

THE ROLE OF RECOGNITION:
RECONCEPTUALIZING ACADEMIC EXPRESSION

by

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Abstract

The Role of Recognition:
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by

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Literacy among college students, both at community colleges and four-year colleges, has traditionally been discussed in primarily cognitive terms; writing has been seen as cognitively more complex than speaking, and some students have been seen as more cognitively advanced than others. I explore what happens when we depart from a cognitive framework and instead situate speaking and writing firmly within psychological and social-historical contexts using the concept of recognition.

Recognition – the feeling of being known through one’s academic expression – is conceptualized and described in detail based upon interview data of 28 four-year and community-college students’ narratives of their best and worst speaking and writing experiences in college. Recognition is conceptualized as a psychosocial unit of analysis; it encapsulates the psychological, relational, and contextual aspects of being known through the reception of one’s spoken and written academic expression. Because speaking and writing are practices which take on meaning only when they are received, that is, heard or read by various audiences, the feeling of recognition is also contextualized within various structures which frame the reception of

communication. These structures include the social and historical identities of the student and the audience members, the history of the particular institution which the communication takes place within, and the history of the mode of expression, to name several levels I studied in this dissertation.

Findings in this dissertation include 14 types of recognition, for example feeling surprised by rejection or feeling pressured by praise, and descriptions of schemas which resulted in unintended consequences when students and teachers interacted around speaking, writing, and recognition. Descriptions of how race and gender are associated with various types of teacher and student response to speaking and writing are also explored. Notably, the interview data show that African American students more likely than White students to associate teacher response with negative writing experiences, and female students are more likely than male students to associate teacher response with negative speaking experiences. All of these findings support the basic claim of this dissertation that when one places literacy practices within all of their associated social contexts, one sees that students cannot easily be placed in cognitive hierarchies without acknowledgement of the very different social terrains with which they engage. Neither can speaking and writing be placed into simple hierarchies of cognitive difficulty as they are more clearly differentiated based on a host of contextual factors including the social factors which come before and after, and give meaning to, all acts of academic expression.

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Chapter 1: Reviewing and Expanding the Frameworks for Conceptualizing Speaking and Writing

“What then is articulateness but the right to speak in ways that others can hear?” – Ray McDermott, “Inarticulateness” (1988)

Academic speaking and writing are centrally and inherently, not incidentally, psychosocial, emotional, and social experiences. Therefore, to better understand and improve student experiences with speaking and writing, we need to gain an understanding, from the student’s perspective, of the psychosocial components of the experience. This understanding will be most helpful if it is attuned to the specific elements of speaking and writing which predispose academic expression to be a potentially intense emotional experience. I argue that it is the social nature of language that predisposes speaking and writing to be emotionally-charged experiences.

Speaking and writing, and in fact all language use are inherently social acts as experienced in relationship. This is because speaking and writing engage language based upon its historical and social usages, and are aimed towards audiences, implicit or explicit (Bakhtin, 1986). I further argue, with literacy researcher McDermott (1988) who took the position that “inarticulateness” is produced by two parties, a speaker and a listener. He further argued that communication is not fully executed until it is received, which depends in part upon the audience.

Seeing speaking and writing as utterances which are framed by preceding and responding utterances helps us to understand the depth of the social nature of these practices. It also instructs us to look at the relationships and contexts in which these

utterances are framed. Understanding how precursors and responses may tend to differ between speaking and writing, and between positive and negative experiences of each, further helps us specify the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing. It will also help us to frame ways of studying the differences between these two modes of expression.

In order to show the need for empirical research on the psychosocial and relational aspects of speaking and writing, I will build an argument in this literature review that shows the problems, empirical and conceptual, of excluding a psychosocial approach to speaking and writing. The exclusion of psychosocial approaches to speaking and writing has often resulted in the adoption of reductive cognitive approaches to academic speaking and writing. I will also review approaches to speaking and writing which are social and psychological in nature. One of the approaches I review is the Bakhtinian approach to expression through language. I will argue that a Bakhtinian approach, which gives special attention to the way speaking and writing are response- and audience-oriented events, is an optimal approach to understanding the experience of academic expression. It is optimal because of the importance it gives to the precursors and responses to academic writing and speaking tasks. Additionally, I argue that this approach can be complemented by clinical psychological insights which help us to pay attention to the individual student's subjective experience of internalizing and making meaning of precursors and responses.

The ultimate goal of this literature review is to capture approaches which shed light upon the question of the social, and not merely individual, student experience of

speaking and writing. Academic expression is a social experience in that it is framed by mode of expression; other persons; audiences; social categories such as gender, race, and class. These social categories tend to carry with them first-hand and second-hand experiences with expression and response in historically situated educational institutions; representations of literacy; and the history and qualities of one's academic institution. By this I mean that students from various social groups (such as those formed by race, gender, etc.) may likely have had different experiences with speaking or writing. They also may have had different "second-hand" experiences, by which I mean that family members may have had very different educational histories and experiences. These second hand experiences, as well as individual's own personal histories with speaking and writing, may well influence an individual's experience at any given moment with speaking and writing. Thus, studying the institutional and social factors which are associated with speaking and writing is an important goal of this literature review.

While this literature review is deeply influenced by the concerns of composition studies – the field of study which focuses the pedagogy of college writing - it seeks to complement the pedagogical findings of that field, not review them. Given that, this literature review is bounded by a focus only on those studies inside and outside of composition studies which specifically study that which contextualizes the student experience of speaking and writing in college, *particularly those which examine various representations and understandings of speaking and writing* which I see as essential contextual factors themselves. My concern in this literature review is the various factors which may influence college students'

psychosocial experiences of speaking and writing, not the various cutting-edge pedagogies which have been developed by educators to teach the skills necessary for academic expression. I believe that a richer understanding of student experiences will complement current and future pedagogical efforts, as I will discuss throughout the dissertation and especially in the discussion chapter.

The speaking and writing research that I highlight in this review can be understood as falling into five main categories. The first approach is labeled in this dissertation the *cognitive reductionist approach* (term used by compositionist Mike Rose, 1988). This means that writing is conceptualized purely as a cognitive skill and that differences between speaking and writing abilities are explained by an oversimplified view of the differences in cognitive demands of each mode of expression.

The second approach, most often put forth by linguists, primarily discusses speaking and writing using a *context-specific approach*. These theorists tend to see speaking and writing as largely characterized by the specific tasks and context of a particular episode of speaking or writing (i.e., informal writing may have more in common with informal speaking than it does with formal writing).

The third approach to speaking and writing is an explicitly and critically *political and historical approach*, most often put forth by activist educators and theorists, which takes into consideration the impact of social factors such as race, gender, education and institutional history on both speaking and writing. Thus, this approach treats both speaking and writing as ideological practices, in some respects equally inflected with bias, although writing receives special treatment when considering ideological biases in its valuation.

The fourth approach is the *Bakhtinian approach* which conceptualizes speaking and writing as socially and historically located language practices that individuals engage and thus, become part of the history of language usage by participating in a sequence of utterances, or acts of expression, which contribute meaning to past and future utterances.

The fifth approach to speaking and writing presents both modes primarily as communication and notes the impact on self and relationships that communication patterns can have. Thus, this approach primarily stresses the psychological functions of communication, while not paying particular attention to mode of communication. This approach can be labeled a *clinical approach* to communication.

I have three purposes for reviewing these various ways of conceptualizing speaking and writing. First and foremost, I critically review these approaches in order to build the case for a psychosocial approach by showing the limitations of approaches which exclude psychosocial factors, and by showing the central arguments of those who have used various social approaches.

Secondly, I highlight what is phenomenologically – meaning here related to lived experience – relevant to speaking and writing and useful for understanding that lived experience from each approach. Thus, I explain what material from each tradition resonated with the data I collected and/or impacted the coding schemes I created. While all the approaches resonated on some level, I will explain how I found the Bakhtinian approaches (Ball & Freedman, 2004; Daiute, 2003, 1993; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Halasek, 1999; Wallace, 1999) to speaking and writing to be the most relevant to my data and my interpretation of that data through coding schemes.

Finally, the last reason that I review these literatures, particularly the dominant “reductive cognitive” approach, is to show how students might be impacted by the way that speaking and writing are conceptualized. In this vein, I explore the ways that each approach may have impacted the reception – the audience response, including teacher response – which students may receive for their speaking and writing. I argue that the reception of speaking and writing is impacted by the way the audience conceptualizes speaking and writing, since the notion that writing is an inherent measure of cognitive ability may cause teachers to have particularly negative responses to students who write poorly. As we will see, compositionists – college writing practitioners and theorists – are often involved in the debates over how we conceptualize speaking and writing and the differences between them. By understanding how audiences may perceive speaking and writing, we begin to understand more about how they may perceive speakers and writers, which will become very important as we consider students’ experiences and narratives of speaking and writing which often describe audience responses.

Overall, by combining a critique of the traditional, largely cognitive, approach to literacy with the addition of social approaches to literacy and communication-focused approaches to understanding the self, I argue that students tend to experience speaking and writing as not just cognitive skill sets, but also as relational and emotional experiences, because of *the inherent potential in speaking and writing for the self to be known to others in the immediate social context, which contains the impact of the larger social context*, such as representations of students, students’ backgrounds, and representations of the meaning and value of speaking and writing.

How this potential is experienced by the student is based, I argue, on how the student internalizes the social factors (i.e., other people, and various other factors, internal and external, but all embodying to some extent larger social factors as well as immediate ones) which frame his or her speaking or writing experience. In identifying the immediate social framings, and then seeing how the student makes sense of these precursors and responses, very often by comparing the responses offered and perceived to the responses expected or hoped for (and these expectations are also historically and socially inflected, based on past experiences with precursors and responses), we can identify various types of recognition, or ways of being known, the student experiences. This dissertation aims to empirically study the contextual factors which frame speaking and writing from the student perspective. The literature review will guide us through five approaches to speaking and writing and show the importance of including social and contextual factors in the study of academic expression by highlighting what is gained when we take a social approach to academic expression and what is omitted when we do not.

Isolating and Contextualizing Speaking and Writing

Before beginning the review of the five approaches outlined above, I want to review how I conceptualize the differences between speaking and writing. The reason it is not simple to define my conceptualization of speaking and writing is that I both want to respond to the lived experience of speaking and writing *and* challenge the common sense notions of speaking and writing. The lived experience that many of us have of typical speaking and writing experiences is that they are very different

experiences, with writing typically being associated with privacy and some degree of formality and speaking typically being associated with social interaction and immediate audience presence.

On the other hand, I want to challenge the idea that speaking and writing are inherently different. New technologies and tasks allow us to communicate in genres, such as email messages or instant message chatting, which may seem to be a hybrid of traditional speaking and writing. Further, I would argue that both speaking and writing can serve as modes of expression for complex academic ideas and exchanges. I agree with Kathleen Welch's inclusive definition of literacy in her 1999 book *Electric Rhetoric*. I consider her definition inclusive because she does not define literacy as only print literacy (that is, writing), but rather as "any activity of inherently verbal minds conditioned within and sometimes against specific cultures" (p.12). She and other multiliteracy theorists argue that literate practices include both speaking and writing – and sometimes other modes as well – since meaning can be made in modes other than print.

This dissertation, which is qualitative and narratively-oriented in nature, is based upon the analysis of narratives of student experiences with speaking and writing, provided through interviews with college students. The goal of this research is *both* to isolate speaking and writing *and* to contextualize them. This dissertation will attempt to isolate speaking and writing, in a broad sense, by supporting the argument that the cognitive "differences" which the great divide theorists have posited as existing between speaking and writing, have in fact been conflated with the psychosocial factors which often make speaking and writing very different

experiences. Speaking and writing are often characterized, as we will see in the results chapters, by differences in the immediate social context. This social context difference, and not simply cognitive differences between the modes, may explain some of the variation in student experiences of speaking and writing.

Ironically, some of the problematic variations in responses to speaking and writing, which are part of the immediate social context of speaking and writing, may have been caused by very theories and representations which posit the binary nature of speaking and writing. By this I mean that representations of literacy which hold that writing is a singular measure of a student's cognitive abilities or level of development may negatively impact students' experiences of writing and teachers as they respond to students. These issues will indeed be taken up throughout the methods and results chapters, and finally in the discussion chapter as well.

Secondly, the methods of this dissertation aim to "contextualize" speaking and writing, in that I aim to show the lived experience of speaking and writing as an embodied, emotional experience and as an act which is framed, made meaningful, and even co-created, by immediate social context factors, which I will refer to in the dissertation as precursors and responses. In exploring these factors and their consequences for students in their lived experiences of academic speaking and writing, I will aim to show how speaking and writing are neither purely cognitive nor even primarily individualistic activities, but instead are fully social practices.

Further, I will argue that speaking and writing are perhaps more different in their social contexts than in any other way, as they both share many qualities, in that they both engage language, based upon history and conventions, in order to achieve,

with their audiences, successful academic expression and communication. The struggle to be successful in an act of academic expression is dependent in part upon an audience who can hear – as McDermott asserted in regard to inarticulateness being created by an audience who does not hear. As I review the historical approaches to conceptualizing speaking and writing, I will support McDermott’s social and relational approach to both speaking and writing. As I show the need for a social and relational approach, I will be arguing for the importance of studying the role of precursors and responses which make up the contextual frames for academic expression.

The Cognitive Reductionist Approach: Orality-Literacy Debates

The traditional set of explanations about why some students have not been able to produce college-level writing has centered on an assumed set of cognitive deficits. These cognitive deficits have frequently been posited as coming *from* a lack of literacy (Farrell, 1983), or alternately have been said to lead *to* the inability to write essays, or other argument-based forms of writing (Lunsford, 1979). The first claim rests on the assumption that writing uniquely facilitates abstract thinking for a number of reasons. These reasons include the following assertions: that writing allows for reflection on the physical text in front of the writer; that writing creates distance between the creator and the product in a way that speaking does not; and that writing requires a hierarchical structure of overall organization whereas speaking requires (or tends towards, depending on the theorist, see below) additive structure, where each thought simply follows the last.

Some of these assertions are useful, while others have been challenged empirically and conceptually, as we will see later in this section. The observation that writing creates a physical distance between a person and his or her thoughts is indeed useful, and we will see this observation as we examine students' reports of their experiences. However, the argument that writing uniquely creates a space for reflection is a highly disputed claim, as we will see in the course of this literature review. Further, the practical implications of representing writing as a cognitively unique task, while relegating speaking to a secondary status, can be problematic since students and teachers may be better served by representations which regard both speaking and writing as reflections of students' academic abilities.

Applying the Theory to College Writing: Proponents and Critics

Proponents of the "great divide" theory of speaking and writing, have claimed that writing tasks require certain cognitive skills that speaking tasks do not. Based upon this claim, some have also theorized that writing problems among college students stem from the fact that students coming from an oral culture cannot meet the cognitive demands of writing. Some professors have applied these theories to basic writers and made quite sweeping conclusions based upon the claims of the orality-literacy debates. The term "orality-literacy debates" is a term used to refer to the debates over whether literate expression is inherently more cognitively sophisticated than oral. Thomas Farrell (1983) is one such professor who was influenced by these debates. His valuation of writing over speech was clear in his 1983 article, "IQ and Standard English." In this article, Farrell made the following argument.

Literate thinking is abstract thinking, the kind of thinking used in both deductive and inferential reasoning, the kind of thinking measured by various non-verbal tests of mental ability...Literate thinking is propositional, oral thinking...appositional. (Farrell, 1983, p.477).

This statement links linguistic difference with cognitive results and sets up written standard English as the form of language to be most highly valued in the composition classroom. It also sets up propositional – argumentative and centrally organized – expression as more difficult and sophisticated than appositional – additive and sequentially linked – expression. Whether this is in fact true may be open to debate in the lived experience of speaking and writing. I considered it an open issue when I examined interview data about students’ experiences of academic speaking and writing. For some students, of course, speaking is more challenging than writing, and this may be related to the unique challenges of appositional thinking.

The types of claims made by some writing professors like Farrell, which claimed that certain abstract thinking skills were inextricably linked with writing, stemmed from a tradition of literacy-orality debates in which linguists and anthropologists made claims that literacy brings along with it higher levels of abstraction. Thus, these theorists argued, those persons who were “unable” to write must have lower levels of cognitive development.

The social anthropologist Jack Goody was one of the most influential scholars in the orality-literacy debates. Goody argued that literacy has had important cognitive

consequences for societies and individuals. Goody (1963) would not go so far as to say that cultures that lacked the written word were prelogical, but he would characterize those cultures as non-literate, which in his theoretical world was harsh criticism indeed. Goody (1963) made the argument that writing has many inherent consequences.

Writing makes the relationship between a word and its referent more general and abstract; it is less closely connected with the peculiarities of time and place than is the language of oral communication. Writing is ‘closely connected to’, ‘fosters’, or even ‘enforces’ the development of ‘logic’, the distinction of myth from history, the elaboration of bureaucracy, the shift from ‘little communities’ to complex cultures, etc. (Goody, 1963, p.5).

Many other articles and books have argued, along with Goody, that writing has an inevitable and qualitative impact on society. Many of these theorists published in the 1960s and 70s, which was the same time as the basic writing movement was emerging in its contemporary form. The basic writing movement emerged at this time due to the opening of college doors to more students, some of whom were deemed in need of remediation in conventional college writing.

As shown above, Goody, like many in this tradition, argued that the written word leads to abstract thinking, because it is distanced from the particularities of the time and place of its creation. Other traditionalists – meaning here those who support the traditional assumption that writing is cognitively superior to speaking - have asserted that “literate”(meaning, in their argument, print literate) societies are

characterized by such things as greater accuracy, more linear narration as opposed to repetition in cycles, and greater reflection on the texts that are produced. (Goody, 1963).

Critiques of the Application of the Orality-Literacy Debates to College Students

Mike Rose, a compositionist and activist who has argued that representations of students who were deemed remedial should be looked at with critical eyes, critically examined (1988) the orality-literacy debates. He argued that it was important to discuss the disciplines and sources of the orality-literacy theorists so that one could consider the types of evidence that these theorists based their claims upon. Rose noted that the most influential theorists in the orality-literacy debates were from fields which were far removed from the college classroom. For example, Eric Havelock, another famous literacy-orality scholar, based his work and contentions on the study of ancient Greek society and the impact its alphabetic society had on its development. Walter Ong's work, while considered more appealing to some compositionists, was also based on humanities research as opposed to research in the college classroom. Finally, Rose pointed out that the cross-cultural research which was often cited in the orality-literacy debates was often dated and was, at the very least, not automatically applicable to contemporary college students.

Rose summarized the types of claims made in the orality-literacy debates and the ramifications predicted by what he labeled the strong, or causal, version of the theory.

The strong version states that the acquisition of literacy brings with it not only changes in linguistic possibilities – e.g., subordinate and discursive rather than additive and repetitive styles, less reliance on epithets and maxims and other easily remembered expressions – but necessarily results in a wide variety of changes in thinking: only after the advent of literacy do humans possess the ability to engage in abstraction, generalization, systematic thinking, defining, logos rather than mythos, puzzlement over words as words, speculation on the features of language. (Rose, 1988, p. 292).

Rose went on to note that not all great divide theorists favored the strong version of the argument. However, even those who argued for the weak version still held that literacy plays some role in building up knowledge in a society, shaping inquiry, and other processes, but does not necessarily “cause” cognitive or societal development. Rose took issue with both versions, and his arguments are summarized in the next section of this dissertation.

However, there were some compositionists who, either because of their personal teaching experience, or perhaps because of the influence of the orality-literacy debates, argued that problems with writing may have stemmed largely from the cognitive deficits of the students. They tended to argue using a stage theory of one sort or another, seemingly for the hopeful pedagogical implications that stage theory can seem to offer. Stage theories, in this context, were used to argue that students may

have currently been at a cognitive stage which did not allow them the complexity of thought to write competently, but still stressed that the student could indeed move to higher stages of cognitive development through training and often through writing. Nonetheless, for all the possibility for movement up the stages which is implied, the arguments of these compositionists were firmly tied to the idea that literacy did indeed differ from orality in terms of the cognitive demands it necessarily made.

The 1979 article “Cognitive Development and the Basic Writer” by Andrea Lunsford, a well-known compositionist, is a good exemplar of this point of view. While Lunsford stressed her devotion to supporting her students’ ongoing development, her arguments about cognitive development and literacy were nevertheless reflective of a view that poor writers are currently poor thinkers. This view was likely representative of what some practitioners concluded after working with students who had problems with analytic writing. For students, the fact that their audience – the professor who read their papers – may have drawn immediate conclusions about their mental abilities based upon their writing performance could have been impactful indeed. Further, if a reader held the belief that poor writing indicated poor thinking ability, then that reader may have become a less open audience after reading one poor paper.

Lunsford used developmental psychologist Janet Emig’s (1977) assertion that writing was a unique cognitive activity. Emig argued that writing led to analytic thinking because it combined all the “tenses” of our experiences as a starting point to her argument. Emig had argued that writing allowed one to break experience into

parts -- past, present and future -- and then to synthesize the experiences into one document and argument.

Lunsford endorsed the argument that writing makes special cognitive demands on students. She stated that from her study of basic writers she had concluded that “basic writers – [with] their strategies, processes and products – ... have not attained that level of cognitive development which would allow them to form abstractions and conceptions” (Lunsford, 1979, p.38). By this, she meant that students did not seem to be able to work on a “meta” level, that is, to be aware of their own processes and to apply them in other similar situations.

Lunsford, along with many other college professors who taught basic writing, cited stage theories to back up her claims that students may be developmentally unready to write at a college level. She cited Vygotsky’s stages of thinking – syncretic thinking; thinking in complexes; and true-concept formation. She explained that syncretic thinkers cannot form concepts. That is, syncretic thinkers, in Vygotsky’s system, cannot generalize and abstract from one situation to another. The next stage – thinking in complexes – is the beginning of being able to form concepts, and this was where Lunsford theorized that many of her basic writing students may have been. The true-concept stage is when the individual can think abstractly and make extensions and applications of an idea .

Further, Lunsford cited Vygotsky’s definitions of spontaneous and scientific concepts, with spontaneous concepts coming directly from experience and scientific concepts coming mainly from instruction. She argued that students who could do a

task once, but not generalize the skills and ideas to other contexts, were not making the step from spontaneous concepts to scientific concepts.

Finally, Lunsford and many other compositionists have used Piaget's stages in their understanding of basic writers. They have particularly made use of the Piagetian concept that the acquisition of the skill of "decentering" is a fairly late stage in cognitive development. Piagetian theory argued that children moved through four stages of development: sensori-motor (taking in new information through the senses and cognitively accommodating that information); pre-operational (cognitively processing the sensory information but not abstracting to other situations); concrete operations (characterized by logical, if still concrete, skills); and formal-operations, in which the individual is able to think abstractly and generalize ideas. Lunsford noted that this final stage brings with it the abilities to "abstract, synthesize, and form coherent logical relationships" (Lunsford, 1979, p. 39). Piaget argued that as a child moves through these stages, he or she learns to decenter. Lunsford stressed the relevance of decentering to writing by citing Lee Odell's description of the decentering process.

[Decentering is] getting outside one's own frame of reference, understanding the thoughts, values, feelings of another person; ...projecting oneself into unfamiliar circumstances, whether factual or hypothetical, ...learning to understand why one reacts as he does to experience (as cited in Lunsford, 1979, p. 39).

It is precisely this skill of decentering that theorists have argued is necessary in order to write abstractly and to make arguments that will make sense to any reader,

as opposed to the skills needed to communicate through speech with an audience that is often personal, immediately responding, and present. Thus theorists including Lunsford have argued that the difficulties some students experience with writing are directly related to the lack of the proper level of cognitive development which would enable one to use the skill of decentering.

Rose, among others, critiqued Lunsford's use of stage theories and her focus on decentering. Rose presented two main critiques in this area, even beyond his technical critiques of Piagetian testing and categories which he describes in detail, and the idea of applying Piagetian categories of child development, to college-aged populations. His first major critique was that those who categorize students as part of an "oral culture" who are therefore unable to do the decentering which is practiced and necessary in writing essays, are missing the complexity of the students' language usage backgrounds. Rose summed up his critique in the following way.

What is most troubling on this score is the way the orality-literacy construct is sometimes used to represent language use in the urban ghetto. What emerges is a stereotypic characterization of linguistic homogeneity – all the residents learn from the sermon but not the newspaper; they run the dozens but are ignorant of print. The literacy backgrounds of people who end up in remedial, developmental, or adult education class are more complex than that (Rose, 1988, p. 292-3).

Secondly, Rose critiqued the way theorists have looked for indicators of cognitive development – such as non-egotistical thinking, often known as the ability to decenter the material from the self – in writing, and thought that to be indicative of

the student's general cognitive competence. Rose made the point that students often have cognitive skills, including decentering, which show up in other forums, such as the code-switching which is often required of students who come from linguistic backgrounds which differ from the one they experience in college. This fundamental critique posed the question of whether problems with writing are really indicative of generalized cognitive lacks. Rose summarized this argument in the following way.

Certainly, people with poor educations will have a great deal of trouble doing such things [like decentering] in writing, but one must be very cautious about leaping from stunted and limited texts to inferences about deficits in social cognition or linguistic flexibility (Rose, 1988, p. 293).

Rose further pointed out that linguists have often noted that many minority speakers who may have writing difficulties are acutely aware of context and code switch to different registers accordingly. This is just one example for Rose of the fact that cognitive abilities which students may display in daily life or in various writing styles may not be accessible to students in certain academic writing genres such as essay writing. Rose finally argued that a more useful research and practice focus would be on building skills in order to facilitate better writing or on studying the factors in the context which may exclude certain students from excelling, but he would not make cognitive judgments based simply upon a student's ability or inability to write well (Rose, 1988).

Empirical Research Critiquing the Great Divide Theory

It is essential in supporting the need for psychosocial research on speaking and writing, such as the research carried out in this dissertation, to present empirical

arguments which deflate some of the more extreme claims of the reductive cognitive approach to literacy. This approach has held that writing and literacy are inherently more cognitively sophisticated than speaking. Further, the cognitive approach has implied that literacy issues should ultimately be considered issues relating to stages of cognitive development or cognitive deficits of one sort or another. In putting forth the argument that psychosocial factors may account for some of the problems and successes that students may have with either speaking or writing, I needed to show the weaknesses of the purely cognitive approach. The research in the next section explains some of the empirical studies which point out such weaknesses.

There have been many critiques made of the great divide theory, which holds a binary approach to speaking and writing, with writing seen as superior in its demands and consequences. Critiques have been made both of the particular arguments made in the theory and in the application of the theory to composition studies. Within the disciplines of social science, quite a few researchers have critiqued the way oral and literate societies were split into binary categories. Using the language and methods of their particular social scientific disciplines, several social scientists who conducted research in the 1980s critiqued the theory that oral and literate practices belong in mutually exclusive, and often hierarchically arranged, categories.

Scribner and Cole, psychologists working in a sociocultural framework, (1981) found that among the Vai society, for example, it was possible to separate literacy skill from education experience in general. These two variables usually have been conflated. In their research, they demonstrated that in the Vai society there was

no link between logical thought processes and the presence of written discourse in and of itself. Rather, logical thought processes were associated with education, whether or not literacy was part of that education process.

In a related vein of taking apart frequently conflated concepts, linguists Scollon and Scollon (1984) found that oral traditions can differ greatly from each other. Therefore, Scollon and Scollon argued that it is the particular characteristics of the written or oral communication of a culture which might have certain consequences for thought and logic and not the oral or written mode per se. Providing another example, sociolinguist Gumpres argued (as cited in Tannen, 1982) that oral and written forms can each function as either metacommunication – which relies on context to be fully understood – or as content-based communication – which explicitly explains the content, depending on the relationship the particular language usage establishes between the speaker and the audience. In this way, Gumpres underscored the notion that both writing and speaking can be used in ways which require a variety of cognitive skills.

Scribner and Cole conducted cross-cultural research to investigate the question of whether a certain practice (here, use of written language versus spoken language) had the same consequences cross-culturally. Scribner and Cole felt that the Vai society provided a perfect test case in that they have three literacies. The Vai have a written script transmitted outside of school, English, and Arabic. Therefore, this study was able to compare people who possess print literacy without schooling, spoken language without print literacy, and print literacy with schooling. They found that literacy without schooling did not promote the sort of cognitive benefits that

came with literacy with schooling. In other words, the benefits seemed to be coming from the schooling and not the mere fact of literacy.

Implications of the Orality-Literacy Debates for How Students Are Received

As we saw earlier, while some compositionists have readily applied the orality-literacy debates to college basic writers, others have critiqued the attempt to apply the orality-literacy theory to college composition. (Rose, 1988, p. 287). Rose, one such critic, sums up the weighty claims that are made when one applies these theories to college students.

Late twentieth-century American inner-city adolescents and adults are thought to bear cognitive resemblance to (ethnocentric notions of) primitive tribesmen in remote third-world cultures (or those adolescents and adults think like children, and children think like primitives): they don't practice analytic thinking; they are embedded in the context of their lives and cannot analyze it; they see things only as wholes; they think that printed words are concrete things; they cannot think abstractly. (Rose, 1988, p. 287).

What Rose asserted here - that the reductive cognitive approach to literacy, which erroneously applied linguistic, sociological and developmental theories to college-age students, dehumanized and distorted the abilities of college students who had challenges mastering certain genres of academic writing – is essential to understanding the impact that the cognitive approach to literacy may have had on the readings which students' writing receive. In other words, audiences, particularly

teachers but also peers and students themselves who have writing problems, may have been influenced by the cognitive approach to literacy, which in turn impacts upon the experience of student writers. As we move to the social approaches to speaking and writing, which see academic expression – literacy in particular – less as essential measures of student ability, we will consider how these approaches might differently impact audience reception of student writing.

Moving from the Cognitive Approach to Various Social Approaches to Literacy Practices

As this review moves towards the social perspectives on speaking and writing, I will describe approaches that show the context-bound explanations for the perceived split between the natures of speaking and writing. Because this dissertation research focused on the psychosocial experience of academic speaking and writing, it was essential for me to present the arguments for conceptualizing speaking and writing as social practices. I argue that we must understand that speaking and writing are indeed social practices, because of the implications this has for how we understand speaking and writing. We can see that the difficulty and cognitive demands of academic expression are often defined by the context of the task and not by the mode of expression. We can also see the ways which speaking and writing are often valued and evaluated based upon standards which are biased by historical and social prejudices. We can further notice that these standards are located in a history of language use. Additionally, we can see that speaking and writing are personally and psychologically impactful experiences.

Once we bring all of these approaches – contextual, historical, political, and clinical - to speaking and writing, then we can then argue for the need for psychosocial research on speaking and writing as essential for understanding the phenomena and for designing more effective strategies for improvement in these skills.

Context-Sensitive Approaches to Speaking and Writing: Research from Linguistics

In the next section, linguistic theories of what differentiates speaking from writing are reviewed. These theorists are presented as a transitional set of thinkers who moved from seeing speaking and writing as “often” different from one another to seeing speaking and writing as styles on a continuum, instead of in binary categories. These context-sensitive approaches are shown to shift the conceptualization of speaking and writing into a more social, and less cognitive, frame of reference. These linguists argued that the total context of the speaking or writing task determined the nature and consequences of the communication, rather than the mode itself.

This shift to a more context-sensitive approach will set the stage for later sections of the literature review which will review the more explicitly social approaches which emphasize political and historical frameworks to understanding literacy issues.

After these social frameworks are reviewed, we will review the Bakhtinian theorists who described the way that the individual engages the social tool of language and becomes part of the history of language usage as he or she engages

language in the context of past and future acts of language use, often referred to as utterances. Finally, the psychological perspectives on communication, which I call the clinical approaches to speaking and writing, which focus on speaking and writing as communication which has implications for the self and for relationships, will be brought to bear to address the personal and emotional experience of engaging in speaking and writing. These social perspectives will inform each other and act as supplements to each other, as will be discussed. To begin, we will explore the contribution of linguists in moving towards a context-sensitive approach to speaking and writing.

“Typical” Writing and Speaking

Linguistic studies of the differences between speaking and writing identified features that are *often* different in speaking and writing, but did not ascribe these differences to the inherent qualities of each mode. In other words, researchers in this field found a way to describe variations that are often experienced in the two modes, but at the same time they remained open to times when those features may not differ across speaking and writing. We will first review the findings that linguistic studies identified when defining “typical” speaking and writing.

Perhaps the most commonly noted difference, in linguistic studies, between the modes is that written communications tend to be shorter than spoken communications. Another typical difference, found by Dreimer in 1962 (as cited in Chafe, 1982) is that written texts tend to contain longer words. Thirdly, linguists found that written texts tend to have fewer references to the author/speaker of the text

and that written texts contain greater abstraction (Devito 1966, 1967, as cited in Chafe, 1982). Finally, many linguists have found that written texts tend to contain more subordinate clauses than do spoken communications (Harrel, 1957, as cited in Chafe, 1982). All of the research mentioned has been critiqued to varying extents within the discipline, as we will see later in this section.

Wallace Chafe, a well-known linguist, stressed two points which he found to be most notable about the differences between spoken and written communications (Chafe, 1982). These observations stem from individual level data, and thus tap into some aspects of the “lived experience” of speaking and writing. They are included here for the insights they may provide into the lived experience of speaking and writing. Chafe noted that speaking is faster than writing, though slower than reading. Secondly, he noted that speakers interact with the audience directly, while writers for the most part do not (Chafe, 1982, p.36). This difference clearly has the potential to create a different psychological and social experience in speaking than in writing, and I will discuss some of the issues that emerge from direct connection with audience in the analysis of the dissertation data.

Chafe backed up his claims by citing findings on the nature of language production in various modes. Specifically, he noted that handwriting had been found to be approximately one-tenth of the speed of speaking, and typing from an existent text is about one-third of the speed of speaking (Chafe, 1982, p.36). Reading is a little faster than speaking and listening, in terms of how many words can be processed per minute. These findings have relevance to how students may experience writing since it is a slowed down process, in comparison to the speed of speaking. A slower process

can feel very different, and students need to be prepared for that fact. Additionally, inexperienced writers may experience an even more pronounced slow-down effect, which teachers may need to take into consideration. As we will see in the interview data, many students identified timed, in-class writing experiences as their worst experiences with writing. This issue of writing being a slow process – which linguists suggest is a universal experience – may need to be taken into consideration by teachers in such a way that the slowness of the process is not overly penalized.

Chafe synthesized his findings on the speed of writing, speaking, listening, and reading by noting that in the case of writing there is a lag between the rate of thought we are accustomed to in speaking, and the rate at which a writer is able to produce sentences. In this way, writing cannot keep up with the rate of the thought process and many ideas go through the mind while writing down one idea. In this way, writing affords the opportunity to integrate many thoughts into a “single linguistic whole” (Chafe, 1982, p.37). If this feature of typical writing is presented to students as potentially beneficial, as Chafe has framed it, perhaps students would be more willing to tolerate any frustrations the slow pace of the writing process brings.

In speaking, on the other hand, Chafe argued, people tend to produce “one idea unit at a time” (Chafe, 1982, p.37) and listeners must attempt to take in the language at the same rate as the speaker, if they are to keep up with the stream of language. Readers, however, take in ideas quickly, as “the abnormal quickness of reading fits together with the abnormal slowness of writing to foster a kind of language in which ideas are combined to form more complex idea units and sentences” (Chafe, 1982, p.37).

Overall, Chafe argued, writing tends to be integrated, as opposed to the fractured nature of spoken language. What is interesting about the linguistic approach to delineating the differences between a “typical” experience of speaking and a “typical” experience of writing is that speaking is not pathologized as being a lesser skill than writing, even as some differences in the common lived experience of each are uncovered. In terms of how research impacts the way students’ writing and speaking may be received in school, the research presented by linguists does not carry the same pejorative, deficit-oriented tone which is often implied in the research carried out by the great divide theorists.

Chafe went on to point out that speakers interact with audiences and he supported this assertion by the simple observation that many speaking situations involve face-to-face contact between speaker and listener(s). Given that the speaker and audience are often the same physical place, this often connotes a shared knowledge of the background environment, as well (Chafe, 1982, p.45). Additionally, Chafe pointed out that speakers can see the impact their language is having on the audience and can adjust it accordingly. Listeners can ask for clarification as it is needed. Chafe argued that speakers, because of the immediate presence of their ‘audience’, may feel motivated to make their language compelling, often drawing upon narrative and personal experience to add interest. Writers, on the other hand, Chafe argued, tend to be more concerned with the consistency of their argument and the ability of the argument to span different audiences over time and place. Chafe used the word detachment to describe the relationship he pictures between the writer and his/her audience.

Unlike many of the cognitive theorists we reviewed earlier in this chapter, Chafe was aware that not all the characteristics he ascribed to speaking or to writing are necessarily a function of the two different modes. For instance, Chafe noted that features of formality and informality also come into play and can be just as influential on the content of a text as is the question of whether the text is written or spoken. In this way, Chafe was moving away from any notion of there being a great divide between speaking and writing and suggesting that the two are each shaped by the immediate task and context of the expression.

Davis and Taft (1984), linguists who also attended to the experience of the individual, pointed out one particular quality of written communication. “The writer can maintain his autonomy by avoiding the moment to moment adjustments which are imperative if both parties to the communication are present” (Davis & Taft, 1984, p.225). They also argued that writing can offer, by its independent quality, a chance for “greater possibility of deviation from socially and syntactically defined models of propriety, but its relative permanence makes it difficult to deny, disown or retract” (Davis & Taft, 1982, p.225). They argued that with writing there is more time to plan and control the content and style, but at the same time writing can disguise the personal cost of producing the particular communication (Davis & Taft, 1982, p.225).

In the analysis of student experiences of speaking and writing, we will see many instances of students’ experiencing both the immediate anxiety of speaking and the somewhat more delayed anxiety of writing. Speaking can be anxiety provoking because speech cannot be easily taken back and is expected to fit into the norms of the group. Writing, while often created in privacy and often judged by personal

standards, also is ultimately received by an outside audience whose reactions turned out to often be surprising to students, sometimes in upsetting ways.

A Qualified Privileging of Writing

Linguist Douglas Biber was in some ways as traditional as the cognitive theorists who forwarded the great divide theory which argued for writing's cognitive superiority over speaking. Yet Biber also has made arguments which qualify his privileging of writing quite substantially. He introduced his book *Variation Across Speech and Writing* (1988) with a statement that is classically representative of the traditionalist school of thought:

Prior to literacy and a permanent record of beliefs and knowledge, a society can alter its beliefs and not be faced with the possibility of a contradiction; competing ideas which evolve slowly over generations will be accepted as equally factual when there is no contradictory record of earlier ideas. Written records, however, force us to acknowledge the contradictory ideas of earlier societies and thus to regard knowledge with a critical and somewhat skeptical attitude (Biber, 1988, p.3).

The above statement makes great leaps of logic based on unstated assumptions. For instance, it is not necessarily the case that oral societies had "no record" of earlier ideas and thus no reason they would be more relativistic than print literate societies. Biber (1988) also repeated the often-made assertion that written texts allow greater analysis and logical dissection simply because the text is laid out in a fixed, print state (p.3). Further, Biber (1988) wrote that "[l]iteracy enables

language itself to be the object of inquiry” (p.4). Arguably, print literacy actually causes a society to make *written text* the object of inquiry and makes language appear to be a transparent tool, as language per se is represented in spoken language and yet is not taken as the object of inquiry in that context. In other words, making literacy an obsession may end up being a distraction from the more general skill of thinking and communication.

As a linguist, Biber had a complex take on the history of investigation of the differences between speaking and writing within his discipline. He wrote the following, which greatly qualified, even undermined, his own argument that writing and speaking are distinct in terms of their linguistic qualities.

[The] general view is that written language is structurally elaborated, complex, formal, and abstract, while spoken language is concrete, context-dependent, and structurally simple. *Some studies, though, have found almost no linguistic differences between speech and writing, while others actually claim that speech is more elaborated and complex than writing* [italics added for emphasis] (Biber, 1988, p.5).

Further, Biber noted that while many academics have often regarded written text as the highest form of language use, linguists have often carried the bias in the other direction. Biber notes that linguists have reported again and again that writing is only a rough estimate of speech, which is the preferred mode of language use (Sapir, 1921; Bloomfield, 1933; Hall, 1964; Fillimore, 1981; Aronoff, 1985, as cited in Biber 1988, p. 6). Sentiments such as this one exemplify the view that “writing ... [is] a crude way of representing linguistic structure rather than a sign system with a

direct relation to the world” (Postal, 1966, p.153, as cited in Biber, 1988, p.6). Biber (1988) came to the conclusion that little structural comparison between speaking and writing has actually been done, possibly because many in the social sciences (and humanities such as English literature) have assumed the primary position of writing and many in the linguistic field have assumed the primacy of spoken language (Biber, 1988, p.6).

Biber noted, importantly for this review because it addresses the devaluation of speaking in comparison to writing, that few outside of the field of linguistics, in modern Western society, have agreed that spoken language is primary. By way of support, he noted that dictionaries are expected to catalogue correct written forms; that children who are relatively conversant in English are often said to “not know English” if they are not print literate; and that written legal contracts tend to be taken seriously while spoken contracts are often not. In summary, Biber (1988) wrote that “although speech is claimed to have linguistic primacy, writing is given *social priority* [italics added] by most adults in Western cultures” (p.7). Biber attributed these observations largely to Stubbs’ 1980 work.

Biber (1988) went even further in qualifying the claim of any sort of primacy granted to speech by noting that in practice, much of linguistic research had focused on regularities in language (such as grammatical rules) which has been most often studied in written forms of language (p.7). Biber came to the conclusion that writing and speech are complementary and neither need be considered primary (except in temporal terms, where speech obviously precedes writing, developmentally). He argued that the two forms are strategically used and have different functions in

various situations. Thus, Biber concluded that the two forms both need to be analyzed for their own particular characteristics.

Precursors to a Bakhtinian Approach

Part of Biber's approach was to acknowledge the particularities and context of any text, whether it is written or spoken. Biber argued that effective research on spoken and written language would have to consider various continua that both speaking and writing can be located on such as formal/informal, interactive/non-interactive, literary/colloquial, and restricted/elaborated (Biber, 1988, p.9). He summarized his position with the statement that "the relations among spoken and written texts are complex and associated with a variety of different situational, functional, and processing considerations" (Biber, 1988, p.25).

Biber also refined his notion of "typical" speech and writing. He discussed the idea of the *usefulness* (and not absolute, unchanging truth) of a concept of 'unmarked' (by this he means un-specified, and therefore "typical") speech and writing are. He noted that it has often been the case that because of both structural qualities of speaking and writing and the most frequent-case usage of speech and writing, some have claimed that face-to-face conversation and informational exposition writing are the two typical "cases" of speaking and writing, respectively (Biber, 1988, p.37). Descriptively, Biber noted that speech is stereotypically interactive, based on "shared space, time, and background knowledge" and based upon situationally-dependent references. Writing is the opposite stereotypically. As we will see, there is much in

the interview data that supports these “typical” notions of what speaking and writing are like, though not all the data supports these notions.

Biber summarized the body of research which has been conducted on the differences between speech and writing, while still acknowledging the glaring weakness that many of the studies in this body of research have not included the context of the particular type of speaking or writing as a variable in the study. Biber (1988) noted that many points have been debated but the most often-agreed upon point is that “writing is more complex, elaborate, and explicit than speech” (p.48). Biber and others have attributed this to the fact that writing tends to not have strict time constraints such as speaking usually does and that writers must establish cohesion exclusively, and so adequately, through the text itself.

Interestingly, since it has been often-debated (Tannen, 1982a, 1985; Rader 1982; and Prince, 1981; as cited in Biber, 1998, p.48), Biber made the following statement on the role of context in written and spoken text production.

[C]onversation is contextualized in that it refers directly to the physical speech situation and participants; but academic prose is contextualized in that it crucially depends on shared (academic) background knowledge for understanding. (Biber, 1998, p.48).

This statement is an exemplar of how the empirical linguistic approach has often led linguists to put both speaking and writing into context, which is helpful to this dissertation’s argument that neither speaking nor writing can be conceptualized outside of an understanding of the various contexts in which they occur.

In a general critique of previous research and its lack of consistent findings, despite both quantitative and “qualitative” (thematic) work cited by Biber, he noted three design critiques which he cautioned other researchers to keep in mind when trying to generalize differences between speech and writing. Biber (1998) asserted that the researcher must not give undue weight to 1) any one text or small sample of texts, 2) any one genre, or 3) any particular linguistic features (p.53). These three critiques derived from a traditional research paradigm which aims for external validity and generalizability. However, these points do seem useful even to research outside of the traditional research paradigm, because they point out the need to not rely on preexisting categories of linguistic features.

However, it may be pointed out that these critiques are focused on the purpose of “isolating” speech and writing from their confounding contexts, something which might not be the purpose – or considered possible – for all researchers. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the role of any confounding contexts of speech and writing – even if only to clarify that this is not the goal or in the scope of the particular study and why not – in a study of any research orientation. Moving to a larger definition of context in the next section, I will review some of the most relevant research within the important body of literature which describes the political and historical factors which have impacted which students, and which modes of expression, get a hearing in academic settings.

Historical and Political Approaches: Redefining Literacy Through Social

Context

Some literacy researchers have disputed the assumption that writing is associated with higher forms of thinking than those associated with speaking. Critical literacy theorist Brian Street has contrasted (1984), for instance, the autonomous model of literacy, as seen in the formulation of writing as inherently more abstract than speaking, with what he labels the ideological model.

In Street's 1984 formulation of the two models, the proponents of the autonomous model, who have argued that literacy has had an essential role in promoting intellectual development, are shown to be willfully denying the claims of the ideological model which has argued that literacy has merely provided a politically-created advantage in society. In other words, the proponents of the ideological model have argued that literacy and its consequences were always already embedded in social and ideological structures. For example, if society had decided that literacy was a precursor for being hired for high paying jobs, then acquiring literacy will result in an individual being more likely to acquire a high-paying job, by definition. Thus, any uses and consequences of literacy are socially specific and thus open to change as social changes occur. In contrast, the autonomous model assumed that the independent benefits of literacy, due to its underlying qualities, are individual progress and various markers of social progress, such as democracy, equality, liberty, and social mobility (Street, 1984, p.2). Street has made the argument that these claims are inflated and suspect.

Street further supported his ideological conception of literacy by making several points about the self-referential process through which literacy has been judged to be a tool that carries with it cognitive benefits. For instance, Street argued

that the claim that literacy is necessary for success in logical endeavors is not a fair claim because the means of assessing logical thinking – standardized tests – are themselves premised on the literacy level of the student (Street, 1984, p.4).

In this vein, he made a related point: that those who define what literacy is – for instance, those in positions of power in academic institutions – base their standards on their own social settings and what is acceptable within those settings (Street, 1984, p.4). For example, those who decide what a sentence must “naturally” possess are often basing this claim on their own very specific social context (Street, 1984, p.4). Finally, Street argued that literate and oral practices are not binary categories but rather categories that borrow many characteristics from the other. In other words, “oral conventions often apply to literate forms and literate conventions may be applied to oral forms” (Street, 1984, p.4). In this point, Street had made a similar argument to the one Biber and others have made, by noticing that speaking and writing may exist on more a continuum of oral and written styles than in two inherently and completely separate categories.

Creation of a Stratified Literacy in the US Classroom

To give context to the conceptualization of speaking and writing in the contemporary college setting, which will be the setting of this research, I will briefly discuss the early roots of the U.S. contemporary conceptualization of school literacy as dichotomized into literate writing and non-literate speech. Sociolinguist John Gumpres and historian Deborah Keller-Cohen have written about the status of spoken and written language in early U.S. history. Keller-Cohen noted that in colonial times

speech was seen as primary, in that “the rhetoric of spoken language provided the dominant metaphors for all self-expression” (Fleishman, 1990, as cited in Gumprez & Keller-Cohen, 1993). However, as the printed word became more and more dominant world-wide (Eisenstein, 1979, as cited in Gumprez & Keller-Cohen, 1993), writing became the more institutionalized form of language use, and talk was seen as interactive and non-permanent.

Despite the devaluation of spoken language, some theorists (Hewitt and Inghilleri, 1993; Michaels, 1993; Cook-Gumprez, 1981, 1993, 1993a) have argued that expectations based upon spoken language still shape expectations for formal writing. While some have denied the impact which writing and speaking have on each other, others such as Shirley Brice Heath (1981) have argued that the focus on writing as distinct from the use of language in speech is a relatively recent development, dating back only one hundred years or less. Gumprez and Keller-Cohen have pointed out that literacy has come to be defined by the ways in which writing differs from speech (Gumprez and Keller-Cohen, 1993). Gumprez and Keller-Cohen stated:

The outcome of this process was the creation of school literacy requirements in which control of the written standard became the approved evidence of a literate person. The rising power of schooling throughout this century, as a process of selecting talent, made school literacy the ultimate arbiter of educability” (Cook-Gumprez, 1986, as cited in Gumprez & Keller-Cohen, 1993).

Educational researchers have further argued that as writing became the standard, prescriptive guide to using language properly in school, speaking became increasingly judged by the standards of grammar one would use in writing (Kutz, 1997, p.3). The diverse dialects which tend to be accepted in spoken language were considered incorrect as they were compared to the standardized written form. Kutz argued the following.

Spoken language in schools is judged by standards of style, as well as correctness, that are carried over from written language. Writing is often intended to be read by distant audiences, and it tends therefore to be verbally explicit and elaborated, because it cannot assume much shared knowledge on the part of readers and cannot point to things in the writer's immediate context that a reader cannot see. These features, common to writing, have been incorporated into much middle-class speech, resulting in a literate-style of oral discourse in contrast to an "oral-style" that depends much more on implicitly understood, shared knowledge." (Kutz, 1997, p.182).

Further, even language models which are meant to be progressive, such as the whole language movement, do not in theory offer an alternative to the standard "school grammar", but simply delay the need for standard grammar and in fact never teach the grammar explicitly (Kutz, 1997, p. 3).

Research on classroom discourse has framed some of what we know about the way that speaking is valued in the classroom. One clear finding is that student speech is oftentimes valued most in very structured and controlled contexts. For instance,

discourse in elementary school classrooms have often been found to be organized in the following pattern: I-R-E, Initiation/Response/Evaluation (Kutz, 1997, p.168).

Many times teachers call on students in an effort to monitor behavior, and make sure students are paying attention. Educational researcher Courtney Cazden (1988) has called this the language of control, compared to the language of instruction, and noted in her empirical findings that since boys are perceived as more out of control (and may actually be more disruptive), they actually receive more opportunities to speak under the language of control than do girls (Kutz, 1997, p.168).

In contrast to the top-down style that characterizes much full-class discussion, researchers have found that small-group conversations tend to be conducted more often in the students' own language practices, especially if the group is homogeneous (Kutz, 1997, p.178).

An example of research done on the function of language-use in small –group settings is Linda Hirsch's work on college-level ESL students who clearly benefited from the opportunity to speak about course content in small-group settings. These students showed improvement in performance (i.e., grades and teacher evaluations) when they were given a chance to talk about subject matter in small-groups prior to writing about the content. Hirsch's 1986 study on the impact of small-groups on ESL students, after mainstreaming, showed the greater benefit of small-groups, as compared to large-group class discussion, for these particular students. Hirsch theorizes that the use of "expressive speech", James Britton's term for "language closest to natural speech" (1975), allowed for students to use the language most familiar to them in order to rehearse and understand course material without the

“public ‘transactional function’ (and demand for correctness) that speech in the large classroom takes on (Hirsch, 1986, p.3-4). Expressive speech is a form of speech not always welcomed into the classroom, and Britton “maintains that it is in expressive speech that we are likely to rehearse the growing points of our formation and analysis of experience.” (Hirsch, 1986, p.4).

Unfortunately, small-group work that allows for expressive speech is not the norm. Instead, the diversity of oral styles which come from various different cultural contexts have typically been forced into a standardized format (related to the rules of written text). Further, the styles that were labeled “non-standard” forms of speech have often been pathologized. Basil Bernstein’s 1973 research on verbal cues used by middle class and working class children in England, labeled working-class cues (which were more implicit and relied more on shared knowledge) “restricted” and middle-class verbal cues as “elaborated.” Clearly, the elaborated form of speech is preferred and was often associated with cognitive advances. In this case, “[r]estricted language was seen as a sign of restricted thought, and pedagogical interventions were designed to push children with linguistic deficits toward more explicit and fully elaborated spoken discourse.” (Kutz, 1997, p. 183). This frequently resulted in a standardized push for complete sentences, regardless of whether complete sentences were called for in a particular context.

In challenging the assumptions that have come along with the division of styles of speaking into oral styles and literate styles of talking, linguist Deborah Tannen has made the point that individuals from all cultures make shifts from using a more oral, or implicit, style in some contexts, and using literate styles in other

contexts. Thus, she argues that it is not as if some communities or persons lack a rich or elaborated language system, but rather that all groups possess these qualities in their language. It is not a question of deprivation she argues, but rather a question of whose literate styles and oral styles are deemed acceptable (Tannen, as cited in Kutz, 1997, p. 184).

Labov made a related point, which would be used by defenders of Ebonics. He showed through his research that “embedded evaluations (statements of meaning) in the oral narratives of black urban teenagers were syntactically more complex than the explicit evaluations of middle-class speakers” and further that the black teenagers showed a far greater range of styles (Labov, as cited in Kutz, 1997, p.184). Labov concluded from this that at the very least, the linguistic richness of Black English was equal to that of “standard” English. Further he noted that in fact that range of styles a speaker possessed might be the place where language users might differ the most. He summarized his findings by stating that “[t]he underlying linguistic competence of all speakers of all varieties of a language is the same, acquired, along with communicative competence, as they grow up with their primary discourse” (Labov, as cited in Kutz, 1997, p.184). Labov further made the point that the language practices of minority cultures are often not incorporated into the classroom, and thus the richness of those practices and the competency of the students who use those language practices, is not recognized. (Kutz, 1997, p.184).

1970s: Birth of Contemporary Composition Studies

As school literacy became more and more standardized, it “turned a prior diversity of literate practices into a stratified literacy” (Collins, 1991 as seen in Cook-Gumprez & Keller-Cohen, 1993). This stratified way of viewing literacy became problematic and relevant to more US citizens as the need for higher education became more important to succeeding in the US job market. Simultaneously, by the 1970s, there was greater support than in previous decades for those who wanted to see the US become a more egalitarian nation. At this point, those teaching writing at the college level were faced with a more diverse student population. This resulted in a rebirth of composition theory, particularly galvanized by the 1969 decision to have open admissions at CUNY and greater accessibility at various other public universities and colleges, including the University of California system.

Professors of composition theorized the meaning, as well as the requisite mechanics, of teaching writing at the college level to students who did not write in standard English at the level that was typically expected of a college student. Many composition teachers reflected on what literacy is and how they could serve their students within the institutional forces of the higher educational system they were a part of. In a sense, the entire project of teaching basic writing, which was the impetus for much of modern composition studies, is concerned with the issue of speaking and writing. This is the case because most basic writing students, given their lack of traditional writing skills, were certainly much more fluent and practiced in talking than in writing.

Mina Shaughnessy, a CUNY professor who experienced the beginning of Open Admissions and became a pioneer, and representative, of this era of

composition studies, indicated that she found a disparity between the skill levels in talking and writing among most of her basic writing students. Shaughnessy wrote in her now-classic book, *Errors and Expectations* (1977), that the problem most basic writers have is that while they have been talking every day of their life for many, many years, they have often been writing infrequently and in situations in which the writing context was contrived. She went on to say that a student who writes in a very stilted or limited fashion may be a “spirited, cogent speaker in class” (Shaughnessy, 1977, p.15). She attributed this in part to the fact that above any essential differences between speaking and writing, the school context for writing had created a situation where the “communicative purpose of writing has rarely if ever seemed real” (Shaughnessy, 1977, p.14).

Beyond the fact that a basic writer (i.e., a writer who has been defined as unprepared for college writing) could be a skillful language user when speaking was the task, Shaughnessy also went on to point out differences she saw between spoken and written language. She did this with the practice-focused goal of figuring out how to most effectively teach adults how to put their thoughts into the academic writing style. The differences she pointed out are descriptive not normative, in the sense that they were observations of her own and others’ experiences of writing and talking, rather than sweeping claims as that theorized that writing has a different and superior cognitive impact than speaking does. Shaughnessy’s comments did not provide an argument against the theory that writing creates abstract thought, but they also did not explicitly make such general claims.

Shaughnessy (1977) described the differences she saw between the modes of speaking and writing in this passage:

The spoken language, looping back and forth between speakers, offering chances for groping and backing up and even hiding, leaving room for the language of hands and faces, of pitch and pauses, is generous and inviting. Next to this rich orchestration, writing is but a line that moves haltingly across the page, exposing as it goes all the writer doesn't know, then passing into the hands of a stranger who reads it with a lawyer's eyes, searching for flaws. (p.7).

Shaughnessy went on to differentiate between writing and speaking by noting that fragmentary thought is natural in speaking, since the listener can always ask for clarification about the relationship between thoughts, but in writing, punctuation is created to make explicit where each thought ends and the next begins. Shaughnessy also made the point that speaking is characterized by thought at the moment of utterance, perhaps with each statement following the one before in a loose sort of association. Shaughnessy (1977) wrote: “[W]riting begins, in a sense, where speech leaves off – with organizing, expanding, and making more explicit the stuff of dialogue so that the thought that is generated in speech can be given full and independent form” (p.32).

Others within the composition movement have theorized the relationship between speaking and writing. Melanie Sperling (1996) noted that among those who research and teach writing there exist camps which think that speaking and writing

are skills which have little overlap, and in fact that writing in ways similar to speaking is detrimental to developing good writing skills; and camps which hold that speaking and writing are both communication skills and build upon each other. Sperling (1996) took issue with both camps and instead argued that speaking and writing both contain within them a multiplicity of styles, dialects and genres, only some of which are complementary with what is currently accepted as academic or school discourse. Sperling recommends that closer attention paid to both disciplinary demands and issues relating to cultural diversity can give us clearer insight into what languages practices are valued in formal school settings, and what students benefit by valuations, than will a debate over whether speaking and writing are similar or dissimilar practices.

Sperling noted that the social cognitive approach to literacy, as exemplified by Flower and Hayes (1981), looks at writing from a broader perspective than a purely cognitive perspective. The social cognitive approach to writing addresses some of the important issues of genre and audience related to written expression. The social cognitive approach cannot be covered in this review, since it is not centrally concerned with or an example of approaches to both speaking and writing, nor is it a student perspective on speaking and writing – the two main concerns of this review, but should be acknowledged as a context-sensitive approach to writing.

While most of the pedagogical contributions of the composition movement are not covered in this literature review – since the purpose in this literature review is to complement the cutting edge modes of teaching writing by bringing an embodied and full-voiced student perspective of the contextualized experience of speaking and

writing, rather than review those pedagogies – we will return to the some pieces of scholarship from the composition movement when we explore the Bakhtinian approaches some researchers have taken to academic expression. Before doing so, we continue with the politicized approaches to academic expression, in particular the role of making race an explicit consideration when discussing the valuation of academic discourse.

Debating ‘Standard’ English

Differing from Shaughnessy’s attempts to catalogue the distinct behaviors that may accompany the process of writing versus speaking in college classrooms without explicitly ranking one above the other, some compositionists such as Farrell, favored traditionalist ideas of the differences between speaking and writing. They argued that the cognitive effects of the two modes of expression were very different. Importantly, the tendency to cast writing as superior to speaking was often conflated with the tendency to cast non-standard English usage, in speech or writing, as inferior to Standard English. Some theorists claimed that non-standard usage shared much in common with the logic of oral language rather than written language. Thus, the proponents of such alternate forms of English, such as Black Vernacular English (also known as Ebonics), found themselves fighting those who demeaned oral language forms.

Geneva Smitherman, a critical sociolinguist who has argued (2000) that students have a right to their own language – in particular African Americans to Ebonics, if they desired – noted that the upsurge of the “linguistic-cognitive deficit

theory” (Smitherman, 2000, p.88) impacted the literacy studies field, as well as the linguistics field where it originated. Smitherman (2000) argued that in the “scholarship on literacy, a prevailing theme is the inadequacy of oral tradition cultures to perform abstract thinking and problem solving that require the written code” (p.88). Smitherman has argued that such claims reflect a larger bias in favor of Western culture. She cited linguist David Olson, whose stance on orality influenced many compositionists. Olson reflects this assumption of superiority of “literate” cultures when he stated, “speech makes us human and literacy makes us civilized” (as cited in Smitherman, 2000, p.88). Others, like Bernstein’s study of English students, have noted that social class, as well as race, may be associated with more “socially acceptable” forms of speech or writing.

Neither race nor class received a great deal of explicit discussion in early debates about literacy and orality, but some argued that these issues were just below the surface. A critique of some members of the early Composition Studies movement in general, and its embodiment in the 1970s CUNY Open Admissions period as a particular example, is that race was a central construct for the writers and theorists of that period, but often one that they did not openly and explicitly name and discuss. Critics have found this and other “inexplicit” handlings of race to be problematic because it often veils racial themes, and racial privilege, in vague language. While one cannot assume that a lack of explicit talk about race is always indicative of a problem, it is still important to be aware that at times inexplicit handling of race can veil ideological uses of race.

Catherine Prendergast has critiqued this aspect of the composition studies movement. She argued, in her 1998 article “Race: The Absent Presence in Composition Studies”, that some theorists have written in such a way that “race becomes subsumed into the powerful tropes of ‘basic writer’, ‘stranger’ to the academy, or the trope of the generalized, marginalized ‘other’.” (p.36). While Prendergast (1998) cited race as an “absent presence”, in the fact that it is actually the central focus, but is not explicitly noted, she calls racism the “absent absence” (p.36). In other words, she has argued that racism is completely omitted from many discussions of Basic Writing (Prendergast, 1998, p.36). She has seen this particularly in the discussions of racism as a rare exception to the rule in of much of the literature in this field. Prendergrast (2000) wrote the following.

Discussions of racism in composition are confined to determining how to handle individual, aberrant flare-ups in the classroom without exploring racism as institutionalized, normal, and pervasive. As Keith Gilyard has observed, race remains undertheorized, unproblematized, and underinvestigated in composition research leaving us with no means to confront the racialized atmosphere of the university and no way to account for the impact of the persistence of prejudice on writers and texts. (p.36).

Prendergast article (2000) went on to suggest that the use of critical race theory – which uses the perspective of the marginalized experiences and marginalized textual strategies to challenge ‘power evasive and race evasive discourses’, in Ruth Frankenberg’s phrase -- to interrogate potential racism in composition studies (as

cited in Prendergast, p. 37). The general fact that race and racism have not often been fully addressed within the context of composition studies, and that Black dialects have never been fully respected or integrated into the academic realm, makes one aware that many social factors come into play in the quest to make “good writers” of basic writers.

These social biases are also relevant in the ways speaking and writing have been valued as indicators of cognitive development. Thus, it is essential to be curious about the ways race and racial issues, as well as other social valuation issues including social class which is related to institution type (i.e. four-year college vs. community college), have impacted the ways that students feel about the reception of their spoken and written expressions. As we will see in the results chapters, students of different races in the study have reported very different experiences with teacher responses to their speaking and writing, indicating the strong possibility that race issues are still very relevant in impacting the experience of speaking and writing and their immediate social contexts.

Race, gender, and institution (four-year college vs. community-college, which may be seen as a proxy for relative social privilege) will be some of the central categories of analysis in the results chapters. Race and gender were particularly relevant in terms of whether a student is likely to associate positive or negative experiences with such immediate social context factors as teacher and peer response to academic expression. We will also see that race and gender function differently with speaking and writing. This is shown in the findings in which race and gender group differences – in the types of immediate social context factors students report,

such as teacher response in positive and negative writing and speaking experiences – vary more or less depending upon mode of expression. Institution type turns out to be strongly associated with certain types of recognition, as we will see in later chapters.

While social and political approaches which note the bias and institutional histories which have attended the valuation of writing over speaking and of certain students' styles of expression over others are essential to the argument of this dissertation, the next section adds another component which supports the need for a focus on the psychosocial aspects of speaking and writing. The Bakhtinian approaches to speaking and writing which will be described below have explored the question of how the individual speaker or writer engages with the social tool of language. This approach allows us to theorize about the moment-to-moment interactions in which the social and historical weight carried in language is lived out and impacted by individual speakers and writers.

Further, the Bakhtinian approach allows us to theorize a way to study the presence of larger social context factors in the immediate social context. In this dissertation, the immediate social context is a focus of attention, with precursors and responses, which frame all utterances, being the key elements this dissertation will explore, as will be specified in the methods sections. The internalization of these immediate social factors are argued, through theory and data, to lead to the experience of recognition, a concept which will be highlighted again when we reach the clinical approaches to speaking and writing. First, the Bakhtinian approaches will be discussed in relation to literacy practices.

Bakhtinian Approaches

In conceptualizing this study, I sought out a model of how in general, and across different modes and groups, academic expression might be described as a contextualized process. I wanted to model my assumption that academic expression is not an individual act, but rather how a fully a social act.

The theory which I found most compelling in designing my study and guiding my data coding was a model in which Bakhtin's theory of the social nature of utterances was incorporated. Bakhtin argued that every use of language - written or spoken - can be considered an utterance which is situated in the context of past and future uses of language, though each utterance is unique as it is created by a unique individual interacting with all the social uses of language.

Following Bakhtin's understanding of utterances as socially-situated, I chose to model speaking and writing as utterances which have a history –precursors, which are all forms of preceding utterances - and an audience – which are all subsequent utterances, including all varieties of responses. Both precursors and responses are considered to be impactful upon the speaking and writing act and the student's experience. Both precursors and response are essential in understanding speaking and writing as contextually located, but response is especially a focus of this dissertation.

If as Bakhtin (1986 translation) argued, “utterance is related not only to preceding but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communion” (p. 94), then understanding the prior utterances (i.e., precursors) and subsequent utterances (i.e. responses) that a student receives in relation to his or her academic expression is

very important to understanding that experience. Bakhtin (1986) argued that utterances are made by “taking into account possible responsive reactions, for whose sake, in essence, it [the utterance] is actually created” (p. 94). If audience, and addressivity are really this important, than finding a way to understand response, and compare responses across different situations – speaking vs. writing; positive vs. negative; and across demographic groups of students – is an important part of understanding speaking and writing as the social practices which many theorists argue that they are.

The Role of Genre in Bakhtinian Approaches

A central argument of this dissertation is that speaking and writing are not necessarily different in what they inherently demand on a cognitive level, but may be very different based upon the (potentially changing) immediate social factors which frame these acts, and the internalization of these factors. Thus, it can be challenging at times to bring clarity to the question of whether this dissertation is arguing that speaking and writing are very different experiences (as they are indeed often framed by different types of social contexts), or very similar (as they are both language practices, and forms of academic expression). The concept of genre has helped me address this, and I have connected the concept of genre with Bakhtinian approaches to literacy. Genre is a word which has been used a great deal recently and its dictionary definition (*type, sort, kind, genus, etc.*) is expanded by understanding the way it has been used by those who study language practices, and thus ways of writing and speaking.

Researchers who have used the concept of genre to study literacy have often stressed two specific uses of the term. First, many researchers, as we will see below in an analysis of Daiute's research (2002; 2001; 2000) on different ways of writing about social conflict, have used the concept of genre, if not always the term, to indicate that writing and speaking come in different "varieties", with genres of writing including for example autobiographies, essays, journal entries, or literature reviews, to name a few. Different genres may stimulate different outcomes for different groups of students. Secondly, researchers, including Daiute, have often used the concept of "task" or "assignment" to further specify the idea of genre. The concept of task or assignment has brought forward the idea that writing and speaking are created by "tasks" which are specific genres within the larger genres. For example a particular assignment may call forth a particular type of speaking or writing.

Many of these scholars, who have used the concepts of genre outlined above have been influenced by a Bakhtinian approach to discourse and language, in that these literacy researchers have often followed Mikhail Bakhtin's approach to genre and language. Bakhtin theorized that language is always part of a context, a process, a series of meaning-makings. In other words, Bakhtinian theories included the idea that genre indicates the context, the setting, the audience, the goal - any and all of the factors that set the stage and the parameters for subsequent language use - for a speaking and writing act, and thus genre may be said to both create and constrain meaning.

In the case of language use as studied in this dissertation, genre has been helpful in understanding why the speaking/writing distinction is not the only one that

shapes language use. In other words, the concept of genre has helped me to define the reasons that speaking and writing are not so different from each other, necessarily, and in fact may contain as much diversity within each one as between the two. Other continua aside from the speaking/writing continuum may be said to shape all language use. For example, any language context may be said to be framed by the following continua: the formality/informality spectrum; the emotional/informational spectrum; the public/private spectrum; etc. I have considered all of these spectrums to be examples of genres of speaking and writing. For instance, the informal chat is one genre of speaking and the conference speech is a very different genre of speaking. This theorizing has been helpful to me in arguing that both speaking and writing contain diverse tasks within them.

One important point that Bakhtin has made is that language users do not fully control the meaning of the words they produce or utter. Instead, the genre in which the “speech act” is carried out – including audience, setting, and other factors – contributes to the meaning that will be taken by listeners or readers. This idea of language use being constrained by aspects of the genre will be helpful when considering the affective experience of speaking and writing later in this paper, and how this aspect of the speaking and writing experience is directly shaped by contextual factors.

Finally, I have considered how the concept of genre can help me to acknowledge that speaking and writing may be experienced as very different, even if they may not be inherently different practices. Though both are language practices, if indeed genre is so powerful a force over language acts, then it can be argued that if

genre, in other words all of the contextual factors mentioned above including type of expression, type of task and type of audience framing, can be shown to vary in predictable ways for speaking and writing, then perhaps the lived experience of speaking and writing may tend to vary in predictable ways. The following section will explore further the ways that genre is a central force in constructing speaking and writing acts.

Task as Genre: Consequences for Student Literacy Outcomes

Colette Daiute, a psychologist specializing in literacy and narrative research, has lent empirical support to the suggestion that genre bears upon writing. One of the aspects of genre that Daiute has particularly highlighted is task. Task is particularly relevant to the understanding of speaking and writing that I am cultivating here, because it indicates the multifaceted demands of context and the way the context in which a language practice is *elicited* has bearing upon the type of language that is *produced*. An example of task is a writing prompt asking for one genre of writing or another. Daiute has shown (2002) in her research on children's writing that the same child will show very different "writing skills" or level of narrative development on different types of writing. Some children, she has shown, and in fact, some groups of children, will perform better on certain types of tasks and some will perform better on others, at given times, and in given social contexts.

In this, Daiute has drawn on Bakhtin's theory that some utterances - and she sets up various writing prompts as 'utterances', which she calls tasks - call forth one kind of responding utterance and some call up others. Her research has lent support,

then, to the theory that an individual expresses his or her ideas only in concert with available, or allowed, genres of response. Daiute has done empirical research which found that in asking students to represent social conflict in narratives, large within-group differences were found when comparing writing from different writing genres, such as fiction versus autobiography. If only one of these writing genres had been sampled, then a researcher, or teacher, might have concluded that students understood only a certain aspect of conflict resolution, whereas including both genres of writing showed that different parts of a child's writing abilities, or understanding, come out in different types of writing tasks. (Daiute et al., 2001).

Technology Creates New Genres

In concert with my concerns about genre, however, I do want to pay attention to the fact that people tend to experience speaking and writing as very different experiences. Further, when they think about themselves as speakers or writers, they may have very different thoughts or self-concepts. The fact that people tend to see these two modes of expression as very bifurcated realms is in part because the contexts in which speaking and writing often take place lead to different language practices. In other words, the fact that we tend to use speaking in situations calling for spontaneous communication whereas we tend to use writing for many formal purposes makes the forms themselves become associated with formality and informality. In fact, it is the contexts that are actually bringing out these qualities. The goal for me in the course of this dissertation is to constantly keep the concerns of genre – which cause me to argue that writing and speaking are not categorically

distinct – and the concerns of the lived experience – the fact that speaking and writing often are experienced and looked back on as very distinct indeed – in a balance.

Theorist Kathleen Welch has been helpful in maintaining that balance because her work stresses the new genres which are emerging. These new genres, such as email messages, may allow one to use writing for purposes – such as informal communication – that one had previously used primarily speaking for. In this way, Welch’s work has had the impact of both emphasizing genre and creating awareness of new genres which make use of language practices.

Welch used the theme of interpenetration in her 1999 book *Electric Rhetoric*. In this book, Welch took a critical look at the history of the orality-literacy debates. As the title suggests, she structured her critique primarily by considering the impact which the age of electronic media has had on language use and academic theories of language use. Welch considered not only literacy studies but also the field of rhetoric, which is field which theorizes the use of language by focusing on audience and often on spoken uses of language, making it in some ways a parallel field to that of composition/literacy studies and in some ways an overlapping field. The definition of literacy Welch offered in this book differs greatly from the traditional definition of literacy, which has often equated the word “literacy” with print literacy. Welch (1999) instead has described literacy as “an activity of minds/ bodies/ intersubjectivities that are conditioned within specific cultures/ideologies” (p.38). She has argued that all communicative cultures which have framed literacies – which in her definition include any communicative practices – contain oral/aural (aural refers

to that which is heard or that which pertains to hearing; while oral refers to that which is spoken or that which pertains to speaking) features of discourse, such as repetition, spoken ritual, and first language acquisition (Welch, 1999).

Further, Welch has pointed out that in most societies today, even those that may not rely directly on print literacy, speaking and writing are inherently intertwined at this point. She has argued that that speaking and writing are not contained in hermetically sealed containers, but rather are each “cultures” or styles with characteristics that may be used and applied in the course of various communicative practices.

She argued that at this point in time, there is no speaking without writing. In support of this, she gave the example of an individual who may be illiterate but yet is employing speech within a culture which is dependent upon the written word, in aspects ranging from the scripts read by newscasters on television to the print-dependency of the makers of most processed foods or products. In other words, all the aspects of writing which have been implicated and made necessary to daily functioning of our society are part of the context in which speech has been produced and to which speech refers.

Pointing out that communicative practices take place within not a single culture but within a hybrid of many cultures – spoken and written, Welch (1999) further refined her definition of literacy as any “activity of inherently verbal minds conditioned within and sometimes against specific cultures” (p.12). Welch further argued that the practices we call speaking and writing are in fact not “essentialized” – by which she means inherently fixed by their nature - activities but rather are only

various examples of the infinite ways that cultures can enable people to carry out communicative practices.

Welch has not been alone in her critique of a single and dominant view of standard literacy. Others have, like Welch, posed alternatives to the traditional model of a unitary, writing-only notion of standard literacy (New London Group, 1997). The New London Group, formed in 1997 and including such leading critical literacy theorists as James Gee, Mary Cope and Bill Kalantzis (Cope and Kalantzis are authors of the book *Multiliteracies*, published in 2000), focused on redefining literacy in the face of new technology and new concerns about diverse language practices.

The group issued a mission statement which called for a notion of multiliteracies, which are framed by eight different modes of expression. These eight ways of making meaning include, among others, the linguistic, the visual, the audio, the spatial and the multimodal. The group posited that “design” is a central concept for the new notion of multiliteracy in that it indicates that people, within community, use signs from any number of modes to design meaning. Design, as I understand it, functions as a concept which allows the group to argue that within a pedagogy of multiliteracy there is the need for instruction on past design – learning how the meaning system currently works, current design – learning how to use the meaning system to reach a student’s current goals, and re-design – learning how to re-create the meaning system.

The New London Group’s work (1997) on multiliteracies is relevant to this literature review in that it questions whether any one form of literacy, or meaning-making, can be deemed inherently more valuable than any other form. In this

literature review, I have questioned whether writing can be defined as inherently more cognitively demanding than speaking, and the New London Group goes even further in this challenge, bringing in various forms of meaning-making beyond language. As they explain below, the context of the communication helps to define what mode of meaning making is most valuable.

The pedagogy of multiliteracies, by contrast [to traditional, rule-based forms of literacy], focuses on modes of representation much broader than language alone. These differ according to culture and context, and have specific cognitive, cultural, and social effects. In some cultural contexts – in an Aboriginal community or in a multimedia environment, for instance – the visual mode of representation may be much more powerful and closely related to language than “mere literacy” would ever be able to allow. Multiliteracies also creates a different kind of pedagogy, one in which language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve their various cultural purposes. (New London Group, 1997, paragraph 11).

In the project of redefining literacy, which often at its base involves a move away from the idea that writing is an inherently unique and superior mode of making meaning, many have reorganized the ways that speaking and writing may be seen to relate to each other. These multiliteracy theorists may be considered Bakhtinian in that they contextualize and historicize language use and indicate that its valuation is intricately related to the social context in which it is received. They recognize the dialogical nature of any communication practice. Walter Ong, who we will review

next, is another theorist who has challenged the binary and simple distinctions which had traditionally been made between speaking and writing.

Ong's Approach as Bakhtinian

Traditionally, language practices been understood as split cleanly between the spoken and the written, with a host of opposing adjectives accompanying our understanding of each one. Linguist Walter Ong has written famously on writing and speaking as technologies, or tools, and on the connotations of orality and literacy. He has both challenged, and in some ways supported, traditional notions about orality and literacy. He first complicated his distinction of orality and textuality by offering two modes of orality: primary orality and secondary orality (Ong, 1982, p.57). According to Ong, primary orality can be found only in cultures where writing is unknown, and it is characterized by the consciousness formed by reliance on oral discourse tropes like repetition, formulaic prose, addition of phrases, aggregation without analysis, and concreteness. In this form of consciousness, speaking was not just one form of communicating, but was the sole carrier of culture and values. Under conditions of primary orality, only more speaking keeps the spoken word alive – thus, exactness in repetition is not available.

Secondary orality, on the other hand, can be found as Ong defined it, under conditions where electric devices – by this he includes most media technologies – have had a significant role in communication. In this case the spoken word can be reproduced electronically, by such modes as television, radio, phone, tape cassette, etc. (Ong, 1982, p.57). The secondary orality is described as the voice heard through

these media. The unique aspect of these media is that they depend on writing for their existence (i.e., technologies we have today depended on writing for their production, such as a television show which depends on a written script in order to facilitate its ultimately oral presentation of meaning). Secondary orality by definition comes after writing has entered a society.

As Ong indicated, spoken language practices have been often characterized with words such as: informal; tending towards repetition; audience-focused; and additive in its logical structures (i.e., each comment links to the last but not necessarily to an overarching structure) (Ong, 1982). Written language practices, on the other hand, have been characterized as formal, static, writer-focused, and organized with an overarching logic (Ong, 1982). Partly as a consequence of defining the two modes of expression as having opposite qualities, written language has been taken as the more academically-valued skill, as shown by the fact that students are formally evaluated much more often by written work than by oral work. Literature on the differences between speaking and writing have often explicitly claimed that the acquisition of writing skills is a necessary precursor to cognitive and academic sophistication. One clear indication of the degree to which writing is valued over speaking is the fact that cultures and individuals that communicate through speaking instead of writing are often termed illiterate, preliterate or non-literate.

One question for this literature review is to what extent Ong takes a Bakhtinian approach to speaking and writing practices. I argue that Ong is Bakhtinian in the sense that he has argued for attention to the historical uses of language practices and noted the interpenetration between oral and written modes of language

use, as seen in his creation of the term secondary orality which has stressed the impact of literacy on current oral forms of communication. Ong has clearly also focused on the use of genre in his identification of orality and literacy as styles, as well as modes of expression. In these ways, I argue that Ong has taken a Bakhtinian approach to language practices.

However, Ong's assertions about primary orality (i.e., that it tends to be characterized by repetition, informality and additive structures) tend to sound similar to the great divide theorists who ascribe many of these same qualities to speaking in general. In this way, Ong may still ascribe some essential qualities to the spoken mode, and by implication to the literate mode, which makes his approach somewhat less genre and context-sensitive than other Bakhtinian approaches may be. As we move to the next section, which discusses the theorists who have explicitly defined themselves as Bakhtinian scholars within the field of composition studies (the field which addresses the study and practice of teaching college writing), we can continue to consider the various ways that scholars explicitly and implicitly have used Bakhtinian approaches to literacy issues, and will consider where this dissertation fits within this approach.

Bakhtinian Approaches to Teaching Writing: Past Decades and Contemporary Uses

In her 1999 book *A Pedagogy of Possibility: Bakhtinian perspectives on composition studies*, Kay Halasek has offered explicit consideration of what entails a Bakhtinian approach to composition studies and also has summarized the history of

Bakhtinian approaches to the field, as of 1999. I will review Halasek's findings. Next, I will discuss the 2004 book on Bakhtin and composition studies which brings 21st century concerns such as globalization and the diversity of communication technologies to bear. This 2004 book, Freedman & Ball's *Bakhtinian Perspectives on Language, Literacy, and Learning*, will allow us to further explore Bakhtinian approaches to composition studies, after reviewing Halasek's introduction to the field of study.

Halasek's explicit treatment of the most relevant, and often revolutionary, concepts in Bakhtinian theory, when applied to composition studies, are very helpful in providing support for the attention which will be paid in the method and results chapters in this dissertation to immediate social factors. Her history of compositionists' uses of Bakhtin is useful in surveying the field and noting how this dissertation may be informed by previous research and theory.

Halasek has stressed that the important Bakhtinian concept of dialogism has to be taken seriously in order for it to offer new meaning and practices to the field. She cited Irene Ward's *Literacy, Ideology and Dialogue* (1994) in which Ward argued that the term "dialogic" has been overused in composition studies because it seems to convey a sympathy for multicultural issues and student-centered learning. Halasek makes the point that these implications of dialogism, while not incorrect, are overly general and turn the term "dialogic" into little more than a metaphor, which has therefore lost a great deal of its meaning. Halasek wrote that "[t]he dialogic – as metaphor, as philosophy, as practice – has been elevated to the level of a 'god' term in the discipline, and as such, it has become at once ossified, transparent, and

irrecoverable” (Halasek, 1999, p.3). She added that the metaphor of dialogism seems to have replaced “writing as process” as the central metaphor for what should take place in college writing classes (Halasek, 1999, p.4).

Instead of settling for an overly general use of the word dialogic, Halasek has described Volosinov and Bakhtin’s use of the term “dialogism” and explains how the term specifically applies to college writing. She has summarized Volosinov and Bakhtin’s argument that it is only through language, in all of its situated nature, that individuals can make meaning and interact with other’s who are also engaging the world through language, and wrote the following.

In these works [*Marxism and the Philosophy of Language, Freudianism, and The Dialogic Imagination*], Volosinov and Bakhtin define discourse theory and the elements of the rhetorical situation in terms of a socially constructed reality and a socially defined individual. Meaning, knowledge, and reality are constructed through language and between ideologically bound individuals within historically situated language spheres. Bakhtin maintains that the individual exists in and relates to the world only insofar as language and his way of seeing and constructing the world allow. Consequently, an individual’s languages, discourses, and rhetoric are conditional and defined by complex, fluctuating social relationships (Halasek, 1999, p.4).

Halasek goes on to stress that dialogism implies that social interactions are ultimately interactions of texts (broadly defined). She also makes the point that dialogism goes far beyond literal dialogues such as conversations or collaborative

work, as every use of language involves an engagement with past uses of language. This point is centrally important through out the course of this dissertation, as the category of response will be used broadly and refers not only to literal response (although those are important) but also to responses which come from the self, and the fact that each current use of language is in fact a response to past utterances.

Halasek has summarized this approach in her statement that “[e]verything is in response to and in anticipation of others’ words” (Halasek, 1999, p.5). She continued this argument by stressing that there is an “inherent ‘addressivity’ in all discourse” (Halasek, 1999, p.5-6). The Bakhtinian concept of addressivity, which stresses that every utterance is shaped in some way by audience, whether actual or implied, is central to this dissertation. Student narratives of their experiences with speaking and writing were analyzed with particular attention paid to the notion that speaking or writing are created in response to past utterances and are addressed to future utterances, which are embodied in the concept of audience.

Halasek has also made the point that a college writing classroom based on Bakhtinian concepts would encourage all parties to take responsibility for the ideologies and histories embodied in their utterances (Halasek, 1999, p.7). In this way, students as well as their audiences (usually teachers) are encouraged to consider how they function in the sequence of utterances. I believe Halasek is suggesting that teachers may function as more responsible audiences to students if they are more fully aware of all of the potential biases, or simply potential positions, that are often implied in their role as audience to student speakers and writers. Finally Halasek has stressed the importance of immediate responses in the writing classroom, which is a

central focus of this dissertation. Her description of the importance, and the ever-alive and shifting nature, of the immediate social context in the writing classroom is as follows.

The discourse of college writing classrooms, like the dialogized language of the novel, is interanimated ideologically and stylistically by the discourses of others. More than the novel, though, the college writing classroom is a site of lived immediate response, full of immediate addresses and answers, and marked by a certain restlessness, even a discomfort, over meaning. (Halasek, 1999, p.7).

The “addresses and answers” described by Halasek above will be the focus of the dissertation, as we explore what audiences students are addressing (and how those audiences respond) and what precursors students are answering (what those precursors are).

Next, I will review Halasek’s summarization of various compositionists’ use of Bakhtin. I will describe how their approaches may be useful in supporting this dissertation’s exploration of the immediate social context of speaking and writing. Halasek first provided an overview of the major schools of thought within composition studies in order to better contextualize the role of Bakhtin in the field. After noting that several fairly similar attempts at categorization have been made (Berlin, 1985; Faigley, Cherry, Jolliffe & Skinner, 1985, as seen in Halasek, p.13), Halasek describes the system put forth by Faigley et al. which posited that there are three major theoretical positions within literacy studies: the literary, cognitive and social approaches (Halasek, 1999, p.13). Halasek summarized the first two schools of

thought in the Faigley et al. classification system, which are the literary and cognitive approaches.

The literary view of composing, like Berlin's expressivism, has its roots in a romantic (i.e., mysterious and inaccessible) notion of the self; the cognitive view, the authors argue, includes cognitivist scientists who work to 'represent how people find solutions to problems' (16); and the social view of composing 'argues that a writer's competence includes something much broader which can be explained only in terms of a community connected by written discourse (17).' (Halasek, 1999 p. 16).

Importantly, Halasek described the fact that the third school of thought, the social approach to composition is the privileged school, as considered by Faigley et al. (1985), and by Halasek as it relates most clearly to a Bakhtinian approach to literacy.

The third and privileged school, the social (or transactional) locates meaning at the confluence of writer, reader, and text – each of which is thoroughly social. Here, reality is constructed only through the interaction of these particular elements as they are set within a particular language's sphere and defined in and through one another. (Halasek, 1999, p.17).

The social school of thought relates to Bakhtinian approaches to literacy in that the writer, reader and text are all seen as interrelated and mutually constructive. The social school of thought also is similar to Bakhtinian approaches in that it suggests that texts are only given value in a social context, thus allowing for a critical and historical perspective on literacy debates.

Next Halasek has provided a review of compositionists who have made explicit use of Bakhtin. I will briefly describe her review and discuss in more detail the ideas of one Bakhtinian compositionist in particular, Charles Schuster. Halasek argues that Schuster introduced Bakhtin to composition studies and was among the first to label Bakhtin a “rhetorical theorist” (Halasek, 1999, p.10). As we will see below, Schuster unpacks this label by discussing the relevance of Bakhtinian concepts such as addressivity and audience to the issue of literacy instruction. Schuster draws on rhetorical traditions – which have always acknowledged the central relevance of communication and audience to any language practice – to connect Bakhtin with that intellectual tradition.

According to Halasek, there have not been a huge number of compositionists who followed in Schusters’ footsteps and published articles relating Bakhtin to literacy issues. She reported that as of 1999 (the publication date of her book), there were approximately 20 articles published which were about Bakhtinian theory in composition studies or rhetoric (Halasek, 1999, p.11). Halasek has summarized their use of Bakhtinian theory by noting that various concepts, among others, have been highlighted: discourse (Schuster); the concepts of speaker, listener, and subjects (Harris); competing home and alien dialogics (Goleman); post-structural approaches (Faigley); pluralistic parts (Clark); and feminist moments (Lamb) (as cited in Halasek, p.11). Clearly, Halasek has argued that composition theorists have been drawn to a wide variety of concepts and impulses in Bakhtin’s work. The most clearly useful for this dissertation are those which focus on the idea of speaking and writing as utterances which are framed by a sequence of preceding and subsequent utterances.

Schuster is one of those theorists and his 1990 essay, “The Ideology of Literacy: A Bakhtinian Perspective,” has made the argument that approaches to literacy research tend to make one of two mistakes. He has argued that they either tend to overemphasize the institutional cause of literacy problems, which he labels the educational deprivation approach, or to blame the student by an approach which simplistically “equates literacy with ‘intellectual power’” (Halasek, 1999, p.13).

As a corrective, Schuster has offered what he considers to be a Bakhtinian approach to the issue of illiteracy.

Those in American culture deemed illiterate are those whom the dominant group names illiterate and refuses to hear and therefore to whom it refuses to grant sovereignty over their own agency...Like Cassandra, whose prophecies are disbelieved, the illiterate of America are literate in their own communities but are nonetheless ‘doomed to a solipsistic existence, despite the power of language’ they possess (Schuster, p.227, as cited in Halasek, 1999, p.14).

Halasek explains that Schuster makes use of the Bakhtinian concepts of responsive understanding, addressivity, and answerability (the concept that all utterances are answers to other utterances) in order to enrich the conceptions of literacy and illiteracy (Halasek, 1999, p.14). Schuster’s arguments, which emphasize that in order to be considered literate one must have a willing audience, are relevant to this dissertation which sees speaking and writing as acts that are carried out not only by the individual speaker or writer but also by the listener or reader whose reception is crucial to the success or failure of the expressive act.

Schuster rejects both a purely social approach in which institutions are fully blamed and attacked and a purely cognitive approach which sees literacy as a skill which simply demonstrates intellectual ability. Instead, he argues for a transformative use of language as a form of meaningful engagement. This engagement involves some kind of shared identification between the speaker or writer and the audience in order to make literate communication possible (Schuster p.231, as cited in Halasek, 1999, p.14).

Continuing beyond Halasek's review, I will now review a recent collection of research which uses Bakhtinian theory to address cutting-edge issues in composition studies, Ball and Freedman's 2004 book, *Bakhtinian Perspectives on Language, Literacy, and Learning*. This book is important to consider because it draws attention to the usefulness of Bakhtinian theory to the current-day issues which frame writing and education. Key concepts such as language practices within a globalized, highly technological society and issues of literacy and expression given diverse stakeholders are shown to be usefully addressed using Bakhtinian ideas. Ball and Freedman demonstrate with the chapters in this book that Bakhtinian theory not only continues to be relevant to composition studies today, but is more relevant than ever.

One of the key concepts in the book is the Bakhtinian term "ideological becoming" which explores how language practices, and interacting language practices, bring with them history and identity, and then come to influence the identity of the persons who are involved in these interacting perspectives and language practices. Given that people and cultures are bound to connect to a greater degree, due to technological sophistication in communication, Ball and Freedman

argue that it is essential to consider how language practices – often of unequal privilege - impact each other, and thus impact those involved in the social act of language use.

They argue that struggle is an aspect of the Bakhtinian dialogical theory that has been perhaps underplayed and should be acknowledged. Many of the chapters in their book (Sperling, 2004; Lee, 2004) discuss the struggle between voices and discourses as being an important part of what Bakhtinian theory can and should, given the desire of many to explicitly address diversity and power issues as they relate to literacy, bring to light.

For this dissertation, it is important to foreground the idea of struggle in Bakhtin's theory of language practices, because it helps to explain why response is an important focus of my study of student speaking and writing. Response would not be as essential to understanding speaking and writing in school if not for the power differential that exists between teachers and students. This power differential tends to situate teachers as authorities on writing, and also situates teachers as official evaluators of student writing. Both of these factors make the issue of teacher response laden with power issues.

Freedman and Ball's chapter "Ideological Becoming" focuses on the intertwined facts that for Bakhtin all utterances are fully social ("shot through" with ideology, defined as the many ways that social identity impacts upon the way a group member sees the world) and are in struggle, which can be both constructive of meaning as well as indicative of conflicts. Freedman and Ball (2004) note that language and literacy practices are social and political practices, as "[l]anguage use

and literate abilities provide ways for people to establish a social place and ways for others to judge them (see Trudgill, 1995)” (p.5).

Freedman and Ball go on to note that students and teachers both use language in political ways, in the sense that they are making choices that are to some extent impacted by social group membership and social allegiances when they do so. They point out that when students decide whether to be attuned to teacher responses to peer responses, they are making social choices. Freedman and Ball (2004) go on to discuss how teachers as well make political choices around literacy issues. Importantly for this dissertation, they make the point that teacher response is a political and social act.

[T]eachers decide how to respond to diverse language patterns in their classrooms; how much controversy to introduce into the classroom; how to group or not group students for learning; how to respond to individuals and the group; whether to teach critically, in ways that push students to examine the established social order. Again, these are all political decisions, some more explicitly and consciously so than others. (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p.5).

Freedman and Ball stress that a struggle is not a negative situation, but rather may be a fruitful one, since meaning can only be made out of the others in our social world, known personally or through language practices of some sort. One of the ways Ball & Freedman, as well as Sperling and others, describe the nature of struggle among language practices from a Bakhtinian point of view is by using the concepts of internally persuasive discourse and authoritative discourse. Freedman and Ball note that Bakhtin describes authoritative discourse, as the discourse of the past: the discourse of the fathers, the church, or the government, for example.

Internally persuasive discourse, on the other hand, “is what each person thinks for him- or herself, what ultimately is persuasive to the individual” (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p.8). Bakhtin has argued, they note, that internally persuasive discourse is “denied all privilege” (Bakhtin, 1981, p.342, as cited in Freedman & Ball, p.8). Freedman and Ball are careful to make the point that there is a wide range of language practices imaginable within both internally persuasive discourse and authoritative discourse. These categories will be useful as we look at various types of responses to student speaking and writing, such as self response, teacher response and peer response, and consider which are considered important because of internally persuasive reasons and which are important because of authoritative reasons, and if there are times when the two overlap in the process of being personally known in the institutional context of academic expression.

Based on the idea of ideological becoming – the process of change in one’s stances, identity, or perspective through the complex involvement in various language-based interactions - and other Bakhtinian concepts that highlight the importance of difference and relationship in voice and language, Freedman and Ball propose three implications for the research and practice of literacy practices. First, they recommend that diversity be considered as a potential resource, based upon the Bakhtinian assumption that meaning can only be sharpened, elaborated and enlarged through interactions between those with different voices and discourses. Secondly, Freedman and Ball recommend that growth and change, since they are inevitable as argued in the Bakhtinian view that language takes on meaning through past and future social interactions, be an object of study for research on writing education. Finally,

they recommend that struggle be acknowledged as a force which is important to the learning process and so must be “creatively managed” (Freedman & Ball, 2004, p.9).

These recommendations are relevant to the research that will be described in this dissertation in that this research looks closely at how interactions around academic expression give meaning to the moment of speaking and writing. This causes us to pay attention both to the sequential, developing process of the language use, rather than to the static moment of a speech or writing act, and it also causes us to pay close attention to the diverse social positions of the different players in the speaking or writing experience (speakers and writers with different social identities, from different institutions, being responded to by individuals in varying social roles). While struggle is not directly addressed in this dissertation, it is implicitly a topic of interest, because this dissertation studies the student perspective of those things, including teacher and peer response, which contextualize their speaking and writing experiences. Because student perspectives are often at odds with what one might expect teachers to say about classroom practice (i.e., students often reveal miscommunications or negative communications they receive from teachers), highlighting their perspectives gives room for a larger discussion about speaking and writing to happen than would be possible without their voices.

Other contributions from Ball & Freedman’s 2004 include chapters which illustrate the relevance of Bakhtinian concepts to the current issues facing literacy studies. Sperling (2004) addresses the fact that contradiction, in the case of her research, the internal contradictions teachers sometimes express about how they see literacy teaching and learning, may be a component of experience which is

acceptable, in that contradiction is part of the way people make meaning and thus is not a problem, but rather a fact. In support of this idea, she draws on Bakhtin's "accounts of the social genesis of discourse and thought, and the notion that discourse and thought are born of multiple and sometimes opposing forces. For Bakhtin, discourse and thought are always in a process of becoming, in the interactive, dialogic contexts that give them shape and meaning." (Sperling, p. 233).

Sperling advises that research on teachers and students focus on, instead of problematize, interactions that are tense or contradictory. She further advises that research set in schools note the ways that persons in schools may make meaning in the moment, motivated by various aspects of the context, and not try to unify their statements and actions across all contexts. Sperling further draws on Brandt's (2001) research which discusses that over a lifetime writers will often write differently, based on their "sponsors" (such as "book publishers, calendar makers, libraries, family traditions and workplace resources, for example") (Sperling, 2004, p.235). This point, that writers, as well as writing teachers, change in relationship to context is central to the argument of this dissertation which stresses the social context of both speaking and writing. Sperling comments further on the social context of writing in the following way.

Although Brandt's chief point is that literacy changes historically, over time, as sponsors of literacy (read relationships between literate self and others) change or receive differing emphases in different historical periods, I believe we can extrapolate from this point to understand that such shifts or changes should also be able to occur within moments of time, so that inconsistent

beliefs and attitudes may undergird reading and writing processes at any given moment as multiple ‘sponsors’ bear on that moment. (Sperling, 2004, p.235).

Other Bakhtinian concepts which are highlighted in Ball & Freedman’s book include hybrid language practices (as discussed by Lee in a chapter called “Double Voiced Discourse” about using AAVE – African American Vernacular English – as a discourse which can socialize students to the also complex vernacular of standard English) and hybrid technologies for making meaning (as discussed by Gee in a chapter called “New Times and New Literacies”, which discusses how various technologies foreground various audiences, as opposed to traditional literate practice which poses the school audience as the only legitimate one).

Finally, a chapter by Landay highlights Bakhtinian concepts such as heteroglossia (the idea that meaning comes from difference and struggle, which Landay relates to the importance of diverse student voices which can balance the often monologic teacher voice in the classroom); dialogism (which holds that all aspects of language take on meaning from others’ language, (Landay, p.108)); the social nature of language (which Landay notes means that it is complex to be asked to appropriate a social language different than your own, as you take in to some extent the various intentions contained in the language when you take in the language (Landay, p. 109)); and the centrality of using the concept of internally persuasive discourse and authoritative discourse to understand the teaching and learning of literate practices.

Together, the chapters in Ball and Freedman’s book show the relevance for Bakhtinian theory to the contemporary writing classroom, given the usefulness of

Bakhtin in addressing issues of diversity, ways of making meaning, power relationships within which meaning is negotiated, and the overall context which frames speaking and writing. As many of the writers in Ball and Freedman's book stress, the dialogic relationship between the language users and the audience is a central theme for Bakhtin, since he theorized that language is fully social in its nature. Given that stress on audience, response is one of the central concerns for Bakhtin, and for this dissertation. In the next section, I theorize what would constitute a Bakhtinian study of response to student speaking and writing, and briefly review studies which may fit that definition.

Developing a Bakhtinian Theory of Researching Response

While teacher response has been a central focus of research in composition studies, it has usually been studied from an expert perspective, stressing the opinions of teachers and literacy researchers, rather than students. I will argue with several scholars of response that the student perspective on response is essential (Freedman, 1987; Sperling, 1996) and has been studied too rarely (Fife & O'Neill, 2001). I believe that bringing in the student perspective on response is essential to a Bakhtinian approach to the topic, because only when we see how students understand what teachers have said to them can we begin to know what responses will be useful. When teacher response is studied in the absence of students' perspectives on the response, for instance research on the written artifacts (comments written on papers), then it is hard to know whether students interpreted the responses in the same way that the researcher did or the teacher intended the comments to be understood.

Beyond knowing whether students are comprehending the comments teachers give them, it is also important to know how the comments impact students emotionally, since the meaning they take from their teacher's words has to do with many things aside from the words themselves, including the prior relationship between the two and the various implications for every individual student of the student-teacher roles. Further, a Bakhtinian approach to response will take into account the entire context, to the extent possible, of the writing or speaking event, including various responses to the writing or speaking – from teachers, peers, or the self, as well as contextual factors that precede the writing or speaking, such as the assignment that is given, and larger contextual factors such as student identity, type of institution, and the like. I have tried, to the extent possible, to give some acknowledgement to all of these contextual factors in the dissertation research I designed. While it is hard to account for all of these factors, approaches which at least bring an awareness and discussion of these various factors give a fuller picture of the meaning of response to the entire speaking and writing event.

While I cannot review the entire history of response research, as its pedagogical insights are not the focus of the current dissertation, I will review some of studies which considered student perspectives and those which have discussed the importance of considering teacher response within a broad context, and critiqued response research which has not done so. Fife and O'Neill (2001) have written on the need for research on response to catch up with the state of writing classrooms. They have argued that response research has focused almost exclusively on written teacher comments, while writing classrooms have gone on to incorporate a range of

responses, including verbal comments from teachers, comments from teachers during writing conferences, interactions around student portfolios, and student comments on their own writing (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.301).

Fife and O'Neill have noted that two landmark studies on teacher response (both published in 1982: Nancy Sommers's "Responding to Student Writing" and Lil Brannon and C.H. Knoblauch's "On Student's Rights to Their Own Texts: A Model of Teacher Response") have both shaped the way teacher response research has evolved. Fife and O'Neill have stated that the literature on teacher response often cites Sommer's observations that comments need to be specific and appropriate to the stage of writing (i.e., drafts vs. final copies). Brannon and Knoblauch focused on the issue of authority and control and are "noted for their observation that teachers appropriate students' texts because teacher comments evaluate student writing against an ideal text and not in terms of students' goals for that writing" (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.302). Fife and O'Neill have argued that most research on teacher response has been in an effort to help teachers address the problems raised by Sommers and by Brannon and Knoblauch. They summarize in the following way.

The prevailing assumption of the research has been that the problems of ineffective response and loss of student textual authority lies in the teachers' written comments; solving these problems, then, means improving and changing the written comments. (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p. 302).

Fife and O'Neill have argued that for the most part research on teacher response has been static while practice in the classroom has shifted. They have argued that instead the research needs to shift to consider the "particular context in which

response occurs as well as the students' and teachers' perspectives" on the response (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.303). They have argued that the pedagogical context, such as the relationship between the student and the teacher, external conversations the student and teacher have had, educational activities which frame the writing assignment (such as conferences and other chances for interactive response), is an essential topic for research on response. They argued that research on response would be greatly improved by student interviews.

Response research has generally overlooked any parts of the teacher-student interchange that don't produce written artifacts for convenient analysis. Studies that go beyond these convenient written artifacts to employ such methods as conversations and interviews with students and teachers are important to conduct despite their very time-consuming and challenging design" (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.309).

Fife & O'Neill went on to advise that it is important for research on response to highlight the student perspective, including research that examines how students see their own work (their meta-cognitive abilities, which include how they respond to their own work and how they understand the responses they receive). They noted that several researchers have indeed been exceptions to the rule and highlighted the student perspective on teacher response. Still, most response researchers, even those looking at student perspectives, have kept their focus on student perspective's on the teacher's written comments alone, and not on a broader set of responses and interactions (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.304).

Sperling's and Freedman's research on response are two exceptions cited to this rule. File and O'Neill (2001) wrote that an "important exception to this rule is Melanie Sperling and Sarah Freedman's 'A Good Girl Writes Like a Good Girl,' which focuses on data gathered as part of an ethnographic classroom study to compare the perspectives of a teacher and student to the teacher's written and oral comments" (p.304). They went on to report that "Sperling and Freedman found that a student's and teacher's understandings of the teacher's written response don't always coincide even after face-to-face conferences" (Fife & O'Neill, 2001, p.307).

Freedman has conducted research on teacher response that spans from traditional studies of written comments, which are outside the scope of this review, to several studies of teacher response from the student perspective. In "Recent Developments in Writing: How Teachers Manage Response" (1987), Freedman notes that teachers and students in her study sharply disagree about which types of teacher responses are most important in teaching writing. In this study, Freedman (1987) researched successful teachers, to see what best practices for response might be, and found that "[s]imply put, they focus their attention on response during the writing process. In particular they [teachers] value one-to-one conferences above all other types of in-process response" (p.37). However, Freedman (1987) found that students "express values that are in marked opposition to their teachers" regarding response (p.37). Students felt that "response to finished pieces of writing promotes their learning significantly more than response during the writing process. They find written comments on finished pieces more helpful than any other types of response" (p.37). Freedman does note that students and teachers in her study agreed on some

topics, such as the fact that the teachers are most useful source of response to most students (p.38). Her research clearly raised the issue, though, that since teachers and students do not always perceive teacher response in the same way, it is important for both teachers and students to be included in research on the topic.

Sperling has also considered teacher response in a broad context. She has taken the student perspective into account in a different way. Sperling's 1996 study "Revealing the Teacher-as-Reader", studied the way that a teacher responds to different students differently. This study design compared the way that one teacher responded to "A students" and to "C students", and found that the response style varied greatly. Sperling summarized her findings in the following way.

This interplay of student with response, however, raises a critical issue.

While, on the one hand, Ms. Vance's [the teacher's] perspective on the students' work, the teacher-as-reader that she displayed through her comment, was sensitive to who each student was, [;] on the other hand, for better or worse, her readings arguably helped construct their very differences" (Sperling, 1996, p.26).

Sperling found that the teacher tended to relate to the "A student" more often as a peer, and a supportive reader, while she took a teacherly, and more authoritative approach when commenting on the "C student's" papers. While Sperling noted that to an extent the differences in the comments may be called for based on the students' needs, she is concerned that students may inadvertently become the victim of bias. She noted the following.

This ordinary social process, reflecting the finely tuned duet that teacher and student can become in the classroom setting, may be worrisome if students become the targets of unfair readerly bias. Yet making the process explicit and analyzing it can be helpful to teachers and students alike.” (Sperling, 1996, p.26).

Finally, Sperling noted that the teacher’s comments differed greatly based upon the genre of writing which she was comment on. For instance, the teacher responded with to journal entries as an interested reader, whereas she responded to essays with a very analytic mode of response.

My approach to response builds on some of the themes in Sperling and Freedman’s research on response. Knowing that the student and teacher perspective are often very different from one another, and that different students receive extremely different types of response (and that different types of writing – and I assumed, speaking – receive different types of response), I was very interested to see how the understudied student perspective on response would be useful to complementing the body of research on teacher response which has mostly considered teacher response from a progressive, but still researcher or teacher, perspective. Considering response from the student perspective, and seeing the meaning students gave to teacher response, among other parts of the immediate social context of speaking and writing, was one goal of this dissertation research. I considered not only the cognitive meaning that student’s made of teachers’, and others’, responses, but also the emotional meaning these responses had to students.

The role that language practices play in connecting people to each other, as well as sometimes obstructing positive connections make speaking and writing relational issues. Selves, which I conceptualize as socially created through language and relationship, with all the social and personal history carried there, and relationships are created and expressed through language practices. Therefore, a clinical approach to communication and its self-shaping and self-revealing qualities is helpful in understanding the lived experience of speaking and writing. This clinical piece of the literature review addresses some of the ongoing issues an individual might experience, as they engage in language practices and relationships across time. This clinical approach serves as complement to the Bakhtinian approach which has emphasized the moment to moment linguistic experience of the self and other.

Clinical Approaches to Communication and Self

In this dissertation, I have argued that when a student speaks or writes in school, he or she begins a communication that is destined for one or more social audiences. Many things are implicated in creating a successful act of academic expression: the individual who is communicating, the individual who receives the communication, and the social-historical context for the act, and the history inherent in using the social tool of language. The process of all of these interactions taking place is often experienced by the self in a whole range of ways. In this section, I will review several theories from the field of clinical psychology which address the issue of the self and communication. I will apply these theories to the specific language practice of academic expression and the specific language context of the college

classroom in which interactions between students and teachers, students and students, and students within themselves take place. The concept of recognition, the feeling of being known through speaking and writing, based largely on the processes of interaction with, and internalization of, precursors and responses in the immediate social context, will be proposed as one of the central concepts of the dissertation.

First, I will review some of the small body of research that has been conducted which compares students' experiences of being known through speaking as compared to writing, in academic settings. Secondly, I will introduce the concept of recognition of various parts of the self as put forth by Philip Bromberg. Thirdly, I will discuss Paul Wachtel's theory of cycles of misunderstanding in communication and the meaning these cycles can take on for the self. Finally, I will discuss Jeffrey Young's schema theory which sets out a view of how internalized object relations (internalized social others, and I would add internalized interactions, which involve ever greater social contexts) impact upon expectations and ideas about audience and reception.

Classroom Studies of Speaking, Writing, and Affect

"Thank you for letting us write. If you didn't nobody would ever know what I thought." -Student Log, as cited in "The Multi Voiced Classroom", Dysthe, 1996

Reading the quote above, one might wonder, why does it matter to a student if anyone knows what he or she thinks? I will argue that recognition – defined as various ways of being known - is part of the development of a student’s academic self-concept. I will further probe the question of how the modes of writing and speaking – and the possibility of multiple opportunities for recognition , of varying kinds, that they afford – bear upon the question of self-concept.

In explaining the above student quote, Dysthe explained the importance of online communication as a chance for a student to communicate with the group through a new medium. She described online communication as a “written communication [which functioned]... as a gateway to the discourse community of a classroom which has traditionally relied almost totally on students’ orality” (Dysthe, 1996, p.23). Further, Dysthe noted that a student may excel in speaking ability in one setting, and yet feel uncomfortable speaking in another setting. As an example, she described the following situation.

Two of the black students in Greyville were exceptionally vocal when I talked to them outside of class and they raised interesting points relating to their non school and cultural contexts, but neither of them participated in class discussions unless directly challenged. (Dysthe, 1996, p.24).

Others who have theorized about ways in which a student may express him or her self in the classroom have noted that silence can be another way which students respond to the communicative context of the classroom. For example, Cothran and Ennis (1998) have noted that one way students can try to exert power is by not participating. Additionally, some research has found that educational goals have

become less important than social goals for students (Sedlack, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986; Ennis 1995; as cited in Cothran & Ennis, 1998). This may lead to a students' need for expression and recognition to be channeled outside of the classroom. Alternately, a student may want peer recognition in the classroom, and find teacher recognition to be a barrier to getting peer acceptance. In this way, the classroom can become a battlefield between students' goals and teacher's goals.

Others have reflected on students' feelings about oral performance in class by comparing oral performance to on-line participation. For example, Sullivan and Pratt (1996, as seen in Belcher, 1998) found that with more time to "read and reflect before responding", the student participation doubled on line, as compared to oral participation in the classroom. Belcher suggested that the reduction of social context cues can perhaps facilitate more democratic and empowering participation. In support of this, Belcher bought the following quote to bear.

Because we cannot see one another, we are unable to form prejudices about others before we read what they have to say: race, gender, age, national origin and physical appearance are not apparent unless a person wants to make these things public. (Rheingold, 1993, p.66, as cited by Belcher).

Others have similarly claimed that on-line participation can create a situation where communication can be free of potential distracters, such as body language, intimidating appearances, voices, or intonations (Kemp, 1990).

Diamondstone (1999) has provided some useful terms for understanding student self-concept and the importance of interaction in the construction of self-concept. She cited Guitierrez's term of the "third space" – and added that this space

is an “opportunity space” – which is important and as a place where “otherwise marginalized students might participate more centrally in classroom literacy practices” (Gutierrez, et al., 1995a, 1995b, as cited in Diamondstone, 1999, p.107). In her research she posited the question of *how students come to know themselves as learners*. In answering this question, she worked from four assumptions proposed by Fish (1989).

1) “Notions of *competence, measures of achievement, and demonstrations of classroom know-how are the salient terms within which academic identities are constructed* (Fish, 1989, p.480, as cited in Diamondstone, 1999)”; 2) Identities can be constructed even when talking of other matters; 3) Resistance operates within and enables the discursive construction of self; and 4) “Those who resist determinations by others of what they might do and be *must rely on rhetoric*; which is ‘*the skill that produces and therefore establishes what, in a particular time and particular place is [taken as] true*’ ” (Fish 1989, p.480 as cited in Diamondstone, 1999)”. [Italics added for emphasis].

These four notions are relevant to the goals of this study. Diamondstone used these notions to make the point that academic identities are tied to feelings of competence and “demonstrations of know how” and that these issues are often played out through rhetoric – that is communication acts aimed at audiences – particularly when the student is not being affirmed in the way he or she wishes by others in the classroom, such as teachers or peers. In looking at students’ experiences of speaking and writing, notions such as these will be kept in mind as they may explain why speaking and writing can become emotionally and personally charged, far beyond the

impact of any grade or official consequence associated with them. For this project, the central point I take from these four notions is that academic identity often gets played out in speaking and writing situations, often in ways which are more emotionally charged than might be immediately apparent. These notions are further reminders of why a close study of the psychosocial experiences of speaking and writing is important.

Diamondstone further stated the following concerning students' experiences of literacy practices.

Students, whatever else they might be doing, are inevitably taking up positions within the literacy practices privileged in the classroom; their positioning vis a vis one another as well as in relation to the objects of study to the object of study redounds on their ability to learn. In this sense, learning is an ontological matter (Lave and Wenger). (Diamondstone, 1999).

When Diamondstone cites Lave and Wenger's statement that learning is an ontological matter, I believe she is suggesting that through the way students engage with learning practices, including literacy practices, and through the way they are received, they begin to make meaning regarding their own academic sense of self. This description of the process of learning whether or not one is valuable in the classroom through participation in various literacy practices is a strong statement, in my opinion, of the fact that speaking and writing are at one and the same time academic and personal issues.

Diamondstone (1999) concluded her study on resistance in the classroom by stating that "[t]his study shows that school-based literacy practices generate meaning-

making possibilities and suggests the promise and difficulty of exploiting these possibilities for pedagogical ends” (p.108). In attempting to better understand the psychosocial experience of speaking and writing, this dissertation may contribute to the options for engaging literacy’s self-related and meaning-related qualities in positive ways.

Recognition, the Speaking Self and the Writing Self

If the Bakhtinian theorists who stressed the importance of audience and addressivity in speaking and writing practices are correct, then one of the psychological impacts of speaking and writing may be that students find themselves in a situation where they are going to be responded to in one way or another by the audience, and thus they may have expectations around responses. Further, I will argue in this dissertation, in more detail in the methods section, that students may experience speaking and writing as opportunities in which they can potentially feel known or *recognized* in various ways, depending in part on the types of responses they receive and how they understand those responses.

In this section, I am not going to detail my definition of recognition, as it will be used in the research – that will take place in detail in the methods section – but rather I will argue through two short scenarios that the term “recognition” is helpful in understanding students’ experiences with speaking and writing and across experiences of speaking and writing. I will argue that recognition is an important concept to use in studying the lived experience of speaking and writing.

In using the term recognition, I want to briefly discuss how one theorist, Philip Bromberg (1998) has used the term, in relation to a sense of being known. Bromberg (1998) is one of the few theorists in psychology, or related fields, who has addressed recognition, using that term, as a sense of being known which adults desire. Bromberg has written about the non-overlapping multiple selves which can be part of an unintegrated, or dissociated, personality. Bromberg has stressed that when parts of the self are unintegrated they especially desire and need recognition. One can argue that speaking and writing selves are unintegrated in academic settings due to that fact that speaking and writing have been defined as diametric opposites by the influential great divide theorists. Therefore, the desire for recognition in both speaking and writing may be present and intense.

Bromberg has argued that the desire for recognition is such a powerful need for the self that even negative and burdensome aspects of the self crave recognition rather than the annihilation that being ignored can bring. Bromberg has further argued that aspects of the self, such as depressive states, can constitute “an internally coherent aspect of the self.” (p. 245). By this he means that these states are “not simply something one feels but who one is at least at certain times” (p.245). He then notes that any given state can completely take over the individual’s sense of self, and thus makes the argument that this aspect of the self can thus not be denied recognition without denying the entire self at that moment. This formulation of one aspect of the self taking over at a particular moment may give us insight into the fact that a student who is feeling incompetent at speaking or writing at a given moment, may feel completely incompetent, regardless of successes in the other mode, or at other

moments. The need for recognition, or a sense of being known, may be intense. Incorporating the possibility of the student being seen as lacking a skill in one moment (for instance, on a particular writing assignment), without completely taking away their sense of self as academically successful at other moments, may be key to offering the type of recognition in the classroom that Bromberg theorizes is most keenly desired by the self throughout life.

I want to apply Bromberg's notion of dissociated parts of the self to the non-overlapping nature of recognition for written competence in school and spoken competence in school. In some ways, speaking and writing are isolated from each other, and not allowed to "inform" each other in regards to student's sense of academic competence. For instance, a student may receive positive recognition for their written work from teachers. However, that recognition may feel absent in situations when the student's competence is known only through "listening" audiences. One's peers often know the student's competence solely through speaking and listening modes of communication. What is one to do then to get positive recognition if one feels competent as a writer and not a speaker? The student may either feel like a fraud - i.e., exposed as not really competent - or may adopt an identity of "not smart". Alternately, the student might learn to feel smart without peer recognition or to somehow find a way to be recognized through writing. I have the image of a student silently handing over a written paper when asked a question. The social and the mental are separated when speaking and writing are considered completely isolated experiences, which I argue is the results of the great divide theories which hold that only written expression conveys the abilities of the student..

In the scenario of the student who is recognized by teachers who have read his or her work, those readers are often, in school settings, those in authority over one – formal teachers. This creates a highly fraught relationship with those few who can provide that positive recognition and with the authority those few often represent. Another question which this scenario raises is why the recognition is so badly needed in the first place. Bromberg may be used to handle the question of why positive recognition is so crucial.

To paint an opposite scenario, consider the student who finds positive recognition when using spoken communication, but who is stymied when faced with a blank page. In these cases, the authority represented by the formal teacher who represents school authority and collects official writing is associated with the failure to achieve positive recognition of one's competence. The possibilities for positive recognition are even more limited for those who feel disabled by the written mode of expression than for those who feel disabled by the spoken mode of expression.

Recognition in Communicative Contexts

Why might a student feel that he or she is not recognized in the spoken and/or written realms? Why might any disjunction between the amount or source of recognition in one domain versus the other be experienced as problematic? Many answers can be given to such a question, but two seem particularly helpful for orienting one towards some sort of intervention.

The first is Wachtel's 1993 theory of cyclical psychodynamics. This theory, which will be described briefly below, lends itself to the study of communication

because it particularly deals with the role of interaction in keeping problematic inter- and/or intra- personal states alive. Communication – whether spoken, written or otherwise – is one primary form of interaction. Thus, a theory which explains how interactions can sustain problematic patterns may be helpful in dealing with communication issues.

Cyclical psychodynamics shares with much of psychodynamic and psychoanalytic theory an interest in early experiences and the deep roots of many psychological difficulties. However, it differs from much of traditional psychoanalytic thought in that it pays a great deal of attention to the ways in which individual psychological problems are sustained through patterns of interaction in one's current daily life. The theory points out that “deeper structures not only influence daily interactions and experiences but are influenced by them and/or symbolically represent them.” (Wachtel, 1993, p.19).

Because of this acknowledgement of the current day persistence of the problematic patterns, this theory acknowledges that one acts not only out of an “irrational” fixation on the past, but also out of a current experience. Thus, paying attention to current events and the sequences of actions and reactions which sustains them becomes very important. Further, the theory acknowledges the irony of the way in which problems persist precisely because the behavior of the individual may, in trying to avoid certain outcomes, provoke those very reactions (Wachtel, 1993).

For example, an individual who possesses a great deal of anger, and represses that anger because it seems so overwhelming, might adopt a very meek way of interacting in the world. As a result, many people take advantage of this individual or

not realize his or her needs, which will then only increase the anger and increase the perceived need for repression. Only by trying something new at the start of this cycle might this individual see that different reactions can be experienced.

Further, the theory pays close attention to the role of anxiety, because of the role anxiety can play in limiting people to their known positions, which tend to precipitate the same cycles again and again. In this way, the cycle can be described as “[a] self-perpetuating process has been established that maintains itself by the consequences it repeatedly generates” (Wachtel, 1993, p.20). In a slightly different conceptualization of the same situation, Wachtel notes that the defense and the ‘defended against’ confirm each other in the present.

This cycle of repetition of the same pattern and the unwillingness to try something new, largely because of the wish to avoid anxiety-provoking situations, are salient and consequential in many ways that may be relevant to the issue of academic self-concept in the realms of speaking and writing. Wachtel noted that if one continually avoids certain situation, then certain skills will never be learned, thinking may be less clear (since one is focused on the avoidance of many situations), and one’s actual desires will be unclear to oneself, because of the focus on avoiding anxiety (Wachtel, 1993, p.32). This could clearly impede students in their quest to be competent in writing or speaking, since there are clearly realms where practice, skills, and clarity of thought are useful and often necessary parts of the communicative act.

Further, the cycle of confirmation can lead to a situation in which students never receive any new “reactions” which might lessen their anxiety around speaking or writing. For example, students who are anxious about speaking in class may

always speaking quickly in order to complete the speaking as quickly as possible. However, speaking quickly will tend to elicit responses of misunderstanding and/or criticism which will increase the anxiety about speaking in the future. Wachtel also cited therapists Weiss and Sampson (1986) who posited that an individual tends to go through his/her life experience with hypotheses in mind (such as, "People won't listen to me") and see every new experience as a test of such a hypothesis (Weiss & Sampson, 1986, as cited in Wachtel, 1993). It is easy to imagine that a student could selectively view responses from teachers or peers so that they confirm the hypothesis, or that a student could behave in keeping with the cyclical process described above and behave in such a way which elicits confirmation of his or her worst fears.

Some of the implications for intervention or therapy of the cyclical psychodynamic theory and the hypothesis-confirmation theory are the following: an attempt to lessen anxiety so that the individual might be willing to try new actions which may elicit new reactions; the attempt to provide a corrective emotional experience in therapy or elsewhere (Alexander, 1946, as cited in Wachtel, 1993); or the attempt to find ways to specifically disconfirm an individual's problematic hypothesis about his or herself or the world. One question in applying these theories to the issue of academic self-concept in the realms of speaking and writing will be to see how any of these interventions might be useful for students struggling with uneven or lacking feelings of competency in the two realms.

Mel Levine, a specialist in learning, has presented the concept of output failure, which he cautions is not a syndrome, but rather a result of a variety of different problems. As he argues in his book "The Myth of Laziness" (2004), students

who do not produce sufficient output are often labeled as lazy – that is they have trouble because of how others recognize or perceive their work. His focus on products, and how others see the individual as a result of those products, is useful for considering the dynamics of students who may learn effectively, or even communicate effectively in some modes, but experience a breakdown in output production when faced with the task of communication production of one particular type. While Levine did not want to assert that productivity, and its recognition by others, is the only path to positive self-concept in school, he nevertheless argued that “feeling productive, showing off a product line in which you can take pride, and reaping *recognition* [italics added] for your output are major sources of satisfaction and meaning in your life” (Levine, 2004, p. 8). In order to help students avoid “success deprivation”, he urged that output failure be addressed and understood.

For students who feel that they are not recognized in either speaking or writing contexts, they too can experience success deprivation. In studying the issue of recognition for students – and the communication modes through which students often produce in school – it is hoped that more success and positive self-concepts can be experienced by a greater number of students.

Schema Approach to Speaking and Writing

The term schema has been used in many different contexts in psychological theory and research. For instance, the field of psychology speaks of schemas for gender identity, for life history, for racial identity, for information processing. In cognitive psychology, a schema has been defined as “a pattern imposed on reality or

experience to help individuals explain it, to mediate perception, and to guide their responses” (Young, Klosko, & Weishaar, 2003, p.6). In this context, a schema is a blueprint or a map which guides an individual in noting which parts of an event are most salient and worthy of attention. In developmental psychology, Piaget wrote about schemata when describing the templates and expectations about the world a child has in his or her mind, which are adjusted as the child experiences more and more events and information in the world.

Specifically within the realm of cognitive therapy, Beck (1967), often credited as the father of cognitive therapy, defined the word schema as a “broad organizing principle for making sense of one’s life experiences.” (Beck, 1967, as cited in Young et al., 2003, p.7). Further, Beck formulated that “schemas, many of which are formed early in life, continue to be elaborated and then superimposed on later life experiences, even when they are no longer applicable” (Beck, 1967, as cited in Young et al., 2003, p. 7).

Jeffrey Young, a student of Beck’s, created schema therapy, which is a variation on cognitive therapy. In the context of schema therapy, Young defines a subset of schemas which he believed may be at the heart of many chronic or characterological psychological problems. He named this subset of schemas “Early Maladaptive Schemas”. These are schemas that: 1) consist of broad, pervasive themes in one’s life, 2) are comprised of thoughts, feelings, sensations, about self and others, 3) were developed in childhood or adolescence and elaborated upon later in life, and 4) are dysfunctional to a large degree. In summary, Early Maladaptive Schemas are

“self-defeating emotional and cognitive patterns” which prove resistant to change (Young et al., 2003, p.7).

In this dissertation, I will use the concept of schema referring only to expectations about how the world will be for an individual, in one particular realm – that of communication in school. I am not looking for schemas that necessarily provide coherence to one’s identity or life story, but rather schemas which say something prescriptive and predictive for the self about how the future will unfold.

As we will see in the methods section, where markers for schemas are used in guiding a section of the data analysis, schemas are often marked by such negative patterns as ironic repetitions (similar to those described by Wachtel, 1993), distortive core beliefs, and unintended consequences, among others markers. I will be adapting schema theory by applying it to literacy and communication issues. The application of this theory to communication practices which take place in the classroom, and are considered from a psychosocial and Bakhtinian point of view as has been argued in this literature review, requires expanding schema theory, since the nature of speaking and writing issues is that they are social and interactional practices. Thus, schemas which student have around speaking and writing may well interact with schemas that other individuals (such as teachers and peers) have around listening and reading. Further, schemas that individuals possess around speaking and writing were most likely created in part due to past experiences with the social context (such as past experiences of responses received) and will in turn influence the future responses which the individual will receive.

Summarizing the Literature Review

In this literature review, five different approaches to speaking and writing practices have been critically reviewed. The first was the cognitive reductionist approach in which differences between speaking and writing have been conceived of most often in simplified cognitive terms (Farrell, 1983; Lunsford, 1979; Street's critique, 1984; Rose's critique, 1984). This approach was critiqued both because of internal, logical flaws (as described in particular by Rose, 1984 and in research such as the Vai research by Scribner & Cole, 1981) and because a reductive cognitive approach is based on a lack of awareness of the audience-focused and social nature of language practices (Bakhtin, 1986), and therefore the social relational nature of literacy practices (Daiute, 2004). Further the cognitive approach to speaking and writing differences may impact the reception which students' academic expression receives, since the approach tends to pathologize students who have problems with writing, and thus might cause audiences, who are usually the teachers, to stereotype a student who has trouble with writing and not be open to future improvements or to demonstrations of the student's ability through spoken expression.

The second approach which was discussed in depth was the "context-sensitive" approach of linguistics who have researched the differences between what they often call "typical" speaking and writing. By typical the linguists mean that certain types of speaking and writing are more commonly practiced, but they are not necessarily essential expressions of the mode. While this look at typical types of speaking and writing gave some insight into the often varied lived experience of

speaking and writing, it did not insist upon essential qualities of speaking or writing per se. Instead this approach acknowledged that context – such as formality vs. informality, personal vs. academic, dramatic vs. humorous, etc – often sets the parameters for an act of expression in ways at least as relevant as the mode of expression does. In this way, the context-sensitive approach moved us closer to a social approach with its focus on context in determining the features of speaking or writing. Linguistic research also addressed interesting methodological issues that come with studying phenomena – such as speaking and writing- which are often conflated with their typical context.

The third approach covered in this literature review was the political and historical approach which noted that bias, especially in terms of race and racialized norms, has accompanied the way certain groups' speech, and even more so, writing, has been valued. This showed the political, non-neutral nature of the evaluation of academic expression. Additionally, this section provided a history of the composition movement and gave institutional context to the study of literacy in urban, public colleges.

The fourth approach which was introduced in this literature review was the Bakhtinian approach to speaking and writing which emphasizes that all language use takes place in a sequence of past and future utterances. The importance of genre, as a preceding utterance, and audience, as a subsequent utterance, was stressed. The use of Bakhtinian theory in composition studies (Ball & Freedman, 2004; Halasek, 1999) specifically was reviewed as well.

Finally, the fifth approach to speaking and writing which was introduced was the clinical approach, which helped to introduce the idea that speaking and writing must be seen as both academic and personal experiences, as exemplified by the desire for recognition, as introduced by Bromberg's (1998) conception of recognition. We then reviewed theories which described the way communication can impact the self: both Wachtel's (1993) theory of cyclical communication, which explored patterns of miscommunication and the impact communication and miscommunication has upon the self, and Young et al.'s (2003) schema theory which showed how these cycles can become patterns which influence identity and interactions.

Overall, this literature review has argued that approaches to speaking and writing which exclude the social context result in misunderstandings of the nature of speaking and writing (i.e., the cognitive reductionist approach), and that social approaches help us to more clearly and specifically understand the experience of academic speaking and writing. In this dissertation, I will study the immediate social context of speaking and writing by employing the concept of preceding and subsequent utterances. This reimagining will take into account more of the important dimensions that make up a speaking or writing experience and thus allow for more appropriate interventions to be created. In the discussion section of this dissertation, I will fully take up the topic of interventions that may be suggested by my findings and by the theoretical ideas behind placing recognition at the center of the experience of academic expression.

Chapter II. Methods for Researching the Immediate and Broader Social Contexts of Speaking and Writing

In this dissertation, speaking and writing are conceptualized as psychosocially-situated and psychologically-meaningful activities, not simply cognitive skills, which is often the dominant model for understanding literacy issues. This dissertation builds upon the Bakhtinian approach to literacy which focuses on that which historicizes – immediately and over longer periods of time – the moment-to-moment utterances which constitute and surround speaking and writing. Schema theory (Young et al., 2003) and a communication model from cyclical psychodynamics (Wachtel, 1993) are used as complementary approaches to the Bakhtinian approach as they bring the focus of interaction closer to the individual, over time, by looking at how expectations of self and others have practical implications in terms of one's experience and interactions.

The psychosocial aspects of speaking and writing are studied in two ways in this dissertation. First, I analyze college students' reports of best and worst speaking and writing experiences by coding immediate social context factors. These factors are coded using nine codes consisting of four types of precursors to the speaking or writing and five types of responses to the speaking or writing. Using this coding system, I report which immediate social context factors (i.e., which precursors and responses) are associated with positive and negative speaking and writing experiences. Additionally, I use archival research to explain some of the results found.

Secondly, I conceptually move from the concepts of precursors and responses to describing the subjective experience of recognition, which includes various positive and negative ways of feeling known, through speaking and writing. The experience of recognition refers to the psychosocial states that students experience as they internalize -often by comparing with their own implicit expectations for responses - the immediate social context factors, often responses from audience(s), to their speaking or writing. The speaking and writing, which is created in part for the explicitly or implicitly anticipated audience, provides the potential for the speaker or writer to feel known or not, based upon their experience of the entire sequence of events. This entire sequence includes their own expectations – not always explicitly revealed - for how the writing or speaking will be received; the speaking or writing itself; and the responses they receive about their text. The very fact that speaking and writing – as social communication – pose the opportunity for the self to be known distinguishes these acts from mere academic skill sets, and this potential for being known sets the stage for expectations, audience-orientation, and audience response, all of which are internalized by the student.

Research Questions

I. What makes up the immediate and broader social context of speaking and writing?

1. What frames speaking and writing experiences, in terms of what is salient to the student? What are the preceding and subsequent utterances/audiences? What comes immediately before (precursors to) and after (responses to) speaking and writing acts? How do the things

that come before and after the speaking and writing act differ across the two modes of expression and across positive and negative experiences of each? What does this tell us about the relationally and socially situated nature of speaking and writing, and what is different across the two modes of expression? I will address this question by describing the precursors and responses I found in student narratives of best and worst speaking and writing experiences.

2. How are race and gender related to what comes before and after the speaking or writing acts? What does this further tell us about the relationally and socially situated nature of speaking and writing as it varies across student identity groups? This question will be addressed by looking at how the associations between the various precursors and responses and the narratives (best and worst speaking and writing experiences) vary across participant demographics.
3. What larger social forces (which inform the way social forces are lived out in the microcosm of an interaction between a student, various audiences, and production of speaking and writing) may help explain group differences found in the immediate social contexts of speaking and writing? This question will be addressed by a search of NY news sources and an alternative CUNY student newspaper, as they address CUNY students and questions of writing in college (particularly open admissions, for reasons that will be explained), and a look at how students are represented in these articles.

II. What are the psychosocial consequences for students of experiencing and internalizing the social context of speaking and writing?

4. What are the various ways that students feel recognized – that is positively or negatively known through their speaking and writing, based on their internalization of precursors and responses? How are implicit expectations and, offered and perceived response, evident in each type of recognition? What precursors and responses are associated with each type of recognition, and how does this shed light on the way the individual is impacted by the social context of speaking and writing, and his or her personal internalization of the social context?
5. Which of these types of recognition are associated with writing and which with speaking, and how does this shed further light on the social nature of speaking and writing?
6. What types of patterns of internalization(which I will be calling schemas), which often are experienced in interaction with audience members who have their own patterns of meaning-making, lead to these recognition outcomes and where are places for intervention within the patterns?
7. How do these recognition outcomes distribute across groups, particularly community college students vs. four-year college

students? What does this tell us about group differences with the speaking and writing processes?

Procedures and Focal Data

This dissertation is based upon data gathered from 30 interviews (28 transcripts were available for analysis, because of technical issues with the taping of two of the interviews) with CUNY college students, approximately half from four-year colleges and approximately half from a community college. The population was chosen because CUNY is a diverse college system, which has sustained historic debates over the best way to teach and integrate writing into the college. CUNY has both high achievers who pass literacy tests and write for classes easily and students who struggle with writing issues.

Comparing four-year college students and community college students, as well as exploring archival data which addresses one of the literacy and open admissions debates at CUNY, allows this dissertation to consider the question of whether students from different types of institutions associate different types of precursors and responses with speaking and writing and if they experience different types of recognition. Further, the participants were diverse in terms of gender, race, and speaking/writing preference (details in later section in this chapter), allowing comparisons along these dimensions as well.

The data which this dissertation focuses on are the answers to four interview questions. The four focal questions ask students to describe their best and worst experiences of speaking and writing in college. Their stories of their experiences are

considered narratives because they are stories of their best and worst experiences, as they chose to tell me those stories. Thus, four narratives from each student interviewed are the focal data:

- 1) best writing experience narrative;
- 2) worst writing experience narrative;
- 3) best speaking experience narrative; and
- 4) worst speaking experience narrative.

I argue that the narratives showed students' perspectives about what makes writing and speaking positive or negative, and allowed for a comparison between speaking and writing, across students. The coding schemes which I developed to code these narratives were initially developed based upon my theoretical assumptions – that writing and speaking are social practices and audience focused – but ultimately relied upon what was found in the narratives. The coding schemes correspond to parts one and two of the study: 1) studying immediate social context of speaking and writing (conceptualized precursors and responses) and 2) studying types of recognition. Both sections will be described in detail later in this chapter.

Recruitment Sites

As I have discussed, CUNY was an appropriate site for this project because literacy issues have been debated within the system for years. CUNY's doors were opened to all NYC high school graduates in 1969, with the advent of open admissions. Open admissions brought with it the need for basic writing courses, as students who may not have previously been accepted to CUNY now had to be

prepared to thrive in the system, often necessitating extra instruction to bring their writing to the college level. Additionally, CUNY became an extremely diverse campus due to the open admissions policy. A post-secondary education system such as CUNY was an appropriate site to examine issues various types of students have with speaking and writing, since students come from a full range of backgrounds, and CUNY is characterized by a consistent discussion of literacy issues.

In 1998, the open admissions policy was revised, and some would say ended since students are now only guaranteed admission to a community college, and not to a four year college, and remedial instruction was moved to the community colleges exclusively. In this way, literacy issues were highlighted, as a writing test became one of the exams a community college student must pass to move on to the four-year system at CUNY. Selecting students from both community colleges and four-year colleges allowed me to roughly compare two types of students from within the CUNY system, as will be described below. I stress that the comparison is a rough one, as there is a great diversity within each site, with some students from each group reporting ease with their courses and their writing experiences and some students in each group reporting struggles with academic demands.

Recruitment Methods

Students were recruited in two ways. First, the four-year college students were recruited through a program called CUNY BA. This program is designed to allow four-year college students who apply to be able to design their own majors, accommodate their schedules (including work schedules) and take courses at all of

the CUNY campuses. This program was used as recruitment site for two reasons. First, it was a convenient way to sample four-year college CUNY students. Secondly, I thought it would serve as a particularly good comparison to the community college student group, since the CUNY BA program is a selective program which students must apply to and be accepted to. At the same time, the CUNY BA program is very diverse, as is CUNY overall. It is fair to characterize the students in the CUNY BA program as academically successful (the average GPA of CUNY BA students is 3.1, according to the program's website), and yet coming from diverse backgrounds (over 50% of CUNY BA students are from minority backgrounds, and many are coming back to school after a hiatus, according to the program's website).

The recruitment goal of interviewing 15 students from this program, who attended various four-year CUNY campuses, was carried out by emailing a list-serve the program has and giving out flyers at the orientation for the program (see Flyer in Appendix A and note that the same text was used in the email message). Students were recruited to talk about their feelings about speaking and writing in college and were paid \$20 as a token of appreciation for their time. Students signed IRB-approved consent forms (see Appendix A for consent form), which were approved by both the Graduate Center and CUNY BA program. Interviews were taped.

The community college students were all recruited from one campus, which was one of six community college campuses in the CUNY system. The IRB on campus granted permission for me to interview students, and I received IRB approval from the Graduate Center as well (see Appendix A for consent form). Students on this campus were recruited through flyers posted on the campus and given out in the

cafeteria. Students signed consent forms and the interviews were taped. All students were paid \$20 for their participation as a token of appreciation for their time

Participant Demographics

Overall demographics

There were 28 students whose data were usable, as two of the 30 interviews were unusable due to tape recording problems. The 28 students were a diverse group of participants. There were 11 males and 17 females. They reported their races in the following way: eight White (from various backgrounds); 12 African American or Black (not all participants reported their ethnic identity, but all 12 of these participants identified as African American or Black, and it is worth noting that among the students who identified as African American or Black, approximately half identified with a West Indian background and approximately half identified with an American background. I use the term African American through the dissertation to refer to all 12 of these students, because that was the term of choice most often employed by the students); seven Latino students (from various countries); and one student whose race I did not record.

There were 17 community college students and 11 four-year college students in the sample. (College type was studied not only because it sheds light on the different experiences of students at community-colleges vs. four-year colleges, but also because it gives some insight into social class issues, since college type is a rough relative proxy for social privilege.)The original goal was to interview 15 students from each group, but the numbers turned out as they did due to logistical

factors in recruitment, and the loss of two four-year college student interviews due to audio difficulties. Finally, the participants self-classified as either preferring writing or preferring speaking, in academic settings: 14 stated that the preferred writing and 11 preferred speaking, and three were undecided.

Demographics within Gender Groups

It is important to note, given later analyses, that more of the females than males are non-white, thus conflating gender and race to some extent. Among the 17 females, three identified as white; eight as African American; and six as Latina. Among the 11 males, five identified as white; four as African American; one as Latino; and one student whose race was unrecorded. Please note that gender and Latino ethnicity were almost entirely confounded, with all but one of the Latino students being female. This may explain why I was able to find race group differences between White and African Americans, but did not find that Latino students fell into the patterns of either White or African American students.

Males and females were represented relatively equally in my sample of community college students and four-year college students. Among the 17 females, 10 were community college students and seven were four-year college students. Among the 11 males, seven were community college students and four were four-year college students.

Males and females showed somewhat different levels of expressed preference for speaking versus writing. Among the 17 females, 10 preferred writing, four

preferred speaking, and three were undecided. Among the 11 males, four preferred writing and seven preferred speaking.

Demographics within Narrative Type

Since not all students provided narratives for all four situations (best speaking; best writing; worst speaking; worst writing – several students could not think of a worst writing and/or speaking experience), and technical problems caused a few of the narratives to be lost (due to inaudible sections of the tapes), the demographics of the students who provided each of the types of the narratives varied.

For best speaking narratives, all 28 subjects provided a narrative, and therefore the demographics are reflected by the entire group demographics provided above.

For best writing narratives, 25 students provided narratives. These 25 students had the following demographics. The gender breakdown was 11 males and 14 females. The racial characteristics were six White; 12 African Americans; six Latinos; and one race not recorded. 16 students were community college students and nine were four-year college students. 13 preferred writing and 11 preferred speaking, while three were undecided.

Twenty-three students provided worst speaking experience narratives. Of these, nine were males and 14 were females. Eight were whites, nine were African-Americans, five were Latinos and one did not have a recorded race. There were 13 community college students and 10 four-year college students who provided a worst

speaking experience narrative. Finally, 11 of these students preferred writing, while nine preferred speaking and three were undecided.

Twenty-four students provided worst writing experience narratives. Of these, 10 were males and 14 were females. Six were white, 11 were African American, six were Latino and one had race unrecorded. Fifteen were community college students and nine were four-year college students. Thirteen of these students preferred writing, while 10 preferred speaking and one was undecided.

Interview: Rationale and Protocol

This dissertation was conducted using semi-structured interviews with college students. The method and the sample were both chosen because they served to give voice to students' own perspectives, from a variety of positions in the "literacy" placement structure, on speaking and writing in college. Since my working assumption was that writing and speaking are deeply meaningful acts and they are tied to the recognition that may or may not be forthcoming from other people, texts, and institutions, I believed that giving students an opportunity to tell some stories about their own experiences, in a one-on-one, relatively in-depth, and somewhat unstructured format would allow for these intense and personal stories to surface.

At the same time, I wanted to have enough structure in the interviews that I would be able to make some comparisons between students and groups of students. I also wanted to create opportunities for students to reflect on some of the issues that I thought would be most important in terms of understanding recognition in the social context of speaking and writing in college. I created a variety of types of questions in

the interview, all designed, as will be described, to make it possible to find out how a student thinks and feels about recognition issues in speaking and writing and to give me options to see which data best addressed the relatively unexplored topic of recognition and the social context of speaking and writing in college.

Rationale for Interview Questions

As briefly described above, the semi-structured interview format was chosen as the best method because of the personal nature of the topic, and the fact that this area of study is relatively unexplored. There has been little exploration of the qualitative nature of students' feelings about their own speaking and writing in school, and certainly there has not been explicit study of the impact of social context on students' feelings about speaking and writing. Therefore, I wanted to focus the questions around the issues of recognition and social context, but I wanted to allow myself to follow up on the issues the student raised. The amount of flexibility is clearly outlined in the interview format.

A semi-structured interview format was also appropriate for one of the goals of the study, which was an attempt to identify patterns which students might engage in around speaking and writing. The semi-structured interview allowed the subject to reflect on patterns and to discuss expectations for speaking and writing experiences. The somewhat open-ended nature of the questions was designed to allow enough data to accumulate so that some patterns in how the subject understands and narrates their experiences around these issues will emerge.

Another issue related to my choice of methods is that of speaking versus writing. I chose to gather data through spoken interviews for several reasons. Based upon my own past research experience and the experience of others on undergraduate campuses, I found that students sometimes answer written queries with a very brief response. I felt it was likely that I would get more data to work with, and thus be able to identify more patterns, if I gave the students a chance to talk through these descriptions of their own thoughts and expectations than if I asked them to write them down. Secondly, research on self-talk has found that people tend to provide similar information in writing and in speaking when reporting their self-talk in a particular situation. It may be because the task demands – listing and describing thoughts – are identical whether in spoken or written form that the content ends up being so similar.

The goal of the interview protocol was to provide enough structure so that students are thinking about similar topics and contexts when they are responding to the questions, while leaving the situations and the response expectations open enough to elicit people's "typical" expectations and to allow for a large enough amount of data so that the patterns the student tends to employ around these situations will emerge.

Interview Protocol

As stated above, the overall purpose of the interview was to elicit material from the student about his or her expectations, experiences, and beliefs regarding speaking and writing in the college classroom. This material was elicited through three *types* of questions: 1) narratives about best and worst speaking and writing

experiences in order to get the a sense of the types of experiences a student has had (and the social context factors that accompany subjectively best and worst experiences) and the way a student understands and narrates those experiences; 2) hypothetical situations which ask a student if he or she has been in situation X and how he or she would or has responded in order to find out how the range of interview subjects responds to a similar context; and 3) enactive questions which asked the student to actually pretend he or she is in a class and then write for five minutes on a prompt I distributed and then to speak for five minutes on the same topic. I made observations while they wrote and spoken and then asked reflective questions about the activity. The enactive questions were meant to help the student to recall the types of thoughts and expectations that go through his or her mind when s/he embarks on a speaking or writing assignment in the classroom. Additionally, I hoped the enacting would allow me to observe the student doing these tasks and allow the student to reflect upon the experience afterwards.

In terms of the order in which the questions are presented, the interview is made up of five sections: questions about speaking; questions about writing; questions comparing the two; an enactive section; and a final summary section in which I asked the student to discuss what he or she thought speaking or writing reflected about him or herself and other students. In the first two sections, the structure is as follows. The first question poses a hypothetical situation and asks how the student would react to a particular social situation involving speaking or writing, respectively. The purpose of making the first question a hypothetical is so the student has “something to go on” in answering the first question, and is not asked in the very

first question to share a best or worst experience, with no other prompt than that. The rest of the interview is self-explanatory and detailed below.

Please note that this dissertation is based on the data from the first three sets of interview questions: 1) questions about speaking experiences; 2) questions about writing experiences; and 3) questions about preferences between the two modes. The questions which I did not use were the questions based on the enactive exercise, where I had the students do writing and speaking exercises and then reflect on the experiences; and the final summary questions.

Within the questions which yielded useful data, the questions which provided the focal data for the dissertation were the four questions about 1) best writing experience; 2) worst writing experience; 3) best speaking experience; and 4) worst speaking experience. Answers to a few of the other questions (namely, questions about speaking and writing preference, and a few other questions about speaking and writing experiences) were used tangentially, but not as central pieces of data. The four focal questions yielded the data that was most clearly comparable across interviews and most interesting in terms of looking at recognition. I want to present the interview in its entirety to give the reader a full context of what I asked and because I will address in the discussion section why I think some of the questions did not work as intended and what this may teach us for future research projects in this area. Please note that the interview questions which are used in the analyses reported in this dissertation are bolded.

Interview Protocol

In all interview questions, there is an initial question and follow up prompts. The prompts were only used when the student was having trouble elaborating on their answer. Other follow up questions were used if the student began a story, and did not give details. There will be many narratives quoted in full in the course of the dissertation, so the types of prompting will be displayed.

I. Speaking Questions

1. Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to join a classroom discussion but you didn't? Why? (What was the situation? Can you give more details?)

If yes, what happened?

If no, do you generally feel comfortable speaking in classes?

2. What was your best experience with speaking in college?

(What was the situation? Can you give more details?)

3. What was your worst experience with speaking for college?

(What happened? Can you give more details?)

II. Writing

4. Have you ever been in a situation where you are given an in-class essay and you find yourself stuck, but it seems like other students are writing easily? What happened? What were you thinking?

5. What was your best experience with writing in college?

(What happened? Can you give more details?)

6. What was your worst experience with writing in college?

(What happened? Can you give more details?)

III. Comparing Speaking and Writing

7. Which do you prefer? Why? Which one makes you feel like you'll be more easily understood? Which one makes you feel more intelligent?

IV. Exercises

Enactive Questions:

Note: For these two exercises, the order will be alternated, by subject. So, every other subject will do the writing exercise first, and the rest will do the speaking exercise first.

Pretend this is an assignment for your current English Class.

8. Student is given a sheet of paper with the following prompt:

We want to find out how students feel about the proposed CUNY Tuition Hike. We will provide a short article which gives you background on the issue. We want you to give your opinions in a short written response for a CUNY wide newsletter.

I won't really collect the paper. (Note: The purpose is not to get a writing sample, and I don't think it would be useful for that purpose in any case). How did you feel when you were writing it? Do you feel that way when you have to write for class? What was going through your mind?

9. Now, please stand in front of the room and speak for 3 minutes on the same topic.

How did you feel? What went through your mind? Have you ever had a similar experience in class? Is it harder or easier in class than this experience was?

10. If you had to do this speaking experience in real life, would the make-up of the students in the class (same background as you vs. different race/background from you; same gender as you vs. different gender from you) make it easier or harder for you? Comment. What about the teacher – would the gender and race/background matter in that case?

11. If you really had to write the article for a newsletter that would be published for the class, would it matter to you if the students in the class were of similar race/background or a different race/background and same gender/different gender? When you write for a teacher, does it make it easier or harder if your teacher is same race/background or different race/background or same gender/different gender?

Summary:

12. In general, what skills do you think a college student must have to be a good writer?

13. Do you think most of the other students in your classes have these skills? Why or why not? Do you think you have them?

14. What can you tell about your peers by how they write? Can you tell how good a student he or she is? Can you tell how smart he/she is? What can someone tell about you by your writing? Can they tell how good a student or how smart you are?

15. In general, what skills do you think a college student must have to be a good speaker?

16. Do you think most of the other students in your classes have these skills? Why or why not? Do you think you have them?

17. What can you tell about your peers by how they speak in class? Can you tell how good a student he or she is? Can you tell how smart he/she is? What can someone tell about you by hearing you speak in class? Can they tell how good a student or how smart you are?

Interviewer Subjectivity

I carried out all the interviews, as well as designing the study and the interview protocol. For this reason, I wanted to consider a few aspects of my experience that may have impacted the work and the interviews. I personally was invested in this work because my own experiences with academic expression – first with a hesitancy and difficulty with speaking on academic topics that I felt was not reflected in my written work, and then later, with various difficulties with the writing process in my own life as the challenges got bigger – are so central to my personal identity. I feel that my own personal investment was a positive source of curiosity and passion, and a source of empathy with student concerns. I wanted to consider whether this empathy was a positive factor in the research process or a block to finding out students' personal opinions.

I noticed this empathy while doing this research and also while serving for two years as a writing fellow at a community college in the CUNY system, where I worked with students and faculty on writing issues. However, I found a few times in the interview process that students would state that negative experiences with speaking or writing were sometimes not “such a big deal”, which caused me to wonder whether my concerns were overshadowing the actual concerns of the students I was interviewing. My belief from my interviews is that ultimately, most students did find speaking and writing in school to be intensely emotional experiences, at times, but I believe that if I had gotten more student input on the questions I designed that I might have learned more specific things from my interviews.

Further, it is undeniable that my role as an interviewer must have impacted the interviews in a way that would not have been the case if students had interviewed each other, or taken the project in some other more student-centered direction. I am not sure how students interpreted my position – the fact that I was a graduate student, a white woman, older than most of the students, my appearance, my personality, etc. – but I assume that students in some ways related to me as a teacher figure, since I was in a more advanced position at CUNY than they were. I sensed that students tended to place me in some category which was not quite a teacher, and not quite a peer.

I did make very clear to them that I was not grading them or in any contact with anyone who graded them, and that all information would be used anonymously. Further, I did not have any social contact with the students, so perhaps they felt free to express themselves honestly with me. On the balance, I imagine that my interviews were somewhat impacted by students' impression that I was in some ways related to those who have taught them writing – since my interview probably sounded like it is the work of someone who wishes to improve the teaching of speaking and writing - , and so they may have tried to impress me when describing their experiences with academic expression to me.

I further realized that as an interviewer I tended to respond to many of the students' statements with encouragement or support, rather than with neutral statements. I think it is possible that if I had maintained more neutral stance that students might have been able to share a wider variety of experiences, rather than perhaps pursuing topics simply because of my enthusiasm for them. In future studies I

might alter my own responses and consider bringing students into the process of designing and administering interviews.

Even with my concerns about my impact on the interviews, students did report many interesting and meaningful speaking and writing experiences during the interviews. The two sections of the dissertation – coding immediate social context of speaking and writing (i.e., coding the precursors and responses) section and the recognition and academic communication reception concept section– are based on analysis of the best and worst speaking and writing experience narratives elicited through the interviews and will be described below.

Coding the Immediate Social Context: Precursors and Responses

The moment-to-moment social context of speaking and writing (which can also include within it, through the immediate actors, the influence of more distant social contexts, for example, memories of past experiences or the impact of tales of friends' or family members' experiences), has often been overshadowed by a focus on the cognitive abilities of the individual student as the focus of attention and intervention in literacy initiatives and studies.

In this dissertation, speaking and writing in college are conceptualized as inherently social and relational activities. They are conceptualized as forms of communication implicitly or explicitly addressed to an audience, using the social tool of language. Discourse theory (Bamberg, 2004; Harre, 1987) provides one basis for looking at the moment-to-moment interactions of language use as a site for social relations acted out in interpersonal relationships, as will be discussed below.

Bakhtinian theory specifically focuses our attention on how each instance of language use – including engagement in literacy practices – builds on past uses of language and reaches towards future reception and use of language (Bakhtin, 1986). Thus, to best understand college speaking and writing we need to understand how the act of speaking and writing is contextualized by what comes before and afterwards. To reach this goal, I coded student narratives of their best and worst experiences with speaking and writing for the immediate social context factors, by coding for 1) precursors – those things which came before the speaking or writing event and were deemed important enough to be included in the narrative – and 2) responses - those things which came after the speaking or writing event and were included in the narrative.

Rationale for Focusing on Narratives

Narrative analysis, as discussed by Daiute and Lightfoot (2004), is a powerful research tool in that it “involves explaining psychological phenomena as meanings that are ordered from some theoretical perspective, like that of a storyteller, and consist of information and comments about the significance of that information” (p.x). In this vein, I focused on student narratives about their speaking and writing experiences, because I wanted to see what sorts of events, particularly those details framing the speaking and writing experience, *were considered significant* to the students themselves when they subjectively retold their experiences to me.

Further, hearing an individual’s story of an event is helpful because it allows one to gain a particular sort of access to that individual’s life experience, subjectively

recounted, in as full detail as the storyteller wishes to go. In this way, though perhaps my research is not strictly narrative, in the sense that some research which focuses strictly on episodic, storytelling would be, in that my interview questions “prompt” and ask for details while the student is telling his or her stories, I am capitalizing on one of the advantages that Daiute & Lightfoot (2004) stressed regarding narratives as data. Daiute and Lightfoot (2004) noted that the researcher is able to learn about phenomena through the holistic tool of meaning-making and stories (p.xi).

A further advantage to using narratives of student experiences within my research was that narrative – defined in its traditional meaning of a story or episode conveyed in words – is by definition a story with sequence of some sort (beginning, middle and end). Thus, a “narrative” – or story – of a particular experience that a student had with speaking or writing was an excellent venue in which to study the sequence of utterances that come before and after the speaking or writing act.

The way that immediate social context was conceptualized in the coding of the narratives was through the categories of precursors and responses. The reason this coding is useful is that by identifying sources of precursors and response associated with each type of narrative, we can see which precursors and responses students associated with best and worst experiences of speaking and writing. There are many things in the student’s personal, social and institutional history that could not be captured by analyzing narratives culled from individual interviews. For instance, I was not able to capture the student’s development over time, since I asked for simply a description of high and low points in their speaking and writing experiences. I also could not capture the student’s interaction with teachers or with peers perfectly, since

I did not see the student in action, as I would have in a classroom setting. Further, the students did not reflect explicitly, in the best and worst experience narratives, on their positionality as members of racial or gender groups. However, in order to counter these problems, I drew on a strength of my narrative approach. I was able to operationalize and analyze my assumption that students' social positions were embedded in their subject positions and would thus influence their narratives. I did this by comparing social aspects of the narratives between different groups of students, such as males and females, and African Americans and White. I found interesting differences in the social contexts they described as will be reported in the results chapter.

In this way, I argue, along with narrative theorists who have used best and worst experience narratives as research tools (Labov, 1972), we will see what types of values and strong emotions the students have, in this case, towards speaking and writing situations, and their immediate social context. In other words, I will be making the argument that if students describe a certain type of response in association with their best writing experience, then that response is likely something which the student strongly associates with positive writing experiences. It can be argued that perhaps that response is even what made the experience positive, or what must be present for this student to have this sort of positive experience.

While this dissertation cannot claim to know why a certain precursor or response is associated with best or worst experiences – for instance whether the student simply gets more of that response or whether he or she finds that this response is defining of a positive experience – it can identify the associations. Then, through

providing examples of student narratives, I can argue that one or more possible explanations for the associations found are convincing.

Overall, seeing differences in sources of precursors and response between speaking and writing and between best and worst experiences of each (and all the permutations where comparisons can be made-across different demographic groups of students) is meant to shed light on how speaking and writing, and positive and negative experiences of both modes of expression, differ in terms of the social context they are formed within.

Coding Immediate Social Context Factors: Defining the Codes for Precursors and Responses

In this dissertation, the term “*precursors*” indicates those elements of the speaking or writing situation, as told in the interview data, which come before speaking or writing and impact the speaker’s or writer’s experience. Precursors are such things as the following: the assignment which sets the parameters for what the student should produce; the ongoing relationship the student has with teachers or peers which may cause a student to feel comfortable or not about speaking or writing; and other things which come before the speaking or writing and impact it. Explicit precursors (such as those mentioned in the previous sentence) are coded for, and implicit precursors (particularly, expectations which are shown only by the student’s reaction to the actual responses he or she receives or in other subtle ways), are not coded in the precursors and responses section, but are taken into account in the

section on types of recognition, which relies heavily on the contribution of expectations.

The term “*responses*” refers to those things, as told in the interview data, that come after speaking and writing . Responses include the following: teacher responses, peer responses, self responses, official responses (like grades), and the text as response.

As stated above, establishing which precursors and responses are associated with speaking and which with writing, and which with positive and negative experiences of each, helps to explain how speaking and writing are similar and different in terms of what comes before and after these acts of academic expression. This allows us to better intervene to improve student speaking and writing from a contextual perspective. For instance, we would intervene differently in a peer-oriented activity than we would in a teacher-oriented activity. Similarly, if we knew that assignment is associated with negative writing experiences but positive speaking experiences, we might investigate the types of assignments given for speaking and for writing or the way we understand students’ experiences with assignments.

In order to provide some larger social context to the study of the immediate social context of precursors and responses, I augmented the interview study with a mini-archival study which focuses on representations of CUNY students in relation to the issue of literacy and writing. This archival analysis gave some idea of the ways students are being represented, which may help us better understand the causes for the responses they receive and the likelihood of different types of students receiving different types of responses. It is a way of partly explaining any differences in types

of responses or precursors found between groups of students and/or between speaking and writing. Details of the archival study will be provided later in the methods chapter.

Coding Precursors and Responses

The precursors and responses coding system came about through a process of coding based in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As mentioned above, the theory which motivated this coding system was Bakhtin's theory that all writing and speaking, and all language use for that matter, is situated in a sequence of utterances – immediately and historically, making writing and speaking inherently social practices.

With this theory, I examined the narratives for what preceded and followed the students' writing and speaking. I found that indeed most of the important components of the students' stories could be captured within the categories of precursors and responses. The precursors which I identified in the narratives were the following (each of which were present in some but not all narratives): the assignment which set the stage for the students' speaking or writing; the ongoing relationship the student had with the teacher in the class; the ongoing relationship the student had with the peers in the class; and the student's conception of his or her ability as a writer or speaker (which I classified as a mastery conception or an ability conception, as described by Dweck & Leggett, 1989). The categories of response which I identified in the narratives were the following: teacher response to text; peer response to text;

self response to text; and the text as response (meaning that the text served as a reflection or distortion of the student's intentions).

Seeing differences in the immediate social context factors (i.e., precursors and responses) between speaking and writing experiences and between best and worst experiences of each (and all the permutations where comparisons can be made across different demographic groups of students) is meant to shed light on how speaking and writing, and positive and negative experiences of both modes of expression, differ in terms of the immediate social context they are formed within. These are the immediate social context factors (precursors and responses) I coded for – based upon my theoretical interest in precursors and responses and what was actually found in the interview data, as I read and re-read the interviews and looked for what seemed to make the experiences positive and negative for students, and realized it was the sequence of events that came before and after, which made up, and gave meaning to, their best and worst experience narratives. Table 1, below, defines each coding category and provides examples of each category. **The full coding manual is available in Appendix B.**

Table 1. Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Name of Code (Type of Code: Precursor/Response)	Definition/Theory of Code	Examples of Code
Code 1: Assignment (Precursor)	This category came into being because many students highlighted the role of the type of assignment when describing their best and worst experiences with speaking or writing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing creative writing was my best writing experience • My worst writing experience was timed in-class writing
Code 2: Self Concept as Speaker/Writer (Precursor)	This category included two sub codes: 1) a mastery conception of self as speaker/writer – which corresponds to a conception of self as positive when one prepares and improves one’s speaking and writing process and 2) an ability-based conception of self as speaker/writer – which corresponds to a conception of self as positive based upon a sense of natural speaking/writing ability and is product focused. (Dweck & Legget, 1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mastery Conception: a student’s best experience with writing involved a time when she felt very prepared, because she always feels confident if she is prepared. • Ability Conception: a student feeling particularly good about doing a long paper in the last night, and still doing well on the paper – as if the accomplishment, given a lack of prolonged effort, shows a greater natural ability

Table 1 (Continued). Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Code 3: Relationship with Teacher (Precursor)	This category came into being when students would stress that working with a particular teacher on an ongoing basis was what made their best experience so good This category was used to capture instances of the teacher being central to the student's best or worst experience that were not tied to current responses to text.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English 12 was a student's best writing experience because of the nature of the teacher • Feeling comfortable speaking or writing for certain teachers because they knew the teacher well or had taken many classes with that teacher.
Code 4: Relationship with Peers (Precursor)	This category refers to statements students made about feeling comfortable speaking (or sometimes writing) because of the general feelings they had towards their peers in the classroom.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A best speaking experience because the student was comfortable because it was a small class where everyone knew each other well. • Another student referred to the fact that her best speaking experience took place at the end of the semester, when she knew her classmates well.

Table 1 (Continued). Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Code 5: Teacher Response, positive or negative, to Spoken/Written Text (Response)	This category refers to direct, immediate responses by teachers to the student's written or spoken texts that are reported in the student's descriptions of their experiences. This category includes comments that teachers make, or other ways that teachers show their response to the text to students, but does not include grades.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “When I had written a poem and my teacher had complimented me and it’s something, like – you’re writing something that sounds really passionate and it sounds urgent” • “The teacher gave me good responses. He did. He liked my work.” • “Probably a teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot it down drastically, in bold flames”
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Table 1 (Continued). Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Code 6: Peer Response, positive or negative, to Spoken/Written Text (Response)	This category refers to direct, immediate responses peers have to the students' written or spoken texts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, they laughed at the right points“ • “I got a standing ovation on that. So that was cool.” • “ I felt burned, misunderstood. Get off my art!”
Code 7: Official Response to Spoken/Written Text (Response)	This refers to institutional responses student's mentioned in their describing their experiences: grades, rejections/acceptances to programs; passing/failing campus-wide placement tests, etc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “ I got 100% on the project, from the teacher too.” • “[My worst writing experience was] the entrance exam, because [if] I would have passed that I wouldn't have to take remedial English” • “ Writing is the worst. Right now I'm taking a writing class because I haven't passed the writing test and I've took it three times. It's just like I'll freeze up”

Table 1 (Continued). Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)		
Code 8: Self Response to Spoken/Written Text (Response)	This category refers to times when a student explained his or her positive or negative feelings about his or her writing or speaking. These students made clear that it was their own response to the product they had created, and not the responses of others, that made their experience positive or negative.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘I thought it was good’ • ‘I personally didn’t like it’ • ‘I felt good about it because I felt strongly about the subject matter’
Code 9: Text as Response (Response)	In some cases, students described how a text became reflection or a distortion of the self’s intentions. This category is considered a response because it comes after the speaking or writing is produced, and serves as a “objectified” thing which is a reflection of the thoughts of the author/speaker.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have the idea in my head and it makes perfect sense, and then I look at it on paper and it is completely different.

Between precursors and responses, the student engages in speaking and writing. A student speaks or writes and in this moment the self comes in contact with social factors by interpreting the past utterances, immediate, such as the precursors and socially more distant – i.e. prejudices – and then creates the next utterances which in turn is met by responses, the anticipation of which also influenced the creation of this utterance.

Using the nine codes above (four precursor codes and five response codes) to explore the associations of the various precursors and responses (referred to together as immediate social context factors) with best and worst speaking and writing, the immediate social context of speaking and writing – and the differences between the two- was explored.

Comments on Coding Narratives

For each narrative – there were 25 best writing experience narratives; 28 best speaking experience narratives, 24 worst writing experience narratives; and 23 worst speaking experience narratives– coding was carried out. Each narrative was coded for the presence or absence of each of the above immediate social context factors (i.e. the nine codes shown in Table 1, with four codes for types of precursors and five codes for types of responses). For each narrative, each of the nine codes was given a “0 (0=code not present in the narrative)” or a “1 (1=code present in the narrative)”. For each narrative, a coding sheet which collected the following information was filled out:

- Subject # [The ID# assigned to the Subject]
- Race of Subject
- Gender of Subject
- Institutional Affiliation of Subject (Comm.Coll or Four year)
- Writing or Speaking Experience?
- Best or Worst Experience?

Presence or Absence of the Following Immediate Contextual Factors in the Narrative
(Precursors and Responses)

1. Assignment (1=present in narrative; 0=absent in narrative)
2. Relationship to Teacher (1=present; 0=absent)
3. Relationship to Peers (1=present; 0=absent)
4. Self Concept as Speaker/Writer (1=present; 0=absent)
5. Teacher Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent)
6. Peer Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent)
7. Self Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent)

8. Official Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent)
9. Text as Reflection of Self (1=present; 0=absent)

If a given narrative was coded as having “1”’s next to three of the above “immediate social context factors” listed above, then the immediate social context of the narrative as a whole would be recorded as being represented 33.3% by each factor. For example, if the narrative was coded as having “1”’s for “assignment”, “teacher response” and “self response”, then each of these categories would receive a 33.3% score (totaling 100%, with rounding). In other words, the narrative would be characterized in the following way, in terms of what accounted for the immediate social context of the narrative: 33% was accounted for by assignment; 33% by teacher response; and 33% by self response. I will present an example of a coded narrative shortly. But in sum, if a narrative was coded as having five immediate social context factors present, then each one was coded as contributing 20% to the immediate social context of the experience described in the narrative.

Please note that I did not code by speaking turns, but rather by narrative. There are several reasons that I choose to code by the presence or absence of each code in the narrative as a whole, as opposed to coding each speaking turn individually. First, there were many times when a student repeated the exact same sentence several times in subsequent turns, sometimes because I asked him or her to clarify or expand. I felt that if I coded each of those turns separately, I would over-represent the importance of the code in accounting for the immediate social context of the experience. Secondly, I felt that coding would be more internally consistent if I simply decided to code for the presence or absence of a code within the entire

narrative, rather than coding each turn separately. This is because coding each turn separately brought up many confusing issues and simply left more room for mistakes. (For example, if I interrupted a student simply to say “oh” or “I see” and then the student continues their story, reiterating the same code, I questioned whether there was any reason for that code to seem to account for a greater percentage of the social context of the narrative. Similarly, if a student summed up the narrative by repeating a reference to the same code, I questioned whether there was any reason to code the turn again.)

Therefore, I decided that it was more reliable and meaningful for me to simply code the presence or absence of a code in the narrative. It is worth noting that before I made the decision to code by presence or absence of each code in the narrative as a whole, I did indeed code by turns. I tabulated my results and they are extremely close to the results I got when coding by narrative, with the main difference being that the coding by turns system (which I did not use ultimately) resulted in more extreme results in the directions of my findings (i.e., even more race and gender differences, with regard to teacher and peer response). I decided not to use the coding by turns method only because I did not feel completely confident in the coding because of the confusing issues that I bring up above. I decided that I would prefer to use a coding system (i.e., coding by presence or absence in the narrative) that is perhaps more general, but one that I have more confidence in. Nonetheless, I present both sets of results in Appendix T, simply for the information of the reader. Because the two methods produced similar results, I feel comfortable in the coding decision I made.) In order to demonstrate how similar the coding results came out, I present Table 2,

which compares the Old coding scheme (coding by turn) to the New coding scheme (coding by narrative), for all four narrative types.

Table 2. Comparing Old Coding Tabulation (Coding By Turn) to New Coding Tabulation (Coding by Narrative)

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
Old (by turn)Speakbest	13.2	23	1.7	17	1.1	6	5	23.3	10.2	100.5
New (by narr) Speakbest	13	24	2	16	2	7	5	20	11	100
Old (by turn) SpeakWorst	16.3	38.7	4.3	10	3.8	8.7	0	12	6.2	100
New (by turn)SpeakWorst	13	36	4	11	4	9	0	15	8	100
Old (by turn) Writebest	14.1	8.3	8.3	45.9	1.7	5.7	0	7.9	7.6	99.5
New (by narr) Writebest	14.7	10	10	37	2	7	0	9	8	97.7
Old (by turn) Write worst	9.9	6.9	15.8	12.6	4.4	7.9	0	16.3	26.1	99.9
New (by narr) Writeworst	12	6	14	14	5	10	0	14	25	100

Below, I show an example of a narrative (a best writing experience narrative by a white, male, four-year college student) with notes on codes inserted, and it is followed by a “code sheet” so that you can see the coding scheme work in practice. Please recall that although the codes are marked next to each turn, the coding sheet will be filled out according to the presence or absence of each of the immediate social context factors (i.e., the precursor and response codes) *in the narrative as a whole*.

Michael: best experience with writing? Um, just anything papers, poetry? [THIS TURN WAS NOT CODED – DOES NOT FIT INTO ANY CODE CATEGORIES]

Rebecca: any college writing

Michael: I guess it would be the poetry class, when I had written a poem and my teacher had complimented me and it’s something, like – you’re writing something that sounds really passionate and it sounds urgent, that was the word she used, and that, she said you shouldn’t write anything as far as poetry, unless it’s urgent. If it’s not urgent, if it’s not passionate... [TEACHER RESPONSE – BECAUSE HER WORDS WERE QUOTED]

Rebecca: That’s really cool. That word really, it sounded to you like she really meant it

Michael: Um hm.

Rebecca: Wow, okay. Did it make you feel like writing more poetry? How did-

Michael: it definitely gave me motivation to keep writing, and stuff like that, but I was never able, in any of the future poems, to get that, at least I felt, to get that

urgency and that passion in it again. But if definitely made me want to try it, you know, but I don't feel like I did it successfully, as well as I wanted. [TEACHER RESPONSE and SELF RESPONSE – BECAUSE BOTH THE TEACHER'S POSITIVE RESPONSE IS REFERRED TO: "IT" GAVE ME MOTIVATION; BUT THE SELF'S RESPONSE IS ALSO REPORTED: I DIDN'T FEEL LIKE I DID IT SUCCESSFULLY]

Rebecca: But have you written other ones that have been?

Michael: yeah, I mean, the feedback was somehow that that one was really good and the ones before it were mediocre and the ones after were the same level, so yeah. [TEACHER RESPONSE – BECAUSE TEACHER'S FEEDBACK IS REPORTED]

Code Sheet:

- Subject # [The ID# assigned to the Subject] : **Subject #6**
- Race of Subject: **White**
- Gender of Subject: **Male**
- Institutional Affiliation of Subject (Comm.Coll or Four year): **Four year**
- Writing or Speaking Experience? **Writing**
- Best or Worst Experience? **Best**

Presence or Absence of the Following Immediate Contextual Factors

(Precursors and Responses)

1. Assignment (1=present in narrative; 0=absent in narrative) **0 (Nothing about the assignment in particular is stated)**
2. Relationship to Teacher (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (Nothing about the ongoing relationship to the teacher is stated)**
3. Relationship to Peers (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (No mention of peers)**
4. Self Concept as Speaker/Writer (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (No mention of ability or mastery concepts of self as writer)**
5. Teacher Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent) **1 (Instances of this code are noted in caps)**
6. Peer Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (No mention of peers)**
7. Self Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent) **1 (Instance of this code is noted in caps)**
8. Official Response to Text (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (No mention of grades, or testing)**

9. Text as Reflection of Self (1=present; 0=absent) **0 (No mention of the text as distortion or reflection of the self's intentions)**

Because, two codes received were present in the narrative, they received “1”s. These codes were teacher response and self response. Since there were two codes which accounted for the codable immediate social context response, we then would say that **teacher response accounted for 50%** of the immediate social context factors and **self response accounted for 50%**.

The line of data in excel, which captured the results of the coding, as well as the type of narrative (best writing experience narrative) and the student demographics, looks like this.

Subj #	spk or wrt	Best or worst	Gen-der	Race	College Type	Teach-er Resp	Peer Resp	Offic-ial Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Con-cept	Assi gn-ment
Subj 6	write	best	M	W	4 year	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0

In the next section, we will discuss how the coding for groups of narratives is summarized.

Comments on Summarizing Across Narratives

In order to summarize the results of the coding, I grouped coded narratives by various categories. For instance, I grouped all the coding for best writing narratives together in an excel spreadsheet, and then I took the **average score** for each of the nine immediate social context factor codes. In that way, I was able to calculate what percent, on average, each code accounted for out of the total immediate social context factors coded. See the spreadsheet below, which shows the data for all best writing

experience narratives, for an example. (Please note that all raw data is in Appendix C, and the spreadsheet below is a subset of Appendix C).

Su bj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	G en de r	Ra ce	Teac her Resp	Peer Res p	Offici al Resp	Self Resp	Tex t as Re sp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Conce pt	Assign- ment
1	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
5	write	best	F	AA	25	25	25	25	0	0	0	0	0
7	write	best	F	AA	25	0	0	25	0	25	0	25	0
9	write	best	F	W	25	25	0	25	0	0	0	25	0
10	write	best	F	L	33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
16	write	best	F	AA	0	25	25	0	25	0	0	0	25
18	write	best	F	L	25	0	0	25	0	0	0	25	25
22	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
23	write	best	F	L	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
26	write	best	F	AA	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
27	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	33	0	33	0	33	0
28	write	best	F	L	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	0	0
29	write	best	F	AA	0	0	33	33	0	33	0	0	0
30	write	best	F	L	0	0	25	25	25	25	0	0	0
2	write	best	M	W	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
3	write	best	M	W	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
6	write	best	M	W	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
8	write	best	M	L	33	0	0	33	0	33	0	0	0
14	write	best	M		33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
15	write	best	M	W	33	0	33	33	0	0	0	0	0
17	write	best	M	W	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
20	write	best	M	AA	20	20	20	20	0	0	0	0	20
21	write	best	M	AA	0	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
24	write	best	M	AA	16	16	16	16	0	16	0	0	16
25	write	best	M	AA	0	0	25	25	0	0	0	25	25
Best writing- All Students- Average Scores					14.7	9.8	10.1	38.7	2	6.6	0	9.3	8.4

For any given group of narratives, I could find the average percentage accounted for by each of the nine codes. I grouped narratives by the type of narrative (best speaking, best writing, worst speaking, worst writing), but I also did sub-group analyses within each type of narrative. For instance, I looked at best writing narratives for females and compared them to best writing narratives for males. I looked at race and college type sub-groups as well within each narrative type. The comparisons by narrative type and by sub group type will form the meat of the first

results chapter, which looks at the different types of immediate social context factors which frame speaking and writing.

The next coding scheme is built upon the concept of recognition and looks at how the student takes in all of the precursors and responses they report receiving, often in the context of implicit expectations, and ends up feeling known, or not, in various ways as a result.

Types of Recognition

The second question addressed in this dissertation is, how does the student end up feeling after experiencing and internalizing the precursors, the act of speaking/writing, and the responses to the writing? There has been much written on teacher response (Halasek, 1999), discussing which types of responses to writing are most helpful. However, there has been relatively little work done on how students internalize these audience responses (with exceptions being research by Freedman, 1987; Sperling, 1996, for example) and how the student feels known or not, by the various audiences. Often this feeling of “being known” is influenced both by the expectations the student had for how the writing or speaking might be received and the actual responses the student receives (and how he or she perceives that actual response).

The feeling of being known through speaking and writing is a psychosocial state, as it is something experienced on an individual level, but only within an inherently social context of communication and a responder. In describing recognition, this dissertation describes the psychosocial outcome for the speaker or

writer of engaging in the process of producing text, having it read or heard, and then making sense of the entire process. This psychosocial outcome is something I am calling recognition. This dissertation will create a vocabulary for discussing different types of recognition, such as feeling misunderstood, feeling surprised that one's text is not appreciated, feeling attended to, and others.

It will also describe patterns of internalization – individually or through interactions with others - called schemas in this dissertation, which lead to various types of recognition, which will allow us to see points along the way where intervention might be possible. Further, we will see which types of recognition are associated with speaking and which with writing. We will see which types of recognition are associated with which precursors and responses, and what differences in types of recognition are found across student demographic groups. We will particularly see differences in recognition experienced by four-year college students vs. community college students, as this is where the most dramatic differences were found, and this allows us to look at the associations between institutional context and recognition.

Coding Recognition

This coding scheme was reached through an iterative process of reading and rereading the best and worst speaking and writing narratives in order to determine the psychosocial outcomes for the students, of their experiences with speaking and writing. Types of recognition are coded based on the entire narrative account the student gives of his or her best or worst speaking or writing experience. This is

because recognition is the psychosocial outcome, consequence, or end result of the student internalizing the entirety of the experience. The entire experience is conceptualized as including: the precursors to speaking and writing (including expectations); the act of speaking or writing; and (usually most important) the way the responses and the student's perception of these responses are similar or different than the student expected them to be. The resulting psychosocial state is a feeling of recognition – of being known or not – of one sort of another.

The following types of recognition represent the variety of psychosocial states the students ended up with, according to their interview data and my interpretation of it. Though the coding is based on the entire narrative, I will list key excerpts here, and in the chapter on types of recognition we will see many narratives in their entirety. I will also list key words which one associates with this type of recognition, so that the reader gets a sense of the type of emotional reaction that students described to me.

The purpose of this coding was to distinguish between different types of recognition – the positive from the negative, for example – and to begin to create a rich vocabulary for understanding this aspect of a student's experience of speaking and writing. This coding came out of the process of reading and re-reading the narratives, and finding similarities and differences across narratives. It required inference in some cases, as will be shown in detail below, and relied on clues which showed changes in the student's feelings over the course of the narrative – often in reaction to someone's response to their speaking or writing.

In this coding, the aim was to uncover the various different types of recognition which were found in the interviews. The types are briefly defined in

Table 3, below, and will be defined in depth and accompanied by examples in the coding manual to follow later in this chapter.

Who is it in relation to?	What is the feeling?	What are the types of recognition?	Key Phrases for Identifying It	Student Quote
In relation to others (Group 1)	Surprise	Blown Away (Recognition Type 1)	I was shocked by their response [positive]/ I was overwhelmed/ Before that class I hadn't hit my stride.	"The pictures that I took – because it was mostly all the senators [she gave a speech, with the college, in Albany] and for them to give me a standing ovation, because [I am] a nobody, a nobody African-American, believe it or not, here in the United States. But that's my title. And for them to give me a standing ovation, it was like – And then afterwards, following me around for pictures and autographs, it was like, ahhh. I was like <i>overwhelmed.</i> "
		Taken Aback (Recognition Type 2)	I thought/I swear/before I handed it in I felt great	" <i>I swear I wrote real nicely and real proper, and they came back and said, well, your thesis is not good, um, you're not expressing, you know, details and all that certain types of things. I said, what are you talking about? this paper is nice... "</i>
	Conne- ction	Reciprocated (Recognition Type 3)	We had a dialogue/I was interested and they reciprocated the interest/Giving and receiving advice/Knowing the audience of my text	"[My best speaking experiences are in a] <i>class where I enjoy the teacher and the teacher seems to reciprocate and I like the context.</i> "
		Opposed (Recognition Type 4)	The other speaker was so inappropriate/The teacher said something offensive and I didn't say anything and that was my worst experience/I was rebelling against the teacher and was speaking right to her.	"I just did it <i>out of spite</i> , purely out of spite, and <i>it came out excellent!...Because I was talking right to her.</i> "
	Under- standing	Understood (Recognition Type 5)	They paid attention/They understood/I made it clearer	"I was able to express it very well, in an emotional way, <i>that made me other people understand what I was talking about, cause it was close to me.</i> "
		Misunderstood (Recognition Type 6)	I was burned, misunderstood!/They misinterpreted what I said and were offended/Nobody understood.	"I think it was in the other college, so it was like, <i>I wanted to say something, but I didn't know how to say it.</i> "

Table 3 (Continued). Types of Recognition Found in the Interview Data: Exemplar Phrases and Examples

Who is it in relation to?	What is the feeling?	What are the types of recognition?	Key Phrases for Identifying It	Student Quote
	Enhancement	Enhanced (Recognition Type 7)	The audience responded the way I wanted them to/They laughed at the “right” time.	"One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, <i>they laughed at the right points.</i> "
		Belittled (Recognition Type 8)	I felt humiliated/I felt broken down/I felt like I didn't belong	"Probably a <i>teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot it down drastically, in bold flames.</i> "
In relation to self (Group 2)	Self-Evaluated	Self-Evaluated based on Product (Recognition Type 9)	I personally liked it/ It was important to me/The topic matter to me/ It was my response that mattered to me	"[Did you feel good about it before you got the grades or was it that you, or was it that you felt good because you got good feedback from the professor?] No <i>I felt really strongly about what I was writing, so...</i> "
		Self-Evaluated based on Process (Recognition Type 10)	My best experience was improving over the course of the semester/My best experience was good because I was prepared/I learned so much	"It's always easier when you're <i>prepared</i> , for me anyway."
In relation to assignment (Group 3)	Facilitation	Facilitated by Assignment (Recognition Type 11)	The type of speaking or writing really let my ability shine through/I hit my stride when I learned how to write creatively	"It was one of my best essays, <i>because anything I can relate to, I wrote better on.</i> Instead of reading a book – most of these books I don't really enjoy, like fairy tale books – I like to read books that I can use that knowledge and apply it to my own life."
		Impeded by Assignment (Recognition Type 12)	I always have a bad experience with in class writing because I can't do my best job/I don't like writing “by rote” essays because they don't interest me	"Worst experience? Um, like I said, it's the <i>timed writing</i> , that's my worst experience."

Table 3 (Continued). Types of Recognition Found in the Interview Data: Exemplar Phrases and Examples

Who is it in relation to?	What is the feeling?	What are the types of recognition?	Key Phrases for Identifying It	Student Quote
In relation to various persons/ Things (Group 4)	Confusion	Confused by the Interaction (Recognition Type 13)	I didn't know why the teacher did that/ I didn't know what to do	<i>"Like – what the hell is wrong? (laugh) Why is nothing coming to me right now?"</i>
		Disoriented by Praise (Recognition Type 14)	I could never live up to that again/Everything else was mediocre/Another project I did was so good and this was not as good.	<i>"Yeah, I mean, the feedback was somehow that that one was really good and the ones before it were mediocre and the ones after were the same level, so yeah."</i>

Archival Analysis: Understanding the Broader Social Context Embodied
in Representations and Group Differences

In order to provide some context to the student reports of audience response, and other contextual factors that framed their speaking and writing experiences, I had originally intended to interview a small sampling of composition teachers in the CUNY system. The purpose of interviewing teachers was to elicit their representations of students and of speaking and writing. I wanted to provide a sense of the outside reality that students face, and provide some sense of what the audience might actually be thinking about various CUNY students' speaking and writing.

My personal experience as a writing fellow had put me in contact with, and in meetings with, a great number of hard working college writing teachers, and even more often, teachers who taught other subjects but were charged with bringing more writing into their community college classrooms. One of the prevailing discourses, even among these teachers who had voluntarily opted into a writing curriculum, was that contemporary students do not read anymore, and therefore cannot write. In other words, there was a discourse which characterized students as oral, and not literate, communicators. I wanted to see if such a discourse was put forth or challenged in the interviews I had with teachers.

However, I decided in the end not to interview a small sample of teachers. This decision was made because I would have interviewed teachers who had no relation to the students I interviewed (because getting the names of teachers from students and then having teachers discussing particular students with me would have been questionable ethically and practically). Given that the teachers would have no

relation to the students I interviewed, I could not see a value in interviewing a random selection of teachers who might be very different than the teachers who the students I spoke with had experienced.

I decided instead, to do this archival section of the dissertation, with the goal of seeing how students, in the context of literacy at CUNY, are represented. I wanted to find out about this representation, particularly, because I thought it might help to make sense of some of my preliminary findings. The preliminary findings, which turned out to be strong findings, showed that students of different races and genders experienced teacher response, and sometimes peer response, very differently, with African American students associating teacher response with worst writing experiences and white students associating it with best writing experiences.

Thus, race and gender were also constructs of interest as I looked at the archival data from three sources, around a particular topic of relevance. The topic that I chose was CUNY and open admissions, and I wanted to see the representations of students within discussions of this topic. The topic seemed appropriate because it brings out discussions of writing, and whether and what kinds of CUNY students are qualified college students, often coming down to discussions of literacy. Because of the recency of the issue – making it an appropriate backdrop to my study and making it available on electronic search engines and archives – I focused on the 1998 decision to change the terms of open admissions at CUNY. As will be discussed in the archival section, students in need of remediation in writing, math or reading were declined admission from the senior colleges and sent to the community colleges. Remediation in an official capacity was, with small exceptions, removed from the senior colleges.

The two sources in which I chose to look at open admissions are the following. (Note: I searched each of these sources for the terms “open and admissions”.)

1. Mainstream New York News Sources (including all major New York newspapers, years shown Appendix E). This provides a mainstream representation of CUNY students in the context of open admissions debates.
2. Archives of a student newspaper called The Messenger (years shown in Appendix F) which came out of City College and was formed to protest the end of open admissions in 1998. This provides a look at the student perspective, or at least one student perspective which is a dissenting voice from the administration, and one might guess, the mainstream media.

Mainstream NY News Sources

The main part of the archival research took place using Lexis Nexis search engine. I searched New York News Sources (includes NY Times, Daily News, NY Post and many other New York newspapers, see Appendix E for full list of newspapers covered and dates included.). My particular interest is the near past of the CUNY system, focusing on the period in which Open Admissions was altered, or some say dismantled, in 1998, which resulted in remediation, including basic writing, being moved to the community colleges. I wanted to see how CUNY students were represented in articles which discussed open admissions.

I searched the Lexis Nexis Database for all available dates, but the dates when most newspapers were made available electronically was after 1980. I used key search terms (“open admissions” and “CUNY” and “students”) to search for relevant

articles. I then cut and pasted all articles found in the searches. Next, I searched for the word “student” in order to find out how students were represented in those contexts. I copied all paragraphs with the word student in them in order to be able to code the type of representation the student received. I ultimately coded the first 20% of these paragraphs which mentioned students, because this allowed me to focus on the 1998 open admissions issue in detail (which was the first bunch of articles which appeared in the search). I am using this method to get an idea of how the “outside world” sees CUNY students, since my interview data is comprised entirely of CUNY students’ experiences, with them often reporting how others respond to them. This archival research gives some context to their reports.

Student News Source

I also searched the archives of an alternate media source, “The Messenger”, an alternative CUNY student newspaper which was specially formed to raise consciousness at City College around the 1998 Open Admissions Debate. (Please see Appendix F for a list of the dates and issues of The Messenger which were available in archival form). I will use this to give another historical perspective on the Open Admissions debate.

Methods for Identifying Schemas

I analyzed how students internalized various precursors and, especially, sources of response in order to understand how students arrived at some of the types of recognition identified above. These are processes – patterns of internalization,

perhaps influenced by past experiences with precursors and responses – which help to explain how the student moves from certain precursors and responses to a certain state of recognition. It is helpful to identify these patterns of internalization, because they usually help us to better understand interactions which individuals have as they internalize each other's responses. Better understanding interactions allows us to see openings that might be targeted for intervention.

Thus, this part of the dissertation captured the dynamic, interactive nature of receiving responses and internalizing them, while others one interacts with are going through the same process according to their own patterns of internalization, that occurred around speaking and writing acts. It also captured the way that various responses related over the course of an interaction. A single response, for example teacher response, may constitute a small proportion of all the responses over the course of an interaction, but it may impact all the responses that come after it. An individual's process of internalizing, or making meaning, out of responses, helps us to understand why, for a particular individual, one type of response may be more dominant than another type of response.

My main methodological strategies in finding schemas was to follow the mode provided by schema theorist Jeffrey Young et al.(2003) who used qualitative data, in his case clinical data, to sketch typologies of behavior and interaction. Applying this model, which came from the tradition of cognitive therapy and incorporating some other, more psychodynamic insights (Wachtel, 1993; Bromberg, 1998), to the politically charged and explicitly social arena of interaction and communication provided an excellent opportunity to draw on the strengths of

bringing an individual-focused, clinical-based model to bear on data based on academic, classroom experience. At the same time, it allowed me to show the places where this individual cognitive model might be stretched by taking into account the social and political nature of everyday experience, with its basis in language and social interaction, which inevitably makes every experience a socially-based one. As discussed in the literature review, Young identified a list of signposts, or indicators, of when a pattern becomes maladaptive and chronic, or, in other words, a schema. I used these signposts to help me to identify schemas in my data.

Young et al. have highlighted, in professional and popular texts on schema therapy, signposts for key schemas (or characteristic, maladaptive thought patterns and ways of seeing the self, others, and the world; of which an individual may sometimes or almost always use one or more of these maladaptive cognitive patterns). These signposts (which get defined specifically for each schema that Young outlined) include the following, as described in Table 4, below.

Table 4. Identifying Schemas

Schemas Signpost (from Young's Schema Theory)	Example of how it applies to speaking or writing
Ironic Repetitions: Schemas tend to induce "ironic repetitions", which are brought about by ways of thinking or behaving which generate just that outcome which the individual most fears.	An ironic repetition, as applied to speaking or writing, would be a situation where a cycle is established, for instance, between the teacher and the student which led to negative results that neither originally intended to have occur. The teacher and student might both want the student to succeed but might create repeated negative outcomes because of a negative feedback cycle. The student might speak poorly in class one day, for whatever reason, such as insufficient preparation, and might therefore receive a negative response from the teacher. The next time the student considered speaking in class he or she might think about the past negative response from the teacher and become nervous, creating another situation where the student speaks in a way which is less than ideal and the teacher reacts in a way which is less than positive.
Exaggerated perceptions: Schemas are characterized by exaggerated perceptions of others' reactions, of how one's own actions must be coming across, of the real positives or negatives in a situation.	A student might feel that a teacher's positive comment on a paper is a demand for continued perfect work, when in fact that teacher may not have an expectation which is that exaggerated or may not even have an expectation for future work. A teacher might make generalizations based upon one experience with the student which may lead him or her to have exaggerated beliefs about the student's speaking or writing abilities.
Disregarding feedback or evidence which would falsify the key beliefs of the schema.	Students may only hear part of a comment a teacher makes, for instance disregarding the positive comments the teacher makes if the student has decided that the teacher has an overall negative impression of him or her.
Reactions which are out of proportion with the situation or the interaction.	A student might feel extremely embarrassed if he or she forgets what to say when presenting in front of the class, despite the fact that many people in that situation might have a less extreme reaction.
Confirmation of one's beliefs are found or created	A student might believe that he or she is a poor speaker, and thus be very nervous when presenting, and therefore confirm his or her belief.
Self being deficient at a basic level or the world being dangerous at a basic level.	A student might believe that he or she is basically not smart, and therefore not put effort into writing thinking that it is a lost cause. This would cause a cycle of confirmation to ensue, since the writing would not improve if the student did not put effort into it.
Self-defeating , in that one acts in ways which are not to one's advantage because of the distorted nature of belief and perception one has when operating within a schema.	A student might be convinced that a teacher is out to get him or her and thus the student might behave in ways that create a negative relationship with the teacher.

In general, schemas will be conceptualized as processes which lead to a student experiencing a certain type of recognition. I will identify schemas from the interview data – that is patterns of internalization characterized by the signposts listed

above – and will discuss how these relate to the various types of recognition. Not all types of recognition are paired with a schema, because I did not find identifiable patterns of internalization leading to all the types of recognition (though the types themselves are clearly defined and explained). Additionally, several types of recognition have several schemas associated with them, because more than one pattern of internalization can lead to the same psychosocial consequence for the student.

Table of Analyses

In summary, this methods chapter explains four main areas of analysis: coding of precursors and responses; coding of archival data to explain some of the group differences found in the precursors and responses coding; coding of recognition types; and coding of schemas to explain the patterns that result in some of the recognition types. The table below describes the main analyses and how each relate to recognition, and the general goal of the dissertation, which is to better understand the social and psychosocial aspects of speaking and writing in college.

Table 5. Description of Analyses				
Name of Analysis	Data Source	How does it relate to recognition?	How does it shed light on the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing?	What chapter is it in?
Precursors and Responses Coding	Best and Worst Speaking and Writing Narratives	Precursors and responses are internalized by the student, and result in a feeling of being known, or recognized, through speaking or writing.	We see the differences between the things that set speaking and writing in motion, and the types of responses students associate with speaking and writing. We also see precursors and responses vary by gender and race.	Chapter III: The Immediate and Broader Social Contexts of Recognition

Table 5 (Continued). Description of Analyses				
Name of Analysis	Data Source	How does it relate to recognition?	How does it shed light on the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing?	What chapter is it in?
Archival Analysis of How Students are Represented in the context of Literacy and Open Admissions Debates at CUNY	NY News Sources in Lexis-Nexus and a CUNY Alternative Newspaper	This archival analysis attempts to represent some of the institutional and societal contexts which frame the responses students get and expect, which both greatly impact feelings of recognition in speaking and writing. Bringing some historical perspective will hopefully help to explain some of the differences by race and gender in how students report and/or perceive teachers' responses.	This analysis will show the greater societal context which often represents students differently in terms of speaking and writing, which sets in motion differences between speaking and writing in the immediate social context.	Chapter III: The Immediate and Broader Social Contexts of Recognition

Name of Analysis	Data Source	How does it relate to recognition?	How does it shed light on the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing?	What chapter is it in?
Types of Recognition Coding	Best and Worst Speaking and Writing Narratives	The types of recognition will show the various psychosocial consequences, in terms of feeling known through speaking and writing, which students experience as a result of internalizing the entire experience of speaking or writing and the precursors and responses before and afterwards. Also, we will see which precursors and responses are associated with various types of recognition, in order to understand how the immediate social context of speaking and writing is internalized and experienced by the student.	We will see the different types of recognition associated with speaking and writing, and for whom (especially looking at college type differences), which will help us to better compare and understand the social and psychosocial experience of speaking and writing in college.	Chapter IV: Types of Recognition

Name of Analysis	Data Source	How does it relate to recognition?	How does it shed light on the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing?	What chapter is it in?
Schemas	Focusing on Best and Worst Speaking and Writing Narratives, and incorporating other interview data which is helpful.	Schemas are defined as patterns of internalization which lead to various types of recognition. Identifying these patterns, and how they function within interactions, can help us see how the types of recognition come into existence, and can hopefully provide multiple opportunities for intervention as the process unfolds.	Schemas show how the speaker or writer makes meaning of various aspects of the context (responders in particular) and how individuals, all with their own patterns of meaning making, may interact with each other to produce complex social interactions around speaking and writing.	Chapter IV: Types of Recognition

Chapter III. Findings: The Immediate and Broader Social Contexts of Recognition

Speaking and writing are not isolated acts, involving only the individual speaker or writer. Rather, they take place in the immediate social context of precursors and responses. In this chapter, I will display the findings regarding which parts of the immediate social context – coded and conceptualized as precursors and responses to the speaking and writing - are associated with speaking and which with writing. We will see how these findings about the immediate social context of academic expression help us to understand the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing.

For instance, we will see that *speaking is peer-oriented* in both best and worst experiences, according to students' narratives of their speaking experiences. *Writing is oriented towards the self as audience*, in positive experiences, and in negative writing experiences we will see that the precursor of *the assignment* is predominant in students' narratives. Further, we will see how the student's race and gender are associated with various precursors and responses. For instance, we will see that *for white students, teacher response is associated with best writing experiences; whereas for African American students, teacher response is more likely to be associated with worst writing experiences.*

In speaking, there are more varied associations between race and teacher response, including the fact that white students are more likely to associate teacher response with worst speaking experiences than are African American students.

In terms of gender, the tendency is for females to associate teacher and peer response with worst writing experiences, and for males to associate these responses with best speaking experiences. However, no gender differences are seen with regard to teacher response and best writing experiences.

Through the qualitative data used throughout the chapter and archival data used at the end of the chapter, we will aim to understand why these differences between speaking and writing and between groups of students exist, in this sample. Particularly, we will investigate possible explanations for the striking findings about race and teacher response, in writing situations, and gender and teacher response, in speaking situations. These findings give us a sense of what we can learn about the immediate social context of speaking and writing by examining precursors and responses.

To give broader social context to the findings – that is, to see what contextualizes the teachers and peers who act as audiences to student speaking and writing - we will conclude this chapter with an archival study which examines the representations of CUNY students, in the context of a debate relevant to literacy issues, in the mainstream press and in a student newspaper.

This chapter also lays the groundwork for the next results chapter. The next chapter describes types of recognition which the student experiences, which are defined as ways the student feels known, or not, depending upon his or her internalization, through self processes and interactive processes, of the precursors and responses that he or she experienced before and after speaking and writing. Therefore, the first step to understanding the feelings of recognition students experience as a

result of speaking and writing, is to understand and identify the precursors and responses they report.

In this dissertation, the immediate social context of a speaking or writing event, as told in a student's narrative, is examined through coding of precursors and responses in the student's narrative of the speaking or writing experience. The term *precursors* indicates those elements of the speaking and writing situation, as told in the interview data, which come before speaking or writing and impact the speaker or writer's experience. Precursors are such things as the following: the assignment which sets the parameters for what the student should produce; the ongoing relationship the student has with teachers or peers which may cause a student to feel comfortable or not about speaking or writing; and other things which come before the speaking or writing and impact it. The term *response* refers to those things, as told in the interview data, which come after speaking and writing, such as the following: audience responses which follow the text, such as teacher response to the text; peer responses to the text; and other audience responses to the text, which indicate how the text was received.

By seeing which precursors and responses characterize best and worst speaking and writing experiences, this chapter aims to give the reader a better idea of how speaking and writing can be characterized as contextual practices, and how they are similar and different in terms of these immediate contextual factors. The findings that are detailed in this chapter give a fuller picture of the contextual nature of speaking and writing, as represented through various students' narratives of their experiences with speaking and writing. We see how important it is to understand that

speaking and writing cannot be understood as existing in a vacuum, that rather the context of education – the psychosocial factors and relationships among those in the classroom setting - have a crucial impact on the way a student experiences speaking and writing.

The research questions which frame this chapter are the following:

1. What frames speaking and writing experiences, in terms of what is salient to the student? What are the preceding and subsequent utterances/audiences? What comes immediately before (precursors to) and after (responses to) speaking and writing acts? How do the things that come before and after the speaking and writing act differ across the two modes of expression and across positive and negative experiences of each? What does this tell us about the relationally and socially situated nature of speaking and writing, and what is different across the two modes of expression? I will address this question by describing the precursors and responses I found in student narratives of best and worst speaking and writing experiences.
2. How are race and gender related to what comes before and after the speaking or writing acts? What does this further tell us about the relationally and socially situated nature of speaking and writing as it varies across student identity groups? This question will be addressed by looking at how the associations between the various precursors and responses and the narratives (best and worst speaking and writing experiences) vary across participant demographics.

3. What larger social forces (which inform the way social forces are lived out in the microcosm of an interaction between a student, various audiences, and production of speaking and writing) may help explain group differences found in the immediate social contexts of speaking and writing? This question will be addressed by a search of NY news sources and an alternative CUNY student newspaper, as they address CUNY students and questions of writing in college (particularly open admissions, for reasons that will be explained), and a look at how students are represented in these articles.

This chapter will be organized in the following way. First, speaking and writing will be compared in terms of their immediate social context, as conceptualized and compared through the coding of precursors and responses; and key themes and findings regarding the immediate social nature of speaking and writing will be highlighted. Secondly, student demographics and how they are associated with precursors and responses to speaking and writing will be discussed and key findings will be highlighted. Finally, the differences found among demographic groups will be put into a larger social context by an archival examination of how CUNY students have been represented in terms of literacy and remediation. The chapter will end with a summary of these findings and how this links to the next chapter, which details the concept of recognition.

Brief Summary of Findings Across All Narratives: Coding Immediate Social Context Factors

Overall, the results show that speaking is overwhelmingly peer oriented. Writing, on the other hand, is oriented to self response in best experiences, as well as teacher response to lesser degree. Worst writing experiences are oriented to assignment, which is often given as an explanatory factor for why the writing was not received well. We also see that the role of the self varies between speaking and writing experiences. In writing, the self is a frequent responder to the written product. In speaking, on the other hand, self response is based upon how the self engaged in the process (i.e., the amount of preparation and effort put into the speaking task). Finally, we see that official responses, such as grades, are not an important part of the positive experiences in either speaking or writing, though they are somewhat important in negative writing experiences. We will see each of these brief summary points expanded on as we look at each of the four types of narratives in detail.

Findings for Best Writing Experience Narratives

Self response is the predominant immediate social context factor (accounting for 37% of the total immediate social factors coded, on average) in best writing experiences, but teacher response also plays an important role (accounting for 15% of the total immediate social context factors coded, on average). As we see in Table 1, which displays the average percentage of the immediate social context factors in best writing experience narratives accounted for by each precursor and response, these two responses are predominant.

Table 1. Best Writing Experience Narratives (All Students) – Average Results of Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Name of Code (Type of Code: Precursor/Response)	Percentage, as averaged across all Best Writing Experience Narratives, of Immediate Social Context Accounted for by Code	Examples of Code
Code 1: Assignment (Precursor)	8%	“I do have positive experiences with writing. When I have to -- when I could go home and do it” [take home writing=type of assignment]
Code 2: Self Concept as Speaker/Writer (Precursor)	9% [breakdown = 7*% mastery concept, 1*% ability concept; 1*% other]	“Because we had writing, every day you had to do writing, so you grew, in terms of the level you started and the level you finished.” [mastery concept=improvement]
Code 3: Relationship with Teacher (Precursor)	7%	“I know the professors well, so I think that they’ll understand...” [ongoing relationship with teacher]
Code 4: Relationship with Peers (Precursor)	0%	n/a [none coded]
Code 5: Teacher Response, to Written Text (Response)	15%	“His reaction was very positive, he was, aside from the A itself, he really was impressed with the choice of topic” [teacher resp]
Code 6: Peer Response to Written Text (Response)	10%	“One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, they laughed at the right points.” [peer resp]
Code 7: Official Response to Written Text (Response)	10%	“Well, I did get an A on that one, it always feels good, I’m addicted to it now, that’s probably my vice.” [grade]
Code 8: Self Response to Written Text (Response)	37%	“I felt really strongly about what I was writing” [pers resp] “the feedback wasn’t all that good but I liked it a lot.”
Code 9: Text as Response (Response)	2%	“It was very visual, expressive, it was not too long. And it was exact.” [the text as an object reflects something back to self]
Total	98% (due to rounding)	

Note: * The single asterisk indicates approximation of the types of self concepts represented. See appendix Q for details.

A clear example of self response as the most important factor in the best writing experience narratives can be seen in the following example, where the student explains that it is not anyone else's response to her work, but rather her own estimation of it, that made this experience her best writing experience.

Rebecca: Did you feel good about it before you got the grades or was it that you, or was it that you felt good because you got good feedback from the professor?

Lilit: *No I felt really strongly about what I was writing, so...*

Rebecca: that's cool. What made you feel really strongly about it?

Lilit: because I researched and I had really good facts, and it was also something that I was really, you know, it's a hot topic.

In the above example, Lilit, a young white female student at a four-year college, stressed that her own response is what is important to her. Further, she stressed that her own response stems from her attachment to the material she is writing about. It seemed as if her intrinsic interest in the topic, as well as her estimation that her writing captured or reflected this interesting topic made her feel good about the product. I considered this a form of response because the student reflects on her own product and responds to it. Many students had similar rationales for why their best writing experience was so positive: it was because they themselves were deeply interested in the topic and therefore were proud of the product.

The other coding category that was commonly cited in best writing experience narratives was *teacher response* (accounting for 15% of the total coding of immediate social context factors). This was not found in these narratives as often as was the self response, but it was relatively common, nonetheless. The teacher's response often had unexpected consequences, as we will discuss in the next chapter, depending upon how the student internalizes these responses in order to feel known in various ways. At this point in the dissertation, however, we are simply charting these precursors and

responses, not taking into account the impact they had on students, beyond the fact that they are recounted in best writing experience narratives. The following is a good example of a teacher response being an important part of a best writing experience narrative.

Rebecca: What would you say is your best experience with writing?

Michael: best experience with writing? Um, just anything papers, poetry?

Rebecca: any college writing

Michael: I guess it would be the poetry class, when I had written a poem and my teacher had complimented me and it's something, like – you're writing something that sounds really passionate and it sounds urgent, that was the word she used, and that, she said you shouldn't write anything as far as poetry, unless it's urgent. If it's not urgent, if it's not passionate...

Rebecca: That's really cool. That word really, it sounded to you like she really meant it

Michael: Um hm.

Rebecca: Wow, okay. Did it make you feel like writing more poetry? How did-

Michael: it definitely gave me motivation to keep writing, and stuff like that, but I was never able, in any of the future poems, to get that, at least I felt, to get that urgency and that passion in it again. But it definitely made me want to try it, you know, but I don't feel like I did it successfully, as well as I wanted.

Rebecca: But have you written other ones that have been?

Michael: yeah, I mean, the feedback was somehow that that one was really good and the ones before it were mediocre and the ones after were the same level, so yeah.

Michael, a white, male, four-year college student described his teacher's exact praise and implied that her praise was the reason that this particular writing experience was so positive for him. Other students may have simply cited the teacher's positive response as one of several reasons for a best writing experience being positive, but overall, it is a common part of the best writing experience. This implies that aside from the self response, writing is largely teacher oriented and that students are deriving some of their positive experiences with writing from positive teacher responses.

We will see by comparing the best writing experience narratives with all of the other types of narratives (best speaking, worst writing, and worst speaking), that it was *only* best writing narratives which were so strongly characterized by responses (accounting, on average, for 52% of the total immediate social context factors coded) as opposed to precursors.

This may tell us that best writing experiences seem to be focused on product – as it is the product which responses are aimed at. Speaking experiences and worst writing experiences seemed to be oriented towards both process – the things which precede and set in motion the entire experience – and product. On the other hand, best writing experiences, seemed to be focused on product. This may make the stakes for response very high in best writing, if response to product is the main focus of attention and what seems to make the experience positive. Perhaps this is part of the explanation for why self response becomes so predominant in best writing experiences – with the extreme focus on response, the self offers the response if no one else does.

Findings for Best Speaking Experience Narratives

The best speaking experiences were characterized, in terms of what accounts for the highest percentage of the immediate social context factors coded, on average, by quite different precursors and responses than were the best writing experiences. We see that peer response was the most common factor (24%). Speaking seemed to be clearly aimed at peers, and dependent upon their responses, much more than it is dependent upon teacher's responses, which accounted for 13% of the precursors and

responses, on average in best speaking experiences. As we see in Table 2, teacher and peer response were predominant.

Table 2. Best Speaking Experience Narratives (All Students) – Average Results of Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Name of Code (Type of Code: Precursor/Response)	Percentage, as averaged across all Best Speaking Experience Narratives, of Immediate Social Context Accounted for by Code	Examples of Code
Code 1: Assignment (Precursor)	11%	“I incorporated video [in my best speaking experience]. Video=genre/assignment
Code 2: Self Concept as Speaker/Writer (Precursor)	20% (breakdown of self concept is 19*% mastery concept and 1*% ability concept)	“it’s always easier when you’re prepared, for me anyway.” [mastery concept]
Code 3: Relationship with Teacher (Precursor)	7%	“It was just the way he treated us, ...[it] made it comfortable for us.” [ongoing relationship]
Code 4: Relationship with Peers (Precursor)	5%	“Well, it was a small class and it was already toward the end of the semester, so we all knew each other.” [ongoing peer atmosphere]
Code 5: Teacher Response, to Spoken Text (Response)	13%	“She [the teacher] just said that’s pretty good.”
Code 6: Peer Response to Spoken Text (Response)	24%	“I got very positive feedback from the class”
Code 7: Official Response to Spoken Text (Response)	2%	“I got 100% on the project, from the teacher too.” [grade]
Code 8: Self Response to Spoken Text (Response)	16%	“I feel very strongly about it. It was just good to express myself.” [self resp]
Code 9: Text as Response (Response)	2%	[Did you feel good speaking out, speaking your mind?] Yeah, it gives you a good feeling, makes you feel like you are participating, like you’re part of what’s going on, not just sitting down and taking in the, what the teacher is saying.. [reflecting on speaking as an object]
Total	100%	

Note: * The single asterisk indicates approximation of the types of self concepts represented. See appendix Q for details.

Here is an example of how peer responses are important in best speaking experiences:

Erika: Just, feeling the words, and seeing everybody’s reaction to it, whereas a lot of other people, when they were talking or giving their speeches, you’d see people

fidgeting and stuff because they didn't really know it, and you know, and all that kind of thing. But, it was cool to feel like I had everybody's attention and they were really listening to what I was saying.

This type of comment is typical, and not surprising. Students tended to focus on positive peer responses as the most important factor in their positive speaking experiences. Even more so, as we will see, students seemed to fear negative peer responses, as shown by the importance students placed on negative peer response in their worst speaking experience narratives.

Aside from the peer response, the way the speaker conceptualizes himself or herself is a commonly cited precursor for a best speaking experience. This was coded as a precursor, because the self concept – coded as either oriented towards mastery or to ability – seemed to set the stage for how the student understood and evaluated their experiences. In the case of best speaking experiences, the mastery conception of self was common. The mastery conception of self referred to students who based their feelings of accomplishment and mastery in speaking on their level of preparation, improvement, and effort. This seemed to set the stage for a best speaking experience.

Peer response was a straightforward category, and we will see many examples of the importance of peer response in speaking situations throughout the dissertation. The mastery conception of self, and how it made a difference in positive speaking experiences, is less straightforward, so the following example is especially helpful.

To give a clear example of how the mastery conceptualization of self looks in best speaking experience, I am going to present an excerpt from a best speaking experience where the participant discussed how she has positive speaking experiences when she prepares, has practice, and gathers the proper information. In other words,

she bases her positive feelings about the speaking experience with her sense of herself as a speaker, over time, who improves and prepares, and succeeds when she meets those conditions. I defined this as an emphasis on process (mastery and improvement) (as presented in Dweck & Legget, 1987) as opposed to product (a focus on the final product, rather than how one gets to the product). I have italicized the words and phrases in this excerpt which fit into the category of the mastery conception of self as a speaker.

Alice: I think I just got *better* speaking in class from marketing classes, and that particular professor, Dr. D-----

Rebecca: What was the thing he somehow did that made you feel like you were getting better and better?

Alice: Okay, he gave us projects to do, like in advertising, I had him for advertising class, and we had to do, group projects, things ads, like on the radio, play like we were on the radio, we had to make posters, play like we were on TV, make commercials, in front of the class

Rebecca: That's cool

Alice: That was fun. And it was creative because we had to make up our own ideas of what we wanted to do, you know, another class I had with him was marketing research, and we *had to actually go out in the field* and research and come back to class and talk about it, you know

Rebecca: How was that, was that a good experience?

Alice: Well, yeah, it was a good experience because the research was *real stuff*, I actually went to studios because my project was to do a research on radio stations, and how they go on air, how they charge, all different kinds of things in the radio, and we went out to the studio, and we got information and *we came back with the right stuff*

Rebecca: So you could talk about it b/c you had all the information?

Alice: Yeah.

Rebecca: Like, in a situation like that, before you do it, do you feel nervous, do you feel confident? How do you feel before you get ready to do it?

Alice: In a situation like that, I feel confident. *Because I went out and I found what this is about And I'm able to present it, and I have to write what I found out and it's always easier when you're prepared, for me anyway.*

The above student associated her positive experience with speaking with acts of mastery: improvement, gathering facts, doing concrete things, and being prepared.

These are all incremental ways to succeed in this situation, and this is what characterizes a mastery approach – the focus on improvement and process. In best writing experiences, we were more likely to see students focused on the reaction to product, whereas in best speaking experiences, process was highlighted. In the discussion section, we will see that interventions can be targeted very differently for process-oriented learning than for product-oriented learning, so it may be helpful to know that speaking seems to be more process oriented than is writing.

Findings for Worst Writing Experience Narratives

In worst writing experience narratives, we see a very different pattern regarding which precursors and responses are emphasized. “Assignment” – a term which refers to a specific assignment or to a specific type or genre of speaking or writing – was rated the highest of all the precursors and responses. As we see in Table 3, the precursor “assignment” accounted for, on average, 25% of the total immediate social context factors mentioned in worst speaking experience narratives. There were a plurality of factors which “tie” (each accounting for 14% of the immediate social context factors) for the second most common factor coded, on average. This indicated that negative writing experiences are more idiosyncratic, aside from a common focus on assignment as an important precursor.

Table 3. Worst Writing Experience Narratives (All Students) – Average Results of Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Name of Code (Type of Code: Precursor/Response)	Percentage, as averaged across all Worst Writing Experience Narratives, of Immediate Social Context Accounted for by Code	Examples of Code
Code 1: Assignment (Precursor)	25%	[What is your worst experience with writing in college?] In college, so far, <i>in-class essays and such rigid topics</i> ” [type of assignment]
Code 2: Self Concept as Writer (Precursor)	14% (breakdown is 13*% mastery concept and 1*% ability concept)	[Did failing that test upset you?] Not really, because before I took that test I didn’t -- I wasn’t in school for like a couple of months. [mastery concept=failure is attributed to factors that are subject to change]
Code 3: Relationship with Teacher (Precursor)	10%	He was just a little condescending, just towards the students in general. [teacher’s general behavior]
Code 4: Relationship with Peers (Precursor)	0%	n/a
Code 5: Teacher Response to Written Text (Response)	12%	Probably a teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot it down drastically, in bold flames
Code 6: Peer Response to Written Text (Response)	6%	I felt burned, misunderstood. Get off my art! [peer resp]
Code 7: Official Response to Written Text (Response)	14%	I haven’t passed the writing test and I’ve took it three times. It’s just like I’ll freeze up – [test]
Code 8: Self Response to Written Text (Response)	14%	To be 41 years of age, think I know it all. But when my paper comes back, grammar errors, it’s like I want to break down and cry [self resp]
Code 9: Text as Response (Response)	5%	It’s just like, the paper’s staring at me, it’s daring me to write something and I can’t seem to get out what it is, you know, <i>the thoughts in my head seem so eloquent, like oh yeah, that’s perfect, and it hits the paper and it’s like, no, that’s not what I said at all!</i>
Total	100%	

Note: * The single asterisk indicates approximation of the types of self concepts represented. See appendix Q for details.

Assignment is a precursor to writing in that it is conceptualized as an utterance which immediately sets the writing experience in motion, as the writing is a response to the assignment or framework that is given to the student. Students very often were focused on assignment when they described their worst writing experience, and also when they explained why an experience was the worst. The first example I will show simply exhibits the focus on type of assignment, while the second shows the student explicitly “blaming” or pinpointing assignment as the reason for their negative experience. As in these two examples, the most common assignment types that were discussed in negative writing experiences were “essays” and “in-class writing.”

Rebecca: What was your worst experience with writing in school?

Rob: Generally I don't like essays

Rebecca: Okay. Can you think of a particular incident

Rob: Yeah, having to write about like, Charles Dickens, I don't know

Rebecca: just some

Rob: having to write an essay about him...

Rebecca: what was really negative about it?

Rob: they just want you to recite by rote

Rebecca: Okay

Rob: what happened in the book

Rebecca: okay, that makes sense.

Another example of assignment type as a “disabling” part of the writing process is the following interview excerpt. This particular exchange was around an after thought a student had to his worst writing experience narrative, which was about the problems he had with in-class writing, which many students also cited as a problem. He said that he preferred take-home writing for the following reasons:

Matt: that's [take-home writing's] good because, see you don't have, with take home, home work and stuff like that, you don't have a time limit, so you

have more time to figure stuff out, jot stuff down, make a draft, and throw it out, edit, whatever. If you're in school trying to do that, it takes a lot of your time, and it's a short period of the time to work with, so...

Rebecca: right

Matt: and it's hard to come up with your best work in that little space of time.

Rebecca: that's true. Okay, so the take home stuff is a lot better

Matt: it's much easier, yeah

The other common responses described in the worst writing experience narratives were official response (includes grades and institution-wide tests) to writing (14%) and self response (14%). The following emotional worst writing experience narrative shows a student who received a negative institutional response – being rejected from a program because of her essay – which led to a host of other negative feelings and fears.

Rebecca: Okay that's good. Did you ever have a negative experience with writing in school? Or, what is the worst experience you have had in college?

Alice: I have a good one. The first essay I have to write to the CUNY BA program.

Rebecca: You mean like the application?

Alice: Yeah. That was the worst experience I ever had.

Rebecca: so why was it awful

Alice: because they sent it back, told me that it was poor, that it was poor, that they suggested that I receive my degree right here in this school (another CUNY school) to get my degree. Because the essay was poor. But if I would like to reconsider the ... program, I should rewrite my essay, with guidance from the English department. But what happened was, when I wrote the essay, first when I applied everything was hurry, hurry, hurry, and I didn't know at first that I had to write an essay and when I found out I had to write an essay and the deadline is a certain day, like two days after, and I was told what to do, write the essay and submit and let someone go over.

Rebecca: The application said that or you told yourself that?

Alice: no the office here said that. Get your mentor to go over it. But my mentor is always so busy. In fact that same Dr. D is my same mentor, and I couldn't get hold of him to write my essay. So I just started writing, and just writing, and I went to the orientation and I had my application and everything and I told my proctor, I had my essay, but it's not 200 words – I just put words together, I really should, and I knew better, and I took a chance, and that, it came back, you know, and what happened was, when I got the letter in the mail, and I got declined b/c of my essay, and everything else was right, and what I did was I wrote a letter to the deputy and told her, and I wrote that letter, and I let someone read that letter too, and I told her that at this time I would like to be reconsidered for the CUNY BA program, but I am waiting for my final grades and at that time I would resubmit my essay along with my

transcript, right, and sincerely, thank you, whatever, so they would know, I wrote it to her to let her know that I'm still interested, instead of just waiting till I get a letter. So in the interim when I be waiting, I got together my essay and I got some help from the English professor and they sat with me and asked me questions and I told them answers and they told me how to write things, they wanted my personal academic XXX [inaudible], so I started telling them and started putting it to words, and they'd read it and say do this and that, and I wrote it up and I typed it, and it was the story of me. And I really wrote it, put those words together, with the help of the English, and I took it by hand to the CUNY BA, not expecting to get on until the following semester, and two days later, they called me for an interview. Plus, my GPA had shot up, and I did well, and I'm in.

Rebecca: It sounds like it turned out to be a positive story, in the end.

Alice: But it was bad, in the middle, oooh. Tears came to my eyes, I thought, I embarrassed myself because even the letter that I had to have from my mentor, he wrote the letter for me, saying they should accept me, and I'm a good student, and all these good words, and I told my mentor that I gotta rewrite my essay, so he was like, so rewrite it, don't make a big deal about it.

Rebecca: I like that response.

Alice: Yeah, that's what helped. It helped a lot.

Rebecca: Did it make you feel like, well, it's not me, it's just an essay?

Alice: Yeah, that's exactly what I felt, and I just got it together. And those words really helped me. And I put it together and I got accepted. From that one bad writing experience, I want to get so much better, because they were specific about my writing [it's the writing], you can't come here with that kind of writing, I felt embarrassed, I was hurting, I was feeling it, but on the same token, I was determined. Because those two words – if you'd like to be reconsidered

Rebecca: Gave you some hope

Alice: That's what really gave me the push to try harder.

Rebecca: And it paid off

Alice: Yes it did

Rebecca: And you said after that you felt even more like, more concerned, more careful?

Alice: Yes, I was very concerned about my writing

Rebecca: Well, it sounds like in the end... Okay, how common is a negative experience like that? I'm sure it's never quite as bad...

Alice: That was the worst

Rebecca: The most stressful?

Alice: I'd never embarrass myself like that again!

Rebecca: So that emotion was very difficult

Alice: It put tears in my eyes.

Rebecca: So it was intense

Alice: very intense, very.

In general, students often associated major rejections (being held back from the next English level, etc.) with worst writing experiences. These are fairly straightforward to understand and they show that negative writing experiences tend to be associated with high stakes losses. The self responses tended to include intense statements of disappointment in one's mistakes with writing. The following is a perfect example of that response:

Nita: My worst experience in writing? I have a grammar problem. Or had a grammar problem. I still probably do. That needs to be polished up. To be 41 of age, think I know it all. But when my paper comes back, grammar errors, it's like I want to break down and cry, you forget the 's' forget 'ed'. It's just horrible.

As shown in Table 3, there were a plurality of fairly common factors which framed negative writing experiences, as compared to the best speaking and writing experiences which were more clearly predominated by two or three factors. This may tell us, as we will further take up in the discussion section, that negative writing experiences are more varied and require more attention on behalf of teachers and students to how an individual personally experiences upsetting writing situations.

Findings for Worst Speaking Experience Narratives

Finally, in worst speaking experience narratives, we see on average the factor that accounted for the largest percentage of the total immediate social factors coded was peer response (36%) and the factor accounting for the second largest percentage (15%) was a mastery self-conception (which is usually shown by a student explaining the failure as coming not from an innate ability concept of the self as speaker, but rather as coming from a mastery conception of speaking ability which attributes

failure to lack of preparation and effort, or other external factors). As shown in Table 4, peer response and mastery self concept are the predominant immediate social context factors coded.

Table 4. Worst Speaking Experience Narratives (All Students) – Average Results of Coding Immediate Contextual Factors (Precursor and Response Codes)

Name of Code (Type of Code: Precursor/Response)	Percentage, as averaged across all Worst Speaking Experience Narratives, of Immediate Social Context Accounted for by Code	Examples of Code
Code 1: Assignment (Precursor)	8%	oh, I have a law class [and] he grills you until you get an answer [type of speaking]
Code 2: Self Concept as Speaker (Precursor)	15% (breakdown is 11*% mastery concept and 2*% ability concept, 2*% other)	“sometimes ... people don’t put in enough work or don’t participate as much or are as enthusiastic about the topic as you are.” [mastery concept because negative exper is based in the situation not the self]
Code 3: Relationship with Teacher (Precursor)	9%	There was this speech teacher there, that before I even took it, I heard, she’s a witch, she’s awful, she fails everyone.
Code 4: Relationship with Peers (Precursor)	0%	it’s usually when the students become disorderly, it makes speaking up a lot harder,
Code 5: Teacher Response, to Spoken Text (Response)	13%	negative feedback...she says it right in front of the class!
Code 6: Peer Response to Spoken Text (Response)	36%	worst? Was when I went to say something, but I had misheard the question so I said something incorrectly and everybody got offended
Code 7: Official Response to Spoken Text (Response)	4%	insert
Code 8: Self Response to Spoken Text (Response)	11%	After that I was thinking about it, Like, oh, why I said that!
Code 9: Text as Response (Response)	4%	I wasn’t using the terms that the professor wanted. And I felt kind of bad because this is the field that I’m in and I like it, and I really want to know exactly the things to say, when to say it the right way. [she felt her spoken text reflected her badly]
Total	100%	

Note: * The single asterisk indicates approximation of the types of self concepts represented. See appendix Q for details.

The importance of peer responses in both positive and negative speaking experiences is clear. Peers seemed to be the most important audience in speaking

situations, including negative speaking situations. Sometimes students would worry that peers would not be interested in what they had to say, or some, like the following student, were concerned about being misunderstood.

Rebecca: okay, that's really great. What would you say was your worst experience with speaking in college?

Kristina: worst? Was when I went to say something, but I had misheard the question so I said something incorrectly and everybody got offended

Rebecca: oh (laugh) what was the situation, can you tell me a little more specifically? It won't offend me.

Kristina: well, I made a comment, we were talking about something regarding soccer teams, and we were talking about society and males and females and stuff, and gender, and all that, and stereotypes and stuff, and someone had made a comment about women and I forget the stereotype, a certain stereotype about women, so I made a stereotype about men, kind of retaliation, because it was a discussion, agreement type thing we had in the class, and somebody, I forget what I said, only because I felt so bad about it, but someone, I made this stereotype about males, but I had misheard what my classmate had said, so everyone got offended so I felt bad, I didn't want to say anymore, and I got anxious that I would say the wrong thing, you know.

Rebecca: right right.

Kristina: open my mouth before I thought it through, or heard it properly, so...

Rebecca: so like, did you feel anxious for a long time after that, or just a little while?

Kristina: no just a little while, because like I said, I bounced back from it, made sure I paid attention, get all my facts straight, and stuff.

However, the following example, gives a somewhat new perspective, as it describes the student's negative experience with her peers as a group. Several students expressed similar negative experiences with classmates as a group. This student stated:

Rebecca: the next question is, what is your worst experience with speaking in college?

Naimah: probably a class where I feel like I'm flashing back to high school, and like it's usually when the students become disorderly, it makes speaking up a lot harder, especially because there are some classes are actually ridiculing things that you say, it's hard to participate in class. Those are very rare, but when it does happen, it makes it very hard.

Aside from peer response, which strongly dominated worst speaking experience narratives, many students' narratives were also coded for mastery conceptions of self. What this means in the context of worst speaking experiences, is that the student explained the negativity of the situation as coming from something that is possible to improve upon, not something essential to the self. Thus, these were coded as examples of mastery conceptions of the self. For instance, a student who said that he or she had a bad speaking experience because he or she did not prepare enough, that would be coded as a mastery conception of self, because it implied that the student felt in control of the situation and expected a positive experience if he or she prepared more adequately the next time.

Themes and Lessons from Comparing the Narrative Types

The following were the main areas which address the immediate social context of speaking and writing and explain why achievement in speaking and writing may be different due to immediate social factors, not simply individual skills.

Bridging the Gap in the role of Self in Speaking and Writing

As discussed above, self response to process (a mastery orientation where improvement of self is the hallmark of a positive speaking experience) is important in best speaking; whereas self response (intrinsic interest and positive regard for) to product is important in best writing. An interesting comparison to consider is the best speaking experience narrative discussed earlier where the student focused on feeling good about her speaking when she is prepared and has plenty of practice and the

following best writing experience narrative where the student seemed to stress that she successfully wrote *without* much effort. This student even seemed to feel good about her writing precisely because she was impressed by how much she was able to get done in so little time. Additionally, the student stressed that she felt good about her writing when she brought intrinsic interest to the project and found ways to have her personality reflected in her writing.

Rebecca: What was your best experience with writing in college?

Naimah: probably writing a paper the *day before it was due*, I think it was, it wound up being a 6-7 page paper, I did some research on it a few days before, but *I actually wrote it the night before*. It was, *I think I got a pretty good grade on it*, and I felt pretty confident writing it, and I was actually even, I had the audacity to throw in jokes and everything [Ability conception of self shown in this turn, because the student is proud that she finished a long paper in a short amount of time, which implies ability as opposed to extended effort]

Rebecca: that's great. That sounds like that somehow made you feel really good about it

Naimah: When I'm confident I have no problem with writing, *I like to let my own personality shine through and um, anytime I had a class where I was able to do , especially in any important paper and still be able to give my knowledge and my personality in the same paper, usually makes me pretty happy*. [The self's intrinsic connection with the writing – as a way for self to be reflected - is illustrated in this turn.]

Rebecca: That's a cool way to say it. That's great. Alright, when you're in that state, or in that process, what kinds of thoughts are going through your mind? When you're writing this paper that's going so well

Naimah: usually, that I shouldn't be making so many sarcastic remarks, but, um, I try to, usually it goes hand in hand, with papers like that, that *I know the professors well, so I think that they'll understand, like, you've spoken to me before, I think what you know what my personality is like, so you know, this is the way that I talk, so I write the way that I speak, so it's that makes it a lot easier and ties it together for me*. [This turn illustrates the importance to the student of having a relationship with the teacher, who will be audience to the paper, in order for her to be able to let her personality be known].

Rebecca: so you're saying that if you have a relationship with the professor, they'll understand the jokes, they'll read it in that way.

Naimah: for the psych paper, my first line was a quote, but it was a quote from a punk rock song, but it's talking about a psychological disorder, but I only used one line, and then I went into how psychological disorders are really understood through the media and all that kind of stuff, it was jokingly, but I know he likes some rock music, so at least he would know the band I'm

referring to, and then I also went into the research that I actually did on it, so I knew the teacher would probably enjoy that joke.

Rebecca: that's very cool. That makes a lot of sense because the audience is very important

Naimah: I have to keep the audience in mind, you know

The writing process for her is quite product focused, and ability focused, as shown in her emphasis on writing the paper in a short period of time, and yet it is still focused on her individuality coming out in the product, which itself depends on the ongoing series of responses (i.e., ongoing relationship) that she had with her professor.

It is interesting to see that students seemed able to be process oriented with speaking situations (recall Alice who described a few pages ago how confident she felt about speaking when she was prepared), but seemed to focus on product, and ability, in writing. Ideally, students might be able to bridge some of the gaps between speaking and writing by bring some of the process orientation to writing (improvement over time, a focus on preparation instead of ability) and bring some of the intrinsic, personal interest they showed in positive writing experiences to their speaking experiences.

Assignment as part of the sequence of academic expression

We see that type of assignment is very highly charged as a precursor in worst writing experience narratives, as it was the most commonly cited immediate social context factor. It was much more important in worst writing experience narratives than in any of the other narratives. Students had a very strong and negative response to the role of assignment or type of assignment in writing situations, while they seemed to actually have a positive response to assignment in speaking situations.

It may be important to first, find ways to either avoid or make more accessible genres and assignments that students find “disabling” in writing situations, and moreover, to investigate what it is about assignment (such as using video, or creating real world speaking assignments such as creating advertisements, for example) that works positively in speaking situations. Since genre and assignments are elements in the classroom directly controlled by teachers and curriculum decisions, these seem to be places where changes might be introduced, if we understood fully how students felt about various types of assignments and how they felt in fact misrepresented by some types of assignments.

Peer Orientation in Speaking vs. Variety of Orientations for Writing

It is clear that speaking experiences, positive and negative, are oriented towards peers, while writing is oriented towards the self and to teachers, in positive situations, and towards the role of genre or assignment in negative situations.

Official Response

Official response (grades, acceptance into a program, failing campus-wide test, etc.) had much more importance in writing situations than in speaking situations, and much more so in worst writing experiences than in best writing experiences. A number of students’ worst experiences with writing involved failing campus-wide writing tests or having applications rejected because of writing issues. Grades do not figure in many of the students’ narratives, perhaps because of the ability to negotiate

with individual teachers and the inability to negotiate with institution-wide official responses.

Summary of Differences Between Speaking and Writing

Overall, based on the precursors and responses coding, it seems that writing is an exercise which involves more pressure, more focus on product, more focus on topic, and more focus on the self as a responder. In speaking, preparation and skills (i.e., mastery approaches) were more common and the focus was both on being understood or misunderstood immediately – which made the experience highly emotional if one was not understood, especially by peers. In speaking, there seemed to be a constant movement from speaker to audience, which sometimes made students feel disempowered (as when they decided not to speak because they didn't want to be too dominant) and sometimes empowered students (when they became audiences to peers or professors whose speech they found problematic). Overall, I would hope that students can bring their internal compass which they use to evaluate their own writing – with a focus on the intrinsic interest in the topic, perhaps fueled by the response they aren't getting from outside sources – to their speaking experiences; and they could bring their mastery approach from speaking to writing.

Group Differences: Coding Broader Social Context Factors

The next section will focus on the group differences found in terms of precursors and responses. I focus on gender and race group differences, and do not discuss community college vs. four-year college group differences, because I found striking patterns of difference for race and gender groups and did not find clear

patterns for group differences between community college and four-year college students in terms of precursors and responses. (However, differences between community college students and four-year college students will be discussed in terms of types of recognition found, in the next chapter).

What is most striking is that race and gender demographics are quite predictive of whether teacher (and sometimes peer) responses will be associated with positive writing and speaking experience narratives or negative ones. The differences are sometimes extreme, sometimes less so, but taken together are quite suggestive. By looking at examples we will try to understand the meaning behind these patterns, and later in the chapter we will look to archival data to explore the larger social context of literacy which might frame some of these differences.

Race and Response

To begin, we will look at teacher responses associated with the narratives, for different racial groups.

Race and Teacher Response

Table 5. Teacher Response Accounted for What % of Immediate Social Context Factors

Student's Race	Best Writing	Worst Writing	Best Speaking	Worst Speaking
White	18%	6%	25%	23%
African American	7%	24%	13%	6%
Latino	24%	0%	3%	7%

In looking at Table 5, we see a sharp comparison between the degree to which whites and Latinos, as compared to African Americans, associated teacher response with best writing experiences. Whites and Latinos reported teacher response as a large part of the context (18% and 24%) of their best writing experiences, while African American students reported teacher response as only making up 7% of best writing experience.

As an example of teacher response making a student's writing experience positive, we can recall the white four-year college student Michael whose narrative was presented above, in the best writing experience section, who described his teacher calling his writing "passionate" and "urgent". Although this experience was ultimately one which was full of pressure for Michael, he did define it as a positive experience, and in fact his very best writing experience in college. This type of experience was reported much less often by African American students, our numbers tell us.

Further, we can see that African American students actually were more likely to associate teacher response with worst writing experience, as we can see in Table 5 where the teacher response accounted for 24% of the immediate social context factors in the average African American worst writing experience narrative, as compared to 6% for Whites and 0% for Latinos. From my interview data, we do not know why this is, but it shows at least, a different set of associations that the students have with teacher response.

We cannot be sure whether it is that white and Latino students measure their best writing experiences, for example, more by teacher response, and thus it is salient to them, or whether they in fact experience more teacher responses in experiences which are positive, and that is why we see this difference.

It seems from the qualitative data possible to speculate that there are at least two types of reasons why African American students report less teacher response in best writing experience narratives. The first is a very salutary explanation, as it shows that some African American students, such as this student, Erika, who is a female in a four-year college, are getting positive teacher response, but getting so many other positive responses (from their own intrinsic interest and response, as well as many other sources), that teacher response is not emphasized. We will see this clearly in the following example.

Erika: I was studying black women and straightening their hair as a cultural phenomenon, trying to figure out how many did it, what some of the reasons might have been, as far as I saw them historically and analytically and asking them what they thought the reasons were, without of course giving them what I thought and all that, it turned out [omitted some details of her study]..... but just I enjoy reading a lot and just finding out different things about the world, so

Rebecca: so it was the whole process that you really enjoyed

Erika: yeah, the whole process and the writing itself, it all comes together at that point, and I felt very proud of it, when I let the professor read it, and when I let other people read it.

Rebecca: okay, tell me a little bit about both of those things, b/c that is part of what I'm interested in, how you felt when you got their response, and stuff like that

Erika: well, I did get an A on that one, it always feels good, I'm addicted to it now, that's probably my vice, As, I have a 4.0 right now, and I've always been above a 3.0, I've always worked and gotten pretty good grades. But yeah, his reaction was very positive, he was, aside from the A itself, he really was impressed with the choice of topic, and the quality of the writing that I did and he expressed that to me and that was good, and I also, the reaction of some of the participants when they read my conclusions and what I had been thinking beforehand, and I'm sure they were going back in their minds, thinking about how they answered the surveys and things, and like, wow, this is talking about me, I didn't realize I fit in to this paradigm, and here I am

Rebecca: wow, so you could imagine them reading through your paper and what they might be thinking

Erika: right, right, and some of them actually expressed to me after they read it, you know, they were like, wow, that was really interesting and I didn't know that, even some of the historical facts and things that I presented, you know, just they didn't know about it.

Rebecca: that sounds really cool

Erika: yeah it was, very rewarding

Rebecca: that's so good. When you were getting ready to do the writing, what were you thinking, did you have any thoughts when you would sit down, in anticipation of doing the writing?

Erika: um, I would just think about trying to bring everything together and when I'm writing I tend to think a lot about reading and the types of things that I like to read, just as far as cohesiveness and I get frustrated if I'm reading something and it seems to jump around, and things like that, so I keep those things in mind a lot when I'm writing, you know, I reread my writing and change things if I don't like how it's reading, that's mainly what I focus on. In that case, that was a little more scientific than some, but it's still you know, you want to have a flow to it.

Obviously, the above student was involved with her writing on so many positive levels, including the teacher's positive response, that the teacher's response simply did not predominate as it seemed to for the white male student cited above who seemed to get focused solely on the teacher response.

On the other hand, some students, like several African American students at the community college, did not mention teacher responses at all in their best writing experiences, perhaps because they were not receiving positive teacher responses in the first place. One male African American community college student cited his experience with writing an essay on the college entrance exam, though he did not end up passing the exam as the most positive experience he had with writing. This was a puzzling example, showing perhaps that the student did not have other positive experiences to draw on or that the test itself, a well-designed test according to many sources, offered some kind of structure which was positive that the student was not

finding from teachers in the classroom. He seemed to rely on his own positive response, despite the “official” negative response of failing the writing section of the test. Teacher response did not seem to be on his radar screen.

A female African American community college student was another example of a student who did not associate teacher response with her best writing experience, and seemed to draw on her own response, and her mother’s response (coded under the category of peer response – because peer response includes responses from others who are not teachers – in the rare instances that students described these responses, as indicated in coding manual) instead. This experience hinted at a lack of teacher response associated with positive writing experiences.

Rebecca: Okay, all right, that’s good. What would you say was your best experience with writing in college?

Kellie: Actually I had this...this wasn’t in college though, but ...forget it. We had this essay to write on what was it? Was it I think it was like abort views on abortion or certain things like and it was a take home essay. And we all (inaudible)... at least a week to really think about what we wanted to write. And that went over that went pretty good. I kind of looked up information on the Internet so on and so forth. And I was pretty proud of the paper that I wrote.

Rebecca: That’s great, that’s great. Was it like your own feelings about it or was it the (inaudible)

Kellie: It was a mixture of well; I can’t even say a mixture. It was basically my own personal views on it.

Rebecca: And was it did you feel good about it like sort of reading it over yourself or was it like after you got it back from the professor that you felt good?

Kellie: Reading it over myself and I read it to my mother; she enjoyed it, so.

Rebecca: That’s cool. She was impressed.

Kellie: She was impressed by it, so.

Rebecca: That’s nice. That’s great. So you remember that as a positive experience?

Kellie: Yeah.

It is important to note that community college vs. four-year college did not by itself determine how much students associated teacher response with best writing experiences. It seemed that race and gender are the operative variables in examining

teacher response, and what it is associated with, and we will continue exploring this issue below.

As mentioned above, we see that in the *worst writing narratives*, we see that African American students showed teacher response accounting for much *more* of the total responses/precursors, as compared to white students.

A pattern is thus established that teacher response seems to be associated more often with positive writing experiences for white and Latino students, and more often with negative writing experiences for African-American students.

To give the reader a better sense of the experiences the African American students are reporting in their narratives, which associate negative teacher response with worst writing experiences, I am going to bring two examples, both by four-year-college African American female students, who gave the impression – by mentioning high grades and great interest in their classes – of academic excellence, and nonetheless associated negative writing experiences with some form of negative teacher response.

The first described the dramatic tone of the criticism she received and the impact it had on her (leading her away from writing, when she had pursued the course as an advanced interest) and the second example (taken from the interview with the student who above described her highly successful research project) showed the role of a more subtle type of condescension from teachers which made her experience negative, despite the high grade she received. The first example is the more dramatic and will be shown below:

Rebecca: that's very cool. Okay, what was your worst experience with writing in college

Naimah: Probably a teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot down drastically, *in bold flames*, and um, it really, she did it in a way –

Rebecca: what subject?

Naimah: this was, uh, an English course, an English writing course in Shakespeare, a course that I didn't need, but I took because I like Shakespeare and, it was women and Shakespeare and I thought, oh, this will be a really good growing experience and um, that *just every paper I wrote, she would just nit pick at it, she basically just told me in no uncertain terms, that I'm an idiot and I couldn't write to save my life*

Rebecca: oh my lord, my goodness. How would this be communicated to you? What would you specifically read on a paper?

Naimah: um, um, she was right about it, there were just some grammatical things, but the way she would speak to me, and the way she also spoke to me in class, she did it in a way that just it wasn't teaching me anything, *I just felt like I was being beaten*, you know.

Rebecca: she would bring this, in to class too? How would she speak to you in class?

Naimah: she usually would make me feel very stupid.

Rebecca: you would raise your hand and make a comment and she would somehow have a respond - ?

Naimah: she would always have a negative response for me, it got to the point that it got so bad that other students had chimed up in class, in defense of me and they were basically like, back off of her, they were like – what are you doing? And that was really discouraging, that I think any professor, you don't have to walk on eggshells, but there's a always a way of just talking to anyone, much less a student, especially if you're explaining that you don't think they are working on the level they should be, *but she basically just made me feel like, you have the grammar of a fourth grader*. You know, but I made it this far, I mean I understand I'm not great at it but.... So that's probably one of the worst experiences, that and that put me off of writing, and definitely Shakespeare, um, I haven't, that was my last writing course. I haven't taken one since then.

The next example is a much more subtle experience, but the student still felt that the teacher responded negatively to her work, even when she felt strongly that she had done good work.

Rebecca: What would you say was your worst, or one of your worst, experiences with writing in college?

Erika: Um, well, I guess as a, I haven't had any really negative experiences, but one kind of interesting thing that happened, was the same speech that I did when I did Sojourner Truth, the analytical paper that I turned in, explaining why I chose it and all of that, some writers have adopted the convention of capitalizing Black and White, when referring to race, b/c all of the other ones are capitalized and it's kind of like,

why not? So I do that. I've kind of adopted that convention and *the professor mentioned it in his commentary at the end of his, that was the only comment that he made. It kind of felt like, he was just looking for something to comment about.* You know, A+ but watch your capitalization, you know, and that was just I guess, it made me feel a little like, I wanted to, and I ended up turning something else in and actually writing a little blurb that some writers have adopted this convention and blah blah,

Rebecca: good for you. Do you get the sense that he didn't know that – that he thought you were just doing it randomly?

Erika: Yeah, I didn't really know what he – I was surprised by that, b/c I would think that in some kind of, in passing, he would have seen it, and so, yeah, it surprised me, I was like – I don't know if he just thought I was – and it seemed odd that given the quality of the rest of my writing, he would think that I would randomly do that, but, it was interesting. He was kind of a character. *He was just a little condescending, just towards the students in general.*

The above examples show African American female students from four-year colleges discussing how teacher response was an important part of their worst writing experiences. The presence of negative response and the absence of teacher response being associated with best writing experience suggests that African Americans are experiencing – or at least noticing – a more negative context for their writing experiences, at least in terms of teacher response.

In looking at best speaking experience by racial groups, again in Table 5, we see a similar, and in fact more extreme, pattern associated with teacher response. The white students' best speaking narratives, on average, teacher response accounted for *almost twice as much* (25%) of their total immediate social context factors in their best speaking narratives than do African American students' narratives (13%). Latino students showed an even lower percentage (3%) of their entire set of precursors/responses accounted for by teacher responses for best speaking narratives. The following is an example of a white student, Ian, who found his teacher's response to be extremely important in his best speaking narrative:

Rebecca: What would you say was your best experience with speaking in a college classroom?

Ian: Best experience. That's a hard one.

Rebecca: It can be any positive experience with it. It doesn't have to be the best.

Ian: I think it would have to be the English 24 class I had. I had a good professor. She was tough. She was very hard on us, but I was like I was the oldest one in the class so I had a lot more experience. I was even older than the professor. But we had a lot of good give and take in that like when she would say things, I would... I felt very comfortable just answering her back or just stating my opinion. And I think that was the most positive I've had. It was a good interaction between the two of us. And the class, they just very happy to let the two of us speak and so they didn't have to do anything. But it also was an eight a.m. class, so. Yeah. I think that was definitely the best experience I had.

Rebecca: So what set the stage for that was that you felt comfortable in the class?

Ian: Yeah, I did. I did. That was one of those classes where it didn't matter. Didn't matter what the subject was I felt very even though she was a hard teacher and she had no qualms about really ridiculing somebody if they said something that she thought was stupid, which she didn't do to me. I still felt very comfortable just speaking out no matter what. Just something --

Rebecca: Was it that you were older?

Ian: I think that's what it was.

Rebecca: So you felt comfortable talking?

Ian: Yeah, yeah.

Rebecca: That's good, all right.

Ian: Also, I know how to write fairly well and I can speak fairly well, so. The English part of it, I knew I wasn't going to say anything grammatically incorrect that she could pick on. And so --

Rebecca: Okay. So the confidence in the subject matter.

Ian: Right. And in English most things are opinion anyway. And I can give my opinion on just about anything.

The confidence Ian expressed is both facilitated by the teacher response and most likely facilitated a positive teacher response. This positive cycle is something that is very useful to a student, and would be helpful to facilitate for female and non-white students. The data in this dissertation show that currently women and non-white students do not associate teacher responses with positive speaking experiences as strongly as do white male students.

The pattern of teacher response being associated with negative situations for African American students but not white students *is not upheld in worst speaking experience narratives*. As we see in Table 5, white students associated worst speaking experiences with teacher response accounting for a larger percentage (23%) of their total immediate social context factors, than did either African Americans (6%) or Latinos (7%). Perhaps this finding, in the context of the other very strong associations between race and teacher response, shows that speaking is less inflected by race issues than is writing, or that white students feared a negative teacher's response very strongly.

The following is an example of Simona, a white female student at a four-year college, whose worst speaking experience was almost entirely characterized by the negative feelings she had about her teacher:

Rebecca: okay, interesting. What would you say was your worst experience for speaking in school? At the college level?

Simona: well, I used to go to XXX [college name taken out]

Rebecca: to XXX [college name taken out], and there was this speech teacher there, that before I even took it, I heard, she's a witch, she's awful, she fails everyone, so already before I went in, I had fear, and then, you think you did well on your speech, and then she breaks you apart. She says, look at how you're standing! You have your arms crossed! Expressing that you're confident, you said this, this many times, she cuts you to pieces. It wasn't that helpful! (laugh)

Rebecca: So, it's like you feel like you're doing okay at the time, and then you get all this feedback

Simona: negative feedback

Rebecca: where do you get it? Does she write it, does she say it?

Simona: she says it right in front of the class!

Rebecca: oh! So do all the peers kind of bond together?

Simona: no b/c some people... I don't know, I guess outside, because that's why she has the reputation she has. But you get that in the class, you don't get somebody saying, don't worry, she's overly tough or this, you don't have that, but it is a higher level college, too, than CUNY

Rebecca: okay. Did it help you that she is known for being so tough and critical?

Simona: No! It made me more nervous. It adds to it.

Rebecca: okay. Did you internalize it? Did it make you more nervous afterwards?

Simona: yeah, I ended up dropping the class that semester.

Rebecca: it sounds very negative.

Race and Peer Response to Speaking

Student's Race	Best Speaking	Worst Speaking
White	26%	25%
African American	23%	43%
Latino	19%	47%

As shown in Table 6, we do not see major race differences in peer response to best speaking experience narratives.

An example of an African American student who associated peer response with best speaking experience is the following, from Erika, the African American female student who is a student in a four-year college.

Rebecca: What was your best experience, or one of your best experiences, with speaking in college, and tell me who else was involved, what happened, and the setting, and all that.

Erika: I guess my best experience is, well, one of the few I've had with speaking in school, like I guess it doesn't have to be in front of the whole class, well, just as far as in class discussions or anything?

Rebecca: well, it's either class discussions or presentations, either one

Erika: okay. I'd say, well, actually, one that made me feel the best, was a presentation, actually for a speech class, I did Sojourner Truth's speech, 'Aint I a Woman', and um, it was cool, as far as giving the speech and I also had to write a commentary about why I chose it, so I enjoyed that, but giving the speech, was great. Just, feeling the words, and seeing everybody's reaction to it, whereas a lot of other people, when they were talking or giving their speeches, you'd see people fidgeting and stuff b/c they didn't really know it, and you know, and all that kind of thing. But, it was cool to feel like I had everybody's attention and they were really listening to what I was saying.

Looking at worst speaking experiences narratives, as shown in Table 6, the data suggests that while both white and non-white students associated peer response with negative speaking situations, African American and Latino students did so at nearly twice the rate (43% and 47%, respectively) that white students did (25%). Tables 5 and 6 considered together may suggest that white students most feared negative teacher responses in speaking situations and African American and Latino students most feared negative peer responses in speaking situations.

Gender and Response

When comparing teacher and peer response for gender, as seen below in Tables 7 and 8, we see similar patterns in general, but not in all categories.

Gender and Teacher Response

Table 7. Teacher Response Accounted for What % of Immediate Social Context

Student's Gender	Best Writing	Worst Writing	Best Speaking	Worst Speaking
Male	13%	3%	20%	7%
Female	13%	18%	9%	17%

Gender and Peer Response

Table 8. Peer Response Accounted for What % of Immediate Social Context

Student's Gender	Best Writing	Worst Writing	Best Speaking	Worst Speaking
Male	8%	10%	30%	43%
Female	9%	2%	20%	31%

When looking at Tables 7 and 8, we see that there was an important difference between the patterns shown between males and females and the patterns shown between race groups, in describing teacher response. When looking at Table 7, which shows the differences between gender groups in how much teacher response was associated with various speaking and writing experiences, we see that males and females reported equal amounts of teacher response associated with best writing experience. Given that in negative speaking and writing experiences, the gender patterns show females associating teacher response with negative experiences, we will have to ask why there is no gender difference, in teacher or peer response when looking at best writing experience.

In the discussion section, we will consider the implications of the fact that, at least in best writing experiences, we do not see gender differences, whereas we do see race differences, when looking at teacher and peer response. More examples will not be presented here, since examples of male and female students' narratives on their best writing experiences have already been presented in several sections above.

There were several areas where gender differences did emerge strongly and seem to follow the pattern established for race differences. *When considering worst writing experiences and teacher response, the pattern we found among Whites vs. African Americans emerged strongly for males vs. females. Additionally, in speaking narratives, females, when compared to males, on average, were much more likely to associate teacher response with worst speaking situations than were men; and women were much less likely, as compared to men, to associate teacher response with best speaking situations.*

When considering peer response, *the pattern is reversed*, perhaps indicating that males put more stake in peer response than do females, and are, in a sense, more “scared” of negative peer response, in that it may be that when they receive a negative peer response, the entire experience is perceived as extremely negative.

As we can see in Table 7, females’ narratives of worst writing experiences were characterized by teacher response *six* times more than are males’ narratives of worst writing experiences. For peer response, shown in Table 8, we see the opposite dynamic, though not as large of a difference is exhibited.

Looking at best speaking experience narratives by gender, we see the pattern continuing, with both teacher and peer response showing *higher percentages* in males’ narratives.

In worst speaking experiences, *the pattern continues along gender lines*, with females showing a far greater percentage of their narratives being accounted for by teacher responses. *However, in terms of peer response, the patterns reverses.*

Summarizing Group Differences and the Questions It Leaves Us With

As we saw above, there were stark group differences among the students in my study. Clearly, my study deals with a small sample of students (n=28 students), but within that sample there were some clear trends. The strongest was that white students compared with African American students tended to be more likely to associate teacher response with positive writing experiences. Supporting the same basic trend, African American students were more likely than white students to associate teacher response with worst writing experiences. In other words, in writing

experiences, teacher response was associated with good experiences for whites, and with bad experiences for African-American students.

Whether this is because African American students are receiving or perceiving negative responses from teachers in writing situations; or whether they are receiving positive responses from teachers but simply getting even more positive responses from other sources (self or peers, for example); or whether the data simply point to what white and African American students find salient in writing situations (for example, whether teacher response matters) is not clear. What is clear is that there is a strong pattern in the data

We see a much different picture when we look at race and teacher response in speaking situations. In positive speaking situations, the pattern described above still holds, with white students being more likely to associate teacher response with positive speaking situations than are non-white students. However, the pattern reversed when we look at worst speaking situations, with white students much more likely to associate teacher response with negative speaking situations. It is not surprising to me that we would see less of a difference around race and teacher response in speaking situations, as compared to writing, as there seem to be more ideological issues that may be race-related in debates about literacy than about speaking.

We did not find gender differences in best writing experiences. Both teacher and peer responses are equal between males and females in best writing experiences; but in worst writing experiences we see gender differences. Females reported more teacher responses associated with worst writing experiences than do males; males

reported more peer responses associated with worst writing experiences than did females. In speaking experiences, males associated more teacher responses with best speaking experiences than did females. Males also associated more peer responses with best speaking experiences than did females. Females associated more teacher responses with worst speaking experiences than did males. However, the pattern changes when looking at peer responses and worst speaking experiences: males reported more peer responses in worst speaking experiences than did females. One interpretation might be that females feared negative teacher responses in speaking situations, whereas males feared negative peer responses. Again, we do not know the reasons for these associations, but they raise provocative questions. One wonders whether social factors are creating less hospitable response atmospheres for women and African American students. To begin to investigate some of these social factors, I did a limited archival investigation to look at the representations of CUNY students in literacy debates. I wanted to begin to see if the responses the students were reporting had any parallel in representations in the press or the academic literature. The next section will begin to address some of these questions.

Representations of Students as Literate Subjects: Archival Study of Broader Social Context

The purpose of this section of the dissertation is to give context to students' reports of the responses they have received. It may provide some indirect explanation for why students from different demographic groups – namely race and gender groups – reported experiencing teacher response in such a different way. This section, which

examines media representations of CUNY students in the context of the 1998 open admissions debate, is useful in shedding light both on how CUNY students, which all the research subjects are, in general are represented, and perhaps received by teachers, and for gaining insight into social context issues at CUNY, such as representations of race. I argue that the debate over open admissions is related to race because open admissions brought in a more diverse student body, and thus a discussion of ending or changing open admissions is in part a discussion of diversity at CUNY. Further, because open admissions brings up questions of remediation and academic merit, it is also a discussion of diversity in relation to these topics. Remediation in particular is often related to literacy issues, since basic writing courses are one of the three types of remedial courses offered in the CUNY system, and the most commonly discussed one. Thus, for all of these reasons, I argue that looking at representations of CUNY students in the context of the open admissions debate of 1998 can give us useful insights into the social context factors which may impact the way that students from various social groups feel received and heard on CUNY campuses.

In a very loose sense, the archival study is designed to represent an outside source which may begin to confirm or disconfirm, the impression that some students have about the way they are received and represented – that is, often as deficient in terms of literacy. The explanations, by way of archival study, for race and gender differences in the types of responses they reported receiving, will be very indirect, as newspapers are very unlikely to be directly racist in classifying students' abilities. At the same time, it is instructive to see how CUNY students as a whole are described in

terms of literacy issues, because, as Catherine Pendergrast argues in “An Absent Presence” (discussed in literature review in Chapter I), many statements about unprepared, basic writers are veiled statements about race and ability.

I felt it was helpful, in fact, to be looking at the representations of CUNY students at a more general societal level than at the teacher level. A theoretical stance which I take both in my literature review and in my methods is that students are impacted by the immediate context which almost always includes teachers as responders and teachers in turn are impacted by many levels of response and representation of themselves and their students – institutional representations of students; and larger societal representations of students, including media representations.

For all of the above reasons, I decided to try to get a broader sense of what social representations of students might be influencing teachers in their perceptions of students. I decided to go to media sources to get an idea of how the literacy “problem” was being represented to see if certain representations of students which I had heard on campuses anecdotally – such as “students here don’t read” or “students today don’t have much practice with writing” –were represented there.

As it turns out, stereotypes about students are not often represented in the press, possibly because unacceptable discourses do not tend to be published, but you do get some historical sense of what came before the students’ current day writing experiences and the representations of students as deficient were found, among other representations that will be discussed.

I kept the media search as specific as possible, by focusing on Open Admissions. I wanted to see the representations of students within discussions of this topic. The Open Admissions debate brought out discussions of writing, and whether and what kinds of CUNY students are qualified college students, often coming down to discussions of literacy and representations of student ability. Because of the relative recency of the issue – making it an appropriate backdrop to my study and making it available on electronic search engines and archives – I focused on the 1998 decision to change the terms of open admissions at CUNY.

As a small comparative measure, to represent the student voice amidst all of the mainstream press sources, I found archives from one CUNY student newspaper which came into existence during the time when open admissions was shutting down, to see how they represent students and literacy, in order to give some contrast to mainstream representations.

There are two sources of archival material: New York Newspapers (accessed through Lexis-Nexis, and for the most part available from 1980 forwards – see Appendix E for full list of publications indexed and dates included) and the Messenger Archives (the student newspaper by CCNY students, from 1998-2001 – see dates in Appendix F). In both of these sources, I searched for all articles that dealt with “open admissions”. Within these articles that I found, I looked for representations of students, in relation to the open admissions issue, which will be displayed below, with a breakdown of how common each representation was.

New York Newspapers Archives

By searching Lexis Nexis New York News Sources, and searching for articles which contained the words “open and admissions”, I was able to collect a body of articles which discussed the topic of open admissions in New York in the 1980s through the present, which of course focused on CUNY and literacy issues. The particular focus of most of the media coverage was a history of open admissions, in the context of the 1998 debate which led to an end to open admissions and remediation at the Senior CUNY Colleges and moved both of those things to the community colleges. I found hundreds of pages of articles about the open admissions debate and my goal was to get an idea of how CUNY students are represented in a context which brings up literacy and the problems some students have with meeting “college literacy” standards.

I electronically searched the articles for the word “student” and then coded the representations in the following way, after reading through the paragraphs containing the word “student” and the representations contained in those paragraphs several times. I coded the *most recent 20% of the articles*, feeling that it was a representative sample since almost all articles focused on the 1998 open admissions debate, and thus all the articles were concentrated around that time period. Further, coding the most recent articles provides a clearer picture of how CUNY students are being discussed in a time period relatively near to the period of time in which my interview study took place (2003).

I found the following representations of students in these articles, in the following distributions.

Table 9. Representations of CUNY Students in Mainstream NY Press

Type of Representation	Percentage of total Representations is Accounted for by this Type	Positive or Negative Approach to Students	Pro or anti Open Admissions	Example of Representation
Empowered Students	8.5%	Positive	Pro-Open Admissions	[It's a] "grave injustice to turn away people with the determination to succeed." (See text below for cites).
Meritocracy Approach to Students	5.2%	Bifurcated	Anti-Open Admissions	"Room temperature IQ and a regular pulse was enough. No more."
Paternalistic Approach to Students	14.3%	Positive	Anti-Open Admissions	"The status quo was necessary to help students at the greatest disadvantage and most in need of a sound education."
Pathologized Students	26.6%	Negative	Anti-Open Admissions	[No more is college] "the place for functional illiterates to catch up."
Neutral to Students, Pro Open Admissions	3.9%	Neutral	Pro-Open Admissions	n/a
Neutral to Students, Anti Open Admissions	5.8%	Neutral	Anti-Open Admissions	n/a
Neutral to Students and to Open Admissions	14.9%	Neutral	Neutral	n/a
Not codable	20.8%	n/a	n/a	n/a

After reading through the entire document, I noticed the dominant themes, and classified the representations into "pro-open admissions, and positive representation of students' literacy skills" [which I called the "empowering" representation since it

stresses students' rights and the gifts they bring to CUNY]; "pro-open admissions, and negative representations of students' literacy skills" [which I called the "paternalistic" representation since it stresses the need to provide for disadvantaged and less-than-competent students]; "anti-open admissions and positive representation of students' literacy skills" [which I called the "meritocracy" representation because it focuses on how a tougher admissions policy will allow for qualified students to rise to the top]; and "anti-open admissions and negative representation of students' literacy skills" [which I called the pathologized representation, since it implied quite harshly that incompetent students should be excluded]. I included a fifth category, which comprised a small percentage of the total representations, which included various representations, including neutral ones.

In the following sections, we will see descriptions and examples of each discourse, as well as a percentage of how much of the total representations of students are accounted for by that representation. Please note that a given article may include multiple representations, as I coded each paragraph which contained the word "student" with one of the five categories. I attempted, whenever possible, to code the discourse that was dominant in that paragraph, meaning that if the author of the article was simply quoting an opponent of his or her view in order to attack it, I did not code the quoted opponent's view as the dominant view. On the other hand, if an entire paragraph was devoted to a particular view, even through a quote – which might be counter-balanced by a different representation of students in the next paragraph – I would code each representation of the students.

After presenting the representations I found in the New York News Sources, I will present, for contrast, student representations from a very different source, a CUNY student newspaper founded at CCNY specifically to fight for the retention of open admissions in 1998. Because the empowering discourse is so clearly dominant in the student paper, I did not code for the varying percentages that each representation accounted for, but rather presented examples of subtypes within the empowering representation, so that the reader can get a clear contrast of the different sound of the mainstream representation of CUNY students and the view that a certain group of students presented of themselves. First, the representations from the mainstream NY Newspapers will be presented.

Empowering Representations

In the mainstream media sample, among all of the paragraphs mentioning the word “students” among the searched text, **8.4%** of all the representations of students fell into the category of “empowered students”. This representation was pro-open admissions and included positive descriptions of CUNY students’ literacy skills in this literacy context. These representations urged CUNY students to fight for their rights and stressed that the diversity of CUNY students was an asset to the system. They stressed the successes that had come from open admissions and the loss that CUNY would face if students were excluded because of failing an initial exam. The following passage from a newspaper article illustrates this representation of students well. In this passage, Julius Edelstein (2002), credited as the founder of Open Admissions at CUNY, stresses the achievements of students who attend CUNY.

Our intention was to let more students in. The program opened the gates to hundreds of thousands of students and produced substantial and significant achievements. (NY Times March 20, 2002).

Another aspect of this representation of students is emphasized in the following excerpt from an article which stresses that students' rights, and especially the possibilities of minority students, will be impacted by a change in the Open Admissions policy. The empowering representation is one of the few representations which openly engages with questions of race and exclusion. Given the importance which race seems to have with regards to students' experience of teacher response and their feeling about those responses, it seems unfortunate that the representation of students which openly discusses race, and sees diversity as an asset, accounts for such a small proportion of the total representations of students. The following paragraphs illustrate the way that this way of framing students and their experiences addresses the issue of race.

"I don't think he ever meant raise the standards," Ferrer said of Giuliani's push to end CUNY's open admissions and remedial education. "I think he meant, 'Shut the door.' Shut the door on the blacks and Hispanics, on the working class and the poor." ...

"I support only the highest standards for CUNY, but I believe that we cannot achieve prestige by exclusion," said the Bronx borough president, who has been the most outspoken on education of the four Democrats seeking to replace the mayor.

"I believe that the benefits [of funding opportunities for more students at CUNY] will be returned several times over," he said.

(Daily News, New York, April 19, 2001).

Connecting this representation of students to the question of response to students' speaking and writing in the classroom, we might guess that this positive view of students, as potentially successful and as assets to the system, would bode well for responses CUNY students would receive. However, this discourse only accounted for 8.4% of the total representations.

Finally, another aspect of this representation of students is that these representations often focus on justice and rights. Perhaps if these themes were more common in framing the discussion of CUNY students and literacy issues, students and teachers might approach the issue of literacy from another angle. Students might feel entitled to whatever support they needed, and teachers might be more aware of the need to provide a positive learning atmosphere for all students. These values on an institutional level most likely impact teachers and students and their interactions with one another. The following passage illustrates the institutional values of diversity and education as a right.

Ena L. Farley, who also voted against the measure, called it a "grave injustice to turn away people with the determination to succeed" and called education the "most contested opportunity in the United States." She said CUNY's policy would force people to "beg and cringe and crawl" in seeking a college education. ...

Adelaide L. Sanford, a former teacher and principal in the New York City public schools, said she rejected the policy [ending Open Admissions] because it marginalized students, while Ricardo Oquendo, who also voted no, said the decision to monitor the results was evidence of the huge risks being taken. "If I were a student who needed remediation," Mr. Oquendo said, "I couldn't get it here at CUNY, but I could travel upstate to get it at SUNY." (NY Times Nov. 23, 1999).

Meritocracy-Related Representations

This representation of students accounted for 5.2% of the total representations. This representation was found in articles which were against open admissions, but couched that argument in a way which praised the “good” CUNY students. In other words, this discourse represents some CUNY students as “hard workers”, and argues that it is unfair to those students that open admissions or unqualified students should tarnish the value of their CUNY degree. This bifurcated view of CUNY students – some are good and hardworking and some are unqualified (and anyone can succeed if they truly deserve it) – may connect to the different types of responses that different groups of students in the current dissertation study reported receiving from teachers. The following excerpt is a classic example of this sort of approach to students, implying that students are only worthy of respect and characterized by achievement when they have succeeded in a competitive admissions process. This may imply that CUNY students in general are not represented as being worthy of respect.

“Goodbye, open enrollment.

Hello, respect.

That was the message the state Board of Regents sent this month in nailing the coffin shut on City University's 1960s-era policy of granting admission to anyone who applied.

Never mind grade-point-average or SATs. Room-temperature IQ and a regular pulse was enough.

No more.” (Dec 22, 2002, The New York Post).

An additional aspect of the “meritocracy” approach to representing students is that this approach is represented as color-blind and neutral. It disavows any racial issues in its discussion of the ending of open admissions. Given the differences seen in the way students experience teacher response, by race category, it seems unhelpful to deny the relevance of race in the discussion of students and their experiences. Nonetheless, the meritocracy approach tends to explicitly dismiss the importance of race.

In New York, Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki have insisted that race has nothing to do with their campaign to end remedial education at the City University of New York, and the Mayor, in particular, has succeeded in framing the public debate in terms of the need for higher standards. (May 13, 1998 NY Times).

Paternalistic Representations

This type of representation accounted for 14.3% of all representations of students. This representation is pro-open admissions and positive towards students (in the sense of wanting to help students), but describes them as impoverished, under-prepared or educationally deprived. For example, one representation of CUNY students was “ [a John Jay professor] worried that the college would not be able to work with students on their weaknesses, as it does now.” Another example of this discourse is “ending open admissions would limit opportunities for students who have not had educational advantages.” Some might even say that there was an element of paternalism in the establishment of open admissions, as suggested by the following quote from Edelstein, the founder of the system.

It's not what City University should be in the business of doing. We're the educator of the disadvantaged." (Edelstein) (NY Times March 20, 2002).

At the same time, it is difficult to draw the line sometimes between support for students which is empowering and that which is paternalistic. In the coding, I particularly looked for words like “disadvantaged” and “unprepared” and “weak” when identifying the paternalistic style of representing students. The following example stresses poverty and educational backgrounds, as well as using the word disadvantaged.

Roughly 2,000 entering freshmen who would have been kept out under the policy because they have not passed the required tests will be allowed in under special exemptions. These include approximately 1,700 whose poverty and educational backgrounds qualify them for the colleges' SEEK program for

disadvantaged students and another 400 or so who are not native English speakers. (NY Times Nov 23, 1999).

Finally, these examples are characterized by themes of student “need” and student “suffering”, both representations that may impact upon the way teachers see students.

In both cases, the result will be to push disproportionate numbers of black and Hispanic students from better campuses and to less competitive ones. And in both cases, the political reasoning falls along similar lines: proponents of change argued that unprepared students were being admitted to college. And defenders asserted that the status quo was necessary to help students at the greatest disadvantage and most in need of a sound education. (May 13, 1998, NY Times).

Defenders of the current policy say that ending open admissions would cut off opportunities for minority students who suffer disproportionately from the failures of the city's public schools. (May 13, 1998, NY Times).

It is not impossible to connect these paternalizing representations – that some CUNY students are weak and disadvantaged – with the possibility that some teachers may not expect the highest quality writing from students they perceive as being in disadvantaged groups. Further, one can connect the paternalizing discourse with the current policy in which underprepared students are sent to the community colleges, where they can “earn” their entrance into the senior colleges. The sense that the

students at the community colleges are in need of fixing may potentially set up negative dynamics for students in those colleges

Pathologizing Representations

Representations of students using this style accounted for **26.6%** of the total representations of students. This way of representing students is both anti-open admissions and negative in its characterization of “the bad” CUNY students. For example, one article argued that open admissions should be ended so that CUNY would no longer have students who “continuously fail.” Now, “they are either going to make the grade or not.” Other articles suggest that some students are simply “not up to snuff” for admission into the senior colleges. Students are referred to as unprepared for college work in this discourse. They are described as deficient in the most basic skills. Some articles even go so far as to describe CUNY as having “sunk so low” as to include unprepared students in its institution.

Excerpts from one article show multiple, extreme representations of CUNY students as failures on many levels: mediocre in achievements, not interested in learning, and entitled. Representations such as these may set up a truly inhospitable environment for learning.

Not all of the assembled graduates booed Badillo's call for higher admission and matriculation standards. But enough did - while they swooned over the windy rhetoric of the bleeding hearts who've been telling them for years that college is the place for functional illiterates to "catch up." ...

The new report on CUNY just confirms yet again news that is bad and stale:

What goes on at many of our senior colleges is nothing less than an educational hoax. ...

Badillo was nevertheless hopeful - even as students booed, showing that they never learned the joy of exploring ideas. The truly educated graduate doesn't boo the man who tells them the hard truth about how to make a living and a life - that it doesn't do them or their families any good for them to receive counterfeit diplomas. (NY Post, June 8, 1999).

One can imagine the impact that representations like these, which are the most common representations in the mainstream media, might have on the way that some teachers might see students' work. The next example shows in addition that these pathologizing views often get transferred to community college students, who are deemed the less worthy of the CUNY students, in any bifurcated view of "good" vs. "bad" CUNY students.

Those who can't make the cut can still improve their skills at the community colleges. But the unqualified will no longer be admitted to the senior colleges, making a CUNY education not only more valuable, but a source of pride for all New Yorkers. (Daily News, December 24, 2002).

Neutral Representations

Other representations of students were more neutral. 3.9% of the representations of students took place in a framework which was pro-open admissions but neutral in its descriptions of students. 5.8% of the representations took place

within a discourse which was anti-open admissions but neutral in its descriptions of students. 14.9% of the descriptions of students were found within articles which did not take a position on the open admissions debate (perhaps laid out the history), and were neutral in their descriptions of students. Finally, 20.8% of the mentions of students were not codable as representations of students, being embedded in graphs or captions or other descriptive parts of the articles.

Students' Self Representations: *The Messenger* Archives

To give context to the mainstream media representations of CUNY students, in the context of a literacy debate, I looked at a CUNY student newspaper, *The Messenger*, which formed in 1998 to argue in favor of Open Admissions. The representations in this newspaper fall nearly exclusively into the category of empowering representations of students, as the sentiments expressed in the newspaper were universally pro-Open Admissions and tended to describe students in terms of rights, justice, and the strengths they brought to the university. I will give a few examples of the types of representations seen in the student newspaper to give the reader an idea of the contrast between how these CUNY students saw themselves and how the mainstream press, examined above, saw CUNY students.

There are several main themes which distinguish the student representations from the mainstream representations, aside from the fact that mainstream representations were often pathologizing or patronizing ones, and student self representations were almost always empowering ones. The themes which especially characterized the student self representations included the following: an overt

awareness of race and racism in the student newspaper, a politicized self-concept of students as existing within a larger system; an awareness of students as possessing talents that might not be captured by indicators of literacy, such as system-wide testing and representations of CUNY students as being constitutive of the college system, and not merely beneficiaries of the college system; and finally students as indignant at negative faculty perceptions of them.

Students as Aware of Race/Racism

Many of the articles in the Messenger archives which dealt with the Open Admissions debate, did so from a politicized point of view which did not shy away from race as a relevant factor in the discussion. For instance, the following quote specifically puts the move to limit Open Admissions into the context of racial equity, by noting the history of the policy.

Open Admissions was implemented after black and Latino students at City College started successful protests against the exclusionary nature of the CUNY system which in 1969 was comprised primarily of white students. ...

Following implementation of Open Admissions, a veritable revolution in education swept New York City. By 1976, the majority of CUNY students were of color. By the early 1990s, 63% of CUNY undergraduates were non-white, 54% black or Latino. One barrier in the racial apartheid of New York education had been smashed.

On May 26, the Board of Trustees began to implement the apartheid once again. The Board voted to block from entering CUNY's four-year senior colleges any student who could not pass proficiency tests in math, reading, and writing. (Sigal, *The Messenger*, Feb 1998, 1:1).

Other articles extended the theme of ending Open Admissions as being akin to academic apartheid, and also called on Black student organizations in particular to get involved in the fight to preserve Open Admissions. Under the heading "Apartheid Again", the following paragraphs described the language used by some proponents of ending Open Admissions and what the consequences would be for CUNY students.

Anne Paolucci, the chair of the Board of Trustees, told reporters after the vote, in revealing language, "We are cleaning out the four-year colleges and putting remediation where it belongs," at the already devastated two-year community colleges.

The end of remediation at the senior colleges will effectively "clean out" tens of thousands of poor, principally black, Latino, Asian and immigrant students. According to CUNY's own study, five colleges, including City College, would lose half their entering students under the Board's new policy. City College has already lost over 3000 students, many in good academic standing, over the past three years. The losses at City College can be attributed to budget cuts, tuition hikes, and City College-specific departmental closures. (Wallace, *The Messenger*, Feb 1998, 1:1).

Politicized Self Concept

The article cited above went on to urge CUNY students to use any political power they have – through attending CUNY Board of Directors meetings and rallying the voting board members in particular – to preserve Open Admissions. In one article, the newspaper particularly urged Black student organizations to get involved in the political struggle, and linked the struggle for Open Admissions to another campus struggle, that of the future of the Black studies department at City College.

He [Sharpton] pointed out that the question of access to education is directly linked to the question of what people are being educated about once they get here; Black Studies was created as a result of the same movement that brought Open Admissions. (“Sharpton Speaks Out...”, *The Messenger*, Nov. 1998, 1:2).

Students as Assets to CUNY

The other important themes which characterized the student self-representations are those which emphasized the strengths and talents that CUNY students bring to the school. These articles emphasized that not all academic talents are captured through standardized testing and that CUNY will lose out if it bars too many students from entry.

Under the new policy, many students brilliant at political science or physics, for example, but not so verse at the material any one of the entrance exams would test, would be barred entrance to the senior colleges. Imagine a newly

immigrated Einstein barred from City College because he flunked the reading entrance exam. Completely unreasonable—indeed mad—and certainly not “restoring [of CUNY’s] reputation” as thousands of remarkable students are driven away in a veritable brain drain. (Wallace, *The Messenger*, Feb 1998, 1:1).

Another article which stresses the same theme – that the diversity of CUNY is the source of its greatness – is an article published in the *The Messenger* by professor William Crain. It is interesting to note that editors chose Crain to represent them in their student paper many times, and that his words and representations were resonant enough to be included in a student newspaper. In other words, it is not the source of the representation which makes it a student self-representation, but rather it is the fact that students choose the representation that makes us know that it is favorable to them.

As you may know, some of our sister senior colleges have already reduced access. Baruch College and Queens College, in particular, want to become elite colleges that serve only the better-prepared students. It is tempting to join this trend. But please remember the true source of our greatness. We have achieved excellence while maintaining very open access. Technically, to be sure, we are not an Open Admissions college. But we have contributed significantly to Open Admissions in the larger sense. We have given thousands of students—especially students of color—a full chance to develop

their minds and pursue their dreams. Let's keep doing so. (Crain, The Messenger, Nov. 1998, 1:2).

Students as Aware of Offensive Portrayals of Them

A final look at the contrasting way that students understand faculty representations of them can be seen in the following two articles. The first emphasizes the offensiveness of the way students were characterized by one CUNY administration member. The second is another article by Crain which emphasizes that student learning, not student test taking ability, is what the college should focus on when it considers students.

The negative portrayal of students which is highlighted, and critiqued, by the The Messenger is the following. The administrator in question said the remarks were taken out of context, but it was not clear what context would have clarified the remarks.

“Shit in, shit out. If you take in shit and turn out shit, that is slightly more literate, you’re still left with shit.”

(The Messenger, December 1999, Vol 2, No.2).

A statement like this shows the disregard that some professors and administrators may have for students who they do not feel perform up to the standards they wish. Gaining an awareness of the existence of sentiments like this makes it

possible to see what students are sometimes up against when they write for audiences that may be as hostile or dismissive as this administrator was.

Finally, Crain, the CCNY professor who was often published in *The Messenger* and was an advocate on behalf of students and Open Admissions, wrote the following paragraphs in which he stresses the importance of understanding students in terms of their potential for learning and not their past performance on tests.

“[R]eal cognitive growth comes from students' inner, spontaneous desire to learn. When students encounter tasks and problems that they find exciting and meaningful, they think deeply and fully, and their minds expand. If we really want to improve education, we need to think less on our own standards and expectations and think more about how to make learning an exciting adventure.

So even if we gained the financial resources to improve the public schools, we would also need to alter our conception of intellectual development. And neither change is on the immediate horizon.

Perhaps I am underestimating our college's ability to help the public schools. Perhaps CUNY's central administration will fund programs that produce significant improvements. I doubt this will happen, but in any case, the reasonable approach is to try out the new methods first, and to raise the admissions standards only after we see that the new methods really work. But

to first start excluding students is unconscionable. (The Messenger, Nov-Dec 2000, Vol 3, No. 2).

With the media representations – both the mainstream representations which showed that a majority of the representations of CUNY students in the context of literacy debates were pathologizing (considering the students to be incompetent), bifurcated (stressing that only some students had the merit to be in the system), or paternalistic (stressing the weakness and unpreparedness of the students); and the student self-representations which advocated fighting back against offensive and racist attitudes – highlighting the charged way in which CUNY students tend to be seen in regards to literacy issues, it is no surprise that students reported mixed experiences with audience responses to their speaking and writing experiences.

Both the expectation and reality of being perceived negatively can impact one's experience of academic expression. As we move to the next chapter, the chapter on recognition, we will see how the process of internalizing perceived responses, can lead to a student feeling known in a variety of ways at the end of a speaking or writing experience. Throughout, we will keep in mind the impact which the larger social context, as indicated indirectly through our media study, has on the immediate social context of teachers and students interacting around literacy events.

Summary and Links to Types of Recognition Chapter

In this chapter, we identified the immediate social context factors – conceptualized as precursors and responses - that are associated with speaking and writing, and explored which groups of students associate teacher and peer responses

with positive speaking and writing experiences, and which associate these responses with negative speaking and writing experiences.

We found that in general, speaking is peer-oriented, while writing is most often oriented towards self-response (for positive experiences), or towards the role of the assignment (in negative experiences). We also found that there was tendency for females and African Americans to associate teacher and peer responses with negative experiences rather than with positive experiences, with greater gender differences in speaking situations and greater race differences (at least concerning whites and African Americans) in writing situations.

In the next chapter we are going to consider the psychosocial consequences of experiencing these precursors and responses. What is the outcome for the student, in terms of feeling known or not, of engaging in the social practices of speaking and writing at school? We are calling this psychosocial consequence a feeling of recognition. The feeling of recognition is experienced as a result of these precursors and responses, and how the student internalizes them. We will see a range of types of recognition which students experience, including feelings of being surprised, confused, embarrassed, understood, among other ways of feeling responded to and known through speaking and writing. We will see which precursors and responses are associated with the various types of recognition and will see the various ways that students interact with, and internalize, these precursors and responses, resulting in various experiences of recognition.

Chapter IV: Psychosocial Experience of Recognition

The question addressed in this chapter is, how does the student end up feeling after experiencing and making sense of the precursors, the act of speaking/writing, and the responses to the writing? There has been very little work done on how students internalize these audience responses, and how the student feels known or not, by the various audiences. Often this feeling of “being known” is influenced both by the expectations the student had for how the writing or speaking might be received and the actual responses the student receives. In this dissertation, that feeling of being known through speaking or writing, based upon the internalization, through self processes which themselves are impacted by past social interactions and are acted out in current social interactions, of audience responses, is called recognition, and in this chapter we will detail the various types of recognition. Expectation – usually implied – will be seen as a key factor in understanding recognition.

The feeling of being known through speaking and writing is a psychosocial state, as it is something experienced on an individual level, but only within an inherently social context of communication and response. In describing recognition, this dissertation describes the psychosocial outcome for the speaker or writer of engaging in the process of producing text, having it read or heard, and then making sense of the entire process. This psychosocial outcome is something I am calling recognition. This dissertation will create a vocabulary for discussing different types of recognition, such as feeling misunderstood, feeling surprised that one’s text is not appreciated, feeling attended to, and others.

This chapter will also describe the various schemas - processes of internalization of precursors and responses- which lead to various types of recognition, which will allow us to see points along the way where intervention might be possible. Further, we will see which types of recognition are associated with speaking and which with writing, which types of recognition are associated with which precursors and responses, and what differences in types of recognition are found across student demographic groups, particularly four year college students vs. community college students, as this is where the most dramatic differences were found, and this allows us to look at the associations between institutional context and recognition.

The general research question which frames this chapter is the following:

What are the psychosocial consequences for students of experiencing and internalizing the immediate social context factors which surround speaking and writing– including expected, offered and perceived responses?

The more specific research questions answered in this chapter are the following:

1. What are the various ways that students feel recognized – that is positively or negatively known through their speaking and writing, based on their internalization of precursors and responses? How are implicit expectations and, offered and perceived response, evident in each type of recognition? What precursors and responses are associated with each type of recognition, and how does this shed light on the way the individual is

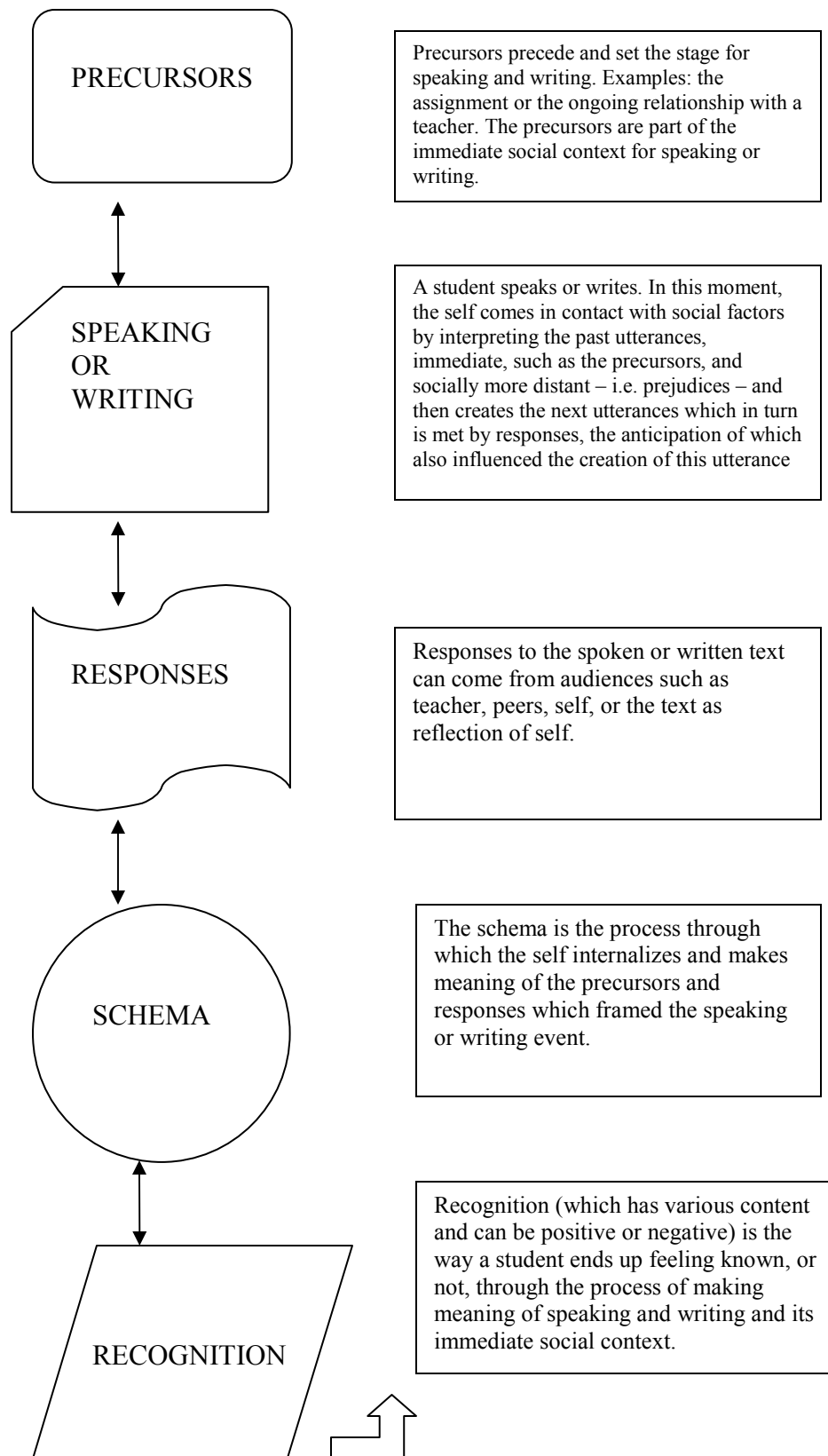
impacted by the social context of speaking and writing, and his or her personal internalization of the social context?

2. Which of these types of recognition are associated with writing and which with speaking, and how does this shed further light on the social nature of speaking and writing?
3. What types of patterns of internalization(which I will be calling schemas), which often are experienced in interaction with audience members who have their own patterns of meaning-making, lead to these recognition outcomes and where are places for intervention within the patterns?
4. How do these recognition outcomes distribute across groups, particularly community college students vs. four-year college students? What does this tell us about group differences with the speaking and writing processes?

Diagram of How Recognition Works

The diagram on the following page shows the how the components discussed above result in a student feeling recognized positively or negatively, and with various affective content, in speaking and writing experiences.

Figure 1. Recognition in the Speaking and Writing



The chapter will be organized in the following way: 1) we will describe the types of recognition and, importantly, show which precursors and responses each type is most often associated with, and which institutional (four-year college students vs. community college students) or demographic groups are more likely to experience each type of recognition ; 2) we will discuss which types of recognition are associated with speaking and which with writing to get a further idea of the social nature and psychosocial consequences of speaking and writing; and 3) the final part of the chapter will present “schemas” – processes of internalization individuals have which are often created, activated, and experienced in interactions – which essentially explain the process by which students make meaning of the precursors and responses experienced in order to reach the types of recognition identified in this chapter.

Defining Types of Recognition

In reading the definitions of the types of recognition found, as shown in detail in Table 1, please notice that there are 14 different types of recognition, classified in 7 pairs (in most cases, the pairs include a negative and a positive experience of each type of recognition). The pairs are categorized into four groups, for ease of understanding. The four groups are based upon the orientation of the recognition: group one includes types of recognition oriented to outside audiences; group two includes types of recognition oriented to self as audience; group three includes types of recognition oriented to the assignment; and group four includes types of recognition oriented to various persons/things (a category marked by the experience of confusion). The following table (Table 1) shows the various types of recognition,

categorized in this way. Also, please note that in this chapter, as throughout the dissertation, the word “text” refers to both spoken and written texts.

Who is it in relation to?	What is the substance?	What are the variations within it?	Key Phrases for Identifying It	Student Quote
In relation to others (Group 1)	Surprise	Blown Away (Recognition Type 1)	I was shocked by their response [positive]/ I was overwhelmed/ Before that class I hadn't hit my stride.	"The pictures that I took – because it was mostly all the senators [she gave a speech, with the college, in Albany] and for them to give me a standing ovation, because [I am] a nobody, a nobody African-American, believe it or not, here in the United States. But that's my title. And for them to give me a standing ovation, it was like – And then afterwards, following me around for pictures and autographs, it was like, ahhh. I was like <i>overwhelmed.</i> "
		Taken Aback (Recognition Type 2)	I thought/I swear/before I handed it in I felt great	" <i>I swear I wrote real nicely and real proper, and they came back and said, well, your thesis is not good, um, you're not expressing, you know, details and all that certain types of things. I said, what are you talking about? this paper is nice... "</i>
	Connection	Reciprocated (Recognition Type 3)	We had a dialogue/I was interested and they reciprocated the interest/Giving and receiving advice/Knowing the audience of my text	"[My best speaking experiences are in a] <i>class where I enjoy the teacher and the teacher seems to reciprocate and I like the context.</i> "
		Opposed (Recognition Type 4)	The other speaker was so inappropriate/The teacher said something offensive and I didn't say anything and that was my worst experience/I was rebelling against the teacher and was speaking right to her.	"I just did it <i>out of spite</i> , purely out of spite, and <i>it came out excellent!...Because I was talking right to her.</i> "
	Understanding	Understood (Recognition Type 5)	They paid attention/They understood/I made it clearer	"I was able to express it very well, in an emotional way, <i>that made me other people understand what I was talking about, cause it was close to me.</i> "
		Misunderstood (Recognition Type 6)	I was burned, misunderstood!/They misinterpreted what I said and were offended/Nobody understood.	"I think it was in the other college, so it was like, <i>I wanted to say something, but I didn't know how to say it.</i> "
	Enhancement	Enhanced (Recognition Type 7)	The audience responded the way I wanted them to/They laughed at the "right" time.	"One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, <i>they laughed at the right points.</i> "

Table 1. Types of Recognition Found in the Interview Data: Key Phrases and Examples

Who is it in relation to?	What is the substance?	What are the variations within it?	Key Phrases for Identifying It	Student Quote
		Belittled (Recognition Type 8)	I felt humiliated/I felt broken down/I felt like I didn't belong	"Probably a <i>teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot it down drastically, in bold flames.</i> "
In relation to self (Group 2)	Self-Evaluated	Self-Evaluated based on Product (Recognition Type 9)	I personally liked it/ It was important to me/The topic matter to me/ It was my response that mattered to me	"[Did you feel good about it before you got the grades or was it that you, or was it that you felt good because you got good feedback from the professor?] No <i>I felt really strongly about what I was writing, so...</i> "
		Self-Evaluated based on Process (Recognition Type 10)	My best experience was improving over the course of the semester/My best experience was good because I was prepared/I learned so much	"It's always easier when you're <i>prepared</i> , for me anyway."
In relation to assignment (Group 3)	Facilitation	Facilitated by Assignment (Recognition Type 11)	The type of speaking or writing really let my ability shine through/I hit my stride when I learned how to write creatively	"It was one of my best essays, <i>because anything I can relate to, I wrote better on.</i> Instead of reading a book – most of these books I don't really enjoy, like fairy tale books – I like to read books that I can use that knowledge and apply it to my own life."
		Impeded by Assignment (Recognition Type 12)	I always have a bad experience with in class writing because I can't do my best job/I don't like writing "by rote" essays because they don't interest me	"Worst experience? Um, like I said, it's the <i>timed writing</i> , that's my worst experience."
In relation to various persons/ Things (Group 4)	Confusion	Confused by the Interaction (Recognition Type 13)	I didn't know why the teacher did that/ I didn't know what to do	"Like – <i>what the hell is wrong?</i> (laugh) <i>Why is nothing coming to me right now?</i> "
		Disoriented by Praise (Recognition Type 14)	I could never live up to that again/Everything else was mediocre/Another project I did was so good and this was not as good.	"Yeah, I mean, <i>the feedback was somehow that that one was really good and the ones before it were mediocre and the ones after were the same level, so yeah.</i> "

Linking Types of Recognition with Immediate and Broader Social

Context Factors

Types of Recognition Characterized by Surprise

Blown Away

The first type of recognition characterized by surprise is the feeling of being “blown away” by a positive response that one was not expecting. In this type of recognition, the student is surprised by how positive the response is to his or her speaking or writing, which results in a change of how he or she feels about the speaking or writing. For instance, a student stated that when he did a dramatic presentation, his classmates were shocked at how good he was, and he was shocked as well, by the reaction and his performance. *In these positive experiences of surprise, we find that the most often cited precursors and responses are self response (accounting for, on average, 34.6% of the precursors and responses coded) and assignment (15.9% on average). What is striking here is that when a student feels pleasantly surprised by a writing or speaking experience, it is often his or her own response and the type of speaking or writing (assignment type) that is assigned which make the difference. It is also essential to note that all the students whose narratives were coded as experiencing the recognition type of “blown away” (and also all but one student who was classified as experiencing the recognition type of “taken aback” which is the negative type of recognition characterized by surprise) were community-college students.*

Please note that all numbers in this section refer to what percentage of the total precursors and responses coded are accounted for, on average, for narratives with this type of recognition as the outcome, by the given precursors or responses. Please note that in this section I am listing only the “top” two or three precursors and responses associated with each type of recognition, *so the total will not add up to 100%*. To see the full distribution of precursors and responses for each type of recognition, please see the Appendix K.

The types of precursors associated with the feeling of being “blown away” by the experience of speaking or writing are not responses from others, in most cases. Instead, we see that they are self responses and the type of assignment which preceded the speaking or writing. This seems to tell us several things about the psychosocial nature of speaking and writing. First, positive surprises are not ordinarily coming from outside sources, nearly so often as they are coming from the self, and secondly, that to reach students it is effective to offer them a new type of assignment. Many of these stories were about a student being impressed by his or her ability to write when offered a creative genre to engage. New genres will allow them to write or speak at a higher level than they themselves expected.

A broader element of the social context which is associated with the feeling of being blown away, which a form of surprise at the reaction one receives, is the institution type. All of the students, except one, who described speaking or writing experiences in which positive surprise was the tone of their experience were community college students. We will see that for negative experiences of surprise all of the students were community college students. I hypothesize that this is related to

the fact that community college students may experience more of a disconnect from what their teachers expect of them and so may find teachers' reactions more surprising in both positive and negative situations. This is a situation in which teacher's responses become meaningless unless teachers make explicit attempts to anchor their comments in a context that makes sense to students. Otherwise, their comments will be misinterpreted and can set in motion a cycle that neither the teacher nor the student wants.

Taken Aback

This type of recognition occurs when a student has positive feelings about his or her text, or the context it takes place in (i.e., the entire course or the field) and ends up feeling undercut by a surprising and negative response to his or her text which makes him or her feel a change in his or her relationship to the text, the course or the field. The implicit expectation which characterizes this type of recognition is expected acceptance or even appreciation and the perceived response is surprisingly negative.

Feeling "taken aback" is associated most strongly with self response (33%) and teacher response (18.7%). It makes sense that the feeling of being negatively surprised by a teacher's response to one's text, is most commonly characterized by self response and teacher response. *The self response accounts for twice as much of the total precursors and responses, on average, as compared to the teacher response, and this gives one the sense that the self has a double response – once before the teacher's response and once after the teacher's response, which suggests that the*

student is relying on (in this case, hoping for, but not getting) the teacher's response in order to maintain his or her own. Knowing this might influence teachers to respond more gently to students' work. It is notable that while peer response sometimes creates negative feelings for students (as seen in the past chapter), it is not associated with the negative feeling of *surprise* which seems to be particularly associated with teachers and the gap between teacher and student perceptions. We will see when we look at examples in the schema section of this chapter that the students experiencing the feeling of being "taken aback" by teacher response are often in a situation where their writing pleases them and then the response from the teacher is not only a terrible surprise but is often not particularly comprehensible to the student because of the language the teacher uses or other communication issues between the two. In other words, the recognition type of feeling "taken aback" usually tends to lead to more misunderstanding.

Types of Recognition Characterized by Connection

Reciprocated

This type of recognition is characterized by the student wanting most of all - and perceiving that they received it from the responses- a mutual connection with audience by way of speaking or writing. This is most often discussed in terms of best experiences of speaking being those times when the student has a one-on-one exchange, where the teacher reciprocates interest, with a teacher in class, but also is mentioned by students who discuss their best writing experience as being those times

when the teacher has let him or herself be known and the student can feel comfortable putting certain references into their writing knowing that the teacher will appreciate them based upon the student's knowledge of the teacher. *Not surprisingly, the outcome of reciprocation is characterized by mostly self and teacher related precursors and responses: teacher response (19%) and self response (19.9%) on average account for the largest percentage of the codes, and these are quickly followed by the precursors of: ongoing relationship to teacher (15.7%) and self conception (14.9%).*

Opposed

In this type of recognition, the student explains how he or she experienced others as the opposite of, or opposed to, him or herself in a best or worst speaking or writing experience. For instance, several students described their worst speaking experiences as not in fact a time when they themselves were speaking, but times when others spoke in a way they deemed inappropriate in the classroom, and the student him or herself explained that they would never speak that way and were put in a difficult situation as a result of those students. In this way, the student is knowing him or herself, through a social experience, as the opposite of those students. In another example, a student described his best speaking experience as a time when he felt he was rebelling against the teacher and speaking right to her, which I understood as an experience of defining himself against his audience. The codes most often associated with this type of recognition are peer responses (38.8%); teacher responses (30.5%); and the precursor of ongoing relationship to teacher (25%). *It seems that*

when students define themselves against others in the context, in order to define themselves as speakers and writers, they define themselves both against peers and teachers. This type of recognition was most often described by four-year college students, not community college students. It could possibly be a defensive sort of reaction that students experience when put in higher pressure or higher achieving atmospheres, which leads to wanting to separate oneself and criticize others, so as not to be criticized or seen as lacking oneself.

Types of Recognition Characterized by Understanding

Understood

This type of recognition occurs when the student perceives that the audience has understood his or her text in the way he or she hoped for, or paid attention to him or her in the way he or she wished. Examples of this type of recognition often come about in positive speaking situations when students note that their peers asked many questions, or listened without fidgeting, both of which the speaker perceived as a sign that he or she is being attended to. Other students noted that they felt understood when they felt that their message was accurately comprehended by the audience, thus implying an intention behind the text which the student perceives is received as hoped for. When students experience this type of recognition, they most often report peer response (37.3% on average) and self response (22.2%). *It seems that when students feel understood it is peers that are understanding them, and further, that student's associate their own response, probably a positive one, with the perception that peers are understanding them as well.* There are several examples in which students state

that they felt their peers understood them well because they were speaking from the heart or about a topic close to them, suggesting to me that students often explain peer response as a result of their own relationship to the material they are speaking or writing about.

Misunderstood

In this type of recognition, the student feels misunderstood. It is interesting to note that most of the students whose narratives were coded as expressing this type of feeling were community college students, and looking alone race lines, most of the students experiencing this type of recognition were African American and Latino students. For example, one student stated that her worst experience with speaking was when she made a comment and people misinterpreted it, and got offended. There are many other examples; for instance when peers laughed at a piece of writing that was supposed to be serious or when students felt misunderstood by responses to their speaking and writing. Again, the intention (an expectation that a certain message would be conveyed), combined with the perceived response, resulted in this psychosocial outcome. It is striking that narratives which resulted in this type of recognition were overwhelmingly characterized by peer response (46.6% on average) and secondarily with genre (23.2%). *This suggests that when students feel misunderstood it is most likely their peers who they feel misunderstood by, and the format in which they are assigned a speaking or writing task is also frequently not helpful to making them feel understood.*

Types of recognition Characterized by Facilitation

Facilitated by Assignment

This type of recognition occurs when a student feels that his or her actual ability is displayed favorably based on a certain type of assignment or genre (meaning here, type of writing or speaking task). For instance, several students said that they felt that when they began to write creatively they “came into their element” or got positive responses. Other students mentioned that certain types of speaking exercises – such as those built on ‘real experiences and real-life research’ – allowed the students to find success in speaking. Interestingly, this type of recognition is associated with several different types of responses. As it would be expected, assignment is the most common code (29.6%), but following assignment we see a fairly equal distribution among teacher response (14.6%); self response (14.6%) and peer response (13%). *It seems that an assignment which allows a student to feel positively represented allows the student access to range of responders: self, teachers, and peers. Interestingly, all of the students whose narratives were coded as experiencing this type of recognition were community college students, which may suggest that assignment type – and varied and interesting assignment types – is particularly impactful upon community college students.*

Impeded because of Assignment

This type of recognition occurs when a student feels that his or her actual ability in speaking or writing is misrepresented – for the worse – because of a particular type or genre of speaking or writing. For instance, some students felt that

in-class writing assignments created a situation where their actual writing ability was not represented accurately. They felt that the way they were “known” – i.e., not as a successful writer in that instance – through that genre was inaccurate. This type of recognition rests on both expectations (of how a student wants to be perceived and how as student perceives him or her self) and on responses (the responses the student expects to get as a result of his or her performance in a particular genre, such as in-class writing). When experiencing this type of recognition, students are most likely to report the precursor of assignment playing a big role (accounting for on average 43.6% of all the precursors and responses coded for narratives which had this recognition outcome) and official response (such as rejections or failing an institutional test) accounted for the next largest percentage, on average (22.9%). *It seems that students associate certain types of speaking or writing with the feeling that their ability as a speaker or writer has been misrepresented, and they feel officially penalized in the context of these experiences as well. It is important to note that most of the students who experienced this type of recognition were community college students which may alert us to the fact that the types of assignments currently being offered to students are often experienced by students as disabling and misrepresenting experiences.*

Types of Recognition Characterized by Enhancement

Enhanced

This type of recognition occurs when a student indicates, usually implicitly but clearly, that their exact expectations were met by an audience and they felt good

about themselves as a speaker or writer as a result. This type of recognition often occurred in cases when humor was employed in speaking or writing, and the student specifically stated that they felt happy about their experience because students laughed at the *right* time, indicating that they had a specific expectation and would feel good only if their audience met that specific expectation. This type of recognition, only found in two narratives (both of which were white, male, four-year college students), and thus not a large sample in which to look at associations to precursors and responses, is characterized by genre (28.7%) and self response (17%). It seems that a positive audience response, which is how this type of recognition is defined, causes an even greater positive self response, as shown by the fact that self response accounts for such a large percentage of the precursors and responses found in these narratives.

Belittled

This type of recognition involves students feeling belittled – for example, feeling excluded or embarrassed by the harsh and often public nature of criticism. For instance, a student might mention that a teacher’s tone made him realize that he should have already known the answer to a question he asked. Students also mentioned harsh, rejecting criticism which, to the student, seemed to suggest that the student should not be in that classroom or field. Feeling embarrassed, limited or excluded is on average tied to the following precursors and responses: peer response (33.3%); teacher response (19.8%), and assignment as precursor (14.1%). *It seems that both peers and teachers can be the source of belittlement for the speaker or*

writer, and that genre may be part of what the speaker or writer blames for, or associates with, this negative response. This type of recognition was found most often in four-year college students narratives, perhaps indicating that these students experienced or perceived greater amounts of pressure and/or criticism from their teachers, or were much more sensitive to such criticism.

Types of Recognition Characterized by Confusion

Confused

This type of recognition is characterized by a student feeling that the person who is receiving their writing or speaking is putting forth mixed messages. This type of recognition often involves students and teacher's misreading each other's motivations. For instance, a student reported that her worst writing experience was one where the teacher gave out the criteria on the last day of class. It is likely that the teacher perceived herself as giving out the criteria earlier, and was simply reviewing the criteria, but the teacher did not communicate well to the student and the student is therefore not confident that her writing will be well received. Confused is an interesting type of recognition, only found in three narratives. It is associated, on average, most strongly with a unique constellation of precursors and responses: genre (27.7%); self response (19.3%) and text as reflection (19.3%). *This seems to indicate that certain assignments which make a student feel confused as to what the expectations are create a situation where the self response is negative and the text actually "stares back at" the student (as one interviewee put it) as evidence of their confusion and the gap between what they wish to say and what comes out on paper.*

Pressured by Praise

In this type of recognition, the student hears praise from an audience and internalizes the praise, either because of the way it was given or because of the internalization process, as a source of pressure which becomes a negative response to the self as speaker or writer. In narratives which had this type of recognition as the psychosocial consequence, the precursors and responses which were associated were the following: teacher response: (41.7%); self response (41.7%) and text as reflection (16.7%). This constellation of responses represents how teacher response and self response are the foci of the experience (and one can see from reading examples of these narratives that teacher response strongly impacts self response, though often in a way that seems confusing to the student), and that text as reflection plays a role as well. *It is fascinating to see that "text as reflection" is much more commonly associated with the types of recognition characterized by confusion (this one and the above type) than with any other types of recognition.* There is something about the text as objectified thing that reflects back the self that seems to be most salient when that reflection is confusing and alienating in some way. It is interesting to see that of the few narratives which were characterized by this type of recognition, all were from white male students.

Self Evaluated

Self responds to Product

In this type of recognition, the self feels proud of or positively about his or her speaking or writing simply because of his or her own response. The response may be based on the quality of the writing or the intrinsic interest the self has in the topic which is presented, but regardless the self is audience to the textual product that was produced. This response is self recognition, and exists regardless of what other audiences (aside from the self) say about the text. In this type of recognition, the most commonly associated responses are: self response, overwhelmingly (40.7%) and then teacher response (14.8%) and peer response (11.1%). Students from various groups experience this type of recognition, but most were African American students. Given that we saw that African American students, on average, were less likely than white or Latino students to associate teacher response with positive writing or speaking experiences, it is possible that African American students are using self recognition to compensate for the lack of teacher response.

Self Response to Process

In this type of recognition, the self again is the responder, but in this case the self feels positively about the speaking or writing because of the effort that went into it. The process is what is recognized, as opposed to the product. The student might say that he or she always feels confident speaking when he or she is prepared, for example. For this type of recognition, the precursors and responses most strongly associated are: self conception (usually mastery concept of self), on average 56.8%; genre (12.5%) and self response (11%). This type of recognition, which focuses on

preparation and improvement, was reported exclusively by female students and mostly by African American female students.

Types of Recognition associated with Speaking and Writing

Best speaking experiences, in these interviews, were most likely to end up with the student feeling understood (36%) or reciprocated (25%). The next most commonly experienced types of recognition associated with best speaking experiences were a surprising breakthrough (based upon response) (14.3%) and a feeling of preparation resulting in confidence (10.7%). (The complete distribution of types of recognition associated with best speaking experiences is found in Appendix G.). In best writing experiences, students experienced self recognition through feeling intrinsically connected to the material and therefore proud of the work (36%) and, second most commonly, a surprising breakthrough based upon response (16%). The next most common types of recognition associated with best writing are reciprocated (12%) and enabled by the genre or type of assignment (12%). (For complete distribution of types of recognition associated with best writing, see Appendix H).

What we see from this brief summary is that best speaking experiences are more likely to result in being known by feeling understood or reciprocated. These states entail either correct understanding of one's message or a sense of mutual knowing between the speaker and the listener. On the other hand, best writing experiences are most likely to result in a student experiencing self-recognition – positive response to their own work that makes them feel that the work reflects them well – or a surprisingly positive response from audience. It seems that speakers are

more likely to feel understood or connected to audience, in positive situations, while writers are more likely to feel connected to themselves, or if they are positively responded to by the audience, they experience it as surprising.

This may be interpreted in several ways. First, it may tell us that the relationship with audience is more well-functioning in speaking situations and thus students expect and experience comprehension, while writers do not even expect a positive relationship with audience and instead expect to find it through their own positive response to their work. On the other hand, these differences might be interpreted to say that writing is more self-oriented, in a positive way, with students deeply invested in the content and form of their writing, and their own opinion of the writing, while speaking is something that relies on positive audience response in order to matter to the speaker. In the discussion section we will discuss the implications of both of these possible explanations.

In worst speaking and writing experience narratives, we also see that students experience different types of recognition. The most common result of negative speaking situations is that students feel limited by negative responses (30.4%) – that is embarrassed or excluded based on negative responses (see Appendix I for the complete list of recognition types associated with worst speaking experience narratives). We will see in the following section that these negative responses to speaking are often peer responses, and they seem to be quite salient by the fact that they are the most common type of recognition that students experience in worst speaking experiences. The two other types of recognition reported most commonly

(both in 17.4% of the worst speaking narratives) are a feeling of defining the self against others and a feeling of surprise based on a negative response.

In worst writing experience narratives, students most often felt recognized, in a negative way, because they felt “disabled” or “misrepresented” (33.3%) based upon the type of writing they were asked to do (see Appendix J for full list of types of recognition associated with worst writing experience narratives.). These stories were often about students having to do in-class essays and feeling that their abilities as a writer were misrepresented (for the worse) by the fact that the writing was in class and often timed, rather than at home. The other common type of recognition that students experienced in worst writing experiences was the feeling of being embarrassed or excluded (25%), based on negative responses. The most common type of recognition after those two types was feeling surprised in negative way by a response to their writing (20.8%). From these differences, we can see that negative writing and speaking experiences have quite different types of recognition associated with them, with the one exception being that both are characterized by the feeling of being surprised by negative responses.

Schemas Leading to Types of Recognition

As discussed in the methods section, schemas are defined in this dissertation as patterns of internalization of precursors and responses which lead to students experiencing various types of recognition. The purpose of identifying these schemas

which lead to various types of recognition is that by understanding the process – and the interaction in which the individual internalization is activated and played out – we can find places along the course of the process to intervene, if the type of recognition the student experiences as a result of the interaction is not positive.

Because the schemas are drawn from the interview data, and represent the common or particularly interesting patterns of interaction – not an exhaustive list of all possible schemas - we will not see a schema which leads to each type of recognition. In other cases, we will see more than one schema which can lead to the same type of recognition, since many types of interactions can lead to similar psychosocial consequences for the student. These schemas are not meant to be exhaustive, but instead are exemplars which help us to picture the way that interactions around speaking and writing lead to various psychosocial consequences for students.

Schemas that lead to Surprise

What types of schemas lead to feeling “taken aback?”

Schema 1: Recognition Missed

This type of schema is demonstrated when a positive self response changes upon receiving a negative response from a teacher. This schema is characterized by the fact that the response prior to the teacher response is positive, and after the teacher response it is negative. In this case, it seems that the student felt that getting a positive response from the teacher was a necessary part of maintaining the positive self response, since its absence changes the student’s own response.

Identifying this pattern helps us to define an aspect of one sort of recognition – the type of recognition that can feel essential in order to feel that the communication was successfully completed. When that recognition is missing, we realize its essential nature to the self, because the self’s response to the speaking or writing changes. It seems that the reception of the expressive act was an integral part of the expression itself.

As the interpreter, I am not suggesting that teacher should or should not give positive feedback in every situation, I am simply making the argument that reception is an integral part of the expressive act, and we know this particularly when we see the impact of the lack of positive reception. In this case, the recognition that was expected, did not occur, and thus the writer changed her own assessment of her work. (Please note that the following exchange was not a best or worst experience narrative, but rather was in response to a question in the interview about whether the student had ever found herself stuck on a writing assignment while others were writing easily). This example, noted in the beginning of this chapter, is from the interview with Alice, a 50-something African American at a 4-year college.

Rebecca: Is that the situation when you are scribbling out and rewording? If it’s in class?

Alice: Yes, I do that, I do it.

Rebecca: And what are you thinking? In that situation? When you’re scribbling out and you feel like everyone else is just writing?

Alice: Well, I don’t really be focusing on other people, I’m concentrating on getting my writing right and after I write it and take it out, and put it back, it always sounds better, you know, to me anyway, *until the teacher get it, and makes notes all over*

Rebecca: So you can feel pretty good about it and then you hand it in and then?

Alice: Because most of the time after I hand it in, I still get it back with a good grade, but I be having mistakes, that I shouldn’t, I think.

This pattern is interesting because the student has a relationship with his or her own text (written, in this case) which is altered, with a sense of surprise, when the teacher response is not what the student hoped for. One of the implications of such a scenario is that it alerts us to the fact that creating writing is not simply an individual, cognitive act. It seems that it is a social act – as well as one which originates from the individual - which involves the expectations of certain types of responses from others, particularly a teacher. Further, it is an emotional act - as well as a cognitive act. There is a sense of surprise that makes this pattern of expectation – which is then not met in the interaction - compelling, the student feels actively positive about her effort to improve the text, and experiences a disjunction, when she gets the paper back with “notes all over it”. Further supporting the fact that this student’s surprise is not simply about content, but is also about emotion, is that the fact that the grade is positive doesn’t change the student’s disappointment that the teacher gave a seemingly negative response.

One question this pattern raises is what to do about a piece of writing which has objective errors, which the teacher may feel obligated to point out, while still keeping in mind the existence of this powerful emotional interaction. Using schema theory as a set of tools to consider the issues raised by this pattern I have, I want to ask the following questions. What types of issues which Young has defined as typical of problematic schemas might this particular pattern engender? Some of the issues Young highlights are, as introduced previously: ironic repetitions, exaggerated perceptions, out of proportion reactions, confirmations of one’s fears, beliefs about core deficiencies, and self-defeating patterns. In the case of a schema where one’s

positive relationship with one's writing is disrupted by a lack of "recognition" by an outside source, several scenarios seem plausible.

We can further stress schema theory by seeing how the typical pattern an individual holds can be further complicated by the typical pattern an interacting duo (in this case student and teacher) may hold. Of course, it is important to remember that we are transposing the schema theory, designed for describing an individual's outlook and behavior onto a typical *interaction*, which requires us to adapt Young's tools to this situation. For instance, instead of identifying a self-defeating pattern, we might identify a pattern which defeats the *common* goals of the student-teacher *interaction*, which are usually taken to be student improvement and learning. In this example, if the student's impulse to revise her work was interrupted by this interaction and her feelings about it, that would be an outcome which would not accomplish the participants' shared goals in this interaction. The teacher's input, which most likely is meant to be helpful, could end up creating a situation where the student does not bother to revise her writing, because the positive feelings she derived from it were cut short by the surprise of being negatively responded to by the teacher. What might be useful for both parties to know is that indeed the teacher's response seems to be part of the act of successfully communicating through writing, and that the process is an emotional one as well as a cognitive one, so both the teacher and the student could be aware of that expectation and consider the likely outcomes that might occur if that expectation is upset.

Another interesting example, which we have been introduced to earlier in the chapter, demonstrates the existence of this schema – recognition wanted and missed –

is in the realm of speaking. In the following exchange, a student feels invested in “fitting into her profession” and finds that when her teacher corrects her terminology she discovers that she feels rejected, as if she does not fit in. To me, this indicates that her speaking was incomplete without the recognition of its appropriateness by the teacher. The student begins with the assumption that she “belongs” and tries to communicate in that way, but finds that her belonging depends on the response of the teacher, which is not what she had hoped for. This interaction has also been presented earlier, and is from Katie, an African American community college student.

Rebecca: All right. Well, what would you say was your worst experience with speaking in school?

Katie: My worst experience with speaking in school has been when the teacher call on me, when the professor calls on me and I don’t know what to say, because, like I said, since I’m doing social work, it’s a lot of different terms that they may use that -- if I say maybe her emotion was -- she had limited emotions. That’s wrong. It’s supposed to be like maybe she had like a blunt affect or flat affect. So, my worst one was when I was in a regular class and we had to explain how the patient was acting. And that’s what happened. I was describing the patient wrong because I wasn’t using the social worker terms. I wasn’t using the terms that the professor wanted. And I felt kind of bad because this is the field that I’m in and I like it, and I really want to know exactly the things to say, when to say it the right way.

Rebecca: Right. Did it feel good to get the correction or --

Katie: It felt bad because I should have known it. So, it felt bad. I mean the professor didn’t belittle me or anything like that, but she was very nice about - - well, so you’re trying to say she had a blunt affect. It was that tone.

In the above example, the student wants to use speech to confirm her belonging in the social work field, and she finds that the response she gets from the teacher – the correction and the tone – are a jolt out of her feeling that “this is the field I’m *in* [emphasis added, to stress her pre-existing belief] and [here there is a movement away from the pre-existing belief] I really want to know the things to say,

when to say it the right way.” The teacher’s response seems to have jarred her, which I interpret as showing that response was an essential part of her speaking in class, and without the expected response, something essential was missing and the student felt rejected and not a part of her field.

In this case, the interaction is a self-defeating one because the teacher, in an attempt to socialize the student more completely into the field ends up making the student feel like she was wrong to have been so strongly identified with the field in the first place. This exchange, with no bad intention, could be an example of what makes a student dis-identify with an academic or professional identify. In this case, the student notes that what bothered her was the teacher’s “tone.” While it is not clear what this means, it seems that the student has made the interpretation that the teacher somehow meant to exclude or reject her. We see again that an academic exchange – certainly based in professional identify and language – is turning on an emotional, not instrumental, point. The student indicates that she has more of a problem with the tone, than the correction. Of course, it is impossible to know if this is so, or if there is in fact a tone which the teacher could have used which would have been less troubling to the student. What is important to untangle here is how to avoid outcomes that neither party – both of whom seem to share the goal of bringing the student closer to the profession – desires. One first step is the acknowledgment that the exchange is indeed that – a two-person exchange – which has social and emotional elements, as well as academic content.

Schemas that lead to Connection/Disconnection

What kinds of schemas lead to feeling reciprocated?

Schema 2: Speaking and Writing Enabled by Relationship

This schema draws on a common theme in the interviews and is about the relationship a student feels to the teacher or to peers which precedes and enables the writing or speaking to happen. In several instances, students described a relationship with the teacher as making writing easier. In one case, because the teacher himself was flexible, and open, with the class, the student felt he could be unguarded in his writing. In another case the student felt comfortable speaking in front of a certain teacher because she had taken several classes with him already. We saw earlier the student who felt comfortable putting humor into her writing, because she knew enough about the teacher's interests to know that he would understand the jokes. The following two narratives illustrate the importance of relationship with the teacher. The first example is an excerpt from a best writing experience narrative from Eric, a Latino male student at a 4-year college, who is approximately 25-years-old.

Rebecca: Was there anything that was really interesting, or went really well?

Eric: um, I think I used to like writing in my health class

Rebecca: um hm

Eric: you know, even though a lot of stuff we wrote about was from the textbook – we had to come up with facts and stuff – so that was kind of enjoyable.

Rebecca: was that because of the teacher?

Eric: *yeah, he was pretty cool, he was real cool*

Rebecca: was he responsive to what you wrote?

Eric: *yeah, he actually is supposed to give me some tapes on meditation, now that I think about it.* [ongoing connection]

Rebecca: oh that's cool. So you were somehow kind of connecting to him on interesting topics?

Eric: yeah. But he was a funny guy. He was an older white guy, Caucasian guy, whatever. *And he used to say stuff just dumb stuff, like his children used to listen to XXX [inaudible] (a hip hop artist), to hear him say that was just kind of odd, you know and he would actually try to say some of the words*

Rebecca: that's funny. So was it more his personality or more the writing assignments or?

Eric: I guess it was a little bit of both

Rebecca: okay, so you enjoyed those assignments

Eric: *yeah, I guess if you write for somebody like that, you can be a little more flexible in what you say* [reciprocal relationship]

Rebecca: right, you can be funny if he's gonna be that silly

Eric: yeah, if he's laid back like that, right, if you're a little bit more stern

Rebecca: you have to be a little more careful

Eric: right

A second example of the schema relationship enabling speaking or writing is the following (from Alice, introduced earlier).

Rebecca: So of all those experiences, what was one of the best experiences you had with talking in class?

Alice: Well, I had this professor, he's my mentor now, Dr. -----, and *I had him for several classes in the school and he was the one who really brought it out of us, me anyway*, first of all the field of marketing is a lot of talking, we have to do a lot of presentations and writing, and writing, and writing, and I think I just got better speaking in class from marketing classes, and that particular professor, Dr. -----

In the second narrative excerpt shown above, from Alice, an African American, 4-year-college student in her 50s, the professor is one of the most important elements in her positive speaking experience, as we can see when she notes that she had him for several classes and that "he was the one who really brought it out of us."

In these situations, the schemas – or patterns – do not seem negative – there do not seem to be self-defeating or unintended consequences. Rather, it seems that a positive cycle is set in place, where positive feelings between a student and the professor lead to comfort and the ability to improve. This seems to be an adaptive, rather than maladaptive, pattern. The only negative that might come out of this situation would be if the student felt that he or she

could only feel comfortable in the presence of a teacher that they knew very well or had very particular qualities. In general, however, this sort of relationship would seem to foster positive speaking and writing experiences which could be carried into other situations.

Students also noted that their ongoing feelings or relationships towards their peers can determine how comfortable they are with speaking in class, but this will be addressed in the section about peer-oriented schemas.

What type of schemas lead to feeling opposed to, or defined against, others?

Schema 3: Others' "needs" makes one not want to participate

A common pattern in the interviews, almost exclusively among females, was the feeling that the student should not talk too much in class, because this would be taking away from other students. This raises several interesting questions, which fall into the category of schema signposts. First of all, this interaction between the student, and the imagined needs of peers, may lead to a situation opposite of the intended one.

The intended outcome, it seems according to students, is that everyone gets equal speaking time. If indeed these students were talking too much in class, as might be the case, especially in a situation where the teacher steps in as one student indicates, then their not talking might rectify the situation. If, as might often be the case, the students who actually are most self-aware, and thus least likely to be taking

over the class, are the ones who limit themselves, they could simply increase the gap between students who talk too much and those who speak too little. It is also worrying, I found, that the students who were most likely to talk about this theme were females of color, while the students who in the literature are most likely to speak in class are white Males.

After considering three examples of females who limit their own speaking, we will see two examples of males not speaking, one because of a fear that the teacher may not want to hear him and the other because of his annoyance with peers. In these first examples, from female students, we see a range of variations on this schema. In the first example, the student actively imagines that others will not want her to take up class time, and she herself seems to feel that she shouldn't take up the time. This schema may not be very adaptive in that the student rarely speaks in class, according to her narrative. This student, Stephanie, is a Latina community college student, in her early 20s.

Rebecca: Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to jump into a class discussion but you didn't?

Stephanie: yes

Rebecca: okay, tell me about one of those situations

Stephanie: *one?*

Rebecca: is it something that happens all the time?

Stephanie: exactly! (laugh)

Rebecca: okay, well, then, tell just a little bit about the whole deal

Stephanie: *well, usually I don't say anything whenever I want to say something; it's not so much because I'm afraid to speak out, it's more because I feel that I'm gonna take up class time and I feel like everyone is gonna be like – this is not going to be on the test – why is she talking?*

Rebecca: interesting, interesting, okay. So it's not nervousness?

Stephanie: no

Rebecca: it's like, just – you're like, I don't want to take up the time.

Stephanie: right

Rebecca: interesting

Stephanie: don't want to interrupt the class

Rebecca: but it's something you really want to say?

Stephanie: yeah

Rebecca: do you ever just come out and say it?

Stephanie: sometimes, it depends, I guess it depends how strongly I feel about it or about making a point or asking a question.

Rebecca: okay, okay. Does it make any difference, sort of, the way the class dynamics are, or what people are in the class?

Stephanie: no

In the next example, Naimah, an African American in her late 20s at a 4-year college, does feel excited to speak in class and does so, but limits herself so that she doesn't take over the discussion.

Rebecca: The first bunch of questions are about speaking. ... The first question is, have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to jump into a class discussion and you didn't?

Naimah: um yeah, I can be a bit shy and if I don't feel that I'm completely certain about the answer or I'm just not that serious about it, then I won't jump in, but at times, I've wanted to, but just didn't feel I had the knowledge to assert myself in a discussion.

Rebecca: okay, can you think of a specific situation?

Naimah: it's ironic because I'm taking group dynamics and find myself analyzing myself too much, so I ironically don't want to participate in a lot of the groups, because I'm like, oh my goodness, what position am I going to take? (laugh) We had a good thing the other day and we were working together and I found myself not saying anything and the group decided something and I disagreed and I just let it go because it was just easier not to go against them, because *I felt like I was being a loudmouth and I felt like I sounded like a know it all and I didn't mean to, I had my own opinion I wanted to express, but like everybody kept like brow beating me for it, so I just shut up (laugh) after a while and stopped talking.*

Rebecca: so you were just thinking that other people were thinking somehow that you were being a know it all?

Naimah: *I felt that, so I shut up, I tend to in some classes, talk a lot because I like to interface with the teacher and question about what I'm learning and that's one of the classes that I really do like, so I feel like I shut up a lot more and not want to put in my input sometimes, because I just feel like I do it too much.*

Rebecca: so did you feel okay about that when you decide not to talk?

Naimah: well, um, well, no, it kinda makes me made because I have something to say, *but I don't want to ruffle any feathers either, sometimes it's just not necessary to always have to put my 2 cents in, so I try to be choosey about when I do.*

Rebecca: right, okay, so there's a little awareness of what other people might be thinking?

Naimah: yeah

In the next example, the student notes that the teacher actively asks her to let other students speak more. This experience is interesting because the student describes this experience as her best speaking experience, but she notes that being asked to let others speak was a bad part of the experience. It seems that for her this bad aspect of the experience did not ruin the earlier positive experience, but she – and those she is interacting with – have not found a way that even being asked to let others speak could be something other than a bad experience. This student is Melissa, an African American community college student in her early 20s.

Rebecca: so, it's easy for you to speak in class? (nod) good. What was your best experience with speaking in class in college?

Melissa: my English professor which we were just talking about his teaching style wasn't one of writing on the board, he was more of a discussion and lecturer than anything else and he was more interested in class participation, so a good experience was that we were able to bounce ideas and I was able to bounce ideas – *the bad thing was, instead of other people talking they would wait to hear me talk! It was a good experience and a bad experience. You know, because after a while I had to step back and let other people.*

Rebecca: okay and what English level was this?

Melissa: 12

Rebecca: okay. So how would you feel – in terms of the good part, how did you feel?

Melissa: oh, I was fine.

Rebecca: you just felt good?

Melissa: I didn't get a euphoria, or... It was just like...

Rebecca: were you getting good responses from the professor?

Melissa: *yeah, until after a while he's like, can you let someone else....?*

Rebecca: okay, and in terms of the negative, you just kind of, would step back?

Melissa: *yeah, I let other people talk.*

The three above narratives indicate that female students, some of whom feel comfortable speaking in class and some of whom are do not, may

tend to feel a conflict around how their peers and teachers regard their speaking. They seem to be aware of the peer's needs and that may limit their own speaking. Finding positive ways for this interaction between one's own feelings about speaking and the real or imagined feelings that peers have about your speaking and their own is an important way that this schema can be a site for interventions. Additionally, having explicit or set guidelines may be another way to manage the situation, so that students do all get a chance to speak, and no students distort the situation in such a way that they end up not speaking at all, or too strictly limiting their own speaking.

Male students were not completely immune to the pressure regarding how others were receiving their speaking. In just one case a student did allude to similar concerns, although his were focused on whether the teacher wanted to hear from him or not. In another case, a sharp contrast can be shown, with a male student explaining that when he does not talk in class it is because of his disdain for a low level of conversation. The first example focuses on questions about how the teacher may be receiving the student's speech:

Rebecca: Have you ever been in a situation when you were in a classroom discussion and you wanted to jump in, but you didn't?

Dan: yes

Rebecca: Okay, what kind of situation? Give me one example that's maybe typical and what happened

Dan: *I think it would usually be when, when I didn't jump in would be b/c I was bowled over by the teacher or the class*

Rebecca: more likely the teacher or more likely the class?

Dan: *More likely the teacher, I don't know if they'd be ignoring me or just trying to talk to everybody*

Rebecca: Right so you're saying like, if they didn't call on you, or didn't seem to notice, you kind of wonder

Dan: *are they sick of hearing me talk (laugh)*

The above excerpt shows that the student does question whether he truly knows what the teacher is thinking, when he says that he does not know whether the teacher is ignoring him, trying to talk to everybody, or sick of hearing the student talk. The cycle of a student deciding they know what others are thinking can lead to intimidation and the student ceasing to speak in class altogether, so steps that break the cycle, such as the student questioning whether he knows the teacher's motivation, are helpful. It is interesting that this student seems more focused on the teacher, though he mentions both the class and the teacher, while the female students cited at the beginning of the section were more likely to be worried about peers' having a chance to speak.

In the next example we see a very different attitude towards peers (and the teacher's question as well), in a white male's narrative in which he discusses the fact that if he does not participate it is because he feels disdain for the topic, and therefore disconnects from the conversation, even in his mind.

Rebecca: Okay give me one example and why you didn't jump in

Rob: Um, an example okay. Just b/c I thought, for instance, I was in the creative writing class and the teacher was speaking about, the professor was discussing rituals, like rituals that individuals have, like for instance, you come home and you drink a cup of tea, you know, but a lot of the students were their rituals had to do with let's say, tapping a bottle before you take a sip, just like, or had to do with alcohol or so forth, *I just thought originally the question was kind of absurd in itself, so I didn't participate.*

Rebecca: Okay but did you want to participate

Rob: Yeah, I wanted to participate and tell them that there is a reason that alcohol and those rituals are connected.

Rebecca: Oh I see. So you kind of held back b/c you didn't want to be insulting to them?

Rob: Yeah but I don't hold back too often.

Rebecca: Okay

Rob: Yeah, *it's just mostly if I think the subject is stupid, then I won't participate*

Rebecca: Then you'll just leave it alone

Rob: *I'll think about how good the sale on peanut butter is*

Rebecca: You'll go into another topic in your mind.

Rob: Yeah

A different way of handling the same frustration, which is more adaptive because it changes the direction of the conversation, which likely lessens the frustration for the student and offers a positive change for the class as a whole is offered by Erika, an African American female who is a student at a four-year college.

Erika: that's not usually an issues for me (laugh) cause I'm a pretty outspoken person, I've always been comfortable with speaking, I know a lot of people aren't, definitely I always see people kind of wanting to raise their hands, and not doing it, and I almost want to tell them, speak, you know, say something, but... Sometimes I don't [join in] honestly if I feel that the conversation has gone off in a certain direction, sometimes like maybe if it's kind of off the topic, I would like to say, hey, what are you talking about, that's nonsense, but I kind of just, sometimes, I'd rather just let it die out by itself, rather than asking about it, or continuing the discussion.

Rebecca: Right

Erika: but that's really the only circumstance

Rebecca: That's interesting, that's great. Do you ever jump in and say, oh, we're not on the right topic, or anything like that to get it back on topic? Just out of curiosity.

Erika: um, yeah, no, not anything I can remember, knowing myself I probably have, or at least I'd be more likely to raise my hand and just start talking.

Schemas that lead to feeling enhanced/belittled

What type of schema leads to feeling in enhanced by receiving the hoped for response?

Schema 4: Recognition through Humor

Peer recognition is the most common dynamic that characterized speaking narratives, both best and worst. On occasion, though less frequently, peer recognition also characterizes best or worst writing narratives, as well. Situations where peers “got” – a term which is similar to received or recognized, in that it connotes a transaction and reception between two parties – the speaker or writer’s humor where common examples of positive peer recognition. These situations were powerful examples of recognition, I found, because students explicitly state that they had certain expectations for audience reaction – for example, laughter at certain moments and not others – that were either fulfilled or not, leading to feelings of enhancement as a speaker or writer, or not. Thus, these examples clearly show that some of the success or failure of a speaking or writing act can depend on its reception.

These interactions are classified here as schemas because, despite the positive nature of many of these situations, the speakers or writers do not have any control of the audience reaction, and indeed sometimes know that and state it. This may set up a situation where audience reaction is overly important, and in the absence of the desired recognition, the student may helplessly feel that the speaking or writing was not successful. How humor can function as a positive connection between the speaker or writer and the audience without being a condition for positive feelings about the situation is a question I will address after examining several examples. In the following set of examples, the same student explains how humor was the pivot point (the central quotes are italicized) in both his best and worst writing experiences. The

student is Dan, a white male student, who is approximately 30-years-old, and a student at a four-year college.

Rebecca: Okay, what would you say was your best experience with writing in college? A particular incident?

Dan: I would have to pick of the stories I've written that I've liked the most, and I guess that would be in my creative writing class, I wrote one called, what will he be when Juan goes home, and I liked it.

Rebecca: Okay, you felt good about it, just b/c you liked it, or did you get good feedback from your professor – what made it feel good to you?

Dan: Actually I have another one – the feedback wasn't all that good but I liked it a lot.

Rebecca: Okay, so you still felt great about it.

Dan: *One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, they laughed at the right points, and everybody enjoyed it even though the three people acting it out were horrible*

Rebecca: Okay, well compare the story and the play, like the experience, because both of them you liked personally, it sounds like, but one of them you got more feedback from – good feedback about it. Was it a different experience

Dan: It just appealed more to the public.

Rebecca: Okay, you [felt?] understood.

Dan: *yeah, they liked it, and that was nice, nice to have other people like it, not just me.*

Rebecca: Okay, how common is it you have a good experience with writing?

Dan: usually

Dan's worst writing experience is as follows, and also includes humor as recognition, in this case a negative experience, which shows the downside on relying on audience to make one feel good about one's writing or speaking.

Rebecca: Okay, what was your worst experience with writing in college, if there was one?

Dan: Probably the play class – *I wrote a very serious story, right after that comedy that everybody loved, and people didn't get it, at all, they kept telling me it wasn't funny and it wasn't meant to be funny*

Rebecca: Was it a really bad experience, or was it just like, oh well?

Dan: *I felt burned, misunderstood. Get off my art!*

In Dan's narratives, it is clear that laughter- at the right moments – and lack of it – at serious moments, is central to his feeling of being recognized in

the way that he wishes, with his writing mediating the recognition dynamic between himself and his audience, in this case, his peers. Humor “received” appropriately by peers is a common dynamic. To Dan, the appropriate laughter conveyed two things to him, understanding of what he had written – they laughed in the “right places” – and approval – “it was nice to have other people like it, not just me.”

On the other hand, laughter at points in his writing that were not meant to be funny conveyed to him the most pronounced form of misunderstanding. He said he felt burned, and that his art had been misunderstood. He said “people didn’t get it, at all.” It seems that humor is a conveyor of connection between the writer and the audience, and a particular type of recognition that can take on great emotional meaning to the writer.

Interestingly, there do seem to be some unintended consequences that arose from this schema. One might label this schema striving for recognition through humor, in acknowledgment of the fact that the striving exists whether or not the response is received. The first narrative, his best writing experience, was characterized by the positive impact of the peer response of laughter, but this seems to just set him up for his next experience – where the peer response of laughter seemed inappropriate to him – which was a strongly negative one. Perhaps less of an emphasis on response, if that is possible, would make the writer less susceptible to disappointment. Of course, if recognition-orientation is the nature of speaking and writing, then one question might be, how might the student still enjoy and hope for the response of laughter without having the

extreme reaction of hurt and feeling misunderstood in the situation where the recognition does not come in the form he is hoping for.

The next narrative I will present shows a student whose best speaking experience narrative is characterized by the peers' responding to his humor. This narrative is interesting because the student feels that he managed to get this response by "not trying too hard", but maintains a mystified sense that this strategy does not usually work and that he does not know why it worked in this case. This sense of mystification indicates that the student may feel helpless as to how he would get this form of recognition, which seemed to be so positive to him, in future speaking situations. The student, Michael, in this case is also a white male at a four-year college, younger than Dan, in his early 20s.

Michael: when I took at one of my other colleges, when I took a speech class, the first thing we had to do was get up in front of everybody, and introduce ourselves, tell everybody, and I'm generally, I try to convince myself that I shouldn't be nervous in those situations, but my body sort of involuntarily, like my heart rate jumps up, and all that and my palms are sweaty and I just get naturally nervous, and *so I got up in front of everybody and I was trying to play it cool, and not let everybody, but, and, somehow I ended up making jokes and the whole class ended up laughing, and so I felt really good, and I didn't really like mean to do it, like I tried to be cool and funny, but I never thought I would pull it off, and I ended up doing it, and it worked out*

Rebecca: like if you were thinking to yourself that you just want to act relaxed, what kinds of things were you thinking, was there like a message

Michael: Well I was trying to breathe, you know, you're supposed to breathe when you get nervous, diaphragmatically

Rebecca: yeah?

Michael: I was definitely trying to do that but just um you know I could tell, sometimes you can hear your voice sort of shaking and that makes me even more nervous, I was just trying to calm all of those things, try to be myself, not be fake as I was introducing myself, and *it worked out well*

Rebecca: that's cool, What made you succeed, made you able to pull it off?

Michael: Trying to just not be, it was weird, *I was trying to be myself and um, normally when I try to be myself, I'm not because I'm thinking about it so*

much, but, that, somehow it let my true self come out. I think that was it – being nervous actually helped, it doesn't normally, but...

The above narrative shows me two things, first that peers' appreciating one's humor can be profoundly important in a speaking situation and secondly, that it is possible for this dynamic to leave the student with no greater hopes for future speaking situations than he had before the positive experience took place. This student seems to feel that even though this speaking experience "worked out", he would feel hard pressed to make the situation work in the future. This seems to be a self-defeating pattern in that he hopes for a response from his peers, but even when he gets it, he does not feel in control of the mechanism that made the response happen. For instance, he says that usually when he tries to be himself, it does not help, but in this case, his true self came out – which he seems to think led to the positive outcome of his peers really getting his jokes and enjoying the presentation.

It is also interesting to note that while humor is much more often, in my interviews, a theme for white males, and in respect to peer recognition, there are cases when others spoke about this theme, and additionally, there were cases where students hoped that teachers would appreciate their sense of humor. You may recall the narrative that Naimah told her best writing experience being one where she wanted her personality to shine through, and specifically mentioned that she knew her teacher would get her jokes, due to shared interests the two had. Humor is a prevalent theme and it is worth thinking about ways that it can be most helpfully understood by student speakers and writers and their audiences.

What kind of schemas leads to feeling belittled?

Schema 5: Interacting with Critical Teacher Audiences

Female students in particular associate teacher response with negative experiences of speaking and writing. It was more common for females than for males, in this study, to narrate negative experiences with harsh criticism from teachers. Whether this is because females receive more teacher criticism, or whether it is because it is simply more salient to them is not something my data can address, but clearly the association for females between teacher response and negative speaking and writing experiences is suggested. The following excerpts from the worst writing experience narrative from Naimah, an African American, four-year college student in her late 20s, focuses on negative teacher response and we see the impact it had on her interest in writing – ending her pursuit of English courses.

Rebecca: Okay, what was your worst experience with writing in college

Naimah: Probably a teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot down drastically, in bold flames, and um, it really, she did it in a way –

Rebecca: what subject?

Naimah: this was, uh, an English course, an English writing course in Shakespeare, a course that I didn't need, but I took because I like Shakespeare and it was women and Shakespeare and I thought, oh, this will be a really good growing experience and um, that just every paper I wrote, she would just nit pick at it, she basically just told me in no uncertain terms, that I'm an idiot and I couldn't write to save my life

Rebecca: oh my lord, my goodness. How would this be communicated to you? What would you specifically read on a paper?

Naimah: um, um, she was right about it, there were just some grammatical things, but the way she would speak to me, and the way she also spoke to me in class, she did it in a way that just it wasn't teaching me anything, I just felt like I was being beaten, you know... and that was really discouraging, that I think any professor, you don't have to walk on eggshells, but there's a always a way of just talking to anyone, much less a student, especially if you're explaining that you don't think they are working on the level they should be, but she basically just made me feel like, you have the grammar of a fourth grader. You know, but I made it this far, I mean I understand I'm not great at it but.... So that's probably one of the worst experiences, that and that put me

off of writing, and definitely Shakespeare, um, I haven't, that was my last writing course. I haven't taken one since then.

Naimah completes her story by explaining how she takes her “self” out of the writing process in response to this teacher's comments, which seems particularly troubling given the finding in this chapter that positive writing experiences are so strongly associated with self response and intrinsic interest.

Naimah: it just made it a lot worse. I did get help from the writing department, the resource department and it made me definitely a lot more careful about what I was writing and how I wrote it. I think I definitely, it became a point where I didn't put my personality in to my writing, I didn't enjoy it, I put it exactly the way she wanted it, and that made her happy , it just for me as long as it's a writing class, as long as I have my content there, let me have my personality in it, it's writing, but it seemed to have made her happiest when you just stuck to it exactly what she said and regurgitated it in the way that she wanted it.

In the narrative above, the student is choosing to take an advanced English course and finds the teacher's comments to be harsh to the extent that she chooses not to take English courses in the future, and finds, in her interpretation, that she has to depersonalize her writing to please the professor. It is difficult to believe that either the teacher or the student would have chosen such an outcome – since the student is committed and interested in writing, and even open to corrections, according to her comments, and the teacher is most likely pushing the student to improve (as the student suggests in another section of the narrative), but the harshness of the comments combined with the student's interpretation that she must remove her personality from the writing conspire to create a situation where a student withdraws from writing due to teacher criticism.

In the following example, another female student, Simona, a white 4-year college student in her early 20s, notes the harshness of a speech teacher.

In this case, the student is affected to such an extent she drops the course.

Rebecca: okay, interesting. What would you say was your worst experience for speaking in school? At the college level?

Simona: well, I used to go to ---

Rebecca: to ---

Simona: yeah to ---, and there was this speech teacher there, that before I even took it, I heard, she's a witch, she's awful, she fails everyone, so already before I went in, I had fear, and then, you think you did well on your speech, and then she breaks you apart. She says, look at how you're standing! You have your arms crossed! Expressing that you're confident, you said this, this many times, she cuts you to pieces. It wasn't that helpful! (laugh)

Rebecca: So, it's like you feel like you're doing okay at the time, and then you get all this feedback

Simona: negative feedback

Rebecca: where do you get it? Does she write it, does she say it?

Simona: she says it right in front of the class!...

Rebecca: okay. Did it help you that she is known for being so tough and critical?

Simona: No! It made me more nervous. It adds to it.

Rebecca: okay. Did you internalize it? Did it make you more nervous afterwards?

Simona: yeah, I ended up dropping the class that semester.

Rebecca: it sounds very negative.

It is interesting to hear this student express such strong statements as “she breaks you apart” and “she cuts you to pieces.” As much as it is obvious that students do not like harsh teachers, it is always important to hear just how personally affected, at least at the immediate moment, students are by harsh comments by teachers. In this case the criticism does not serve a purpose for the student and in the end she does not gain any benefit from the situation, as she drops the course. Again, there should be another way for the teacher to give her critiques without alienating students altogether from the course.

Schema 6: Fear of Physical Visibility

Another way of feeling embarrassed or limited which was more often tied to peer response was more often found in females, African American females as it turned out, but it was not exclusively female. One male explicitly described experiencing this schema, which is a fear, or discomfort, with speaking because of the fact that people will be looking at you. What this schema makes clear is that speaking is an embodied act, immediately so, while writing is an act that one can do without feeling immediately aware of people reacting to one's physical appearance or body.

The following two excerpts are from women, who describe the ways that speaking can make them feel slightly self-conscious, because of people looking at them while they are speaking. One particularly notes that she would feel a bit more self-conscious speaking in front of males. Interestingly, it is the male whose narrative I will present after the females, that discusses being looked at while speaking as an extremely negative experience, using words such as “horrifying” and “terrible.”

These examples qualify as a schema because they will lead to an ironic outcome, one that can be confirming of their worst fears. The students feel anxious about being seen and imagine that peers are thinking about their appearance. Then, the students most likely will have more difficulty speaking, because of the anxiety level. At that point, their speech may in fact get a negative response, because it may not be of high quality due to their anxiety. This cycle could fuel itself. The first two examples are, as I mentioned,

females who discussed feeling slightly self-conscious when speaking in front of peers. Neither are best or worst speaking narratives, but are from other parts of the interview.

Rebecca: Why do you think you get more anxious, in terms of going up to speak versus speaking in the classroom

Erika: I guess just b/c I'm not THE center of attention, I mean I'm talking, and I'm the center of attention in that way, but you know, once I'm also standing up and everybody else is sitting down, you know, one of those things, you feel a little more self-conscious, about *everybody looking at you, and things, but once you, once I get into it, I usually, everything is fine, I calm down, but there's always that initial little bit of nervousness.*

The second African American female who addressed this topic said the following.

Rebecca: gender [does gender matter]? I don't know if you have had the opportunity to speak in front of all women versus mixed?

Naimah: yes, yes I have.

Rebecca: does that make any difference to you?

Naimah: I guess, yes, it does, well, b/c men are, how do we say this, XXX [inaudible], you feel a little, well I feel a little different, in a crowd that has men, just b/c, as a reasonably attractive woman, *sometimes you feel them ogling you, or you see them, whatever, just looking at you, or things like that, so you're like, are you listening to what I'm saying? Or, you kind of got to not focus on it, but...*

The next example is the male who experienced extreme self-consciousness around his physical appearance.

Rebecca: What do you think it was just was it like about starting college or was it about the other people in the class?

Ian: Yeah. I think it mostly was about other people in the class. I looked a lot different back then. I was a lot heavier and I was a lot I was not as confident in myself. I mean you could put me in front of a book and I could do the work, but I just wanted to blend into the background. I didn't want no one to see me, no one to talk to me. And to be able to to have to to be forced to stand up like that --

Rebecca: Right. You all had to stand up?

Ian: Yeah. Stand up. It was terrible, terrible. That was definitely the worst. I couldn't wait till that class was done.

The question around this schema is whether there is a way that students can acknowledge the fact that they are being looked at while they are speaking, and still know that they cannot read the minds of their peers and should not assume that others are thinking negative thoughts about their appearance or perhaps even thinking about the student's appearance at all. If this is possible, then the student will most likely have a greater chance at speaking well, which will most likely set up a positive feedback cycle.

I think it is quite important that teachers know that students may feel physical self-consciousness, and not treat speaking in front of the class as simply a skill which students should immediately acquire as soon as they are given structures and guidelines. If students also knew that this was a common fear, they might feel more comfortable with their own anxiety and not as intimidated by peers, given that many of their peers probably have similar feelings. Finally, perhaps teachers could give opportunities where students might feel less uncomfortable with their physical appearance, such as speaking from their seats, or at a table, instead of standing in front of a room. Clearly, this is an area in which speaking differs from writing, and the more options teachers can give students, the more likely it is that students will find a way to speak that maximizes their chances of feeling comfortable and thus eliciting the type of recognition that will encourage future positive speaking experiences.

Schemas Leading to Facilitation/Impediment

What type of schemas is associated with feeling disabled by genre?

Schema 7: Self and Text at Odds

In this schema, the student feels impeded by assignment (i.e., assignment type: such as in-class writing, or a particular assignment, or sometimes the genre of college writing in general), and the mechanism that it works through – how it is experienced in process – is a sense that the self who is competent at speaking or writing (or at mastering and understanding the content of the speaking or writing) is thwarted by what comes out of one's pen or mouth. In other words, what appears on the page or in the speaking situation feels alien from what the student identifies with as his or her competencies. This is one of many ways that students can arrive at feeling impeded by genre or assignment, but it is a particularly interesting one, because the very things that might seem positive about writing – that it allows one to reflect on a text separate from one's mind – or about speaking – that it makes real and expressed what is in one's mind – can become a setting for alienation and further distancing from speaking or writing.

The first example of a student describing this process is a classic example where the student actually says that the text “is staring back at her” and seems not to reflect the ideas in her mind. She tells the story this way, and stresses the issue of timed writing, a particular genre, or type, of writing that she finds frustrating.

Naimah: ...I knew the answer, but I couldn't get it out for some reason. It was in my head and when it hit the paper, it just came out completely different. It felt like everyone body in the class is just scribbling away and I'm like, I can't transfer my thoughts onto this piece of paper. And it was really discouraging, because I think it actually made me more frustrated which then kind of clogged me up even more, which made it harder and harder to get it out

Rebecca: what was discouraging?

Naimah: I wasn't getting what I wanted to say and I felt like everyone else was. Of course you have this image of everyone else, writing this great essay and you're the only idiot who can't seem to figure out how to write it out, you know

Rebecca: you became anxious and frustrated and then?

Naimah: and it makes me, then I just start to, I can't think of anything, simple words or just spelling, I just blank out, and then that makes me more frustrated and then you know

Rebecca: yeah, what was I gonna say, oh sometimes, it feels like you have the idea but you can't transfer it to paper?

Naimah: yeah

Rebecca: can you say a bit more about that?

Naimah: oh (laugh). I have a problem especially with essays, of blanking out and I just, I have no ideas of what I'm supposed to write about, it doesn't matter how prepared I am, I just see the paper and it stares at me, we go into this confrontation

Rebecca: the paper and yourself?

Naimah: yeah. It's just like, the paper's staring at me, it's daring me to write something and I can't seem to get out what it is, you know, the thoughts in my head seem so eloquent, like oh yeah, that's perfect, and it hits the paper and it's like, no, that's not what I said at all!

Rebecca: okay, it's in your head and it comes out and it's like, what's going on?

Naimah: (laugh) 'that's not what I wanted'. That happens, especially during testing essays when you have a certain amount of time, that pressure of that tick tock.

Another student, Alice, describes two situations in which she feels alienated from her own writing. In the first, she describes the situation where what she writes on paper does not sound write to her. In the second, she describes the situation of feeling alienated because she is still making mistakes in her writing, when she does not expect to.

Alice: I need to get better with writing... I am glad I have a lot of writing [because I need to improve].

Rebecca: That's a great attitude.

Alice: B/c I want to get better with the writing. I like to write, but b/c I don't feel I write up to my standards,

Rebecca: Not up to your standards? What do you mean? Like you have an idea and it doesn't come out the way you want it to?

Alice: I put it on paper and then I think, nah, it don't sound right. Re word it.

Alice's second description of this dynamic is as follows.

Rebecca: Yeah. Okay, how common is a good writing experience for you?

Alice: Final results –

Rebecca: Yeah

Alice: The final result is usually good. Because I go for help.

Rebecca: That's cool. Is that a good experience when you go for help?

Alice: Well, the final product is good, but going through what I did wrong, what I need to do right, the learning part, it's like, oh god I still can't do that right? I still haven't learned to do it right like that? But you know, it's all about learning

In these snippets, Alice seems to be describing a feeling of alienation from the standards of the college writing genre. She feels that she can overcome any obstacles, but the moments when mistakes she does not expect emerge sometimes leave her feeling alienated. The positive aspect of how Alice handles this dynamic is that she persists until she gets a product that she feels good about, and feels is reflective of her identity as a good writer. She also frames the negative feelings within the greater context of education being about improvement.

In attempting to apply this schema of alienation between “text” and self to speaking situations, I realized that times when a student has one impression of themselves – as a competent speaker or a competent student in a particular class – and finds that impression taken away by a speaking experience, a similar alienation is taking place. In these cases, the student may feel disabled by the “genre” of speaking in class, if they feel that their knowledge is not being accurately represented by what they say. The following student, Jameel, provided the best example of that sort of alienation in a speaking situation, although he seems to have blamed himself – his lack

of preparation or knowledge compared to another student – rather than the genre. This may be an individual difference – i.e., that some students blame themselves rather than blame the genre – or it could be a difference between how students look at alienation in speaking situations versus writing situations. Jameel’s narrative is as follows.

Rebecca: What would you say was your worst experience with speaking in college?

Jameel: my worst experience? [inaudible] sometimes wrong.

Rebecca: being wrong? Like is there one experience in particular?

Jameel: um, like, in English class, Like getting in debates with someone and you may think you’re wrong. I mean, actually, you may not have as much knowledge as you thought about a certain topic and someone comes out with more knowledge than you and it sort of makes you feel bad.

Rebecca: okay, can you give me one example?

Jameel: I don’t know exactly, but I know when I first started, when I took English....

Rebecca: Like what would you say and what would someone else say?

Jameel: I don’t remember. I just remember it was one of those – I thought I was like, right, but they gave more like, they shared, they had more information about a certain topic than I did. Because you know, when you think you’re confident that you’re right? And then, in a way, they brought revelation to it.

Rebecca: oh okay.

Jameel: and you know – it’s like, well, you’re right. You know, I don’t like to be wrong.

Rebecca: yeah, yeah. How did you feel at those times?

Jameel: I didn’t feel that good. I like to be right.

Rebecca: you felt a little down?

Jameel: yeah, they kind of had more information than I did

Rebecca: what would you be thinking in your mind afterwards?

Jameel: well, they’re right. I didn’t really like the person that much but I had to respect them, because you know, it’s like, oh he’s so smart, but it kind of like, makes you want to be a little bit quiet in the class next time, and think twice before you open up your mouth

Rebecca: oh right. Did that last throughout the class?

Jameel: not really

Rebecca: just for a little while?

Jameel: yeah, because next time I opened up my mouth I made sure I knew what I was talking about. And I had information to support it

These examples show varying degrees of alienation between the self and the written or spoken text. It seems that what is most important in all of these examples, however, is that the student not get stuck in the moment of alienation and instead keep applying effort so that he or she will have new and varied experiences with the genre or the mode of expression.

Schemas leading to confusion

What kind of schemas lead to confusion in the interaction?

Schema 8: Interactions Characterized by Ascribed Motivation

The interactions described in this schema all show one party ascribing a motivation behind the words or actions of another party. Of course, since these are student interviews, we will not get a glimpse into what motivations teachers ascribe to students. Many students, in the course of the interview stated that some teachers feel superior to students, or are condescending to students. Both of these sentiments seem to be to be ascribing motivations, since it is difficult to ascertain the way someone is feeling, just from evaluating their speech and actions, although some might argue that it is possible. Examples of students making assumptions about motivations include these, which are only a few among many statements about teachers being on occasion condescending.

Rebecca: How about the teacher, does that matter?

Stephanie: of course (laugh) of course

Rebecca: some teachers make you feel more likely to talk?

Stephanie: right, some teachers kind of feel like they're superior and they won't take any suggestions or ideas.

The second example is as follows:

Rebecca: Do you get the sense that he didn't know that – that he thought you were just doing it randomly?

Erika: Yeah, I didn't really know what he – I was surprised by that, because I would think that in some kind of, in passing, he would have seen it, and so, yeah, it surprised me, I was like – I don't know if he just thought I was – and it seemed odd that given the quality of the rest of my writing, he would think that I would randomly do that, but, it was interesting. He was kind of a character. He was just a little condescending, just towards the students in general.

The above examples are found in both the speaking and writing domains, although the comments about condescension in particular tended to be found most often in speaking experiences. The beliefs that students had about teacher's intentions sometimes had negative consequences on their own desire to participate, though sometimes the student's desire to participate or ask all the questions they need to ask, overrode any feelings about the teacher's attitude. Nonetheless, this seems to fit into a schema framework as the student's underlying – and untested – assumption often sets into motion negative consequences for the interaction.

The following are writing experiences which involved interactions based upon assumptions. In this case, the types of assumptions are a bit different, but still seem to be unexamined. These cases suggest to me a miscommunication. The players in the interaction seem to be missing each other almost completely due to what they believe the other person understands and means.

In the first example, a student feels lost and frustrated because she perceives the teacher as not giving out clear guidelines, and in fact giving out guidelines after the fact. However, the teacher may feel that the guidelines she passes out on the last day of class match something she gave out earlier. Either the quality of the teacher's assignments or the student's perceptions of them, or both, are causing a

miscommunication which results in frustration. In the second example, the teacher uses the word “thesis” in her comment on the student’s paper, seemingly assuming that she and the student share a definition of this term, which is actually quite amorphous. The comment, as it is, is so useless to the student that he goes to the dictionary to look up the word thesis. Examples such as these seem to me to indicate great misses in communication between the students and the teachers, that never get noticed (because students, in particular, and perhaps teachers, are conditioned to be polite, or at least non-confrontational, to one another) and thus are perpetuated. The examples mentioned above are told in the following stories:

Stephanie: I guess frustration in English 12, because the whole class was kind of lost on what she was grading us on, and then the last day of class, she gave us a sheet on what her, how she broke it down (laugh). I guess that was it.

Rebecca: oh, no, that sounds frustrating.

Stephanie: Yeah, I would get an A on most of it – like critical thinking and some other stuff, but she had – getting in depth, in detail about characters or something to that nature and that’s where I would get C’s....

Rebecca: that sounds really confusing. Okay, was it, were you anxious when you were going to go write the papers? Like sit down and write them?

Stephanie: no, just, I was procrastinating, I wasn’t anxious, I just procrastinated.

Rebecca: okay, because you didn’t know the criteria?

Stephanie: exactly – no one did. And we would ask and she wouldn’t...

The next example is as follows:

Rebecca: okay, and what did they mean by thesis, exactly?

Jameel: a thesis statement, well, first I had to look it up in the dictionary. I think it meant, thesis is more like a proposal, or um, making a theory

Rebecca: um hm

Jameel: it’s like you’re saying a judgment, you’re saying a point of view

Rebecca: um hm

Jameel: and now you’re gonna say exactly what you’re gonna put in the essay

Rebecca: that’s right, okay, that’s great. Yeah, so when she wrote it down, did you have to look it up?

Jameel: yeah, I had to see for myself, and I asked her XXX [inaudible]

Rebecca: did it help when you looked it up?

Jameel: uh huh

What ties the narratives about teacher condescension to narratives about confusing writing comments and assignments? Both rely on assumptions about the other in the interaction, and then lead to negative consequences, including miscommunication and negative relationships, which may inhibit participation or improvement in speaking or writing. It might be possible to break these cycles by encouraging more honest feedback from students. Additionally, if teachers know that a certain motivation may be ascribed to them, and that this motivation is particularly troubling to students, they may actively try to show that this motivation – for example showing their superiority – is not in fact what underlies their words or actions.

Another impact of noticing that students and teachers ascribe motivations to each other would be two-fold: 1) noticing this process can give both parties room to reflect on whether their assumptions are actually something they can know to be true and 2) both parties can realize that whatever information they provide, the feeling the other party gets from the information – which often comes from the motivation ascribed – is experienced as equally important. This schema underscores again, that writing and speaking are not simply skill sets but they are acts of communication which are produced in the context of a whole web of relationships and utterances.

What types of schemas lead to students feeling confused so that praise turns to pressure?

Schema 9: Praise turning to Limitation

In this schema, the teacher recognition is internalized by the student and is mirrored in their self-evaluation, but with negative consequences. This schema can be identified by the fact that the comment made by the teacher – often the exact words – are stated as part of the self-evaluation. In the interview data that I collected, I saw this pattern function most clearly only once, but it demonstrated a pattern that one can conceive happening frequently, where praise becomes intimidating and limiting. In this case, the internalization is around extreme praise, which was given with a conditional statement included – basically that one should not write unless the intensity that was exhibited in the student’s work was present – which the student took as an opportunity to declare all of his other work as “mediocre”. The story as the student told it is as follows: (The student telling this narrative is a white, male 4-year college student, who is in his early 20s, Michael).

Rebecca: What would you say is your best experience with writing?

Michael: best experience with writing? Um, just anything papers, poetry?

Rebecca: any college writing

Michael: I guess it would be the poetry class, when I had written a poem and my teacher had complimented me and its’ something, like – you’re writing something that sounds really passionate and it sounds urgent, that was the word she used, and that, she said you shouldn’t write anything as far as poetry, unless it’s urgent. If it’s not urgent, if it’s not passionate...

Rebecca: That’s really cool. That word really, it sounded to you like she really meant it

Michael: Um hm.

Rebecca: Wow, okay. Did it make you feel like writing more poetry? How did –

Michael: *it definitely gave me motivation to keep writing, and stuff like that, but I was never able, in any of the future poems, to get that, at least I felt, to get that urgency and that passion in it again. But it definitely made me want to try it, you know, but I don’t feel like I did it successfully, as well as I wanted.*

Rebecca: But have you written other ones that have been?

Michael: *yeah, I mean, the feedback was somehow that that one was really good and the ones before it were mediocre and the ones after were the same level, so yeah.*

In the case of praise mirrored and then turned into a largely negative conception, it seems clear to me that both unintended consequences (from the interaction as a whole) and a self-defeating belief (in this case a self-defeating way of internalizing the initial comment) are at play. Additionally, the teacher's core belief (as reported by the student in this narrative) about what one needs to be feeling when one writes poetry is contributing to the direction which the interaction takes. This interaction, though it is the only one exactly of this type, is included because the issue of praise becoming a problematic issue is likely a common dynamic.

The unintended consequences in this interaction seem to be that the teacher most likely intends to create positive outcomes by strongly praising a student's work. Indeed, the praise must have served as a positive experience, as this was cited as the student's best writing, the student did report being motivated by the comment, and the student remembered the comment in a lot of detail. However, by the end of the story it seems that the praise has actually served to make the student doubt all of his other work which did not receive the same praise, and which he didn't judge as meeting the same standards. It is very possible that this statement meant to create a positive effect might actually make the student feel paralyzed by the high standards and the "conditions" of the praise.

The teacher's core beliefs about what it takes to write good poetry are also part of the interaction, as it seems that she would not have stated that urgency is a necessary factor (at least this is how the student heard the comment) if she did not have that core, and rather inflexible belief, which ends up creating unintended consequences in the interaction.

Finally the student's own method of internalizing the praise – focusing on how other poems did not merit that praise according to his judgment rather than focusing on the fact that this poem did get high praise – can be seen as self-defeating, as he takes even a positive situation and creates a negative evaluation of his writing from it. To me, this interaction illuminates how writing is very much a social act, and the response one's writing receives impacts future acts of writing. Writing, in this interaction, is not a matter of skill so much as it is a vehicle through which all sorts of dynamics – praise from others, standards set by the self, the concept of urgency – get played out.

Keeping in mind that comments get internalized in various ways by students, that praise can sometimes have unintended consequences, and that one's beliefs about writing can be crippling at times, might help teachers to engage in the social nature of reading and responding to student's writing in a way that most completely takes into account all elements of the situation.

Practice implications for how evaluation can better take these elements into account, in order to avoid an interaction where students are inadvertently impaired by praise, will be taken up in the discussion section.

In the discussion section we will also take up at length many of the themes developed in this chapter on recognition and schemas: the centrality of response; the problem of misunderstanding; and the possibility for making intentions more explicit in order to facilitate positive cycles of interaction.

Discussion Chapter

Surprise. Contdescension. Miscommunication. Confusion. Mediocrity. Urgency. Prepared. Seen. Understood. Entertained. All of these emotions and experiences – many of them the result of being received and recognized in various ways – were described by the students I interviewed as they talked about their experiences with speaking and writing in college. These types of student experiences are not always taken into consideration when writing and speaking courses are designed. By taking into account these realities –as told by students in my interviews – we may be able to complement existing and new pedagogical strategies for the teaching and learning of academic expression skills.

The key concepts which I used to make sense of the data I gathered in this research study were precursors, responses, and recognition. Precursors and responses are conceptualized as that which frames speaking and writing, from the student perspective. Recognition is conceptualized as the variety of psychosocial consequences of speaking and writing. Recognition is experienced by the students through the processes of internalizing their experiences of speaking and writing, as well as the precursors and responses which contextualize speaking and writing.

In this discussion chapter, I will discuss major conceptual findings which add to and in some cases support existing research conducted on academic expression. I will highlight three major topics: 1) the role of **surprise** in understanding recognition in speaking and writing; 2) **group differences regarding associations with teacher and peer response**, including expected and unexpected findings; and 3) the creation of a new vocabulary, by **identifying types of recognition**, for studying and

understanding speaking and writing in college. Other conceptual findings from the dissertation which are somewhat less new will then be discussed in the context of existing theories on academic self-concept and literacy. These include nuanced conceptualizations of the role of process versus product, praise as a limitation, and the issue of whether students tend to disidentify from difficult academic areas. Future research questions and projects which grow from the dissertation will be discussed next, in relationship to the conceptual findings that have been discussed already. Next, I will cover methodological and practical implications of this dissertation research. Finally, I will conclude by discussing initial goals I had for the study of recognition and noting possible ways of addressing the questions which still remain.

Highlights of Findings

Surprise, Criticism, Praise, and Miscommunication

The most conceptually interesting type of recognition that I identified in my research was the feeling of being “taken aback.” Many students reported this type of recognition in instances when they had a positive feeling about their writing or speaking, and were surprised by the teacher’s response which clearly did not find their writing or speaking to be as good as the student had hoped. At that point, the student tended to revise his or her own response to the writing or speaking.

This type of recognition was interesting to me because it explicitly supported my conception of speaking and writing which theorized that in many cases communication is incomplete without receiving the desired type of reception from one’s outside audience. This supports McDermott’s claim in “Inarticulateness”

(1988) that the ability to be heard is as much dependent upon the listener as on the speaker. While acknowledging that response is in many ways conditioned by what precedes it (i.e., the product), I still maintain that reception is not entirely within the control of the individual speaker or writer, and I find that to be important for all parties to communication to remember. This finding also supports Bakhtin's claim (1986) that each utterance is dependent upon the following utterances, as much as on preceding utterances, in order to derive meaning.

Bakhtin also noted that the genre of expression makes a difference. This is particularly relevant because the feeling of being taken aback applied to writing much more often than speaking. Bakhtin wrote, as cited by Courtney Cazden, a linguistic theorist who has studied communicative competence (1989), that certain speech genres, or types of expression, will be more challenging for an individual to effectively command. Thus, working in certain genres, some students may have difficulty getting the type of response they desire. Bakhtin wrote (1986) that "the better our command of genres, the more freely we employ them,... the more flexibly and precisely we reflect the unrepeatable situation of communication-in a word, the more perfectly we implement our free speech plan" (1986, p.79-80, as cited in Cazden, 1989, p.119).

Since this issue of feeling taken aback by response was much more common regarding writing than speaking, we may conclude that students feel a lesser sense of control with the genre of writing than speaking, in general. Thus, the sense of surprise was more prevalent in writing situations than in speaking situations. There were many examples we have seen in the dissertation of students who felt taken aback by

responses to their written work. To paraphrase, students often felt that the work was ‘so nicely done’ or ‘it always sounds good to me, at least until I get it back with marks all over it.’ In contrast, there were only a few occasions when we heard the same sentiment with regard to speaking. One of these rare examples was the student who felt that she was competent in speaking in her field, until her teacher sharply criticized her for using a colloquial term instead of the clinical word “affect.”

It is also important to note that this type of recognition – the feeling of being taken aback - was found almost exclusively among community college students. This may indicate that feeling not in control of one’s expressiveness is a particularly troubling issue there. Further, there seems to be some sort of gap –which students find troubling ultimately, in that they end up feeling taken aback at times – between students and teachers in communicating and/or meeting expectations. I will return to this issue shortly.

The other types of recognition which related to surprise – the positive form of recognition that related directly to surprise: feeling “blown away” by positive responses by peers or teachers; and also the form of recognition of feeling “pressured by praise” which indicated that praise became a negative experience – also indicate miscommunication, or some sort of gap, between students and teachers (and sometimes peers) around responses to speaking or writing.

If students are feeling surprised by response, then some aspect of communication has been missing. Putting responses to writing in a context which makes clearer the teacher’s (or peer’s) intention might improve the situation. Tone – communicated by literal tone of voice, or by “markers” such as red pen, or a

perceived condescension or mysteriousness – was often very important to students when they described responses which led them to feel negatively, and often surprised, about their writing or speaking. Putting response into context can make intentions clearer, and thus leave fewer chances for tone to be misinterpreted or to overshadow the words.

Response, Race and Gender

If response is indeed so essential to the process of communication, it is doubly important to pay attention to the group differences this research found in reports of teacher and peer responses. Several things stand out among these findings, which we can review in Table 1 below. By examining the table below (and paying attention to the first two columns which tell you the percentage of the narrative's immediate social context which is accounted for by *teacher response and peer response*), you can see that when you compare males and females; and white and African Americans (the data from Latinos in this study did not fit in well with either whites or African Americans, possibly because all Latino subjects except one were female, which conflates gender and race in that group), you will see that, *in the vast majority of narrative types, whites and males were more likely than African Americans and females to associate both peer and teacher response with positive writing and speaking situations, while the reverse is true for African American and female students*. There are some interesting exceptions that will be discussed, but overall it seems that teacher response, in general, tends to be positive for males and whites, and peer response often follows this pattern as well.

Group and Best/Worst Speaking/Writing Experience Narratives	Teacher Response	Peer Response	Official Response	Self Response	Reflected in Text	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
Females - Best Speaking	9	20	4	16	1	10	6	22	12	100
Males - Best Speaking	20	30	0	17	2	3	3	16	9	100
Females - Worst Speaking	17	31	7	4	4	14	0	11	11	99
Males - Worst Speaking	7	43	0	22	4	0	0	20	4	100
Female - Best Writing	13	9	11	34	4	8	0	15	6	100
Male - Best Writing	13	8	31	21	2	2	1	6	13	97
Female - Worst Writing	18	2	15	10	6	17	0	10	21	99
Male - Worst Writing	3	10	13	20	3	0	0	20	30	99
White - Best Speaking	25	26	3	14	0	6	5	18	3	100
Afric Am Best Speaking	13	23	2	21	4	7	0	11	19	100
Latino - Best Speaking	3	19	3	13	0	11	10	34	8	101
White - Worst Speaking	23	25	0	10	4	0	0	25	13	100
Afric Am Worst Speak	6	43	11	12	6	11	0	6	4	99
Latino - Worst Speak	7	47	0	7	0	20	0	10	10	101
White - Best Writing	18	13	6	60	0	0	0	4	0	101
Afric Am Best Writing	7	14	12	30	2	9	0	15	10	99
Latino - Best Writing	24	0	13	36	4	10	0	4	10	101
White- Worst Writing	6	22	17	6	0	0	0	22	28	101
Afric Am Worst Writing	24	0	11	25	8	14	0	8	11	101
Latino - Worst Writing	0	0	14	6	6	14	0	14	47	101

These findings lend support to conventional wisdom which argues that African Americans and females may not get the same kind of support in the classroom, overall, that white students and male students do. At the same time, these findings are not as strong as they could be, both because they are not coming from explicit statements about teacher and peer response (but rather from associations between student demographics and whether the students associate teacher and peer response with best or worst writing or speaking experiences), and derive from a small sample of students.

Nonetheless, the findings within the small sample are strongly in support of the fact that teacher response and peer response tend to be associated by white students and male students with positive experiences of academic expression and by African American students and female students to be associated with negative experiences of academic expression. These limitations will be taken up shortly as we discuss my methodology. There are however, two sub-patterns within the findings on response and group differences, which do not conceptually fit the pattern described thus far.

These two less obvious findings related to response are extremely interesting. First, it is interesting to see that, in terms of teacher response being a positive factor, writing seems less gendered and speaking seems less inflected by race. By this, I am referring to the fact that in best writing experience narratives, males and females report an equal percentage of the immediate social factors being made up by teacher response, and the fact that in worst speaking situations, African Americans are less likely to associate teacher response with the situation than are white students. This

finding seems to indicate that gender group differences are more pronounced around speaking experiences, when looking at teacher response, and race group differences are more pronounced when looking at writing experiences. We see that the pattern of teacher response being associated with negative situations for African American students but not white is not upheld in worst speaking experience narratives. Perhaps this finding, in the context of the other very strong associations between race and teacher response, shows that speaking is less inflected by race issues than is writing, or that white students fear a negative teacher's response very strongly in worst speaking experiences.

The second unexpected sub-pattern was that peer response was less predictable in terms of group differences. We saw that in worst writing experiences whites and males reported much more peer response than did females or African Americans. Perhaps whites and males feared negative peer response in writing situations, whereas African Americans and females may have feared negative teacher response. Additionally, males associated more peer response with worst speaking experiences than did females, whereas females associated more teacher response with worst speaking experiences than did males. This may indicate, again, that males fear peer response in negative speaking situations whereas females fear teacher response in these situations. This suggests two things conceptually. First, that peer response is as potentially emotional and explosive, for some students, as teacher response can be. Secondly, peer response seems to break certain patterns that teacher response follows – which is that largely teacher response is a positive thing for whites and males and

more often a negative factor for African Americans and females – and so peer response may in some ways be a democratizing force.

Creating a Vocabulary

One of the most important things that this dissertation does is create a vocabulary for describing the ways that speaking and writing are experienced, and how important response is in that experience. The types of recognition – from feeling “taken aback” to feeling “understood” to feeling “self-recognized” by appreciating one’s own text – all stress the emotional, not merely cognitive, aspects of speaking and writing experiences. Moreover, the types of recognition show how speaking and writing are characterized by the condition that when one communicates one has not fully made meaning until someone, which can be the self, but is often another party, has received the meaning we have created. By noting the existence of and variations in all the types of recognition that are delineated in this dissertation – and they are not exhaustive – we can begin to see that speaking and writing are personal acts at exactly the same time as they are academic acts. That is, students succeed academically by making meaning and having that meaning be impactful upon readers and listeners, and at same time experience a sense of positive or negative recognition – a sense of being heard or understood in a variety of ways.

Other Findings – Fitting into the Literature

Other findings also shed light on the literature on literacy, academic self concept, or self concept more generally. In this section, I will discuss several other findings and integrate them into the existing literature they arose from, and note

whether they support, extend, or challenge the assumptions of the literature they relate to. These sections will be briefer than the above sections, because these findings have been discussed at length in various sections in the results section, but now will be integrated into the existing literatures. The topics which will be touched upon are: expanding the role of schemas (Young et al., 2003) to educational contexts; supporting the theory that praise is not always positive (Kohn, 1993); disputing Ogbu's theory (1978) of student dis-identification; and supporting Dweck et al.'s (e.g., 1988, 1987) theory of mastery vs. ability orientations to learning.

Schemas

The application of Young et al.'s (2003) schema theory to the ways that students approach speaking and writing represented an application of some of the insights of cognitive therapy (for instance, a focus on the distortions that come about through unintended repetition and consequences; over-generalization; core distortions; and other signposts of schemas which were used to identify schemas in the interview data) to an interactive and educational setting. Young's schema theory already included some focus on interactions, as seen by an individual, as shown in some of the signposts of schemas that were discussed in earlier chapters (Chapter II and Chapter IV).

For example, Young discussed how an ironic consequence of a schema can arise when the individual creates the very outcome he or she most fears. To give one specific instance, consider a shy person who may end up creating more social isolation for him or herself through shy behavior. Yet, Young was not explicitly

dealing with the idea of two individuals' schemas meeting up with each other to create even more ironic and unintended consequences. This is the way the tool of schema was employed in this dissertation, since the misunderstandings and beliefs that both students and their audiences (often teachers were the audiences analyzed in the schema section, but sometimes peers) were theorized as I considered interactions that may have led to the various types of recognition students experienced.

For instance, I discussed the way that a teacher who inadvertently catches a student by surprise, with criticisms of her paper, may end up sapping the student's motivation to revise a paper. This may happen because the student feels completely disillusioned and disconnected from the paper that she had felt deeply connected to before the teacher commented on it. The interaction is characterized by mutual misunderstandings because the student might have taken the criticism in an overly personal or generalized way, which probably was not the teacher's intention, and the teacher may have been unaware of how deeply connected the student felt to his or her work. Thus, the teacher and the student both came into the situation with good intentions, but both interpreted the situation and then acted in such a way that might lead to disengagement. Applying schemas in the context of interactions allows us a chance to both bring the insights of cognitive therapy, which usually just address the individual, to a novel setting. Applying schemas in this way allows us to notice how individuals impact each other, often due in part to their varying roles in a situation. These are essential factors to consider when trying to understand the experience of any individual, as they are impacted by their social context.

Praise is not always positive

Praise is not always positive, but can in fact be paralyzing and full of pressure for students. In one situation which dramatically demonstrated this dynamic the student was paralyzed by the fact that he heard the teacher saying that writing should only be done under ideal conditions (i.e., he quoted the teacher as praising his poetry as urgent and telling him that one should never write poetry unless it is urgent), and thus he found that his further poetic attempts did not meet his own (new) standards. This finding – that praise can become a source of pressure – has been highlighted in previous research, including Dweck's research (1987; 1988) on the perils of a being oriented to performance (and thus reaction) instead of the process in school settings. Dweck found that students who are more oriented to process tend to engage with challenging tasks for a longer period of time and to ultimately be more successful on those challenging tasks than do students who are oriented to performance, because those students prefer to stick with tasks in which success is more likely to be guaranteed. Alfred Kohn (1993) also writes of the problems that result from praise in school settings, focusing on the problem of praise having a corrosive impact upon intrinsic motivation.

Student Identity

Ogbu has argued (1978) that students who have been marginalized in school settings – as many would argue that students who attend community colleges have been, as they have probably not been accepted to a four-year college – tend to disidentify with academic success as a source of their self-esteem. I found the

opposite in my interview data. Even students who had endured failure on institution-wide tests multiple times, or had other objective measures of being marginalized, strongly identified with their academic journeys. Students did not express a distancing from academic identities in any of my interview with them, and instead usually expressed a confidence in their abilities, seeing failures as due to external factors or as challenges to be overcome. Those who did feel moments of academic failure found them indeed deeply upsetting, as academic success was central to their personal identities.

Process vs. Product

Because Dweck et al.'s concept of mastery, and its opposite – the ability orientation – is used through out the dissertation, and is strongly supported by my findings, I will briefly mention some of her relevant ideas. Dweck et al. (Dweck & Legget, 1985) presented empirical and theoretical support for the idea that two approaches to academic ability may be identified and are relevant to how a student responds to academic challenges. The two conceptions of ability are an entity conception (also called an ability conception) and an incremental conception (also called a mastery conception). The entity conception is characterized by a belief that ability is something which is fixed and internal (i.e., that an ability, such as intelligence, is an entity – a thing which exists prior to a task). The incremental conception is characterized by a belief that ability is subject to improvement and is determined largely by effort and preparation. Dweck has studied the implications of these orientations, in various spheres of life activities. In relation to academic

challenges, she has shown that students with an entity conception of intelligence will often become frustrated and quit when faced with a challenging academic task, and they tend to be oriented towards performance and results of tasks, in general. On the other hand, students with a mastery conception of intelligence are more likely to be energized by a challenging academic task and to keep at it for a longer period of time, and they tend to be oriented towards the process of a task (i.e., focused on preparation and effort), rather than focusing primarily on the product or outcome of the task.

I found that the mastery conception of self was often a precursor for positive speaking experiences, whereas positive writing experiences were more often characterized by responses. The focus on responses in writing situations indicates a focus on product, as opposed to process and improvement. The focus on product is associated with Dweck's "ability" conception of intelligence because it relies on evaluations of how good or bad a fixed product is, which implies that the product reflects something intrinsically worthy or unworthy about the student's ability. A focus on process is associated with the mastery approach because it shifts the focus to improvement, effort, and preparation, as opposed to evaluation.

Students who tended to characterize their positive experiences as relying on a mastery conception of self tended to describe successful experiences with academic communication as being successful because of preparation, effort, and experience (all things which are incremental and subject to improvement).

This general attitude obviously has many positive implications, if we accept Dweck's argument, for persistence and effort which tends to lead to success ultimately. This creates a positive outcome which then encourages further

engagement in the task in future situations. Students who tended to describe a mastery self conception particularly described their speaking experiences as being very positive when they prepared, and negative only when they were not prepared. This implied to me that they continued to feel positively about speaking even when they had negative experiences, because they seemed to be reasoning that if they put in the effort the next time, they would surely be successful.

These students tended to bring this approach to their writing experiences as well, but there was a tendency for it not to work as well, it seemed, as some had experiences of being very hurt and disappointed in their worst writing experience. Some of their best experiences with writing were characterized by another facet of a mastery approach. They saw possible failure as an opportunity for positive change. For example, one student who used a mastery self conception reported that her best writing experience was getting tutoring for an institution-wide test, which, she implied, she was afraid of failing or perhaps had failed earlier. Therefore, the positive aspects, with respect to challenging writing experiences, of being oriented towards preparation is that one will stay engaged and effortful, even when engaged with tasks that are difficult, and therefore one will have a good chance of ultimately succeeding, as this student did, but the negative aspect of the mastery approach, with respect to writing, seems to be that when the preparation approach does not work, the student is very hurt by the experience of failure, and at a loss.

Ideally, students might be able to bridge some of the gaps between speaking and writing by bring some of the process orientation to writing (improvement over

time, a focus on preparation instead of ability) and bring some of the intrinsic, personal interest they show in written products to their speaking experiences.

Future Projects

Integrated Communicative Self Concept

One project which I attempted in the analysis of this dissertation data, but ultimately did not include, was the creation of types of integrated communicative self concepts. These integrated self concepts were meant to show how the student, overall, across speaking and writing, felt about how his or her academic communication would be received. I called these concepts Academic Communication Recognition Concepts (ACRC's) and tabulated the types of ACRC's by looking across the types of recognition a student experienced in the four experiences of best writing experience, worst writing experience, best speaking experience, and worst speaking experience. I hoped to show how students with certain recognition experiences in speaking might have certain differing recognition experiences in writing. However, I did not come to enough clarity with coding the ACRC's and thus decided not to include the results at this time. I also questioned whether I wanted to make generalizations across a student's experiences and argue for one central academic self concept.

I may take up this project in the future, however, because the ACRC's offer a new way of looking at academic self concept, in that they are based upon the idea that conceptions others have of us, and their relationship to us as audience, impacts the self. The ACRC is an attitude, a conception, and as such a student may hold it at a

particular moment in time, or at a particular time in his or her life, but it is not necessarily unchanging, nor is constructed independently of the (sometimes changing) actions of others. Some of the ACRC styles I hope to find will be more adaptive for writing and some more so for speaking and this may help us to explain, using social and relational issues, why one student may fare better in speaking situations and one might fare better in writing situations. The initial types of ACRC's that I identified in a preliminary manner are the following. (However, they sounded too much like types of recognition to be considered completely independent conceptual findings at this point.)

1. The Preparing Style – This style is very positive because it encourages process-orientation and thus leads to engagement in activities which improve one's writing or speaking, but when that strategy of effort and mastery does not work out (as sometimes happens with challenging writing experiences), the student with this style may be at a loss.
2. The Disconnected Style: This style is characterized by surprise, misunderstandings, and confusion. Students using this style tend to keep the focus on the self, but whenever they look to outside audiences in any capacity, they are surprised and are also often misread others' responses.
3. The Unrecognized Style: This style is characterized by a student keeping a positive self concept, which is good, by feeling that the assignment does not give them adequate opportunity to show their talents. It is good in that it recognizes the role of the assignment, but it is negative for the student's

ongoing experience in that the student is constantly feeling that what is inside is not being seen and is blaming others, usually the teacher, for that.

4. The Rebellious Style: This style is fairly rare; but often is a part of the student's persona, at some moments. It can be motivating, but does not give a good basis for consistent success.
5. The Reciprocating Style: Students with this style tend to strongly focus on relationship and the back and forth connection that speaking and writing to others can provide. This style focuses on the positive valuation of others, which gets things going in a positive cycle but is too dependent on the other person and the general atmosphere of the classroom and the type of teacher.
6. The Audience-centered Style: This style is positive in terms of using the cognitive skill of knowing who you are communicating with, but can be problematic because if the humor does not work, or the teacher's praise does not keep coming, then the problems of wanting performance to always go well lead to a situation where even past praise of past successes start to feel like flukes or like pressure.
7. The Active, Intrinsic Style: This style, in which intrinsic interest in the topic or the product motivates the student, works across speaking and writing, since it is the interest in the subject matter and/or the function one has with relation to audience (i.e. giving advice, being helpful, etc.), that drives the communication, instead of depending on a sense of response, from audience or self.

With more refinement, the ACRC's may become a useful shorthand for helping teachers to identify the various types of students who may be in their classrooms, and how these students tend to feel about the recognition of their academic expression.

Research on Listening

A less developed future research idea is to conduct research into not only the way students speak and writing, but also on the way they recognize others, particularly through listening. This research idea comes from Linda Bannister's (2001) work "Rhetorical Listening in the Diverse Classroom: Understanding the Sound of Not Understanding" on ways to teach listening. Her article argues for a pedagogy of listening skills and points out that listening is often underdeveloped, as it is valued less than both speaking and writing are. Further, she argues that listening is often not offered forth equally to all persons, with differences often showing up in association to race and class.

Bannister's empirical work suggests that providing students with a simple listening heuristic helped raise their consciousness and thus their listening abilities. This may be a model for an intervention which could potentially address some of group differences I found in my research on how students from different groups felt about teacher and peer response. My research which stresses the importance of response, reception, and recognition, strongly supports the research and subsequent practice which would support pedagogy of conscious and unbiased listening.

Teacher Interview Study

I had originally planned to include a teacher interview component in this dissertation research, which would address the question of how teachers actually felt about students in terms of literacy and speaking issues. I had hoped to interview a sampling of teachers and ask them about how they generally felt about their students' speaking and writing abilities and what they think caused any problems they named.

I was interested in this project in part because my informal experience working with teachers on various campuses had given me the sense that some teachers engage in a conversation about students which assumes that contemporary students, or alternately, students at that particular institution, no longer spend a great deal of time reading and therefore do not have well-developed literacy skills. These assumptions and belief systems would be important to uncover, and then further to explore where these ideas came from, and if they are helpful to teachers, or not.

I ended up not doing such a study, as explained in detail in Chapter II, and instead did an archival study of representations of CUNY students in the context of Open Admissions. Perhaps presenting teachers with some of the media representations and letting them react and respond to these representations might be one way to conduct a study which would identify and understand teacher beliefs about CUNY students' literacy abilities.

Implications for Research Methods

Sequence of Events: Focus on Response

I feel that the biggest strength of my methodological approach was collection of narratives in the interview. There were several useful aspects to asking students for their best and worst writing and speaking experience narratives. First of all, the

common sense nature of the interview – asking directly about personal, highly emotional academic experiences – instead of trying to observe these phenomena through indirect reports of some sort was helpful in that it allowed me to hear what a student personally thought about his or her speaking or writing experiences. Shortly, I will discuss some limitations of a “common sense” approach to interviewing, including the fact that interviews are co-constructed by the interviewer .

Secondly, a strength of relying on narratives of best and worst experiences was that the storytelling aspect of narratives was very useful for interpretation. It was useful to hear students’ subjective reports of their experiences, because I could find out something about the students’ perspectives on the experiences. By hearing the student tell the story – as opposed to trying to observe the events as they happened, if that were possible – I got to hear the student select certain events to include in the narrative, and presumably leave out others. By acknowledging that I am not finding out about an individual’s “raw” experience – if such a thing exists or could be accessed by a researcher – I can then stress the benefits of narrative research including the following. I gained information about 1) how student wishes to position him or herself to an outsider (and found for instance, that students indeed assert a strong identity with academic success and the wish to succeed); 2) how the student sees him or herself as a speaker, writer, and student; and finally, 3) something about what the student experienced, because stories of experience are not unrelated to experience itself.

Having narratives of best and worst speaking and writing experiences was also very helpful in that I had four standardized questions to compare. While I

acknowledge that students may well have interpreted the questions somewhat differently, at least I knew that the students all were given the opportunity to react to the same set of questions. It somewhat reduced the variation which always enters into interviewing situations, and it somewhat reduced the distortive power which I had as the person who coded the data, because at least I focused on somewhat similar data for each. On the other hand, I did not look at identical data for each interviewee, because I always phrased the questions a bit differently; I sometimes asked fewer or more follow-ups, mostly based on how much the student was talking (fewer prompts if they talked without prompting); and the students constructed different meaning out of the question at times, which I could have reduced if I rewrote the questions in order to clarify my intention.

Interviewing

I was pleased to have asked students directly about their experiences with speaking and writing. While I did not gain access to all of the things that I think may be relevant – for instance students tended not to want to talk about the role of race and gender, their own or their teachers' or peers', in literacy and reception – I did sometimes indirectly gain access to even those areas through analysis of the narrative and comparisons across student groups. I also found that students tended to respond well to being asked directly about their experience, and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to do so.

Of course one can critique interview research because of its inevitable weaknesses due to the role of interviewee self-presentation and the co-constructed

nature of any interview which stresses certain things and not others based upon the interviewer's questions and style. Nonetheless, engaging in talk about our lives is very much the way we tend to process our lives in contemporary US society. For this reason, I think direct questions about experience in a one-on-one interview can help an interviewer to gain access to substantial information about a participant's subjective experience. While every interview could be improved – whether by more carefully designed questions, more time for in-depth questioning, or an approach which foregrounds the co-constructed nature of interviewing – I feel that especially in an area of study which is relatively new, such as is the study of recognition in speaking and writing, interviewing is a useful tool.

There are several specific changes I would have liked to have made to the interview, which may have helped me in my analysis. While I did ascertain the students' placement level in the college English department, I did not get any other objective measures of how the student was doing in school. The placement information was ultimately not useful in my analyses for two reasons. First, all the four-year college students had, by definition, passed the college writing tests and were not in remedial levels of English. All of the four-year students were entered into the CUNY BA program, as well, which required them to apply, and so most were not freshmen – having applied while at CUNY already – and thus most had already completed their English requirements. The community college students who I recruited had also tended to have completed any remedial requirements, if they had any to begin with, perhaps because I would have had to have recruited mostly first year students at the college in order to find students who were still taking remedial

classes. Thus, the level of English placement was not useful in comparing students or getting a sense of their objective progress.

Having some objective measure of progress, such as grades or a full schedule of students' courses, may have been helpful in interpreting students' reports of their experiences. I had trouble sometimes distinguishing between students who were hard on themselves and those who were perhaps speaking with some bravado. However, I feel that it would have been both alienating for students, and perhaps difficult for me to get Institutional Review Board approval, if I were to ask for too many details about grades or success in college. I was also hoping that the interview itself would not contribute to the stressful and evaluative nature of how writing and speaking are often seen in school, and thus I wanted to include as little intrusion and embarrassment as possible for students. Further, my interest ultimately was in the student's subjective experience of speaking and writing, as opposed to any objective measure of progress, which I think has tended to be the focus of many others in the system.

I also regret not getting a written demographics form for each student. I asked students their race and age, and noted their gender and what college they attended, but it would have been ideal if I had had students record their national, ethnic, race, and an indicator of class background in their own words. I did ascertain that all students were taking English language courses, and not ESL courses, so that I did not add another variable into the study.

The interview questions which did not function the way I had hoped they would were the enactive exercises, in which I asked students to write and speak on the then-current CUNY tuition hike and then reflect on the experience, and also the

hypothetical questions about how different audiences to their speaking and writing would have made them feel. The students actually seemed to really enjoy the enactive exercises – finding them to be something unusual and fun amidst an interview – but I did not find that the comments they made reflecting on the exercises were particularly useful or elaborated. In the future, I might create an observational checklist in which I could watch the students engage in the speaking and writing tasks and then compare various factors of their experiences. Another idea is to create, in some way, a more realistic enactive exercise – such as one where students watched each other speak – because one of the problems with students’ reflective comments on the exercise was that many of them told me that the experience was very different than one they would have in a classroom – both because the audience was only me and because the topic was new to them – and so it was not applicable to their ordinary experiences.

The hypothetical questions that I asked about how the speaking or writing exercise might have felt different if they had had different audiences – such as an all female or all male audience or an all white or all African American audience – did not elicit elaborate answers. Most students simply told me that the race or gender of the audience – whether the audience is teachers or peers – makes no difference to them as speakers or writers. I think that if I had either phrased the questions differently so that my intent was clearer – perhaps by creating scenarios such as one in which a student has to speak in front of a class of students very different from him or herself, for example – or had brought a visual aid – even a cartoon or photograph which showed a student speaking for a class of students very different from him or herself, for example – I may have elicited more elaborate responses. The fact that I got very brief

responses and did not see variation among the answers to the question made me feel that perhaps the questions were ineffective. I did not assume that race and gender of audience indeed play no role in students' experiences, but that question is left open for further study.

Finally, an interview design which was embedded in a classroom might have been very useful. If I had observed a classroom on an ongoing basis, and then interviewed those students and the teacher, I might have gotten more contextually meaningful data, and may have been able to interpret my results more clearly. On the other hand, interviewing students about only one course might not present opportunities for hearing about heightened experiences of speaking and writing, which I heard about by asking about the students' overall best and worst speaking and writing experiences in college.

Subjectivity and coding

Many of my findings stem from my coding methods. I did the coding independently, without other coders for reliability. This is largely a practical matter, as I did not have other coders readily available. Further, I coded the precursors and responses data twice (as described in Chapter II), once by turn and once by narrative, and found remarkably similar results (as shown in Appendix P), which increased my confidence in my coding.

I also found that I was, in many ways, the most appropriate person to code my data. I found that when I got others to look at my interviews, especially at snippets, I sometimes felt that they misunderstood the interviews, because they did not know the

entirety of the interview. For instance, several students I interviewed said they never had a negative writing experience, and then later in the interview, in answer to another question, described a terrible writing experience, which I coded as their worst writing experience. Without familiarity with the whole of the interview, interpretation can be difficult.

I also knew certain rules that I always followed as an interviewer. For instance, if I asked a student a clarifying question, or repeated their statement for clarification, I would always be sure to ask the clarification as a question, not a statement. Thus, when I see my own remarks in the transcripts, even if I had inadvertently omitted a punctuation mark, I know for certain that I was asking the student a question, and not providing them with an answer. This may not always be as clear to others who were not present throughout the interview process.

A next logical step for my interview coding would be to bring in other coders and establish reliability. I am confident the reliability would be established, at least for the most important categories in which we found group differences – teacher response and peer response which are incredibly clearly defined categories. However, I think the findings stand as they are, given that I coded the precursors and responses twice and reported those results and that I provide multiple examples of each code through out the dissertation.

Practice Implications

Surprise: Practice Implications

As foreshadowed above, there are many potential practice implications that might make speaking and writing in college an experience less likely to lead to the

unpleasant feeling of being “taken aback” by responses to one’s writing (or speaking, though writing is the more common case by far). I will mention first that many have studied teacher response from the point of view of optimal instructional effectiveness (as discussed in Chapter I). I am adding a complementary piece to that body of work on teacher response, in that I am interested in sensitizing teachers and students to the way their words and responses may be understood or misunderstood. In that way, I am stressing the social and psychological issues which frame response and feedback, rather than focusing on the cognitive and strictly pedagogical issues which have been studied previously.

In attempting to increase the effectiveness and sensitivity of response, there are several suggestions that arise from my research. First, it may be helpful for teachers to contextualize their responses in such a way that they make their intentions and tone clear, so that students do not mistakenly feel condescended to or “taken down a peg” for no reason. Secondly, it is important for teachers to make expectations about an assignment as clear as possible, which has been the focus of much work done in CUNY’s Writing Across the Curriculum initiative, among other initiatives, which has focused on assignment planning on some campuses. Thirdly, checking in with students on both of these matters – to see how they have understood the one’s assignment and one’s response, when that is given - may at least alert teachers, and students, to times when misunderstandings occur, and also to the very likely possibility of misunderstanding.

More specifically, when considering the emotionally painful situation when a student writes something he or she feels great about and then receives a response

from a teacher which somehow ends up feeling like a punch in the stomach, and ends up with the student revising his or her feelings about the work, I thought about five possible ways of addressing this sticky issue which teachers and students may often see very differently. Teachers may feel that they are obliged to give feedback that they consider to be objectively correct, while students may feel dismissed or deflated upon receiving such feedback.

There seem to be five possible ways a reaction of student surprise could be eliminated, with some being more reasonable than others for educational settings. I will discuss each of the five after introducing them, because I think these apply to many of the troubling teacher-student interactions around written or spoken student work which were discussed in this dissertation. First, the student might change his or her expectations, and thus would not be surprised. Secondly, the student might change his or her product (i.e., present work which might elicit a different teacher response). Thirdly, the teacher might communicate his or her feedback in a different way. Fourthly, the teacher might change his or her standards of evaluating student work, and thus change the content of the feedback. Fifthly, the student and teacher might frame the interaction more explicitly, which might eliminate the surprise aspect.

The first possible solution, that the student might change his or her expectations relates to the idea that the student might feel less surprised about negative and undercutting teacher comments if he or she somehow changed his or her desires about what type of response were expected or even desired. If the student were to see the teacher criticism coming, then he or she would not feel a sense of

surprise, at least. Perhaps this could be accomplished through explicit orientations which warn students that everyone receives critical feedback and informs students that good writing does not come quickly or easily, and thus they will most likely receive some negative feedback.

A further part of this orientation could be on-going, in-class guidance about what constitutes good writing in a particular setting, or for a particular assignment, so that the student is more likely to be unsurprised if they do not get positive feedback if they find that they cannot or do not produce work which meets the standards that they clearly understand. The problem with this idea may be that teachers are constantly juggling expectations and standards with what students can actually produce.

Therefore, teachers often modulate their expectations based upon what they feel each student is capable of achieving within a semester's time, so it may be very difficult to make expectations explicit if teachers and students are in a situation where not all of the desired expectations a teacher may have can realistically be met by all students in the course. If there is any way for student and teachers to acknowledge this dilemma, that would perhaps at least clarify some of the mass confusion that seems to characterize some of the miscommunications between students and teachers around writing.

On the issue of the student not only changing his or her expectations about positive feedback, perhaps students could even change their desire for positive feedback. This possible remedy relates to the tradition in cognitive therapy, which Young et al.'s (2003) schema theory comes out of, and which Wachtel's (1993) theory of cyclical psychodynamics relates to as well. Wachtel cites the hypothesis-

testing theory of Weiss and Sampson (1986) which states that many people go through life, or troublesome areas of life, taking each new episode as the ultimate “test” of whether or not one’s “hypothesis” about the self (often a fear about the self) is actually true. Weiss and Sampson encourage people to instead integrate a wider range of evidence and interpretations of evidence, rather than to rely on each new life experience as the ultimate test. This approach might be helpful to a student who is feeling such heightened reactions like feeling taken aback by teacher response.

Beck, the father of cognitive therapy, and his followers might advise that a student interrogate his or her assumption that negative feedback is really a wholesale degradation of one’s ability, or to question his or her belief that the teacher is discouraging him or her from further pursuing writing based upon a single comment. A cognitive therapist might encourage a student to put instances of negative feedback into a greater context of all the feedback one has received, in which case the feedback might not seem so devastating. Further, if one is reflective on all the feedback one has received, one might not be surprised by either positive or negative responses in the future.

Other writers in the cognitive tradition (such as popularizers like Byron Katie who merges cognitive and Buddhist approaches into her own approach to self) recommend that everyone bring their own “love, appreciation, and approval” to life. In other words, Katie is recommending that we not seek approval from others, such as teachers, largely because that is setting us up for disappointment. Instead, she would advise students to not see the teacher’s disapproval as an adversarial attack, but rather would ask students to take the position of the teacher and consider ways in which the

teacher's comment might be true, or helpful, or offensive only if taken out of context, or perhaps a gift that can widen the student's knowledge about how their writing is received and how it can be improved. Katie further recommends the method of using a "turnaround" in which one reverses whatever one thinks about another to the self. In other words, a student who is thinking "My teacher hates my writing" might consider turn arounds such as "I hate my writing" or "My teacher doesn't hate my writing" or "My teacher likes my writing" and look for evidence of those statements being as true or truer than the original statement.

The second possible approach to reducing surprise is for the student to change his or her product so that it meets expectations and hopefully elicits a more positive response. It seems clear that students are trying to do so, at least according to their own reports. Perhaps more explicit instructions will guide students in really being able to do this, and to see their efforts making a difference in the responses they receive. It is clear to me that all the students I spoke to strongly wish to receive a positive response (and grades seemed to be beside the point, except for in extremely negative writing experiences) from teachers in writing situations, and from peers, in speaking situations, so my suggestion based on my research is that if teachers can find more and more focused ways to guide students to creating better products, students would be very likely to do so, because the desire for positive self response mirrored by positive teacher response is so very powerful. The students want to avoid the "taken aback" feeling, so perhaps that can be a hopeful motivator for teachers who are able to facilitate students in effectively applying effort to improve their written products.

The next possibility in reducing the feeling of surprise is for the teacher to couch their feedback in such a way that it does not become jarring or inadvertently take on a tone which makes the student feel foolish for ever having been committed to the work in the first place. In this realm, I would include teacher actions such as asking students how they have understood and reacted to the teacher's response, in order to check in with students; prefacing feedback not with generic positive comments but with specific instructions on how to read the feedback. For instance, a teacher might acknowledge to the student that his or her ideas are valid, but his or her grammar still needs work and that is why there are so many corrections in the paper).

The students I studied seem prone to sense, perhaps incorrectly, condescension from teachers and are very sensitive to that. If there is a way for teachers to be clear that corrections are not condescending, then I think they will be much more easily accepted. Teachers seem to walk a fine line. Many students appreciate tough teachers, but at the same time, many students (sometimes even the same students) dislike any feeling of condescension or any confusing communication (such as referring to terms or requirements that the student is not aware of, even if the teacher believes those things have been made clear) from teachers.

The next possible resolution for the surprise students experienced might be for teachers to revise their standards for student work. Indeed, many composition teachers have indeed found ways to earmark certain assignments as free from criticism at all, or free from criticism based on "formal" errors such as grammar mistakes. My research, which shows how profoundly difficult it is for students to maintain a positive connection to their work without safe spaces in which they

receive unconditional positive feedback for the good parts of their work, strongly supports such practices.

Finally, one method for resolving the feeling of surprise, particularly the negative feeling of being “taken aback”, might be for teachers and students to work together to frame the entire task of writing and receiving responses, and responding to rezones, as an explicit process. If students and teachers had a way to talk about this entire process – and the possibilities for misunderstanding that inevitably arise – perhaps the surprise might not be so surprising, and all the players in the interaction would be sensitized to a greater degree to the possibility for misunderstanding and would therefore communicate more carefully and perhaps take misunderstandings less personally.

Race, Gender and Response: Practical Implications

If in fact there are group differences in how response either feels – i.e., is perceived and valued – or is experienced – i.e., how often it is received, then there is an important issue for students, teachers, and institutions to at the very least become aware of. If African American and female students are often not feeling positive about responses they receive from teachers and peers, then teachers need to find ways to address both the perception and the reality by making sure to support all students’ speaking and writing. Students need to also be prepared, either by being aware of the situation and therefore not feeling alone or by learning how to manage the situation so that they will evoke more responses that will make them feel good or to otherwise find ways to address the situation from a student perspective. Institutions need to address the issue by first looking into it, and seeing if such a pattern may exist on

their campus, and if so, actively addressing the problem by providing formal opportunities for sensitivity training for teachers and various trainings for students – assertiveness training and sensitivity training both – as they learn to act as self-advocates, audiences, and allies for each other.

Creating a New Vocabulary: Practical Implications

The practical implications of naming different types of recognition are many. The sheer diversity of the ways that people end up feeling after engaging in speaking and writing – found just within this small sample of students – speaks to the fact that each student not only has different skills and talents, and most likely receives different responses for those reasons and many other reasons, including possibly bias, as discussed in the group differences section, but that each student makes meaning of the same responses in vastly different ways.

Some students will feel pressured by praise while others will feel crushed by harsh criticism. In fact, we can even see this dynamic take place within one student, as within the student who both recalled as his very best writing experience in college a time when the teacher called his poetry “urgent”, and yet found that same word of praise to be paralyzing as he went on to try to write more poems and found that they were all “mediocre” in his eyes and thus not living up to the praise that his earlier poem had received. Therefore, teachers and students need to be very aware and attentive of how others are processing their words. Teachers should, if possible, check in with students about how they are understanding the teacher’s feedback. Given that many teachers do take a great deal of time to give students feedback, it would be

worthwhile to spend a small amount of time checking in, via written or spoken responses, with students to see whether the teacher feedback is communicating the teacher's intention accurately. There is no reason for teachers to assume that students are perceiving their comments in the way that they intend them, as shown by many of my interviews which indicate that some terms or references teachers use are not meaningful to students.

Students might be given orientations or trainings that would help them to make the most of their imperfect teachers' feedback, and that would introduce them to the idea that teachers give feedback in a range of ways, all of which have to be managed and internalized in ways which the student finds helpful or at least tolerable.

Another implication of the creation of a new vocabulary of recognition is that it raises awareness that students experience a whole variety of psychosocial consequences of speaking and writing, as represented in the types of recognition and that relationship, tone, and emotional experience seem to mean much more to students than do grades, when students define their best and worst experiences. Very few students even mentioned grades, and grades were almost never the predominant factor in any of the narratives, with the exception of official responses being somewhat important in worst writing experience narratives (though the official responses in the worst writing experiences were often rejections to programs or failures on a system-wide writing test, rather than grades). Therefore, grades are certainly not the focus in terms of positive experiences, at least according to my interview data. Instead, students noted on-going relationships with teachers (having teachers for many classes or knowing that a teacher would understand their sense of

humor since they had spoken many times) or peers (small classes were mentioned as a factor which enhanced students' comfort levels with speaking in class) and of course audience responses to speaking and writing. Both peers and teachers were essential audiences, with peers being especially important for speaking situations. Perhaps peers as well as teachers might be trained in being more receptive listeners or readers or other students' work. Overall, identifying types of recognition can make us aware of the diverse and often emotionally intense ways that students experience speaking and writing.

Revisiting Recognition

This dissertation has explored the immediate social context of speaking and writing in college and the psychosocial consequences – called types of recognition - that the internalization of this context had for students. I had two goals for this project. The first goal was to analyze and describe the immediate social context of speaking and writing in college and thus show that these acts of academic expression are highly social and emotional events. I feel I fulfilled this aim in a complex, nuanced manner, and in doing that, identified interesting social qualities of speaking and writing experiences, and came up with a new set of terminology to shed light on the speaking and writing experience. I believe this dissertation has shown great support for the idea that speaking and writing in college cannot be considered without careful attention to the personal and social meanings students and their audiences bring to the events. I also believe that the narrative coding method I used of looking at sequences of events which come before (precursors) and after (responses) academic expression is a useful methodological tool.

However, it was more difficult to address the second goal of the dissertation, which was to show the ways that speaking and writing can be contrasted in terms of immediate social context. This issue was difficult to approach, and thus was more elusive. One of my hopes was to show that because speaking and writing are so profoundly different on a social level, differences in success in speaking or in writing could be attributed to social, relational factors and not to individual, cognitive explanations. That is, I wished to show that speaking and writing are so profoundly social – that their reception is as relevant as their creation – that I would be able to argue that speaking and writing need to be changed at the listening and reading stage as much as they need to be altered at the speaking and writing stage. However, it is difficult to address such a claim, particularly by way of interviews. Ultimately, I think I learned intimate things about the subjective experience of speaking and writing in college and how *both* are intensely personal, emotional, and audience-bound practices. I also think that I found highly compelling group differences between white and African American students' experiences of teacher response and male and female students' experiences of teacher and peer response. I think I may have learned less about the *contrasting* social natures between the speaking and writing, and I want to conclude by considering ways of potentially addressing the still unanswered question, for me, of how to best contrast the social contexts of speaking and writing.

In trying to argue that a sense of being known, or recognized, is indeed important to students, I relied on Bromberg's concept of recognition (as introduced in Chapter I, and elaborated on here). His use of the concept of recognition stresses both

the importance that being recognized can take on, and it also describes the negative affect that can emerge from a situation marked by disconnection within the self. In this way, his theory may be most useful as it is the disconnection of speaking from writing – based upon the great divide theory which suggests that only writing ability, and not speaking ability, can reveal and develop cognitive strengths– which may create problems for students as they engage in speaking and writing.

Bromberg (1998) has argued that recognition is such a powerful need for the self that even negative and burdensome aspects of the self crave recognition rather than the annihilation that being ignored can bring. Bromberg has further argued that aspects of the self, such as depressive states, can constitute “an internally coherent aspect of the self.” (Bromberg, 1998, p. 245). He continues: “It is not simply something one feels but who one is at least at certain times.” (Bromberg, 1998, p.245). He notes that any given state can completely take over the individual’s sense of self, and thus makes the argument that this aspect of the self can thus not be denied without denying the entire self at that moment.

This formulation of one aspect of the self taking over at a particular moment may give us insight into the fact that a student who is feeling incompetent at speaking or writing at a given moment, may feel completely incompetent, regardless of successes in the other mode, or at other moments. Bromberg summarizes the overwhelming power of a given aspect of the self at any given moment, for some people, in the following way. “There is, therefore, as much of a need to preserve self-meaning in this state of being as in any other, despite its painful, guilt-ridden, and often suicidal nature – to not allow any domain of one’s personal reality to be

destroyed as though it were meaningless simply because it is painful.” (Bromberg, 1998, p.245).

Writing for clinical practitioners, Bromberg writes that the resistance to losing any one self-state is greatest in a personality which is characterized by dissociation instead of conflict. This is because the desire to not lose a particular self state is greatest when there is the least simultaneous access to the self state across other self states. He says: the desire to preserve a negative self state is strongest “when there is least simultaneous access to alternative self-states with other potential perceptual realities and internal self-narratives.” (Bromberg, 1998, p.245). Therefore, he makes the argument that the various self states need to learn to talk to each other, before the “healer” can talk to the patient.

In the same way, it may be that students need to find some sense of integration across various experiences of speaking and writing, or across the two modes.

Bromberg illustrates his concept of the sort of complete split which occurs when parts of the self are not in contact with each other. He cites a patient who feels split and states the problem in the following words: “I’m like....Clark Kent and Superman, the two parts never get into the same room at the same time because they’re the same person” (Bromberg, 1998, p.248).

Because of experiences with trauma, Bromberg argues, most people have states which are experienced as not-me. “Before these ‘not-me’ states of mind can be taken as objects of self-reflection, they must first become ‘thinkable’ while becoming linguistically communicable through enactment” (Bromberg, 1998, p.252).

For the state of conflict (which requires more than one state present at one time) to exist, each state of consciousness has to come to a point of giving up the sense of fully encapsulated reality in and of itself. (Bromberg, 1998, p.252).

Bromberg describes the inability to do so as the inability for some individuals to keep one foot in the current reality and at the same time experience the past. (Bromberg, 1998, p.253). In psychoanalysis, one narrative is being told while another is being lived out. The narrative being told is the patient's life events, or life story, and the narrative being lived out is the relationship of the therapist and the client.

Perhaps this is the same in the classroom. Perhaps a discussion of the facts at hand – math or such – is going on at the same time that a student's internal academic self-concept is being constructed. Bromberg says that this space – the discussion of the past in the context of the present relationship – allows for the “deconcretizing” of the past. Opposing realities can be exposed this way – and different self-states can know each other. Access to a fuller range of self-states becomes possible. In this way you can play with possibilities and be neither one extreme nor another but rather capable of shifting between self states and competencies.

The question for further research on the topic of recognition in academic expression is whether students, too, feel distress when they feel that their abilities, or recognized abilities, are very different in speaking than in writing. In studying this question, I believe I would need to recruit students who do indeed feel an uneven sense of control over speaking and writing. After conducting the research in this dissertation, I came to see that for most students, speaking and writing tend to be thought of in somewhat similar ways. While one may be more related to peer

audiences and one may be more related to teacher audiences or self audiences, it seems that students tend to either feel that they are equally skilled at the two modes of expression, or to feel unconcerned if they are not skilled at one of the modes, particularly speaking, which is not usually graded as often as writing is.

Finding students who experience their speaking and writing abilities as very different and who feel that this matters to them, in terms of the recognition they receive, would be a first step to conducting research which might ultimately uncover ways to approach any student about the topic. That is, by interviewing students who feel that the divide between the recognition they receive for speaking versus writing is significant in their lives we may find out things that can then be related to other students who are not consciously or strongly focused on these issues. Populations which might experience these issues in dramatic terms may be: introverted students (for whom speaking may be difficult); students attending colleges where speaking in class is common, demanded, or competitive; students who excel at school but have writing issues; or ESL students who feel more comfortable with either formal, written English or informal, spoken English.

Studying some or all of these groups of students might shed light on the issue of whether receiving recognition in both speaking and writing is important to students. If that is the case, then integrating both of these modes into one's academic self concept will be an essential goal.

Based on this dissertation's findings, it is clear that speaking and writing *each* are practices which are experienced far beyond the cognitive realm. These experiences, as displayed in the student interviews, are opportunities to be known in

the social context and are also potentially times when a student can feel misunderstood or received in other unexpected ways. This dissertation has also demonstrated that, for this sample of students, race, gender and college type all had an impact on the types of responses and recognition that a student is likely to experience. Addressing the immediate social context, by staying aware of precursors and responses, and the larger social context, as embodied in group differences and institutional differences, will be essential, and complementary to cognitive approaches, in future efforts to improve the teaching and learning of college academic expression.

Appendices

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Related Materials

Appendix B: Coding Manual for Precursors and Responses Coding

NOTE: A given speaking turn can be coded with two or more unique codes, if appropriate.
This decision was applied uniformly.

I. Precursors (Past experiences/utterances/assignments which lead to the present speaking or writing)

1. Past (or on going) Relationship to Teacher, enabling or disabling, to any extent, the student's speaking or writing process – (Def.) Previous responses or ongoing relationship student has to teacher makes the process of speaking or writing easier or harder for student.

(Ex.) Well, I had this professor, he's my mentor now, Dr. -----, and I had him for several classes in the school and he was the one who really brought it out of us, me anyway, first of all the field of marketing is a lot of talking, we have to do a lot of presentations and writing, and writing, and writing, and I think I just got better speaking in class from marketing classes, and that particular professor, Dr. -----.

(Ex.) A class where I enjoy the teacher and the teacher seems to reciprocate and I like the context... [is a class where I tend to have my best speaking experiences].

(Ex.) Usually it goes hand in hand, with papers like that, that I know the professors well, so I think that they'll understand, like, you've spoken to me before, I think what you know what my personality is like, so you know, this is the way that I talk, so I write the way that I speak, so it's that makes it a lot easier and ties it together for me.

(Ex.) There was this speech teacher there, that before I even took it, I heard, she's a witch, she's awful, she fails everyone.

2. Past or Ongoing Relationship to Peers, enabling or disabling, to any extent, the student's speaking or writing process. – (Def.) Previous responses or ongoing relationship student has to peers makes the process of speaking or writing easier or harder for student.

(Ex.) Well, it was a small class and it was already toward the end of the semester, so we all knew each other [and that made it comfortable]

(Ex.) But this class was kind of special because the class was very small

(Ex.) Felt bullied, violated, pressured.

(Ex.) Probably a class where I feel like I'm flashing back to high school, and like it's usually when the students become disorderly, it makes speaking up a lot harder, especially because there are some classes are actually ridiculing things that you say, it's hard to participate in class.

3. Conceptualization of Self in the Speaking or Writing Process – (Def.)

Student's positive or negative reaction to the writing or speaking situation is based on how the student conceptualizes his or her self in the writing or speaking process.

Mastery Conceptualization of Self in Speaking or Writing Process (Def.) Student reaction to speaking or writing is based on an incremental conception of the speaking or writing self, which can change based upon effort, improvement, mastery, practice, preparation, etc.

(Ex.) In a situation like that, I feel confident. Because I went out and I found what this is about And I'm able to present it, and I have to write what I found out and it's always easier when you're prepared, for me anyway.

(Ex.) Because I researched and I had really good facts

(Ex.) [Did failing that test upset you?] Not really, because before I took that test I didn't -- I wasn't in school for like a couple of months. So I knew I was -- I knew I didn't know a lot of things that -- I didn't remember a lot of things.

Ability Conceptualization of Self in Speaking or Writing Process - (Def.) Student reaction to speaking or writing is based on an entity, or fixed, conception of the speaking or writing self, which tends to be based on the idea of fixed ability, which emphasizes innate ability ("I'm just good at it") or ability without difficulty ("I was proud because I wrote this so quickly and it still came out great.").

(Ex.) I actually wrote it the night before [and it was my best writing experience]. [This student is emphasizing that she did a good job despite not having much time to put into the paper, which I interpreted as emphasizing ability.]

4. **Genre/ Assignment – (Def.)** Student indicates that his or her positive or negative feelings about him or herself in the writing or speaking process is impacted by the genre (type) of the speaking or writing, which I define as type, task, assignment, format or other shaping or the speaking or writing experience.

(Ex.) I incorporated *video*, I spoke about Peru and I had actually taken a trip out there.

(Ex.) Any course that was allowing me to *write about my past experience*, something real to me.

(Ex.) That um we had to write *journal entries* about what we did and the teacher would give us certain topics to write about or, we could write whatever we want. And I like writing random things, like I said, and I wrote everything, you know, every genre, every type, every subject, and so.

(Ex.) Yeah, having to *write about like, Charles Dickens*, I don't know

(Ex.) [What is your worst experience with writing in college?] In college, so far, *in-class essays and such rigid topics* because if I know I have to look it up and stuff and it's all about one thing, sometimes I might not be able to stick to it, I might go off on tangents. Or I might not have enough facts on it, or I might not be able to expand on it. That's usually the problem – that I can't expand on it.

II. Responses to Written or Spoken Products/Acts:

1. Teacher: (Def.)– Any response by a teacher to the student's speaking or writing.

(Ex.) But yeah, his reaction was very positive, he was, aside from the A itself, he really was impressed with the choice of topic, and the quality of the writing that I did and he expressed that to me and that was good

(Ex.) When I had written a poem and my teacher had complimented me and it's something, like – you're writing something that sounds really passionate and it sounds urgent

(Ex.) The teacher gave me good responses. He did. He liked my work.

(Ex.) Probably a teacher that I had, every paper that I wrote she would shoot it down drastically, in bold flames, and um, it really, she did it in a way...

2. Peer or Other: (Def.) – Any response by a peer or, rarely, another person (aside from teacher) to the student's speaking or writing.

(Ex) One thing I did get good feedback about was a play class and I wrote a play and everybody loved it, everybody was laughing all the way through, they laughed at the right points

(Ex.) Excellent. I got a standing ovation on that. So that was cool.

(Ex.) I felt burned, misunderstood. Get off my art!

(Ex.) Yeah. I think it mostly was about *other people in the class*. I looked a lot different back then. I was a lot heavier and I was a lot -- I was not as confident in myself. I mean you could put me in front of a book and I could do the work, but I just wanted to blend into the background. I didn't want no one to see me, no one to talk to me. And to be able to -- to have to -- to be forced to stand up like that --

(Ex.) Worst? Was when I went to say something, but I had misheard the question so I said something incorrectly and *everybody got offended*

3. Official Recognition: (Def.) Any reaction to a student's speaking or writing which has an official, institutional character, such as grades, passing campus wide tests, failing campus wide tests, acceptance of application, rejection of application, publication, other.

(Ex) I got 100% on the project, from the teacher too

(Ex.) [My worst writing experience was] the entrance exam, because [if] I would have passed that I wouldn't have to take remedial English

(Ex.) Writing is the worst. Right now I'm taking a writing class because I haven't passed the writing test and I've took it three times. It's just like I'll freeze up --

4. Self Response– (Def.) Student’s own response, i.e., opinion of or reaction to, his or her speaking or writing.

Positive or negative

(Ex.)The feedback wasn’t all that good but *I* liked it a lot.

(Ex)I don’t feel like I did it successfully, as well as *I* wanted.

(Ex.)Because it’s something *I* knew at heart, and I was able to express it very well

(Ex.)I like to let *my own personality* shine through and um, anytime I had a class where I was able to do , especially in any important paper and still be able to give my knowledge and my personality in the same paper, usually *makes me pretty happy*.

(Ex.)*I* felt really strongly about what I was writing, so...[it was one of the best experiences]

(Ex.)[My best speaking experience was when] I wrote a speech about a book that I read. All right? And it just came close to the heart because the book was sort of about racism in America. And *I feel very strongly about that. And it was just good to express myself.*

5. Spoken or Written Text as Response – (Def.)– Student sees self as a writer or speaker reflected (or distorted) in the written or spoken product he or she has produced.

(Ex.)It’s just like, the paper’s staring at me, it’s daring me to write something and I can’t seem to get out what it is, you know, *the thoughts in my head seem so eloquent, like oh yeah, that’s perfect, and it hits the paper and it’s like, no, that’s not what I said at all!*

Appendix C: Average Distribution of Precursors and Responses Across All Narratives and All Groups

Group and Best/Worst Speaking/Writing Experience Narratives	Teacher Response	Peer Response	Official Response	Self Response	Reflected in Text	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
All - Best Speaking	13	24	2	16	2	7	5	20	11	100
All - Worst Speaking	13	36	4	11	4	9	0	15	8	100
All - Best Writing	15	10	10	37	2	7	0	9	8	98
All - Worst Writing	12	6	14	14	5	10	0	14	25	100
Females - Best Speaking	9	20	4	16	1	10	6	22	12	100
Males - Best Speaking	20	30	0	17	2	3	3	16	9	100
Females - Worst Speaking	17	31	7	4	4	14	0	11	11	99
Males - Worst Speaking	7	43	0	22	4	0	0	20	4	100
Female - Best Writing	13	9	11	34	4	8	0	15	6	100
Male - Best Writing	13	8	31	21	2	2	1	6	13	97
Female - Worst Writing	18	2	15	10	6	17	0	10	21	99
Male - Worst	3	10	13	20	3	0	0	20	30	99

Group and Best/Worst Speaking/Writing Experience Narratives	Teacher Response	Peer Response	Official Response	Self Response	Reflected in Text	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
Writing										
Comm Coll - Best Speaking	15	22	2	19	3	7	4	14	13	99
Four Yr - Best Speaking	11	25	2	13	0	7	6	28	7	99
Comm Coll - Worst Speaking	10	28	8	17	7	8	0	16	6	100
Four Yr - Worst Speaking	18	45	0	3	0	10	0	13	10	99
Comm Coll - Best Writing	9	9	14	43	3	7	0	5	9	99
Four Yr - Best Writing	25	11	3	30	0	6	0	17	7	99
Comm Coll - Worst Writing	9	0	17	17	4	12	0	14	27	100
Four Yr - Worst Writing	18	15	10	10	6	6	0	14	22	101
Writing Preferers - Best Speaking	16	23	3	14	1	8	3	14	17	99
Speaking Preferers - Best Speaking	14	25	0	22	2	5	9	17	6	100
Writing Preferers - Worst Speaking	5	33	9	13	2	9	0	21	8	100
Speaking Preferers - Worst Speaking	17	33	0	13	7	11	0	13	6	100
Writing Preferers - Best	12	11	12	44	0	6	0	12	3	100

Group and Best/Worst Speaking/Writing Experience Narratives	Teacher Response	Peer Response	Official Response	Self Response	Reflected in Text	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
Writing										
Speaking Prefers - Best Writing	17	9	9	34	5	8	0	7	12	101
Writing Prefers - Worst Writing	19	10	14	8	0	15	0	16	18	100
Speaking Prefers - Worst Writing	5	0	13	20	12	3	0	10	37	100
White - Best Speaking	25	26	3	14	0	6	5	18	3	100
African American - Best Speaking	13	23	2	21	4	7	0	11	19	100
Latino - Best Speaking	3	19	3	13	0	11	10	34	8	101
White - Worst Speaking	23	25	0	10	4	0	0	25	13	100
African American - Worst Speaking	6	43	11	12	6	11	0	6	4	99
Latino - Worst Speaking	7	47	0	7	0	20	0	10	10	101
White - Best Writing	18	13	6	60	0	0	0	4	0	101
African American - Best Writing	7	14	12	30	2	9	0	15	10	99
Latino - Best Writing	24	0	13	36	4	10	0	4	10	101
White- Worst	6	22	17	6	0	0	0	22	28	101

Group and Best/Worst Speaking/Writing Experience Narratives	Teacher Response	Peer Response	Official Response	Self Response	Reflected in Text	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
Writing										
African American - Worst Writing	24	0	11	25	8	14	0	8	11	101
Latino - Worst Writing	0	0	14	6	6	14	0	14	47	101

Appendix D: Raw data for all subjects – Precursors and Responses Coding

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment
25	speak	best	F	AA	25	0	0	0	0	25	0	25	25
4	speak	best	F	W	0	25	25	25	0	0	0	25	0
5	speak	best	F	AA	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
7	speak	best	F	AA	33	0	0	33	0	33	0	0	0
9	speak	best	F	W	16	16	0	16	0	16	16	16	0
10	speak	best	F	L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
13	speak	best	F	W	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	20	20
18	speak	best	F	L	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
19	speak	best	F	L	0	33	0	0	0	33.3	0	33	0
22	speak	best	F	AA	33	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
23	speak	best	F	L	20	20	0	20	0	20	0	0	20
26	speak	best	F	AA	33	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
27	speak	best	F	AA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50
28	speak	best	F	L	0	0	20	20	0	20	20	20	0
29	speak	best	F	AA	0	20	20	0	20	20	0	0	20
30	speak	best	F	L	0	0	0	50	0	0	50	0	0
16	speak	best	F	AA	0	33	0	33	0	0	0	33	0
2	speak	best	M	W	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	speak	best	M	W	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	speak	best	M	W	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
8	speak	best	M	L	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	33	33
14	speak	best	M	dk	0	33	0	0	0	0	33	33	0
15	speak	best	M	W	33	0	0	0	0	33	0	33	0
17	speak	best	M	W	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
20	speak	best	M	AA	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
21	speak	best	M	AA	0	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
24	speak	best	M	AA	33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
25	speak	best	M	AA	0	25	0	25	25	0	0	25	0

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment
1	speak	worst	F	AA	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	speak	worst	F	W	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	speak	worst	F	AA	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
7	speak	worst	F	AA	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	speak	worst	F	W	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
10	speak	worst	F	L	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	speak	worst	F	W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50
16	speak	worst	F	AA	33	0	0	0	33	0	0	33	0
18	speak	worst	F	L	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
19	speak	worst	F	L	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
23	speak	worst	F	L	33	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	0
27	speak	worst	F	AA	25	0	0	25	25	0	0	25	0
29	speak	worst	F	AA	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	speak	worst	F	L	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
2	speak	worst	M	W	33.3	0	0	33.3	33.3	0	0	0	0
3	speak	worst	M	W	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	speak	worst	M	W	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
14	speak	worst	M		33	0	0	33	0	0	0	33	0
15	speak	worst	M	W	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
17	speak	worst	M	W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
20	speak	worst	M	AA	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
24	speak	worst	M	AA	0	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
25	speak	worst	M	AA	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
5	write	best	F	AA	25	25	25	25	0	0	0	0	0
7	write	best	F	AA	25	0	0	25	0	25	0	25	0
9	write	best	F	W	25	25	0	25	0	0	0	25	0
10	write	best	F	L	33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
16	write	best	F	AA	0	25	25	0	25	0	0	0	25
18	write	best	F	L	25	0	0	25	0	0	0	25	25
22	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
23	write	best	F	L	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
26	write	best	F	AA	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment
27	write	best	F	AA	0	0	0	33	0	33	0	33	0
28	write	best	F	L	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	0	0
29	write	best	F	AA	0	0	33	33	0	33	0	0	0
30	write	best	F	L	0	0	25	25	25	25	0	0	0
2	write	best	M	W	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
3	write	best	M	W	0	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
6	write	best	M	W	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
8	write	best	M	L	33	0	0	33	0	33	0	0	0
14	write	best	M		33	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
15	write	best	M	W	33	0	33	33	0	0	0	0	0
17	write	best	M	W	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
20	write	best	M	AA	20	20	20	20	0	0	0	0	20
21	write	best	M	AA	0	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	33
24	write	best	M	AA	16	16	16	16	0	16	0	0	16
25	write	best	M	AA	0	0	25	25	0	0	0	25	25
1	write	worst	F	AA	25	0	25	25	0	0	0	25	0
5	write	worst	F	AA	50	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0
7	write	worst	F	AA	50	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0
9	write	worst	F	W	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	33	33
10	write	worst	F	L	0	0	33	33	0	0	0	33	0
13	write	worst	F	W	33	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
16	write	worst	F	AA	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	write	worst	F	L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
23	write	worst	F	L	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	50	0
26	write	worst	F	AA	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
26	write	worst	F	AA	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
28	write	worst	F	L	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	50
29	write	worst	F	AA	50	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
30	write	worst	F	L	0	0	0	0	33	33	0	0	33
2	write	worst	M	W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
3	write	worst	M	W	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	write	worst	M	L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
14	write	worst	M		0	0	33	0	0	0	0	33	33

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teach	Rel to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment
15	write	worst	M	W	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	write	worst	M	W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
20	write	worst	M	AA	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	33	33
21	write	worst	M	AA	0	0	0	33	33	0	0	0	33
24	write	worst	M	AA	33.3	0	0	33	0	0	0	33	0
25	write	worst	M	AA	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix E: New York News Sources in Lexis Nexis

(Source for “Mainstream” Archival Data)

Newspaper Name	Dates Available
<u>The Associated Press State and Local Wire</u>	August 4, 1998 through current
<u>The Buffalo News</u>	November 1, 1992 through current
<u>Columbia Journalism Review</u>	January/February 1991 through current
<u>Crain’s New York Business</u>	January 6, 1986 through current
<u>Daily News (New York)</u>	March 1, 1995 through current
<u>The Daily Record of Rochester</u>	February 26, 2001 through current
<u>Long Island Business News</u>	March 2, 2001 through current
<u>New York Observer</u>	January 11, 1999 through current
<u>The New York Post</u>	Dec 5, 1997 through current
<u>New York Sun</u>	June 17, 2003 through current
<u>The New York Times</u>	June 1, 1980 through current for full text; January 1, 1969 – May 31, 1980 for abstracts
<u>The New Yorker</u>	December 27, 1999 through current
<u>Newsday (New York)</u>	Previous six months – current
<u>The Post-Standard (Syracuse, NY)</u>	December 2, 1986 through current
<u>Times Union</u>	January 1, 1994 through current
<u>Village Voice</u>	February 21, 1997 through current

Appendix F: Archives Available from *The Messenger*

Issues Available in Archives
November-December 2000
October 2000
May 2000
March 2000
February 2000
December 1999
November 1999
Summer 1999
February 1999
November 1998
September/October 1998
April 27-May 11, 1998
February 9, 1998

Appendix G: Types of Recognition Found in Best Speaking Experience Narratives

Enabled (n=2) (7.1%)
ExpecMet (n=1) (3.5%)
Opposed (n=1) 3.5%
Prep (n=3) 10.7%
Recip (n=7) (25%)
Sup, Pos (n=4) (14.3%)
Underst (n=10) (35.7%)

Appendix H: Types of Recognition Found in Best Writing Experience
Narratives

(N=25 narratives)

Enabled (3) (12%)
ExpecMet (1) (4%)
Intrin (9) (36%)
None (1) (4%)
Prep (2) (8%)
Pressured (1) (4%)
Recip (3) (12%)
Sup, Pos (4) (16%)
Underst (1) (4%)

Appendix I: Types of Recognition Found in Worst Speaking Experience
Narratives

(N=23 narratives)

Confused (1) (4.3%)
Limited (7) (30.4%)
Misund (3) (13%)
None (1) (4.3%)
Opposed (4) (17.4%)
Other (1) (4.3%)
Prep (1) (4.3%)
Pressured (1) (4.3%)
Sup, Neg (4) (17.4%)

Appendix J: Types of Recognition Found in Worst Writing Experience
Narratives

(N=24 narratives)

Confused (2) (8.7%)
Limited (6) (25%)
Misund (2) (8.7%)
Opposed (1) (4.4%)
Stifled (8) (33.3%)
Sup, Neg (5) (20.8%)

Appendix K: Distribution of Precursors and Responses are Associated with Types of Recognition

RecogType	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Rel to Teacher	Rel to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment
Confused	8.3	0	0	19.3	19.3	16.7	0	8.3	27.7
Enabled by Genre	14.6	13	9	14.6	5	4	0	10	29.6
Expec Met	11.45	6.5	4.5	16.95	12.15	10.35	0	9.15	28.65
Intrinsic	14.8	11.1	12	40.7	2.8	6.4	0	5.6	6.4
Limited	19.8	33.3	4.5	8.3	3.8	0	0	16	14.1
Misund	0	46.6	0	6.6	6.6	6.6	0	10	23.2
Opposed	30.5	38.8	0	5.5	0	25	0	0	0
Prepared	4.2	5.5	0	11	0	9.7	0	56.8	12.5
Pressured	41.7	0	0	41.7	16.7	0	0	0	0
Recip	19	12.4	3.3	19.9	2.5	15.7	8.3	14.9	3.3
Stifled	6.3	0	22.9	8.3	0	0	0	18.6	43.6
Sup, Neg	18.7	6.3	12.5	33.3	4.1	12.5	0	12.4	0
Sup Pos	9.3	8.6	13.3	34.6	2.5	7	2.5	5.6	15.9
Understood	9	37.3	2.3	22.2	0	1.5	3.3	13.1	10.8

Appendix L: Types of Recognition Sorted by College Type (CC vs. 4 year)

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
1	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
4	speak	worst	F	W	4yr		Belittled
6	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
7	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
7	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
8	write	worst	M	L	4yr	Spref	Belittled
9	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
10	speak	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
10	write	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
13	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
6	write	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
3	write	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Enhanced
6	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Enhanced
14	write	best	M		4yr	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
9	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
14	write	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
3	write	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Misunderstood
1	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
3	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed

29	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
21	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Confused by the Interaction
27	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
28	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
2	speak	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
16	write	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
20	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
23	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
27	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
2	write	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
15	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
18	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
20	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
23	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
26	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
18	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
19	speak	worst	F	L	CC		Misunderstood
24	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
30	write	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Misunderstood
17	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	None
22	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	None
2	speak	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Opposed
23	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Opposed
29	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Other
15	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
15	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
19	speak	best	F	L	CC		Reciprocated
22	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
25	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
30	speak	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
16	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
27	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process

2	write	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
23	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
25	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
26	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
29	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
30	write	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
16	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
16	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
20	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
24	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
25	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
29	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback

30	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	
27	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
17	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Understood
18	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Understood

20	Speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
21	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
26	Speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Understood

Appendix M: Types of Recognition Sorted by Gender

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
1	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
4	speak	worst	F	W	4yr		Belittled
7	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
7	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
9	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
10	speak	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
10	write	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
13	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
18	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
29	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
27	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
28	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
16	write	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
23	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
27	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
9	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
18	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
23	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
26	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
18	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
19	speak	worst	F	L	CC		Misunderstood
30	write	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Misunderstood
22	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	None
1	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
23	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Opposed
29	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Other
7	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
7	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
19	speak	best	F	L	CC		Reciprocated
22	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
30	speak	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
1	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
1	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
10	speak	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged based on Process
13	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
27	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
5	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
9	write	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
10	write	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged Based On Product
23	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
26	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
29	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
30	write	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
16	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
16	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
29	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
30	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
27	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
4	speak	best	F	W	4yr		Understood
5	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Understood

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
9	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Understood
13	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
18	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Understood
26	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Understood
16	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
6	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
8	write	worst	M	L	4yr	Spref	Belittled
15	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
17	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
25	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Belittled
17	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
21	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Blown Away
24	write	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
24	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
21	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Confused by the Interaction
6	write	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
2	speak	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
3	write	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Enhanced
6	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Enhanced
14	write	best	M		4yr	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
20	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
14	write	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
2	write	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
15	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
20	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
3	write	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Misunderstood
24	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
17	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	None
3	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
2	speak	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Opposed
8	write	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
14	speak	best	M		4yr	Spref	Reciprocated

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
15	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
15	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
25	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
2	write	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
25	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
14	speak	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Taken Aback
20	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
24	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
25	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
3	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
8	speak	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Understood
17	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Understood
20	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
21	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood

Appendix N: Types of Recognition Sorted by Race Demographics

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
1	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
7	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
7	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
25	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Belittled
29	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
21	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Blown Away
24	write	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
24	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
27	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
21	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Confused by the Interaction
16	write	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
27	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
20	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
26	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
20	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
24	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
22	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	None
1	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
29	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Other
7	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
7	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
22	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
25	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
1	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
1	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
27	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
16	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
5	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
26	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
29	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
25	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
16	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
16	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
29	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
27	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
20	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
24	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
25	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
5	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Understood
26	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Understood
20	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
21	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
10	speak	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
10	write	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
8	write	worst	M	L	4yr	Spref	Belittled
18	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
23	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
18	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
23	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
18	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
19	speak	worst	F	L	CC		Misunderstood
30	write	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Misunderstood
23	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Opposed
19	speak	best	F	L	CC		Reciprocated
30	speak	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
8	write	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
10	speak	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged based on Process
10	write	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged Based On Product
23	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
30	write	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
30	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
18	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Understood
8	speak	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Understood
4	speak	worst	F	W	4yr		Belittled
9	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
13	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
6	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
15	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
17	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
17	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
6	write	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
2	speak	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
3	write	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Enhanced
6	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Enhanced
9	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
2	write	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
15	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
3	write	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Misunderstood
17	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	None
3	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
2	speak	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Opposed
15	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
15	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
13	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
9	write	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
2	write	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
4	speak	best	F	W	4yr		Understood
9	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Understood
13	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
3	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
17	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Understood
14	write	best	M		4yr	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
14	write	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
14	speak	best	M		4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
14	speak	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Taken Aback

Appendix O: Types of Recognition Sorted by Speaking/Writing Preference

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
7	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
7	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Belittled
25	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Belittled
8	write	worst	M	L	4yr	Spref	Belittled
9	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
6	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Spref	Belittled
21	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Blown Away
21	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Confused by the Interaction
6	write	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
2	speak	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Disoriented by Praise
6	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Spref	Enhanced
16	write	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
20	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
14	write	best	M		4yr	Spref	Facilitated by Assignment
20	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
9	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
2	write	worst	M	W	cc	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
14	write	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Impeded by Assignment
30	write	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Misunderstood
2	speak	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Opposed
7	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
7	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
25	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
30	speak	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Reciprocated
8	write	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Reciprocated
14	speak	best	M		4yr	Spref	Reciprocated

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
16	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
25	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
30	write	best	F	L	CC	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
9	write	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
2	write	best	M	W	cc	Spref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
16	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
16	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
20	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
25	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
30	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Spref	Taken Aback
14	speak	worst	M		4yr	Spref	Taken Aback
20	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
21	write	best	M	AA	CC	Spref	Understood
8	speak	best	M	L	4yr	Spref	Understood
9	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Spref	Understood
1	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
13	write	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Belittled
15	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
17	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Belittled
29	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
24	write	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
24	speak	best	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
18	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
28	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
17	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Blown Away
27	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction
28	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Confused by the Interaction

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
3	write	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Enhanced
27	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
23	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Facilitated by Assignment
26	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
18	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
23	write	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
15	write	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	Impeded by Assignment
24	speak	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
18	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Misunderstood
3	write	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Misunderstood
22	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	None
17	speak	worst	M	W	CC	Wpref	None
1	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	speak	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
5	write	worst	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
23	speak	worst	F	L	CC	Wpref	Opposed
3	speak	worst	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Opposed
29	speak	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Other
22	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
15	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
15	write	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Reciprocated
1	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
1	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
27	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
13	speak	worst	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged based on Process
5	write	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
26	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product

Subj #	spk or wrt	bst or wrst	Gender	Race	CC or 4yr	Pref.	RecogType
29	write	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
23	write	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Self Acknowledged Based On Product
29	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
27	write	worst	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
24	write	worst	M	AA	CC	Wpref	Taken Aback
5	speak	best	F	AA	4yr	Wpref	Understood
26	speak	best	F	AA	CC	Wpref	Understood
18	speak	best	F	L	CC	Wpref	Understood
13	speak	best	F	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
3	speak	best	M	W	4yr	Wpref	Understood
17	speak	best	M	W	CC	Wpref	Understood
10	speak	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
10	write	worst	F	L	4yr		Belittled
4	speak	worst	F	W	4yr		Belittled
19	speak	worst	F	L	CC		Misunderstood
19	speak	best	F	L	CC		Reciprocated
10	speak	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged based on Process
10	write	best	F	L	4yr		Self Acknowledged Based On Product
4	speak	best	F	W	4yr		Understood

Appendix P: Comparing Old Coding Scheme and New Coding Scheme

(Old Scheme=Coding by Turns; New Scheme=Coding by Narrative)

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
OLDspea kbest	13.2	23	1.7	17	1.1	6	5	23.3	10.2	100.5
NewSPE AKBEST	13	24	2	16	2	7	5	20	11	100
OLDspea kworst	16.3	38.7	4.3	10	3.8	8.7	0	12	6.2	100
NEWSPE AKWOR ST	13	36	4	11	4	9	0	15	8	100
OLDwrite bet	14.1	8.3	8.3	45.9	1.7	5.7	0	7.9	7.6	99.5
NEWWRI TEBEST	14.7	10	10	37	2	7	0	9	8	97.7
OLDwrite worst	9.9	6.9	15.8	12.6	4.4	7.9	0	16.3	26.1	99.9
NEWWRI TEWORS T	12	6	14	14	5	10	0	14	25	100
OLDspea kbestfem ale	10.6	18.4	2.7	15.2	0.6	8.7	7.1	25.9	11.5	100.7
NEWSPE AKBEST FEMALE	9	20	4	16	1	10	6	22	12	100
OLDspea kbestmal e	17.3	30.1	0	19.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	19.2	8.3	99.8
NEWSPE	20	30	0	17	2	3	3	16	9	100

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
AKBEST MALE										
OLDspea kworstfe male	20.1	34.5	7.1	3	3.8	14.3	0	8.8	8.3	99.9
NEWSPE AKWOR STFEMA LE	17	31	7	4	4	14	0	11	11	99
OLDspea kworstma le	10.4	45.2	0	20.9	3.7	0	0	17	2.8	100
NEWSPE AKWOR STMALE	7	43	0	22	4	0	0	20	4	100
OLDwrite bestfemal e	10.1	6.7	10.1	42.9	3	7	0	13	6.2	99
NEWWRI TEBEST FEMALE	13	9	11	34	4	8	0	15	6	100
OLDwrite bestmale	19.2	10.2	6	49.7	0	4.1	0	1.3	9.3	99.8
NEWnew WRITEB ESTMAL E	13	8	31	21	2	2	1	6	13	97
OLDwrite wrostfem ale	14.7	4.8	17.1	9.7	5.7	13.5	0	12.5	21.9	99.9
NEWWRI TEWORS TFEMAL	18	2	15	10	6	17	0	10	21	99

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
E										
OLDwrite worstmale	3.3	10	14	16.7	2.5	0	0	21.5	32	100
NEWWRITEWORSTMAL	3	10	13	20	3	0	0	20	30	99
OLDspeakbestcc	14.6	20.9	1.6	19.7	1.8	6.6	5.4	17.3	12.1	100
NEWSPEAKBESTCC	15	22	2	19	3	7	4	14	13	99
OLDspeakbest4yr	11.2	26.3	1.8	12.6	0	5	4.5	32.5	7.4	101.3
NEWSPEAKBEST4YR	11	25	2	13	0	7	6	28	7	99
OLDspeakworstcc	11.4	32.6	7.7	16.1	6.7	7.7	0	13.3	4.5	100
NEWSPEAKWORSTCC	10	28	8	17	7	8	0	16	6	100
OLDspeakworst4yr	22.7	46.7	0	2	0	10	0	10.3	8.3	100
NEWnewSPEAKWORST4YR	18	45	0	3	0	10	0	13	10	99
OLDwritebestcc	7.8	6	12.5	53.5	2.6	5.6	0	4.3	7.7	100
NEWnewWRITEBESTCC	9	9	14	43	3	7	0	5	9	99

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
OLDwrite best4yr	25.2	12.3	0.9	32.4	0	6	0	14.2	7.3	98.3
NEWWRI TEBEST 4YR	25	11	3	30	0	6	0	17	7	99
OLDwrite worstcc	4.4	0	16.7	16.7	5.7	10.2	0	15	31.3	100
NEWWRI TEWORS TCC	9	0	17	17	4	12	0	14	27	100
OLDwrite worst4yr	19.1	18.5	14.4	5.8	2.2	4	0	18.3	17.4	99.7
newWRIT EWORST 4YR	18	15	10	10	6	6	0	14	22	101
WPrefBestSpeak	13.3	25.5	1.9	15.5	0.7	7.7	2.4	18.2	15.7	100.9
newWRE FBESTS PEAK	16	23	3	14	1	8	3	14	17	99
SPrefBestSpeak	16.7	21	0	21.5	1.8	2.4	9.8	20.6	6.1	99.9
newSPRE FBEST SPEAK	14	25	0	22	2	5	9	17	6	100
oldWPref WorstSpeak	5.3	37.9	9.1	10.6	2.3	9.1	0	18.9	6.8	100
newWPRE FWORS TSPEAK	5	33	9	13	2	9	0	21	8	100
oldSPref WorstSpe	24.1	34.1	0	12.6	6.9	11.1	0	7.5	3.7	100

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
ak										
newSPR EFWORS TSPEAK	17	33	0	13	7	11	0	13	6	100
oldWPref BestWrite	9.4	10.8	9.8	49.1	0	5.6	0	11.9	3.4	100
newWPR EFBEST SPEAK	12	11	12	44	0	6	0	12	3	100
oldSprefB estWrite	17.9	6	7.3	43.4	3.8	6.4	0	3.8	10.2	98.8
newSPR EFBEST WRITE	17	9	9	34	5	8	0	7	12	101
oldWPref WorstWrite	12.2	12.8	15.4	8.6	0	13	0	17.3	20.5	99.8
newWPR EFWORS TWRITE	19	10	14	8	0	15	0	16	18	100
oldSPref WorstWrite	8	0	14	17	10.5	2	0	12.5	36	100
newSPR EFWORS TWRITE	5	0	13	20	12	3	0	10	37	100
<i>oldwhiteb estspeak</i>	22.2	32.6	2.5	13.4	0	4.1	3.6	19.5	2.1	100
<i>newWHIT EBESTS PEAK</i>	25	26	3	14	0	6	5	18	3	100
<i>oldNonwt estspeak</i>	10.2	19.2	1.4	19.3	1.6	7.1	4.8	23	14.2	100.8

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
<i>newAFA MBESTS PEAK</i>	13	23	2	21	4	7	0	11	19	100
<i>newLATB ESTSPEAK</i>	3	19	3	13	0	11	10	34	8	101
<i>oldwhiteworstspeak</i>	25	30.2	0	7.3	4.2	0	0	22.9	10.4	100
<i>newWHIT EWORST SPEAK</i>	23	25	0	10	4	0	0	25	13	100
<i>newNonwtworstspeak</i>	8.2	46.3	7.1	10.8	3.8	14.3	0	5.2	4.2	99.9
<i>newAFA MWORST SPEAK</i>	6	43	11	12	6	11	0	6	4	99
<i>newLAT WORST SPEAK</i>	7	47	0	7	0	20	0	10	10	101
<i>whitebest write</i>	22.7	14.4	2.1	57.2	0	0	0	1.9	0	98.3
<i>newWHIT EBESTWRITE</i>	18	13	6	60	0	0	0	4	0	101
<i>Nwbestwrite</i>	10.2	6.7	10.9	42.9	2.3	8	0	10.3	8.7	100
<i>newAFA MBESTWRITE</i>	7	14	12	30	2	9	0	15	10	99
<i>newLATB ESTWRITE</i>	24	0	13	36	4	10	0	4	10	101

	Teacher Resp	Peer Resp	Official Resp	Self Resp	Text as Resp	Relationship to Teacher	Relationship to Peer	Self Concept	Assignment	TOTAL
<i>whiteworstwrite</i>	2.8	27.8	16.7	3.3	0	0	0	26.7	22.8	100.1
<i>newWHITEWRITE</i>	6	22	17	6	0	0	0	22	28	101
<i>oldNwworstwrite</i>	13.1	0	14.1	16.6	6.2	11.1	0	11.2	27.6	99.9
<i>newAFAMWORSWRITE</i>	24	0	11	25	8	14	0	8	11	101
<i>newLATWORSTWRITE</i>	0	0	14	6	6	14	0	14	47	101

Appendix Q: Detail on Mastery vs. Ability Self Concepts

Note: This breakdown is from the old coding scheme, which was by turn, and is very close to the new coding scheme which is by narrative. Because the two are so close (as shown in Appendix T), and the breakdown of ability and mastery concepts was not carried out in the new coding scheme, these approximations will be used.

Task	Mastery	Ability	Self Proc
worst write all	13	0.8	14.2
worst speak all	10.5	1.5	14.8
best write all	7.2	0.7	9.3
best speak all	19.3	2.9	19.5

Note: detail is using old coding scheme. Greyed in area is using new. So not an exact match. So the stuff in the white area is just an approximation.

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