Assessing academic writing: L1 English content professors’ accommodation to non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (Applied Linguistics) at Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2011

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Abstract

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It is estimated that second language (L2) speakers of English in the world now outnumber first language (L1) English speakers more than 3 to 1. This shift in balance necessitates a re-examination of the notion of Standard English as L2 speakers develop regional and functional variations of English. In academic writing, Standard English is based not just on discrete elements of the language, but also on culturally determined rhetorical organization, which L2 scholars are expected to master to succeed in academia. Research suggests that in English academic publishing, the insistence on this culturally-defined rhetorical organization results in the unintentional silencing of the voices of L2 scholars. Yet whether the same insistence exists for university class assignments has been under investigated. Studies on the differences in the rhetorical organization of student-written compositions in languages other than English have not considered reader response. Conversely, studies exploring reader response to L2 writing have focused on sentence-level errors rather than on rhetorical organization.

Using think-aloud protocols to access the thought processes of L1 content professors as they assess L2 student writing presented in both standard and non-standard rhetorical organization, this study employs a framework of critical discourse analysis to investigate whether L1 professors at a large Canadian university with a significant
international student body accommodate to non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing.
Acknowledgements

It is difficult to decide to whom I owe my greatest and most heartfelt thanks, my supervisor, Joanna White, or my husband, Steve Sinclair. I have benefited from Joanna’s knowledge and experience, and she has supported and guided me throughout the thesis writing process with much patience. She has accommodated the multitude of delays that came with me being a working mother of young children, and gently nudged the autodidact in me who would probably still be reading now if not for her prodding. But none of this would have been possible without the encouragement, support, love, and above all patience, of Steve. He has put up with my absences from weekends at the cottage, adjusted his life and schedule to keep our kids happy and occupied while I worked on this thesis, and accepted my kvetching.

And, speaking of kvetching, I owe my friends thanks too for the time they have all put in listening to me moan about whether I would ever finish. Maia Williamson forged the path by finishing first and was the person who really understood my occasional self-doubt and knew just what to say to bring me back to a positive state of mind. Shelagh Plunkett and Susan Gemmell sympathised and encouraged me, and Lance Neveu goaded me to “just press print already.”
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Donald and Edith Levey, who instilled in me an insatiable curiosity and a desire to learn, and to my children, Kim Sinclair and Van Sinclair, who make me want to succeed.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The impetus for this study is a fusion of three ideas that occurred to me several years apart. The first idea germinated in a French writing class that I took in the spring of 2004. In the class, we were taught to write short persuasive essays using a set formulaic style that included three body paragraphs starting with “d’abord,” “deuxiemement,” and “finalement” respectively. As someone who likes to write, and who prides herself on being a fairly good and clear writer, writing in the asked-for manner chafed. Although I did as I was asked and produced the required number of paragraphs with the requisite locutions, it continued to rankle. As a fully-formed, reasonably well-educated adult human being, I felt that my voice as a writer, developed over years of experience with English academic and English corporate writing was stifled, almost extinguished by having to write in a different culturally defined way, and I wondered if the writing would not have been better if I had ignored the prescription and written it in my own style and with my own voice with the expectation that the reader accommodate to my style. However, the class ended before I was able to test my theory.

The second idea arose from hearing a CBC Ideas broadcast about literary translation. The broadcast talked about the translation of, among other things, Josef Skorecky’s Dvorak in love, and how the entire structure of the book was changed in the English translation because the American publisher felt that the non-linear narrative of the original work in Czech would not work for an English readership. The idea of not being able to read the narrative as the author intended was anathema to me. I found it hard to believe that we English readers would be unable or unwilling to follow the
narrative in whatever form Skvorecky had written it. A celebrated author had created a celebrated work that people in the publishing world had deemed worthy of paying large sums of money for the right to translate, and yet the publishers felt the need to ‘dumb down’ the organization for the English readership. It seemed unthinkable to me that the onus for interpretability of the work in English should be on the author and translator, rather than on the reader. With a distinct lack of hubris, I thought of my experience in French class and managed to equate my having to write a persuasive essay in French in an unfamiliar style with changing the narrative structure of Skvorecky’s novel. Why, I wondered could the reader not adapt instead of the writer so that the reader could experience the original voice?

The third idea evolved from reading research on world Englishes (WE). I became interested in the question of the ownership of English, which led me to Kachru’s (1985) concentric circle model of the global expansion of English (Figure 1). In Kachru’s model, the Inner Circle of native English speakers provides the norms for English. What intrigued me was Kachru’s notion of the outer circle of English speakers, generally from countries with a post-colonial relationship with English, as “norm-developing,” meaning that they are constructing their own norms for their own variations of English. However, these variations do not have the same status as Inner Circle English. As a member of the Inner Circle, I began to wonder if our insistence on our own culturally developed norms of English as being the legitimate form is not just another vestige of colonialism. Post-colonial theory would suggest that by insisting on British or North American English norms for outer circle English speakers, the Inner Circle is essentially perpetuating a hegemonic hold on English by deeming Outer Circle English variations as deficient or
incorrect. Instead of placing the onus on the Outer Circle to adapt to Inner Circle norms, I wondered why the Inner Circle could not accommodate Outer Circle variations.

![Diagram of concentric circles of English](image)

Figure 1: The concentric circles of English (Kachru, B. 1985)

The fusion of ideas came about as I began viewing the relationship of the Inner and Outer Circles through the lens of post-colonial theory and focussed that lens on academic writing. I realized that my experience in French class of feeling that my voice was stifled by having to express myself according to another culture’s language norms was a tiny parallel example to what Outer Circle speakers experience in trying to write academic English for Inner Circle academia. I wondered if, like my experience with French class, English writing fromOuter Circle scholars might not be better and more legitimate if it were expressed in the norms influenced by co-existent languages and different cultural thought patterns in the countries in which they were developed.

This notion intersected with the current focus of research in the study of WE, and in particular with English as a lingua franca (ELF) research. Recent ELF research, which
has focused on the pragmatic skills of ELF communication, has pointed to accommodation as being the “single most important pragmatic skill in ELF communication” (Jenkins, 2011, p. 928). Because the communication of international academic communities is largely carried out in ELF, Jenkins (2011) suggests that English-medium universities with a large international student body would be an ideal context in which to explore the implications of ELF with a goal of moving away from an “outdated narrow attachment to one [standard]… variety of English.” Given my unease with the idea of writers accommodating to native speaker norms and conventions, I decided to explore the idea of readers accommodating to (so called) non-standard forms of writing in the university context, and to investigate to what degree native speaker academics at an English medium university accommodate when they assess non-native English academic writing. Given my experience in French class, I decided to focus on non-standard rhetorical organization.

1.2 Background for the study

The estimated number of second language (L2)\(^1\) English speakers now exceeds the number of first language (L1) English speakers by more than 3 to 1 (Crystal, 2003). This shift in balance calls into question the idea of the ownership of English and necessitates a re-examination of the notion of Standard English—not just in terms of discrete elements of the language, but also in culturally produced thought patterns which in part determine the rhetorical organization of L2 writing. Not surprisingly, as more and more people in the world learn English, more and more global interaction is occurring in

\(^1\) Throughout this thesis, L2 will be used to refer to English as an additional language—second or subsequent language.
English. In turn, the growing global dominance of English as a lingua franca is having an effect on the construction and dissemination of knowledge.

Whereas historically, the ‘academy’ has been a Western concept to describe the canonical knowledge constructed by speakers of English or other European languages and disseminated in those languages, increasingly, dissemination in English predominates the scholarly writing that contributes to knowledge construction. Thus, as more scholars speak English in the periphery\(^2\), there is a greater potential for global knowledge construction, which would include periphery scholars in the construction of knowledge that until recently had been strictly centre knowledge. For the first time in history, the potential exists for a truly global academy.

However, although there is a growing questioning of the elevated status of Standard English and an ancillary growing acceptance of indigenized variation in vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and syntax, the same cannot be said for non-standard variation in rhetorical organization in academic writing for publication. Although more and more periphery scholars are potentially capable of contributing to knowledge construction in global academia, the reality is that they are often excluded because of the non-standard rhetorical structure of their work (Canagarajah, 2002). Yet, as Seidhlofer (2004) suggests, there is no principled justification for insisting on North American or British norms of academic writing. She goes further to say that when

\(^2\) Unlike the economic centre-periphery model in which centre refers to the developed world and periphery to the developing world, I am using the model in a linguistic sense in which centre represents countries where English has a status as a first language, and periphery represents both countries where English either has a status as an official or unofficial additional language, and countries where English has no status, but is being learned and spoken.
English journals produced in native English countries correct non-native academic English to conform to native conventions, they “exert a gatekeeping function based not on academic expertise but purely on linguistic criteria whose relevance for international intelligibility has not actually been demonstrated” (p. 223).

This thesis uses the normative framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a perspective to examine whether the centre academy’s lack of acceptance of non-standard rhetorical organization in academic writing for publication (Belcher, 2007; Canagarajah, 2002; Flowerdew, 2001; Jenkins, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2004, Vavrus, 1991) and the associated reproduction of the long standing domination of the centre is also evident in the sphere of university student academic writing. To do this, this study explores the cognitive processes of L1 professors in response to academic writing presenting both standard and non-standard rhetorical organization to see to what degree these professors accommodate to variation in non-native academic writing. In addition, CDA allows the researcher to determine the underlying background factors that contribute to whether an individual accommodates or not to L2 writing.

While differences in the rhetorical organization of student-written academic essays between English and languages other than English have been investigated under the rubric of contrastive rhetoric (e.g., Hinds, 1983; Kaplan, 1966; Mohan & Lo, 1985), these investigations have not considered reader response to the differences. Conversely, while composition research has explored reader response to L2 writing, these explorations have not focussed on rhetorical organization. Investigations in composition research in the latter part of the 20th century tended to focus on assessor reaction to
sentence level errors in L2 writing (e.g. Tomiyana, 1980; Vann, Meyers, & Lorenz, 1984), and on criteria used by assessors of L2 writing (e.g., Homburg, 1984; Mendelsohn & Cumming, 1987; Santos, 1988). The latter research was instrumental in making a case for analytic or multi-trait assessment for L2 writing, as holistic evaluation was increasingly recognized as not being precise enough to capture the complexities of L2 writing which may be profound in thought but riddled with grammatical errors.

In addition, factors affecting assessors’ perceptions of L2 writing, such as academic discipline, experience, and age, have also been investigated (e.g., Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1996; Roberts & Cimasko, 2008; Song & Caruso, 1996; Sweedler-Brown, 1993) Yet, while investigation has been undertaken into the cognitive processes of L2 writers (Arndt, 1987; Gonzalez, Chen, & Sanchez, 2001; Shen, 1989), there has been little exploration into the cognitive processes of assessors of L2 writing. Inquiry into what assessors of academic writing attend to and how they make evaluative decisions has been proposed, but very little has been undertaken to date.

This study will contribute to the small body of investigations into the cognitive processes of assessors of L2 writing (e.g., Cumming, Kantor, & Powers, 2002; Vaughn, 1991; Wolfe, Kao, & Ranney, 1998) by investigating the reactions of L1 social sciences and humanities professors assessing L2 academic writing, in an effort to determine whether non-standard rhetorical organization is perceived as a barrier to interpretability and how much accommodation to non-standard rhetorical organization takes place during the assessment process. This is an issue that has implications not only for L2 students writing course assignments, but also for the way in which writing is taught in ESL
classrooms. The purpose of ESL classes for international students is to prepare them to be able to succeed in their content classes. In order to do this, L2 students are taught the fundamentals of the deductive organization of the five-paragraph essay, with more emphasis placed on form than on content and critical thinking. Yet, whether or not writing in this style is an expectation of content class professors has been under investigated.

Anecdotally, it would appear that even though many L2 students are able to adequately follow the five-paragraph essay model, they do not find themselves adequately prepared for dealing with their content classes. In order to provide L2 students with the skills that they need for their content classes, it is imperative to understand what content class professors’ expectations are for student writing, and how they assess student writing.

1.3 The Study

The study is a small-scale qualitative investigation that took place at an English-medium Canadian university with a large international student body. The study investigates whether L1 professors accommodate to non-standard rhetorical organization in assessing L2 student writing. To do this, the study examines what factors L1 university professors perceive to be important in assessing student writing, and what factors of L2 student writing elicit reactions, both negative and positive, as they assess L2 writing.

Eight L1 professors in the social sciences and humanities were asked to holistically assess four L2 student compositions and to think out loud as they did so in order to allow the researcher to record their thought processes. These data and data from interview
questionnaires were analysed using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework to investigate what background factors contribute to the participants’ assessments of the L2 writing, and their level of accommodation. In addition, participants were asked to reassess the same four compositions using a multi-trait analysis scoring grid to see if this form of assessment would affect their assessments and degree of accommodation to non-standard variation in rhetorical organization in L2 writing.

1.4. Overview of the thesis

Chapter 2 traces the history of commonly held conceptions of English academic writing. This is followed by an outline of the history and genesis of CDA, which is used as a framework for this study, and includes a brief examination of the theory behind CDA and the use of CDA as a perspective for exploring the issue of the dominance of English in academia. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the study. The results of the study are presented in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, the results are discussed. Chapter 5 ends with the limitations of the study and provides suggestions of avenues of further research.
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide both the theoretical context of the study and the theoretical framework for the study. To do this, Chapter 2 begins by problematizing the dominance of English in academia, followed by a brief outline of the history of the rhetorical style used in centre academic writing. Next, the theoretical roots of critical discourse analysis (CDA) are outlined, followed by a discussion of CDA as a perspective for investigating the dominance of English in academia, and think-aloud protocols as a tool for doing so.

2.2 English dominance in academia

A cautious estimate of the number of speakers of English worldwide suggests that there are approximately 375 million (so called) native English-speakers and 1125 million speakers of English as a second or additional language (Crystal, 2003). The elevated status of English as a global language appears to be indisputable by sheer weight of numbers, and its influence on the global linguistic stage is borne out by the fact that English has achieved an unprecedented level of use as a lingua franca in the global media, in international travel, and in international safety, as in police-speak and air-speak (Crystal, 2003).

Historically, a Standard English based on British or North American norms of English was the model upon which most speakers of English as a foreign, other, or associate language modeled their speech. In the current global climate where L2 speakers so vastly outnumber L1 speakers, world Englishes (WE) that incorporate non-standard...
variations in lexis, grammar, and pronunciation are increasingly being recognized as legitimate varieties of English in their own right.

Current theory in the study of WEs has moved away from Kachru’s concentric circle model toward a ‘transformationalist’ model (Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010). Kachru’s model is seen as limited because it focuses on the linguistic consequences of colonization with an emphasis on linguistic diasporas occupying geographical territories, which does not adequately represent the blurred lines of intranational and international communication in English. The transformationalist perspective, on the other hand, captures the constant linguistic transformations taking place on many scales from local to global as a result of the dominance of English on a global scale. Equally as important, the transformationalist perspective captures the transformations in the way that English is seen on a conceptual level.

For example, studies of English as a lingua franca (ELF) follow this approach; they view WEs with a perspective that discards national boundaries and is distanced from the historical and cultural perspectives that accompany those boundaries (Chew, 2010). ELF is defined by the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) website as “an additionally acquired language system which serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages.” According to Jenkins (2009, 2011), this definition does not exclude native speakers of English, but rather assumes that they too need to acquire ELF in order to communicate in an ELF context. Dewey & Jenkins (2010) suggest that ELF’s emphasis on hybridity, innovation, and accommodation make it ideal to contend with the “globalinguistic,” as they call it,
situation of the 21st century. While ELF may include native speakers of English, it does not depend on them for its norms. Rather, norms and regional variations are locally developed, creating a fluidity and flexibility of language. Variations that differ from British or North American English in grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and syntax are viewed as innovations rather than deficiencies, and accommodation to these variations is seen as the most important pragmatic strategy in ELF. But are English varieties such as ELF accommodated to and afforded the same value and respect as so-called Standard English in all domains?

According to communication accommodation theory (CAT), accommodation occurs through convergence, divergence, and maintenance, which are linguistic moves used respectively to decrease, increase, or maintain social distance. At the level of intercultural communication, the accommodation practices employed are reflective of participants’ awareness of, and attitudes toward, the relative levels of social power of their cultural groups and the dominance-subordination relationship between them (Boggs & Giles, 1999). In other words, accommodation depends partly on the perceived social value of the language variety being used in differing contexts.

As Canagarajah (2006) points out, “English is a linguistic capital and we ignore it at our peril.” (p. 210), but the question remains, do English variations such as ELF have as much linguistic capital as Standard English? While in certain domains, such as international travel and police-speak and air-speak, ELF with a mastery of only a specific subset of lexis of Standard English probably has adequate linguistic capital, perhaps nowhere is Canagarajah’s observation truer than in the realm of academia. Not
surprisingly, given its elevated status in the world, English is also increasingly the medium for the construction and dissemination of most of the world's knowledge.

For example, a 1980 study on the prevalent language for academic publishing showed that English was used in 85 per cent of biology and physics papers published at that time, 73 per cent of medical papers, and slightly lower, at just under 70 per cent, for both mathematics and chemistry papers (Large, 1983 cited in Cyrstal, 2003). Data from 1995 and 1996 respectively showed that 80.5 per cent of publications in the social sciences were in English and 90.7 per cent of publications in the natural sciences were in English (Ammon, 2006). These numbers are equally high in other disciplines, like linguistics, where 1995 data show that close to 90 per cent of publications were in English (Crystal, 2003).

Given the increasing number of English speakers worldwide, it would seem to follow that more people across the globe are participating in the construction of knowledge. South African writer, Harry Masebela, writing in 1983, suggested that learning English would place his fellow Africans in “the exciting world of ideas…to keep company with kings in the world of ideas…” (cited in Crystal, 2003). Yet global academic knowledge construction, by whom it is constructed, and the medium in which it is constructed, has not caught up to the new reality of L1 speakers in the centre being a minority of the world’s English speakers. In academia, not all Englishes are perceived as equal. “[…] if we carefully scrutinize the most fundamental practices of the academy as an institution, that is, conference presentations, plenary and keynote speeches, lectures and so forth, we find that within this global community of practice, varieties of the major
languages of transaction, including English, do not have equal capital in the packaging of knowledge” Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010, p. 226).

While Jenkins (2011) suggests that “a genuinely international academic approach would mean accommodating (to) the diverse multilingual and multicultural populations that inhabit English-medium universities instead of expecting these populations themselves to accommodate (to) a narrow assimilationist model of English” (p.927), the reality is that periphery scholars continue to be expected to adapt to centre expectations of academic writing.

An examination of the expectation of a deductive rhetorical organization for academic writing reveals that there is no justification for the insistence on this specific style other than the fact that it is expected, and that adhering to it signals group membership (Geisler, 1994, Seidlhofer, 2004). The deductive organization of English academic writing, whether it is the five-paragraph essay, or the research article, has been followed essentially since Aristotle, and therefore somehow has come to be viewed as the only logical structure. In order to become a member of centre academia and to participate in the construction of knowledge, one must master the conventions of the expected rhetorical style of academic English. However, the result of the centre’s ongoing expectation of these rhetorical conventions is the exclusion of those who cannot—or will not—follow these conventions, which in turn means that, by and large, periphery scholars are excluded from participating in academic knowledge construction.

There are several explanations for this. Firstly, periphery scholars may not feel confident enough in their English competence to undertake academic writing, or may be
competent in an indigenized variety of English that is not considered adequate for scholarly publication. The rhetorical organization of academic writing in the periphery scholar’s mother tongue culture may not correspond to the centre ideal of rhetorical organization. While centre academic writing is linear and deductive in approach, the ideal for academic writing in many other cultures favours an inductive approach, or a structure based on parallelism, circularity, or emphasizing the aesthetics of language use (Garcia Landa, 2006; Grabe & Kaplan, 1989; Hinds, 1983; Vavrus, 1991). Writing that does not adhere to the centre standard of rhetorical organization is generally considered illogical by centre scholars because it does not follow the expected structure.

Secondly, the integrated cognitive and social properties of academia reinforce the existing inequality of social power in that the members of academia seem to continue to unquestioningly reproduce the discourse that excludes periphery scholars. This is similar to, for example, the way in which there is a tacit acceptance by most of Canadian society that the demographic of Canadian politics is largely male. We do not, on a daily basis, think about this, nor do most of us use our vote to try to change this. Likewise, to varying degrees, there is an acceptance from recognized academic institutions and by scholars with a native-like mastery of English of the notion that knowledge is only valid when it is presented with the expected rhetorical organization.

This dismissal of other voices is probably not intentional; it is simply the result of the existing model and representation of what constitutes legitimate participation in knowledge construction. Nonetheless, because the privileged access to discourse is one of the cornerstones of power and dominance (Van Dijk, 1993), the result of the exclusion of
periphery scholars from contributing to knowledge construction in global academia constitutes an institutionalized and organized form of inequality. Restricted or reduced access to the use of special discourse genres or styles effectively reduces social power; privileged access to special discourse styles means greater participation in the construction of knowledge. Effectively then, the use of English in global academia and the expectation of specific discourse styles for the dissemination of information becomes a form of cultural domination.

The next section provides an outline of the historical origins of the centre model of academic writing.

2.3 A brief history of the autonomous text

Essentially, the central medium of centre knowledge construction—academic writing—continues a tradition of cultural domination that can be traced back to Aristotle. The standard for academic English writing is based on the Aristotelian notion of rhetoric, which held that argument and persuasion should not be based solely on techniques of rhetoric meant to arouse emotion in the audience, but rather had to be composed of deductions based on established premises, or propositions, which could be held true regardless of discipline or time period (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Rhetoric based on deductive reasoning led to the front-loaded deductive rhetorical organization that is standard today in English academic writing, in which the conclusion of the argument is placed near the beginning of the text.

Van Dijk (2005) defines knowledge as “social beliefs certified, shared and hence discursively presupposed by members of epistemic communities” (p.87). In the case of
academic knowledge, the presumed discourse is for the most part in the form of written text, and the epistemic communities are the scholars who make up the international academies for various disciplines. In fact, in the context of academia, the importance of literacy is paramount, as it was literacy that, in a sense, fixed knowledge in contrast with oral traditions in which knowledge was more fluid and prone to adaptation to differing social realities (Geisler, 1994). The implications of literacy in knowledge construction are therefore obviously enormous, but beyond the scope of this thesis (cf. Olson 2000 for an overview of the literature establishing a framework for the examination of the consequences of literacy on how knowledge is constructed, organized, and retrieved).

Long central to centre knowledge construction is the notion of the autonomous text. This is the idea that a text stands independent of the context in which it was produced and will mean the same thing to all readers in all times (Geisler, 1994). The idea of the autonomous text can be traced back to the Aristotelian notion of deductive reasoning, which is the cornerstone of the culturally defined logic (not a mathematical logic, nor a universal or absolute logic) that defines the structure of texts considered by the centre to be coherent and cohesive (Grabe & Kaplan, 1989). Deductive reasoning is based on propositional content, which consists of sentences that affirm or deny the predicate of a subject, such as in the classic example, “All men are mortal,” in which men is the subject and mortal is the predicate. The subjects and predicates are considered categories, and the quantifier, all, is one of four logical connectors comprising all, no, some, and not all. In deductive reasoning, the sentence above is considered a premise, which, in the classic example of an Aristotelian syllogism, is followed by the second premise, “Socrates is a man,” and the conclusion, based on the two premises, “Socrates is
mortal.” This system is considered a culturally defined logic for two reasons. The first reason is that understanding the content of the categories is subjective and assumes shared cultural experience. The second reason is that the system is merely an artefact of the centre tradition (as opposed to logical systems developed, for example, in India and China) and not a universal logic, which to date continues to be the holy grail of logic.

The idea of the autonomous text as the foundation of knowledge building was formalized in the essayist tradition espoused by John Locke and endorsed by the Royal Society of London in the 17th century. For Locke, the essay was a tool for the examination of problems and in the course of this examination new knowledge would be produced (Olson, 2000). Thus, knowledge building can be interpreted both as the new knowledge produced as a result of the analysis of a problem in the essay itself, but also as part of the construction of centre canonical knowledge which is built through academic writing.

Generally, English academic texts are believed to be based on three skill areas: specialized knowledge, logic, and rhetoric. Knowledge in a specific discipline provides the content; logic determines the structure of the text; and rhetoric determines the form (Geisler, 1994). The area of interest for the purposes of the current study is the structure of academic writing. The structure of English academic writing is widely held to be linear and deductive. This notion can be seen in the way in which two genres of English academic writing, the five-paragraph essay and the research article, are perceived. The use of these models is for the most part unquestioned by English writers and thought to be based on the only possible logical structure. However, because the logical structure is
not based on mathematical or absolute logic, but rather is dictated by culturally defined logic, the structure of English academic writing can be difficult to master for many periphery scholars.

The five-paragraph model has been taught to English grade school students for more than a century. The form is based on “the notion that English rhetoric is characterized as deductive (front-loaded with a main idea placed toward the beginning of the text or paragraph), logical (an emphasis on progression of ideas and reasoning to support the main idea), and direct and assertive (explicit opinion statement)” (Shi & Kubota, 2007, pp. 182-183.). In other words, there is one paragraph of introduction (‘this is what I’m going to talk about’), three paragraphs of development (‘see, I’m talking about it), and one concluding paragraph (‘there, I talked about it’). Students are expected to learn this form in order to grasp the way in which academic rhetoric is carried out. Being good at the five-paragraph model is seen as necessary for academic success, and the model is perceived to be a building block towards eventually mastering more sophisticated academic writing. Indeed, this form is somewhat of a shibboleth for L2 students trying to enter a centre English university. Failure to demonstrate facility with this style of organization results in L2 students being placed in prerequisite English for academic purposes classes where there continues to be a marked focus on teaching this rhetorical organization.

However, it is noteworthy that a recent study by Shi and Kubota (2007) suggests that this model has become somewhat divorced from the reality of academic writing. In investigating model essays in writing textbooks aimed at grade 7 and 8 students in the
USA and Canada, Shi and Kubota found that while all 25 of the texts they examined had a three-part structure, only six texts stated the main idea at the outset. Eight texts stated the main idea at the end of a long elaborated introduction, and the other eleven texts introduced the main idea either explicitly or implicitly in either the body or the conclusion of the essay. Even more interesting, all of the texts that had been previously published in other sources delayed the introduction of the main idea. This gap between the model that students are expected to follow and the reality of published writing suggests that the five-paragraph model may not be as monolithic as it has long been perceived to be.

Similarly, the research article (RA) is believed to have a predetermined fixed form. An analysis done by Swales (1990) determined the moves and strategies that are part of the form. Swales describes the structure of RAs as being comprised of four parts: introduction, method, results, and discussion. The introduction is perceived as following a linear and deductive structure which consists of three overarching moves, which Swales terms creating a research space (CARS); the writer describes the literature to date and then identifies a gap that she intends to fill with her study. As Canagarajah (2002) points out, the CARS model is perhaps a direct result of the culture of ‘publish or perish’ in the American academy. Since scholars are competing to get their work published, establishing the primacy and originality of the research according to the CARS model is paramount. Certainly the model is reinforced amongst scholars at centre English-medium universities and is reproduced repeatedly in published research articles. However, as naturalized as the CARS model has become within centre academia, it is completely
foreign within many other cultures and is often not perceived with the tacit acceptance with which it is perceived in the centre.

Canagarajah (2002) describes the reaction of his colleagues and students to a research article he wrote at the University of Jaffna upon his return to Sri Lanka after completing his postgraduate studies in the United States. Using his newfound academic writing skills, his introduction followed the moves in Swales’ CARS model much to the disappointment of his colleagues, who viewed his introduction as “pompous and overconfident” (p. 121). Canagarajah points out that the local cultural tradition follows a different rhetorical practice based on what he terms a ‘humility ethos’ which developed in feudal society of the past in which the speaker humbled himself in front of the King’s court. Canagarajah’s centre style introduction had put off the local readership because he was perceived as self-conscious. In addition, the centre circular style of anticipating the conclusion in the introduction and reiterating the same point in the conclusion was considered condescending in contrast with the local tradition, which perceives the reader as being intelligent enough to follow an inductive argument that builds to a conclusion in the final pages.

Yet, as rigidly fixed as the CARS model is perceived to be (Swales, 1990), and as intolerant as the centre is of periphery academic writing perceived as deviating from the norm (Belcher, 2007; Flowerdew, 2001, 2007, 2008; Vavrus, 1991), studies of published RAs across the disciplines of biology and applied linguistics, for example, have shown that in fact there is variation and deviance from the CARS model in writing coming from the centre (Ozturk, 2007; Samraj, 2002). It is likely however, that tolerance and
acceptance of this deviance from centre writers might be what Kumaravadivelu (2006) suggests is a sort of ‘native-speaker privilege’ to adapt the language, and that variation coming from the periphery would not be viewed with the same tolerance.

The next section summarizes the theoretical roots of critical discourse analysis (CDA), outlines CDA as a theoretical framework for investigating academia’s insistence on centre rhetorical models for academic writing, and discusses the use of think-aloud protocols as a tool for this investigation.

2.4 (Critical) discourse analysis

While the difficulties that periphery speakers encounter when trying to write and/or publish in the global academy have been studied extensively from the perspective of contrastive rhetoric and/or genre analysis (e.g., Connor, 1996; Garcia Landa, 2006; Hinds, 1983; Kaplan, 1989), the socio-political ramifications of this issue, as outlined above, have not been investigated from the perspective of CDA. This is surprising given the self-reflexive mandate of CDA, which would certainly seem to suggest that the exclusion of periphery writers from global academia, within which CD analysts are working, is an issue worth investigating. Perhaps the fact that this issue has not been taken up with vigor by CD analysts is because most CD analysts live and work in Europe where other pressing concerns such as the discourse of racism and immigration have largely occupied the field for the past decade. In order to fill this gap, this study will use CDA as a perspective for considering the problem of centre dominance in the global academy. The exploration will begin by looking at the historical origins of CDA, and conclude with some insights into how CDA can be used to address this issue.
2.4.1 A brief history of (critical) discourse analysis

A history of CDA must necessarily start with a history of discourse analysis as a descriptive endeavour as opposed to a critical endeavour. Perhaps not surprisingly, the history of discourse analysis largely parallels the history of centre academic discourse. The practice of analyzing language began with the ancient Greeks. Essentially, Aristotle can be seen as the grandfather of discourse analysis as it was he who elevated rhetoric from being simply techniques of persuasion for orators meant to arouse the emotions of, and sway the minds of, the audience, to a subject worthy of study on its own as a branch of philosophy (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Aristotle advocated studying rhetoric to analyze not only the productive devices of discourse which could be used for effective communication, but also the receptive aspect of discourse and the ways in which audiences interpreted discourse and were persuaded by the various techniques of rhetoric (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). As Enqvist (1987) points out, since studies under the rubric of rhetoric in the Western tradition are older than studies of grammar (in the technical sense of describing the structures of a language), then discourse analysis is older than linguistics proper.

The analysis of language continued from the ancient Greeks in the form of hermeneutics—the analysis of language for meaning. Through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, hermeneutics was concerned primarily with Biblical studies. However, in the 18th century, hermeneutics shifted focus from being a tool for the interpretation of meaning of liturgical texts to being concerned with meaning derived from understanding the social context of the works being analysed (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2008). Analysis of the discrete elements of texts for meaning had led to the recognition that a text is more
than the sum of its parts, which in turn led to discourse analysis as a descriptive
endeavour. If a text were just a larger unit made up of sentences, it could be analyzed in
the way that sentences can be analyzed for their constituent parts. However, rather than
simply being a larger unit of discourse comprised of smaller units (sentences), a text is
“realized by, or encoded in, sentences” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p.2), which are realized
as social action (Wodak, 1999).

Discourse analysis can also be seen as having evolved from a marriage of
linguistics and anthropology/sociology as another significant contribution to the
development of discourse analysis comes from the field work done by early linguistic
anthropologists like Franz Boas (de Beaugrande, 1997). Boas’ observations of the extra-
linguistic elements of meaning production caused a split in the study of language
concerning the locus of meaning. In the mid-20th century, while generativists like
Chomsky continued to look strictly at language as the source of meaning, linguistic
anthropologists like Hymes were looking at the social and cognitive factors involved in
the production of meaning (Kaplan & Grabe, 2002). De Beaugrande describes the divide
as being between theory-driven semantics, which works from the top down to create
theoretical frameworks about meaning, and data-driven semantics, which continually
creates and tests hypotheses about meaning production in the field. He suggests that the
engagement with fieldwork creates a kind of radar in the sense that those in the field are
often the first to recognize issues and phenomena and arrive at conclusions that later
inform the theoretical frameworks of their theoretical linguist counterparts.
Unlike descriptive discourse analysis, whose roots can be traced back to ancient Greece, the origins of the critical aspect of discourse analysis—the roots of CDA—are essentially postmodern. The notion of critique stems from the critical philosophy of Kant in the Enlightenment. It was developed by Marx and the Frankfurt School and further refined in the social and literary critical theories of Foucault and Derrida, respectively, into critical theory, as we understand it today. Thus the application of the term critical in CDA refers not to a judgment, but to the notion of being in opposition to traditional theories (Wodak & Chilton, 2005).

CDA as a methodological practice grew out of critical linguistics of the 1970s when socially and politically aware scholars at the University of East Anglia began to use linguistic analysis to examine the social and political implication of texts (Wodak & Chilton, 2005). Critical linguistics drew on Habermas for its critical theory. It looked originally to the early versions of Chomskyian transformational grammar for its linguistic theory, but later rejected transformational grammar in favour of Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Indeed, SFL is currently used as a framework by many CD analysts as “a toolkit for deconstructing the socially constructed (thus linguistically constructed) machinery of power” (Chilton, 2005, p. 21).

In a sense, CDA could be classified as the second wave of critical linguistic analysis, evolving from the application of the critical theories of Foucault and Derrida (Wodak, 2001). The introduction of French discourse theory changed the way in which language analysis was carried out by highlighting the role of language in structuring power relationships, which led to looking at language in a new way. According to French
discourse theory, discourse cannot be considered simply a neutral tool for describing the social or natural world. Instead, poststructuralist discourse theory posits that language and discourse construct, regulate, and control knowledge, institutions, and social interaction (Luke, 1997). More specifically, CDA explores the ways in which power relationships are (re)produced through discourse, and what aspects of discourse are salient in their (re)production. In fact, as Van Dijk (1993) points out, CDA “should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power and abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it” (p.252).

CDA then explores social power, not individual power unless the individual power is a realization of a group’s power. The exploration looks at the ways in which social power is exercised through discourse in the form of manipulation, persuasion, misrepresentation, and distortion. This includes social power that is realized in organized and institutionalized ways that reinforce and normalize the social order, often to the point that the dominated accept dominance and willingly reinforce the existing social order (Fairclough, 1985).

Essentially, discourse cannot be seen as an isolated extra-societal artefact; it is embedded in and shaped by the social institutions in which it takes place, and it helps to shape the social institutions. The ideologies of groups within a specific social institution are reflected in their discourse in what Fairclough (1985) refers to as ideological-discursive formations (IDFs). In other words, the ideologies inherent to any social institution both shape and are shaped by the discourse associated with it. Additionally, according to Fairclough, over time, the ideology of whichever group dominates a
particular social institution prevails, or becomes naturalized. This occurs when the ideology becomes so ingrained as to be perceived as either common sense, or as somehow extra-temporal.

The ideology and the IDFs of whatever group dominates within a social institution is often supported by the other social institutions like the media, which reproduces them, or the education system that perpetuates them through, for example, curricula or textbooks. Institutionalized support of power inequities can be achieved both by the reproduction of dominant discourse and/or through the restriction or exclusion of the dominated. Exclusion can occur through controlling the context of discourse to restrict access and participation in the discourse, or controlling the style of discourse to marginalize voices that are less powerful. The result of this exclusion is that voices of the less powerful are not heard, or are ignored, are not spoken about, or quoted.

Because CDA is also normative in scope, its goal is not only to describe the complexities in the part that language plays in power relations in the construction of knowledge, but theorizing as to how to overcome inequalities of power and actively working towards eliminating these inequalities (Luke, 2002, 2004; Van Dijk 1993; Wodak, 1999). In fact, Van Dijk suggests, one of the criteria of the work of CDA is that it must show solidarity with those who need it most: the excluded, silenced, or ignored. He suggests that while the “critical targets [of CDA] are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone, or ignore social inequality and injustice” (p. 252), it is the perspective of the dominated and the powerless that CDA must bring to light. Critical
scholarship cannot be aloof or neutral, but should take an explicit socio-political position and through their work, CD analysts should seek to be agents of change (Van Dijk, 1993).

The difference then between the critical goals of CDA and the descriptive goals of discourse analysis can be viewed in terms of Horkheimer’s criteria of adequacy of a critical theory: “it must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. That is, it must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation” (Bohman, 2008). The distinction is that CDA investigates discourse with the goal of unravelling the effect that social structures have on the discourse, and the effect that the discourse has on social structures, whereas descriptive discourse analysis essentially views discourse as unique and separate from social structures (Fairclough, 1985).

2.4.2 CDA as a framework for investigating English dominance in academia

Within the global academy, the dominant views on the standards of English usage in academic writing place periphery scholars in a position where their knowledge of English is often perceived as “disqualified knowledge” (Foucault, 1980, cited in Vavrus, 1991); that is, knowledge that deviates from, or is outside of the norms of dominant knowledge. According to Flowerdew (2008), periphery scholars are in fact stigmatized by their English, which seems to be borne out by the fact that journal submissions by periphery scholars are rejected more often than centre scholar submissions (Belcher, 2007; Berns, 2005; Flowerdew, 2001), and if accepted, must be vetted and ‘corrected’ by centre scholars before publication (Jenkins, 2011).

3 Max Horkheimer, philosopher and sociologist, was a founding member of the Frankfurt School.
As stated above, CDA is concerned specifically with the exploration of “the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). The goal of CDA is to describe, explain and most importantly critique the ways that dominant discourses influence socially shared knowledge and the attitudes and ideologies attached to this shared knowledge, and to propose solutions to empower the dominated. It would then seem to follow that CDA should necessarily be concerned that the production and construction of knowledge is controlled by centre scholars and researchers, yet this issue has not played a central role in CDA over the last twenty years or so since its genesis. During this period, while much research has been undertaken into the differences in rhetorical organization in periphery academic writing as compared to centre academic writing, it has been carried out under the rubric of contrastive rhetoric and genre analysis, not CDA.

Essentially then, CDA appears to have some ground to make up in exploring the role of English in the control of knowledge construction. In using CDA as a framework to look at this issue, the first goal of CDA (description and explanation) has already been met: cultural differences in the rhetorical structure of written discourse have been described, from the perspective of contrastive rhetoric, to establish points of similarity and difference in writing from the centre and writing from the periphery; explanation of the central role that discourse has in (re)producing ideology in sets of texts that are recognized by a knowledge community as being of the same type has been undertaken by genre analysis.
The orientation of much of the research done in contrastive rhetoric has been to establish the implications for teaching composition to L2 speakers (e.g. Hinds, 1983, 1987). The findings of this research have suggested that teaching L2 speakers about the expected top-level rhetorical organization in English academic writing, and teaching them how to indicate the organization of their texts by using pertinent linguistic devices, would help them get closer to attaining the centre ideal of academic writing. However, the problem with the stance of the greater portion of the research in this area up to now is that it reinforces the current inequality inherent in global knowledge construction. Within the critical mandate of CDA, the suggested implications of the research must surely be viewed as largely untenable as these implications serve to reproduce the centre’s hegemonic hold on knowledge construction. As long as the centre controls the way in which information is disseminated, it controls what is disseminated. Essentially, the insistence by the centre on Standard English academic rhetorical organization acts as a form of gate-keeping, which ensures that information that is widely disseminated is written by those in the centre, and therefore, knowledge will be constructed by the centre. As Van Dijk (1994) has noted, it is not only the excluded scholars who are being short-changed by their exclusion in academic knowledge construction: "It hardly needs to be argued that lacking insight into theories, methods, data and results of scholars elsewhere on the globe is a form of scholarly and cultural chauvinism which at the very least diminishes the relevance and generality of our findings, and in any case contributes to the reproduction of prevailing forms of cultural and academic hegemony" (p. 276).

It would stand to reason that the critical goal of CDA vis-à-vis this issue might be threefold: to denaturalize the existing ideology about interpretability in academic writing
(the idea that the rhetorical organization preferred in academia is easier to understand because it is intrinsically logical); to encourage the idea of ‘writing back’ to the centre to give voice to periphery scholars so that they no longer rely on centre norms; and to re-educate centre scholars to understand “that differences between native and non-native written discourse are (1) not simply a matter of individual writers taking liberties with the language, but rather examples of the process of indigenization; and (2) illustrative of a revised canon of English literature and thus warranting an attitude of respect from native speakers” (Vavrus, 1991, p. 184). That is, the different rhetorical organizations of indigenized varieties of English need to be recognized as different, but not deficient or deviant.

2.4.3 Think-aloud protocols

The current study seeks to investigate whether the intolerance shown in scholarly publishing toward variant rhetorical organization in academic writing from the periphery is reinforced in English-medium centre universities by examining the reactions of L1 professors to L2 student writing. If centre scholars are to be encouraged to be more tolerant of variant forms of academic writing, two central questions remain: first, as Kachru & Smith (2008) have queried, how much of the deficiency in periphery academic text perceived by centre scholars is based on intelligibility (spelling, grammar), how much is based on comprehensibility (syntax and structure), and how much is based on interpretability (being able figure out the meaning); and secondly, on whom should the onus be placed for interpretability? The answer to these questions may lie in investigating cognitive processing—what Chilton (2005) refers to as the missing link in CDA, as to date, there has been little emphasis in CDA on exploring this area. As Chilton points out,
if discourse constructs knowledge, then that construction can only be taking place in the minds of individuals. To this end, exploring what occurs in the mind of a centre scholar when he or she reads a text written by a periphery scholar might provide some insight into the questions above. Moreover, it might provide the information necessary for CDA to propose practical solutions to address the power imbalance between centre and periphery scholars.

The cognitive processes involved in undertaking a task such as reading and assessing academic writing are channelled through short term memory, which must be accessed in order to be able to explore these thoughts (Geisler, 1994). Think-aloud protocols (TAPs), in which participants are asked to undertake a task and speak aloud what is going through their minds as they complete the task, is perhaps the only procedure which offers researchers a record of the ever-changing contents of a participant’s short term memory (Ericsson & Smith, 1980, Geisler, 1994). While TAPs have been criticized as potentially interfering with, or altering the cognitive processes of the task involved, delaying the participant’s recall of the mental processes involved in a task is thought to no longer involve short term memory, but instead to involve a subset of long term memory (Geisler, 1994).

TAPs are used extensively in research on language learning to examine both the cognitive processes involved in writing and the cognitive processes involved in reading because they are still deemed to be the most reliable method of allowing the researcher to gain some insight into the contents of the short term memory and therefore the approaches used by participants in arriving at the endpoint of the task. While participants
might approach a task differently, they may arrive at similar results; simply looking at the end point of a task, for example the grade assigned to a piece of academic writing, would not reflect the different approaches taken by the participants (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Because the purpose of the current study is to determine whether centre L1 university professors accommodate to non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing and to see how large a role non-standard organization plays in the perception of interpretability of L2 writing, think aloud protocols will allow the researcher some insight into what is taking place in the mind of individuals involved in the task of evaluating academic writing presented in both standard and non-standard rhetorical organization.

2.5 Conclusion

Given the fact that globally, L2 speakers are estimated to outnumber L1 speakers by a ratio of more than three to one, it would seem that the historical insistence on centre (so-called) standards of English as being the only legitimate form is untenable as it delegitimizes the voices of speakers of variant, or world Englishes. Within the study of world Englishes, there is a focus on English as a lingua franca (ELF) as a variant used in contexts such as academia where there are many L2 speakers. According to ELF theory, L1 speakers are included as potential users of ELF in contexts like academia where ELF is used. Recent research in ELF suggests that accommodation is the most important pragmatic skill for ELF users, yet from the review of the literature, it is clear that in one important arm of academia, scholarly publishing, which is the central medium of global knowledge construction, accommodation to ELF by the centre is not occurring. Within scholarly publishing the insistence on centre norms continues to be perpetuated, and periphery ELF writing that varies from centre norms is vastly underrepresented. That the
dominance of centre English in academia is causing a hardship to periphery scholars who are unable or unwilling to write in the prescribed English academic style for scholarly publication is clear, but the question remains whether accommodation to (so-called) non-standard English is occurring at a more localized level in academia.

This study will use the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis to examine whether L1 professors at an English-medium university with a large international student population accommodate to non-standard variation in L2 student writing.

2.5.1 Research questions (RQs)

The research questions to be addressed in this study are the following:

1. Do L1 professors accommodate to L2 student writing presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization?
2. Does non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing affect L2 professors’ perceptions of interpretability?
3. What factors of L2 student writing do L1 professors react to?
4. What factors of student writing do L1 professors perceive as important?

2.6 Summary

This chapter presented the theoretical context and theoretical framework of the study. The next chapter presents the methodology used to investigate the research questions in this study.
CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the context where the research was conducted and the participants in the study. In addition, the materials and procedures used to collect the data for the study are outlined. Finally, the procedures of qualitative analyses used are described.

3.2 Research context & Participants

The research questions were investigated in a small-scale qualitative study with eight content professors in the social sciences and humanities at a large Canadian university. The eight participants were professors from the Departments of History; Sociology and Anthropology; Philosophy; Psychology; Geography, Planning and Environment; and Classics, Modern Languages and Linguistics, all of whom were teaching 200-level classes in which they might be expected to evaluate short compositions. As can be seen in Table 1, the participants represent a broad range of experience as professors from 1 year to 45 years. All participants are self-identified native speakers of English and all speak at least one other language. Two participants have a small amount of experience in academic writing in a second language, and all but one have experience with reading academic writing in a second language. Participants were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate. They all signed “consent to participate” forms, and they knew they were free to discontinue participation at any time. All procedures were conducted in the participants’ offices.
Table 1

Departments and teaching experience of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant #</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Years as a professor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Geography, Planning &amp; Environment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Classics, Modern Languages &amp; Linguistics</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Sociology &amp; Anthropology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Geography, Planning &amp; Environment</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Sociology &amp; Anthropology</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Materials

The study examined the reactions of the participants to four compositions on the topic “Why wealthy nations have an obligation to help develop poorer countries.” The four compositions exhibit both standard deductive and non-standard inductive rhetorical organization (see Appendix A). The writing samples come from the composition portion of an English language proficiency test used at a Canadian university with a large international student body. At the time this study was carried out, this test was used to determine whether non-native English speaking prospective students met the minimum English language proficiency requirements for the University. It has since been discontinued for use as a language proficiency admission test, as students are now admitted to the university on the basis of their scores on standardized proficiency tests like the TOEFL, IELTS, or CAEL. The test is currently used as a placement test for L2 students who have satisfied the minimum language proficiency admission requirements,
but whose English is not deemed to be at a sufficiently high level, to determine what level of credit ESL courses they are required to take.

Composition One has an inductive organization. It begins with an historical trajectory describing in general terms the way that some countries became wealthy at the expense of other countries and builds to the thesis of the paper in the last paragraph, namely that poor countries are owed reparation from wealthy countries. The factual content can be considered a part of generally accepted historical knowledge and is thus not controversial in nature.

The organization of Composition Two is deductive. The writer provides a clear road map in the introduction of what he or she will write about in the body of the composition—an analysis of how wealthy nations became wealthy and how they maintain their wealth. The thesis statement contends that wealthy countries assisting poorer countries is “a win-win situation for both parties.” The factual content of Composition Two is considered controversial (if not completely false) in some disciplines. The writer suggests that Canada is a non-violent, non-colonial nation whose wealth was acquired without conquering other nations. This notion is anathema to some academics in disciplines with a post-colonial theoretical stance, like Sociology and Anthropology, and Geography, Planning and Environment, who believe that the First Nations were essentially colonized to create Canada.

Composition Three has an inductive structure. The writing style is quite vibrant, and the composition starts with an attention grabbing first sentence. The content is somewhat controversial: the writer suggests that poor nations are a breeding ground for
discontent and thus terrorism and suggests that the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre were caused by poverty. The thesis statement, which occurs at the end of the composition, contends that helping poor nations to develop would decrease world tensions.

Composition Four has a deductive structure. The thesis statement is at the end of the first paragraph, namely that wealthy Western nations need to help develop poorer countries so that the poorer nations can contribute to the economy of the West. The main argument of the composition seems to be that developing poorer countries will mean more markets for the products that wealth nations produce.

3.4 Instruments and Procedures

The first step in planning the study was to find compositions for the participants to assess. Finding a source of academic writing by non-native English speaking students was initially not an easy task. I first looked at compositions from the International Corpus of Learner English, but eventually I decided not to use them because the compositions in the corpus all came from students who were, at the time that their writing was collected, studying English. This meant that their compositions all tended to favour a standard deductive organization of the type taught in ESL courses. This would not serve the purposes of the study, which required that some of the compositions used for assessment by the participants have a non-standard organization. Eventually, I arrived at the idea of using the compositions written for the composition portion of the aforementioned English proficiency test. The rationale behind this decision was that there would be a wide range of organizational styles in these compositions because not everyone writing would be
coming from ESL classes, and therefore would not necessarily have learned the standard deductive organization.

I approached the coordinator of the aforementioned language proficiency test, who was enthusiastic about my idea and suggested that I attend a rater training session in order to understand the rating process for the composition portion of the test. After attending the training session, I decided, in consultation with the coordinator, to use compositions that had been rated in the higher ranges to make sure that they would display a level of English that might conceivably be found in L2 student writing in a 200 level university course.

To ensure confidentiality, a wide assortment of compositions on a variety of topics was pre-selected by the coordinator and her assistant based on their rating criteria, and all identifying information was removed before they were given to me. From the approximately 75 pre-selected compositions, I selected four. The criteria for selection were as follows: there was 1) a range of both standard and non-standard rhetorical organization, and 2) a topic that would have the broadest level of interest and/or relevance for professors in the humanities and social sciences. As discussed above, the four compositions selected not only showed the necessary range of organizational style, but also showed variation in content. In order to avoid the possibility that handwriting might influence the assessors, I typed the compositions into a Word file. Other than this, I made no changes to the original compositions to preserve their authenticity as L2 speaker writing samples.
The study took place over the winter of 2009-2010. Participants were recruited through “cold-call” emails sent to those on a list of social sciences and humanities professors compiled by the university’s ESL credit course coordinator. On the coordinator’s advice, the emails were sent from my thesis supervisor in the hopes that busy professors would be less inclined to dismiss a request for participation in a master’s student’s study if the request was coming from a fellow professor. Of the 17 professors originally contacted, 11 responded positively right away. I followed up with the 11 potential participants and eventually was able to secure the commitment to participate from 8 of them.

Initial meetings were held individually with the participants to explain the study and the data collection procedures. In order to obtain informed consent, all participants were given a consent form to sign, which outlined the purpose and the procedures of the study, and the conditions of their participation (see Appendix B). In addition, participants were given the written think-aloud protocol (TAP) directions described below (see Appendix C), which they read and discussed with the researcher to make sure that they understood the procedure. Then, each participant was given a sample composition that would not be used during the TAP sessions and asked to try thinking out loud while assessing the composition so that they would be more comfortable with the procedure during the TAP session.

3.4.1 Think-aloud protocols

Think-aloud protocols (TAP) were used to determine whether the participants accommodated to non-standard rhetorical organization and what they reacted to while
assessing the writing samples and to see what thoughts went into the assignment of a grade in a holistic assessment. Participants were asked to undertake the task of evaluating the sample compositions and to speak aloud what was going through their minds as they completed the task. At the end of their evaluations of each composition, participants were asked to assign a letter grade. Audio recordings were made of each participant as they assessed and thought out loud so their verbalizations could be analyzed later.

The four compositions were presented in the same order to all the participants and were assessed one right after the other by all the participants. At the beginning of the TAP sessions, each participant was reminded by the researcher to assess the compositions in the order they were given, to say out loud anything that came into their minds as they assessed the compositions, to speak as continuously as possible, and not to worry about eloquence. In addition, participants were given further verbal instructions as follows:

- As much as possible pretend that you have assigned this composition
- As much as possible assess this in the way that you would assess it if you had assigned it.
- Assume that the assignment did not call for references.
- Assume that the assignment was written under a time constraint as a response to a question.

### 3.4.2 Questionnaires

In follow up sessions held two weeks to a month after the first session, participants answered a questionnaire that provided their language background, their teaching experience and their views on evaluating student writing relevant to interpreting
the results of the study (see Appendix D). The questionnaire was administered orally in an interview format. The first part was comprised of closed-item factual and behavioural questions to ascertain the participants’ language background and experience in both writing in and evaluating L2 writing. The second part was comprised of both closed-item and open-ended behavioural and attitudinal questions designed to determine participants’ strategies for assessing their own content course students’ writing, to determine whether they used similar strategies in assessing the study writing samples, and to ascertain their attitudes towards L2 writing and towards the importance of organizational strategies in academic writing. The open-ended questions allowed me to follow up with any spontaneous questions that arose as a result of participants’ responses.

3.4.3 Multi-trait assessments

After the interview, participants were asked to reassess the four compositions using a multi-trait assessment grid in order to determine whether being asked to focus on specific aspects of the compositions would change their perceptions of the compositions (see Appendix E). The multi-trait assessment used comes from the writing portion of the Test of English for Educational Purposes (TEEP) (Cushing-Weigle, 2002, p. 117). The TEEP composition scoring grid has a scale for each of seven categories—four relating to communicative effectiveness and three relating to accuracy. The scale for each category is divided into four levels with scores from 0 to 3. Each level has a descriptive statement. Assessors must choose from the four descriptive statements in each category the statement that best describes the composition they are assessing.
The decision to use the multi-assessment grid from the writing portion of the TEEP was based on Hamp-Lyons’ (1991) views on the validity of the TEEP. Weir (1988) created the TEEP based on empirical data collected through extensive questionnaires administered at several British universities and observational studies of the faculty at the University of Reading. Hamp-Lyons suggests that this implies that the most salient traits of composition writing for university faculty are being addressed. In addition, Hamp-Lyons asserts that because the TEEP was extensively piloted and revised, there is an assurance of reliable application by raters.

3.5 Piloting

The study was piloted in two stages. Initially, a small pilot study was carried out with two graduate student ESL teachers in order to discover any inherent problems. Some small adjustments were made to the instructions for the TAP sessions as it became apparent that not everyone can read, think and speak at the same time, and continuously at that! It became clear that it would be necessary to give participants the option of reading first and then thinking out loud—in other words, a sort of immediate stimulated recall. There were also some minor adjustments made to the questionnaire: three additional items were added to Question 13.1 and Question 18 to make the traits more closely reflect the traits used in the multi-trait assessment, and Question 13.2 was added in order to make data on perceived importance of traits for assessment more precise. Next, the adjusted instruments were piloted with a philosophy professor at a large Canadian university.
3.6 Qualitative analysis procedures

The procedures for analyzing the data began with transcribing the TAP audio recordings. I decided to explore the idea of using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) to assist with coding and frequency count procedures. After researching several CAQDAS, I tried the trial versions of NVivo and HyperResearch. HyperResearch, despite its limitation of the researcher only being able to code one case at a time, was much more intuitive to use, which made it more attractive. Having decided to use HyperResearch, I initially coded according to categories that emerged from the data themselves. For example, “The conclusion doesn’t exactly follow from the arguments,” was initially coded as a comment on organization. As the categories became more refined, this comment was re-coded as a comment on argument/answering question. Finally, the codes were collapsed and/or renamed according to categories that meshed with the items in the questionnaire and the multi-trait assessment as this allowed me the ability to compare what participants had commented on in their TAPs with what they said was important to them when evaluating student writing, what they felt were indicators of ESL writing, and how they assessed the compositions when using the multi-trait assessments. This process is consistent with Silver’s (2005, p. 179) simplified model of the stages of grounded theory:

- An initial attempt to develop categories which illuminate the data;
- An attempt to ‘saturate’ these categories with many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance;
- Developing these categories into more general analytic frameworks with relevance outside the setting.
Frequency reports generated by HyperResearch allowed me to compare the reactions of several participants to a specific composition, and to compare the reactions of individual participants across the four compositions.

The questionnaire interviews were kept in audio format because they were not being coded. Discrete items, such as biographical data, were used to help describe the participants’ backgrounds as professors. I also isolated comments on evaluation to help create a snapshot of the kind of marker each participant was. The data from the section of the questionnaire that asked participants to select items that were most important to them in evaluating student writing were compiled both to determine what items were most important across the eight participants, and to allow me to compare their responses with what they commented on in the TAP assessments.

Finally, the multi-trait assessments were compiled to see if using the grid provided any more or less consistency than the holistic evaluations of the TAP sessions both across compositions, and for individual participants.

3.7 Summary

This chapter described the research context, participants, materials, and qualitative analyses used in the study to investigate the research questions presented in Chapter 2. The next chapter presents the findings obtained in the study.
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative analyses of the data from the interview questionnaires, the think aloud protocol (TAP) sessions, and the multi-trait analyses. Section 4.2 presents the results of selected interview questionnaire items to describe what participants perceive as important in evaluating student writing. These data allow a comparison of participants’ perceptions of the importance of specific traits in student writing with what they actually reacted to in their holistic evaluations. Section 4.3 presents the results from the TAP sessions during the participants’ holistic evaluations of the compositions presented in both standard and non-standard rhetorical organization to show whether participants accommodated to non-standard rhetorical organization, what aspects of the writing the participants reacted to, and how these reactions culminated in the grades that the participants assigned. Section 4.4 presents an in-depth analysis of the contrasting results of two selected participants. Finally, section 4.5 contrasts the results of the multi-trait analyses with the results of the holistic evaluations from the TAP sessions.

4.2 Questionnaire results

Two discrete items on the questionnaire were designed to address RQ 4: What factors of student writing do L1 professors perceive as important? In question 13.1, participants were asked to rate on a scale from 1 to 5 the importance of ten different traits in evaluating student writing. As shown in Table 2 below, three items were rated by all the participants as being ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important in evaluating student writing: development of ideas was rated ‘extremely’ important by six participants and ‘quite’ important by two participants, making it the highest rated item; factual content and
addresses topic/assignment requirements were both rated ‘extremely’ important by five participants and ‘quite’ important by three participants.

Paper organization was the next highest rated item with seven participants rating it ‘extremely’ important or ‘quite’ important and one participant rating its importance as ‘so-so’. This was followed by a clear thesis statement near the beginning of the essay, which three participants rated as ‘extremely’ important, cohesion, which two participants rated as ‘extremely’ important, and word choice and correct use of vocabulary, which one person rated as ‘extremely’ important. Two participants found sentence structure, correct spelling, and correct grammar ‘quite’ important, with the majority of participants finding their importance ‘so-so’.

Table 2

*Participants’ rating of importance of traits for evaluating student writing (n=8)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of ideas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual content</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresses topic/assignment requirements</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper organization</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear thesis statement near the beginning</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word choice and correct use of vocabulary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence structure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct spelling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct grammar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5=extremely, 4=quite, 3=so-so, 2=not really, 1=not at all

The results of the analysis of Question 13.1 would suggest that while content professors perceive organization as important, it is not their primary concern. Rather,
they consider the development of the ideas and the factual content to be of paramount importance to the success of a composition.

Another questionnaire item, Question 13.2, asked participants to identify which three of the traits they felt were most important in evaluating student writing and rank them in order of importance. The results are reasonably consistent with how participants rated the importance of the ten traits. Table 3 below shows the results of the ranking:

development of ideas was the highest ranked trait in importance for evaluating student writing, with six participants ranking it first or second, which is consistent with all participants having rated it as ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important as shown above in Table 2. Addresses topic/assignment was ranked the next highest with three participants ranking it first, and two participants ranking it third. This trait was also rated by all participants as ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important. Although no one ranked paper organization as being most important, it has the third highest ranking, which is consistent with seven participants having rated it as ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important as shown above in Table 2. Two participants ranked a clear thesis statement near the beginning of the essay as most important, which was also rated ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important by seven participants as shown above in Table 2.
Table 3

*Participants’ ranking of the top three important traits (n=8)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of ideas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresses topic/assignment requirements</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper organization</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear thesis statement near beginning of essay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual content</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, it is interesting to note that while more than half the participants rated factual content as extremely important in evaluating student writing, as shown in Table 2 above, it was not ranked first by any of the participants when they were asked to select the three most important traits. Similarly, paper organization, which was rated by half the participants as extremely important, was not ranked first by any of the participants.

### 4.3 Think aloud protocol results

The think aloud protocols (TAPs) were designed to address RQs 1, 2, and 3: Do L1 professors accommodate to L2 student writing presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization? Does non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing affect L2 professors’ perceptions of interpretability? and What factors of L2 student writing do L1 professors react to?

As participants assessed each of four compositions, they were asked to think out loud. This allowed the researcher to record their thought processes and revealed what
traits of the compositions each participant reacted to. A frequency report of the coded comments from the TAPs was generated using HyperResearch.

As shown in Table 4 below, of the 495 comments that participants made on various traits of the compositions during the course of their evaluations, the large majority was on content and idea development. The next most commented on trait was vocabulary, but it must be noted that 74 of the 92 comments made on this trait were from one participant.

Table 4

*Frequency of 8 participants’ comments by trait*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual content</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of ideas</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word choice and correct use of vocabulary</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence structure</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct spelling</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper organization</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacking clarity</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct grammar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct punctuation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear thesis statement near beginning of essay</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESL writing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresses topic/assignment requirements</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that while there is only one comment on whether or not a composition addresses topic, the participants were not dealing with a topic they had
assigned, so therefore they may not have felt the relevancy of this trait. Also, it is difficult with compositions this short (mean length = 506 words) to tease apart idea development and addresses topic because, essentially, all of the different ideas that the writers developed answer why wealthy nations have an obligation to help develop poorer nations and thus address the topic. The one lone explicit comment on addressing the topic was made about composition 3, which has an inductive organization. However, by the end of her evaluation, the participant felt that the topic had been addressed after all.

It is also important to note that the distribution of comments on the two most-commented on traits, factual content and development of ideas, was quite even across the four compositions, as shown in Table 5 below. In addition, these two traits were the most commented on by most of the participants. The exception, as mentioned above, was 03. Over the course of evaluating the four compositions, he made 74 comments on word choice and correct use of vocabulary and only four comments on factual content and two comments on the development of ideas.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Factual content</th>
<th>Development of ideas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Composition One</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition Two</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition Three</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition Four</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency of comments from the think-aloud protocols shows that factual content and development of ideas are the composition traits that elicited the most notice
from participants regardless of whether the rhetorical organization of the composition is standard or non-standard. The frequency of traits commented on by the participants is reasonably consistent with how they rated the importance of the traits for evaluating student writing as we saw earlier in Table 2. The two traits that all participants rated as being ‘extremely’ or ‘quite’ important—idea development and content—were the traits that elicited the most comments from participants. However, the next most commented on trait during the participants’ evaluations was vocabulary and word choice, which was rated by five participants as having only ‘so-so’ importance. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that 74 of the total 92 comments on word choice and correct use of vocabulary were made by one participant.

4.3.1. Grades

In order to be able to compare the end point of the task of holistic evaluation of the four compositions, participants were asked to assign a letter grade for each composition at the end of their evaluation. The purpose in asking the participants to assign grades was to determine whether standard or non-standard rhetorical organization would affect the overall assessment of the compositions. Looking at the grades assigned by the eight participants during their evaluations, we see in Table 6 below that the grades assigned to each composition varied considerably from one participant to another.
Table 6

Grades assigned by participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Comp 1</th>
<th>Comp 2</th>
<th>Comp 3</th>
<th>Comp 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>C-/D</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C-/D</td>
<td>C/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>C+/B-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>C/C+</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>C+</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Composition One, which has an inductive, or non-standard organization, has a range of grades from D to A- and has the lowest overall rating, with 75% (n=6) percent of participants assigning it grades in the D to C range. Although the marks assigned to Composition Two, which has a standard deductive organization, have a similar range as Composition One (in this case C to A), Composition Two has the highest overall rating with 87.5% (n=7) of participants rating it in the B to A range, and 12.5% (n=1) of participants rating it in the C range.

Like Composition One, Composition Three has an inductive organization, and, also like Composition One, was assigned a range of grades—from C-/D to A-. This composition elicited the most varied results with 25% (n=2) of the participants rating it in the A range, 37.5% (n=3) of participants rating it in the B range, 25% (n=2) of participants rating it in the C range, and 12.5% (n=1) of participants rating it below C. Composition Four, which has a standard deductive organization, has the most consistent rating with all participants assigning it in the C+ to B+ range.
The grades assigned do not suggest that rhetorical organization is a determining factor in the grades assigned. The range of grades is similar for the two inductively organized compositions and one of the deductively organized compositions. Composition Two does receive positive comments on its classic deductive organization introduction, but its content provokes a negative response in some participants. The composition with the most varied grades, Composition Three, has an inductive organization but only one person commented on organization, albeit negatively, while others commented positively on the content and idea development. While Composition Four, which has a deductive organization, has the most consistent grades, the comments on the aspects that led to those grades show that organization does not seem to have been a factor.

The variation among grades assigned appears to be due to the subjective nature of holistic evaluation and the individual differences of the participants, and perhaps with their level of engagement with the topic of the compositions. Overall, the topic of the compositions seemed to resonate more strongly with participants 02, 04, 05, 06, and 08, who are from the Departments of History, Sociology, and Geography, Planning and Environment, possibly because the topic engages with the post-colonial theoretical stance popular in each of these disciplines, and with their respective research areas. I will call these participants Group A. The topic appeared to be less engaging to participants 01, 03, and 07, who are from the Departments of Psychology, Classics and Modern Languages, and Philosophy respectively. I will call these participants Group B.

In order to try to determine some of the individual differences that led to the variation in grades assigned by the participants, I will give an overview of how each
participant approached the task of evaluating the compositions. I will begin with the participants in Group B, followed by the participants in Group A.

**Group B Participants**

As stated above, Group B is comprised of participants whose disciplines appear to be unrelated to the topic of the compositions and would have been unlikely to assign their students an essay question about the responsibility of rich nations towards poorer nations. Because of the lack of a link between the topic and the specific theoretical standpoints of their respective disciplines, these participants did not seem to engage with the content presented in the compositions as being part of a larger perspective. In fact, of the three participants in this group, only 01 seemed interested in the factual content at all, albeit it on a non-critical level. 07’s response to content was only concerned with its internal consistency rather than how it fit into a larger perspective. 03 seemed to largely ignore the content, focusing instead on other aspects of the compositions at the sentence level.

Participant 01

In general, participant 01, who has five years experience as an assistant professor of psychology, could be classified as an easy marker as the grades she assigned for Compositions One, Two and Three were as high as, or higher than, the grades of all the other participants. She mentioned to me in the course of the TAP session that she felt out of practice with evaluating this kind of short essay on a topic that was not directly related to psychology; this may have led her to be more generous toward the compositions than other participants.
While the topic of the compositions did not relate to 01’s area of research, which focuses primarily on cognitive and developmental psychology, she appeared to be interested in the topic of the compositions. However, her engagement with the factual content of the compositions seemed to be relatively superficial in that there was no critique, which is in sharp contrast to the critical reactions of the participants in Group A. In general, 01’s comments were positive toward factual content, as exemplified by her comments on Composition Two, to which she gave an A.

01: Good introduction of Canada as an example; um, a good general statement about, um, histories of war between people and nations and then using Spaniards in South America as an example. … Um, some good statements about how people in poor countries can benefit from wealthier nations, but not a lot of specifics. Um, good pointing out how it benefits wealthy countries as well, but again, not a lot of detail. Um, maybe could use a slightly better conclusion

01 was slightly more critical of idea development, but she tended to hedge her comments like the ones above on the lack of supporting details, or her comments below on Compositions One and Three, both of which she rated A-.

01: (Composition One) The conclusion doesn’t exactly follow from the arguments made, but it’s quite well written and good ideas and good background.

01: (Composition Three) It’s not worded very well. Um, a lot of good ideas, but, uh, not worded well enough to really understand what they’re saying. Um, concepts are good, but the writing is unclear.
Although comments like “It’s is misspelled with an apostrophe s—it irritates me,”
demonstrate that 01 was critical of errors in mechanics, she seemed to be a rather
generous grader. For example, in her evaluation of Composition Four, she made repeated
comments on the lack of clarity and the poor writing, which she indicated affected the
meaning of the composition, but she still rated it just slightly lower than Compositions
One and Three.

01: (Composition Four) It’s got some good ideas. I don’t think it’s terribly well-
written. It’s a little unclear what’s meant; I’d give it a B+.

Participant 03

Participant 03 was rather unengaged as a marker, conceivably because the topic is
so far removed from his 37 years experience as a professor of classics. Perhaps because
his research interest is the history and historiography of 4th century BC Sicily, which is
completely unrelated to the essay topic, ‘Why wealthy nations have an obligation to help
develop poorer countries’, he seemed almost oblivious to the content of the compositions.
Instead, 03 focussed almost entirely on word choice and vocabulary, on which he
commented 74 times, and mechanics, on which he commented 26 times. In contrast, he
made only four comments on factual content, and two comments on development of ideas.
The majority of 03’s comments were suggestions for different word choices, based on
style rather than incorrect usage of the word. In addition, 03 seemed to feel out of his
element and not confident about the evaluation process.

03: The biggest—I hate the word biggest; I would say the largest.
03: … equilibrium—again, I’m not sure about that; I’d say fair distribution.

03: A deadly and bloody side of man that can cause disasters such as September 11th attacks—I would say a violent side. As simply as that, I don’t think I’d have deadly and bloody. It’s a bit graphic.

03: …the people of France would not have realized the importance of freedom. …the people of France would have been oblivious to the idea of freedom. But that’s again my highfaluting way of putting it.

03 also seemed unsure of the grades that he assigned as is evidenced in the excerpts below.

Composition One

Interviewer: Do you have any comments on content, organization, anything like that?

03: No, it’s fine.

Interviewer: And if you had to assign it a grade, what would you assign it?

03: Uh, that I don’t know…Possible a B. I hadn’t thought of that, but anyway…

Composition Two

Interviewer: And what would you give that one?

03: Um, I’d be generous, B-. Is that okay? I don’t know, it’s not my field.
Composition Three

Interviewer: And what would give that one?

03: It’s hard for me to judge.

Interviewer: I know. How would you compare it to the other two?


Interviewer: okay.

03: I’m probably a very harsh master.

Composition Four

Interviewer: And what would you give that?

03: It was shorter, wasn’t it.

Interviewer: Is that good or bad?

03: Pardon?

Interviewer: Is that good or bad?

03: Um, I don’t know. You know, C-, uh C+. 
Participant 07

Participant 07 was a middle-marker in that he assigned three grades in the B range and one C+. It is difficult to say whether his TAP session adequately represents his thought processes because a throat condition on the day of the TAP session made speaking difficult, which resulted in almost telegraphic comments on the perceived shortcomings of the arguments in the compositions, whether in factual content, idea development, word choice, or mechanics. Having spent 45 years as a philosophy professor, 07’s main concern was the internal consistency of the arguments expressed in the compositions, rather than how they fit into a larger canonical knowledge. Most of his comments on the factual content focused on the lack of precision in the statements made, rather than whether the facts are true or false.

07: (Composition One) …used to be able doesn’t give us any indication of when, how long ago, 6000 years, 2 years ago.

07: (Composition Two) Great transactions is quite unspecified.

Similarly, his comments on the development of ideas pertain to the inadequacies of the arguments presented.

07: (Composition Three) The writer has the sense to justify her position even though it probably wasn’t done very well. The claims of a connection between deprivation and terrorism are dubious at best.
07: (Composition Four) The reason why this is not higher is because the writer doesn’t bring out the fact that what he’s speaking about spurs his reasons for his response for evidence of statements of fact.

Even his comments on word choice and mechanics are often related to the clarity of the concepts, rather than the concepts themselves.

07: (Composition One) They in many poor countries gives us null reference—it’s inappropriate.

07: (Composition Four) This second sentence of the second paragraph needs a comma lest it be misunderstood.

However, that being said, he does seem to have made some concessions for the fact that the compositions are not are philosophy papers as the grades that he assigned were all in the C+ to B range.

**Group A participants**

Group A is comprised of participants from the Departments of Sociology, Geography and Planning, and History. I have included these five participants in this group because their individual research interests and discipline-associated theoretical perspectives are related, at least tangentially, to the topic of the compositions. The theoretical links between the topic and the participants’ disciplines meant that they were able to engage with the content as being part of a larger area of knowledge and respond to the ideas expressed with a critical eye, as if, in theory, the topic was something that they
themselves might have assigned. In this way, Group A participants were more like ‘real world’ readers of academic writing such as journal reviewers and editors.

Participant 02

Participant 02 could be classified as a tough marker in that his marks were considerably lower than the other participants’ for Compositions Two and Three, and second lowest for Compositions One and Four. The fact that the topic of the compositions connected well with his areas of research interests in geography, planning and environment, which include critical development studies, political ecology, and economic geography, may have made him particularly critical of the content of the compositions. However, the fact that at the time of the study he had less than a year’s experience as an assistant professor may also have made him slightly insecure about his assessments as he made more comments on how he evaluated than he did on any traits of the compositions. (See section 4.3 below for an in-depth analysis of 02’s data.)

Participant 04

Participant 04 is a conscientious marker who tries to be consistent in his assessment. In evaluating the compositions, he worked with a rubric that he uses to grade the compositions he receives from his own students that outlines what characteristics a composition at each level should have. Participant 04 was definitely engaged with the topic of the composition, which relates quite well to his research interests in sociology: place, indigeneity and belonging. The majority of the comments that 04 made concerned the factual content and idea development. He was not only critical of some of the
assertions made in the compositions because they would be unacceptable in his discipline, he also pointed out that some of the factual content was incorrect or out of date. (See section 4.3 below for an in-depth analysis of 04’s TAP data.)

Participant 05

Participant 05, who has 15 years experience as a professor of geography and planning, seemed to be an emotional and reactive marker. She appeared to struggle to keep her emotional response to the compositions in check, sometimes unsuccessfully. Not only was she critical of the over generalizing and lack of support that she perceived in the compositions, she sometimes seemed personally affronted by it. Although the researcher made it clear that the participants should evaluate the compositions as if there were no expectation of citation and reference, 05 seemed unable to do that for the first composition. She had a fairly strong negative reaction to the assumptions and lack of details and examples to support them in the first composition, and as is shown in the excerpt below, she seemed unable to get past this.

05: I would give it a D. Sorry. I’m just…it’s really overwhelming.

In evaluating the subsequent compositions, she continued to seem quite put out by the unsubstantiated assertions that the writers made. Her use of words like ‘astounding’ and ‘naïve’ and the general tone of outrage in her voice suggest that her reaction was on a more visceral level than most of the other participants.

05: (Composition Two) Just an assumption that it would just happen. Commercial, cultural, and intellectual exchanges can occur. How? People in poorer countries
can start to receive medical care and education. How would that happen? Out of debt and attack the social problems. Just an assumption that wealth is all it takes to resolve these issues. It’s so much more complex. Really, this is a bit naive this particular paper.

05: (Composition Four) So this is the idea that they should support the growth of other countries just to maintain their own wealth...That’s astounding...

[mutters]… okay,...[mutters]...Again, fairly naive in terms of how the world works and how globalization and marginalization of others is so much a part of that....oh, this is so naive.

Participant 06

Participant 06, who has been a history professor for 18 years, was the most thorough and comprehensive marker, who looked at all aspects of the composition. In fact, 06 noted that her department is known for its attention not only to factual content and idea development in evaluating student writing, but also to both the style and mechanics of writing. This perspective on evaluation was evident in her assessments, as shown in the excerpts below; like most of the other participants, the majority of her comments were on factual content and idea development; however, she also commented, when she perceived that it was warranted, on other composition traits such as sentence structure, vocabulary, punctuation, and organization. It is also interesting to note that at the time of the study, 06’s department was engaging in a process to try to standardize evaluation across the department. They had implemented workshops for graduate student teaching assistants on evaluation and grading.
The excerpts below, all from the evaluation of one composition, show the range of aspects on which 06 commented. In the first excerpt, 06 is commenting on the factual content and suggesting that the student writer ought to engage in more critical thinking.

06: (Composition Three) The whole paper is premised on […] the notion that terrorism grows out of poverty uh so that’s the, the author is trying to show […] that that anybody who sacrifices their lives to cause the deaths of thousands had a poor life, […] and in itself that is an arguable question. There are lots of studies of contemporary terrorism for instance that show that that the people who are most likely […] to do the bombing, like the 9/11 bombings which are referred to later on in the uh um in the paper, were actually […] all done by college graduates who were actually from middle class or higher families. So I think that that premise in itself is something that the student needs to think about a bit more and uh obviously the way that this paper is set up they’re not asked to give evidence for their… Okay so there’s a little bit of a problem there—that’s one of the reasons why I always make students give evidence for their arguments—but they would, they need to think about what kind of counter-arguments that somebody else may be able to give so that even if you’re not asked to give evidence they may ask themselves okay, but is there evidence that would counter this argument that I’m making.

In the following excerpt, 06 is commenting on both the style and mechanics of the writing.
06: (Composition Three) Um, again we’ve got syntax problems. We’ve got […] a sense the student is letting the rhetoric the, the idea of what they think the sentences should sound like, get away from them because they’re not thinking enough about the, some of the basic mechanics. They don’t have uh subjects and predicates in their sentences.

At the end of her evaluation of each composition, 06 encapsulated her responses to the composition to explain why she was assigning the letter grade she gave, as for example in the excerpt below that shows 06’s summary of Composition Three.

06: (Composition Three) I would say probably about a C, um, I think that the uh development, the lack of kind of organization and development of the argument uh would bring it down, um there are some interesting ideas there and I imagine that this is probably a student with some enthusiasm and so you don’t want to, you know, give a worse grade probably than that and I don’t think it necessarily merits that, but it really it’s someone who I think probably could do better if they could kind of put a lid on what they’re doing a little more.

Participant 08

Participant 08 has 38 years of experience as a professor of sociology and is a very self-aware marker. He is someone who takes his teaching and assessment seriously and has an ongoing relationship with the Centre for Teaching and Learning Services at the university where he teaches because he wants to continue to develop as a teacher by embracing new technology and new pedagogical practices. Like 06, 08 is very clear in
how he assesses and arrives at the letter grade he assigns. Participant 08’s experience is reflected in the pragmatic way in which he assesses student writing. His main focus is on factual content and idea development, and in fact 28 of the 34 comments he made were on those two aspects. In the excerpt below, from the beginning of his TAP session, 08 outlines his perspective on mechanical errors in student writing.

08: I don’t have to worry about spelling and grammar I guess.

Interviewer: If you normally do that…

08: Yeah

Interviewer: If you don’t normally do it, then don’t.

08: Usually what I do is I go through and I notice some of them and as long as they don’t slow me down I’m happy enough.

In the following excerpt, 08 provides a summary of his response to Composition One, and his rationale for the letter grade he assigns.

08: (Composition One) I would say that […] I’d probably be in the C range for this in the sense that they provided uh one justification um they uh, based on incomplete or questionable data, or accounts or representations. I would say it would be C in the satisfactory sense because they did at least address the issue and then I would put into a whole bunch of stuff about uh what level are they at, where are they coming from, what are the students, would they have likely had a background that allows them to make some of the distinctions that would be
necessary in order to be a little bit more sophisticated in terms of the analysis, but the core of it in terms of uh of the principle that uh, we were nasty to these nations and therefore we have to pay for it um alright, I would say that’s fine.

The preceding description of the different approaches of individual participants to assessing student writing explains some of the difference between the different grades participants assigned. However, it is obvious that there are many other individual differences that contribute to variation in grading, some of which I will explore in section following section.

4.4 A study in contrasts: Individual differences in participants 02 and 04

Section 4.4 addresses the ways in which the individual differences of participants affect the results pertaining to RQs 1, 2, and 3. In order to examine more closely the individual differences that contribute to the degree of accommodation of the participants, their perceptions of interpretability, and what they react to in the four compositions, I explore the thought processes of two participants whose assessment focus and end point of task were in sharp contrast.

I have chosen two participants from Group A because this group’s engagement with the topic of the compositions resulted in comments on a broader range of traits than Group B commented on. In addition, data from their questionnaires suggest that the background profiles and levels of experience in evaluating student writing and writing in a second language are similar for these two participants. In addition, while they are from different disciplines, each discipline has a postcolonial theoretical focus that informs their reactions to some of the content of the compositions. I have chosen the data for
participants 02 and 04 because despite their similarities, their evaluations represent the two extremes of evaluation for Group A. Because the similarities between the two participants do not suggest that either would evaluate any differently than the other, exploring their data in depth will shed light on the individual subjective differences that contribute to their differing holistic evaluations. The significant factor that does differ between the two participants is their attitudes towards writing in a second language. Although it is impossible to establish a causal connection between their attitudes toward accommodation and their own experience in accommodation, it does appear that there is a link between them.

4.4.1 Background: Participants 02 & 04

Participants 02 and 04 have similar levels of experience both in teaching and in academic writing in a second language. Both participants were junior faculty members in a large Canadian university. Participant 02 was in his first year of teaching in the Department of Geography, Planning and Environment. His first language is English, and he completed all of his schooling in English. He also speaks, writes, and reads Spanish and reads Spanish academic journals.

Participant 04 was in his second year as a university professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the same university. While English is his first language, he spent time in Japan and speaks Japanese. In addition, he is beginning to “re-learn” French.
4.4.2 Second language writing experience: Participants 02 & 04

When asked if he ever does any academic writing in Spanish, 02 pointed out that he had just become a professor and as such had not yet done any academic writing in any language. However, he had written technical reports in Spanish while living and working in Central America. He feels that he thinks differently when writing in Spanish because he is not as competent in Spanish as he is in English and thus needs to organize his writing more carefully than he would if he were writing in English. Stylistically, he says that while technical writing in Spanish has quite a different form than English technical writing, his own technical writing in Spanish deviates from the elaborate indirect Spanish norm in being more simple and direct.

Although 04 does not at present write in a second language, he had some experience as a student with academic writing in Japanese. He feels that he thinks differently writing in Japanese than he does when writing in English. The differences, he suggests, largely reflect the different cultural contexts. He said that he could not say things in the same way, nor could he express his arguments in the same way because “the language does not lend itself to articulating arguments in particular ways.” In addition, he said that because some of the subject matter and theoretical trends that he was dealing with in his writing were either absent or understood differently in Japan, the content and structure ended up being different than it would have been in English.

It is interesting to note that while their experience writing in a second language was similar, their reactions to it were quite different. While 04 accommodated the Japanese writing style by adhering to the culturally dictated norms, 02 did not. Instead,
02 chose to impose his own centre-defined style onto his Spanish writing rather than accommodating the cultural expectations of Spanish.

### 4.4.3 Think aloud protocols: Participants 02 & 04

As shown below in Table 7, despite their similar backgrounds, theoretical stances and levels of experience both in teaching and in writing in a second language, there were differences in the focus of the comments they made during their holistic evaluation of the four compositions. Participant 02 was much more concerned with paper organization than participant 04 was. The majority of participant 02’s comments were fairly evenly divided between factual content, development of ideas, and paper organization, but if we include clear thesis statement near beginning of essay as comments on organization, then 02 made more comments on organization than on any other trait. In contrast, the focus of participant 04’s comments was almost exclusively on factual content and development of ideas, although he made more comments on factual content than on any other trait.

Table 7

*Participants 02 and 04: Frequency of comments*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>02</th>
<th>04</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual content</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of ideas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper organization</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacking clarity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear thesis statement near beginning of essay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct grammar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence structure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct spelling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresses topic/assignment requirements</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word choice and correct use of vocabulary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover, there were both differences and similarities in the end point of the evaluation task for these two participants. As we see in Table 8 below, the grades that 02 and 04 were similar for Compositions One and Four, but varied for Compositions Two and Three.

Table 8

*Grades assigned by 02 and 04*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Composition 1</th>
<th>Composition 2</th>
<th>Composition 3</th>
<th>Composition 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>C-/D</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C-/D</td>
<td>C/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>A-</td>
<td>C+/B-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even when the end point of the task is similar as for Compositions One and Four, the details of the process that are involved in the assessment process vary. To pinpoint the differences, I provide an analysis of the discourse of the two participants during their TAPs as they assessed the four compositions to try to determine what factors affected their varied evaluations.

Composition One

Both participants arrived at a similar conclusion in their evaluation of Composition One, as reflected in the low grades they assigned (C-/D for 02 and C for 04), but for very different reasons. Participant 02 was largely concerned with organizational issues, while 04 was more interested in content and idea development.

Immediately, starting to read Composition One, 02 seems somewhat overwhelmed by what he perceived to be a lack of organization.
02: I can already see in the first paragraph that this is going to require some concentration because the person expresses themself in a kind of what I would think of as a messy way. Um, so um, I’m sort of backing off and trying to figure out how to get at it.

Indeed, as shown in the excerpt below, the fact that the organization of the essay deviates from the deductive model norm provokes a negative ‘emotional response’ and seems to actually cause him to feel resentment (granted it is not entirely clear whether his resentment is more directed toward the essay or the researcher for asking him to evaluate it).

02: Reading this produces an emotional response first of all, um, because as an academic I’ve graded many things in my life and, uh, when I run into a paper that um, like there’s a ease of grading papers that are um, that are to me very clear, which means that I can easily find a thesis statement and I can easily see what points kind of support it, and I can easily see the argument. Papers that are um, more scattered require much greater concentration. Um, it’s late in the afternoon; it’s been a kind of a rugged day, um, I’m sort of this point thinking like, oh, I didn’t know I was in for this.

Despite 02’s perception that the composition lacks organization, during the course of his evaluation of the essay, he inadvertently describes the essay as having an inductive model of rhetorical organization.
02: Okay, the way, the way I read this paper, it doesn’t really have an intro. Um, what it does, is it just kind of goes from—it’s a bizarre little paper—it goes from the past, it sort of is a kind of historical trajectory. … Then after going through this historical thing, which in some kind of vague way establishes, um, the fact that, um, these countries, these poor countries, are poor in part because of the actions of the wealthier countries. Um, it then provides a kind of answer to the question that was never elaborated, um, in an introduction… So you can sort of see like a logic with this thing. …the person kind of broke out into the essay at the end and sort of said what they conclude based on all these things, so we can see a sort of little bit of analytic stuff going on. …

However, even though 02 does on some level realize that there is an organization to the composition, he does not afford it the same value as he would a deductive organization. His contention that there is no introduction suggests that unless the introduction is structured in the deductive style with a thesis statement that sets out the argument that will follow, his brain is incapable of recognizing it as an introduction. Furthermore, 02’s use of the term “bizarre” to describe the composition suggests that he does not accord the “logic” that he acknowledges that the paper has the same value that he would accord the logic of a deductive organization.

In contrast, 04 does not appear to have any reaction whatsoever to the organization of the composition; instead he reacts to the content and the idea development.
04: So mainly I'm thinking that uh, well first of all the grammar is all out, and also they don't have very strong um, perhaps don't have a strong sense of the language they're actually using. Perhaps they don't actually know exactly what poor countries are, or what it actually means, ‘poor’, and the fact that there's even a distinction to be made between wealthy and poor. Um, It begins to get worse in the next sentence, um, when saying that somehow life was simpler in past times, uh, which perhaps leaves me to think that they don't really have a grasp of what they're talking about.

Interestingly though, as 04 seems to become aware of the fact that he is growing irritated by the language usage and perhaps because he feels that this is unfair, or not politically correct, he begins to look for reasons to overlook the perceived language shortcomings.

04: Okay, so I’m thinking that there’s, there’s obviously a lot of um, grammatical errors and spelling errors, but maybe English is not their first language, but also, perhaps they also have experience in this kind of…maybe. Um…okay, well at the end, at least they tie it together and actually come back to the question, which is really good.

04’s use of the word ‘but’ suggests that while he notices the errors, he feels some leniency due to the fact that he believes that the writer is not a native English speaker. His reaction seems to be further mitigated by his belief that the writer may have some experience in a country that has undergone the colonization process that the composition describes, which presumably, in 04’s eyes legitimizes the writer’s voice to some extent.
In the end, despite 04’s issue with the writer’s failure to problematize the concept ‘poor,’ 04 gives him or her “the benefit of the doubt,” presumably based on the fact that he assumes that the writer has direct experience with the legacy of colonization, and thus merits special consideration.

04: I’d give it around about the C range. Maybe C, yeah, around the C range. Um, even C-. Giving them a C for the benefit of the doubt, but even though, this, the first part, this, actually, this part for me would be, for me, in my discipline, would be completely unacceptable.

Composition Two

In contrast to the divergent reactions that 02 and 04 had to the first composition, their reactions to Composition Two were much more alike. Both had similar positive reactions to the organization and similar negative reactions to the content. However, their convergent reactions to Composition Two were not reflected in the grades they assigned: C for 02, and B- for 04.

Both participants seem reassured immediately by the fact that the introduction states very clearly what the student will write about in the composition.

02: I immediately feel a sense of relief. This person has an introduction and I know vaguely what this paper is about. That means that the road ahead is gonna be short and fairly pleasurable. Um, in my classes I emphasize to students that they have to write thesis statements. I really like it when students can lay out an argument, um, so, I’m relieved to see a little argument.
04: Well, first of all, this is a much better paper. It’s already structured very well. The structure is very, concise. Exactly what I ask students to do; to lay out exactly what they’re going to talk about in the paper. So that’s excellent.

It is perhaps slightly surprising that both participants had such an immediate and positive reaction to the introduction because, while it does definitely create a ‘road map’ for the paper by clearly outlining what the writer intends to write about, it does not in fact have a thesis statement that lays out an argument per se; rather the introduction merely seems to say that an argument will be forthcoming. Both participants say that a thesis statement is important to them, and in fact they both rate a clear thesis statement as being extremely important in their evaluation of writing (02 lists a clear thesis statement as the second most important aspect in evaluating student writing), and both say that they teach their students to lay out an argument. Yet, the introduction, to which they both react so favourably, does not really do either of those things (see Appendix A). While the writer does indeed make his or her position clear that wealthy nations have an obligation to help poorer nations, rather than giving any indication of why they are obligated, or indicating what his or her argument is, he or she merely indicates that the reasons will be forthcoming.

In contrast to their favourable reactions to the introduction, both participants react quite negatively towards much of the factual content of the second composition (even to the point of 02 suspecting that the composition had been invented for the purposes of this study!).
02: Um, I’m immediately less relieved to find that the student has a really funny, and I would think really inaccurate portrayal of Canada, but my uh, idea would be to just see, um, I’m just interested in how the student is going to support their case. I don’t really care that I disagree with the student’s argument. Reading this essay makes me wonder if someone invented this, or if an actual student wrote this.

04: Um…oooh, (laughs). Well, I mean, in my discipline then, the second part, the fact that Canada is not a colonial nation is, without conquering other nations, is completely false.

Because both participants are part of disciplines that involve critical exploration of the repercussion of colonialism, the writer’s ideas about the origins of Canada are anathema to them.

It is interesting to note, however, that while their reactions are similar, they are framed rather differently. In the excerpt below, 02 reacts on a personal level to the ideas, using the term “one of my pet peeves” to describe the writer’s ideas, while 04 frames his reaction in the expectations of his discipline and recognizes that it may not be realistic to assume that students outside of Anthropology adhere to the theoretical stance of his discipline.

02: This is one of my pet peeves I have to admit. I think of Canada as a kind of violent place, violent country, uh, in many ways, um, and that one of the difficulties of analyzing that is that people have this idea that it is a nice country.
04: But obviously they’re not writing it from an anthropological point of view dealing with first nations and the fact that Canada’s wealth does come from the land of first nations. Um, so, I mean well, they wouldn’t write that if I was teaching them. But still…

Both participants seem to want to try to find something redeeming about the composition despite their vehement disagreement with the content of the second paragraph. In the excerpt below, 04 seems to be searching for some content to which he can respond positively.

04: Yeah, so there is definitely something there…. They’re actually thinking about it…. Saying—especially when we’re talking about political and economical—economic conquest is as good or even better than military conquest does talk about some understanding of post-colonialism and politics.

02, on the other hand seems to give up on the content and focuses instead on being positive about the organization in comparison with the previous composition.

02: Okay, uh, this paper allows me to reflect a little on the previous one, and I can sort of see that this is a very different sort of answer to the same question as the previous one made. I think the previous one, even though it lacks an introduction, was an answer of sorts, just as this is an answer of sorts. Um, I think that this answer works a little better, especially because of that strong introduction, laying out what they were going to do. … I feel that it’s better, um, in the sense that, um there’s a bit more of a plan, which is shared with the reader. … This paper was a
little stronger than the other paper, largely because um, the introduction laid out a project and then it seemed to be a little bit more detailed and a little bit more elaborate than the first paper.

We can see in the excerpt above that 02’s evaluation of the second composition is a recursive process involving his consideration of and comparison with the first composition. 02 said that he does not “grade papers in isolation.” In fact, 02 said that in general, he would probably read all the papers to get a sense of the quality and kind of arguments and then look at each paper more attentively and “sort of justify why [he] was taking off points.” In the case of Composition Two, 02 felt that it “would not get the points” for factual content because much of it was “unfounded” and “unsupported,” nor would it get whatever points “allocated for wonderful writing.”

04, on the other hand, seems to struggle in assigning a letter grade to reconcile his dislike of the conceptual aspect of the composition with the fact that the student is able to construct a coherent argument, as flawed as it is in his perception.

04: So the paper started off very well, but really began to lose its way, especially in the second paragraph because, in my discipline at least, the idea that Canada is not a colonial nation is a strange concept. … So, it becomes weaker as it goes on, but it does indicate that she’s thinking about it. … They did actually uh, relate the essay to the question, just not in a, in a good way. Um, it was, for the most part, it was well-written, um, but because of the conceptual weakness in it, then they’d get a low B. B- range.
Composition Three

Composition Three created the biggest divide in reactions between the two participants. 04 seemed to be largely engaged by what he read, and the A- that he assigned it was the highest of his assessments for the four compositions. In contrast, Composition Three seemed to pose a particular challenge for 02. He seemed completely unable to see any organization or structure to the paper and seemed to find the content difficult to understand. 02’s global assessment of the paper was that it should have a lowish grade—in the C-/D range.

Both participants are immediately engaged by the attention-grabbing opening of the composition.

02: This paper sort of seeks, looks like it is seeking to problematize poor, the meaning of poor. I like that because it seems to get into something a little more deeply. I really have a weakness for papers that get into things a little bit.

04: Excellent beginning. Great first sentence. Um, which is exactly how I teach to try and animate the first paragraph.

However, 02 rapidly becomes disenchanted with the inductive organization of the paper.

02: Okay, upon like a quick look at this paper, I have the sense that this paper is totally all over the place. So, now I’m going to look for what might link it together. I’ll check back and see if there is a thesis statement; I’ll check to see if there isn’t a thesis statement, if these paragraphs are linked somehow. Okay, at
In the excerpt below, although 02 seems positive about the presence of “lead sentences and some content that supports them,” and although he recognizes that the writer answers the question at the end, he seems unable to follow the inductive organization and seems quite ready to dismiss Composition Three because of the effort he has to spend to follow the argument.

02: I’m feeling kind of, uh, what’s the word, ungenerous toward them. Uh, I mean this person is able to string together sentences, which is good. I think there may be some lead sentences with some content that supports them maybe. There definitely is the last, the second to last paragraph works, I think, in a kind of vague way—there is a question that kind of gets answered. I’m not sure how much I would dedicate to this paper. … But a paper like this that’s totally, totally--that appears to be totally, totally scattered, I’m just not, yeah, I probably wouldn’t pay too much attention to it.

Again, 02’s reaction suggests that he does not afford inductive organization the same value as deductive organization, and that he would in fact be unable to separate argument and organization.

On the other hand, 04 seems to focus almost exclusively on the content. He does not seem to have any issues with the organization, and indeed he seems willing to
overlook any perceived shortcomings in writing because of his engagement with the ideas expressed.

04: Okay, so, by that I guess, I’m assuming that this student’s going write about the uh, the negative impact that perhaps post-colonial relationships have with so-called poorer countries and effect on people’s identities. Okay, well it’s really badly phrased, but it’s a really good point. Kind of expand the idea. Expand the word of poor not just purely in an economic sense, but actually extending it to thinking about it in terms of starvation, family, uh, education, um, war-like environments. All that indicates poverty, which is an excellent point. … A little difficult language, but still. … Definitely, this student’s definitely thinking well.

04’s positive assessment of the paper seems to be based for the most part on the ideas expressed; however he does also mention the writer’s confidence.

04: There is some confidence in the writing, there’s definitely beginning to understand some of the underlying issues, which is what I ask for in an A.

While it is difficult to tease apart whether the perceived confidence has more to do with the ideas expressed, or the manner or style in which they are expressed, given that he mentions some difficulties with the language, it would seem that the perceived confidence might be more about the ideas.

02 says that he is trying to teach students in his classes “to [be] able to make arguments, think about stuff and answer questions, so that’s what [he] would look for in
these papers.” Clearly he does not think that the writer of Composition Three has done that, while 04 very clearly thinks that is exactly what the writer has done.

04: So then final question, they do actually rephrase the question into a much more kind of complex question, which is good, makes it a much more complex question actually. Uh…yeah, well there’s definitely a lot going on there; much more than the other papers.

Composition Four

Again, as with Composition One, 02 and 04 were in relative agreement in their global assessments: 02 rated the composition in the C/B range and 04 in the C+/B- range. This was the highest grade that 02 assigned to the four compositions, and it seemed to be largely because of his favourable reaction to the organization. 04’s mid-range grade reflects his lukewarm reaction to the ideas the writer expressed.

Although he does not agree with the argument in Composition Four, 02 responded positively to the fact that there was a recognizable argument that he felt that he could “work with.”

02: All right, the first paragraph kind of makes sense. I don’t like buy the argument, but there is an argument, that’s what I like. Okay, I think I would say that this works the best. There is an intro, there is a conclusion, there’s a couple paragraphs that kind of talk about how aid policy sort of works. Um, I actually can work with this one I think. This one I think is the strongest one.
Once again, 02 seems to be suggesting that an argument is only recognizable if it is presented in a deductive style. In fact, he seems to equate an argument with deductive organization in that he seems unable to follow the arguments in the two compositions that were written with an inductive organization.

However, despite the fact that he does not agree with the argument and has issues with the way in which the person expresses himself, he believes that the writer can think and express herself or himself clearly, presumably because of the fact that the composition has a clear deductive organization.

02: Um, these sentences I find boring, it’s a little bit hard for me to read this, but I think that they work; I can understand them. They’re like long sentences. This person writes long sentences. Yeah, that is what this person does. … Yeah, this is the final sentence—terrible sentence—but you can follow it, you can make some sense out of it. This person can think and can put their thoughts on paper in ways that one can decipher.

Again, 04’s main focus assessing Composition Four, as with the previous three compositions, seems to be content and idea development, which he feels is lacking.

04: I mean [it] just glosses over that question of aid and what it's all about. Um, again, it's the idea of a gift, not just aid as a one-directional thing, but there's implications tied to it. … They did try to tie together in the final paragraph, the conclusion. Still it's a really basic kind of, not an in-depth answer, it doesn't really critique it, or re-ask the question in any way. It provides some basic points. … It
doesn’t have the conceptual problems that [Composition Two] had, but it's still in that kind of region because they do communicate their ideas clearly, well, with enough clarity to understand.

At the end of the TAP session, 02 seemed to feel uncomfortable with having been “ungenerous” towards the compositions and seemed to want to finish the think-aloud session with something more positive.

02: Then again as I said, it really depends on the criteria. Like if this is just a kind of um, just a kind of let’s get some ideas out there, let’s start thinking, let’s respond to class discussion, in some way these are all great papers, like I’d be happy to receive, in a weird kind of way. I’d be happy to receive all of these as response papers or free-writes associated with the class, um about poverty and development. So, like in that sense, I would be totally happy to receive these papers and they would get good marks for sort of being present and engaging in some kind of way, so um, yeah, it really kind of depends on the context how I would kind of deal with these things.

02’s comments underscore the inherently subjective and idiosyncratic nature of holistic assessment of student writing. It is conceivable that if he had envisaged a different context before beginning his assessment, or if he had been assessing on a less “rugged” day when he was less tired and thus less “ungenerous,” his assessments would all have been higher. It is perhaps interesting to ponder as well whether in that case the relative assessments he made of the individual compositions would have remained the same.
The analysis of 02’s and 04’s think-aloud protocols helps us to understand what these two professors were thinking as they evaluated the four compositions. Their discourse reveals that they held quite different views on writing in a second language, and their views seem to be related to their own experiences as second language writers. 02 reported that when he wrote in Spanish, he did not follow the culturally expected elaborate indirect style of Spanish technical writing, but instead imposed his own style, which he felt was more direct. It is evident in his responses to the non-standard rhetorical organization of Compositions One and Three, that 02 is highly invested in the culturally dictated deductive rhetorical organization of English academic writing to the point where he is unable to see that there is an argument at all if it is not presented in that style.

In contrast, 04, when writing in Japanese, seems to have adapted not only his writing, but also even his thinking to the Japanese norm because he says, “the language does not lend itself culturally to articulating arguments in particular ways.” Indeed, 04’s willingness to adapt the structure of his writing when writing in a second language, and the flexibility he demonstrates with assessing writing presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization, coupled with his contention that organization is the second most important trait for him when assessing student writing, after development of ideas, suggest that he is able to perceive organization when it is presented in forms other than deductive.

Despite the individual biases of the two participants, in looking at their assessments across the four compositions, we find similarities in the way that they react to the first and fourth compositions. Both participants reacted negatively to the first
composition, perhaps because the level of writing is low compared to what they are used
to; yet by the fourth composition they seem to have become accustomed to the low level.
In their assessment, they appear to be more forgiving and generous than they were
towards the first composition in a sort of ‘benefit of the doubt’ phenomenon in which
they see more in the writing than may be there. The participants appear to ‘fill in the
blanks’ around missing information and thus perceive the argument as being stronger or
more clearly expressed than if they had they encountered Composition Four earlier in the
sequence. Perhaps the two participants’ reactions to these two compositions could be part
of an ‘order effect’.

However, even though there was a probable ‘order effect’, it is still apparent that
overall participant 04 seems to accommodate much more to the compositions presented
in a non-standard rhetorical organization than participant 02. In addition, non-standard
organization does not seem to affect participant 04’s perception of interpretability,
whereas participant 02 seems unable to decipher meaning in the inductive organization of
Composition Three.

4.5 Results of multi-trait analyses

The use of the multi-trait analyses scoring grid assessment was to address whether
a different evaluation method would provide a different outcome in the participants
accommodation levels to non-standard rhetorical organization and their perceptions of
interpretability of compositions that favoured a non-standard rhetorical organization. The
intention behind the use of the multi-trait scoring grid was to see how participants would
react to the compositions if their attention were directed to specific aspects of the
compositions, and how the participants would respond to the compositions written with a non-standard rhetorical organization when they were specifically asked to look at organization.

At least two weeks after assessing the compositions holistically during their TAP sessions, participants were asked to assess the compositions again using a scoring grid (see Appendix E). The scoring grid asked participants to assign a level from 0 to 4 for each of seven traits for each composition consisting of content, organization, cohesion, vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, and spelling.

As seen below in Table 9, the results of the assessments using the scoring grid show that for the most part, using the grid encouraged ‘middle marking’ as there were more 2s assigned than any other level. However, notably this method of evaluation also seemed to result in less accommodation to non-standard rhetorical organization. Compositions One and Three, the two compositions with a non-standard organization, were given more 1s and fewer 3s than either of the other two compositions. The fact that these two compositions also received some 1s for organization, whereas Compositions Two and Four, the two compositions with a standard organization did not, and that Compositions Two and Four received more 3s for organization than Compositions One and Three suggests that drawing attention to organization affected the perception of some of the participants toward the compositions with non-standard organization.
Table 9

*Frequency of levels assigned by participants using multi-trait scoring grid*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Comp 1</th>
<th>Comp 2</th>
<th>Comp 3</th>
<th>Comp 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results also show that there are some inconsistencies between the assessments made by the participants during their holistic evaluation and the assessments made using the multi-trait scoring grid, but also some consistencies. These similarities and differences are evident both across the assessments made by individual participants and across the assessments for individual compositions. For example, there was a marked variation between the assessments made by participant 02 using the multi-trait scoring grid and his earlier holistic evaluations. Using the multi-trait scoring grid he was no longer the hardest marker, as he had been during the holistic evaluations. In fact, 02 gave Composition Two the 2nd highest rating of any of the participants, in contrast with the C he had assigned it during his holistic evaluation, which was the lowest grade assigned by any participant for that composition.

On the other hand, participant 07, who was a middle marker in his holistic evaluations, was the hardest marker using the multi-trait scoring grid. However, despite the fact that his ratings were considerably lower than the ratings of any of the other participants using the multi-trait scoring grid, his low ratings are consistent in rank order with his holistic evaluations of the compositions. Like participant 07, participant 06’s ratings using the multi-trait scoring grid give the same rank order as her grades from the
holistic evaluations. However, unlike 07, 06’s ratings are remarkably consistent between the two types of assessments, showing a similar amount of variation between her multi-trait assessments and the grades she assigned. In other words, she was consistent in her multi-trait assessments and her holistic evaluations both in rank order and in degree of difference between the compositions.

Composition Three, which had received the most varied results in the holistic evaluations, was assigned consistently low ratings from the participants when they used the scoring grid, particularly for cohesion and grammar. This is in marked contrast with the TAP session evaluations, which garnered only one comment on cohesion and two on grammar. For example, participant 04 had rated Composition Three the highest of the four compositions, giving it an A- during his holistic evaluation, but using the multi-trait scoring grid he gave it his lowest rating. Similarly, 05 had also given Composition Three the highest grade she assigned—a B—but using the multi-trait grid rated it considerably lower than the other compositions. Both 04 and 05 had responded positively to the content of Composition Three during their holistic evaluations, but rated the same content only 1 on the scale of 0 to 3 using the multi-trait scoring grid.

Composition Two, which received the highest overall rating from the participants in the holistic evaluations, also received the highest rating with the multi-trait scoring grid. Both Composition Two and Composition Four, which have a standard deductive rhetorical organization, received higher ratings for organization and cohesion than Compositions One and Three, which have a non-standard inductive organization.
4.6 Conclusion

As shown above, the subjective nature of holistic evaluation of academic writing provides widely varying results. Despite the fact that there is reasonable consistency both across participants in what they perceive as important in evaluating student writing, and between what participants perceive as important and what they actually comment on, there is a wide range of grades assigned to the four compositions by different participants. The grades assigned by each participant suggest that some participants are easier or harder markers than others. However, even when the grades are somewhat consistent across participants, as is the case for Composition Four, the reasons for giving the grades vary.

There are some obvious potentially mitigating participant background factors that may affect the participants’ assessments, like academic discipline and years of experience. However, even though participants 02 and 04 have convergent research interests and are both in disciplines that share a theoretical standpoint, their assessments differ greatly. This underscores once more the subjective nature of their assessments. The fact that their respective attitudes toward their own experiences in writing in a second language indicates a willingness to accommodate on the part of participant 04 and a contrasting unwillingness to accommodate on the part of participant 02 is perhaps reflected in the degree to which each accommodated to the compositions presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization.

The use of the multi-trait scoring grid created a middle-marking phenomenon in general but also underscored again the subjective nature of evaluation as the results of the
multi-trait scoring grid assessments pointed out both consistencies and inconsistencies as compared with the participants’ holistic evaluations. The use of this method of evaluation seems to have lessened the degree of accommodation to the two compositions presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization.

This chapter presented the results from the questionnaires, the TAP sessions, and the multi-trait analyses. In the following chapter I will discuss the results as they specifically pertain to the research questions and provide an overarching interpretation of the findings of the study.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Discussion and interpretation of the results of this study as they relate to the research questions are presented in this chapter in section 5.2. Section 5.3 discusses the implications of the findings. The limitations of the study are described in section 5.4, and possibilities for future research are outlined in section 5.5. Chapter 5 ends with concluding remarks in section 5.6.

5.2 Answers to research questions (RQ)

RQ 1: Do L1 professors accommodate to L2 student writing presented in a non-standard rhetorical organization?

The results shown in Chapter 4 indicate that whether L1 professors accommodate to non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing depends on individual differences like their experience with evaluating L2 writing, their particular theoretical stance, and their own experiences with writing in another language. In addition, the method of evaluation plays a role in the degree of accommodation. There was more accommodation to non-standard organization in holistic evaluation than in multi-trait assessment. It is possible that holistic evaluation allowed participants who are more attuned, consciously or unconsciously, to the power relationship between centre and periphery scholars to accommodate to variations in the L2 compositions, while the multi-trait assessment forced them to make more binary good/not good decisions about aspects that varied in the L2 compositions.
The results of the analyses of the think-aloud protocols (TAPs) suggest that while the inductive organization of Compositions One and Three did not seem to be a significant factor in the holistic evaluation for some participants, these two compositions had the most variation in grades assigned (in both cases ranging from D to A-). This implies that for other participants, even if organization was not consciously a factor in their evaluations, they were unable to accommodate to the non-standard organization.

The results of the multi-trait assessments suggest that drawing the assessors’ attention to rhetorical organization has a negative effect on accommodation. Participants who accommodated to the inductive organization of Compositions One and Three in their holistic evaluation rated the organization of these two compositions as negatively as the participants who had not accommodated to it in their holistic evaluations.

RQ 2: Does non-standard rhetorical organization in L2 student writing affect L2 professors’ perceptions of interpretability?

The results indicate that non-standard rhetorical organization has a profound effect on some professors’ perceptions of interpretability, while for others it does not. Participants 02 and 05 seemed unable to decipher sufficient meaning in Composition Three, while participant 04’s appreciation of the content was not affected by the non-standard organization. As indicated above, while some participants’ perceptions of interpretability were not obviously affected by the non-standard organization of Composition Three in that they did not comment specifically on the organization, they did seem to struggle to decipher meaning.
Composition One seemed to pose a particular challenge for most participants; however, as will be discussed below in section 5.3, it is unclear whether that was solely because of the non-standard organization.

However, while non-standard organization does not necessarily have a negative effect on interpretability, it seems as if standard organization has a positive effect. The results indicate that even if the content of the composition is perceived to be insufficient, a clear deductive rhetorical organization will, to some extent, mitigate the lack of content. As the results of the evaluations of Composition Two show, despite the fact that the participants of group A viewed the content extremely negatively, the grades they assigned were still mid-range grades.

The answers to RQs 1 and 2 suggest that accommodation could be a learned skill. The fact that some participants do accommodate already, and the fact that their attention could be directed to different traits of the composition through the use of a scoring grid, implies that training in accommodation would be possible.

RQ 3: What factors of L2 student writing do L1 professors react to?

The results from the analyses of the TAPs indicate that organization is not consciously a major focus during content class professors’ evaluations of student writing. During the TAPs, the most frequently commented on traits for all the compositions were factual content and idea development, suggesting that this is the major focus of professors in assessing student writing.
However, while factual content and idea development seem to play a large role in how a professor assesses a student composition, the way in which professors react to these aspects or other aspects of student writing seems to be more a matter of individual differences than anything else. In other words, while two assessors may assign the same grade, the results of the analyses of the TAPs suggest that the process leading to the end point of the task seems to depend on mitigating factors. These include how much the assessors engage with the content and other individual factors that the assessors bring to the process, such as their theoretical stance, their experience writing in a second language, and even what mood they are in and what kind of a day they have had.

RQ 4: What factors of student writing do L1 professors perceive as important?

The results of the questionnaire suggest that while organization is considered important by content class professors, it is not by any means considered as important as the development of ideas and the factual content.

The answers to RQs 3 and 4 imply that there is a disconnect between the focus of ESL classes and the expectations of content class professors. While ESL classes tend to focus on rhetorical organization and mechanics, content class professors are more interested in the information that the student is discussing and in critical thinking.

5.3 Implications

As discussed above, the results presented in Chapter 4 suggest that evaluating academic writing is a subjective and individual process. Because holistic evaluation is so idiosyncratic, there was in fact a wide range of reactions to different aspects of the
compositions, but idea development and content elicited the most comments from participants.

These findings can be seen as encouraging overall for the periphery scholar for two main reasons:

1. Accommodation to variation in organization and mechanics in L2 may be a learned skill. It may be advantageous for English-medium universities with a large international student body to implement programmes to help their professors realize that variation in English does equate with deficiency, and to train them to accommodate to these variations.

2. Ideas and critical thinking are more important to professors than strict adherence to the centre norms of organization and mechanics. It might be profitable to change the curricula of English for academic purposes classes to reflect a focus on critical thinking and information assessment.

5.4 Limitations

The most striking limitation of the study is the fact that, although an effort was made to find compositions on a subject that would have at least some relevance or interest to most participants, the compositions were not the result of an assignment that the participants themselves had set. The fact that they had not assigned the compositions means that the way in which the compositions addressed the topic was not necessarily applicable to the participants’ disciplines, which necessarily affected their comments on factual content and addressing the topic/assignment requirements, and may have affected their comments on idea development.
Another limitation of the study is the design of the TAP sessions, which did not necessarily allow participants to evaluate the compositions in the manner in which they would evaluate assignments they received from their own students. For example, participant 02 suggested that evaluating a stack of papers in one sitting is not his usual procedure. Normally, faced with a stack of papers, especially weak ones, he would read through them without marking them, and then go through them and evaluate them later once he had a sense of the level of the papers. This, of course, was not possible in the context of the study. In addition, the presence of the researcher during the TAP sessions necessarily affected the ways that participants carried out their evaluations, as they presumably felt constrained to evaluate them on the spot with some efficacy.

This may have had an effect on their perceptions of the compositions as participants did not have a chance to get a sense of the overall quality before assigning a grade to the first composition. The general negative reaction to Composition One and the low grades assigned to it may have been due to inadequacies in its content and idea development, or to its non-standard organization, but it may also have been because it was the first composition the assessors encountered. That is, there may have been an order effect. Comments from participants 02 and 05 suggest that they were somewhat taken aback by the low quality of the paper and thus were harsh in their evaluation. The same may have been true for other participants, although they did not comment on that fact. It is conceivable that by the second, third, and fourth compositions, the participants had calibrated their expectations and were more generous toward these compositions.
Another limitation was the ambiguity of the way the factors were phrased in the scale of L2 writing indicators (see Appendix D). For example, instead of ‘lack of cohesion,’ the factor was simply ‘cohesion,’ which was ambiguous because it was unclear whether the question was asking if writing could be identified as L2 because it was cohesive, or because it was not. Although I had piloted this instrument, the piloting participants were ESL teachers who, like me, did not see the phrasing as ambiguous because they were used to evaluating L2 writing. Because I did not make the meaning clear, it was ambiguous to the participants of the study and so the data were not useable in the main study.

My failure to include assigning a grade at the end of the multi-trait assessments was yet another limitation of the study. Not having grades from the multi-trait assessments to compare with the grades assigned holistically meant that the data from the multi-traits was not as informative as it could have been. This might have been mitigated if not for another procedural limitation, which was the failure of the researcher to begin coding the data immediately upon collecting it. By waiting until all the data were collected, any missing data, or possible follow up questions, were not noticed until it was too late.

5.5. Future research

Further research in this area should investigate four distinct areas: the experiences of L2 students and their professors in content classes to investigate both students’ accommodation to centre norms and professors’ accommodation to variation in L2 writing; the ways in which L2 students could be taught differently in the ESL classroom
to prepare them more explicitly for the expectations of their content class professors; the ways in which centre professors could be further sensitized to variation in L2 student writing; and whether there are elements of good academic writing that are extra-societal and extra-linguistic.

The first line of research would explore the experience of L2 students writing for their content classes. This could be done as a case study of one or two students in all of their content classes to explore what aspects of writing they themselves struggle with accommodating to, and to compare this with how their content class professors react to their writing. Additionally, a case study of a content class professor’s experiences evaluating his or her own students’ work on assignments he or she had set would be enlightening as a way of evaluating how much content class professors accommodate to variation.

The second line of research would explore using real assignments from L2 students’ content classes in their ESL classes to determine whether this would be a more engaging and efficient way for L2 students to improve their English academic skills. In addition, this area would explore whether an increased emphasis on critical thinking skill and assessment of information would improve the experience of L2 students in content classes.

The third line of research would explore whether cross-cultural awareness of academic writing and contrastive rhetoric, and the demythologization of the culturally determined centre standards for academic writing could sensitize centre scholars to view
variation in L2 academic writing not as being deviant or deficient, but simply different and still academically worthy.

The final area would investigate whether there are aspects of academic writing that transcend societal and language barriers. This would involve large scale studies of perceptions of academic writing in different languages and a comparison of the aspects that are perceived as contributing to good academic writing.

5.6 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this study was to explore accommodation to L2 academic writing outside of the sheltered environment of the ESL classroom by looking at the differences, if any, in the thought processes of content class professors when assessing non-native English speaker academic writing presented in a so-called standard and non-standard rhetorical organization. The results of the study show that some L1 professors do accommodate to variation in L2 writing. In addition, the results underscore the subjective nature of the assessment of academic writing and suggest that content and idea development are more important than rhetorical organization in class professors’ assessment of student writing.

This is encouraging because it suggests that it is possible to overcome the pattern of cultural domination within academia and create a truly international academy. Rather than placing the sole burden for interpretability on the periphery writer, the centre can learn to accommodate to the variation in English used as a lingua franca. As Kachru has said:
While it is perfectly legitimate to make all writers aware of the rhetorical patterns preferred in Inner Circle English … it is equally legitimate and desirable to make English educators aware of the different rhetorical conventions of world majority learners and users of English” (Kachru, Y., 2009, p. 115).

As long as the centre maintains a rigid insistence on culturally defined norms of academic rhetoric, the global academy risks missing out on the valuable knowledge that periphery scholars can bring: an awareness of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues, objectivity of outsider perspectives, an international perspective, a testing mechanism for the dominant theories of the centre, access to research sites and data where centre scholars would be intrusive, and the alerting of centre scholars to research undertaken on the periphery (Flowerdew, 2001).

Of course, as the number of periphery speakers grows, the question might become moot. “The native speaker has long been on the inside looking out, and wary of admitting outsiders to the “fellowship” of legitimate users of the language. As the non-native varieties grow in importance and productivity, the native-variety user may now find himself to be the outsider…” (Kachru, Y., 1992, p.349).
References


Why Wealthy Nations Have an Obligation to Help Develop Poorer Countries

In many of the poor countries, they used to be able to manage the economy of their society and ensure good living conditions for their population. The society was not as complex as it is today and people were living in small communities. There were community leaders who represented the King in administering the community that was assigned to them. The society was run in such a way that corruption and bribery was a capital offense.

With the advent of colonisation, several communities were merged together to form a single country. Those who advocated for the merging did not take into consideration the dissimilarities between the different communities, that there may be the possibility of these communities not wanting to work together because of their past history.

During the colonial rule, many of the poor countries of the world today were impoverished by those who came to colonise them. As the colonisation went on, there were amongst the local people, political leaders who were fighting for the emancipation of the country, allowing local people to govern their country.

During the colonial rule, a lot of valuable materials were taken by force, exploration of minerals were done using local labour force, often time giving these people meager wages. Timbers were cut down from the forest and exported to Europe
and America. The income generated by the various economic activities were not used to develop the infrastructure that the local people direly needed.

As if these were not enough, local people were boarded on ships under inhumane conditions. They were treated like animals and sold away like merchandise. If not for the industrial revolution, I am quite sure the slave trade would still be perpetrated today.

We may say that these countries have obtained their independence, in the real sense of the word, many of these poor countries are still under the tutorships of their colonial master. They are asked to devalue their currency, to stop investing in the infrastructure of the country.

Candidly speaking, these poor countries are due for reparation for all the inhumane treatments meted out on the people. A fair and equitable business should be structured between rich and poor countries. The government of rich countries should enact laws hindering banks in the developed countries accepting money that has been stolen by corrupt government in these poor countries. In conclusion, I will frankly say yes, wealthy nations have an obligation to help poorer countries.
Why Wealthy Nations Have an Obligation to Help Develop Poorer Countries

In this text I will share my thoughts on why I think wealthy nations have an obligation to help develop poorer countries. First I will make a brief analysis on how wealthy nations became wealthy and what they did, and continue to do, to maintain and increase their economical, social, and political wealth. Finally I will describe why they should assist poorer countries and how this becomes a win-win situation for both parties.

There are only a few nations in the world which can claim that their wealth was obtained without conquering other nations, be it through military or political force. Canada is an example of such a nation. Canada’s wealth is, by large, the result of it’s geographical location, that is, just north of the wealthiest nation in the world, the United States of America. Having to share borders with the Americans, produces great commercial, political and intellectual transactions, and the friendship between the two countries allows them to do this in relative peace and harmony. Canada applies this same mode with other nations and has become known as a good country to deal with.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about lots of other wealthy countries. To understand how they became rich, we often have to go back in history. History books are filled with histories of war between peoples and nations, from small communities in remote areas, to great and powerful nations battling each other for control of each other’s ressources, be it material or intellectual.
Much can be said about how the Spaniards sacked South America of it’s gold, and how they left nothing but ruins before allowing those nations to become independent. The same model repeats itself even today, when countries equipped with better military forces can take over another and gain full control of it’s resources. Maybe the methods have changed as these conquests undergo worldwide scrutiny, but “where there is a will there is a way” and those conquests continue to be achieved on battle fields, or behind closed doors between politicians. It can be said that political and economical conquest is just as good, or even better, than military conquest.

And so as nations become rich, or richer, it is only natural to expect them to share some of the wealth they accumulate after covering all of their individual needs. This can have a positive effect for the poor nation and for the rich nation as well.

The poor nation can hope to develop a good, stable and hopefully friendly alliance with the richer country. Commercial, cultural and intellectual exchanges can occur. People in poorer countries can start to receive the medical care and education they need, they can use that help to get out of debt and attack the social problems they face.

For the people in the wealthy countries, there would be a feeling of pride, knowing that they are helping others in difficult situations, thus covering the feelings of guilt for injustices made in the past. This will also reinforce political alliances which can become handy when needed.
In a perfect world, the rich would help the needy in the right way and for the right reasons. We can only hope that those elected to govern will use their power that way.
Why Wealthy Nations Have an Obligation to Help Develop Poorer Countries

Starvation, dirty water, lack of education and lack of basic human rights is what we picture in our heads when the word poor is mentioned, however it has a vital and much more dangerous meaning. Living in the west gives us a lack of understanding of how much poverty may move a different side of man. A deadly and bloody side of man that can cause disastrous impact such as the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre.

If we flip the pages back and leave the history of each man who ever sacrifice his or her own life just to cause the death of thousands, we will learn that they had a “poor” life. Poor, with everything that follows: starvation, of loved ones, ignorant wars, oppression by dictator governments. For a man or woman living in such an unfortunate environment, time would be nothing except a killer of the soul and when the soul dies, man can do anything. Even run a plane into building to murder thousands.

Terrorism is not the only disaster caused by poverty. All that a dictator requires is located in poor countries. Poor education, hunger, and weak minds are all a blend of the perfect soil to harvest a dictator. Two million French men and woman died in the French revolution to overthrow their former dictator ruler. The education, knowledge and therefore the idea of freedom grew in France which was no longer a suitable to host a dictator. If poverty existed in France as it exists today in most of the world, the French would not have achieved this great success because the people of France wouldn’t have realized the importance of freedom. That it is more important than life itself. Every
nation dreams to follow this great historical event, even the continent of Africa.
However, due to poverty, they are sunk into endless wars, hunger and darkness of the mind.

The world wealth gap and world terrorism are directly proportional. There are many causes of hatred between nations, however, the prime cause would be the gap between the standard of living of the wealthier nations and the unfortunate. Millions of Africans die of starvation a year, yet millions of tones of wheat are “dumped” in the ocean yearly by the United States government to keep the price stable. This phenomenon is the seed of hatred.

Why is it not just important for wealthy nations, but an obligation to help develop the less fortunate nations? I would say for the sake of humanity and good cause. But if that is not a good enough reason or cause, then we are obliged to help the poor nations to help ourselves. To leave a safer world for our children and theirs. Terrorism, hatred, and dictatorships are all products of poverty which will not only effect the poor nations, however, will and has already hurt and scarred the wealthier nations. September 11 was a great example. Regarding world politics, only poverty can produce the essential tools for terrorism; soulless men. That is why helping develop these nations is an obligation or else world tensions, hatred and violence will continue to deteriorate from bad to worse. World conflict is just as horrifying as global warming and effective actions must be taken to prevent a world disaster as well.
It will become the most dishonourable and disgraceful event in the history of mankind. Therefore we are obliged as individuals, organizations and governments to prevent this from occurring.
Why Wealthy Nations Have an Obligation to Help Develop Poorer Countries

In today’s world, where the globalization is proven to be the new trend of the economy, economies of all nations across the world are heading to an equilibrium thanks to the efforts of the world’s economist and politicians. To make the integration successful developed countries are negotiating giving more monetary and financial support to developing countries to help them contribute to the fast growing world’s more sophisticated western economies.

The biggest eight industrial countries hold annual summits to discuss paying off debts of poor countries. For example, a couple of years ago this summit has written off the debts of the seven poorest countries and how this heavy load taken off their chest has helped governments of these poor countries re-establish their national budgets, to contribute more to infrastructure development and assessing the local industrial needs to be more competitive and enter the global market.

Another form of support is the direct aid in fields that modern western countries are more experienced at like environmental protection and reduction of causes of global warming for the welfare of the developing as well as the developed countries.

Through the years it is proven to be a fact that the economic support and help of developing economies is now more like an obligation rather than a picky selection. Developed countries sign agreements with many countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to open markets for their products in these countries. In return, developing
countries require technical assistance and direct experts help from countries with more experience in these fields.

The oil countries although pretty wealthy, still need developing economic sectors like health, education, and infrastructure. And they rely heavily on the United States and Japan to provide assistance and monitor progress of these sectors. Seeing this case of benefits exchange the western countries with strong economic capabilities find themselves either on a contractual agreement or a humanitarian act to support less developed countries.

To sum up the whole idea, wealthy nations, in order to stay wealthy and economically dominant, are obligated in one way or another to support the growth of other economies, and these less developed countries will in return become more active in contributing to the world’s economic growth. They will be markets of products of rich countries, and also their products and services will find their way to other parts of the world, adding to the stability of growth of all nations because they can now benefit from a more integrated economy and the more this integration takes place, the more equilibrium the world will experience, and subsequently less resources will be lost, there will be more trained workers, and more clear objectives for the governments of the world.
CONSENT FORM

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Margaret Levey of the Applied Linguistics program, Department of Education, Concordia University. Contact info: margaretlevey@gmail.com, 514-933-2671.

A. PURPOSE

I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to investigate what aspects professors attend to when assessing student academic writing.

B. PROCEDURES

The research will be conducted in participants’ offices. There will be two sessions of approximately 1 hour each. In the first session, participants will be asked to assess four student-written compositions and to think aloud as they are doing so. The think aloud procedure will be recorded. In the second session, participants will be asked to assess the same four compositions using a grid, and will be asked to participate in an interview questionnaire, which will be recorded. To ensure participants’ confidentiality, no names will be used in the research report.

C. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

• I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.

• I understand that my participation in this study is confidential (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity).

• I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print):

________________________________________________________________________

SIGNATURE:________________________________________________________________________
RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE:
________________________________________________

DATE:  ____________________________________

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca.
APPENDIX C: Think-aloud instructions for participants

Directions for “Think-Aloud” Protocols

Please evaluate the essays in the order in which you receive them. As you evaluate them, we ask that you do all of your thinking out loud. “Thinking out loud” is probably new to you, but most people do not have trouble once they get started.

When you think out loud, you simple say whatever is on your mind. When you are reading something, you simply say the words as they go through your mind—you will probably skip words, reread things; you would not make sense to someone if they were listening. If you are thinking, you will jump around a lot.

Thinking out loud is not the same as talking to someone else. When you read for someone, you pay attention to how fast and expressively you read. When you explain to someone, you try to make your story coherent and think about what your listener knows and does not know.

In thinking out loud there is no audience. At least at first, of course, a researcher will be nearby to see that you do not have any problems. But they are not listening to you. They are not there to answer your questions. They will pay attention only to the sound of your voice—if you stop talking, they will remind you to “keep talking.” But other than that, you are on your own.

The following are some guidelines for thinking out loud that many people find helpful:

1. Begin by turning on the tape recorder and saying your name and the date. Replay it to make sure the recorder is working.

2. Say whatever is on your mind. Do not hold back hunches, guesses, wild ideas, images, intentions.

3. Speak as continuously as possible. Say something at least once every 5 seconds, even if only, “I’m drawing a blank.”

4. Speak audibly. Watch for your voice dropping as you become involved.

5. Speak as telegraphically as you please. Do not worry about complete sentences and eloquence.

6. Do not over explain or justify. Analyze no more than you would normally.

7. Do not talk about the past. Say what you are thinking now, not what you were thinking a few seconds ago.

8. When you are finished working for a session, say, “This is the end of my work for today” followed by your name and the date.
APPENDIX D: Questionnaire

Language Background Questionnaire

Instructions to be given orally by the researcher: “The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather some information on your language background and your experience in writing in and evaluating an additional language.

The contents of this interview are confidential. Information identifying you as the respondent will not be disclosed under any circumstances.”

Part I: Background

1. How many years have you been a university professor?

2. What is your department?

3. Do you speak any other languages?

4. Do you write any other languages?

5. Did you do all of your undergraduate degree in English?

6. Do you ever read academic journals written in languages other than English? If yes, what language(s)?

7. Do you ever peer-review articles or book-length manuscripts written in a language other than English? If yes, what language(s)?

8. Do you ever do academic writing in a language other than English? (If ‘yes’, proceed to Part II. If ‘no’, proceed to Part III)

Part II: Second language writing experience

9. What language other than English do you do academic writing in?

10. When you write in another language, do you feel that you think differently than you do when you write in English? Explain.

11. When you write in a language other than English, do you organize your writing in the same way as when you write in English, or differently? Explain.
12. In which language do you find it easier to produce academic writing? What makes it easier?

Part III: Attitudes towards evaluating student writing.

13. 1) Please rate the importance of each item for you when you are evaluating students’ writing.

1=not at all  2=not really  3=so-so  4=quite  5=extremely

a) _____ Factual content
b) _____ Correct spelling
c) _____ Paper organization
d) _____ Correct grammar
e) _____ Development of ideas
f) _____ A clear thesis statement near the beginning of the essay
g) _____ Word choice and correct use of vocabulary
h) _____ Sentence structure
i) _____ Cohesion (how well the writing flows)
j) _____ Addresses topic/assignment requirements

13.2) Please list the 3 items that are most important to you in order from most important.

1\textsuperscript{st} ______________________________
2\textsuperscript{nd} ______________________________
3\textsuperscript{rd} ______________________________

14. What percentage of the mark that you give to student writing would you say is for content and what percentage is for language use?

% for content ______ / % for language ______ /% for other ______
(please specify).

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15. Ideally, what percentage of essay grades do you think should be based on content, and what percentage for language?

% for content _______ / % for language ________ /% for other ________

(please specify).

Part IV: Attitudes toward NNES writing.

16. Do you believe that you can recognize NNES writing?

17. If ‘yes’, what are the markers that you feel identify NNES writing?

18. Please rate the criteria below in terms of how strongly you think they indicate non-native English speaker writing.

1=not at all  2=not really 3=so-so  4=quite  5=extremely

a) _____ Factual content
b) _____ Correct spelling
c) _____ Paper organization
d) _____ Correct grammar
e) _____ Development of ideas
f) _____ A clear thesis statement near the beginning of the essay
g) _____ Word choice and correct use of vocabulary
h) _____ Sentence structure
i) _____ Cohesion (how well the writing flows)
j) _____ Addresses topic/assignment requirements
APPENDIX E: Multi-trait analysis scoring grid

Composition Scoring Grid

Sample #:_______ Date:___________ Participant #______

A. Relevance and adequacy of content
   0. Content bears almost no relation to topic. Totally inadequate response.
   1. Content of limited relevance to the topic. Possibly major gaps in treatment of topic and/or pointless repetition.
   2. For the most part responds to the topic, though there may be some gaps or redundant information.
   3. Relevant and adequate response to the topic.

B. Compositional organisation
   0. No apparent organisation of content.
   1. Very little organisation of content. Underlying structure not sufficiently controlled.
   2. Some organisational skills in evidence, but not adequately controlled.
   3. Overall shape and internal pattern clear Organisational skills adequately controlled.

C. Cohesion (Flow)
   0. Almost no flow. Writing so fragmentary that comprehension of the intended communication is virtually impossible.
   1. Unsatisfactory flow may cause difficulty in comprehension of most of the intended communication.
   2. For the most part satisfactory flow, although occasional deficiencies may mean that certain parts of the communication are not always effective.
   3. Satisfactory flow resulting in effective communication.

D. Adequacy of vocabulary for purpose
   0. Vocabulary inadequate even for the most basic parts of the intended communication.
   1. Frequent inadequacies in vocabulary for the task. Perhaps frequent lexical inappropriacies and/or repetition.
   2. Some inadequacies in vocabulary for the task. Perhaps some lexical inappropriacies and/or circumlocution.
   3. Almost no inadequacies in vocabulary for the task. Only rare inappropriacies and/or circumlocution.
E. Grammar
   0. Almost all grammatical patterns inaccurate.
   1. Frequent grammatical inaccuracies.
   2. Some grammatical inaccuracies.
   3. Almost no grammatical inaccuracies.

F. Mechanical accuracy I (punctuation)
   0. Ignorance of conventions of punctuation.
   1. Low standard of accuracy in punctuation.
   2. Some inaccuracies in punctuation.
   3. Almost no inaccuracies in punctuation.

G. Mechanical accuracy II (spelling)
   0. Almost all spelling inaccurate.
   1. Low standard of accuracy in spelling.
   2. Some inaccuracies in spelling.
   3. Almost no inaccuracies in spelling.