learning’, Genre Studies researchers are concerned with helping students learn to negotiate different social settings and practices, ones they will be confronted with during the university and beyond.

Genre Studies attempt to go beyond the technicality of text description. Genre Studies researchers reject the idea of analyzing genres in order to help students reproduce them. By quasi freeze-drying them, the dynamic cultural, economic, and political forces underlying them are concealed and repressed. Genre research today goes beyond the earlier methods of introducing students to rhetorical approaches, template-like models, and imitation of language forms and phrases. Researchers reject methods of teaching writing that “are removed from any specific setting and are represented as living outside of history and having no investment in particular issues” (Faigley 1992: 15). Genre Studies are not so much concerned with textual features as with contextual elements that influence how genres are carried out at school or in the professional world. It is important to consider the social and intellectual activity which motivates the creation of the text (Bazerman 1988).

In looking at the importance of social motives in writing, Genre Studies include the idea that genres not only respond to contexts but indeed also shape such contexts (Devitt 1993; Freedman 1993). By the same token, a genre can be transformed by its users. Recent history

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has demonstrated how one man in Iraq writing an online diary could give birth to a new genre almost overnight. Today blogs (web logs) can still be found as diaries dotting the Net, but their purposes have become as open as those using them. This is one reason why genres have “become of such pedagogical importance for educators at all levels”. With “the overt mixing, blurring and shifting of cultural forms” (Luke 1994: viii), it has become increasingly difficult to tell the difference between new genres. The airwaves, print material, and the Internet are “filled with hybrid cultural forms:” (viii) from infotainment to docudramas and from memograms to blogs. Although this phenomenon is nothing new to rhetoricians, “the processes of textual hybridization are accelerated under fast capitalism and a globalized economy” (vii).

Recently the Sydney School of genre studies, in its acknowledgement of the political dimension of genre, has favored teaching prescriptivist pedagogy to those who have traditionally been excluded from full participation in school textual practices (Cope & Kalantzis 1993). While recognizing the well-meaning intention informing this recommendation – that of empowering disadvantaged students – Genre Studies researchers reject the idea of isolating genres from their social contexts, “as if one can learn the text type in one context and then transport it into the context to which it properly applies” (Dias et al. 1999: 22). Such an approach would normalize genres as somehow fixed and unchanging. In its attempt to extend access to the genres, the Sydney School position does not identify genres as inescapably implicated in political and economic processes that are constantly shifting, evolving and decaying, local, and subject to critical action. Participating in a genre is not just producing texts that look like ones normally written in a setting but taking on the same social motives that prevail and are appropriate in that setting.

Genre Studies theorists argue that by teaching and modeling genres, naming the stages, and articulating underlying rules, instructors are merely teaching students to copy, or in the terms of AT, to carry out an action, not an activity. In other words, students are not learning a genre. “What people need to learn is to engage in the activity” (Dias et al. 1999). By teaching students the specific rules for genres, teachers are actually hindering students’ creative, imaginative, and problem-solving skills from developing. Although explicit guidance of some kind might enhance and accelerate the learning on a conscious, declarative level, this can

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repress learning on an unconscious level, where knowledge is implicit and procedural. As Freedman (1994) says, students are extraordinarily adept at responding to social contexts, and explicit teaching has the potential of putting students off balance to the point that it can be dangerous.

3.6.1.6 The Need to Write More in Different Genres

Referring to the three levels described in activity theory, David Russell (1997) suggests that for many writers genres can become operationalized. As Carolyn Miller (1984) states, genres are “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations” (159). Obviously, for longtime participants in a particular activity system, genres *can* become operationalized. Newcomers in a particular activity, on the other hand, must make a deliberate, goal-directed effort to write within a particular genre. With time, however, this activity can become operationalized. In spite of this, depending on the shifting exigencies, operational responses can become inappropriate or dysfunctional so that operations are reconstituted as actions. For example, the exigencies that generate a memo genre can alter, and “a situation in flux necessitates more deliberate action” (Dias 2000: 19).

Even if students are able to operationalize a specific genre, Genre Studies show that compared to other linguistic phenomena such as word definitions and rules of syntax, genres are far more fluid, flexible, and dynamic. As a consequence, their number is indeterminate (Dias et al. 1999). As the needs of writing based on the social contexts (the audience, setting, motives and purposes) change, so do the abilities of the writers. Being able to write within one context or for a particular audience does not assure that a student will be a successful writer when these variables change. It has been recognized that the demands of learning to write in different genres and different text types for a variety of purposes does not come automatically to writers just because they can write well in other settings (Kupetz 2006). Genre Studies emphasize that students’ abilities to write are dependent on the factors they learn to write for.

Becoming aware of and learning to recognize the types of texts, genres (Hyland 2007), and rhetorical approaches that exist within the various fields is an important aspect of a student’s learning process (Russell 2002). But just learning to recognize them does not enable the

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writer to use the differences adequately. What writers learn in the act of writing depends on the elements of writing they learn to write for. Therefore, students need to be given opportunities to practice writing in a variety of genres and rhetorical modes. The more opportunities students have to practice writing in the different genres and rhetorical modes, the more likely students are to learn to understand and to adapt to the complex differences found in their varying exigencies.

But which genres should students be practicing? Which social contexts are necessary to enable students to practice writing for the different social settings they will be confronted with at university and beyond? Which approaches to teaching will be beneficial in helping teachers reach the goals they set for their students?

3.6.1.7 Applying the Genre Studies Approach in L1 and L2 Classrooms

By its very nature, there can be no particular method described by the Genre Studies approach that must be followed by teachers, as there have been in the past by other approaches to writing. Instead Genre Studies offers the possibility for teachers to gain a better understanding of what actually goes on when students write under certain circumstances. A Genre Studies analysis can thus take in all aspects of the writing process and its context and has unlimited possibilities. It can take a closer look at any of the tools that are available which influence the writers or at any other aspects of writing which influence the activity. Aspects such as those mentioned in the previous section 3.6.1.5 as well as the types of tasks, types of feedback, or the emotions and risks felt by the writers have been looked at in part by Genre Studies researchers thus far.

A Genre Studies analysis based on AT shows that when factors such as audience, purpose, and the conditions under which students write change, then these changes have the potential to affect the entire act of writing. Each individual factor can have a profound influence in determining the genre students are writing in. Not only the purpose of writing can determine the genre but all of “the dispersed, fluid chains of places, times, people, and artifacts that come to be tied together in trajectories of literate action” (Prior & Shipka 2002: 1) are involved in determining the activity, and thus the genre. Therefore, by focusing on the social aspects involved in the writing process, a Genre Studies analysis attempts to gain a holistic

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view of the consequences these aspects have on the other aspects involved in the writing process and thus the entire activity.

3.6.1.7.1 Practical Applications Around the World

In recent years, many of the newer practical applications that can be found which are based on research carried out under Genre Studies ideas have attempted to find new and challenging possibilities for teaching which take writing out of the context of the classroom in order to be able to realize new and different goals for their students to write for. These teachers present their students with real audiences outside of the classroom and with other social motives than normally exist in classrooms. The use of the Internet in classrooms has made it easier for engaged teachers to carry out projects whose scope extends beyond the four walls of the classroom into the world beyond (Leki 1991a; Kern & Warschauer 2000). Some of these exchanges make use of joint ventures between different groups with complementary skills. Online exchanges such as the International Writing Exchange which was started by Ruth Vilmi of Helsinki University in 1993 enables writers “to post written submissions online for evaluation by fellow learners” (Vilmi 2008) from different types of institutes around the world and thus to gain an international and multi-curricular perspective on their writing and knowledge.

Other teachers have attempted to add an authentic purpose to the writing students do in their classes by offering them opportunities to publish what they have written. Some of these publications are in the form of booklets which are limited to fellow students, but the Internet has also become a favorite method for giving a larger audience of interested readers access to these publications. Other teachers have made use of projects which connect students to places of work. The work that is carried out is intended for actual use in the places of work it is written for. By assigning tasks which are intended to address interested readers outside of the classroom and eventually receive a response, teachers hope to awaken in their students the dialogical motivation for writing in real-life situations. “If students know that what they are writing will be read by real people, then writing often becomes much easier” (Leki 1991a: 9). This, of course, always involves much extra work on the part of the teachers. These methods receive much attention at conferences and in journals, but in reality have proved to be rare

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(Miller, S. 1991). Yet these practical tasks and the theory surrounding them are important stepping stones to change.

3.6.1.8 Defining and Addressing Goals for Writing Classes

The Genre Studies Approach is still very much at its inception. There is a need for both theoretical and practical research which can help teachers find and set the kind of goals they want to have for their students so that their writing is better able to meet today's needs. A Genre Studies analysis which goes past an examination of the regularities in textual discourse and also includes a cultural-historical perspective of the social motives involved in writing at the university can help teachers make decisions about procedures they want to follow in their classrooms to help them meet the goals they set for their students. It is the objective of this dissertation to add to this area of research.

However, before carrying out a Genre Studies analysis on writing classes, it is first important to gain an overview of the current situation as it exists in writing classes in Germany and around the world. Without a clear understanding of what actually goes on in writing classes, any analysis of the classroom situation would remain purely speculative and theoretical. For that reason the next chapter discusses and gives the results of a study which was carried out with writing teachers from thirteen different countries concerning current teaching methods that are used in writing classes today.

4 Writing Classes Today: The Current Situation

“There is no such thing.” (Response given by an academic writing teacher to the question: “Which theory of writing do you base your writing instruction on?”)

Thus far the preceding chapters have discussed the currents and trends that have taken place in learning and writing over the past 60 years, mainly from a research standpoint. This chapter now attempts to look at the field of teaching writing from a more practical standpoint, to look at what actually goes on in writing classes.

In spite of the fact that a growing area of research has been carried out in the field of writing over the past 60 years or more, a short look behind the scenes reveals that much of the research has had a very limited impact on the actual teaching that goes on in writing classes. Ever since Thomas Kuhn’s book on *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), scientists and other researchers have become aware that the current theories and practices which dominate discussions within academic circles at a particular point in time do not always go hand in hand with what is known and accepted by the mainstream. In fact, more often than not, very little consistency can be found between the development of the latest theories and the actual teaching practices found in everyday life (Knoblauch & Brannon 1983). In e-mail exchanges with over 19 teachers²⁵ of academic writing classes in Germany, the majority of teachers were not able to respond to the question: “Which theory of writing do you base your writing instruction on?” Many even responded that they were not aware that there is such a thing as a writing theory.

4.1 Growing Interest in the Teaching of Academic Writing

Until recently, the little research that has been carried out about actual teaching practices within the field of academic writing has been mainly in English-speaking countries. Apart from research studies which examine the effects of particular teaching practices on the learning that goes on in classrooms under certain conditions, very little else is known about actual teaching practices in the majority of writing classrooms. Recently, however, researchers in Europe, too, have begun to take a growing interest in the teaching of academic

²⁵ See study later in this chapter.

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writing and hence in the actual teaching practices of academic writing teachers. Researchers have begun to look at the teaching of academic writing from many different viewpoints. Not only is the field of writing starting to become an acknowledged discipline in Europe, but it has already begun to develop active and evolving sub-fields.

Especially in Europe, where academic writing has been slower to gain attention than in many English-speaking countries, the recent birth and growth of new organizations geared specifically toward teaching academic writing has been lively. The European Association for the Teaching of Academic Writing (EATAW), with currently over 600 members, was founded in 2002 and has since hosted four conferences pertaining to teaching writing at institutes of higher education. These conferences have made it possible for colleagues with similar interests to find each other and to join forces in order to pursue new and incubating ideas collaboratively. Throughout Germany and other countries in Europe, conferences on many different topics relating to the field are now being offered regularly²⁶.

These conferences have stimulated new research in the field of academic writing. In recent years, parallel to these conferences, research relating to the field of academic writing in Europe has begun to be published. Research specifically referring to the teaching of academic writing in European countries has been published in books and newly founded (as well as older) journals on teaching. Among their European colleagues, German researchers have begun to take a serious look at how writing is acquired and how it is transmitted at German institutes of higher learning (Kruse et al.1999). This newfound interest in the teaching of writing has created much excitement among its researchers. It is truly a coming of age for the field of academic writing in Europe and Germany in particular.

For most fields of study at universities, writing is the key to survival. A student's ability to master seminar papers, reports, and exams determines whether the student will be successful at university. However, when looking at how well students write, there is more at stake than just the students' survival at university. Both individual students and the societies involved are dependent on how well students write. "As the kinds of organizations and the jobs in them that students will enter have become more specialized, the writing has become more

²⁶ See list of upcoming conferences to be held in Europe in the year 2008 in the Appendix 4.1.

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specialized as well” (Russell 2003: v). The ability of students to meet the demands of different genres and rhetorical settings in the workforce depends in large part on whether and how they have developed their writing at university (Foster 2002). “In a larger sense, written communication is essential to the successful continuation and future development of important institutions – professional, governmental, industrial, commercial, and nonprofit – that increasingly depend on specialized written communication in a global environment” (Russell & Foster 2002: 1). Students will need a greater diversity of linguistic resources and rhetorical flexibility to successfully enter professions and institutions and to transform those institutions as the pace of change continues. So ministries of education continually take note of universities’ responsibilities to improve students’ writing.

4.2 Orientations toward Learning to Write

One area of interest among those looking at how writing is transmitted at institutes of higher learning has been the basic orientations informing teachers and researchers. These orientations become apparent when viewing how writers learn to write in different settings. The following description specifically looks at orientations that pertain to university and the workplace settings.

4.2.1 Research by Lea and Street

Based on research by Lea and Street (1999), three general orientations to the learning and teaching of writing at universities in Germany can be distinguished:

- study skills,
- academic socializations, and
- academic literacies.

4.2.1.1 The Study Skills Orientation

The study skills orientation treats writing as a set of skills which learners learn once and for all, usually at an early age, and do not forget, like riding a bike. This idea of learning and knowing one set of writing skills also comprises the “idea of the ability to write as a gift, an

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inborn intellectual and sometimes even artistic talent which is in its nature unteachable” (Björk et al. 2003: 7). Although reminiscent of the early behavioral approaches in many respects, the study skills orientation adds a cognitive constructivist perspective to the teaching of writing. From a cognitive constructivist standpoint, it views writing as a learning process or problem-solving experience.

Because of the important role writing plays in the learning process, it is well worth the effort to also offer those learners who do not have the “artistic talent” the opportunity to learn how to write in order for them to be able to reap the benefits of writing. Teaching students the necessary processes they will need when writing has thus become a standard procedure of writing education at the lower-level schools. Because writing can be learned once and for all, however, it is not necessary to offer writing classes at universities. As a consequence of this orientation, the recently recognized need to teach writing at the university is either assumed to be a language problem, as in the case of L2s and foreign students, or it is seen as a remedial measure, based on the assumption that those who need help lack something which others possess (Rose 1985).

4.2.1.2 The Academic Socialization Orientation

The academic socialization orientation builds on the study skills orientation by viewing writing as a skill already acquired by the time students reach university. Academic writing is not looked upon as being different from what students have already learned at *Gymnasium*, just more complex. For that reason, students’ abilities to write are simply augmented with new knowledge which is acquired in the specific subject fields the students study. Now that the students are at university, this orientation treats them as if they were apprentices in a specific discipline. But unlike most apprentices at workplaces, students do not begin by performing small parts of the “job”. From their very first semesters at university, students are required to carry out academic writing. Students are expected to write analyses and interpretations, reports, seminar papers, and examinations without the guidance of a writing course (Foster 2002).

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Learning to write is not treated as a separate discipline; it simply continues to grow as the tasks grow. In this orientation, the need to teach writing tends to disappear. There is no need to teach students to write at university, because as students learn the content their writing improves automatically. Through practice, students will learn to enhance their already existent writing skills. This sudden plunge into their academic disciplines, where being able to write as an academic is expected from the start, often causes many students significant dissonance (Foster 2002). In spite of this discord, with the exception of some German and L2 programs of study, this is the generally accepted method for students to learn to become proficient academic writers in their fields while at universities in Germany.

4.2.1.3 The Academic Literacies Orientation

The academic literacies orientation looks at students' writing development at university as a new and evolving accomplishment that students grow into as they become more and more aware of the complexities involved in their various disciplines. Academic writing is not just simply a skill but a discipline in its own right. Learning to write is a complex interplay of learning the new language, content, and norms of the varying disciplines. Each new genre and rhetorical setting students encounter calls for unique practices. The academic literacies orientation juxtaposes learning to write with the specialized content studies in the disciplines, as two disciplines side-by-side. This orientation, like the study skills orientation, has also been responsible for adding writing courses to the curriculum at universities. But unlike the study skills orientation, the academic literacies orientation sees the need for courses from a different perspective.

From the perspective of the academic literacies orientation, writing courses at the university play a double role. Building upon social constructionist, dialogical, and to some extent activity theories, courses are intended to give students sufficient input and stimulus to assure that they come into contact with a broad range of new and ever increasing tasks similar to the ones they will be confronted with once they leave university. Terms such as 'situated learning', 'stabilized-for-now genres', 'discourse communities', 'communities of learners', and 'student-centered teaching' all suggest that the goal of writing courses is to create situations which are purposeful and dialogical for the writers.

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At the same time, writing courses are needed to help students to learn new writing processes and to adapt them to their new writing needs. Writing courses can help students grow and change as writers, as they are confronted with these new and ever evolving tasks. These new processes are not similar across the board or from discipline to discipline. Because writing changes from content area to content area, each subject area should be responsible for guiding its students into the new and unique territory they are entering. This idea that each subject should develop its own writing curriculum for its own needs has created the sub-field within the field of writing known as writing across the curriculum (WAC) (Russell 2002).

4.2.2 Research by Rogoff

4.2.2.1 Guided Participation

Yet another perspective on how learning to write is transmitted at institutes of higher learning comes from research conducted by Rogoff (1990; 1991). Rogoff uses the term ‘guided participation’ to describe the method mostly middle class parents use when working together with their children to help them learn a new task. Guided participation is similar to Vygotsky’s (1978: 84-91) “zone of proximal development” (ZPD) or “scaffolding”, in which the parents create social contexts within which they guide their children in what they are learning. Guided participation also describes the method teachers use to structure the learning that goes on in their classrooms. The entire social context is shaped and organized by the teacher for the sake of learning: “readings are set, lectures delivered, seminars organized, working groups set up, assignments specified – all geared towards enabling the learners to master certain material” (Freedman & Adam 2000: 38). By seeing to it that the context is at the ZPD level, the lectures, seminars, and readings function as the scaffolding for the learner. Students do not learn to write through explicit instructions from their teachers, but rather through the rich discursive context created in their courses.

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4.2.3 Research by Lave and Wenger

4.2.3.1 Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP)

Further research conducted by Jean Lave (1991) and her associates on out-of-school learning has also added to perspectives on how learning to write can take place. Using the term “legitimate peripheral participation” Lave and Wenger (1991) describe the process by which newcomers participate in communities of practitioners as they gain mastery of knowledge and the skills necessary “to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community” (Dias et al. 1999: 30). The term ‘legitimate’ is used to refer to the fact that learners “feel they have access to and belong to a community and that they can observe and participate in the community” (Dias et al. 1999: 30).

Unlike the apprenticeships Foster (2002) found at universities, however, these learners are not required to participate as full members from the start, thus the term ‘peripheral’. For example, rather than being required to carry out all of the steps necessary to make a complete suit, a tailor apprentice may begin by simply sewing on the buttons of a suit that was completed by the mentor. Not until knowledge of all of the parts has been gained will a tailor apprentice make a whole suit alone. Similarly, Freedman and Adam (2000) found that writing at the workplace is much more a collaborative product of many writers than in schools where individualism is called for. In their research, they found that newcomers and oldtimers often work together on texts that need to be written, sometimes back-and-forth, and sometimes side-by-side, in order to come up with the best possible product for the sake of the institute it is being written for. After all, texts that are written reflect not only the image of the writers but the entire company it is written for.

4.2.4 Comparing the Orientations

When comparing the different orientations toward learning to write, various differences in approaches become noticeable. In the first four orientations that were described, the activity the students carry out is “oriented entirely to the learner and to the learner’s learning. In fact, the activity is undertaken primarily for the sake of the learner.” (Freedman & Adam 2000: 38). However, “in legitimate peripheral participation the learning is incidental and occurs as

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part of participation in communities of practice, whose activities are oriented toward practical or material outcomes (Freedman & Adam 2000: 34-35). The writing newcomers carry out has a specific purpose and will be used in the daily running of the organization it is written for. However, when teachers who adhere to the academic literacies orientation seek out real-life purposes for their students to write for, the emphasis for writing can shift from learning to producing a purposeful product as in legitimate peripheral participation.

The five orientations also differ in the extent to which the writers consider themselves to be a part of the community they are writing for. The first four orientations all have in common that the learners do not yet have a “feeling” that they are a part of the communities they are striving to join. Not until graduation will they “feel” as if they are truly members of the academic community. This can possibly lie in the fact that they do not contribute to the day-to-day operations of their institutes, not even in part as apprentices at workplaces do. What they write is for their own benefit and of course for evaluation. They feel like outsiders waiting to be allowed into the circle of members. By contrast, newcomers learning to write under the legitimate peripheral participation orientation gain a “feeling” that they are a part of their organizations, in that they actually participate in their daily operations.

The orientations also differ in the type of collaboration writers receive from their feedback givers (teachers or supervisors). Under the first four orientations, the collaborative role of the reader ends once the paper has been submitted. In the majority of cases, the collaborative role of the teacher was carried out before the reading of the text – “it was accomplished during class time, through his office hours, and on his response to the essay outline submitted a couple of weeks before the final draft” (Adam 2000: 176). The task of the teacher now is to determine the extent to which the student has benefited from those collaborative efforts and thus to determine how much the student has learned in the course. By contrast, under the legitimate peripheral participation orientation, the primary concern of the workplace reader is the text itself, not the learning accomplished by the novice writer. Workplace readers are responsible for ensuring that papers leaving their departments ascend through the institutional hierarchy. As a consequence, the workplace reader takes on a collaborative role in the entire process of writing the texts, at times giving pertinent input for changes to be made and at other times collaborating with the employee from the start of a text. “In the workplace, both

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newcomer and oldtimer share the goal of producing the best work possible” (Freedman & Adam 2000: 50).

The first four orientations and legitimate peripheral participation also differ in how writers are expected to integrate research or data from others. Although they are still striving to become members of the particular discourse community, students are expected to write from the very start as if they were already members and to integrate research and ideas expressed by expert members of the community into their writing. The only difference between students’ writing and that of members of the community is, thus, in the quality of the work, students having not yet acquired the wealth of knowledge the professionals already have. But in spite of this lack of knowledge, students are expected to find, choose, and interpret the research produced by professionals and even give their own slant to those ideas. For many students, integrating research from the expert others is like trying to fit the pieces of a puzzle from a large picture of their discipline that they have not yet seen into the much smaller picture they have acquired of their discipline thus far. Figuring out how and where to put the pieces is often a struggle for students. Writers learning to write under the legitimate peripheral participation orientation, on the other hand, are not left on their own to discover how and where they should integrate necessary information about an area they are not familiar with. Just as the tailor’s apprentice learns to sew on the buttons of a suit before being expected to make a whole suit, these learners are not overwhelmed with entire projects, but are given only manageable parts to carry out.

4.3 What Really Goes On in Academic Writing Classes? A

Questionnaire for Teachers of Academic Writing

A look at the orientations toward teaching and learning to write helps to clarify the *potential* courses of action teachers across Germany might take in their writing programs. However, to investigate *actual* orientations and teaching practices in German academic writing classrooms a more concrete study is called for. For this purpose, a questionnaire was prepared to elicit the necessary data. At the same time, it was decided that an international comparison of teachers of English would possibly cast more light on the overall situation than a study confined to Germany alone.

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The questionnaire was sent to the members of the European Association of Academic Writing (EATAW) via their newsgroup during the summer of 2007. Because the emphasis in this study was on the German situation, additional copies of the same questionnaire were also sent out to 28 other teachers of academic writing at various English departments around Germany who were not members of the EATAW. The 28 departments were chosen randomly from a list of 57 English departments that the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service)²⁷ posts on their site for university rankings. The names and e-mail addresses of the teachers to whom e-mails were sent were found in the Internet listings for each department. In quite a few of the cases the person written to was no longer teaching academic writing and the questionnaire was frequently forwarded to a colleague on whom the task had devolved.

4.3.1 The Writing Needs of L2 Students Equal Those of L1 Students

It was decided to restrict the study to L1 and L2 academic writing classes taught in English. This was done for several reasons. First of all, academic writing courses for English appeared to be the most commonly represented courses across all countries. Besides, limitation to a single language was felt to be necessary to provide a common basis for comparison across countries. This decision was taken in full awareness of the fact that data from L1 classrooms is seldom compared to data from L2 classrooms, research within the two fields being normally considered separate and unique. Indeed, in e-mail exchanges and personal interviews with teachers concerning the amount of writing students do in their writing classes, many teachers replied that they felt that a comparison between the amount of writing done by native speakers and EFL students was not justified. In spite of these objections, a comparison between L1 and L2 classrooms was undertaken. It was decided that this comparison was not only justified but necessary to fully visualize the extent to which EFL writing classes in Germany are fulfilling their obligations to their students.

Today many German students at German universities must learn to write in English as well as their English native-speaker counterparts in English-speaking countries. Not only do many students plan to study at least one semester abroad in an English-speaking country, but many

²⁷ See the link in the Internet for the complete list of universities:
http://www.daad.de/deutschland/hochschulen/hochschulranking/06543.en.html?module=Hitliste&do=show_11&esb=31&ab=1

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departments in Germany now offer programs taught exclusively in English. Even departments whose programs are not taught in English often require that all papers written by their students be in English. At the University of Cologne, for example, biology majors are required to write all of their research papers in English. Since EFL teachers are expected to prepare *Gymnasium* students for these tasks as best as they can, the demands on their writing abilities have risen enormously. Indeed, to be able to prepare their *Gymnasium* students to fulfill the native-speaker-like qualifications that will be required of them in order to attend a German university, future teachers of English must be trained to the same level of language competence as their native-speaker counterparts. Thus, the differences in the demands on the English writing abilities of native and non-native speakers have dwindled in the past few years.

4.3.2 Difficulties in Analyzing the Data from the Questionnaire

Representatives of a total of thirteen countries, mainly European and English-speaking countries around the world, responded to the questionnaire. A total of 60 responses were received in all. Twenty-nine of the responses were from teachers of English at German universities.

Due to the differences in teaching conditions in the different countries, an international comparison of this sort is not an easy matter to evaluate. In order to clarify some of the figures that were asked for, several of the quantitative questions were supplemented with qualitative questions. In spite of this, at times instances of unclarity arose due to the many circumstances that vary from country to country and from university to university. To assure that there was a common denominator for the comparison of countries, follow-up interviews had to be conducted via e-mail.

As a result of the follow-up questions, it was found that in order to gain a true picture of the circumstances that exist in the various countries, many of the figures would have to be considered in combination with other data from the same country. For example, at some universities writing classes meet more than once a week so that the total number of students a teacher is responsible for does not necessarily increase as the number of teaching hours

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increases. At other universities writing teachers who have small numbers of students in their writing classes also teach other larger classes which are not categorized as writing classes but which require large quantities of writing. This then can have an effect on how much students write in their writing classes. At other universities, some classes may be marked as writing classes, but the majority of time in these classes is not spent on writing but rather on grammatical exercises and discussions.

4.4 Responses to the Questionnaire for Teachers of Academic Writing

A copy of the complete questionnaire that was sent to the teachers about their teaching approaches and styles can be found in Appendix 4.4. The following description of the responses to the questionnaire highlights the main points that could be summarized from the data that was received concerning approaches and methods teachers of academic writing use in their classrooms as well as the conditions they teach under.

The following table, Table 4.1, shows an alphabetical list of the countries which responded to the questionnaire and the number of responses received from each country.

Table 4.1 List of Countries and the Number of Responses in All

Country	Number of Responses
Australia	1
Belgium	1
Finland	1
Germany	29
Hungary	3
Israel	4
Italy	1
NL	3
Norway	2
South Africa	1
Sweden	2
Switzerland	1
UK	3
USA	8
Responses	60

4-The Current Situation

A total of fourteen different countries responded to the questionnaires that were sent out. Because the respondents were not all teachers of writing in English departments at universities, it was necessary to differentiate between those who were and those who were not. Consequently, the responses from teachers working at a *Fachhochschule*, at writing centers, or as private consultants were separated from the list.

Table 4.2 shows an alphabetical list of the countries and the number of responses received from English teachers at universities in those countries.

Table 4.2 List of Countries and the Number of Responses from English Teachers in those Countries

Country	Number of Responses
Australia	1
Belgium	1
Finland	1
Germany	19
Hungary	2
Israel	3
Italy	1
NL	1
Norway	1
Sweden	2
Switzerland	1
UK	3
USA	7
Responses	43

From the original fourteen countries, South Africa was the only country which was no longer represented among English teachers at universities, thus leaving a total of thirteen countries, represented by forty-three responses. This is a relatively small number of responses for a questionnaire and obviously cannot be used to make broad generalizations. However, the responses can at least show a tendency for this small group of academic writing teachers.

4-The Current Situation

4.4.1 Is the Writing in Writing Classes Student-Centered?

In order to assess whether the teachers made use of collaborative learning practices in the form of peer review, question 7 asked the teachers if they made use of peer review and to what extent. Table 4.3 shows the list of the countries in alphabetical order with their responses to this question. All of the teachers from eight of the countries responded that they did not use peer review in their writing classes. Five percent of the German teachers responded that they used peer review. Between 66% and 100% of the teachers from Finland and the three English-speaking countries responded that they used peer review.

Table 4.3 Did the Teachers Use Peer Review?

Country	No. of Teachers Who Used Peer Review
Australia	1/1
Belgium	0/1
Finland	1/1
Germany	1/19
Hungary	0/2
Israel	0/3
Italy	0/1
NL	0/1
Norway	0/1
Sweden	0/2
Switzerland	0/1
UK	2/3
USA	6/7

In order to further assess the extent to which those teachers made use of peer review in their classes, they were also asked for which percentage of the tasks they assigned they used peer review. Table 4.4 below shows the list of the countries in alphabetical order with the responses to this question. The percentages show that if teachers used peer review, then they did not use it for more than 50% of the assignments.

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.4 For Which Percentage of the Assignments Did the Teachers Use Peer Review?

Country	% of Assignments Peer Review Was Used For
Australia	30%
Belgium	0%
Finland	50%
Germany	50%
Hungary	0%
Israel	0%
Italy	0%
NL	0%
Norway	0%
Sweden	0%
Switzerland	0%
UK	33%
USA	40%

Table 4.5 Did the Teachers Correct All Final Texts?

Country	% of Assignments Corrected by the Teacher?
Australia	100%
Belgium	100%
Finland	100%
Germany	100%
Hungary	100%
Israel	100%
Italy	100%
NL	100%
Norway	100%
Sweden	100%
Switzerland	100%
UK	100%
USA	100%
Teacher Corrected	All

4-The Current Situation

Also in an attempt to measure the extent to which the classes are student-oriented, question 9 on the questionnaire asked teachers on which percentage of the final texts they assigned in their classes they gave final feedback. Table 4.5 above shows the list of the countries in alphabetical order with their responses to the question in percentages. The results show that all of the responding teachers replied that they corrected 100% of all assignments they gave.

Question 10 also asked teachers whether they sometimes assigned projects as simulations or for real audiences. Only two respondents replied that they sometimes assigned projects. When asked to what extent, both respondents replied once a semester. Table 4.6 shows the results.

Table 4.6 Did the Teachers Assign Projects as Simulations or for Real Audiences?

Country	No. of Teachers Who Assigned Projects
Australia	0/1
Belgium	1/1
Finland	0/1
Germany	0/19
Hungary	0/2
Israel	1/3
Italy	0/1
NL	0/1
Norway	0/1
Sweden	0/2
Switzerland	0/1
UK	0/3
USA	0/7

4.4.2 The Conditions for Teaching

In order to find out the conditions under which the teachers teach, question 4 of the questionnaire asked the teachers about the number of hours that make up their full-time teaching load, the number of students they have in their writing classes, and the total number of students they are responsible for in a semester.

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.7 lists the thirteen countries based on the number of hours each of the full-time teachers must teach in their respective countries. The mean for the total number of full-time teaching hours for all of the countries was determined to be 12.6 hours per week. With an average of 16 full-time teaching hours, Germany is located in the bottom third of the list.

Table 4.7 Number of Teaching Hours for Full-Time Faculty

Country	Full-Time Teaching Load
Switzerland	6
Hungary	7.5
USA	10
Israel	11
Belgium	12
UK	12
Sweden	13
Australia	14
Norway	14
Finland	16
Germany	16
Italy	16
NL	16
Average Number of Teaching Hours	12.6

Table 4.8 below shows the thirteen countries listed in ascending order, based on the number of students teachers have in their writing classes. The mean number of students was found to be nineteen. With a mean of forty students per writing class, German teachers not only have more than twice as many students in their writing classes as the mean for all of the countries but they also take last place among the countries listed as having the most students in their writing classes.

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.8 Number of Students in Writing Classes

Country	Number of Students in Writing Classes
Australia	5
Finland	12
Italy	12
NL	12
Hungary	14
UK	19
Israel	20
Sweden	20
USA	21
Belgium	22
Switzerland	24
Norway	25
Germany	40
Average Number of Students per Writing Class	19

Table 4.9 below shows the total number of students a teacher is responsible for in a semester. The thirteen countries are listed in ascending order, based on the total number of students teachers are responsible for in a semester. Of the thirteen countries listed, eight of the countries are listed as having fewer than 100 students per teacher per semester. Four other countries are listed as having fewer than 150 students per teacher per semester. Germany's 280 students per teacher per semester is more than five times the number of students the teachers in the first two countries on the list, Hungary and Switzerland, are responsible for and more than three times the number of students per teacher for the first eight countries on the list. With a mean of 280 students per teacher per semester, the German teachers are responsible for more than double the number of students catered for even by the penultimate country in the list, Norway.

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.9 Total Number of Students per Teacher in a Semester

Country	Total Number of Students
Hungary	47
Switzerland	48
Australia	60
Israel	76
USA	80
Finland	90
Italy	90
UK	90
NL	110
Belgium	120
Sweden	132
Norway	140
Germany	280
Average Number of Students in All	108

4.4.3 How Much Do Students Write in their Writing Classes?

In order to answer the questions about how much students write in their English departments at the various universities around the world, the following two tables show the responses received to question 6 concerning the number of texts and the average number of words that students are required to write in their writing courses in the thirteen different countries. When a country was represented by more than one teacher, the mean for those teachers was taken. The mean was then used to represent the responses from all of the teachers from that country.

Table 4.10 lists the thirteen countries in descending order based on the number of texts students are required to write in their courses. The highest number of texts that students are required to write is five, and the lowest number is one. With 2.2 texts per course, the German teachers in the study lie under the mean of 3.

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.10 Number of Texts Written per Class

Country	Number of Texts per Class
Israel	5
Sweden	5
USA	4.5
Switzerland	4
Australia	3
Finland	3
Italy	3
UK	3
Norway	3
Hungary	2.5
Germany	2.2
Belgium	2
NL	1
Average Number of Texts per Class	3

Table 4.11 Number of Words Written per Class

Country	Number of Words per Class
Israel	8,333
Sweden	7,000
Switzerland	7,000
Australia	7,000
Belgium	6,000
NL	5,000
USA	4,800
Norway	3,000
UK	2,333
Germany	1,800
Finland	1,500
Italy	1,500
Hungary	1,450
Average Number of Words per Class	4,363

4-The Current Situation

Table 4.11 above shows the number of words that students write in a semester. The thirteen countries are listed in descending order based on the number of words their students are required to write in a writing course. The mean for the number of required words for all thirteen countries is 4,363 words per student. The number of words German students are required to write in their writing classes is 1,800. With that number, Germany appears in the bottom third of the list along with Finland, Italy, and Hungary, where the average number of required words of each of the four countries is less than half of the mean for all thirteen countries.

4.4.4 Discussion of the Responses to the Questionnaire for Teachers of Academic Writing

4.4.4.1 Which Approaches Do Teachers Use?

Despite the fact that many academic writing teachers may not be familiar enough with the theories of writing to actually state or describe the one that they adhere to most, this does not necessarily imply that teachers do not follow state-of-the-art approaches, methods, and teaching techniques. Several questions on the questionnaire were asked in an attempt to clarify the positions teachers take with regard to assigning tasks and to a student-centered classroom.

Questions number 7 through 8 were intended to find out the extent to which recent theories supporting student-centeredness are realized in the classrooms. Question 7 asked teachers to state whether they used peer review in their classrooms and, if so, for which percentage of the texts written by the students. In spite of the large numbers of research articles that have been dedicated to the use of collaborative teaching methods in almost all subjects and especially to peer review techniques within the field of writing, only 25% of the teachers responded that they made use of peer review in their writing classes. Of those teachers who did use peer review only a few of them used it more than once per semester. It seems as if influences from process-oriented and post-process-oriented approaches to teaching writing have had little influence on writing classes in this respect.

4-The Current Situation

Questions number 9 and 10 looked at the assignments teachers gave (and their teacher-centeredness). Question number 9 asked the teachers whether they corrected the final version of all the texts they assign. The only unanimous answer on the questionnaire was to this question. Even those who had stated in reply to the previous question that they used peer review clearly used it only as an interim treatment and not as a final audience.

Question number 10 on the questionnaire looked at whether teachers assigned tasks as projects, either as simulations or for real audiences. As discussed in the section on the genre studies approach to teaching, tasks which have an authentic purpose are likely to support different goals than when writing for the teacher and come closer to the social exigencies they will be carrying out throughout life. In spite of this, only two of the forty-three teachers who responded to the questionnaire answered the question positively. The most frequent reason given for not assigning projects was that there was “too little time” to carry one out. Many teachers added that much of their time was taken up with explaining how to find secondary literature, giving information on citation styles, discussing structure and literary elements, as well as working on language problems, such as grammar and register.

4.4.4.2 How Much Do Students Write?

In order to find out how much students actually write in their writing classes, question number 6 of the questionnaire asked teachers how many words and texts they required their students to write in a semester's course. In order to determine whether there may be a causal-relationship between the amount students write in their writing classes and the student-teacher ratio, question 4 asked about these numbers and other conditions teachers work under.

Question number 6 revealed that on average German students write less than their counterparts in the other twelve countries. German students fall within the lowest third of the countries queried for the number of texts and the number of words they are assigned to write in their writing classes. A factor that is often considered critical for determining how much students will eventually write in their academic writing classes at universities is the conditions for teaching, such as the numbers of students teachers have in a writing class, the

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number of contact hours they have, and the total number of students they are responsible for in a semester. In the international comparison for the thirteen countries in the questionnaire, German writing teachers either had the highest numbers for these categories or tied for having the highest numbers. Although a direct cause and effect relationship between the amount students write in their classes and the number of students German writing instructors are responsible for cannot be established from the data, there are strong indications that this is the case. This topic will be taken up in the next chapter.

4.4.4.3 The Teacher as the Final Reader

After looking over the data from the study on the current situation in writing classes, it was decided that it would be worth taking a closer look at the one data that was unanimous among all groups: the teacher being the final reader for all texts. The fact that the teacher was always the person with the ultimate responsibility in the chain of events that took place in academic writing classes seemed to be crucial to determining how and what went on in these classes. It was, therefore, decided to take a closer look at the extent to which this factor influences other social aspects involved in carrying out academic writing for students. It was hoped that based on AT, a Genre Studies analysis which includes a cultural-historical perspective of the social motives that are so deeply engrained in the genre of school writing would reveal the extent to which the choice of teacher as the audience penetrates students' writing.

In the following Genre Studies analysis based on activity theory, three major areas that are most heavily influenced by a teacher-centered focus in writing will be analyzed. The first part will look at the extent to which a teacher-centered classroom determines how much students will be able to write in their courses (Berlin 1987). The second part will look at what it means for writers and readers when what students write in their university classes is geared toward the teacher as the audience (Gillespie & Lerner 2003). The third part will focus on how the teacher as giver of final feedback influences the kinds of feedback students receive on the final drafts they write (Silva 1990).

5 A Genre Studies Analysis: The Effects of a Teacher-Centered Focus on Writing Classes

5.1 What Determines How Much Students Write?

Supplying feedback to students on their written compositions is extremely time-consuming (Beach 1976; Berlin 1987; Sommers 1982). Compared to the amount of time teachers need to spend supplying students with feedback on other types of tasks, giving feedback on academic papers is one of the most demanding and time-consuming tasks teachers have. “Most teachers estimate that it takes them at least 20 to 40 minutes to comment on an individual student paper” (Sommers 1982: 148). In some fields, such as math and chemistry, it is not even necessary for teachers to always give feedback on work students have done. Depending on the types of exercises, some parts of the feedback can be made available to the students via the back of the book or the Internet, or just by reading out the answers in class to everyone. Grammar exercises, too, can be checked this way. This makes it possible for students to practice and get feedback on their work without having to turn to someone for individual help. But feedback on writing is different. It requires the full concentration of another person. Writers are dependent on the time and the undivided attention of a specific reader.

It is no wonder then that when teachers are responsible for reading and giving feedback on everything that their students write in their classes that the amount of time they have determines how much they assign students to write in their classes. The amount of time writing teachers have is dependent on several variables: from the number of teaching hours they teach, to the number of students they are responsible for, to the length and number of assignments they have to correct. When teachers have relatively few students and relatively few teaching hours, their students are likely to write more than when teachers have large classes and a lot of teaching hours. When teachers are the final readers of all of the writing students carry out in their academic writing classes, it seems that the first two variables then decides the amount of writing students will be assigned in their writing classes.

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In the United States and several other English-speaking countries, where writing classes at universities have a long tradition, the topic of how much students write in their writing classes has been a frequently and hotly discussed topic among writing teachers, administrators and the media over the past century. Most studies looking at this issue have viewed it from a professional standpoint, their main concern being to determine how much time writing teachers are required to spend correcting papers in a semester (Hopkins 1912). As early as the turn of the 20th century, discussion of composition teachers in the United States described them as having “been overworked and poorly paid” (Berlin 1987: 21). Writing teachers at the time were frequently responsible for over 200 students a week, and university policy often required the students to turn in weekly compositions.

Studies in the United States which looked at the impact the student-to-faculty ratio has on how much students write in their classes have shown that in times of high student-faculty ratios students tend to write more than during times of low student-faculty ratios (Berlin 1987). In spite of the fact that there was no clear cause-effect relationship proven by these studies of the teaching conditions of teachers in the United States (Berlin 1987), they often had the effect that the numbers of students in writing courses were reduced to alleviate this burden on the teacher.

The teacher questionnaire which was described in the last chapter also shows similar relationships between the numbers of students teachers have in their classes and the amount students write. It seems, therefore, to be a logical conclusion to call for a decrease in the numbers of students in classes in order to increase the amount students can write. This may, however, be closer to wishful thinking than to a realistic expectation for the near future. Many elements speak against major changes in numbers taking place soon. For, as already discussed, the constant increase in the numbers of new students coming to university every year will obviously have an adverse rather than an improving effect on the student-to-teacher ratio. But just how important is it that students write a lot in their writing classes? Are not readings, discussions, and exercises a good substitute?

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5.1.1 Does the Amount Students Write Make a Difference?

Research is unanimous with regard to the benefits students have when they are assigned to write a lot. Most literature on students learning to write emphasizes the need to write. Just as we learn to speak by speaking and to read by reading, we learn to write by writing, although there is no denying that writing teachers who teach about writing and teach the rules of grammar and vocabulary are also helping their learners to become better writers (Noguchi 1991). However, what most teachers and researchers agree on is that the main emphasis for writing instructors must be “to provide an environment in which students can learn what cannot be directly imparted in instruction” because “writing can be learned but not taught” (Berlin 1987: 74). The move from the behaviorists’ conception of an objective, scientifically observable reality to a worldview in which each individual constructs a personal understanding of reality eventually has brought to the fore the importance of learning by doing. Jerome Bruner’s (1966a) call for a more holistic approach to learning, in which rather than simply spoon-feeding the students with the conclusions in a field of inquiry teachers concentrate on having students carry out the inquiries themselves, is as valid today as it was in 1960. Assisting students in generating ideas and discovering their own ideas are as much the goals of writing instruction today as they were during the heydays of the cognitive constructivists.

Genre Studies today also emphasize the many different and unique situations for which students will eventually need to write at the workplace. The fact that genres are only “stabilized-for-now” as Schryer (1994) says calls for preparing students to be able to adapt to changes. The more opportunity students have to prepare for these differences, the greater will be the benefit to themselves and their future employers (Beaufort 2005). Through practice writing in many different genres and social situations, writers will be able to gain a better feeling of the flexibility called for from genre to genre and within what often appears to be the same genre. Through practice writing in many different genres and social situations, students will be in better position to gain an understanding of the need to adapt their writing to new social exigencies as they develop.

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5.1.2 Freeing Writing from its Dependency on the Teachers' Time

If students need to be able to write a lot in many different genres in their writing classes and at the same time there is not much chance that a major improvement in teachers' working conditions will take place over the next years, then researchers need to look for and find other methods to improve the situation. Researchers need to look for methods that will enable students to write more in their writing classes despite large class sizes and teachers' limited time. Methods need to be developed which will free students and teachers from their mutual dependency for giving and receiving feedback, thus freeing the amount students can write from its dependency on the teachers' time.

5.2 The Teacher as the Audience

Since the teacher is the final reader of the papers students write in writing classes, the students naturally also view the teacher as their audience. Research shows that when the teacher is the audience for the academic writing students carry out at universities this implies consequences for the writers which extend far beyond the simple rhetorical question regarding the audience of the paper. The audience a writer writes for permeates the entire writing process much more than is obvious at first sight. Writers soon "notice that many decisions in their writing process depend on the selection of a specific audience" (Kruse 2003: 26) and that "discourse is not grounded in forms or experience or audience; it engages all of the elements simultaneously" (Ede & Lunsford 1984: 82). The decisions that students make about their audience, therefore, determine not only what they write but influence all aspects of their written work and finally determines how they look at their own writing process (Berlin 1982).

The following Genre Studies analysis, which looks at the social context from a *socio-psychological* perspective, attempts to point out the magnitude to which the students must adjust their writing to fit to the demands they meet when writing for the teacher. In this genre often referred to by Genre Studies experts as the "school writing genre"²⁸, students of academic writing are confronted with a whole battery of conflicts that they must resolve in

²⁸ The "school writing genre" is also referred to as the "university testing genre".

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order to create a smooth-flowing paper with a “red thread” (Foster 2002). What is the purpose of their writing? Where do they start? What background information do they assume their teacher has or has not? How are they to write an interesting paper that presents “new” ideas to their teachers when their teacher has in all likelihood read many papers about this topic before by professionals and even other students? Who is their real audience? As they find scholars in their field whose work they are to compare and evaluate, how are they as apprentices to adopt the voice of a professional?

5.2.1 Writing Means Evaluation

“Why am I writing this? What’s the purpose? The teacher knows this already. Oh yes, to get a grade.” (Student sitting down to write a paper)

When all is said and done, the real purpose of most academic writing that students carry out at universities has become one of testing and evaluation. A fundamental activity of the university is sorting and ranking its students. Texts are assigned as ways of facilitating such ranking. Writing for the teacher has a “gatekeeping function and, more specifically, its role [is] ranking students – that is, assessing them in terms of carefully specified criteria and slotting them into categories according to their relative performance with respect to such criteria” (Dias et al. 1999: 62). This is not without good reason. With so much time needed to give feedback on each paper, teachers as readers of student papers do not usually have the extra time they would like to have to give feedback to writers that does not count toward a grade. Teachers’ busy schedules just do not allow them enough time to read their students’ papers in order to give them feedback on their ideas and then hand them back without a grade. Although some teachers do manage to do this, the broad majority of teachers do not.

5.2.1.1 The Consequences of Evaluation

Therefore, when student writers submit their academic papers to their teachers to receive feedback, the act almost always implies some sort of consequences for the students’ academic standing. Evaluating student papers for their content and their language mechanics has a long tradition as being a determiner for students’ grades and hence students’ success at

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university (Foster 2002). In fact, some teachers and students even assume that the real reason for students learning academic writing is to be tested and evaluated while at university.

Due to the fact that writing for the teacher almost always has consequences for grades or academic standing (Gillespie & Lerner 2003), students generally view academic writing as a *threatening* experience rather than as an opportunity to generate ideas and express them to others (Brannon & Knoblauch 1982). With every word they write, students feel the threat of a grade hanging over their heads. It is no wonder students often complain about writer's block, not being able to find a topic, or any number of other reasons for not being able to write (Kruse & Jakobs 1999).

This gatekeeping function of the academic writing students carry out in their courses at universities also affects how teachers see their role as collaborators in the students' learning. "In the academic setting, response to student writing takes on two forms: the grade itself and discursive comments. In general, the discursive comments serve to justify or explain the grade" (Adam 2000: 172). "Although the instructor's basic goal is that her students learn, that goal is limited by the equally pressing need to grade and rank. Thus, in the end, the university instructor has a vested interest in a quality spread, which necessarily qualifies and limits the degree and the nature of the mentoring and collaborative performance" (Freedman & Adam 2000: 50). Professors are simply not free to respond in other ways, as other types of readers. This would be denying their institutional roles and thereby redefining the rhetorical situation (Adam 2000: 177). The collaborative and guiding role of university professors is controlled by the fact that, in the end and at every point, the guide evaluates the learner (Freedman & Adam 2000: 50).

"School writing whose goal is epistemic is very different from that writing whose goal is to produce new knowledge for scholars." (Dias et al. 1999: 45)

A Genre Studies analysis also shows us that when students write for the teacher the objectives for carrying out academic writing become different for students than for scholars. Whereas the writing that both students and professors carry out is epistemic in nature, i. e. knowledge oriented and not action oriented, when professors write articles for academic journals their goal is to pass on *new information* to their readers, something they have not

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read before. In school writing genres, on the other hand, the objective of epistemic writing pertains more to the writer than to the reader: writing is assigned to foster the students' learning and to reveal what the student has learned (Dias et al. 1999). School writing is not typically assigned "as an opportunity to extend the knowledge of a discipline or of a community of scholars – at least at the undergraduate level" (45). And in the majority of cases, the idea that student writing will contribute to a discipline's knowledge does not arise until the doctoral level.

This, of course, can affect the overall goals students set for their writing. Because students are aware that they must show what they know, that they have understood what the issues are, and what the problem is (Freedman et al.1994), it is likely that when students are told that one of the criteria for evaluation is "employing recommended strategies" they "may decide their goal becomes one not so much of using those recommended strategies but of so staging their writing that evidence of their use is clearly apparent" (Dias 2000: 25). From the perspective of a student writer, "meeting course requirements" (25) becomes a priority. As a consequence, if the goal of a course is the "completion of four formal writing tasks, that goal will frame students' efforts despite teachers' efforts to have students take on their far broader agenda" (26).

In addition, writing for the teacher can affect the content and information students include in their writing. For one, in their attempts to show what they know, far more background information is spelled out (as corroboration of that knowing) in student writing "than would be spelled out in an actual workplace report: even that which could be assumed to be shared knowledge between writer and reader" (Freedman & Adam 2000: 135; see also Giltrow & Valiquette 1994). Although one of the most important objectives in writing is to determine the common base of knowledge between the writer and reader and then to use that as the starting point for writing, since the purpose in student writing is to demonstrate to the teacher what the student knows, the student is forced to ignore this common knowledge base and to begin with much of the background knowledge that would not otherwise be necessary.

Moreover, besides the inclusion of superfluous background information, the evaluative function of university writing can also affect the content students include in other ways. In

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respond-aloud protocols, Adam (2000) has witnessed professors “looking for references in the student texts to comments made in class, for echoes of his own voice (comments he has made about the suitability of essay topics, biases he has in regard to methodology or ideology), as well as for echoes of the voices of others (articles or books he recommended, invited speakers)”. Because writing is highly contextualized in this way, students must not only “demonstrate their own learning, they must also show how their learning “fits” within the evolving conversation of the classroom” (173).

In their research, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987) refer to the inclusion of knowledge that is common to both the writer and reader, which is so common to the school writing genre, as “knowledge-telling”²⁹. As students learn that this is an important part of the school writing genre, many of them put much effort into acquiring good knowledge-telling strategies³⁰ in order to succeed well in school.

5.2.2 Writing Becomes Monological

A Genre Studies analysis also shows us that when students write for the teacher, the way they communicate with their reader takes on a different character than when they are writing for a discourse community. Since writing carried out within discourse communities is intended to be dialogical, contributors to discourse communities do not simply see themselves as supplying new information to their colleagues; they view themselves as being involved in an exchange of ideas – a dialogue – with them. When students write for the teacher, the purpose for writing shifts from being dialogical to being monological, or as Hedgcock & Lefkowitz (1994) put it, “the communication between reader and writer is unidirectional” (144).

When students write for the teacher, the idea of writing to carry on a dialog with their reader gets lost in the shuffle of university hierarchy and bureaucracy. Because the courses have been designed and created by the teachers, students are aware that most of what they write will not be new to their teacher. As a consequence, students do not attempt to carry on a dialog with their teacher regarding ideas that are new to them, but their goal is rather to

²⁹ For a more detailed definition of “knowledge-telling” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

³⁰ For a more detailed definition of “knowledge-telling strategies” as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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inform the teacher of what they have learned in the course (knowledge-telling). In this process of writing for the teacher, students lose sight of the real purpose of writing. By focusing on the needs of the teacher, students lose contact to writing for an audience who is truly interested in gaining new knowledge about a topic. Academic writing for students tends to become an exercise in producing a hardcopy of a well-written monolog that represents more a cul-de-sac than the two-way street it is intended to be.

5.2.3 A Shroud of Secrecy

In this teacher-centered environment, where student papers are looked upon as testing material intended for the teacher and not as utterances intended for open exchanges of dialog, a shroud of secrecy around student papers often develops. As student papers are handed silently from student to teacher and back (Susser 1994), students frequently refuse to reveal to their classmates the corrections or the grades they have received from the teacher. As a consequence, students are left wondering why they got the grade they did, without the aid of comparison. Students are seldom given the opportunity to read, discuss, and compare their graded papers to their fellow students' graded papers in order to get a feel for why one student did better than the other. Without being able to actually "see" why they got the grade they did, students often develop a competitive perception of each others' papers. Students are left feeling isolated when writing (Bartholomae 1986) and tend to lose the real purpose of writing – to carry on a dialog with their peers and colleagues.

5.2.4 Challenging Authority

In this competitive and threatening setting, where students know that they must write differently than in the "outside" world, conflicts and uncertainties about the authoritative role they can take often arise. In a study of students reading-to-write, Flower and her colleagues (Flower et al. 1990) explored the approaches that 72 students took in writing essays which required them to synthesize and interpret information from several short texts. Despite receiving the same prompt for writing, the students did not interpret the task in the same ways. Some looked at the task as requiring them to summarize the reading passages they were given. Others interpreted it as an invitation to talk about what they already knew, thus

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using the sources as a springboard to introduce their own ideas. On the whole, however, students focused primarily on the sources they were given. Only a small number of students adapted and transformed the information from the sources based on their experiences to make an original claim.

Analysis of students' think-aloud protocols and data based on retrospective interviews revealed that students' approach to this task was shaped not only by cognitive processes but also by a legacy of schooling that values recitation of given information over original insights. "Most students did not feel that they could challenge the authority of received opinion, nor did many students believe that they were truly invited to develop their own ideas" (Nystrand et al. 1993: 308; see also Ackerman 1991). It is not surprising that McCarthy (1987) and others have shown that "students' understanding of what is expected in writing often comes into conflict with their instructor's interpretation of the same task" (308; see also Greene 1993; Nelson 1990).

5.2.5 Who is the Real Audience?

When starting to write, students are faced with many decisions they need to make about their audience. Before beginning, they know that writing "must be tailored to the needs and expectations of [the] audience" and that "they have to anticipate and acknowledge the reader's assumptions and biases" (Bartholomae 1985: 594). Based on the decisions they make about their audience, students begin by deciding what they want to explain, include, and take for granted. However, in the school writing genre, this is not always as easy as it seems. Writing for the teacher, often carries many underlying and conflicting choices that students also have to make about who their audience is. How they deal with these conflicts depends to some extent on how their teachers deal with these questions.

5.2.5.1 Acknowledging the Teacher as the Audience

Many teachers openly announce that their students are to write for them (Murray 1972). They expect their students to meet the criteria they hold as members of their profession. These teachers feel that as prospective professionals, students can only learn to fulfill the final qualifications when they are demanded of them. That means for the students not only knowing the expectations of the teacher but also having the background knowledge of the

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teacher. Despite the fact that they are apprentices in their fields, students are required to display the knowledge of a professional and adopt the voice of one. Many teachers setting writing tasks in first semester courses at university already expect this of their students. Students are left pondering how they are to already exhibit the knowledge and voice of a person they came to university to learn to become (Foster 2002).

This task of slipping into the role of a knowledgeable member of the discipline also brings other conflicts with it for the students. Academic writing like most other forms of writing calls for the writers to “be either equal to or more powerful than those [they] address” (Bartholomae 1985: 594). The dialogical nature of academic writing, which is actually intended for status equals, sends out conflicting messages to students when they write for the teacher. On the one hand, students are supposed to assume an equal status with the teacher, and on the other hand, both teachers and students are aware that the real purpose of the task is for teachers to evaluate the students’ progress, from top down. It is not an invitation to carry on a dialog with their teachers. Torn between these conflicting roles, students try to make the best of this inherent dilemma, which by now has become ingrained in the university system.

5.2.5.2 Let’s Pretend the Teacher Isn’t the Audience

“Writing with voice has purpose. Writing without an audience – even if the audience is the writer’s internal perception of reader – becomes institutional writing, since no awareness of communication occurs.” (Stetson 1996: 76)

Other teachers and researchers deal with the topic of who the acknowledged audience is with a “let’s pretend” strategy. Many teachers want their students to pretend that they, the teachers, are not as well versed in the material as they really are. Students are supposed to pretend that what they are writing is all new to their teachers. One of the most important objectives in deciding on a rhetorical audience is for the writer to determine the common base of knowledge between the writer and reader and then to use that as the starting point for writing. With the let’s pretend method the writers must ignore this aspect and literally pretend that there is no common base of knowledge. Many students experience this as a

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conflict and are left wondering why they have to tell the teacher what the teacher already knows.

Yet other teachers attempt to solve this problem by announcing to their students that they should not think of their teachers as their audience but they should invent or fictionalize an audience they are writing to (Pfister & Petrik 1980). When they assign students to write an argumentative paper on a particular subject, they suggest their students conjure up possible readers in their minds who would be reading what they write. Students should forget they are writing for the teacher and address their fictional audience in their argumentation. Kruse, for example, suggests that “it is not enough (though it may be useful at the beginning) to tell them to write for their fellow students” (Kruse 2003: 26). To do this, however, is to ignore the existence of the real reader, the teacher. Assigning students to write to a pretend audience is simply ignoring the conflicts that come with this and which force the students to vacillate between two audiences.

Some researchers recognize the fact that there are problems surrounding the teacher’s role as audience (Ivanic et al. 2000; Lea & Street 2000), but in the end most researchers do not attempt to deal with it and usually just dismiss it as being a problem that will always be there for students. In their research, for example, Ede and Lunsford (1984) mention that they know something is amiss in telling students to write for an imaginary audience when the teacher is really the audience. They comment about the discrepancy a student faces when she is assigned to write for an imagined audience (her neighbors) when in reality her teacher is her audience:

We are aware that the student actually has two audiences, her neighbors and her teacher, and that this situation poses an extra constraint for the writer. Not all students can manage such a complex series of audience constraints, but it is important to note that writers in a variety of situations often write for more than a single audience (94).

This is clearly an admission that in such cases academic writers have to juggle their skills back and forth to satisfy the expectations of two or more different audiences with two or more completely different purposes for reading the text. However, apart from mentioning that

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the readers of the article should take note that the problem exists, the authors do not concern themselves with it any further, thus implying that teachers are powerless to solve it in any case. It is not without reason that this comment was placed in an endnote.

Many other researchers, however, do not even recognize the existence of the problem of two audiences when one is imaginary. Some researchers, for example, discuss the rhetorical choices writers have to make regarding the imaginary audience they are given as if this audience were the real audience (Flower & Hayes 1980). Other researchers use examples of writers who are really writing for a real audience to explain how students can focus on the needs of their imaginary audience. In a study conducted by Ede and Lunsford (1984), for example, to illustrate how students can focus on the needs of an imaginary audience, they describe the experiences they themselves had as they were writing their article for publication. Flower and Hayes (1981) also use the example of a professional who is writing an article which is to be published in a magazine in order to demonstrate the type of decisions student writers need to make about their imaginary audiences. What they do not take into account is the difference between the situations a writer faces who is in fact writing an article for publication and that of one who is pretending to do so and at the same time writing for the teacher in hopes of getting a good grade. In actuality, a student writer is burdened with two social motives and carrying out two activities at the same time. Just ignoring this fact does not make it disappear.

This duality of the social motives also exists when instructors attempt simulations of real-life tasks. In a study conducted by Freedman and Adam (2000) of simulations of workplace tasks, their analyses revealed that “no matter how authentic the case histories seemed, the writing undertaken by the students was shaped primarily by the real rhetorical and institutional context in which the writing was staged – that is, the university classroom” (62). Dias et al. (1999) also came to the conclusion that the duality of the social motive is so “pervasive and inescapable” that, even when workplace simulations are carefully constructed, as long as the writing is “elicited by and handed in to a professor, it is the institutional and ideological constraints of the university that continue to govern the whole” (44).

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Ignoring the fact that students are really writing for the teacher as their audience aggravates the confusion students experience about the real needs of their audience and adds to the insecurity they already feel when writing for a grade. Genre Studies emphasizes that to ignore the fact that the students are really writing for the teacher is to deny the power differences that exist between teachers and their students. These power differences infiltrate all parts of the rhetorical process, a fact that students cannot ignore when writing for their imaginary audience (Greene 1995). But in addition, Genre Studies emphasizes that the power differences extend beyond the classroom into the world outside. Imaginary audiences and simulations do not make these power differences go away. Teachers need to help their students become aware of the social motives that accompany them every step along the way.

5.2.6 Writing for Life

Students come to universities to learn in order to be able to eventually get a job and make a career within a professional community of their choice. But learning for an academic career is not a once-and-for-all training program that starts and ends at the university doors. The knowledge students gain from their studies at university before going out into the real world to work is only the beginning. Tests and final examinations at universities, on the other hand, often give students the impression that upon graduation most of the learning that they will need to do for their careers is now complete. By the same token, many students think at this point that their need for using academic writing is also complete. For many students, the main reason for learning how to carry out academic writing has been strictly to make it through the university successfully. Many students feel relieved when their efforts to learn the technical know-how for carrying out academic writing have been successful enough to earn them a degree so that they can now put the need to carry out academic writing behind them.

However, universities are not islands where the learning for academic professions starts and stops. They are only one important step in the process of life-long learning. As the term 'life-long learning' implies, learning does not end at the university. Rather, the most important contribution universities can make is in preparing students to learn to become active life-long learners. By continuing to draw on materials and information produced by the discourse

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communities of their fields throughout their careers, professionals have an opportunity to continue adding to the learning they have acquired while at university.

But it is not only as consumers of information that professionals can play a valuable role as life-long learners. By being not only passive but also active contributors to their discourse communities, they have the opportunity to bring to the larger community the valuable knowledge they gain through their own experiences in the field (Farrell 2007). Through continuing *active* participation in their discourse communities, the knowledge and wisdom that they acquire throughout their careers does not remain a silent part of their own world but has the potential to become an active contribution to the larger world in which they function.

By assisting their students in learning to become active members of their discourse communities, universities make it possible for them to take part in and contribute to the dialog that has been going on since the beginning of time. As Michael Oakeshott (1962) writes:

“As civilized human beings, we are the inheritors, neither of an inquiry about ourselves and the world, nor of an accumulating body of information, but of a conversation, begun in the primeval forests and extended and made more articulate in the course of centuries” (199).

Becoming and remaining active participants in the discourse communities of their choice throughout their careers will enable employees to add to and learn from the ongoing discussions taking place between professionals like themselves. It is through sharing and exchanging knowledge that communities grow and develop most efficiently.

Therefore, despite the emphasis that is placed on the importance of learning academic writing in order to meet university writing requirements, it is important that universities do not lose sight of the real purpose behind their students' need to learn to write in their disciplines. Being able to write in a discipline should not only be viewed as a basic requirement for students' entrance into their chosen professions, but most of all it should be viewed as a valuable asset that will enable continued active participation in their discipline after leaving university. In other words, the goal of learning to write at universities is not just to earn a ticket out of the university but to acquire abilities which will continue to accompany the

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students throughout life and continue to open new doors to knowledge for themselves and others as they, their needs, and society change and develop.

Active participation as givers and takers of knowledge within their discourse communities, enables professionals to share knowledge at the level where knowledge is made. A society's intellectual wealth does not consist in a select few supplying the knowledge base for the broad masses, but in the *broad masses* continuing to participate in and adding to the exchange and growth of that knowledge throughout their professional careers. It is this "*democratization of the knowledge base*" that has the potential to make a society strong.

Therefore, if the reasons for learning to acquire academic writing skills while at university extend beyond graduation day and into real life, students also need to gain practice in these real-life experiences while at university. Students need to be given opportunities to practice writing in the genres of real life, not just those of the school writing genre. To expect students in their later academic lives to embrace on their own initiative practices that they have never been introduced to before is not realistic. Researchers need to find and develop methods which can easily be carried out at universities which enable students to practice writing for a real audience of interested readers.

5.3 Teacher Feedback

"Any utterance – the finished, written utterance not excepted – makes response to something and is calculated to be responded to in turn." (Voloshinov 1973: 72)

The focus on the teacher as the final reader in writing classes not only influences how much students write and the audience they write for, but also the kind of feedback they receive on what they have written. In real life, epistemic writing, such as writing in academic and personal genres (e.g. letters or e-mails), is intended to be dialogical. Writers expect and look forward to feedback and discussion from their readers, and if something is not clear or if the reader is of a different opinion, writers hope for and expect questions about the content as they would in a conversation. But as in normal everyday conversations, writers do not normally expect to receive a response that is full of evaluative feedback concerning their style, language mechanics, structure, or content.

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Although teachers as givers of feedback have the best interests of their students in mind, they often find themselves drawn into the regulations of the university system when giving feedback. Rather than seeing themselves as interested readers, attempting to support the writing needs and desires of their students, teachers almost always see themselves in the role of givers of formative feedback and evaluators of the students' final papers (Scott & Coate 2003). A teacher is torn between teaching and implementing the grading system at a university.

Feedback from teachers, thus, takes on a different form and likeness than feedback professionals receive in the outside world. Just as the choice of audience is responsible for determining a social motive that is unique to students writing within the university system, the differences in the purposes and forms of feedback students receive at university are also responsible for changing the way writers and readers look at feedback. These differences, too, contribute to determining a unique school writing genre.

5.3.1 Teacher Feedback Is Monological

It has already been discussed that academic writing amongst academics is generally considered to be a dialogical endeavor (Schuster 1985). On the other hand, it was mentioned that when writing for the teacher, students often do not perceive their writing as an invitation to carry out a dialogue with their teacher concerning information that is new to them but rather as an attempt to demonstrate to the teacher what they have learned in the class. However, it is not only due to how writers perceive their audience that student writing becomes monological in nature. The feedback students receive from teachers also contributes to its monological nature.

In addition to the corrections teachers supply in response to surface or language-mechanics errors, teacher feedback usually provides a grade and discursive comments, which, in general, serve to justify or explain the grade. Professors are aware that, for the most part, the response they write on student texts will not be used directly by the students for revision. The comments teachers make are "hardly [...] an invitation to revise and resubmit in light of

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those comments” (Dias 2000: 25) as is normal practice when professionals submit a paper for a journal. Instead, a professor’s response may be understood by the students to indicate where they have succeeded and/or failed in achieving certain key ideas presented in the course. As a consequence, responses often relate back to aspects of the course or to ideas that the students might have used. In respond-aloud protocols, Adam (2000) found that professors did not make “suggested revisions – except to say that the student ‘could have’ or ‘should have,’ but not that he ‘will have to’” (176). The fact that written comments rarely provide directives for future revision is largely responsible for the relatively ephemeral existence of student papers.

Any dialogical role a teacher may have had prior to the writing of the paper “ended before the reading of the text” (Adam 2000:176). Similar to supervisors at places of work who have a vested interest “in getting the best possible piece from all employees each time they write” (Freedman & Adam 2000: 136), teachers, too, set a high value on writing performance. However, teachers would question any suggestion that they intervene in a student’s writing once it has been handed in, in order to guarantee that the student produces a text that meets the specifications they have set. Due to their hierarchical position on the ladder of education, their functions as gatekeepers do not allow them to view themselves as partners in a common cause or as collaborators of papers. This could subvert both the teachers’ goals of “promoting learning and their goals of evaluating and ranking students on the basis of what they know and can do” (Dias et al. 1999: 68). “This requirement to grade and evaluate contaminates the relationship between students and instructors, at least to some degree” (Freedman & Adam 2000: 57), producing tensions and conflicts.

However, feedback is what gives writing its content and makes it complete. Feedback is what makes writing dialogical. Without at least the idea of getting feedback on their academic writing, students are not usually motivated to write an academic text. Generally speaking, students like to receive criticism of the academic writing they do at university. Students even look forward to getting feedback (Leki 1991b). It gives them a feeling of security that they can write well, unless, of course, the feedback is ‘not good’. Most of all, they look forward to finding out if the reader has understood, agreed with, and enjoyed what they wanted to

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express. But in the end feedback that is teacher-centered does not always fulfill these expectations of the writers (Hedgcock & Lefkowitz 1994).

5.3.2 What Teachers Correct

“Our students, as writers, produce texts for us to read, and we, as readers, respond to what they write. Simple enough. Less simple is knowing how and why we read and respond to students’ texts as we do, and less simple still is knowing how to elucidate this readerly process for students.” (Sperling 1996: 22)

The kind of feedback that students would like and hope for which directly addresses their ideas and creativity often gets lost in the process of teacher feedback. In this evaluative role, teachers are not as free to give the same kind of positive support that peers who have read it may do (Coit 2006). Their job is to point out to the students what they need to improve. Teachers feel a responsibility to do a thorough job when giving feedback in the hope that students will learn from their corrections. They fear that leaving papers unevaluated or errors unmarked could be viewed by students as a sign of lack of interest or even incompetence. Although teachers are aware of wanting to leave a positive message for their students, they are often burdened by having to negotiate this ambiguity (Scott & Coate 2003) and find it very difficult not to leave students with negative images of themselves as writers.

Evaluative feedback, like revisions, can be separated into two main groupings, those “that affect the meaning of the text and those that do not” (Faigley and Witte 1981). The first grouping can point to needed changes in the structure and content of a student’s paper. The second grouping looks at the style and mechanics of a paper. Feedback from content teachers often supplies students with structural and content-based criticism, which lets them know how well they have participated in the conversation of the course and how well they have learned what they were to learn. In an attempt to emphasize the value of students’ abilities to carry out institutionalized research on a topic, content teachers often overlook the grammar and other language mechanics errors, “which do not interfere with the reader’s comprehension” (Leki 1991b: 207). In the disciplines, what the students have to say about a topic and how well they cover the topic is often more important to teachers than the language they use to say it with. Despite this fact, both content teachers and writing teachers all too often see their role as evaluators and supporters of the university grading system, who are

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required to judge whether the student has fulfilled the standards and obligations the university has set for the students. This role all too often collides with teachers' and students' desires to simply carry on an open dialog about the content and ideas without the need to take a particular evaluative position.

Even though content teachers may feel they can overlook students' language errors, writing teachers are often burdened by the feeling that they should try to find and mark every language error they can find in the text (Carroll et al.1996; Zamel 1985). There are several reasons for this. One is that writing teachers feel it is their job to correct language mistakes. After all, much of writing lessons have traditionally been centered on practicing grammar and doing vocabulary exercises. If writing teachers do not correct these problem areas, who else will?

For L2 teachers the pressure to find and correct all the language mistakes they can is even stronger than for L1 teachers. L2 writing teachers are aware that their students, unlike their L1 counterparts, do not have much, if any, opportunity to learn syntactic and semantic skills from others outside their studies. If an error goes uncorrected, teachers fear that students could assume it is correct, and without students having much opportunity to receive corrections from others outside of the classroom, the error could eventually even become fossilized. In addition, a study by Leki (1991a) reveals that even ESL students living in the country where the language is spoken "seem quite interested in grammatical accuracy and want English teachers to point out all their errors" (124). As a consequence, in L2 writing classrooms, feedback is still heavily based on mechanical errors in language use.

Because feedback is not only an interface between students and instructors but also between students and institutional practices and national policies, instructors feel not only a responsibility toward the student whose paper they are evaluating but also a responsibility toward the institution (Keh 1990) and even to the government they work for. Thus, feedback often becomes a marker of difference and a sustainer of boundaries (Lea & Street 1999; Lea & Stierer 2000) rather than the learning tool many of them intend it to be for the student. Despite students' wishes for detailed corrections, boundary settings between teacher and

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learner and a heavy emphasis on mechanical errors in writing classes often have a demotivating effect on students and discourage them from taking risks (Carroll et al.1996).

5.3.3 How Teachers Correct

How teachers mark the errors they correct also determines how students view the feedback they receive. Teachers are not generally taught how to give feedback and there is little material actually describing how it is to be done. Students often complain that they do not understand what the feedback they receive means, or how it relates to the text they have written (Ivanic et al. 2000). Scanty methods used in marking errors are often to blame. Many of the brief symbols teachers use vary from teacher to teacher and from discipline to discipline and are often not clear to the students (Zamel 1985). With the burden of correcting numerous papers, teachers do not tend to be copious. Taking time to write out long comments can be frustrating and time-consuming for teachers. “Most teachers of writing will agree that making comments on students’ papers causes the most frustration and usually takes the most time” (Keh 1990: 301). When teachers do take the time to be copious, they still “worry whether the comments will be understood, produce the desired results, or even be read” (301). Many times the teachers’ worries are legitimate; students frequently say that messages such as “Good. I like that idea” do not let the student know, for example, what is good about it, thus still leaving questions open.

Even if feedback is unclear, students should attempt to discuss their questions with the teachers. However, research shows that they do not often find or take the time to clarify any questions they have regarding the feedback they get back. When papers are handed back in class, students seldom have the opportunity to ask questions about the feedback or to clarify possible misunderstandings about what they intended to say. Even if teachers do take a moment in class to respond to a question about the feedback a student has, it is usually very difficult for them to focus on the problem after having just read forty or more papers, and they are not usually in a position to remember the details surrounding the feedback they gave. Conferencing to supply oral feedback is a valid solution to this problem of classroom time, but with the numbers of students teachers deal with today, they just do not always have the time to conference sufficiently with their students.

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Even if students do have the opportunity to conference with their teachers, many professors complain that student “papers are often thrown out immediately after the grade is assigned; occasionally they are not even picked up from the grader” (Dias et al. 1999: 62; see also Raines 1996; Guénette 2007). With a lack of positive support and red marks on their papers, students can lose interest in getting feedback and do not view it as a step in the learning process; they may not see feedback on one paper as being helpful for the next. Moreover, students often do not feel that they have the freedom to negotiate with the teacher about questions they have or ideas they have expressed. It is no wonder that teachers complain that instead of going over the corrections they have made, the “students glanced at the grade on the corrected papers and stuffed the essays into their folders” (La Fontana 1996: 71).

The time factor in getting papers back also plays a role in how students react to the feedback they get. Due to the large numbers of students teachers are responsible for, it often takes quite a long time for students to get their work back. It frequently happens that before they get their feedback on one paper, students have ceased to think about it and gone on to the next one. Sometimes students themselves cannot even remember the context and ideas they had at the time they wrote a paper. It is difficult not only for teachers to focus at a later date on the problems that arose in the text, but for the students, too.

Many researchers have attempted to redress these problems by attempting to make feedback more lucid and intelligible to students and to make it more uniform from teacher to teacher. Richard Haswell (1983), for example, developed what he called a “minimal marking” method. More recently, researchers at universities in Australia and the UK have been working on a project to make feedback more uniform. The project Developing Academic Literacy in Context (DALC) offers teachers materials for making feedback on writing more uniform within and across disciplines. In the first pilot project using the materials, research indicates that almost three-fourths of the participating markers appreciated the marking materials and support in providing standardized feedback to their students (Deane 2007). Although this is only one step in the improvement of the feedback students receive, it is at least a start toward reducing some of the complaints students have about teacher feedback.

5.3.4 Supportive Feedback

“Hey, this is a very impressive text! I guess it really did not need my corrections. It was also really interesting to read. I hope you are becoming a teacher to make all these ideas reality. Well done!” (A student giving feedback to another student)

Just as writing at universities for testing purposes, to gain credit for courses, and to pass exams will probably continue as long as there are universities (Foster 2002), evaluative feedback will no doubt also remain a permanent feature of the university system. But not all feedback students receive at university need be for testing or evaluative purposes. Feedback need not always be judgmental. It can also be simply supportive in nature, offering a stake-free environment where students can practice writing. Rather than judging a student's writing, it can be consultative, tutorial, guiding, instructive, directive, motivating, advising, suggestive, personal, interested, and eager. Feedback on student writing can fulfill the same supportive role as feedback from peers and colleagues for professionals does. Supportive feedback could free student writing from its product oriented emphasis on closure in the form of a grade and emphasize that learning to write is a process, that each paper is a stepping stone in a developmental process. It would be beneficial for students if writing experts could find methods to help students receive feedback that is not only evaluative in nature.

5.4 What Improvements Are Being Made?

The preceding Genres Studies analysis looked at one specific teaching method that was found to be used by all of the teachers who participated in a study on teaching in writing classes, namely that the teacher is the final corrector of all texts written by the students in their classes. After a thorough investigation of the effects this teaching method has on students writing, it was found that despite the many positive aspects the method offers, many of the goals that Genre Studies set for students learning to write are not able to come to fruition when this method is the only one used.

Before moving on to a suggestion for an alternative to this teacher-centered method in chapter seven, the next chapter first takes a brief look at another university-wide attempt to improve the situation of students learning to write at university which has gained much momentum in recent years.

6 Improving Writing at Universities: Recent University-Wide Attempts

Since writing at universities calls for new and different writing needs for which students are not prepared in their secondary educations, “we are pre-programming future problems if we assume that students are going to be able to carry out the requirements for academic writing without help” (Kruse & Jakobs 1999: 23).

As universities begin to adopt the new European BA/MA programs with their stricter limits on the length of time students can spend at university and as student numbers continue to increase, the pre-programmed problems Kruse and Jakobs are referring to will become even more manifest to students, teachers, and administrators. More concerted efforts on the part of universities in helping students become successful writers can only be in the best interest of the students, the universities, and society at large.

6.1 Writing Centers

Many German universities have begun to realize that it is necessary to take steps that extend across departments and faculties in an effort to help students of all majors to improve their writing. In recent years the buzz word “writing centers” has come to be acknowledged by more and more administrators of universities as one means of doing this. Originally a phenomenon common to American universities, the idea has begun to be taken over by many other countries, including Germany.

Support for the establishment of writing centers in Germany has come from both the theoretical and practical fronts. From work carried out in the counseling centers at German universities, the general consensus has been that no other area causes students as many problems as writing (Kruse et al. 1999). Students are simply *not* well enough prepared for the demands of academic writing when they come to the university from the *Gymnasium*. This is not because *Gymnasiums* fail in their work, but because the expectations placed on students while at university take on a different dimension (Graefen 1996; Kruse 1996; Kruse 1997). It is this different dimension that has prompted progressive educators to acknowledge that

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students need help in learning to acquire the skills they need to produce first-rate academic writing.

However, in addition to their deficits in writing skills at university, educators also acknowledge that students face other difficulties which make it even more difficult to deal with the demands placed on them by academic writing:

- Students are not informed about or prepared for the written demands placed on them at university: they simply do not know what is expected of them.
- There is little follow-up on the feedback students receive on the papers they have written: they do not learn from their experiences.
- Students are not aware of how difficult academic writing is: their shortcomings are imputed to deficits of the individual students.
- There is a lack of practice: students derive little gratification from academic writing so that they write only under compulsion (Ruhmann 1995).

These practical concerns have helped prompt some German universities to support the initiation of writing centers on their campuses. However, before moving on to discuss the development of writing centers in Germany, it may first be helpful to look at the origin and development of the first writing centers in the United States, it being their influence that is most felt when educators institute a writing center on their campus.

6.1.1 The Origins of the First Writing Centers

The 'English clinic', the 'writing laboratory', and the 'writing center' are old and new names for institutions to which American university students can resort when they want help with their writing. As early as the 19th century, some universities in the United States recognized that students would appreciate assistance with their writing and thus set up places which students could turn to for help (Carino 1995). Since then, writing centers have come and gone as financial support and students' needs changed over the decades. Especially after 1945, when the student population increased sharply due to the returning soldiers, writing labs, as they were called then, mushroomed on many campuses, only to fade away again in the next

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decades. However, once again, in the 1970s, as a result of a renewed increase in student population, partly due to open admissions policies³¹, there was a revival of the idea of writing labs to help ensure the success of all students, especially those who were not truly prepared for university level writing. If students of all abilities were to be given a chance to study, then universities wanted to do everything they could to see to it that they did.

The political thinking at the time was often to create writing centers which would offer students an alternative to the regular classroom and to the faculty-centered programs colleges already offered. Many of the faculty “programs failed because undergraduates refused to use them” (Bruffee 1984: 395). Students looked upon these programs as being extensions of the regular classroom, and thus of methods which in the past had manifestly failed them (Grimm 1996; Bremer & von Moschizisker 1971). Most of the new style of writing centers instead hired graduate students as tutors to give one-on-one help to the students who came to the center³². Today, for example, the University of Iowa employs 22 tutors, most of whom are graduate students, and approx. 1500 students³³, or just over 10% of the student body, pass through their hands per semester. Students can sign up in advance for tutoring sessions, or drop in for immediate help at most times of the day during the week. Sessions normally last between 30 and 50 minutes. Help is free to all students.

Over time, the focus of the type of learning that goes on at these centers has also changed. The goal of writing centers is no longer to help compensate for individual students’ deficits in language mechanics, but to provide assistance to all students. Ever since writing has been viewed as a problem-solving process (Flower & Hayes 1981), the writing center has become the “locus for collaboratively solving problems inherent in writing, thinking, and revising” (University of Iowa’s Writing Center 2008). Writing centers have become places where students can talk with a tutor about all aspects of the writing process, such as finding a topic, brainstorming or even psychological roadblocks (Gillespie & Lerner 2003). These sessions offer students an alternative to regular classroom learning, which generally emphasizes

³¹ Open Admissions is an admissions policy, whereby the only criterion for admission to a university is a high school diploma.

³² See, for example, homepages of various writing centers throughout the United States:
<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~wricntr/summer.html>; <http://web.mit.edu/writing/Center/policies.html>;
<http://www.uiowa.edu/~writingc/>

³³ The total student body in summer semester 2008 was 10,956 students.

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product-oriented approaches to writing within the disciplines. “The nature of the classroom teacher’s job is generally such that he can only examine and judge the product of a student’s work, not the process the student uses to achieve the product” (Hawkins 1980: 67). Generally speaking, writing center theory rejects the teaching of grammar and the marking of papers for the students. Tutors are not to be judgmental or evaluative, but should help students discover what it is they wish to say and do. Words such as listener, coach, counselor, and fellow writer are often used metaphorically to define the roles of tutors. However, these ideal goals, which are often held by writing center administrators and tutors, frequently ignore the explicit wishes of the students who come to them for help.

On the other hand, students normally come to the writing center with a specific question or assignment that they have to complete. They are looking for answers to their immediate problem: “What can I write about?” “Is my structure the way the teacher likes it?” “Do I have any grammar or spelling mistakes?” It is not the writing process that interests them, but the grade they will get on their paper. These differences in the goals of the two parties can give “rise to a certain amount of tension between the writer who has – in the main – come for a short-term cosmetic repair, and the tutor who believes that a more long-term solution is needed” (Mayher 1992: 53-54).

Nevertheless, most writing centers in the U.S. are well visited. Having the potential to offer students the opportunity to get feedback on work in progress before handing it in to the professor reduces fears students often have when writing and can have a motivating effect on them. One-on-one conferences with tutors are not intended to replace student-teacher conferences, but many teachers simply do not have the time to closely monitor every student’s paper in progress. Many students do not feel free enough to ask their professors for feedback before turning their papers in, after all that is the person who will be giving them a grade on it; writing centers are a valid alternative to this. Other students go to the writing center because they appreciate the offer of feedback and opinions from a third party.

6.1.2 Writing Centers Come to Germany

Unlike freshmen at most American universities, for whom composition courses are a requirement, German students are usually expected either to come to university with already well-established writing skills (Kruse et al. 1999) or to acquire them independently in the course of their studies. With the problem of teaching students to write relegated to the *Gymnasiums*, there has until recently been very little discussion concerning the responsibilities universities have in this matter. Today, however, with a growing interest in the teaching of academic writing and the acknowledgement that it should be taught, some universities have taken the first steps in participating university-wide in setting up writing centers.

The first writing center in Germany was founded at the University of Bielefeld in 1993. Since then another twelve writing centers have followed. Although many of the writing centers claim to be based “on the model of US-American elite universities” (University of Bielefeld’s Writing Lab 2007), most writing centers in Germany have developed a unique German culture of their own, while maintaining many of the same basic theoretical approaches to writing and the teaching of writing as their American counterparts (Russell 2003).

Generally, writing centers in Germany focus more on offering writing workshops than on the one-on-one tutoring practiced by their American counterparts. There are several reasons for this. One is that writing centers in Germany have hitherto been project-based. They are not intended to become a permanent resource at the university (Kruse et al. 1999), and unlike their U. S. counterparts do not have the funding needed to train and then pay student tutors to carry out one-on-one tutoring on a large scale. On the other hand, writing workshops are a practical addition to the German university environment. As writing courses are not generally offered at the university (except in some foreign languages), learning materials that would otherwise have been used in those courses can be handed out to the students in the workshops and discussed with them. In addition, because students do not receive credit for these workshops, two-day intensive workshops are a good way of drawing as many students as possible to them. The average number of students that attend the writing workshops at each of the Universities of Cologne, Bielefeld, and Bochum is approx. 200 per semester. This is a beginning, modest though it may be.

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The nature of writing workshops being such that they are short-term and not long-term, they unsurprisingly concentrate their efforts on providing an overview of the writing processes rather than on actually practicing writing. In addition to giving a basic overview of the important steps involved in composing an academic paper, writing workshops also discuss some of the basic techniques to help students “deal systematically and productively with the particularly tricky stages of the production of scientific texts” (University of Bochum’s Writing Center 2007). Writing centers also offer workshops designed to meet the specialized needs of particular groups of students, such as: “Writing for first semester students”, “Writing a B.A. or M.A. thesis” or “Writing for doctoral students” (University of Cologne’s SchreibArt Program 2007; see also University of Cologne’s *Kompetenzzentrum Schreiben* 2008).

Even though writing centers themselves do not offer much one-on-one tutoring (often one hour per week), they sometimes offer workshops to potential tutors in the disciplines in the hope that they will be able to focus on the writing problems of their students within the various departments. Movements such as writing-across-the-curriculum (WAC) have done much to make educators aware of the need to help students learn to differentiate between writing tasks both within a subject and from subject to subject. The idea that biology majors will learn to write and think like biologists and English majors will learn to write and think like English majors simply from reading other people’s writing has been heavily criticized in recent years (Russell 2002). It is the hope of many that through the initiative of writing centers, teachers within the disciplines will become more aware of the need to help their students meet the challenges that writing in the different genres and rhetorical modes requires. Other sources provided by some writing centers include online tutoring, help in organizing self-help writing groups, and online materials to download.

Like their American counterparts, German writing centers see their task not as that of proofreaders, but as that of helping students to develop healthier writing techniques. They do not see it as their task to tell students what they think about a particular piece of work or to prescribe standards for processes or finished products. They attempt to offer students a framework within which they can discover their own writing style. “In axiom form it goes

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like this: Our job is to produce better writers, not better writing” (North 1984: 438). Despite this fact, writing center instructors and tutors are consciously drawn into the conflict over the “real” audience students are writing for and the type of feedback they expect to receive. When students come to the writing center with a task which is to be written for the teacher to evaluate, tutors, too, become a part of the system of evaluation. As proxies for the university and teachers, tutors find themselves fully involved in the conflicts that are so ingrained in writing for the teacher.

If writing centers in Germany are to grow to their fullest potential, more is needed than just attempts to aid and support the existing system. Writing centers have the potential to create change. Makeshift changes designed to offer assistance to a few students for a small part of their time, which is the current practice at writing centers, will not suffice. Writing support for students cannot be viewed as ad hoc “remedial” instruction reserved for the least able. And it cannot be viewed as a non-recurrent once-and-for-all emergency repair. Writing support must be viewed as a continuing accompaniment for students as they continue to improve their writing competencies step-by-step throughout their studies. Only then will it be possible to say that everything has been done to ensure that students’ writing experiences at the university have been as positive, efficient, and successful as possible. There is a desperate need for research into the long-term effects of tutoring and workshops on their participants and for a closer look into the needs of students and the options available to them regarding academic writing while at university.

6.2 Are the Current Efforts Sufficient?

There is no denying that all of the attempts mentioned in this text thus far to improve the writing situation for students in academic writing classes have had sweeping effects. Each has had in one way or another a positive effect. Below is a brief summary of their advantages:

- **Uniform Feedback:** More uniform feedback helps both students and instructors to gain a clearer picture of exactly what is expected of them. Students can relate to the criticism more readily by comparing their corrections with the templates presented to them. Both students and teachers

are in a better position to follow up on the different evaluations between papers and from student to student.

- **Portfolio Evaluation:** By placing more emphasis on the processes involved in writing, portfolio evaluations have succeeded in guaranteeing that many of the steps, such as brainstorming, mapping, and revising, are actually carried out. Portfolio evaluations' incorporation of reflective writing into the writing process, although not always academic in style, has improved students' meta-cognitive writing abilities.
- **Writing Centers:** Writing centers offer students the opportunity to learn to understand the processes of writing in general and especially as they relate to their own writing. By offering the students the chance to talk about their writing, they help them to connect their writing to the idea of writing as a dialogue. Writing centers offer students a place to resort to when they need help, taking away some of the stress they feel when left to write all on their own.
- **Peer Review:** Peer review, too, helps reduce the stress students feel when left alone to carry out the writing task with no one to turn to for assistance. Mutual support within the group reduces the pressure of competition among students. In the process of sharing their work with each other, their writing becomes more open, and they benefit from receiving multi perspectives about their writing. Through discussions simulating peers as the audience for their texts, writers are reminded of the need to engage in a dialog with a peer audience. The ability to read and discuss texts written at the ZPD and/or i+1 levels³⁴ is conducive to the learning of new items and ideas (Krashen 1984). Not only can students giving peer feedback gain from teaching others, but the experience is valuable training for many careers.

³⁴ For a brief definition of how i+1 is used here please see the glossary.

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6.2.1 The Teacher Is Still the Final Reader

Ultimately, despite the positive aspects that each of these methods brings to the writing class, academic writing still remains teacher-centered with the teacher being the final grader of the students' papers. In all four of the above-mentioned instances, the teachers remain the final judges of what the students have written. All final papers go through their hands, so that the conflicts discussed earlier still await resolution.

As long as the teacher is the final reader of what students write at universities:

1. How much students are able to write in their classes will continue to be determined by the teacher's time;
2. Students' writing will continue to focus on the needs of the teacher rather than on the needs of a discourse community;
3. Students' writing will remain monological rather than dialogical;
4. Students will have little or no opportunity to practice stake-free writing with feedback and will continue to view writing as a threatening experience;
5. The feedback students receive will continue to be evaluative;
6. The mysticism enshrouding what and how well students write will continue to hover over student writing.

6.3 An Alternative Method

The next chapter introduces an alternative method for teaching writing at universities which attempts to free it from its teacher-centered orientedness. In doing so it is hoped that this method will be able to offer students learning to write at universities possibilities to integrate some of the alternative goals for writing that are listed above.

7 Student Empowered Peer Review

This chapter attempts to describe a method called *student empowered peer review* (SEPR) which was specifically developed for use in ESL writing classes at a German university, where the student numbers in writing classes were particularly high and as a consequence the amount of writing students were assigned to carry out was very little. The original purpose of developing this method was simply to give the students the opportunity to write more and to allow them to get feedback on what they wrote. In the course of carrying out the method, however, it was found that the use of SEPR brought many more benefits to the writers and to the writing process as a whole than had originally been anticipated. With time, it became clear that the method offered students the opportunity to realize goals in writing that a teacher-centered classroom could not.

As with all new methods, however, there are doubts, questions, and uncertainties about the use of SEPR which make teachers reluctant to turn to it without first having substantial data verifying that their doubts are not valid. After a brief description of what SEPR is, this chapter first takes a look at some of the advantages SEPR can bring to writing classes before taking a closer look at some of the reasons that keep teachers from making use of it. The following chapter then describes a classroom study that was carried out in an attempt to clarify the extent to which the doubts teachers and researchers have are valid.

7.1 What is Student Empowered Peer Review (SEPR)?

Student empowered peer review (SEPR), like peer review, is a method in which students give their peers feedback on their written work. However, unlike traditional peer review, SEPR is not used as a means of interim intervention in the process of writing a paper. Rather than being used as a step in the process of writing where students give other students feedback on their early drafts before they revise them to turn them in to the teacher, SEPR is used as a method whereby students give feedback to other students on their final versions. Instead of getting feedback from their teachers, students get feedback on their final texts from a peer audience. The audience of their texts is thus no longer the teacher, but their community of

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peers. Using SEPR, students can receive final feedback on their texts without the teacher participating in the feedback process. The teacher becomes a facilitator³⁵ and is no longer the reader and evaluator of the students' texts.

7.2 Advantages of SEPR

When viewed from a Genre Studies perspective, it becomes clear that many of the goals that cannot be met when the teacher is the final feedback giver can indeed be met through the use of SEPR. For one, the total amount of writing that students are able to do in a course is no longer dependent on the teacher's time but on the students' time. SEPR thus frees the students from their dependency on the teacher's time for how much they can write and get feedback on. In doing so, it may open opportunities for students to practice genres and rhetorical modes that they may not have been able to practice in a strictly teacher-centered classroom.

In addition, because the peer feedback students receive in SEPR does not affect the students' grades, it is stake-free. The purpose of SEPR feedback is not to evaluate the text, but to exchange thoughts about the message, content, and ideas, while clarifying differences between what the writer intended to say and what the reader understood. It is akin to the kind of personal feedback professionals receive when they ask a colleague for their opinion about an article they are in the midst of writing for a professional journal, for example. SEPR, thus, offers students the opportunity to practice writing, in a stake-free environment in which they can feel free to experiment with styles, techniques, and ideas they might not otherwise dare to try out if a grade was to be given.

Moreover, when students write for peers, it is more likely that they will not focus on knowledge-telling, as they do when writing for the teacher, but rather on stimulating their peers' interest in their ideas with the goal of initiating dialog. When writing for a SEPR audience, students are motivated to relate the ideas they have developed on their topic in expectation of receiving a reaction to them from their peers. Students hope that the ideas they

³⁵ For a brief description of "facilitator" as it is used in this dissertation, please see the glossary.

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write may be new to their peers, as they would not be for the teacher, whom they assume has probably read the ideas many times before. The feedback students receive through SEPR is, thus, likely to be dialogical and supportive rather than monological and evaluative.

Because students know they are writing for their peers, the roles of the readers become clear through the use of SEPR. There is no longer the need for readers to feel they need to adopt the standpoint of the teacher. SEPR readers no longer have to try and second-guess what the teacher would say or would have said. They are free to look from their own perspective at what has been written. They are no longer acting in absentia for the teacher as the audience. They are the audience. They are free to express what it is they perceive when they read the text without having to try and think like the “knowledgeable other”. Readers can feel free to express their own opinions concerning the writing. This is an important step toward students developing autonomy in thinking and critical reading.

SEPR also reduces conflicts students normally face regarding the choice of audience when writing for the teacher. Through SEPR, a clear line can be drawn between writing for a discourse community or writing for the teacher. Students no longer need to attempt to write for both audiences in one text. Students are able to have a clear image of who it is they are writing for. With a clear line drawn, the conflicts they would otherwise encounter when making rhetorical decisions regarding the audience they are writing for are averted. They are in a better position to make decisions concerning which background information to include or not to include, which ideas may or may not be new for their readers, and which voice to adopt for which reader. In this sense, student writing can more easily become “reader based”.

SEPR not only makes it easier for students to make rhetorical decisions about their audiences, but it also offers them the opportunity to practice writing for the audience they are expected to write for in their post-university lives, their peers. When SEPR is added to the university curriculum, students are given the chance not only to write for an expert audience but also to participate in authentic discussions with their peers within their own community. By enabling students to participate in what Rorty (1979) calls “normal discourse”, SEPR enables students to actively participate in an ongoing dialog that helps create the socially justified beliefs we have of our world at any given moment. By actually participating in and adding to the

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knowledge base of their community, students are able to gain a feeling of membership in the community they are striving to join. This experience comes close to the feelings of apprentices at the workplace that were described in Lave and Wenger's (1991) research on Legitimate Peripheral Participation. Such possibilities for students to practice writing for interested discourse communities within their classrooms and universities are important steppingstones for motivating students to continue carrying out dialogs within their professional discourse communities even after they leave the university (Russell & Foster 2002).

7.3 Who Can Use SEPR?

SEPR is not course-specific. It can be used in almost all classes in which learning to write for a peer audience is desirable. It can be used within all disciplines and across all disciplines. Teachers can facilitate the use of SEPR in their classes. Universities can also have a role in organizing SEPR groups between and across disciplines during the semester and/or during the semester breaks. When used in classes, teachers can set aside time for students to carry out SEPR in class in the same manner as they use peer review, in groups of two or more. Carrying out SEPR in class has the advantage that the teacher is available to answer any questions which may come up. However, if teachers do not want to give up classroom time for SEPR, they can also assign students to carry out SEPR in group work outside of class. SEPR like peer review can be carried out face-to-face either orally or through written dialog. A third possibility is to use the internet for peer exchanges, either asynchronously or synchronously.

SEPR is not entirely new to university writing. Creative writing workshops at universities have long made use of SEPR feedback for discussions about the professional or semi-professional writers' work they submit to each other. Writing centers at several German universities (Bielefeld, Bochum, and Freiburg, for example) have begun to make attempts to organize SEPR groups for their students. But as the study of writing teachers showed, writing teachers have maintained a tradition that the written work students generate in writing classes almost always lands on their teachers' desks.

7.4 Why Don't Teachers Use SEPR?

The reasons why teachers do not use SEPR are more practical in nature than theoretical. Even if teachers accept that theoretically SEPR has certain advantages for their students, they still fear the practical consequences of what could happen when students correct other students' work.

When teachers are asked why they do not allow their students to peer-review each others' final texts, some of the arguments they give are:

1. "Students might give false feedback or miss something important that would go uncorrected."
2. "Students might give the other students feedback contradictory to mine."
3. "Students and administrators will think I am not doing my job as a teacher."
4. "If I assign students to write for their peers, they won't do it. They would just want me to correct their papers."

The majority of teachers' decisions are based on the assumption that:

- Peer feedback has potential dangers for both the teacher and the students.
- Students see teacher feedback as being superior to peer feedback, and they would not be willing to carry out SEPR.

Due to the lack of research in this area, teachers cannot know what happens when students are the final correctors of each others' texts. They cannot be sure that SEPR will not wreak havoc on the already sensitive terrain students enter each time they write. Teachers worry that if feedback given by students to other students is not subjected to a final scrutiny by the teacher, errors left uncorrected can give the wrong message to the writers: an assurance that nothing is wrong. But even more than errors that escape correction, teachers fear that false corrections could actually harm the writers. Teachers are wary of both language and structural corrections which might mislead students in their learning. Additionally, teachers

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are afraid of what could occur on a personal level between students when they are entrusted with total control and are not checked by an authority.

In addition to these fears, teachers are generally skeptical that students would be willing to write academic papers which are intended for a peer audience and not the teacher. They are doubtful whether students would be willing to write papers when there is no potential grade waiting for them at the end of the process. In other words, they doubt that students would be willing to make the effort of writing academic papers and receive feedback on them just for the sake of practice.

Therefore, despite much discussion about the advantages of student-centered classrooms, when it comes to giving feedback on papers, teachers of academic writing are just not willing to create a truly student-centered environment in which the students have final control. Admittedly, many teachers of academic writing concede a part of their hold on the task of giving feedback by allowing students to give each other feedback on interim drafts. However, in the end, by insisting on being the *final* readers of all texts, teachers pertinaciously maintain the final control over what the students write. Without sufficient research in this area, which helps teachers find out the extent to which their fears are real, most teachers will certainly not be inclined to try it out for themselves.

Therefore, in an attempt to further research in this area, the following study looks at and compares the effects of teacher feedback and the use of SEPR in three EFL writing courses over the course of one semester. The study looks at:

- What goes on between students when carrying out SEPR.
- How students look at SEPR compared to teacher feedback and as a consequence, whether students are willing to carry out SEPR.
- Whether students' writing under the use of SEPR improves.
- How the development of student writing with SEPR added to the curriculum compares to the development of student writing that is carried out using only teacher feedback.

For that purpose, three hypotheses to be tested were formulated.

7.5 Hypotheses

Hypothesis I:

Students are willing to carry out extra stake-free practice writing when given the opportunity and it does not matter whether it is with feedback from the teacher or via SEPR.

Hypothesis II:

When SEPR is used in a writing class to enable students to carry out extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher, students' average grades will be better than the average grades of students who do not carry out any extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher.

Hypothesis III:

When SEPR is used in a writing class to enable students to carry out extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher, the average grades of the students in the SEPR group will be better than the average grades of students in a group who write only for the teacher, even if those students carry out the same amount of practice writing for the teacher as the SEPR group does for peers.

8 The Study: A Comparison of Three Groups

Therefore, in order to examine whether these hypotheses hold true and to look at possible explanations why or why not, a study was carried out in three academic writing classes taught in the English department at a German university in the Winter Semester 2002/2003. To gather data, a questionnaire was administered at the end of the semester and an analysis of the students' writing over the course of the semester was carried out.

8.1 The Subjects

The subjects in the study were all upper-level German students (*Hauptstudium*) who had previously passed a four-hour written intermediate language exam which they were required to take at the end of their fourth semester. The majority of the students (80%) were studying to become teachers of English as a foreign language at the *Gymnasium* (the *Staatsexam II*). There were, however, students studying to become teachers at the lower-level public schools and some studying for the *Magister*.

8.2 The Groups

All three academic writing classes were courses that were taught by the researcher. The purpose of the writing classes was to prepare students to be able to write short essays, such as the short essays students write on final exams. Because the majority of the students wrote their exams about literature topics, literature had become the standard topic for the academic writing courses, although linguistic or educational topics appeared from time to time. For the purposes of the study, however, it was decided that literature would be the only topic used this semester.

At the beginning of the semester, each of the classes to be used in the study was randomly assigned to one of three groups that were used in the study. None of the students was aware at the time of signing up for a course that there would be any differences in the teaching methods employed in the classes. The only obvious differences were the time slots. The goal

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as set by the department was to help prepare students to write essays that would be graded, such as the essay part of the final exam.

Despite the fact that the students had all passed the intermediate exam, the grades they had received and the varying lengths of time that had passed since each of them had taken the intermediate exam could not guarantee that the students were all at the same level. In order to correct for any differences, therefore, a pre-test was administered during the first session of each group. The pre-tests were all graded in the same manner as all graded essays in the study, but were not handed back to the students and they were not informed of the results. The teacher explained that they were to be used in a study and had no influence on the final grade the students would receive in the course.

The groups were labeled: Control Group, Treatment Group 1, and Treatment Group 2. The students in all groups were assigned to write two essays of approximately 1,500 – 2,400 words during the semester, which would be teacher-corrected and graded. One essay was due at the mid-term and the other at the end of the course. This was the normal procedure for the course as described each semester in the institute's catalogue. This requirement had been worked out among the staff, based on numbers of students and the amount of time teachers would have for giving feedback. Students in the Control Group wishing to be given credit for the course were assigned to carry out only the normal procedure for the course, i.e. to write two essays. The second and third groups, the treatment groups, were informed during the first meeting of the semester that they would write the two essays described in the institute's catalogue in order to receive a grade and to be awarded credit for the course, but that they would also be required to write four extra essays similar in length to the other two essays. These essays would not be graded and would be written strictly for the sake of practice.

The essays to be written by the students in the treatment groups were to be submitted in a '2-1-2-1 rhythm', that is to say, the first two essays were written for practice, the third essay was handed in to the teacher for a mid-term grade, the fourth and fifth essays were again written for the sake of practice, and the sixth and last essay was handed in to the teacher for a final grade. Due to the situation, none of the students was allowed to change classes, so that the initial composition of the groups would remain stable. Fears of students dropping out of the course due to the extra writing that was assigned proved unjustified. Over the course of the

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semester each of the classes experienced a dropout rate of 3-5 students from the original number of students who had received a place in the class.

In addition to the difference in the number of essays required of the Control Group and the two treatment groups, the two treatment groups also differed from each other in the type of feedback the students in each of the groups received on the extra practice essays they wrote. Although in both cases no grades were given, the students in Treatment Group 1 turned in all four of their practice essays to the teacher and received teacher feedback, while the students in Treatment Group 2 exchanged their practice essays with their peers and received SEPR feedback as their final feedback.

Thus to summarize:

- **The Control Group** wrote two essays (mid-term and final) which were graded by the teacher
- **Treatment Group 1** wrote two essays (mid-term and final) which were graded by the teacher and four practice essays which received teacher feedback but no grade
- **Treatment Group 2** wrote two essays (mid-term and final) which were graded by the teacher and four practice essays which received SEPR feedback and no grade.

The following Table 8.1 summarizes the differences in the number of texts and kinds of feedback carried out in each of the groups:

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Table 8.1 Number of Texts and Kinds of Feedback Carried out in the Three Groups

Group (Number)	Pre-Test	Practice Essay 1	Practice Essay 2	Mid-term Essay	Practice Essay 3	Practice Essay 4	Final Essay
Control Group I (22)	No Feedback	—	—	Graded Teacher Feedback	—	—	Graded Teacher Feedback
Treatment Group 1 (24)	No Feedback	Teacher Feedback No Grade	Teacher Feedback No Grade	Graded Teacher Feedback	Teacher Feedback No Grade	Teacher Feedback No Grade	Graded Teacher Feedback
Treatment Group 2 (24)	No Feedback	SEPR Feedback No Grade	SEPR Feedback No Grade	Graded Teacher Feedback	SEPR Feedback No Grade	SEPR Feedback No Grade	Graded Teacher Feedback

8.3 Criteria for Writing and Feedback

In order to be able to collect, compare, and evaluate data from the study, it was, of course, necessary to have data which was comparable to and corresponded with the other data. For that purpose, it was necessary to systematically define what was to be expected of the students in their writing, which genres they would be writing in, and which guidelines would be set for giving feedback. Only through the use of such controlled variables would it be possible to weigh the effects of the independent variables (SEPR vs. teacher-centered and practice vs. graded writing) on the dependent variables (willingness to carry out practice writing and improvement in writing).

8.3.1 Guidelines for Writing

To help make this information transparent to the students, a class book, written by the instructor, was handed out at the beginning of the semester to all students. Throughout the semester students were given assignments to read parts of the class book. The material in the class book laid the groundwork for teaching process, post-process, and Genre Studies writing theories. It introduced the processes of writing, described suggestions pertaining to the structure of short essays, and the idea behind the flexibility of genres as seen through the eyes of Genre Studies. In addition, the class book included samples of short essays similar to those

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the students would be writing. Little emphasis was given to the discussion of grammar in the book. Of the ninety-five pages in the book only five referred to grammar problems which German EFL students at this level often have in writing formal texts, such as parallelism, addressing the reader, transitions, and punctuation. It was felt that because of the advanced level of the students that it would be more beneficial to teach grammar to each of the students via the errors they made on their own texts.

Class time was dedicated to discussions surrounding the material in the class book and the short stories the students read throughout the semester. The topics to be discussed each week were clearly laid out in the class syllabus which was handed out in the first class hour. Class discussions, thus, consisted of discussions about the general theories of writing, the processes of writing, the basic structure of academic short essays, some short grammar exercises, the sample essays in the class book, and the six short stories that the students read. When discussing the short stories, a general overview of the stories was first gained in order to clarify any misunderstandings the students might have had about the contents, vocabulary, or cultural differences. Further discussions of the short stories were then carried out in small groups which were assigned to discuss ideas for developing thesis statements and finding details which could be used to support them in an essay. Whole group discussions then brought these ideas together.

8.3.1.1 The Genre

Because the goal as set by the department was to help prepare students to write essays that would be graded, such as the essay part of the final exam, it could be said that the students were to learn to write essays in the 'school testing genre'. By adding practice writing to the curriculum of the two treatment groups, on the other hand, it was hoped that it would offer those students the added experience of what it means to write in a stake-free environment. It was further hoped that SEPR would offer the students in Treatment Group 2 the opportunity to experience writing in a truly *dialogical* environment for an audience of *equals*. Which genre the students were actually writing in would then depend on the activity and how the writers viewed it.

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Despite the socio-cultural differences surrounding the genres – depending upon whether it was for a grade, practice for the teacher, or practice for a peer – all genres had commonalities which the class book described. It explained that the general purpose of their essays was to inform their readers about a topic, i.e. the essays were epistemic in nature. It was explained that the setting for this genre is the workplace where the *speed and ease of reading* often play an important role for the readers. Readers read such texts in order to find out whether or not the information is valuable for them in their work or as in the case of teachers and readers of exams to grade the text. As a consequence, how readers rate such texts depends on both the content and on the structural clarity with which the writers have presented their material.

8.3.1.2 Structural Expectations

The class book explained that readers of these genres often have structural expectations when they begin to read a genre. Readers of this genre generally expect to find an introduction to the essay, several body paragraphs explicating it, and a conclusion. After first introducing their topic in the introduction, readers of this genre also generally expect writers to take a position concerning this topic, which they plan to support. This position should be clear to the reader while reading and is typically stated in a complete sentence, called the thesis statement, which can often be found toward the end of the introduction. Each of the body paragraphs then supports the writer's position with details, giving the reader enough detail to become convinced of what the writer wants to say. Like building blocks, each paragraph should independently support at least one aspect of the main position of the essay.

The paragraphs themselves are like microcosms of an essay. They, too, have a topic about which they take a position. This is usually referred to as the topic sentence and is usually found at the beginning of the paragraph or as a summary at the end of it. Just as the body paragraphs in an essay supply support for the thesis statement, the sentences of a paragraph supply support for their topic sentence in an attempt to convince the reader of their position.

The conclusion in a short essay is meant to connect the points made in the body paragraphs and explain to the reader why this information is so important. This final statement is often referred to as the “so what” statement.

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The instructor was well aware that the above information could easily be misconstrued as instructions to be blindly followed. As a consequence, the teacher and class book frequently reminded the writers and readers that the suggestions in the book were only suggestions and not rules. The only real criteria to follow were that the ideas be clear and easy to follow. The rest was up to them.

8.3.2 Giving and Receiving Feedback

Because the main focuses of the study was feedback, the conditions for giving and receiving feedback was a very important aspect which needed to be clarified for both the researcher, outside graders, and the writers. Which methods were to be used for the different types of feedback? Which criteria were to be used in grading the student texts in order to assure that a comparison was valid and which criteria were to be used during SEPR so that a comparison of SEPR with teacher feedback would be possible?

8.3.2.1 Methods for Giving Feedback

There were four types of final feedback given in the study: graded feedback from the teacher, graded feedback from outside readers, ungraded feedback from the teacher, and ungraded feedback from peers. The methods for giving this feedback also varied.

8.3.2.1.1 Graded Feedback from the Teacher

All subjects in the study received graded feedback from the teacher on the mid-term and final essays. This feedback was corrected outside of class and returned to the students in written form. The graded texts were handed back in class, more or less “silently”. The instructor suggested that if there were any questions regarding the feedback or grade that the students were invited to come to the instructor’s office hours for a conference.

8.3.2.1.2 Graded Feedback from the Outside Readers

Although all graded essays during the semester were corrected by the researcher, to ensure against researcher bias in the study, two outside correctors were asked to score the pre-tests, mid-terms, and final essays at a later date. These grades were then used for a statistical

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analysis of the students' grades to reveal whether and to what extent the students had improved in their writing in the three groups over the course of the semester.

8.3.2.1.3 Ungraded Feedback from the Teacher

In addition to receiving the graded feedback that all students received from the teacher on the mid-term and final essays, Treatment Group 1 also received ungraded feedback from the teacher on their four practice essays. This teacher feedback was also corrected outside of class and returned to the students in written form just as the graded essays were. The teacher corrected the essays in the same manner and with the same criteria as the graded essays in the study, but for practice writing did not give a grade. The students were once again instructed that if there were any questions regarding the feedback that they were invited to come to the instructor's office hours for a conference.

8.3.2.1.4 SEPR Feedback

Treatment Group 2 like Treatment Group 1 also received additional ungraded feedback on the four practice essays they wrote. However, in Treatment Group 2, the feedback came strictly from peers and was carried out face-to-face in class. During the SEPR sessions, students exchanged their papers in groups of two³⁶. To assure that the students had the benefit of as many different reviewers as possible throughout the semester, the students were asked to form their groups with new reviewers each time they carried out a SEPR session.

SEPR feedback was supplied to the writers in both written and oral form. The students first read their peers' essays and then gave a written criticism of them, before coming together to discuss the essays with each other orally. In addition to bringing a copy of the text they had written, the students were also asked to bring copies of other written work they had done in preparation for writing their texts, such as mappings, brainstormings, or previous drafts. This was done in the hope that these materials could assist the students in explaining the processes they had carried out while writing.

³⁶ Groups of two were chosen for purposes of the study to simulate more closely the one-to-one ratio of teacher feedback.

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8.3.2.1.5 No Feedback

On the four different occasions when the students in Treatment Group 2 were giving each other peer feedback on their practice essays, the Control Group and Treatment Group 1 spent time in small groups discussing sample texts which were included in the class book. It was felt that this would come closest to simulating the peer review Treatment Group 2 was carrying out, and thus keep differences in classroom teaching at a minimum. However, because these discussions were not about their own texts, this time was not categorized as peer review but rather class discussion.

8.3.2.2 Criteria for Giving Feedback

In addition to determining which methods would be used for giving feedback under the different conditions, it was also important to determine which criteria would be used for giving the feedback. This was important for two reasons. For one, inconsistent feedback from the teacher on the students' work in the course of the semester could have distorted their self images and thus caused further data to be skewed. In addition, it was necessary that the grades that were given by the two outside correctors were reliable for purposes of comparison of grades between and among the groups. The criteria for giving SEPR feedback, on the other hand, were to be less regulated. The students would be given guidelines, similar to those the teacher used but the sessions would not be totally structured to allow for the dialogical nature of their feedback.

8.3.2.2.1 Teacher and Outside Rater Feedback

It was decided that feedback was to be given in two areas. Because the students were EFL students, one area reflected their language development and the other reflected the structure of the essays. Therefore, when grades were given the students received two, one marked language and the other marked structure. For that purpose, two grading scales were devised.

The first grading scale was used for the language grade. The grades were based on the percentage of mechanical errors per words in the text. A scale of percentages from 100% to 60% was set up to correspond to each of the six grades on the typical German grading system. The language grading scale that was used can be found in Appendix 8.3.2.2.1.

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A second grading scale was set up to refer to the points given for structure. The grades that were given for structure were based on a point system based on the presence of various structural elements, such as a thesis statement, topic sentences, details, or a conclusion. Points were given for the number of elements that were present. However, the elements were checked off in a hierarchical order. There were four levels. If none of the elements of a higher level were present, the grader did not go on to the next lower level. For example, if the presence of a thesis statement could not be found either directly or indirectly, then no further points would be given. The same rules applied to topic sentences of paragraphs. It was not necessary that it be stated in one sentence but its presence should be obvious to the reader. The structure point system and the structure grading scale can also be found in Appendix 8.3.2.2.1.

To assure for inter-rater reliability, each of the raters was supplied with examples of grades that the teacher had given on tests of students who had dropped out of the course. They were then asked to grade other sample texts, and when the scores came to within $\frac{1}{2}$ of a point's difference to the teacher's, the training was considered to be satisfactory. However, if during the scoring process, the scores of the correctors differentiated by more than one grade, the texts were sent back to the correctors for a re-check. The final scores of the outside raters were then averaged and used as data input for the study.

8.3.2.2.2 SEPR Feedback

Although it is generally recommended that students be guided and instructed before carrying out peer review, it was decided that for purposes of the study this would not be done in order to give the students the opportunity to discuss exactly what they wanted. In spite of that, SEPR students were reminded that it might be helpful to look at the following list of questions that could be found in the class book as a guide in order to come closer to the criteria that the teacher would use in giving grades and feedback.

Questions Used as Criteria in Giving Feedback:

1. Purpose: What is the writer trying to accomplish in this essay?
2. Thesis Statement: Is the thesis of the essay clear from the introduction? If not, what is unclear and how could the introduction be improved?

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3. Paragraphs: Are there enough paragraphs and does each paragraph have a clear topic sentence?
4. Support: Is there enough support in each paragraph and does each support have enough detail?
5. Transitions: Is there an easy flow to the essay, marked by transitions or repetition of words? Does one paragraph move smoothly into the next?
6. Continuity: Does the essay stick to the subject, or wander far afield?
7. Cohesion: Do the paragraphs develop logically within themselves and from paragraph to paragraph?
8. Conclusion: Does the essay come to a conclusion and have a closing statement?
9. Results: Does the essay accomplish what it sets out to do?
10. Mechanics: Are there any mechanical errors that occur frequently?

8.4 Research Questions for the Study

Therefore, to obtain as comprehensive a view as possible of the processes at work in writing classes which make use of SEPR as opposed to those that do not, and to determine whether the hypotheses would be substantiated, the following research questions were formulated:

1. Do students want more writing practice in general?
2. Do students think their writing improved in their courses?
3. Is students' assessment of their own progress related to the treatment they received?
4. What method do students think is the most helpful for improving their writing?
5. Would the students have liked to have written more in their writing classes?
6. Are students' desires to write more or not to write more related to the amount of and kind of writing they did in their groups?
7. Are students willing to write extra texts for practice which receive feedback but no grade?
8. Does students' willingness to write extra texts for practice differ depending on whether the feedback is teacher or SEPR?
9. Do students feel they learn from teacher feedback?
10. Do students have misgivings concerning teacher feedback?

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11. What do students do when they have misgivings about teacher feedback?
12. Do students write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade?
13. Do students write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade based on the source of feedback they received?
14. Do students feel they learn from SEPR feedback?
15. Do students have misgivings concerning SEPR feedback?
16. What do students do when they have misgivings about SEPR feedback?
17. Do students learn from giving peer feedback?
18. How do students compare teacher feedback to SEPR feedback?
19. Does extra writing that is carried out in writing classes just for the sake of practice help students to improve their writing abilities?
20. Does it make a difference in the amount and type of improvement in student writing whether the students receive only teacher feedback on all of the writing they do (both graded and for practice), or receive teacher feedback on only the graded papers and SEPR feedback on the writing they do for practice?

8.5 A Student Questionnaire

In order to find answers to research questions one through eighteen, a questionnaire was used to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data from the students about how they perceive the writing they do for both the teacher and for peers. A questionnaire was prepared and handed out to the students in all three groups during the final session of the semester. Due to the differences in treatments between the groups, only the first part of the questionnaire could be answered by all students. A second part of the questionnaire, which related to the use of SEPR, was additionally administered to Treatment Group 2. Because not all students were present at the final session the number of questionnaires returned by each group were as follows: Control Group (20), Treatment Group 1 (22), and Treatment Group 2 (21). A copy of the questionnaires that were distributed in the groups can be found in Appendix 8.5.

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8.6 Results of the Student Questionnaire

8.6.1 Questions Pertaining to Writing Courses in General

The first two questions on the questionnaire related to **research question number one**:

1. Do students want more writing practice in general?

To obtain a clear picture of the number of times the students had already taken the one essay class that was offered at the university and to find out how much interest there was in general for repeating the class (although the students were actually only supposed to take the essay course once), the first two questions on the questionnaire asked students whether this was their first essay class at this university and, if not, how many classes they had attended in all. Table 8.2 shows the students' responses to the question in numbers of students and percentages.

Table 8.2 Was this your first essay class at this university?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	19	95%	20	91%	17	89%
No	1	5%	2	9%	4	11%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

Between 5% and 11% of the students were repeating the course. The highest number of repeats was in Treatment Group 2. All of the students who were repeating the course were taking it for the second time.

The second question on the questionnaire asked whether the students intended to repeat the same course again. The largest percentage of students interested in repeating the course (90%) were in the Control Group, which is understandable since they wrote the least, but 89% of the students in Treatment Group 2 were also interested in repeating the course, although they had written three times as many essays as the Control Group. Treatment Group 1 showed the least interest in repeating the course, although over 80% of the students still

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said they intended to take it again. This high percentage of students wanting to repeat the course shows that the majority of students actively seek out opportunities to improve their writing. Table 8.3 shows the data.

Table 8.3 Do you plan to take another one?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	18	90%	18	81%	17	89%
No	2	10%	4	19%	4	11%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

When asked if they wanted to repeat the course, the students were also asked to give reasons. Most students responded with a mere ‘yes’ or ‘no’. However, the longer responses that were received can be divided into four categories: 1) to get practice, 2) doubts about being able to, 3) a lack of time, and 4) no need. Of the four categories, the majority (70%) responded that they wanted to repeat the course to get practice. The following Table 8.4 lists the twenty statements that were received sorted according to category.

Table 8.4 Do you plan to take another one? Why or why not?

Yes

To Get Practice:

1. “Yes, to stay in practice.”
2. “Yes, because this was good practice.”
3. “Yes, to improve.”
4. “Yes, I do. I think my essays need improvement.”
5. “Yes, this was a good practice.”
6. “Yes, I’d like to take another one because I will not write on my own, but without writing I will forget what I’ve learned.”
7. “Yes, to practice.”
8. “Yes, to improve.”
9. “Yes, in order to be prepared perfectly for my final exams.”
10. “Yes, I will take a third one to be prepared for the final exams.”
11. “Yes, to improve my essay writing skills.”
12. “Yes, I’d like to take another one to further improve my writing skills.”
13. “Yes, I think I need more practice in my essay writing.”
14. “Yes, I’d like to because practice is very important.”

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Yes/No

Doubts about being able to:

- 15. "Yes, if I'm allowed to."
- 16. "Have a look at the new LPO and there is no time to take another one. They are nuts!"

No

Lack of time:

- 17. "No, because I don't have the time to do another one."
- 18. "No, no time."
- 19. "No, no time."

No

Not necessary:

- 20. "No, no need."

8.6.2 Questions Pertaining to this Course

Question number three on the questionnaire refers to **research questions two and three**, pertaining to whether the students thought their writing had improved in the course.

- 2. Do students think their writing improved in their courses?**
- 3. Is students' assessment of their own progress related to the treatment they received?**

Table 8.5 shows the students' responses to the question whether they felt their writing had improved over the semester.

Table 8.5 Did your ability to write English essays improve over the semester?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	18	90%	18	82%	17	81%
No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Not Sure	2	10%	4	18%	4	19%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

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It is interesting that no student in any of the groups replied that they thought they had not improved. Even more interesting is, however, that in the two groups where more writing was done, the students proved to be most unsure as to whether they had improved or not.

The completion part of question three and question number four on the questionnaire has reference to **research question number four**:

4. What method do students think is the most helpful for improving their writing?

In addition to a yes/no answer, question number three on the questionnaire also asked students to fill in a completion question which asked why they thought they had or had not improved. Not all students filled in the long answer to the question, but of those who did, their answers fell into two categories. Of the twenty-eight long answers which were received, sixteen pointed to the fact that the students felt that practice had helped them develop a routine. Another twelve students attributed the improvement in their writing skills to their having learnt to structure their work better. The following is a list of the statements that students made in response to the question. They are categorized based on content.

Table 8.6 Did your ability to write English essays improve over the semester? What makes you think so or not?

Practice Helps Develop Routine

1. "I'm able to write faster (applying the instruction of simply writing down what's in my mind without pondering too much about it at first)."
2. "I spent a lot of time in reading and writing which I haven't done before."
3. "The more often you write, the more used to it you get."
4. "I thought it got easier to come up with it."
5. "More routine."
6. "I do not have these problems anymore just starting to write."
7. "It becomes easier for me to write essays."
8. "More writing practice."
9. "Practice makes you feel more easy."
10. "Through repetition learned how to structure what is important."
11. "The practice just improved it, I could honestly write better English in school than now in university just because we normally never have to write here."
12. "I don't sit in front of the PC all the time I sat at the beginning of the course."

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13. "I got used to writing in English."
14. "It feels easier to start a new text."
15. "I never liked writing, but as I had to I began to like it and was quite proud when I looked at my results."
16. "To me it was much easier to write the 6th essay than the 1st."

Structure Improved

17. "Better structuring."
18. "I was able to structure my ideas. The last essay was easier to write (didn't take that much time)."
19. "Learned structure: how to write."
20. "Because I know now how to structure a paragraph."
21. "I learned how to structure my ideas/new vocabulary."
22. "I think my texts are more structured."
23. "My essays got better structured."
24. "I learnt how to structure my writing."
25. "I know how to structure essays."
26. "I do not write retellings anymore."
27. "Had no idea how to structure"
28. "The mappings helped a lot."

Question number four on the questionnaire asked those students who felt they had improved in the course to arrange in order of importance the factors that had been instrumental in bringing about this improvement. Although at least 10% of each group responded to the previous question with uncertainty as to whether they had improved or not, all of the students in each group gave a response to this question. The students in all groups were asked to rate five items: writing, in-class discussions, teacher feedback, the book, and other. Peer review was added to the list for Treatment Group 2, but since the Control Group and Treatment Group 1 had not experienced peer review, it was omitted from their lists.

The following Table 8.7 shows the average ratings according to importance given to the four items by the students in the Control Group and Treatment Group 1, 1 being the most important and 4 the least important.

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Table 8.7 If your writing improved, what were the most helpful factors?

	Control Group	Treatment Group 1
Writing	1	1
In-Class Discussions	3	3
Teacher Feedback	2	2
The Class Book	4	4
Other: _____	0	0

Despite the discrepancy in the amount each of the above groups wrote, both classes clearly chose writing as being the most helpful method of improvement. All groups also placed teacher feedback second. The average ratings for the class discussions and the class book were very close, although class discussions were slightly favored over the book in all groups.

Table 8.8 below shows how Treatment Group 2 rated the four factors plus peer review. It is interesting to note that in Treatment Group 2 peer review out rated both class discussions and the book in importance for learning.

Table 8.8 If your writing improved, what were the most helpful factors?

	Treatment Group 2
Writing	1
In-Class Discussions	4
Peer Feedback	3
Teacher Feedback	2
The Book	5
Other: _____	0

The order of ratings for Treatment Group 2 remained the same as for Treatment Group 1, with the exception that peer feedback was inserted into the final choices following teacher feedback; class discussions and the book then followed in the same order as in the other two groups.

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Question number five on the questionnaire addressed **research question numbers five and six:**

- 5. Would the students have liked to have written more in their writing classes?**
- 6. Are students' desires to write more or not to write more related to the amount of and kind of writing they did in their groups?**

Table 8.9 shows the absolute numbers and percentages of the responses to question number five whether students would have liked to have written more in their respective groups.

Table 8.9 Would you have liked to have done more writing?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	14	70%	4	18%	8	42%
No	6	30%	18	82%	13	58%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

The group with the most satisfaction regarding what they wrote was Treatment Group 1. More than 80% of the students in Treatment Group 1 answered that they would not have liked to have written more. By contrast, fewer than 60% of the students in Treatment Group 2 felt they had written as much as they would have liked. Most noticeable, however, is the difference between the wishes of the students in the Control Group and the two treatment groups to write more. In the Control Group 70% of the students answered that they would have liked to have written more compared to a maximum of 42% and 18% in the treatment groups.

Question number six on the questionnaire referred to **research questions seven and eight:**

- 7. Are students willing to write extra texts for practice which receive feedback but no grade?**

8. Does students' willingness to write extra texts for practice differ depending on whether the feedback is teacher or SEPR?

Although the Control Group did not do any practice writing, they were also administered question number six on their questionnaires. By the end of the semester they had heard about the extra writing the other two groups had done and it was felt they could easily imagine what writing for practice meant. Table 8.10 shows the results of the answers that students in the three groups gave to the question about whether they minded writing extra texts for practice.

Table 8.10 Do you mind writing extra texts that are not graded?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	1	5%	3	14%	2	10%
No	19	95%	19	86%	19	90%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

The broad majority of students in all groups answered 'No' to the question, which clearly shows that not only students who have experienced writing for practice but even students who have not done so are not disinclined to writing texts purely for the sake of practice. Also of special note is the fact that there were scarcely any differences between the two treatment groups in their willingness to write texts for practice. Whether the students who had written practice texts had received teacher feedback or peer feedback did not clearly affect their willingness to write for practice.

8.6.3 Questions Pertaining to Teacher Feedback

Question numbers seven through nine on the questionnaire referred to how the students looked at the feedback they received from the teacher. Question number seven addressed **research question number nine:**

9. Do students feel they learn from teacher feedback?

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Table 8.11 shows the students' responses to the question whether students felt they had learned from the teacher's feedback.

Table 8.11 Were you able to learn from the feedback your teacher gave you?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	20	100%	21	95%	18	88%
No	0	0%	1	5%	3	12%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

Although the majority of students said they had been able to learn from the teacher's feedback, three students in Treatment Group 2 and one student in Treatment Group 1 said they had not.

As a follow-up to question number seven on the questionnaire about whether the students felt they had been able to learn from the teacher's feedback there was a completion question which asked "why or why not?" Only six students in all wrote a long answer to the question, but those who did gave answers that fell into two categories.: two students explained what they had liked most about the teacher's feedback, and four students explained what they had not liked about it. Table 8.12 lists the statements students made in response to the question.

Table 8.12 Were you able to learn from the feedback your teacher gave you? Why or why not?

Helpful

1. "Helpful for structure."
2. "Showed me my grammar mistakes."

Not Helpful

3. "Not able to discuss things directly."
4. "Too many unclear corrections."
5. "Wasn't always sure what a correction meant."
6. "Too many corrections."

Of the four negative responses, three could easily have been remedied had teacher conferencing been an option for the students. On the other hand, since so few students gave a

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long answer explaining why they felt they had learned from the teacher's feedback, a suspicion remains that their positive response was meant in a general way, ignoring specific instances of corrections which for them, too, were lacking in clarity.

Question numbers eight and nine on the questionnaire took a more critical look at how the students viewed the actual content of the teacher's feedback. They addressed **research questions ten and eleven**:

10. Do students have misgivings concerning teacher feedback?

11. What do students do when they have misgivings about teacher feedback?

Table 8.13 below shows the responses the students gave to the question whether they always agreed with the corrections their teacher gave them. The majority of the students responded that they had always agreed with the corrections their teacher made on their essays. However, 16% of the total number of students responded that they had not agreed. The largest numbers of students in a group (27%) who did not agree were the students in Treatment Group 1. They had also received most feedback from the teacher, having been given feedback from the teacher six times as against only twice for the other groups.

Table 8.13 Did you always agree with the corrections/feedback your teacher gave you?

	Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	19	95%	16	73%	18	88%
No	1	5%	6	27%	3	12%
Total	20	100%	22	100%	21	100%

Question number nine then asked those students who had answered "No" to the previous question what they did when they did not agree with the teacher's corrections. There were four sub-parts to the question asking whether they: discussed it with the teacher, asked someone else, looked it up at home, or pursued it no further. Table 8.14 summarizes the responses to this question:

Table 8.14 If you said “No” to the above question, what did you do?

		Control Group		Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
		Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Ask the Teacher	Yes	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	No	1	100%	6	100%	3	100%
Ask Someone Else	Yes	1	100%	4	66%	1	33%
	No	0	0%	2	33%	0	0%
Look it up at Home	Yes	0	0%	2	33%	1	33%
	No	1	100%	4	66%	0	0%
Just leave it	Yes	0	0%	2	33%	1	33%
	No	1	100%	4	66%	2	66%
Total Students		1		6		3	

None of the ten students who had replied that they had not always agreed with the teacher’s corrections replied that they had asked the teacher. Although they had not asked the teacher, the majority of the students who had questioned the teacher’s corrections did at least reply that they had asked someone else (75%). Three (33%) of the ten students replied that they had done nothing even though they had disagreed with the teacher’s corrections.

8.6.4 Question Pertaining to Writing for Different Purposes

Question number ten referred to whether the students wrote differently when they were writing for a grade or for practice. Both treatment groups could answer this question, since they had both carried out both practice writing and writing for a grade, although they received different kinds of feedback on these activities. Questions on the questionnaires of both treatment groups addressed **research questions numbers twelve and thirteen:**

12. Do students write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade?

13. Do students write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade based on the source of feedback they received?

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Table 8.15 shows the results of the students' responses.

Table 8.15 Did you try to write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade?

	Treatment Group 1		Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	7	32%	7	35%
No	15	68%	14	65%
Total	22	100%	21	100%

The results show that over 60% of the students in both groups felt they had not tried to write differently when they were writing just for practice or when they were writing for a grade. Whether the students were carrying out practice writing for a peer or for the teacher to read did not seem to affect behavior either.

8.6.5 Questions Pertaining to Student Empowered Peer Review

The next section of the questionnaire referred to the use of student empowered peer review (SEPR), which only Treatment Group 2 experienced. Therefore questions pertaining to peer review were only included in the questionnaires of Treatment Group 2.

8.6.5.1 Questions Pertaining to Students as Receivers of Feedback

The first of this group of questions on the questionnaire, number eleven, looked at the **research question fourteen**:

14. Do students feel they learn from SEPR feedback?

Table 8.16 shows the responses and percentages of students who responded to the question whether they thought they had learned from the corrections/feedback they received from their peers.

Table 8.16 Were you able to learn from the feedback your peer editors gave you?

Treatment Group 2		
	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	17	84%
No	1	4%
Not Sure	3	16%
Total	21	100%

Although 13% of the students either answered that they had not, or were not sure, whether they had learned from peer feedback, the majority of students (84%) responded that they had.

As a follow-up to this question about whether the students felt they had been able to learn from the feedback of their peers, there was a completion question which asked “why or why not?” All of the students responded with at least one short phrase to this question. In all there was a total of 25 phrases or sentences, which on the basis of their content could be divided into eight different ways in which students felt they had benefited or had not benefited from the peer corrections of the other students. The answers could be categorized as follows: getting ideas from others, help with the structure, help with self-revision, discussions, no particular reason, students did not take it seriously enough, students were not capable enough, and disagreements among students. The statements made by the students in response to the question are listed below by categories.

Table 8.17 Were you able to learn from the feedback your peers gave you? Why or why not?

Students Who Were Satisfied with Peer Review

Getting Ideas from Others

1. “Some good ideas; some corrected mistakes.”
2. “They have other ideas, different knowledge, . . . “
3. “Helpful comments and correction proposals.”
4. “They added more aspects I didn’t think of.”
5. “You can always learn from corrections.”
6. “Different corrections from different people are helpful.”
7. “Very helpful; saw my text from another p.o.v.”
8. “Different use of vocabulary.”

Help with the Structure

- 9. "They showed me where the structure of my texts was unclear."
- 10. "They helped organizing the essay."
- 11. "Because they gave some good examples to prove my essay."

Help with Self-Revision

- 12. "Made me aware of my typical mistakes."
- 13. "Partly, though sometimes it just make you think about a sentence that seemed to you perfectly clear but wasn't for the reader."
- 14. "Pointed things out, I had not noticed."
- 15. "They pointed out some mistakes I did not see."
- 16. "Some understanding issues were cleared."

Discussions

- 17. "Because they were very detailed discussions."
- 18. "Peers did not only mark mistakes wrong but discussed them with me."

No Particular Reason

- 19. "I *definitely* learned from the peer corrections."

Students Who Were Dissatisfied with Peer Review

Students Were Not Serious Enough

- 20. "Peers were sometimes not serious enough."
- 21. "Only if they did it seriously."

Students Were Not Capable Enough

- 22. "Essay 2 was peer-edited insufficiently. Peer didn't know what to correct."
- 23. "Partly, not all corrections were really useful."
- 24. "No comment on the structure of style, corrected only minor (grammar, vocab) mistakes."

Disagreements among Students

- 25. "Sometimes we had quite different points of view on the thesis and the structure. They saw it the one way. I differently."

Even though the majority of students felt they had learned from the feedback they received from their peers, it is also important to find out whether the students always agreed with the feedback they got. The next two questions on the questionnaire, numbers twelve and thirteen, referred to **research questions fifteen and sixteen**:

15. Do students have misgivings concerning SEPR feedback?

16. What do students do when they have misgivings about SEPR feedback?

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Table 8.18 shows the responses and percentages of students who responded to the question whether they always agreed with the feedback they received from their peers.

Table 8.18 Did you always agree with the criticism your peer editors gave you?

Treatment Group 2		
	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	5	25%
No	16	75%
Total	21	100%

75% of the students responded that they did not always agree with the feedback from their peers. As a follow-up question to this, those who had answered “No” were asked what they did when they did not agree with the corrections of their peers.

As in the question concerning teacher feedback, four sub-parts to the question were used to find out whether they: discussed it with the person, asked someone else, looked it up at home, or just ignored it / pursued it no further. Table 8.19 shows the students’ responses.

Table 8.19 If you said “No”, what did you do?

Treatment Group 2			
		Number of Students	Percent
Discuss it with the Person	Yes	16	100%
	No	0	0%
Ask Someone Else	Yes	4	25%
	No	12	75%
Look it up at Home	Yes	14	88%
	No	02	12%
Just leave it	Yes	0	0%
	No	16	100%
Total Students		16	

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All sixteen students replied that they had discussed their disagreements or uncertainties about the corrections their peer editors had made with the peer editors themselves. Unlike teacher feedback, which was distributed in written form to each of the students in class at the same time, peer feedback was carried out individually in class in written form then discussed orally when the texts were returned. As a consequence, students had an opportunity to ask any questions they had directly. Because all of the students had the opportunity to discuss with their peers any questions they had, none of them reported doing nothing. Many students also reported having additionally asked others for help and/or having looked up the point of interest at home.

8.6.5.2 Questions Pertaining to Students as Givers of Feedback

Researchers claim that part of the benefits involved in peer review are those that the readers derive from giving feedback. To ascertain how students actually regard the task of peer reviewing, the next four questions on the questionnaire, thirteen through sixteen, referred to this topic. The first of this group of questions on the questionnaire, number fourteen, appertained to **research question seventeen**:

17. Do students learn from giving peer feedback?

An important part of learning is enjoying it. The affective aspect can have considerable influence on whether students learn or not (Hedgcock & Lefkowitz 1994). Therefore, question number fourteen on the questionnaire asked the students whether they enjoyed seeing what other students had written. Table 8.20 shows the results.

Table 8.20 Did you enjoy seeing what other students wrote?

	Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	21	100%
No	0	0%
Total	21	100%

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Despite the fact that peer review entails work on the part of the correctors, all of the students answered that they enjoyed seeing what their peers had written.

The next question on the questionnaire, number fifteen, asked the students whether they had learned from doing the peer editing. Table 8.21 shows the students' responses to this question.

Table 8.21 Did you learn from doing student empowered peer review?

	Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	17	80%
No	2	10%
Yes-No	2	10%
Total	21	100%

In response to this question the majority (80%) answered that they had learned from giving feedback, but a total of 20% either answered that they had not learned, or gave a non-committal answer.

As a follow-up to this question about whether the students felt they had been able to learn from giving feedback to their peers, there was a completion question which asked "why or why not?" All of the students responded with short phrases and some with more than one. In all, there were a total of 28 phrases or sentences which on the basis of their content could be divided into six different ways in which peer review benefited the students. The six categories found were: career training, getting ideas from others, learning about differences, personal/social benefits, motivational factors, and questioning their own abilities. The statements made by the students in response to the question are listed below by categories.

Table 8.22 Did you learn from doing the student empowered peer review? Why or why not?

Yes

Career Training

1. "In terms of error analysis for further teaching."
2. "For example, seeing how they corrected the paragraphs → to me this was so hard."
3. "You get the possibility to show other people how to structure their essays."
4. "A good correction requires a profound knowledge!"
5. "I learned new expressions."

Getting Ideas from Others

6. "Getting ideas; seeing different writing styles."
7. "Seeing how others did with topics improved my view on things"
8. "It really helps to reflect the own writing more critically"
9. "Because it widens your insight on the topic, on the different approaches to the topic."
10. "Good for comparing / getting ideas."
11. "It gives new ideas."
12. "I did get ideas about what I could write about."
13. "I got to know new writing styles."
14. "Good comments, praise also, nice to read s.o. else's work."
15. "I got ideas from very good texts."
16. "Because I got new ideas and it was helpful to see how the others did it."
17. "It was interesting to see their ideas."
18. "Different points of view."
19. "Inspiration: other ways of structuring / developing a topic."

Personal/Social Benefits

20. "I learned how to evaluate and formulate critique."
21. "Be confident in discussing questions; that is a good way for improving and getting new ideas."

Learning About Differences

22. "The other students are better than me, because they made more experiences."
23. "You take a different perspective; you think a lot more about language + writing."

Motivational Factors

24. "Because I looked up things I wasn't sure of."

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No/Yes-No

Questioning Their Own Abilities

25. No: "I just learned from writing essays and sometimes cannot understand if the essay includes everything that has to be in there."
26. No: "Because I only corrected sentences which I already knew were wrong."
27. Yes-No: "I need a long time to correct or think about s.o. else's essay and found it difficult to do so in class."
28. Yes-No: "It was not always helpful e.g. when I was unsure about several things."

Because an important part of learning is becoming aware of what it is one does not yet know, it was felt that it would be interesting to find out how the students felt about making the corrections they did. The next question on the questionnaire, number sixteen, asked the students whether they had sometimes been unsure about making some corrections. Table 8.23 shows the results to this question.

Table 8.23 Were you sometimes unsure about making some corrections?

	Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent
Yes	21	100%
No	0	0%
Total	21	100%

All of the students answered that they had felt unsure about making some of the corrections.

The next question on the questionnaire, number seventeen, then asked those students who had answered "Yes" to the previous question what they had done about it. Table 8.24 shows the students' responses to this question.

Table 8.24 If you were sometimes unsure about making some corrections, what did you do?

		Treatment Group 2	
		Number of Students	Percent
Discuss it with the Person	Yes	21	100%
	No	0	0%
Ask Someone Else	Yes	15	71%
	No	6	29%
Look it up at Home	Yes	8	38%
	No	13	62%
Just leave it	Yes	0	0%
	No	21	100%
Total Students		21	100%

All of the students replied that they had asked their peer reviewer when they were not sure about making a correction. The majority of the students also replied that they had asked someone else when they were not sure. None of the students replied that they had done nothing.

8.6.5.3 Teacher Feedback vs. SEPR Feedback

Since Treatment Group 2 received feedback from both the teacher and SEPR, it was also possible to compare students' perceptions of the helpfulness of teacher feedback as opposed to the peer feedback they received from SEPR. Question number eighteen on the questionnaire addressed **research question number eighteen:**

18. How do students compare teacher feedback with SEPR feedback?

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Table 8. 25 Which feedback was more helpful, teacher or peer?

	Treatment Group 2	
	Number of Students	Percent
Teacher	12	58%
Peer	7	35%
Both	2	7%
Total	21	100%

In response to this question the majority (58%) answered that teacher feedback had been most helpful. However, 7% of the students answered ‘both’ and another 35% said they had found peer feedback to be most helpful.

8.7 Comparison of the Groups Based on Grades

In addition to implementing a questionnaire, a quantitative analysis of the grades students received on the three essays they wrote over the course of the semester was conducted. The grades on the three graded essays (the pre-tests, mid-term essays, and final essays) were compared in order to try and find answers to **research questions nineteen and twenty:**

- 19. Does extra writing that is carried out in writing classes just for the sake of practice help students to improve their writing abilities?**
- 20. Does it make a difference in the amount and type of improvement in student writing whether the students receive only teacher feedback on all of the writing they do (both graded and for practice), or receive teacher feedback on only the graded papers, and SEPR feedback on the writing they do for practice?**

All of the outside readers’ grades were then compared, using two tests, the two-sided Kruskal-Wallis test and the two-sided Mann-Whitney-U test, to check for significant differences between the groups and to measure improvement in the students’ writing abilities over the semester. As some of the students dropped out of the course during the semester, there were at the end of the semester a total of 70 students whose scores could be used. The

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numbers of students remaining in each group were: Control Group (22), Treatment Group 1 (24), and Treatment Group 2 (24). Due to the small sizes of the groups, non-parametric tests were chosen.

The data of the three groups were first compared using the two-sided Kruskal-Wallis test. If the Kruskal-Wallis test did not show a significant result, then the test procedure stopped and the zero hypothesis that the three groups are equal could not be rejected. If the Kruskal-Wallis test showed a significant result, pair-wise comparisons of the groups were performed using the two-sided Mann-Whitney-U test. Both tests are non-parametric tests. They do not assume a normal distribution of the data and are adequate for comparing school grades. The tests test the equality of medians of two (Mann-Whitney-U) or more (Kruskal-Wallis) independent samples. A p value of less than 0.05 was considered to indicate a significant difference.

8.7.1 Statistical Report

This report documents the analysis of grades of the three groups of students in the study who were taught under the three different conditions.

The following table shows the description of the grades the students in each of the groups received on the three graded essays: pre-test, mid-term, and final. Each essay was assigned two grades, one based on language mechanics, and the other based on structure.

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Table 8.26 Description of grades

Language

Time	Group	N	Mean	SD	Min	25th perc.	Median	75th perc.	Max
Pre-test	Control	22	4.57	1.26	2.0	4.0	4.5	6.0	6.0
	Treatment 1	24	4.51	1.41	1.0	4.0	4.3	6.0	6.0
	Treatment 2	24	4.52	1.28	1.7	3.9	5.0	5.5	6.0
Mid-term	Control	22	4.15	1.34	1.0	3.3	4.3	5.0	6.0
	Treatment 1	24	3.53	1.21	1.0	2.5	3.9	4.3	5.3
	Treatment 2	24	3.26	1.18	1.0	2.3	3.7	4.2	5.0
final	Control	22	3.65	1.20	1.3	2.7	4.0	4.7	5.0
	Treatment 1	24	2.43	0.73	1.0	2.0	2.7	3.0	3.3
	Treatment 2	24	2.67	1.03	1.0	2.0	2.9	3.5	4.3

Structure

Time	Group	N	Mean	SD	Min	25th perc.	Median	75th perc.	Max
Pre-test	Control	22	4.94	1.20	2.0	4.7	5.0	6.0	6.0
	Treatment 1	24	5.08	1.18	1.0	4.6	5.0	6.0	6.0
	Treatment 2	24	4.97	1.15	2.0	4.2	5.0	6.0	6.0
Mid-term	Control	22	4.88	0.95	2.7	4.0	5.0	6.0	6.0
	Treatment 1	24	4.43	1.05	2.0	3.7	5.0	5.0	6.0
	Treatment 2	24	3.32	1.19	1.0	2.3	3.7	4.2	5.0
final	Control	22	4.31	0.94	2.0	3.7	4.9	5.0	5.3
	Treatment 1	24	3.52	1.19	1.0	3.0	3.9	4.3	5.0
	Treatment 2	24	2.12	1.15	1.0	1.2	1.7	3.0	4.0

N=Count, SD=Standard Deviation, Min=Minimum, 25th perc.=25th percentile, 75th perc.=75th percentile, Max=Maximum

8.7.1.1 Results of the Statistical Tests

- Language pre-test: Kruskal-Wallis $p = 0.999$

- Language mid-term: Kruskal-Wallis $p = 0.057$

- Language final: Kruskal-Wallis $p = \mathbf{0.002}$

Pair wise comparison:

Control vs Treatment 1: Mann-Whitney-U $p = \mathbf{0.0013}$

Control vs Treatment 2: Mann-Whitney-U $p = \mathbf{0.0068}$

Treatment 1 vs 2: Mann-Whitney-U $p = 0.3228$

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- Structure pre-test: Kruskal-Wallis $p = 0.915$
- Structure mid-term: Kruskal-Wallis $p < \mathbf{0.0001}$

Pair-wise comparison:

Control vs Treatment 1:	Mann-Whitney-U $p = 0.1853$
Control vs Treatment 2:	Mann-Whitney-U $p < \mathbf{0.0001}$
Treatment 1 vs 2:	Mann-Whitney-U $p = \mathbf{0.0012}$

- Structure final: Kruskal-Wallis $p < \mathbf{0.0001}$

Pair-wise comparison:

Control vs Treatment 1:	Mann-Whitney-U $p = \mathbf{0.0201}$
Control vs Treatment 2:	Mann-Whitney-U $p < \mathbf{0.0001}$
Treatment 1 vs 2:	Mann-Whitney-U $p = \mathbf{0.0006}$

The bold p values are smaller than 0.05.

No group differences could be found for the pre-test condition.

The following Tables 8.27-8.30 show the mid-term and final means for the pairs of groups based on the language and structure scores the students received. The significance value is shown where applicable.

Table 8.27 on the next page shows that the treatment groups tended to lower mid-term language grades, but these differences were not significant.

Table 8.27 Language Mid-term Means and p Values

Group 1	Group 2	Mann-Whitney-U
Control 4.15	Treatment 1 3.53	NS
Control 4.15	Treatment 2 3.26	NS
Treatment 1 3.53	Treatment 2 3.26	NS

NS=Not Significant

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Table 8.28 shows that for the mid-term structure grades of the Control Group and Treatment Group 1 the test showed no significant difference although the other pair-wise comparisons led to significant results.

Table 8.28 Structure Mid-Term Means and p Values

Group 1	Group 2	Mann-Whitney-U
Control 4.88	Treatment 1 4.43	NS
Control 4.88	Treatment 2 3.32	<0.0001
Treatment 1 4.43	Treatment 2 3.32	0.0012

NS=Not Significant

For the final language grades significant differences could be found between the control and the treatment groups. Table 8.29 shows that the two treatment groups did not differ significantly.

Table 8.29 Language Final Means and p Values

Group 1	Group 2	Mann-Whitney-U
Control 3.65	Treatment 1 2.43	0.0013
Control 3.65	Treatment 2 2.67	0.0068
Treatment 1 2.43	Treatment 2 2.67	NS

NS=Not Significant

As Table 8.30 shows, however, all three groups differed significantly in the final structure grades.

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Table 8.30 Structure Final Means and p Values

Group 1	Group 2	Mann-Whitney-U
Control 4.31	Treatment 1 3.52	0.0201
Control 4.31	Treatment 2 2.12	<0.0001
Treatment 1 3.52	Treatment 2 2.12	0.0006

Below and on the next page, box plots of the data are shown. Box plots are a visualization of the descriptive measures presented in Table 8.26. The "box" in a box plot shows the median as a line and the 25th and 75th percentile as the lower and upper parts of the box. The "whiskers" shown above and below the boxes represent the largest and smallest observed values that are less than 1.5 box lengths from the end of the box. Values beyond the whiskers (outliers) are indicated by a single marker.

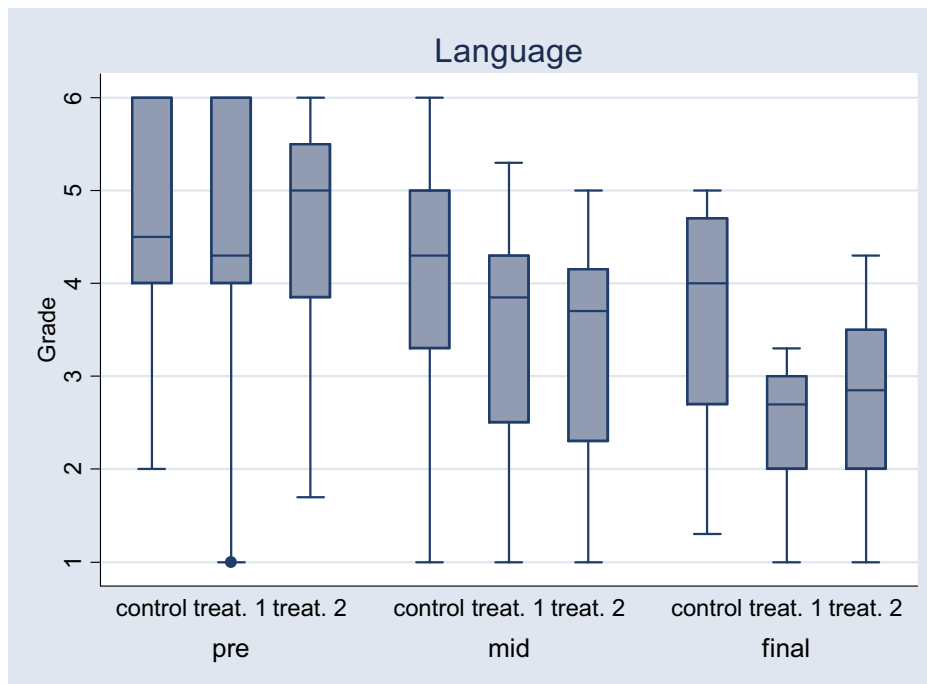


Figure 8.1: Box plots of language grades

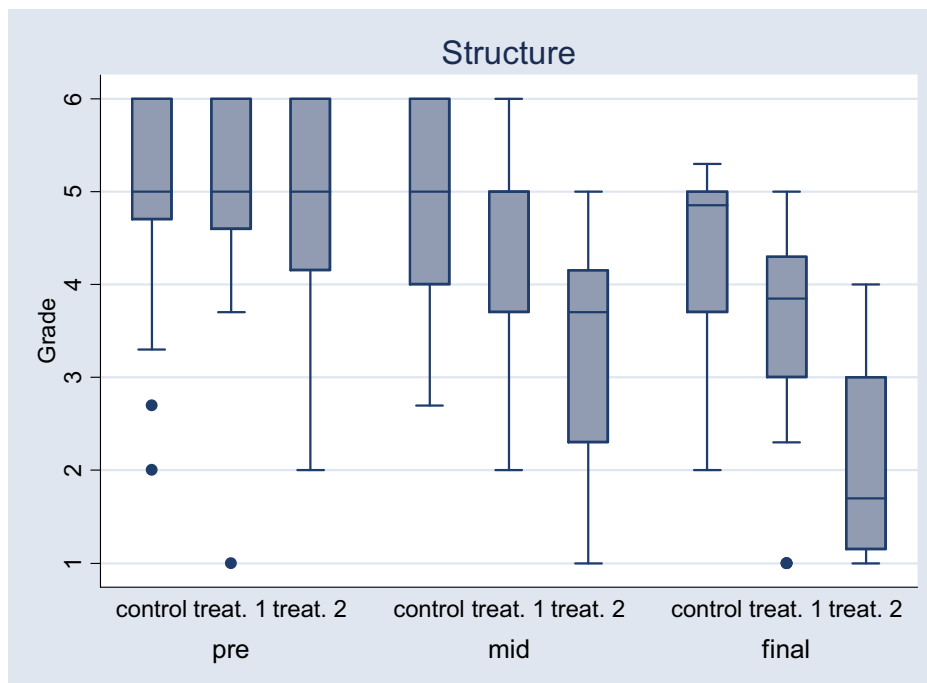


Figure 8.2: Box plots of structure grades

8.8 Discussion of the Results of the Study

The following discussion will first look at the results of the student questionnaire which pertain to the socio-cultural and affective benefits of teacher vs. SEPR feedback. The following section will discuss the results of the second part of the study, the comparison of grades.

8.8.1 The Student Questionnaire

8.8.1.1 More Writing

The results of the study substantiate research which claims that the best way to learn to write is to write. Although this might seem to be a very simple statement, it is often not carried out in practice, as was shown in the results of the questionnaire of teachers. Teachers often prefer to spend most of their time in and around their writing classes either discussing what and how to write, or doing isolated exercises that will improve writing (Silva 1990). These procedures are reminiscent of product approaches and the study skills orientation to writing as described by Lea and Street (1999), in which the need to teach writing at the university is assumed to be

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a language problem which can be solved best with exercises. As the questionnaire of teachers at German universities has shown, students do not actually do very much writing in their writing classes, compared at any rate to the amount written in many other countries. But as the questionnaire shows students want and actively seek out extra opportunities to practice their writing; they prefer to write more than is required of them in many writing classes in Germany; and they are willing to carry out practice writing even when it is not corrected by the teacher.

The first part of the questionnaire of the students shows clearly that not only do students have a great desire to practice a great deal of writing, but also rate writing as the most beneficial factor contributing to their improvement. Although a broad majority of the students felt they had improved their writing in the course, the majority of students still planned to repeat a writing course, the main reason being to gain “more writing practice”. The students claimed that practice is most helpful in giving them “more routine” in their writing and in teaching them how to “structure [their] ideas”. This idea finds support in the Genre Studies approach to teaching writing and in the academic literacies orientation to writing which claim that learning to write is an ongoing process, not a skill that is acquired once-and-for-all, but one that grows with practice. The study was conducted at a time when students were still free to repeat classes. With the new BA/MA limitations on students being able to take the courses they like as often as they like, this will no longer be an option for most students, leaving many even more desperate to practice their writing than at the time of the study.

The study also looked at whether the students felt they had written as much as they would have liked to have written in their writing course. Teachers generally feel that students are happiest when they have to write as little as possible. In spite of this, the majority of students in the Control Group said that two essays were not sufficient for them. Quite obviously, when signing up for classes, students indirectly calculate a cost-time factor into their decision. It seems that two essays did not give them the amount of real-time practice they were seeking in a course which took up two hours of their time in class each week. On the other hand, six essays were sufficient for the majority of the students in the two treatment groups. Six essays seem to have reached the limit for the majority of the students’ cost-time factors. In spite of that, 42% of Treatment Group 2, the group which used SEPR, still said they would have liked

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to have written more. On the other hand, only 18% of Treatment Group 1 said they would have liked to have written more, even though both groups wrote the same amount. It could well be that having had four of the six essays they wrote checked by their peers the supportive criticism the students in Treatment Group 2 received from their peers made them feel less pressure when writing, so that work on the essays took up less of their time. Unfortunately, whether the differences in the social motives for writing were the reasons for the differences in wanting to write more were not directly clarified through the questionnaire and should be looked into in further studies.

In addition, the students' responses to the questionnaire also showed that they support the idea of writing just for the sake of practice, although many teachers feel students would not be willing to take that extra effort. At least 86% of the students claimed that they do not mind writing texts which are simply for practice and which will not be graded. When asked, many teachers expressed doubt that their students would be willing to write more in their classes without the prospect of a "reward" in the form of a final grade. But the large majority of all groups said they were willing to take this extra step and to carry out practice writing without the prospect of a grade. Not only the broad majority of the Control Group, which had not been introduced to its pros or cons, said that they were willing to do so, but also the two treatment groups, who actually wrote 2/3 of their texts for practice and had experienced the pros and cons of practice writing, said that they did not mind carrying out practice writing. Probably even more interesting, however, was the fact that Treatment Group 2, who had carried out practice writing only for peers, were slightly more willing to do it than Treatment Group 1, who had carried out all of their practice writing for the teacher. It seems that teachers should take more seriously the desire of students to write more even if they cannot maintain control over what is written and how it is checked.

And, the more students write, the more opportunity they can have to try out many different genres as Genre Studies calls for. Of course, being able to write more does not mean that the students will actually practice a greater variety of genres. How much students write and how many different genres they write is still in the hands of the teacher to coordinate.

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8.8.1.2 Feedback

8.8.1.2.1 Differences Concerning Sources of Feedback

The final question on the questionnaire of the group using SEPR asked the students whether they preferred teacher or peer feedback. Questions directly comparing teacher to peer feedback are not generally asked in studies, because the two sources of feedback are normally used for different purposes, final feedback and interim feedback. However, in this study SEPR and teacher feedback were both used as final feedback, so that it was possible to elicit from the students who had experienced both which method they preferred. Certainly the two types of feedback, teacher and peer, are quite different. But as the study shows, they each have their own unique advantages and disadvantages.

With respect to students' evaluations and criticisms of the feedback they got on what they had written, the questionnaire showed that final feedback from teachers rates higher than final feedback from peers. When asked which source of feedback they preferred, just under 2/3 of the students said they preferred teacher feedback, 1/3 said they preferred peer feedback, and 7% of the students rated them equal to each other. However, despite the differences in preferences, at least 84% of all students responded that they had been able to learn from both sources of final feedback.

The questionnaire also revealed other differences in how students look at the two sources of feedback apart from the relative value they ascribe to them. For one, differences were noticeable in the amount of effort students made to clarify why they had learned or had not learned from the two types of feedback. Only two students from 63 made the effort to say anything positive about teacher feedback. It seems that the quality of teacher feedback is so much taken for granted that it did not merit an answer. Students obviously do not give much thought to teacher feedback; they accept it for what it is, and do not have much to say about it. In contrast to this, 19 of the 21 students in Treatment Group 2 took the trouble to explain why they had learned from peer review. Each of the students noted at least one benefit.

Differences in students' attitudes to the two sources of feedback were also obvious in the extent to which they agreed with the corrections they received from them. The majority of

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students (+88%) replied that they agreed with the corrections their teachers had made. In oral follow-up questions, many students said they did not feel they were qualified to doubt their teacher's comments and accepted the corrections unquestioningly. On the other hand, the majority of the students who received peer feedback (75%) said they did *not* always agree with the corrections their peers had made.

Students' trust or lack of trust in the two sources of feedback were reflected in the practical consequences they drew from them. As they accepted without demur the feedback they were given by teachers, none of the students who had disagreed with their teacher's corrections took the further step to consult their teacher about their doubts. On the other hand, all of the students who had not agreed with their peers' corrections replied that they had discussed their reservations with their peers. SEPR, of course, made it possible for students to ask their peers anything they were unclear about at the time of feedback without any delay, and the students obviously used this opportunity.

These differences in how students react to the two sources of feedback are indications for differences in how they view the dialogical purpose of their writing. During the SEPR discussions, students obviously showed an interest in the content of each others' texts. More than just reviewing grammar "mistakes", students took extra steps to give "some good examples", "helped organizing the essay", "[p]ointed things out [the writer] had not noticed", and "issues were cleared". These "very detailed discussions" certainly indicate that dialogical feedback was being carried out. With time it can, therefore, be assumed that SEPR sessions can move students to write dialogically, knowing their readers will be interested in discussing the contents of their texts with them. On the other hand, the fact that students did not make the extra effort to discuss uncertainties with the teacher indicates a lack of dialogical interest on the part of the writers as is claimed by Genre Studies.

And finally, the differences in the sources of feedback reveal differences in how the feedback givers view the purpose of the feedback. Although the feedback students received through SEPR was the final feedback they received on those particular essays, it had a more forward-looking approach than the teacher feedback described by Adam (2000). Rather than providing retrospective criticism using terms like "should have" or "could have" and thus

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treating the students' work as a finished product, peers supplied "other ideas", made "proposals" and "added more aspects" for the writers to continue thinking about. It would seem that peers view the work of others as work in progress. For peers, each text a student writes is a stage in an ongoing process of development rather than a final product to be graded, which is the typical perspective of the teacher. SEPR feedback creates a supportive dialogical environment for students, in which everyone is a learner and everyone's goal is to eventually produce the best writing possible.

8.8.1.2.2 Benefits for SEPR Reviewers Giving Feedback

The study also showed that readers felt they had benefited from the SEPR experience. All of the students in Treatment Group 2 replied that they had enjoyed seeing what the other students had written and 80% of them felt they had learned through their experiences as SEPR reviewers. The long answers students gave to the question whether they had learned from giving peer feedback showed that through sharing work with each other the students felt they were able to "get ideas", and "to see how the others did it". They also pointed out that when reading their peers' papers, it "was interesting to see their ideas" and to adopt "different points of view". By seeing and evaluating the work of peers, students gained a better understanding for differences in abilities and could better appreciate why "other students are better than me". This dispels some of the mysticism surrounding writing in classrooms, feelings of isolation, and competition, by transforming it into the open yet formal method for exchanging ideas that it should be.

Students also expressed awareness of the personal and career advantages peer review had for them. On a personal and social level, they were able to become "confident" and "learned how to evaluate and formulate critique". As teacher preparation, SEPR enabled them to practice carrying out the basic skills of giving feedback by actually carrying out "error analysis" and showing "other people how to structure their essays". It also helped them become aware of what a "good correction requires", namely "profound knowledge". Even the negative responses to peer review and the students' unanimous admission to feeling diffident about correcting mistakes can be seen in a positive light: both can be seen as evidence that the students realized how difficult it is to correct and give feedback on what others write. Since correcting and giving feedback on what others write make up a large part of every language

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teacher's responsibilities, these are valuable lessons. Moreover, they are lessons which the students learn while still in a position to practice on peers. It is important that they do this before assuming full responsibility as teachers for their students' texts.

Being peer reviewers also motivated the readers to take advantage of the dialogical environment in order to discuss doubts they had when making corrections for the writers. All of the students said they had discussed questions that had arisen during their readings with the writers and 71% of them even replied that they had asked a third person. It appears that SEPR not only increases writers' interest in following up on questions they have about their own writing, but it also awakens the readers' interest in the material they are correcting. Most teachers would be very pleased if their students took this kind of interest in materials they brought with them to class for the students to work on.

8.8.1.3 Writing Differently for Different Purposes

Although the questionnaire substantiated many of the theories discussed thus far, some of the data seemed to partially contradict recent theories in Genre Studies. When students were asked whether they wrote differently when writing for a grade or writing for practice, 65% or more of students in both treatment groups replied in the negative. According to Genre Studies theory students writing from different exigencies (Miller 1984) may be expected to write differently (Hyland 2007). It is, of course, not clear to what extent students are aware of these differences (Dias et al. 1999). Many students may not be aware of what the differences entail. Most research to date has taken differences in genres to mean simply textual and structural differences, and these may be more difficult to detect, at least on a superficial level. In more recent Genre Studies, however, differences are taken to include all cultural-historical motives and exigencies involved in the writing process, in feedback, and in the life of the text. In all probability it was textual differences to which students were referring when responding to this question. More detailed research in this area may bring to light what students actually feel and do when writing for different purposes in different genres.

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8.8.1.4 SEPR Has Advantages over Interim Peer Feedback

The data shows that when students are made fully accountable for their fellow students through SEPR, they can be depended upon to invest considerable effort into giving feedback, and as recipients they appreciate the feedback they get. Up to now, feedback based on interim peer review has met with mainly favorable criticism. Admittedly, however, there has been criticism that neither the reviewers nor the receivers of interim peer review take it seriously enough (Nelson & Murphy 1993), and that students clearly prefer teacher feedback to interim peer review (Nelson & Carson 1998). Some teachers have even gone so far as to grade the feedback students give to their peers in order to ensure that they put sufficient effort into it.

SEPR feedback is, however, different than interim peer review. When students are given full responsibility for the final feedback their fellow students will receive on the papers they have written, they consider it not only a challenge but also an honor to be entrusted with such responsibility. The knowledge that any corrections or ideas they miss will not be “caught” at a later date by the teacher and that their suggestions will not be subsequently revamped by the teacher gives students the extra motivation to do their best and to participate fully in the task. The study has shown that in carrying out SEPR, students do make the extra effort to discuss their doubts and queries, make suggestions for improvements, and take note of what they have yet to learn when giving and receiving feedback. It is these characteristics that teachers want to engender in their students.

8.8.1.5 Hypothesis I

The results of the student questionnaire have shown that hypothesis I was substantiated.

Students are willing to carry out extra stake-free practice writing when given the opportunity and it does not matter whether it is with feedback from the teacher or via SEPR.

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8.8.2 Comparison of Grades

The second part of the study, a comparison of grades students received on their essays, was carried out in order to test how the improvement in students' writing abilities through the use of SEPR compares to the improvement in students' writing abilities in a strictly teacher-centered environment.

When the average scores on the final essays were compared, the results show that for both language mechanics and structure the average scores on the final essays of both treatment groups show significantly greater improvement than the students' scores in the Control Group.

On the other hand, when the average scores on the final essays of the two treatment groups were compared, the results showed no significant difference between the two treatment groups with respect to the language part of the grades but there was a significant difference between the two treatment groups based on the structure part of the grades.

8.8.2.1 Hypothesis II Was Substantiated

Therefore, the results of the study show that hypothesis II which stated that:

When SEPR is used in a writing class to enable students to carry out extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher, students' average grades will be better than the average grades of students who do not carry out any extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher.

was substantiated.

The fact that both treatment groups did significantly better on both parts of the final essays than the Control Group supports the theory that extra practice writing is beneficial in improving writing skills. But the interesting fact from this study is that both SEPR and teacher corrected feedback proved to be beneficial in helping students to significantly improve their writing. Consequently, this part of the study shows that teachers who are not

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able to assign as much writing in their writing classes as they would like can make use of SEPR to increase the amount of writing students carry out without fearing adverse effects on the writing abilities of their students. On the contrary, students' writing abilities improve more if they wrote than if they did not write extra texts under SEPR. At the same time, students have the extra benefits of the social aspects of SEPR writing and the opportunity to write in a broader spectrum of genres than otherwise.

8.8.2.2 Hypothesis III Was Only Partially Substantiated

On the other hand, a statistical analysis of the grades students received on their final essays in the SEPR group vs. Treatment Group 1 showed that hypothesis III, which stated that:

When SEPR is used in a writing class to enable students to carry out extra writing practice beyond the required writing for the teacher, the average grades of the students in the SEPR group will be better than the average grades of students in a group who write only for the teacher, even if those students carry out the same amount of practice writing for the teacher as the SEPR group does for peers.

was only partially substantiated.

Therefore, because Treatment Group 2, the SEPR group, did not improve significantly more than Treatment Group 1 on the language mechanics part of the final essays, hypothesis III was not proven as an alternative to the null hypothesis for the language part of writing. On the other hand, because Treatment Group 2 did improve significantly more than Treatment Group 1 on the structure part of the final essays, hypothesis III was substantiated for the structure part of the final essays:

Consequently, it can be speculated that when students in SEPR groups carry out practice writing, they are just as likely to benefit from the language mechanics aspects as students who carry out practice writing that is corrected by the teacher. There can be several reasons for this. Firstly, teachers are trained to look for and react to grammar and other language errors. Correcting grammar is what many teachers see their job to be and they usually do a

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very thorough job of finding all the errors in a text. Many students are likely to benefit from these detailed corrections. However, others may feel that teachers overdo their job and some students may simply ignore many of the corrections. In addition, students trust the teachers to make good corrections. Many students answered on the questionnaire that they frequently do not question teachers' corrections, and as a consequence they may not give much thought to them. On the other hand, students receiving corrections from a peer are skeptical of their reliability and often stated that they asked their peers about doubts they had. This extra effort students make to discuss language mechanics errors could help to make up for the lack of corrections concerning mechanical errors the students receive from their peers in comparison to the greater number of corrections they probably receive from the teacher.

On the other hand, it can be speculated that when students in SEPR groups carry out practice writing, they are more likely to benefit from the structural feedback they are given than students who carry out practice writing that is corrected by the teacher. This could well be because SEPR environments offer students a welcome opportunity to engage in dialogs about their texts. This is an opportunity they do not often have, and it could well be that the students take good advantage of it, taking time to also discuss the processes they go through to create a good structure. In addition, students may feel freer to discuss problems they have in structuring their writing more openly with a peer than with an authority. The discussions may also be more beneficial because they are taking place at the ZPD level, which both participants can easily relate to.

8.8.2.3 Summary of the Comparison of Grades

The study, thus, shows that more writing is beneficial in helping students improve even when the extra writing done is for practice only. But probably an even more interesting result of this study is the finding that when students do extra practice writing, the feedback need not be carried out by the teacher alone, as feedback through the use of SEPR can be just as beneficial in improving grades, if not more so. This makes it possible for students to write as much as they have time for, even in classes in which the teachers are unable to correct as much as they would like to assign. This in turn gives students the opportunity to practice many other genres than they might otherwise have had the opportunity to write.

9 Conclusion

9.1 The Theoretical Background of Writing Classes Today

This dissertation began by looking at the development of the theories of learning over the past 60 years that have had an impact on writing theories. Since the fall of behaviorism, both learning theories and writing theories have moved from the cognitive to the social to the dialectical. Over the past four decades, interest in the teaching of writing has thus shifted from an interest in the internal processes to the external processes to what is dialectically in between. These theoretical movements should, however, not be viewed as being in opposition to one another. Instead, each new learning and writing theory has added a new perspective to the previous views of how writing is learned. The theories can thus be seen as a summation of ideas which have evolved over the decades.

9.2 Goals for Writing Classes

Chapter three then looked at how these theories have changed how we look at writing theory and the teaching of writing. Since the 1970s, cognitive constructivist researchers interested in the internal processes of learners have emphasized that the goals teachers set for writing classes should be less product-oriented and more process-oriented, that teaching should emphasize the processes involved in writing as writers learn to generate and develop their ideas through writing. Since the early 1980s, social constructionist researchers who were more interested in the external processes of learners have additionally seen the goals of writing classes to enable students to join the discourse communities of their choices. Since the mid-1990s research in writing theories has additionally begun to emphasize dialectical goals for the teaching of writing. But what is meant by dialectical goals?

For one, researchers within the field of Genre Studies emphasize the need for writing classes to look beyond the limits of the classroom and to prepare their students for life outside of university. Preparing students for writing at the workplace has become a central issue among Genre Studies experts. Genre Studies theorists point out that because academic writing in the real-world is dialogical – in that it is intended to be informative and its writers expect a

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reaction to its contents – writing classes need to take an interest in preparing their students for the kind of dialogical writing they will meet in real life, in which not an authority figure but peers and colleagues interested in the content of what is written are the intended audience. In addition, Genre Studies emphasizes the need to prepare students for the flexibility they will need in order to work with the large variety of genres they will be confronted with at the workplace. And because genres are only stabilized-for-now, students need to be prepared not only for the diversity of genres which are currently present at institutions but also to adapt the genres to the transformations and changes which will take place in the future.

Therefore, just as important as preparing students for the kind of situations that currently exist at workplaces, Genre Studies theorists also emphasize the need to prepare students to continue learning throughout life. Only then will they be properly prepared to meet tomorrow's new challenges. In addition, it was underscored here that the goal for life-long learning is not simply for learners to be passive receivers of new knowledge, but more importantly that they also become active participants in the construction of the new knowledge that unfolds in their fields. This implies an added meaning for the learning of academic writing at universities. The need for students to become proficient at academic writing should not simply be to earn a ticket out of the university but to enable them to learn and acquire a professional skill that will accompany them throughout their lives as continuing researchers in their fields (Farrell 2007). As they continue to accumulate new knowledge within their professions, writing about and sharing this new knowledge can assure that both the individual and society can profit from these experiences that otherwise frequently remain encapsulated behind closed doors.

9.3 A Genre Studies Analysis Based on AT

How can these theoretical goals best be realized? It was decided that to answer this question it would first be necessary to gain an understanding of the situation that exists in writing classes at universities today. For that purpose, a teacher questionnaire was carried out. One answer on the questionnaire that was particularly noticeable was that despite fundamental changes in theory supporting teacher-centered classroom teaching practices over the past 50 years, this approach was still practiced by all of the teachers who responded to the

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questionnaire. All of the teachers responded that they were the final person responsible for giving feedback on the final versions of all the texts they assigned in their classes. It was felt that this final control that teachers maintain over what students write may have an effect on everything else that goes on in writing classes and could be the deciding factor as to whether or not current goals of writing theory are able to be realized in writing classes.

In order to analyze whether this was the case, a Genre Studies analysis based on AT was carried out to determine the effect this teacher-centered method has on how, what, when, and why students write in their writing classes. By examining some of the ways the subjects, tools, and purpose of writing dialectically interact with each other in writing classrooms, an attempt was made to gain a better understanding of the factors, conflicts, and situations which effect students in their writing at university when the teacher is the final reader of everything they write. Upon taking a closer look at the situated activity and the personal, political, and cultural roles that are played out when students write for the teacher, it was found that this approach to teaching writing does not reflect all of the goals that Genre Studies describes as being fundamental and that in many respects these current teaching practices actually act as road blocks to many of the goals of current writing theory.

9.3.1 German Students Do Not Write Enough

For one, it was shown that contrary to current writing theories which emphasize that students should be given opportunities to write a lot and in a diversity of genres German students write very little. When comparing the number of texts and number of words students are required to write in a semester's writing course, Germany clearly falls into the bottom third of the group of the thirteen countries interviewed in the questionnaire. A comparison of the amount of writing required in writing courses throughout Europe, the United States, and Australia reveals an average of 5,500 words and 5.5 papers per semester. This is more than double the average number of words and papers currently required in writing courses in the German EFL departments which participated in the questionnaire.

With the teacher being responsible for correcting all papers, it can be assumed that a major factor contributing to the German students writing less in their classrooms has been a steady

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increase in the numbers of students at German universities and in EFL departments around the country, while at the same time the number of faculty teaching these courses has not increased. German writing teachers were found to be responsible for the largest total number of students in a semester and to have the most contact hours. With no prospect of any dramatic change in this situation coming about in the near future, it was decided that an attempt should be made to free writing classes of the burden that everything students write goes through the hands of the teacher. It was decided to look for other possibilities for students to get feedback on their writing so that the amount they write in their writing classes could be increased.

9.3.2 Writing for the Teacher Is Not Dialogical

Additionally, when students are evaluated by the teacher, every step along the way, they do not experience what it means to communicate new knowledge to a community of equals, but rather learn the techniques of “knowledge telling”. Consequently, the feedback students receive on what they have written is not comparable to the feedback professionals or writers at the workplace receive on what they have written. Teacher feedback is not intended as input for revisions and new, improved versions of a text, but rather once a grade is given, it implies closure to the student’s final paper. Teacher feedback is not dialogical but monological and does not prepare students for the kind of dialogical writing they will or ought to carry out after university.

In an environment in which students do not gear their writing toward an audience of interested readers but rather everything they write is intended for evaluation, learning to write carries another purpose, one of getting through the university bureaucracy successfully. Academic writing is often associated with fear of failure and is often looked upon as a necessary evil to be overcome. Once university exams have been completed many students hope they will never have to use academic writing again. Without gaining the experience or getting to know the pleasures of what it means to truly participate in written dialogical exchanges with peers while at university, students are not as likely to dare to actively contribute to the “ongoing discussion” within their fields throughout their careers as students who have had this opportunity. Students are not prepared for life-long learning.

9.3.3 Need for New Approaches

As a consequence, there is a need within the field of academic writing for the development of new approaches, methods, and techniques that will enable student writers to practice their writing in ways that fulfill the prospects writing theory opens up for learners today. At the same time, there is a call for research that deals specifically with the needs and contexts of the learners at the particular sites of learning. One goal of this dissertation was to introduce and describe a method of teaching that was designed specifically for German EFL students to enable them to experience the advantages that teaching informed by a state-of-the-art awareness of current theories can offer. This method is called student empowered peer review (SEPR).

9.4 SEPR

The basic idea behind SEPR is that students take complete charge of their peers' feedback without any interference from the teacher. The idea of empowering students is not new. Over the centuries, educators in many fields have experimented with empowering their students. However, in most cases when students carry out peer work, it is ultimately the teacher who maintains the final control over all that is or has been done. SEPR attempts to make use of a truly student-empowered approach to writing.

But without classroom research to support this method, most teachers are not willing to set foot in these unknown regions. As a consequence, a study was carried out to analyze the psychological and concrete effects of the SEPR approach on student writing. In order to better understand the effects SEPR has on student writing as compared with the effects of teacher-centered writing instruction, three groups using different approaches were compared. One group using the SEPR approach was compared with two groups using a teacher-centered approach. The two teacher-centered groups were further differentiated in that one group carried out writing for evaluation only, whereas the other group also carried out additional writing for practice. A student questionnaire and a comparison of grades were used to gather data. The questionnaire part of the study was able to substantiate the following effects on student writing through the use of SEPR.

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9.4.1.1 How Much Students Write Need Not Be Dependent on the Teacher's Time

When students are empowered to be the final givers of feedback, the amount students can write in a course need not be dependent on the teacher's time, but rather can depend on the amount of time *students* have available to spend on writing. Most students questioned on the student questionnaire in the study replied that they wished for more writing practice. In interviews about the teacher questionnaire, most teachers remarked that the main reason for demanding "so little writing" was the amount of time they had to spend on correcting it. The study showed that SEPR makes it possible for students to write more in their courses without taxing the teachers' time. The number of students a teacher is responsible for during the semester need not determine how much students can write.

9.4.1.2 SEPR Creates a Dialogical Environment

The results of the data collected on the student questionnaire showed that SEPR makes it possible for students to write and receive feedback in a dialogical atmosphere. By enabling students to participate in meaningful exchanges of ideas with their peers, SEPR creates an environment in which what Rorty calls "normal discourse" (Rorty 1979: 320) can take place. In this environment of "normal discourse", students focus on the needs of their peers with the goal of creating a dialog and interesting their peers in their ideas, instead of just summarizing their knowledge, as they might for the teacher audience. When students focus on exchanging thoughts about the message, content, and ideas of their texts, their desire to take charge of their own writing acquires a new impetus. The data from the study shows that not only writers but also readers take advantage of the ability to participate in the exchange of ideas and to gain new insights.

9.4.1.3 Who the Audience Is Becomes Clear

In the dialogical environment of SEPR, students as readers are not *substitutes* for the teacher as they are in interim peer review. They are the intended audience. Student writers and readers do not need to pretend, imply, or imagine that they are writing or reading for a different audience. There is no longer the need to masquerade as the teacher and to try to

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conjecture what the teacher might say. As readers, students can feel free to express their own opinions. There is no conflict as to who the intended and real audiences are. Writers have a clear vision of who their audience is. They do not need to vacillate between the needs of a real audience and those of the teacher. Conflicts for writers that arise through having to decide how much background or knowledge-telling information to include for the expert audience, while fully aware that it is actually redundant, are resolved. The writing that students do for peers is based on the true needs of their audience. The social needs of the genre become clear. A true dialog can begin.

9.4.1.4 SEPR Fosters Life-Long Learning

In this dialogical environment, where not grades but discussions with other peers are waiting at the end of the writing process, students enjoy the benefits of gaining more writing practice while being able to write in a completely student-centered stake-free environment. This threat-free atmosphere motivates and gives students the opportunity to dare to develop ideas and take steps into the unknown without fearing repercussions. Writers can feel free to experiment with styles, techniques, and ideas they might not otherwise dare to try out. Students can practice writing academic papers without the fear that every word they write could count against them. Through supportive rather than evaluative feedback on practice writing, students are more likely to develop a more positive attitude toward writing. By carrying away a positive attitude about writing, it is more likely that students will have more incentive to continue writing once they have left university. This is a fundamental step toward furthering active life-long learning.

In addition, by making it possible for students to practice communicating their ideas within their own SEPR community, students are likely to develop an understanding for what it means to become a part of the larger discourse community they are striving to join. They are given the opportunity to participate actively, if only on a small scale, in the discussions and in the creation of the “socially justified beliefs” of a group or community. This is not only the kind of writing university teachers strive for, but also approximates to “the one most students must eventually write for in everyday life, in business, government, and the professions” (Bruffee 1984: 401). Such possibilities for students to practice writing for interested

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discourse communities within their classrooms and universities are important steppingstones for motivating students to continue carrying out dialogs within the professional discourse communities even after they leave the university (Russell & Foster 2002).

9.4.1.5 Extended Writing with SEPR Can Improve Grades

However, the study not only looked at the social benefits a SEPR environment brings to the classroom, but also compared the average grades which the three different groups received on their essays. The data showed that the two treatment groups, which each wrote six essays, improved significantly more than the control group, which wrote only two essays, in both language mechanics and structure. This at least partially supports the thesis that the more students write, the more their writing abilities improve.

But more important for this study was the finding that it did not matter whether the feedback the students received on the extra writing they did was SEPR or teacher-corrected. The study showed that in a comparison of the two treatment groups, which each wrote two essays for a grade and four essays for practice, the SEPR group did as well as or even better than the purely teacher-centered treatment group. This is especially important for the results of the study from both a practical and theoretical standpoint. The data suggests that teachers using SEPR feedback for practice writing have no reason to fear that their students' writing will not improve as much as it would if they gave the feedback on practice writing themselves. Therefore when teachers do not have enough time to correct all the work they wish to assign, they can without worry have recourse to SEPR feedback on practice writing as a substitute for their own corrections.

However, it was also found that a SEPR environment need not just be viewed as a substitute for a teacher-centered environment. Despite the many benefits of a teacher-centered classroom, SEPR can offer students advantages which a strictly teacher-centered environment cannot. From a social motives standpoint, the study showed that in many cases the advantages afforded by the teacher-centered environment and the SEPR environment do not always overlap, and that each environment has its own unique advantages, which the other lacks. In this sense, SEPR should not be seen as a mere stopgap to be resorted to when

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teachers lack enough time to correct everything they want to assign. It should also be seen as an *alternative approach* to a teacher-centered classroom. Because of that, even in classes where teachers have sufficient time to correct as much writing as the students are able to carry out, it is still recommended that an approach which includes SEPR also be used.

9.4.1.6 SEPR Is a Valuable Training for Many Careers

An essential skill called for in many of the careers that students of foreign languages will eventually carry out is that of giving written and oral feedback on written texts. Especially language teachers but also editors of publishing houses and journalists, for example, will be required to give feedback frequently. Feedback carries much weight. It can influence how writers look at themselves and their futures. The right to give final feedback is normally reserved for students who have formally passed their final exams. Students must have formally demonstrated in their university studies the ability to carry on in speech and writing the “normal” discourse of their chosen field before being allowed to be responsible for critiquing the writing of others. The idea that only after graduation is a student able to participate in this practice of giving final feedback has become a deeply ingrained tradition of our society today. The idea that SEPR enables students to give final feedback to others before graduation “naturally challenges the traditional basis of the authority of those who teach” (Bruffee 1984: 408). That is why peer review is traditionally carried out only with the proviso that the teacher retains final control.

However, the ability to give good feedback is more than simply having concrete knowledge of the language. It is not just a matter of marking grammar errors. Givers of feedback need to know what to correct, how to correct it, and how it fits into the larger picture (Russell & Yañez 2003). Giving feedback is a multi-faceted task that calls for unique personal and intellectual capabilities each time it is carried out.

Practice in giving interim peer review is a useful means of learning this skill, but it is insufficient. Just as writing for a make-believe audience is insufficient as a surrogate for social exigency (Freedman and Adam 2000; Dias et al. 1999), having students pretend that they are the teacher is also insufficient for learning to give feedback. In order for students to

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appreciate what it means to be the one solely responsible for giving feedback, they need to be given the opportunity to carry out peer review with full responsibility for their peers' texts. Being fully responsible for their peers' texts, students come face-to-face with the problems of giving feedback; they are confronted with what they do not yet know. They cannot just ignore these problems, comfortable in the assurance that the teacher will make up for what they do not know when carrying out the subsequent final corrections. SEPR requires students to take on this full responsibility.

It is important that foreign language students learn to give feedback before leaving university. Through the use of SEPR, students experience – with full appreciation of its importance – what it is like to give feedback but they do so without fear of the consequences it will have once they have been officially hired to give feedback. While still at university, students have the opportunity to discuss the feedback they give with the writers. They can express their doubts and misgivings to the writers in order to learn from them. When they make errors in their corrections, their fellow-students are likely to show more understanding toward them than would a learner at school, for example, whose grade is dependent upon the corrections.

Waiting for students to graduate before allowing them to take on full responsibility for giving feedback denies them the opportunity to learn to give feedback in a protected environment, where learning is fostered and mistakes are allowed. Especially future teachers and editors need training in giving feedback. To assume that simply because students have passed their final exams they are now qualified to give final feedback to others, even though they have had no prior training in this area, is to ignore the complexities involved in giving feedback and throws the students back on their own resources to learn through trial and error with all the negative consequences that may attend any errors they make.

9.5 Looking Ahead

With little history to look back on, the teaching of writing to students at German universities is still very much in its infancy. This dissertation has looked at the teaching of writing in English classes that are specifically designated as writing classes. If changes are to take place, writing classes focused exclusively on teaching writing are an excellent place to begin testing

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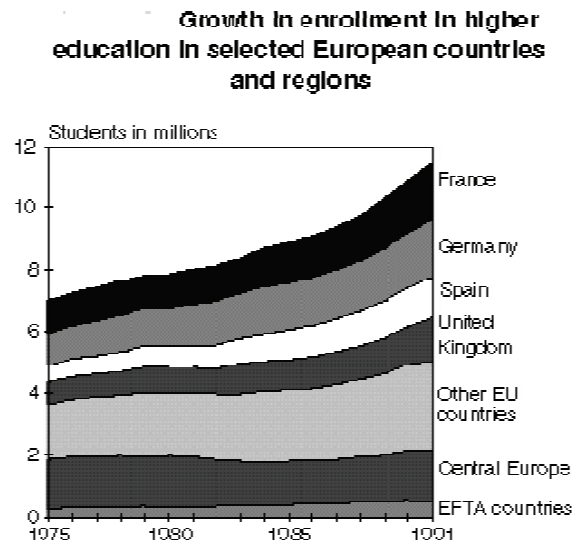
new methods. But students do not just need to be taught writing in classes specifically labeled as writing classes; teaching writing should be a point of interest to all teachers in all academic fields (Jakobs 2005). Writing can and should be taught in all classes where writing is essential. Writing across the disciplines is becoming a matter of growing interest to many teachers and researchers at German universities today. Much of what has been said and developed here can eventually have an impact on how teachers within the disciplines integrate new methods into their classes in order to help their students learn to write better.

Many universities have already begun to acknowledge the fact that they will have to take a more active role in their students' writing development. To assume that students can regulate this on their own is denying the obligation that universities have toward their multi-disciplinary student body. Supplying students with opportunities to form SEPR groups within and across disciplines is one possibility that could improve the *status quo* at universities today. What is also needed is more research in the field of writing in Germany which can help develop new ideas and new methods which are specifically adapted to the cultural-historical environment German students actually write in, rather than to conditions that exist elsewhere.

In the process, it is important that educators realize that it does not suffice to simply entrust the teaching of writing to teachers who have not been trained to be writing teachers. Courses need to be developed which will train writing teachers in the theories and methods involved in the teaching of academic writing. Only then will writing teachers truly be in a position to apply the knowledge that has accrued in the field of writing over the decades. Students of writing, too, need to understand the theoretical and practical aspects that are involved in their own act of writing. These are necessary prerequisites for successful writing classes in which the students are able to become active learners working together as a community. Simply putting peers together and letting them perform is not enough. Both teachers and students need to have an understanding of the theories of writing in order to assure that the exchanges are effective and positive experiences. Only through concerted efforts on the part of administrators and educators will these changes be able to take place.

10 Appendix

Appendix 1.1 (from page 10 of Chapter 1, Introduction)



EU = European Union; EFTA = European Free Trade Association

Figure 1.1

From: <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/nsf96316/humres.htm>

Appendix 2.1 Sparking the Cognitive Revolution (from page 20 of Chapter 2, Learning Theories)

1. Technology

At the same time that doubts about behaviorism were influencing cognitive psychologists in their research, pioneering achievements in the field of computers were reinforcing these ideas. To carry out their programs, computer scientists were looking for ways to simulate human thinking. It became necessary to understand the processes human beings used to encode information into their memories in order to carry out the functions of the human mind. In 1950, an English psychologist, Alan Turing, described a proposal for a test of a machine's capability to demonstrate thought (Turing 1950). In 1956, Simon and Newell at Carnegie Mellon University developed a program called *Logic Theorist* to test their cognitive theory that thinking is problem-solving, not just a random storage of new information. Thus supporting earlier research by Gestalt theorists interested in how people diagnose and solve problems, the break from stimulus-response to the mental processes through the field of computer science was achieved³⁷. But it was not until 1956, when many leaders in this new field of computer science met at the Dartmouth Conference in Hanover, New Hampshire, that John McCarthy, one of its organizers, coined the term “artificial intelligence” to describe this new experimental field that was researching ways to model human thinking.

In order to ensure that this new research would be taken seriously by the rest of academia, its researchers were careful to avoid the pitfalls that their predecessors had overlooked. They were aware that their experiments would have to simulate real life if they were to get the attention they wanted. As Bruner and Goodnow stated in their 1986 preface to *A Study of Thinking*: “Much of [the book’s] distinctiveness grew out of our strong conviction that a theory of thinking should not tell a story about how laboratory ‘subjects’ behaved that was different from the story it would tell to explain how thinking psychologists or physicists or chess players behaved” (xi).

³⁷ The first working Artificial Intelligence (AI) programs, written in 1951, ran on the Ferranti Mark I machine of the University of Manchester.

This groundbreaking research in attempting to simulate how humans process information in the field of AT proved to be an avalanche in itself but its influence also reached much farther. The idea of considering the internal mental processes learners use began to carry over to the field of education and to influence theories of learning. Learners were no longer seen as bodies that simply take in information and then regurgitate it back out but also as processors of this information. Parallel to research in AT, research in education, for example, also became interested in what goes on in a learner's mind when problem solving.

2. Chomsky

Although the original impulses for change came from work in the fields of artificial intelligence and studies in cognitive psychology, in the end it was the combined efforts of free-thinkers from many fields that brought about the revolution in thought. One of these outside impulses came from the field of linguistics. In *Syntactic Structures* (Chomsky 1957), MIT linguist Noam Chomsky demonstrated through his ideas on transformational grammar that the structuralist theories of language were incapable of accounting for the fundamental uniqueness and creativity of individual sentences. In most cases, a speaker is capable of generating an infinite number of sentences from a finite set of rules. The ability to generate these sentences is dependent on a learner's underlying competency of abstract rules and not on memorized structures that the learner simply reproduces. Chomsky's nativist approach rested upon the conviction that "language acquisition is innately determined, that we are born with a built-in device of some kind which predisposes us to language acquisition" – "a little black box of sorts, a language acquisition device (LAD)" (Brown 1987: 18-19).

Therefore, language learning is not like other types of learning, in the course of which students can learn structures through rote learning. A theory of language, Chomsky asserted, cannot do without a mentalist construct if it is to account for the infinite number of performance variables speakers can produce from their abstract underlying structures. Performance, Chomsky claimed, is only a reflection of a speaker-listener's underlying linguistic ability. A grammar should, therefore, provide insight into the underlying linguistic structures in the human mind. It should not merely describe the grammar of a language, but should make predictions about how linguistic knowledge is mentally represented and then transferred to performance.

3. Memory Models

In addition to attempting to simulate human thinking and to account for the underlying linguistic structures learners possess, researchers were also looking at how the human brain processes new input. Information processing theories proposed models for how humans commit verbal learning to memory. Researchers were theorizing about the processes involved when new information enters and leaves the memory. Early models representing processes used in short-term memory relating to selective attention and coding were among the first to use computer analogies to make a serious contribution to the analysis of human cognition (Bourne et al. 1986). In the late 1940s, Shannon and Weaver (1949) developed an information theory which analyzed messages into bits of information which were basically binary decisions, similar to methods used in computer programs at the time.

Other human memory models proposed ideas of how the human memory limits the amount of information that enters it and then encodes the information that does pass through. Attention theories, such as that by Donald Broadbent (1958), described filtering systems which human minds use to avoid an overload of information entering the short-term memory at any one time (see also Shiffrin & Cook 1978). Other researchers looked at processes which are used to transfer and then store information in the long-term memory. Rehearsal theories (Rundus & Atkinson 1970) differentiated between maintaining material in the short-term memory and “elaborative rehearsal” which transferred the material to the long-term memory (Craik & Lockhart 1972). Eventually researchers also began to take more interest in the level at which memory, perception, thought, meaning, and emotion are organized in the superstructure of the human mind in order to better understand how learners process new input (Craik & Tulving 1975). Such theories of processing soon came to represent the dominant paradigm of the information-processing idea of cognition and strengthened interest in creating learning theories which could eventually cross over to educational circles.

Appendix 4.1 Conferences on Academic Writing to be Held in Europe in 2008 (from page 91 of Chapter 4, The Current Situation)

December 11-13, 2008
Zaragoza, Spain

The aim of this conference is to provide a multiperspective arena for both theoretical and experimental approaches which can contribute to and stimulate the current debate on academic written discourse, interpersonality (in academic discourse), the writer-reader relationship and the role of relevant issues such as culture, discipline, individual style, (non)native use of the language and the role of English as a lingua franca, among others.

Writing development in Higher Education Conference

June 25-27, 2008
Glasgow, Scotland

The overarching theme of the conference is Times and Spaces for Writing to reflect our growing understanding of how, when and where writing happens in relation to higher education. To this end, we welcome proposals that address the conference theme from a broad range of theoretically informed perspectives. These may include, but not be limited to, digital writing, issues in addressivity, evolving discourses and genres, pedagogic and curriculum design issues, and emergent theory in relation to academic or creative writing.

A conference web site is now available [here](#).

1-day seminar in Academic Literacies

June 22, 2008
London, England

This year's one-day seminar in Academic Literacies will be held on Friday, June 22nd at UCL. This will be the 7th annual seminar and the day will be an opportunity to discuss work-in-progress, consider new developments in the field and speak with others working in the Academic Literacies area.

Please find further information at [the seminar page](#).

the 11th biennial SIG Writing conference

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June 11-13, 2008

Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden

The aim of the SIG Writing conferences is to promote interaction among researchers who are interested in understanding the cognitive, social and developmental processes involved in writing, who are concerned with designing writing instruction in various educational settings, or with exploring the functions of writing in different social and institutional contexts. The scope of the conferences has typically been very broad, and we hope to draw together once again a wide range of researchers and professionals in the area of writing. Earlier conferences have included contributions on topics like academic writing, text analysis, cognitive processes in writing, writing development, collaborative writing, creative writing, writing instruction, computer supported writing, social and cultural aspects of writing, motivational and emotional factors in writing, writing to learn, writing media, writing research methodology, written communication etc. We welcome submissions of individual papers, posters symposia and computer presentations on these topics as well as other writing related topics. Submissions' deadline is the 30th of November 2007.

Sig Writing2008 Organizing committee: Åsa Wengelin, Roger Johansson, Sven Strömqvist & Victoria Johansson

For more information see: [here](#).

EWCA Conference 2008: Initiating Writing Center Work - Connecting Secondary, Higher, and Professional Education

June 19-22, 2008

Freiburg, Germany

2008 Submissions Deadline: February 1, 2008. Contact: Gerd Braeuer, EWCA Chair

For more information, please visit the [EWCA Conference 2008 Website](#).

Writing and Learning in Educational Contexts

June 5-6, 2008

Lucerne, Switzerland

The second biannual conference of the Forum for Academic Writing. The conference is organized in cooperation with the University of Teacher Education Central Switzerland Lucerne and the University Teacher Education Zurich.

Call for papers.

University Discourses: Forms, Practices, Transformations

April 24-25-26, 2008

Brussels, Belgium

International symposium organised by the universities of Brussels (ULB), Liège (ULG) and Louvain (UCL). Each day will focus on one issue: 1. University discourses, contextual modalities, pragmatic dimensions, intellectual technology. 2. Forms of University discourses: Critical Inventory. 3. Evolution of University discourses in the new international context. Application to the symposium february 15, 2008.

For more detailed information, please visit the conference webpage.

Appendix 4.4 Questionnaire of Teachers (from page 101 of Chapter 4, The Current Situation)

Questionnaire about Teaching Academic Writing

Would you mind taking a few minutes to fill in the questions below relating to my research? I would be very grateful for your help. Thanks!
I will also supply the list serve with a summary of the results, excluding names of course!

Name (optional) _____

1. Country of origin _____
2. Country you teach in _____
3. Do you teach at a university or other? Where? _____
 - a. Full-time Part-time Other _____

Teaching Time

4. How many **hours** do you teach per week? _____
How many **classes** do you teach per week? _____
 - a. Of those classes, how many are **writing** classes? _____ Number of hours? _____
 - b. On average how many students do you have in **all** your courses? _____
 - c. On average how many students do you have in your **writing** courses? _____
5. If you teach writing, is it in the L1 or the L2? _____ Language? _____
6. How many texts and words:
 - a. Do you require per **writing** course? Texts _____ Words per text _____
 - b. Do you require in your **other** courses? Texts _____ Words per text _____
7. Do you use peer review:

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- a. In your **writing** classes? Yes No
- b. In your **other** classes? Yes No
- c. If you use peer review, for which proportion of the texts students write do you use it: e.g. 3 from 4
- In your **writing** classes _____
- In your **other** classes _____
8. In your **writing** courses, do you correct the interim versions of the texts you assign?
- a. Yes No
- b. If so, which percentage? _____
9. In your **writing** courses, do you correct the final version of all the texts you assign?
- a. Yes No
- b. If not, which percentage do you not correct? _____
10. Do you assign projects as simulations or for real audiences?
- a. Yes No
- b. If so, which percentage of the assignments? _____
- c. If not, is there a reason why not? _____
11. Is there a **writing** center at your university:
- a. For L1 students Yes No
- b. For L2 students Yes No
12. Which theory of writing do you base your writing instruction on? _____
- _____
13. Comments _____
- _____

Thank you very much for your input. I **much** appreciate it.

Appendix 8.3.2.2.1 Raters' Grading Scales (from pages 160-161 Chapter 8, The Study)

Language Grading Scale

Percentage Correct	Grade
100%	1.0
97%	1.3
93%	1.7
90%	2.0
87%	2.3
83%	2.7
80%	3.0
77%	3.3
73%	3.7
70%	4.0
67%	4.3
63%	4.7
60%	5.0
57%	5.3
53%	5.7
50%	6.0

Structure Grading Scale

Number of Points	Grade
16	1.0
15	1.3
14	1.7
13	2.0
12	2.3
11	2.7
10	3.0
9	3.3
8	3.7
7	4.0
6	4.3
5	4.7
4	5.0
3	5.3
2	5.7
1	6.0

Structure Point System

Thesis Statement	(1) _____	
Introduction	(2) _____	
Topic introduced	(2) _____	
¶ # 1 ³⁸ Pertains to thesis	(2) _____	
¶ # 2 Pertains to thesis	(2) _____	
¶ # 3 Pertains to thesis	(2) _____	
Conclusion	(2) _____	
Topic Sentence ¶ # 1	(3) _____	(4) _____
Support		(4) _____
Details		(4) _____
Topic Sentence ¶ # 2	(3) _____	(4) _____
Support		(4) _____
Details		(4) _____
Topic Sentence ¶ # 3	(3) _____	(4) _____
Support		(4) _____
Details		(4) _____

³⁸ Points were only given for three paragraphs. If there were more than three, then the best three were used for grading. If there were less than three, then extra points could be given if the paragraphs covered the thesis statement well.

Appendix 8.5 Questionnaires of Students (from page 163 Chapter 8, The Study)

Questionnaire Used for the Control Group

Writing Courses in General

1. Was this your first essay class at this university?
Yes _____ No _____
2. Do you plan to take another one?
Yes _____ No _____ Why or why not? _____

This Course

3. Did your ability to write English essays improve over the semester?
Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____ What makes you think so? _____
4. If your writing improved, what were the most helpful factors? If more than one please number them in the order of importance.
- Writing _____
 - Discussions in class about the short stories _____
 - Teacher Feedback _____
 - The Booklet _____
 - Other _____
5. Would you have liked to have done more writing?
Yes _____ No _____
6. Do you mind writing texts which are for practice and not graded?
Yes _____ No _____

Teacher Feedback

7. Were you able to learn from the feedback your teacher gave you?

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Yes

No

Why or why not?

8. Did you always agree with the corrections your teacher gave you?

Yes

No

9. If you said no to the above question, what did you do? Did you:

- Discuss it with the teacher?

Yes

No

- Ask someone else?

Yes

No

- Look it up at home?

Yes

No

- Just leave it?

Yes

No

Questionnaire Used for the Treatment Group 1

Writing Courses in General

1. Was this your first essay class at this university?
Yes _____ No _____

2. Do you plan to take another one?
Yes _____ No _____ Why or why not? _____

This Course

3. Did your ability to write English essays improve over the semester?
Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____ What makes you think so? _____

4. If your writing improved, what were the most helpful factors? If more than one please number them in the order of importance.

- Writing _____
- Discussions in class about the short stories _____
- Teacher Feedback _____
- The Booklet _____
- Other _____

5. Would you have liked to have done more writing?
Yes _____ No _____

6. Do you mind writing texts which are for practice and not graded?
Yes _____ No _____

Teacher Feedback

7. Were you able to learn from the feedback your teacher gave you?
Yes _____ No _____ Why or why not? _____

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8. Did you always agree with the corrections your teacher gave you?

Yes

No

9. If you said no to the above question, what did you do? Did you:

- Discuss it with the teacher?

Yes

No

- Ask someone else?

Yes

No

- Look it up at home?

Yes

No

- Just leave it?

Yes

No

Practice vs. Writing for a Grade

10. Did you try to write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade?

Yes

No

Questionnaire Used for the Treatment Group 2

Writing Courses in General

1. Was this your first essay class at this university?
Yes _____ No _____
2. Do you plan to take another one?
Yes _____ No _____ Why or why not? _____
-

This Course

3. Did your ability to write English essays improve over the semester?
Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____ What makes you think so? _____
-
4. If your writing improved, what were the most helpful factors? If more than one please number them in the order of importance.
- Writing _____
 - Discussions in class about the short stories _____
 - Peer Feedback _____
 - Teacher Feedback _____
 - The Booklet _____
 - Other: _____
5. Would you have liked to have done more writing?
Yes _____ No _____
6. Do you mind writing texts which are for practice and not graded?
Yes _____ No _____

Teacher Feedback

7. Were you able to learn from the corrections your teacher gave you?
Yes _____ No _____ Why or why not? _____

8. Did you always agree with the corrections your teacher gave you?

Yes

No

9. If you said no to the above question, what did you do? Did you:

- Discuss it with the teacher?

Yes

No

- Ask someone else?

Yes

No

- Look it up at home?

Yes

No

- Just leave it?

Yes

No

Practice vs. Writing for a Grade

10. Did you try to write differently when writing just for practice vs. for a grade?

Yes

No

Peer Review

11. Were you able to learn from the corrections your peer editors made for you?

Yes

No

Why or why not?

12. Did you always agree with the critique your peer editors gave you?

Yes

No

13. If you said "No", what did you do? Did you:

- Discuss it with the person?

Yes

No

- Ask someone else?

Yes

No

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- Look it up at home?
Yes No
- Just leave it?
Yes No

14. Did you enjoy seeing what other students wrote?

Yes No

15. Did you learn from doing the peer review?

Yes No
Why or why not?

16. As a reader, were you sometimes unsure about making some corrections?

Yes No

17. If you answered “Yes”, what did you do if you were unsure about making a correction

- Discuss it with the person?
Yes No
- Ask someone else?
Yes No
- Just leave it?
Yes No

Teacher vs Peer Feedback

18. Which feedback was more helpful, teacher or peer? Why?

Teacher Peer

11 Glossary

1. Abbreviations for Language Learning: EFL, ESL, FL, L1, L2

EFL:	English as a Foreign Language
ESL:	English as a Second Language
FL:	Foreign Language
L1:	The first language (the mother tongue)
L2:	The second language

There is no standard for how these terms are to be used, which makes it difficult to define them. However, what makes it even more difficult to define them is the fact that their uses have changed over the years. In the 1960s, the terms EFL and ESL were used to describe two different groups of students studying English. FL applied to students who were studying a language in their home country in which it was not the official language and was not spoken by the majority of the people. EFL students were thus students studying English in their home country in which English was not the official language, such as Thailand, France, or Germany. ESL students, on the other hand, were foreign students studying English in a country in which English was spoken by the majority of the people, such as Australia, England, or the United States. This differentiation was intended to help researchers describe the differences in the learning settings and different tasks which could be used to help the students learn the foreign language.

Today this differentiation is sometimes ignored, possibly as a result of globalization. Currently the terms found most frequently in research articles are the differentiation between the L1 and the L2, with ESL/EFL often describing the L2. L1 is used to describe the language spoken at home and in everyday life of the students being taught. L2 then refers to any second languages learners are confronted with no matter whether it is the official language of the country which is taught at school – as is the case for many Hispanics in the USA, for many Turkish children in Germany, or children in some African nations – or a new language which is not normally spoken in their country – such as English in Germany, Norway, or China. One of the reasons why ESL and EFL have merged is that the standards for teaching these students have merged. Formerly, ESL students were expected to reach native-speaker level and EFL students were spared of this requirement. Through standards motivated by globalization, EFL students are often taught English starting in early elementary grades and throughout their entire schooling. It is the hope of educators that their students will eventually be able to compete on the global market place using English without any difficulties or handicaps compared to those for whom it is their mother tongue. By the time these students reach university, their levels are often comparable to at least those of ESL students living in a country where English is the first language.

2. Academic Writing

The term academic writing is used in this dissertation to describe the kind of structured, formal writing that is carried out by academics at universities and workplaces. It is not used here to describe expressionistic, creative, or journalistic writing. Academic writing

as it is used here can be divided into several subgenres. For one, academic writing has traditionally been understood to be the genre which professors use when writing articles for academic journals. The purpose of this writing is to inform colleagues about new research that has been conducted in their field. Academic writing has been traditionally the sounding board for researchers from all over the world to react to these new ideas and discoveries. It is the pressure to be exact (and not entertaining as literature is intended to be) that creates a need for a clear structure in order to avert possible misunderstandings as well as to make the reading as easy and time efficient as possible.

A second subgenre of academic writing also includes the kind of writing that is carried out at workplaces. Reports, forms, summaries, and lab reports all fall under the rubric of academic writing. These genres, too, are intended to inform the readers of something new and often create a reaction that is more instrumental than epistemic, in that the data is not used for further discussion but directly applied or operationalized for new ventures.

A third and very important subgenre of academic writing has come to be called the “university testing genre”. Ever since writing took over the role that disputations played in university studies through the 18th century, academic writing has played a major role in measuring a student’s performance and eligibility to join the academic circle. In this subgenre, the information the student includes in the text is not necessarily new to the reader but to the writer. The purpose of this subgenre is thus more to enable learning on the part of the student and to enable the professor to evaluate and rank the student. It is these differences in the purpose for carrying out academic writing that this dissertation deals with.

3. Dialogical

The term dialogical as it is used here is based on writings by Bakhtin. In this dissertation, dialogical is used to describe the imaginary or real dialog that goes on between writers and readers. Pivotal here is the reason for the dialog. To truly be dialogical a personal interest in the contents of what is written must exist for both the writer and reader. Dialogical writing thus takes place when writers have a desire to transmit new knowledge or ideas to their readers that they think will be of interest to them. Dialogical feedback is a personal and interested reaction from the readers to the contents of the text. Dialogical feedback need not be expressed directly to the writer; dialogical feedback can take place, for example, when colleagues who out of personal interest take a moment to ponder about the contents of a journal article they have just read.

4. Discourse Community

According to Swales (1990), a discourse community is a community that has, among other things, “a broadly agreed set of common public goals” (24) and “mechanisms of intercommunication among its members” (25).

The term discourse community has been a common term in the field of writing since especially the early 1980s when social constructionism began influencing writing research. The term grew out of Del Hymes’ description of speech communities that influenced socio-linguistics. In this dissertation the term discourse community is similar

to the term speech community and is used to represent academic circles within the various fields. Each field is represented by members of a discourse community who attend conferences, write journal articles, teach, or work in the field. Discourse communities have established procedures for writing and carrying out research that its members usually have to adopt in order to gain a voice in the proceedings of the field. This is of course not to say that the procedures do not change over time. But sudden changes are seldom.

Discourse communities, like speech communities, often overlap, can have embedded communities, and often make claim to hierarchical structures, with some being more important than others. In schools, the term learning communities is often used to depict the group of students in a classroom, for example, who make up their own community as learners who are striving to join the larger discourse community. As with all communities they have their own rules and procedures which are at the same time influenced by the rules and procedures of the “more advanced” discourse group.

5. **Facilitator**

This term has come into frequent use in conjunction with especially student-centered teaching techniques. A facilitator is mainly responsible for arranging tasks for others to carry out. A facilitator is generally a non-participant and remains non-biased as to what goes on.

6. **Genre**

Since the time of Aristotle, the concept genre has undergone many theoretical discussions. How philosophers have looked at and defined genres has changed very much over the centuries. Definitions of genres have ranged from views of genres as being static classifications of oral and written dialogues which are based on rules of form and substance to current genre theories that see genres as evolving schemes where not so much formal criteria but context and purpose play an important role in their definition. It is this primacy of the social in understanding genres and the role of context that lay the foundations for the principles underlying the current writing theory which is described and used in this dissertation. Section 3.6 of this dissertation gives a more detailed description of contemporary genre theory and describes its relationship to modern-day writing theories.

However, despite the developments which have taken place in genre theory over the centuries, the predominant definitions of genre as it is used by the mainstream and in everyday life have remained rather static. In 2009, the Encyclopaedia Britannica, for example, described a genre as being “a distinctive type or category of literary composition, such as the epic, tragedy, comedy, novel, and short story”. In *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, M. H. Abrams (1971) defined genre as a “literary form . . . into which literary works have been classified. (67-68). Although genres are “highly variable . . . the most common names still are such ancient ones as tragedy, comedy, epic, satire, and lyric, plus some relative newcomers like novel, essay, and biography” (68). It is this somewhat static definition of genre that is implied in the discussions about genre which precede the discussions about current genre studies.

7. $i + 1$

Input plus one, or $i+1$, as it is normally found in research articles is an expression coined by the linguist Stephen Krashen. The i stands for the linguistic competence as well as extra-linguistic knowledge that have already been acquired by the learner. The 1 represents the next step in input which the learner is ready to acquire. In this sense it is similar to the ZPD as described by Vygotsky. 1 becomes understandable to the learner through the comprehensible context of i , where the comprehensible input, i , acts as both input and the collaborator enhancing comprehension.

It is important to note that the number of new expressions and grammatical structures, or the amount of other extra-linguistic input contained in 1 may not exceed the limits of comprehensibility for the learner; otherwise it becomes 2 or more. Just as with definitions of ZPD, linguists have never been able to describe $i+1$ exactly since it is always situational and dependent on the learner. Some educators have said that a maximum of two new words and/or two new grammar structures per page is adequate for 1 .

8. Knowledge-Telling

Knowledge-telling is a term used by Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987) to describe the inclusion of information in a text which is intended to demonstrate to the reader what the writer 'knows' rather than to produce new information for the reader as is common in most forms of academic writing. Knowledge-telling can often be found in student texts which are to be evaluated by the teacher. Through knowledge-telling, students attempt to "prove" to the teacher that they know and understand the material which the teacher either explicitly or implicitly expected them to learn throughout the course. By including this information in their papers, students hope to demonstrate to the teacher that they have successfully learned what they were to learn and what the teacher already knew.

9. Knowledge-Telling Strategies

This term is used to describe strategies students develop to be able to carry out knowledge-telling. Many students develop strategies to perceive what it is the teacher is looking for in a text and then develop methods for producing this in order to get a good grade. For some students this production of material which is not new to the reader appears to be superfluous but they attempt to develop strategies to overcome this feeling of repetition. For other students the idea of "showing off" what one has learned is also difficult and must be overcome in order to receive a good grade.

10. Life-Long Learning

Life-long learning has become a buzzword over the past decade in much of Europe and around the world. Although it has always been considered important for people in the workforce to continue to gain new knowledge about events in their fields of work, unlike doctors, for example, whom it is assumed, constantly continue to learn about the latest discoveries in their fields, for the majority of jobs this has normally been looked upon as something recommended to do once or twice a year for a short time. Due to economic changes taking place over the globe, however, the concept of life-long learning has not only gained momentum but has gained new meaning. Because many of the jobs people train for no longer remain stable for the life-time of the worker – they

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sometimes develop into completely new jobs or even disappear – it is considered a method of economic survival for employees to constantly keep up with changes in their fields and possibly even learn a new trade.

As a part of life-long learning, in this dissertation I suggest that life-long learning not only implies being a passive in taker of new information supplied through courses or books but also calls for active participation on the part of the participants in the creation of new knowledge surrounding the field of choice.

11. The Mainstream

When talking about the mainstream or what the mainstream thinks, the term usually refers to how the majority of people think about a certain topic at a certain point in time. This way of thinking is supported by the majority of newspaper and magazine articles which refer to the topic.

12. Mainstream Classrooms

The term mainstream classroom is used in this dissertation to designate the type of teaching that can be found in the majority of classrooms at a particular point in time. The term mainstream classroom does not pertain to any particular style of teaching but rather to the style of teaching that is generally accepted as the standard teaching method of the day by the majority of teachers. Mainstream classrooms reflect the theories and methods that have become accepted over the past years and those that the majority of teachers have learned. In this sense, mainstream classrooms implies old and established. As alternative paradigms, theories, or methods begin to be espoused in research articles and textbooks, classroom teaching styles which reflect these new ideas begin to appear. If these new teaching styles develop to the point where they take place in the majority of classrooms, they will then become the new mainstream.

In general, mainstream classrooms can vary from country to country. In many countries, the ministries of education determine what and how teachers in grades 1 through 12 (13) are to teach and with time this usually becomes mainstream. As ministries of education change their definitions of what and how teachers at lower-level schools are to teach, so do teachers. Once enough teachers have been trained in the new methods, these ordinances from ministries of education tend to become the new mainstream. Despite these differences from country to country, changes which take place in learning theory and teaching approaches tend to spread around the globe so that international differences in mainstream classrooms also become less over time.

On the other hand, teaching at universities is usually independent of ministries of education. Because there are no guidelines for teaching at universities, many variables can affect the styles of teaching which can be found at universities. These can vary from the adherence to traditional teaching approaches that continue over decades and seem to be resistant to change to sweeping new changes in teaching approaches which catch on quickly. As a consequence, defining the mainstream at universities is often not an easy matter and is often dependent on the field which is being discussed.

13. Mainstream Research

Just as mainstream classrooms can vary from country to country so too can the mainstream research vary from country to country. Because the mainstream of research in a country is usually either an attempt to make improvements to or foster new developments in the current status quo of teaching, it too has a certain national identity.

Despite this fact, in most every field, there are international journals that are considered to be the leaders and trend setters in their fields. Throughout the decades, these journals attempt to publish only research which reflects the visionary *Zeitgeist* of the day. In this sense, mainstream research does not necessarily refer to research about the status quo, but rather has a future-oriented emphasis. The majority of research that is published in these journals at any one time tends to center around this new *Zeitgeist* for change. It is this research which can be found in internationally renowned journals that is referred to here as mainstream research.

14. Mechanical errors

The term mechanical errors is a general term used to describe surface errors in language use as compared to errors of logic or content. Mechanical errors can be grammatical errors such as a missing article, incorrect word order, or the wrong verb tense. The term mechanical errors can also be used to designate incorrect spelling and incorrect use of vocabulary and prepositions.

15. Stake-free

Stake-free is a term used in this dissertation to identify situations in which the participants do not have to fear repercussions for any mistakes they make. A stake-free task is carried out purely for practice and no grade or final evaluation is given. A stake-free task is viewed as a learning experience where corrective and supportive feedback are intended to help bring about improvement in the future.

16. Speech Communities

A speech community as defined by Hymes (1972) “is a necessary, primary term in that it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity. One starts with a social group and considers all the linguistic varieties present in it, rather than starting with any one variety” (54). Speakers who “share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations” (Gumperz 1972: 16) can be said to be members of the same speech community. Speech communities differ from discourse communities in that they take in all varieties and ranges of speech and sounds and all groups of speakers from all walks of life. The term discourse communities, on the other hand, as it is used here, pertains to the speech communities which have as their focus of interest a particular academic discipline.

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