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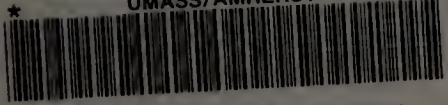
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ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION:
A SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON PEER EDITING IN ESL WRITING

A Dissertation Presented

by

XIAOWEI SHI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1993

School of Education

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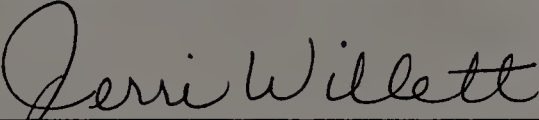
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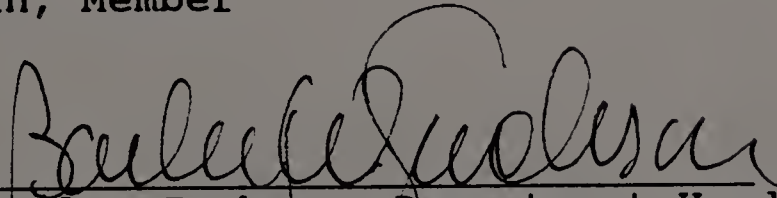
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ABSTRACT

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION:

A SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON PEER EDITING IN ESL WRITING

SEPTEMBER 1993

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In this dissertation, peer editing as one pedagogical practice in ESL writing is studied from a sociocultural perspective. Such a perspective has been neglected in the previous research in the field. In this study, the theories of the self, the ethnic identity and the acculturation are examined and an ethnographic study reported. The study suggests that pedagogical practices such as peer editing in ESL writing are also sociocultural practices. We cannot fully understand ESL teaching and learning if we ignore the sociocultural aspects and concentrate only on linguistic, psychological, and cognitive aspects.

Using Mead, Bakhtin, Freire, and MacIntyre's theories, I have constructed a theoretical framework for my research in critique of the previous sociocultural theories on ESL acquisition. This theoretical framework has three interrelated components: a non-essentialist theory of the self, a non-ethnocentrist theory of ethnic identity, and a theory of acculturation as pluralistic cultural coexistence

and amalgamation. Of these three components, the most important is the constructing and ever changing of a person's ethnic identity, which in turn could have a strong impact on transforming the social world.

My ethnographic study, which has been conducted in four ESL writing classes in a college on the West Coast, suggests that students' interaction in peer editing helps students enact their ethnic identity and acculturate into the multicultural American society. Telling and retelling their stories in peer editing, student writers and readers reach out to each other as narrative selves and narrative others. Together, they use the stories to give their life-world meaning. Peer editing not only could help students understand their past and present, but could also help them to choose the actions they want to take to transform themselves and their life-world.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I intend to explore the sociocultural aspects of peer editing in the ESL (English as a Second Language) writing class. Specifically speaking, these sociocultural aspects refer to the issues of the self, ethnic identity and acculturation. Unlike most of the researchers in the field, I regard ESL writing as a process of self-enactment and acculturation. Self-enactment means a process in which ESL students understand, define, and enact themselves and their life-world. And acculturation is a special form of socialization for ESL students in the multicultural American society [1].

Peer editing is one pedagogical practice in the writing process and, therefore, part of the process of self-enactment and acculturation. I have conducted an ethnographic study of this practice in the hopes that it can, as one example, show that pedagogical practices are also social and cultural. Unless we are aware of the sociocultural aspects, we cannot fully understand ESL teaching and learning.

Statement of the Problem

Current research on second language development has provided teachers and educators with multiple possibilities for understanding ESL writing theories and applying them in

classroom practice. However, most studies have concentrated on the linguistic, psychological, and cognitive aspects. While not denying the importance of these studies, research on ESL writing has yet to cope more emphatically with its sociocultural factors in view of its special kinds of students and their social and cultural needs.

Learning English as a second language in the United States, ESL students inevitably encounter a series of identity and acculturation problems. ESL students at secondary and college levels usually arrive in writing class with profound cultural backgrounds. They are already competent members of one or another cultural community, and sometimes more than one. By learning in the ESL writing class, they are gaining access to a new culture and society. This process of gaining access is problematic in many ways. For example, how should students view themselves in this new social and cultural context? How should they deal with their ethnic identity? Can they get into the new community without totally losing this identity? Can they learn well the new language and culture while remaining competent members in the old community? How can they manage to do so?

[2]

Participating in writing practices in the classroom could help students comprehend and handle these problems. In the writing process ESL students constantly discover and design their own selves and grasp their life-world. What they learn in the process cannot be just language skills.

They should also learn how, in the multicultural American society, to respect their own cultural heritage, to envision better human relations, to conduct productive and efficient intersubjective communication, and to nourish values which will support the concepts of individual integrity as well as ethnic or cultural diversity. Such sociocultural factors can be addressed in ESL writing pedagogical practices, such as the one I explore in this dissertation - peer editing.

Peer editing is relatively new in the ESL writing class. While rewriting or revision has always been among the essential elements of ESL writing classes, the way it is handled has been changing. The teacher used to be the only reader and evaluator of the students' writing. In the early eighties, the process approach started to be used in ESL writing classes. Though questions about its use in ESL have been raised [see, for example, Horowitz, 1986], the approach is still gaining popularity in classrooms. In this approach writing is treated as a process instead of product. Peer editing as one of the activities in the writing process has received increasing attention. Students write a first rough draft and then revise it a few times. Meanwhile the teacher is no longer the only reader and evaluator in class. Between the drafts, usually the first and second drafts, students work in pairs or groups to read and give feedback to each other's writing. Thus, rewriting or revision takes place through the interaction between the student writer and student reader(s) in addition to the interaction between the

writer and the teacher [3]. Though relatively new, peer editing has become an important part of the writing process.

My research interest in peer editing in ESL writing is not just because it is a relatively new issue, nor just because previous studies have mostly taken perspectives other than a sociocultural one, but also because it has a significant role in the ESL writing process. The nature of writing is reflected in peer editing: it is a social process; it is done interactively and collectively; it redefines and constructs the interrelations between the writer, the reader, the text, and the social context.

Statement of Purpose

The main purpose of this dissertation is to explore a pedagogical practice in ESL writing from a sociocultural perspective, with a primary concern for the interrelations between the subjectivity of the ESL writer, the text he or she produces, the social context in which he or she writes, and the social relationships he or she constructs through interaction with peers. The following questions will guide my study:

1. How do students do peer editing in groups? What are the interactive norms and patterns that can be found in peer editing? How do students construct this piece of classroom culture?

2. How do students show concern about the issues of ethnic identity and acculturation in writing and subsequent

peer editing? What do they write and say about these issues?

3. How do students do rewriting or revision through peer editing? How do they carry out self-reflection, self-definition, and self-enactment? How do the outcomes of peer editing affect students' acculturation?

4. Is the sociocultural meaning of peer editing manifested only when student writers take their peers' advice and make subsequent changes in their rewriting? If not, what else in peer editing is meaningful to writers? And is the peer editing as meaningful to student readers? If so, how is meaning manifested in the editing process?

These questions concern, among other things, students' identity, the meaning of their life, the social relationships the students develop in and out of the class, and the process of acculturation. In order to answer these questions, we have to go beyond perspectives in the previous research and look for the answers from a sociocultural perspective.

My study of peer editing is unlike previous studies in terms of its focus. I do not concentrate on how students learn writing skills; nor do I concentrate on the psychological and cognitive process in students' work. Instead, I attempt to examine the peer editing from a sociocultural perspective in order to gain more insight into the practice itself and the whole writing process, that is, to try to show one typical part (i.e. peer editing) of the

whole picture (i.e. ESL writing process) in order to give an impression of how the whole picture looks.

I hope that the study can, first, inform researchers and teachers about the culture of the ESL writing class; second, lead to a better understanding of ESL writing issues from a sociocultural perspective without excluding the linguistic, cognitive, and psychological aspects; and third, to show the possible implications of sociocultural theories for ESL classroom writing practice.

Significance of the Study

In exploring the interrelations between the writer, the text, the social context, and the social relationship in ESL writing in order to define the sociocultural aspects in the learning process, I consider peer editing a good pedagogical practice to study. Peer editing, as other practices in ESL writing, is relevant to the interrelations mentioned above. Inseparable and complementary to each other, such interrelations exist in the whole writing process.

Rubin [1988] views these interrelations in writing from four social dimensions:

(1) Writers construct mental representations of the social contexts in which their writing is embedded; (2) Writing as a social process or system can create or constitute social contexts; (3) Writers - in some senses all writers - create texts collectively with other participants in discourse communities; (4) Writers assign consensual values to writing and thus construct a dimension of social meaning. [p.2]

According to Rubin, these four social dimensions are alternative and complementary perspectives which are relevant to any writing event. Knowledge about one specific writing event can provide us insight into all four dimensions even if we try to focus on one dimension only. This is because all these dimensions involve the complex interrelations of the writer, the reader, the text, and the social context despite the fact that each dimension is a different perspective. For example, in the stage of brainstorming in the writing process, the most perceivable relationship is the one between the writer and the text. However, according to Bakhtin [1972; see also Kress, 1989], even when a person is writing all alone, he or she is engaging in a dialogue with an imagined interactant in a certain social context. A text is thus the result of this dialogue. Therefore, brainstorming should not be seen simply as a single-dimension activity.

In examining the interrelations in the event of peer editing in the ESL writing class, one possible focus can be on the dimension of mutual determination of writer and social context. ESL students as subjective writers always write in certain social context and their writing is determined by this context. When learning ESL in the United States, learners are within the society and culture of the target language. Their writing, as well as other aspects of their life, is inevitably influenced by various sociocultural factors. As Walsh [1984] puts it:

Language is much more than the phonemes, morphemes, and grammatical structures that form the linguistic system. Rather it is the development of speech along with ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that are culturally embedded and socially determined that constitutes language in its most essential sense. [p.5]

In other words, an ESL learner is always within a certain sociocultural context and the ESL learning process cannot be fully understood unless the sociocultural factors are taken into account. In doing peer editing, students bring the social context into their attention. Each text has close connection with some kind of social context, and the negotiation of the text takes place in a certain social context.

On the other hand, ESL students are not passively determined by the social context. What they do in peer editing also has a determinant influence on the social context. In interpreting and negotiating the meaning of their writings collectively, students reflect and act on themselves and their life-world. In so doing, they construct and change the social context in which they write.

Another possible focus in examining the interrelations in peer editing can be on the social relationship between the writer and the reader. Interaction in peer editing shows that the social relationship between the writer and the reader is constantly negotiated and constructed. Students learn from their own experience when they write about it. When they work with other students in peer editing, they build into their knowledge-from-experience the

knowledge they learn from other people's experience. When they rewrite their experience or retell their stories, they put into their writing the new thinking they get from other students' opinions and ideas.

In the process of peer editing, the level of meaning negotiated and acknowledged for a text is constrained by the sociocultural background of the participants, among other things. For ESL writers, this constraint can be ameliorated by learning from each other when they work together. The cultural diversity in the ESL class makes peer editing cross-cultural learning, which includes cultural self-understanding and self-awareness, the expansion of knowledge of other cultural realities in the context of multiculturalism, and the improvement of cross-cultural communication skills. In such a cultural process, students use oral and written forms to negotiate the meaning of their writing. They are able to help each other not only in doing language learning tasks, but also in understanding the social relationship they have with each other, and this will eventually lead to understanding their selves and their life-world. They will see that in this society, the culture is not formed by a single ethnic group, but constructed by many different ethnic groups. Since students experience the culture construction among themselves in class, such cultural process becomes all the more important for them because it facilitates their acculturation into the multicultural American society.

The above-mentioned focuses overlap greatly with other interrelations in peer editing in ESL writing class. No matter on which dimension we focus, it is not difficult to find that writing in general is a process of socialization and ESL writing in particular is a process of both socialization and acculturation. Such understanding is valuable in facilitating relationships in the ESL classroom and ESL students' becoming competent English writers.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are many theories and studies that are related to my study. I have divided the review of the most relevant literature into two parts. The first part deals with the studies on peer editing and revision in the ESL writing class; and the second part surveys the sociocultural theories that have been developed in ESL acquisition. The literature will help us understand the significance of this study and its theoretical framework.

Studies on Peer Editing in ESL Writing

In the ESL writing class, peer editing has been used from the early eighties, and has, since then, received increasing attention from ESL teachers and researchers. While most of the studies on peer editing were carried out with native speakers of English [see, for example, Beaven, 1977; Calkins, 1983; Davies, 1980; Flynn, 1982; George, 1984; and Hawkins, 1977], there have been some studies by those working in ESL settings.

A brief review of the current research on peer editing in ESL writing shows that the focus of research has been mostly on the linguistic aspects [see, for example, Belcher, 1989; Chaudron, 1983; Edelsky 1982; Hudelson, 1984; Jacobs, 1987; Jacobs and Zhang, 1989; Rigg and Enright, 1986; and Urzua, 1987]. Some of these studies compare teacher editing

with peer editing to find the latter's effectiveness in ESL writing class. One of these studies claims that students strongly prefer teacher feedback to student feedback because the former is more effective in grammatical accuracy [Jacobs and Zhang, 1989]. Another study argues that neither teacher nor peer editing is superior in promoting linguistic improvements in revised compositions [Chaudron, 1983]. According to these studies, the importance of peer editing lies in the possibility that it could be used to replace teacher editing or partly do so. Since it cannot meet such expectations, peer editing has had very little significance in ESL writing. For me these studies are out of focus in approaching the issue for mainly two reasons.

First of all, it is inappropriate to oppose teacher feedback and student feedback. Although both are forms of feedback, they belong to different categories according to their meanings for the students. Not only do the students perceive the two differently, but also they may learn different things from the two. What students can learn from each other may not be learned from the teacher, and what they learn from the teacher may not be learned from each other. Moreover, the two forms of feedback are not mutually exclusive. They are, on the contrary, complementary to each other. Student and teacher each has specific roles in editing and revision, and they both can contribute greatly to the writing process.

And secondly, the focus of previous research has been on the linguistic items only, that is, the number of grammar mistakes students can find in others' writings, or the extent of improvement in linguistic items that editing promotes. Since these studies treat peer editing narrowly as a linguistic process, they miss a much broader sense that the activity makes. To view teacher editing and peer editing merely from a linguistic perspective is likely to be misleading.

Other studies view peer editing as one of the teaching techniques used in the writing process [Gibson, 1985; Hafernic, 1983; Keh, 1990; Nelson, 1985; Rainey, 1990; Rothschild and Klingenberg, 1990; and Wyatt-Brown, 1988, 1990]. Most of these studies support the use of peer editing in the writing process because of its particular advantages. According to Hafernic [1983], peer editing has many advantages, such as improving student involvement in the writing activity, promoting student self-confidence, and adding perspective to students' perception of the writing process. Studies like Hafernic's still focus mainly on the linguistic aspects of peer editing, but since they have broadened their perspectives to include the psychological and cognitive aspects, they find many positive functions of peer editing.

The major problem with these studies is that they have also ignored sociocultural aspects of peer editing. They have not studied the particular social contexts in which

peer editing occurs, nor have they taken social relationships into consideration. Why does peer editing improve students' involvement? Is it merely because students have to say something in peer work? Why does the activity promote students' self-confidence? Is it just because they find that they can help each other to correct mechanical errors? Does peer editing have a broader meaning in terms of students' relations with each other and with their life-world? These questions remain largely unanswered in these studies.

The fact that these studies have ignored the sociocultural aspects of peer editing does not mean that no sociocultural theory has been explored in the field. In the next section, I will examine such theories in ESL acquisition.

Sociocultural Theories in ESL Acquisition

Some theories have focused on the social and cultural aspects of second language learning and (or) acquisition [4]. In this section, I will examine four such theories. Although these theories do not concern themselves specifically with ESL writing, they do cover the field since they are general ESL acquisition theories. In the next chapter when I build my theoretical framework in critique of these theories, I will further clarify the connection between the general theories and my research focus.

The first is Gardner and Lambert's social psychological theory of second language acquisition [Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lambert, 1974; and Gardner, 1985, 1988]. The central theme in this theory concerns language proficiency as an important component of learners' self-identity. And as a consequence, ESL learning and a learner's self-identity mutually influence each other. The theory consists of four major elements: learners' ethnocentric tendencies, attitudes toward the other community, orientation toward language learning, and motivation.

In stressing the role of orientation, the theory then makes a distinction between two types of orientation, integrative and instrumental. The former reflects "a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group", and the latter emphasizes "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language" [Lambert, 1974, p.98]. The integrative orientation reflects a positive non-ethnocentric approach to the other community and relates more positively to attitude and motivation in second language learning. In addition, it also relates to achievement. However, in certain learning situations, the instrumental orientation could be more important. One example is when minority group members learn the language of the majority group. In such a situation, it is not necessary to stress an emotional involvement with the target language community and orientation could stay instrumental.

According to this theory, orientation and attitudes not only influence learners' motivation to learn the second language but also have direct effect on language proficiency. As learners' proficiency develops, their self-perceptions may change. This change will in turn influence the learners' language proficiency. Furthermore, the change of self-perception may result in two different types: additive and subtractive. Additive change takes place when learners feel no pressure to give up their first language. This type of change usually leads learners to positive growth. And subtractive change happens when second language learning means cultural assimilation and makes learners feel a loss of cultural identity. This type of change may have negative results in learners' second language proficiency.

The second theory is Schumann's acculturation theory [1978a, 1978b, 1986]. According to Schumann, acculturation is "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group." [1978a, p.29] Second language acquisition "is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates into the TL group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language." [p.34] Like Gardner and Lambert, Schumann stresses the importance of orientation and attitude in language acquisition. But he presents more social factors which might play a role in the acquisition process. There are seven such factors: social dominance patterns, integration strategies, enclosure, cohesiveness and size,

congruence, attitude, and intended length of residence. In addition to social factors, Schumann also presents four affective factors: language shock, cultural shock, motivation, and ego-permeability. These social and affective factors "can either promote or inhibit contact between the two groups and thus affect the degree to which the 2LL (second language learning) group acculturates which in turn affects the degree to which that group will acquire the target language." [p.29] Schumann argues that in comparison with acculturation factors, which include social and affective factors, other factors such as cognitive, personal, or instructional are less important or simply minor factors. He especially shows an anti-instruction tendency by claiming that instructional factors are so weak that "no matter how much we attempt to change them, we will never achieve much more success than we are achieving now." [p.47]

The third theory is Clement's social context theory [1980]. Similar to the first two theories, the central theme in this theory is also motivation. The difference is that this theory argues that learners' motivation is closely related to the social context in which they learn a second language. The theory assumes two types of social context: unicultural and multicultural. In a unicultural context, two opposing forces are said to decide the motivation - integrativeness and a fear of assimilation. Integrativeness connects with a high level of motivation, while fear of

assimilation links with a relatively low motivation. In a multicultural context, learners' motivation would also be determined by the integrative type. Yet another factor, self-confidence, also plays an important role in determining learner motivation. Again, a learner's self-confidence could be high or low depending on a particular learner's experience in interacting with the target language group.

The social context theory implies that in settings where one language and culture is dominant, it is not easy for minority group members to learn the second language and culture while maintaining their own cultural identity. The social consequence for these learners is usually assimilation.

The last theory is an intergroup theory of second language acquisition proposed by Giles and Byrne [1982]. This theory focuses on minority group members' second language acquisition. The central theme is minority learners' self-concept as the major motivating force. The theory defines social identity as learners' self-knowledge in terms of their group membership. Language is one basic consideration when learners identify with their groups and make comparisons of their groups with other groups. Under certain circumstances learners are able to identify with many groups and this will facilitate their acquisition of a second language. Learners of this kind tend to seek integrativeness in other groups while developing and maintaining a positive self-image. Learners who do not

identify themselves with other groups have a fear of assimilation and tend to be relatively unsuccessful at learning the second language.

One attempt of the above-mentioned theories in second language acquisition is to explain the sociocultural factors in the acquisition process. They have raised important issues such as learners' ethnic identity, acculturation, and social context. Their contributions to second language acquisition theory cannot be denied. However, there are some arguments in these theories that need to be restated and some terms to be redefined in my use of them. In the following chapter, I will build my theoretical framework in critique of these theories.

CHAPTER III

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of my study has three components: a non-essentialist theory of the self, a non-ethnocentrist theory of ethnic identity, and a theory of acculturation as pluralistic cultural coexistence and amalgamation. These three components of my theoretical framework all bear directly on my inquiry into the rationale, strategy, and methods of my research focus, peer editing in ESL writing.

The Self and Narrative Self

Writing is always someone writing, writing in a certain sociocultural context, and writing for a purpose. Since there can be no writing without a writer, writing must be taken to mean some person-writing. The form of one's thought, the sort of concerns and interests that motivate a person's writing activity, the specific feelings and experience a person feels moved to explore, and the specific manner in which he or she articulates those feelings and experiences must, we may assume, be characteristic of him or her as an individual, and related to his or her self-conception as the kind of person he or she is and will be. This indicates the importance of the self in writing or the importance of a narrative self.

While discussing the concept of the self, the theories discussed in the last chapter seem to have neglected social dimensions while stressing the psychological dimensions of the self. According to Giles and Byrne [1982], self-concept is a product of one's mind which has very little to do with one's social context. This kind of subjectivist view has long been criticized. George Herbert Mead [1934] argues that the self and social context are mutually dependent and determinative. According to Mead, the development of the self's interaction with the social context can be divided into two levels: the interaction with the other and the interaction with the society. The first level is a more basic level in which the self interacts with various others. It is in the process of first level interaction that the self gradually acquires the capacity to take the perspective of the group or society as a whole. Instead of being completed once and for all, the process of the self's interaction with the other and the social context is circular and repeated over and over again.

In the first level of the process, the interaction between the self and the other, the latter plays a decisive role in self-perception. We can find the more detailed explanation of the role of the other in Bakhtin's conception of human existence [1977]. According to Bakhtin, the other plays a determinant role in defining the self. It is so important that if there is no the other, there is no self. Just as one can never see one's whole self in the mirror,

one's perception of a whole person must come from someone else's perception. It is the same with the internal self.

As Bakhtin puts it:

The very being of man (both internal and external) is a profound communication. To be means to communicate. ... To be means to be for the other, and through him, for oneself. ... I cannot do without the other; I cannot become myself without the other; I must find myself in the other, finding the other in me (in mutual reflection and perception). [p.311]

And in the second level, the self's interaction with the society is also a dialectical process. The society has an effect on one's conception of one's self; and one's ideas and actions can shape and change the society. In an attempt to reconcile the dichotomy and dualism of the self and the society, Burkitt [1991] carries forward Mead's idea and argues for a theory of social selves, which stresses human beings' social relations and activities:

... we cannot interpret the actions or the motives of individuals simply by seeking out the meaning that has inspired their activity. Rather, we must set activity and the individual accounts given of actions and motives in the context of their social logic: that is, of social relations and social activity as a whole. [p.194]

In Burkitt's words, the self can only be understood as individuals act in the society. Put another way, the self and the society cannot be understood separately because they are dependent on each other. Not only so. It is human beings' interaction that constructs the society. The self is determined by its own actions as well as its relationship with others in the society.

The idea of a constant interaction between the self and the other and between the self and the society bears significant meaning for peer editing in ESL writing. We can find on-going interaction between the self and the other and between the self and the society in peer editing. When student writer and reader work face-to-face in a group or pair in class, we can see the following relations. First of all, the self is closely related to narrative. MacIntyre [1981] claims that the unity of a self "resides in the unity of a narrative which links birth to life to death as narrative beginning to middle to end." [p.205] A self in the narrative writing is a narrative self. For example, an ESL student becomes the unity of a narrative self when actively telling their life stories in writing and peer editing.

Next, this narrative self is in active interaction with the narrative other. As MacIntyre [1981] puts it:

I am not only accountable, I am one who can always ask others for an account, who can put others to the question. I am part of their story, as they are part of mine. The narrative of any one life is part of an interlocking set of narratives. [p.218]

A student's writing can help others to understand and construct his or her self. When a writer digs deeply into himself or herself, he or she will find others who read with a shock of recognition what he or she has written. This recognition might lead to self-constructing for both the writer and the reader. In peer editing, an ESL student as a

narrative self experiences such a process of active interaction with his or her peers as narrative others.

Finally, social context is essential for peer editing. Students' narrative writing is so closely related to the social context that discovering and constructing the self in writing will simultaneously enable the students to discover and enact the social situation. For example, when ESL students write, they write about their life in America, their thoughts and feelings about living in a new culture and society. At the same time, they explore American society and culture and make decisions about what to do to acculturate into this new community. They may also decide to make changes in society because they have perceived certain social problems when they write.

Ethnic Identity and Narrative as Its Key Element

All the sociocultural theories mentioned in the previous chapter have more or less paid attention to the issue of the learner's ethnic identity. In Lambert's [1974] term, ethnic-identity is one's self-identity which includes one's attitude toward one's own ethnic group and the target language group. How one perceives oneself is influential in one's language acquisition. A non-ethnocentric self-perception can have a positive influence on learner's language proficiency. Since the learner has an integrative orientation toward the target language and culture, he or she is highly motivated in the language learning. However,

Lambert considers that the non-ethnocentric self-perception is important for only majority group members who acquire a minority group's language. For minority group members learning majority group language, the instrumental orientation could be more important. By the term instrumental, Lambert means that one could remain indifferent to the target language community and its culture while learning the language. This sounds like a nice idea for minority learners to retain their ethnic identity while learning the majority group's language.

However, when we come to Clement's [1980] intergroup theory, we find that Clement completely rejects Lambert's idea by assuming that in a social context where one language and culture is dominant, it is very difficult to maintain one's own cultural identity while learning the second language. The minority learners usually end up assimilating into the dominant culture. It seems that, as minority group members, we have only two choices here: either to give up our ethnic identity and become assimilated into the target language group, or to retain our ethnic identity and refuse to mix with the target language group. Do we have a third choice, that is, to add new features of the target language group to our ethnic identity?

In order to answer this question, we have to first be clear about what ethnic identity is. Over the years, much has been argued about this question. Rejecting both an objective position, which is based primarily on overt traits

of a group, and a subjective position, which sees ethnic identity as a process of self and other identification, Royce [1982] argues for a composite position. But unlike the early composite position which views ethnic identity as a fixed feature of a person, Royce claims a contemporary composite position. There are two characteristics of this position: change and choice. According to this position, ethnic identity is a process instead of a fixed state. Like other kinds of identities, ethnic identity does not have a fixed nature, or an autonomous, unified, self-generating quality. It changes over time in changing situations. One factor that makes it change is exactly the other characteristic, individual choice, which takes place in the personal level. Though a person's choice is always bound by various factors, both objective and subjective, it is always possible to make a choice.

In exploring the strategies of choice for an ever changing ethnic identity, Royce points out the importance of situation and negotiation. A person's ethnic identity may change when he or she is in a different situation. For example, in an ethnically plural interaction in a group, roles and relationships are constructed by how group members negotiate their ethnic identities and how they conform to shared group norms. Though the situational and negotiational identity may be a short-term strategy, it may affect a person's life-time change in the long-run.

Viewed in this light, ethnic identity is both determined by the social context and constructed by individual choice. For a minority group member who learns the target language, it is not necessary to give up his or her ethnic identity in order to learn the language well, nor is it possible not to be influenced at all by the target language community and its culture. One would be able to make a third choice: to add new features to one's ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is one of the issues about the self that ESL students are particularly concerned with. The main reason for their concern is the situational tension they feel in the new culture and society. Many studies agree that one situation which makes ethnic identity manifest is when a person is away from his or her own nation where he or she has lived without even thinking of the existence of ethnic identity [see, for example, Hewitt, 1989; Sollors, 1986]. Most of us, of whatever nationality or ethnicity, see ourselves and our compatriots not as ethnic, and only see minorities as ethnic. For many ESL learners, to be in the United States means that they have to realize that they are now ethnic minorities.

Since ethnic identity is one inquiry about the self, it is closely related with narrative. Johnstone [1990] concludes in her book Stories, Community, and Place that "narrative is a key element - perhaps the key element - in a person's identity." [p.127] For Johnstone, narrative means

telling stories. People experience and speak of life as stories. They tell and retell their stories in various occasions: in giving information, in arguments, in the psychoanalytic process, in biographies, etc. They use stories to give their life-world meaning. Many ethnic writers write their stories for such a purpose [see, for example, James Baldwin, 1955; Maxine Hong Kingston, 1976; Richard Rodriguez, 1982; Amy Tan, 1989; Haley and Malcolm X, 1964]. In stories of this kind, the centered ethnic self appears to be more a literary creation than a literal fact. The ethnic self is present to itself as a character, usually the leading character, in a story. Writing about the ethnic self, therefore, is really the writer's auto-graph. These stories have a powerful impact on the readers who have similar experience and, therefore, find themselves in the stories. Similarly, ESL students' writing of their life stories could help themselves and their readers understand and enact themselves and their life-world.

Toward a Theory of Acculturation

The society that I am now concerned with in thinking of ESL writing is not any society but primarily the American society. ESL writing should be taught as part of the preparation for students to meet the challenges of such a society. And in this context, acculturation is going to be treated as a particular form of socialization as well as of

self-enactment (self-designing, self-understanding, and self-becoming) for ESL students.

The meaning of the term acculturation in my use is very different from Schumann's [1978a, 1978b, 1986]. Schumann's acculturation theory is initially an attempt to explain the phenomenon of pidginization in second language acquisition. According to Schumann, acculturation (the social and affective factors) is the most important variable that determines the degree to which a learner acquires the target language. The degree of acculturation first decides one's attitude and motivation to interact with the target language speakers, and then the frequency of interaction directly influences the language proficiency. One's pidginized language is thus caused by one's limited acculturation and socialization.

Acculturation in my use is similar to Schumann's only in terms of its stress on second language learners' socialization within the target language group. I consider acculturation as a process of socialization for ESL students in which they gain membership in the target language group while remaining competent members of their own ethnic groups. To compare Schumann's acculturation theory and mine, I find three major differences: First, Schumann's theory assumes that one's degree of acculturation is predetermined and fixed. Because of various social and psychological factors, a learner's attitude and motivation toward the target language exist before the learner starts

to acquire the target language. Though the theory also claims that the relationship between acculturation and language acquisition is as tough as the "unresolved the chicken or the egg question" [1986, p.387], it assumes that acculturation is an initiating force. I would argue that acculturation is a process which is neither predetermined nor fixed. For ESL students, acculturation and language learning mutually influence each other from the beginning of and throughout the learning process.

Second, Schumann does not see classroom practices as social practices through which learners construct their identities, beliefs and values, and ways of behaving. He claims that his acculturation theory only concerns the acquisition that takes place in the natural environment and has very little to do with classroom learning. He also assumes that classroom instruction is extremely limited in facilitating learners either linguistically or socially. I disagree with Schumann's view of classroom practice and consider learning and teaching in the classroom as a social process.

And third, Schumann's theory implies that assimilation best facilitates language learning. Since the degree of acculturation controls the degree of one's target language acquisition, one's language proficiency will most likely be native-like when one assimilates into the culture of the target language. Also Schumann never mentions the importance of having a sense of one's own ethnic identity.

Then if one accepts the other culture without retaining one's own, the result will be assimilation. I do not think this is what ESL learners do.

What Schumann has ignored in his theory is of central importance in developing a concept of acculturation, that is, to develop a concept of ethnicity. During a long period in American history, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and literary critics tended to think about ethnicity in terms of different peoples, with different histories and cultures, coming together and accommodating themselves to each other. In the seventies, when people started to show particular concern about ethnicity, they found that none of the previous ideals such as "a melting pot" [Herberg, 1955] or "full assimilation" [Glazer, 1963] came true [see, for example, Barth, 1969; Devereux, 1975; Matthews, 1970; Newman, 1971].

In a discussion of the melting pot theory, Castaneda [1974] differentiated two concepts: the "exclusivist" concept which emphasizes immigrants' "melting" into American society as quickly as possible ("assimilation"), and the "permissive" concept which allows an immigrant to join American society without being "melted" through the process of cultural interaction, retaining his or her own identity ("acculturation"). The second concept has been forwarded by Freire [1970, 1973, 1983, 1985] in his discussion of a critical pedagogy in education. According to Freire, a critical pedagogy approach takes advantage of the students'

own histories by delving into their biographies. Students, through an increased understanding of their identities, become aware of the validity of their own capabilities to change their lives and transform the world. Viewed in this light, by encouraging students to retain their identities - of which ethnic identity is certainly a very important one for ESL students - to teach about acculturation is also to teach about the feasibility and possibility of working out a social structure that would foster maintenance of ethnicity beyond one generation so that the American society remains multicultural.

Margaret A. Gibson [1988] also rejects the ideal of "melting pot" in its assimilative sense, and strongly advocates for "acculturation." But this gesture, as Gibson puts it herself, "by no means indicates a rejection of all aspects of the dominant or mainstream American culture." "By acculturation," Gibson observes, "I mean a process of culture change and adaptation which results when groups with different cultures come into contact. The end result need not be the rejection of old traits or their replacement. Acculturation may be an additive process or one in which old and new traits are blended" [p.24 - p.25, also Haviland 1985, p.628 - p.629]. Differentiating between the "additive" and the "subtractive" manners of cultural blending, Gibson is encouraged by what she observes among immigrant minorities who "see the acquisition of skills in the majority-group language and culture in an additive

rather than subtractive fashion, leading not to a rejection of their minority-group identity and culture but to successful participation in both the new cultural system and the old" [p.189].

According to Gibson, conceptualizing acculturation is essential for defining multicultural education in particular and for clarifying the rationale for multiculturalism in general. Acculturation, different from assimilation, has its emphasis on the need for thinking and teaching about the multicultural aspects of human relations, and a confirmation of a non-eurocentric view of America as a multicultural society. Acculturation is, for a person of a cultural minority, socialization through cultural interaction, and it is pertinent to issues such as cultural pluralism, non-ethnocentric view of the self, an active and open-minded seeking of understanding of the other, a self-reflective exposure to the unknown and the unfamiliar, etc. In this sense, acculturation as a form of socialization and of social transformation is especially important and relevant to ESL students.

It is true that in an ESL class, students usually have different native languages and cultures, and they are aware of that. But it is also true that they are now in the same cultural community, a classroom, and share some kind of commonness. For ESL students in a writing class this entirely new cultural community is constructed in the writing process. In doing peer editing, students learn from

each other, from what they write and the discussion about their writing. This is a process for them to overcome the differentiation and to acculturate into the new society. In this process students are changing, and the most powerful force that changes them is each other's influence.

According to Bruffee [1988], who studies collaborative work in learning to write, peer work has two important meanings. One is that the activity of peer editing provides an arena for conversation and supports students when they learn writing. In peer conversation, students can provide "words" for each other. These words can enlighten a listener to forward his or her idea or even change it. The peer group thus becomes a supporting group for students to change their opinions and feelings. The other meaning is that the change of students signals a crucial first step for them "to join a larger, more inclusive community of cultural peers: Willingness to entertain a new idea." [p.10]

I agree with Bruffee and think the two meanings apply to ESL students also. Nevertheless, I would like to add a third meaning which is most important for ESL students, that is, the social relationship established in peer editing by students from various cultural backgrounds reflects the dynamics of social change. Doing peer editing in writing, ESL students can change not only their selves and their relationship with each other, but also the society which is now their life-world. This notion has been well explained by Freire [1970] when he claims the importance of human

beings' language use which connects with their social praxis. According to Freire, it is within the word that people find two dimensions, reflection and action, in a radical interaction. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis; thus, to use a true word is to transform the world, which includes the self. In peer editing, ESL students can provide each other with such words and then reflect and act on these words in the social transformation.

The aforementioned three components of my sociocultural framework, theories of the narrative self, ethnic identity, and acculturation, suggest the interrelations between some key aspects of ESL writing. These theories will be examined further when I analyze the research findings about the peer editing in the ESL writing class.

CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

An Ethnographic Study

Ethnography is a theoretically driven approach to the study of the culture of a social group. In recent years, ethnography has become increasingly popular in both educational and ESL research. One advantage of ethnography is its efficiency in investigating issues such as sociocultural processes in language learning [Watson-Gegeo, 1988]. Heath's [1983] ethnography on black and white children's home and school literacy learning is a good example of how ethnography can be used in education and language learning. The main reason that I have conducted an ethnographic study is that my particular interest is to study ESL students' writing from a sociocultural perspective and this enables me to take advantage of ethnography.

There are four major principles in ethnography: ethnography is a culturally driven approach; ethnography involves a holistic perspective; ethnographic fieldwork involves an interactive-reactive approach; and ethnography involves a comparative perspective [Zaharlick and Green, 1991]. Carrying out these principles in this study is both necessary and helpful.

Firstly, ethnography is a culturally driven approach. The focus of ethnographic study is on the cultural patterns of groups of people's behavior. To understand what culture

is is central to the understanding of ethnography. Geertz [1973] summarizes the conception of culture as

essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. [p.5]

Human beings, in this view, are creatures acting in their world as they conceive it and on the basis of the meanings that they have learned and that they bring to it. In their social practice, human beings construct the culture, and at the same time, learn and share the culture. Based on this concept of culture, we can assume that in an ESL writing class, a culture is constructed, learned, and shared by the students in the process of writing which is really a social practice.

Gadamer [1975] holds the idea that we are always already engaged in the "happening" of understanding and interpretation. It is difficult to define when and how this happening starts or ends. In the happening, we are always engaged in dialogue, whether it is with another partner, a text, or a tradition, and there is always something "other" to which we are being responsive, that speaks to us and constrains us. There is a genuine to-and-fro movement that enables us to constitute a "we" that is more than a projection of "my own" idiosyncratic desires and beliefs.

Gadamer's idea makes two important points for understanding an ESL classroom culture. First, the

happenings in an ESL writing class are on-going processes with no clear beginnings or ends. Students bring what they have learned to these processes, learn new things, adjust their knowledge in the new social context, and form a classroom culture. This constructing process is part of the culture in an ESL writing class. Second, culture does not always mean a homogeneous relationship among the members. Conflicts that arise in the process of adjusting and constructing should also be seen as part of the classroom culture. They can be seen as a special form of dialogue. In other words, shared knowledge may mean the willingness to expose to, discuss, negotiate, understand, and go along with the unfamiliar. It may also mean the readiness to face the confrontation, misunderstanding, and confusion when facing different cultures. In an ESL writing class, these behavior patterns are expected to be found in students' writing process. How do they use writing as a means to reach out to others? How do they negotiate the meaning of each other's writing? What is the function of their ethnic identity in adjusting to and forming a classroom culture? These are some of the interesting questions in terms of describing and interpreting a classroom culture.

Secondly, ethnography involves a holistic perspective. A culture or a behavior pattern under description and interpretation has to be considered in relation to the whole system of which it is a part [Diesing 1971; Firth 1961]. In order to understand peer editing as a part of the social

process, this study relates the culture of this pedagogical practice to the broader social context. Therefore, a study about a particular practice in a particular place can begin to help us not only see that cultural norms and patterns are infused throughout the social practice of the groups or pairs, but also understand the social nature of writing in a more general way. This is exactly why I have focused on one pedagogical practice and hoped it can be used to understand the whole writing process as a social process. To explore the nature of this practice, I have examined whether the participants in class had an event called "peer editing" and how it was constructed. A series of questions have been asked: what counted as peer editing, when and where it occurred, who participated, what functions and purposes it served, how it was enacted, how it affected the revision of a subsequent draft, and more importantly, what the process and the outcomes told us about peer editing as a social practice.

Therefore, the piece of culture, peer editing, is always considered as a part of the social process. In so doing, I have been able to explore how peer editing reflected larger aspects of the culture: students' attitudes toward writing, their knowledge and belief of writing, their expectations for participation, etc. My description and interpretation apply to both peer editing and the whole writing process.

Thirdly, ethnographic fieldwork involves an interactive-reactive approach. According to Goetz and LeCompte [1984], though ethnographers enter the research fields with plans and questions, what they actually see and learn will make them adjust their original plans and raise new questions. Such modification in research design is due to local conditions and new understanding.

The fieldwork I undertook was at a private college on the West Coast. My role as a participant observer allowed me to attend classes regularly. I observed all class activities in addition to peer editing, joined their class and group discussions, worked with individual students on their writing, helped them in the computer room and library, and tutored some of them after class. The personal relationship I developed with the teachers and students enabled me to best adjust my research plan and questions. All this has made it possible for me to triangulate the fieldnotes, the audiotapes, the interviews, the questionnaire, the students' writing samples and their written response in peer editing.

And finally, ethnography involves a comparative perspective. In an ESL classroom, students usually come from different sociocultural backgrounds. The researcher should be aware of this fact. Some ethnographers [Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1986; Collins and Michaels, 1986] have reminded us to acquire the knowledge of cultural patterns of various social groups in order to better understand and

interpret a certain classroom culture. In my study, just to see what was going on in peer editing is not enough. It has been essential for me to know the related events, such as the students' backgrounds and their experience in learning to write.

It is also necessary to compare the dynamics of the same activity in different classes over a period of time in order to obtain a better view of the patterns and norms of the classroom culture. Since the classroom culture under study was constantly changing and developing, peer editing in one class (for example, a lower-level class) was somewhat different from another class (for example, a higher-level class), and from itself at a different time (for example, at the beginning, the middle, and the end of a semester). The comparison between different classes at various time has helped me to find the similarities as well as the differences and generate the basic patterns and norms of peer editing in the ESL writing class. Only when we have a comparative perspective, can we obtain a better understanding of the culture under study.

Research Design

(1) Setting/Context

The site for this study was West College [5], a private college on the West Coast. Writing courses for ESL students in the college's Intensive English Program (IEP) were divided into three levels - Writing I (beginning), Writing

II (intermediate), and Writing III (advanced). Then there were two higher-level courses in the college's International Students Program (ISP) - Freshman Composition I and II. Students were assigned according to their TOEFL scores to one of five different levels. I conducted my research in four of these classes: Miss Kelly's two Writing II (W-II) classes and Mr. Beran's two Freshman Composition II (FC-II) classes. Unlike FC-II which was a semester course, W-II was a one-year course. However, after one semester's study, all the students tested out of this class and moved to W-III. That was why the W-II class had all new students in the second semester and made the course itself look like a semester course.

A total of 41 students were in these four classes, 27 in the two FC-II classes and 14 in the two W-II classes. They were from the following countries: China, Columbia, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Philippine, South Korea, Spain, and Vietnam. While most W-II students had been in the United States for less than a year, most FC-II students had stayed a year or two longer. The peer editing that these students did was the major source of my research data.

What is the peer editing that I am concerned with in this dissertation? In some studies, peer editing is also called peer evaluation [see, for example, Chaudron, 1983; Rainey, 1990; and Rothschild and Klingenberg, 1990] or peer feedback [see, for example, Jacobs, 1987; Jacobs and Zhang,

1989; and Keh, 1990]. As in some other studies [see, for example, Hafernic, 1983; and Wyatt-Brown, 1990], I use the term editing to emphasize that the writing is still in the process of revising, correcting, and improving; and the peer editing is a two-way task. I consider the term "evaluation" inappropriate in the context of my dissertation because it implies that the work being evaluated is a relatively terminal one, which should be graded according to its strengths and weaknesses. In contrast to "evaluation", "editing" implies that the piece of writing under the work is in progress and needs to have feedback to be improved. When students have only a first rough draft, what they need are comments, suggestions, and questions that help them to think about both the strengths and weaknesses of their writing so that they can do a better job in their rewriting. I also consider the term "feedback" less appropriate than "editing" because it implies that the work is a one-way task while it is a two-way interactive activity, in which the writer and reader negotiate their relationship and a meaning of the text that they both accept. For the above reasons, I use "peer editing" as the name of the activity I focus on. However, I will use other words such as "feedback" and "response" frequently in certain places. Peer editing, after all, is a to-and-fro movement of feedback and response among peers.

In the classes of my research interest, peer editing was an activity which took place as one step in the writing

process. The whole process contained following steps: freewriting or brainstorming, first rough draft, peer editing, teacher feedback before or after the second draft, and revised final copy. The concept of peer editing was introduced to students by the teachers and constructed by students in their practice of the activity. But in teachers's classroom instructions and worksheets that they designed for peer editing, we can also find the terms such as response, feedback, and evaluation.

After they wrote their first rough draft, students worked collaboratively in pairs or groups to edit each other's first rough draft in class. In all the ESL writing classes I observed, teachers structured this activity as one of the steps in the writing process. They not only made the requirements for the activity clear to students by giving oral and written instructions, but also carefully directed students by giving special directions to individual groups or pairs when they were doing peer editing.

Students would usually do two kinds of editing work during peer editing time: written response and oral discussion. In W-II classes students carried out both kinds of editing work in class, but in FC-II classes, sometimes students exchanged their drafts and did written responses outside the class before they did oral discussion in class.

The peer editing in class was a dialogic process, though the amount of discussion varied from group to group. One reason for the variation might be that the students used

different methods to do editing. For example, some pairs and groups would exchange drafts so that each person worked individually on another's draft. In this case, an individual student read the draft, made the marks on it, and wrote down the answers to the questions on the worksheet. Thus, the amount of discussion might turn out to be small. Some other pairs and groups would focus on one draft at a time. In this case, students might generate a lot of discussion on the draft as well as on the comments and suggestions that they wanted to write down on the peer-editing worksheet. Another reason for the variation might be that students were at different acculturation and language learning stages, so their strategies for carrying out the activity were different. Nevertheless, students always had face-to-face interaction when working together no matter what methods they used or what strategies they had.

The step after peer editing was rewriting, that is, students revised and improved their first rough draft. Rewriting sometimes took place right after the peer editing. In this case, students wrote a second draft taking their peers' opinions into consideration. Sometimes, however, students turned in their first rough draft with the peer-editing worksheet for teacher feedback right after the pair or group work in class. In this case, rewriting or revision happened only after students got feedback from both the teacher and peers. I make a distinction between these two cases because in the latter case it is not as easy as in the

former to tell if a certain change in the rewriting was affected only by the peer editing. However, no matter which case, caution is needed in specifying the cause or causes for a certain change made by a student in rewriting. Between peer editing and subsequent rewriting it might not be a simple give-and-take action from the reader to the writer.

(2) Data Collection

The methods used for collecting data included: observing the students' peer editing work and taking fieldnotes while audiotaping students' discussions in pairs or groups, collecting students' writing and their written editing work, giving students questionnaires and interviewing them formally and informally. The period for collecting data was from September 1991 to May 1992.

I audiotaped two groups or pairs while a class had a peer editing activity. Each time a class had a peer editing activity, I counted it as one event; and the audiotaping I did in each event, I counted as two episodes. This way, I collected 32 episodes from 16 events. After class, I listened to the tapes and made conceptual memos. Among the 32 episodes, 3 were not clear enough for me to transcribe, but I was able to choose 14 to transcribe and eventually picked up 10 to use in this dissertation (in the next chapter, Findings and Analysis). Since I could tape only two episodes at an event, I tried taping the students I had

not taped in the previous event(s). As a result, I taped as many students as I could, 39 among 41 in the four classes. Among these 39, I taped 12 more than once. In addition to the taping, I also observed all the events and took some fieldnotes. This helped me to understand students' interactive patterns and norms of peer editing work.

I collected 65 copies of students' first and second drafts to examine the relationship between what was discussed in peer editing and what was thereafter revised in the second draft. Though there were many other revisions that were not based on peer feedback and many other problems remained in the second draft, I focused on those revisions that related to peer editing. In so doing, I was able to have a clear view of whether or how students revised their writing in consideration of their peers' oral and written response.

Again, I want to stress that revision in students' rewriting which followed peer editing was only one aspect that could be examined to measure the significance of peer editing. It is important for students to help each other to improve their writing, but that is not all. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the editing process itself has a much richer meaning for students who participate in the activity. To look for the number of positive changes in rewriting as the only value of peer editing is to downplay the activity's meaning for student writers and to deny its meaning for student readers.

The other two means, questionnaires and interviews, have enabled me to triangulate discourse data. I used a questionnaire [see Appendix A] at the beginning of the semester to get from students basic information about their linguistic, cultural, and educational backgrounds and their attitudes toward peer editing. When I interviewed students at the end of the semester, I used the questionnaire they had done earlier as a starting point for further questions, such as whether the students had changed their attitudes over time toward peer editing, and if so, what the changes were.

I interviewed 33 students; with 18 I had formal ones and with 15 informal ones. Interview questions were formulated on the basis of the analysis of the above data: tapes, fieldnotes, writing samples, and questionnaires. In this way, I could ask questions most pertinent to the person I was interviewing. And the interviews in turn helped me to further collect and analyze the data. Therefore, my ethnographic study has been a continuous process of collecting and analyzing the data - the fieldnotes, tapes, writing samples, questionnaires, and interviews.

(3) Data Analysis

I used my data to answer the four groups of questions raised in the first chapter of this dissertation. To answer the questions, I examined the data to find indicators that could be used to inform the sociocultural theories in

question, and make linkages between the pedagogical practice and the theoretical concepts.

The first group of questions are: How do students do peer editing? What are the interactive norms and patterns that can be found in the activity? How do students construct this piece of classroom culture? To answer these questions, I first used the pertinent parts of my fieldnotes to sketch out the activity of peer editing in particular classes. I paid special attention to the indicators of peer editing: when and how the activity started, how it was structured by the instructor, who participated, what its procedure was, and how it ended. I also looked for the episodes in the transcripts to see how the students carried out the conversations, what the students' roles were in the peer editing, how they shifted their role from writer to reader or reader to writer when they edited each other's writing, what their attitudes toward the peer editing were, who initiated the negotiation about a piece of writing, how a reader gave feedback to the writer and how the writer took it, what kinds of feedback they gave to each other - about ideas, rhetorical structure, grammar, words and expressions, or some other things, whether there was any misunderstanding or conflict between the students in their negotiating the meaning of a text. And then in the questionnaires and interviews I would look for students' description of their feelings and attitudes toward peer editing, whether they had participated in the same activity in their own culture, or

whether they had perceived any cultural differences through peer editing. By using the fieldnotes, transcripts, questionnaires and interviews to answer the first group of research questions, I had a better understanding of peer editing, its norms and patterns, and its development.

The second group of questions are: How do students show concern about the issues of ethnic identity and acculturation in writing and subsequent peer editing? What do they write and say about these issues? To answer these questions, I looked at the students' writings, not only those that were directly about the issues, but those that were indirectly, that is, all kinds of writing including personal stories, essays, and research papers. I looked for episodes in the transcripts in which students explicitly and implicitly talked about these writing samples. Then I examined the interviews in which students talked about why they were interested in certain topics, how these topics related to their ethnic identities and acculturation, and why they made certain remarks in peer editing. In so doing I was able to find how students viewed themselves and their ethnic identities in the context of American society, how they felt about living in the United States and learning its language and culture, whether they had experienced any frustrations or tensions, and if so, what they thought about coping with the problems in writing and peer editing.

The third group of questions are: How do students do rewriting or revision through peer editing? How do they

carry out self-reflection, self-definition, and self-enactment in the process? How do the process and outcomes of peer editing affect students' acculturation? To find the answers to these questions, I looked at the episodes and samples of students' rewriting to see how students negotiated changes during peer editing and then made changes in their rewriting as a result of the negotiation; how students presented themselves in writing and in oral discourse during peer editing. I also interviewed students to ask them questions such as what they, as participants, thought about the particular peer editing events and related rewriting, whether the changes had any meaning(s) for them other than linguistic one, and if so, what the meaning(s) is (are). By analyzing the data from students' rewriting samples, episodes, and the interviews, I was able to see whether writers actually took the advice they had gotten in peer editing and made changes in their rewriting, and if so, what were the kinds of changes they made, whether they reflected on the words and terms they learned from others and got new ideas, whether they acquired new understanding and knowledge about themselves, their ethnic identity, and acculturation [6] in addition to their acquisition of linguistic skills in writing.

The last group of questions are: Is the sociocultural meaning of peer editing manifested only when student writers take their peers' advice and make subsequent changes in their rewriting? If not, what from peer editing is

meaningful to the writers? And is peer editing as meaningful to the student readers as to the student writers? If so, how is the meaning manifested in the editing process? To answer these questions, I paid special attention to the episodes which indicated that the negotiation in peer editing had sociocultural meaning for both the writer and the reader regardless whether the writer was convinced by the reader. Next I examined my interviews with the students to see how they thought about particular things they had said in the peer editing, and how they perceived the meaning of peer editing. In so doing I was able to triangulate the data to reach a better interpretation.

I have chosen ten episodes from nine peer editing events to discuss in this dissertation according to the following three considerations: students who participated in the events, kinds of writing students did, and the time when events took place. [See Table 1 on Page 57 for a list of episodes.]

The first consideration concerns students who participated in my research. In presenting ten episodes, I have included as many as 21 students out of 39 I have audiotaped. Among these 21 students, 20 appeared once and only 1 appeared twice. These students were from all four classes of my research interest and represented as many different students as possible.

The second consideration is kinds of writing students did. In learning to write, students in my data did all

kinds of writing: personal narratives, academic essays, and research papers. Students in beginning learning stages tended to do more personal narratives; students in more advanced stages wrote academic essays; and students in the most advanced stages did research papers. In a class, what topic to write about was due to a combination of teacher's requirements and student's individual choice. Students wrote about themselves more directly in their personal narratives. Yet if we analyze carefully students' academic writing, be it an essay or a research paper, we can find that students put themselves in the writing, that is, they thought about themselves and expressed themselves in their writing. Then in the subsequent peer editing, no matter what kind of writing they worked on, they negotiated the roles of reader and writer, reflected on others' ideas and opinions, argued for their points of view, and constructed the social relationship among themselves. Among the ten episodes I have chosen to describe, students edited thirteen pieces of writing: four research papers, five essays, and four personal stories.

The last consideration is the particular time at which students did peer editing. To look at peer editing following the time order during a semester, we could see a developing pattern of classroom culture. Therefore, I have chosen the episodes that were distributed at different times during the research period: one at the beginning of the first semester, one in the middle, and three at the end of

it; two at the beginning of the second semester, one in the middle, and two at the end of it.

The data I have chosen to present and analyze can be divided into two types in terms of how common they were among all the data I have collected. Some of the data were selected because they were common across episodes. Others were selected because they, as examples, illustrated well the particular theoretical points I wished to make. The second type of data appears to be more problematic to interpret. There are no doubt several interpretations or readings of such data. In some cases I am fairly confident about my readings either because of the knowledge I have acquired as a participant in the classes over time or because of the additional information I have gained through interviews. Because participants were second language speakers, often they did not clearly communicate their meanings, so I was not always able to get confirmation from them. In such cases, I am less certain about my interpretation and will provide the most plausible interpretation given my knowledge of the context and how the students typically behaved.

The ten episodes are the major data I use in this dissertation. I realized the difficulty in interpreting them due to these students' limited language competence. This is a problematic in second language discourse analysis. [Hatch, 1992] To cope with it, I used the following methods. One method was to look at cues in the context,

with which the meaning were easier to get. Another method was to ask students directly about what they meant by saying certain things. This might enable students to interpret or clarify what they had said. And another was to note consistent patterns of use that seemed to be unique to a particular speaker. Still another was to use native speaker informants or studies of cross-cultural discourse to become aware of contrastive contextualization cues or discourse patterns. The last method was to use the background knowledge I had acquired in the participant observation. I could refer back to the patterns and norms that happened repeatedly in peer editing, or the patterns that I observed or heard in another context, such as in other class activities or after class contacts.

In the next chapter, I will answer the four groups of questions in three sections: section one deals with the first group of questions, section two the second and third groups, and section three the last group. Then in the last chapter, Conclusion, I will discuss the possible implications of these findings for ESL writing theory, research, and practice, and look at the direction for further research on learning to write as an acculturation process for ESL students in the multicultural American society.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section concerns the patterns and norms of peer editing. In attempting to answer the first group of my research questions, the section focuses on the description of the culture of peer editing in four ESL writing classes at West College: how students do peer editing in class, how they construct this piece of classroom culture, and how they construct the social relationship among themselves in this pedagogical practice. The second section deals with the content of peer editing. It attempts to answer the second and third groups of my research questions. Among the most important questions are: whether students explicitly or implicitly write and talk about their ethnic identity and acculturation, and if so, how; and how students reach out to one another in peer editing, and then reflect and enact themselves in the rewriting. The last section expands the focus on peer editing to define the broader meaning of this pedagogical practice. It answers the fourth group of my research questions: whether the meaning of peer editing is only manifested in rewriting and revision; and whether it has meaning for student readers as well as writers, and if so, how the meaning is manifested.

In analyzing the episodes, I have used elements of speech proposed by Hymes [1972]. The elements include: Act

Situation (setting and scene), Participants (speaker/hearer, addressor/addressee), Ends (goals, purposes, outcomes), Act Sequence (message form, message content), Keys (manner, spirit), Instrumentalities (channels, forms of speech), Norms (norms of interaction, norms of interpretation), and Genre. I have also added some notes in the parentheses between the lines of episodes in order to make the meaning accessible for my readers.

The following table is a list of episodes I present in this chapter:

Table 1

Ten Episodes in Chapter V

Episode	Class	Student	Type of Writing	Time
1	FC-II	3	Research Paper	10/7/91
2	FC-II	2	Academic Essay	4/27/92
3	W-II	2	Personal Story	3/16/92
4	W-II	2	Academic Essay	11/25/91
5	W-II	2	Personal Story	12/28/91
6	FC-II	2	Academic Essay	4/27/92
7	FC-II	2	Research Paper	3/18/92
8	FC-II	3	Academic Essay	12/2/91
9	FC-II	3	Academic Essay	12/2/91
10	W-II	2	Personal Story	3/12/92

The Culture of Peer Editing - Patterns and Norms of the Interactive Activity

This section is divided into four sub-sections with each contains one episode. The first two episodes are presented to be compared and contrasted in order to see the changing and developing patterns and norms of peer editing in these two classes. And so are the next two episodes.

My focus in defining the patterns and norms I observed in peer editing is the interrelationship between the student writer, the reader, the text, and the social context. In doing so, I am able to examine the issues of students' ethnic identity and acculturation, the sociocultural aspects of peer editing. One of the changing interrelations is the reader/writer relationship. At the beginning of a semester when students first started doing peer editing, they were struggling to appropriate teachers' language to play the roles as writers and readers. And toward the end of the semester, students were more capable of playing their roles, and they negotiated more their texts and their relationship with one another.

(1) Constructing Patterns and Norms in FC-II at a Beginning Stage

The first episode in this sub-section was from the first peer editing event in the class. It shows that as writers, students could reach out to their readers to ask

for comments and suggestions; and as readers, they tried reaching back to help the writers. They were making efforts to appropriate the teacher's goal; meanwhile, their interactional norms indicated some influence from their native cultures.

This peer editing event was on Monday, October 7, 1991. Class began at 10:20 in the morning. This was a class with fourteen students. They sat in a semi-circle, facing the teacher, Mr. Beran, who stood in front of the chalkboard. After greetings, Mr. Beran started the instruction about the day's peer editing work. He reminded the students that as scheduled they should all have brought to class their first rough drafts of the mid-term research paper so that they could do peer editing in groups. At this, students started to take out their drafts from their backpacks. Mr. Beran then gave instructions about how to do the peer editing in groups: Students should first read their draft in the group, and then the group should discuss the draft. Students could give whatever comments and suggestions they had to help writers improve their writing. After the instruction, Mr. Beran divided the students into groups of three or four. Quickly, students joined their groups. Each group formed a small circle while keeping some distance from other groups. In each group, after a little negotiation about who was going to go first, one student started to read his or her first rough draft while the others listened. After all the writers finished reading, the group started the discussion.

During the peer editing time, Mr. Beran moved from group to group, mostly observing and once in a while answering students' questions.

One of the groups had three students: Lida, Tomoko, and Peter. Since Peter was not ready to present his draft to the group, they edited two papers: Lida's "Adult Illiteracy: The Other Epidemic" and Tomoko's "Child Care Problem in the United States". They started with Lida's work after they finished reading both drafts. They first negotiated for a few minutes an expression that Lida used in her paper, and then Lida turned to Peter and asked:

Lida: So what do you think of my paper? 1

Peter: Eh, I think it's, it's too short, too many paragraphs. You just say very similar things, you just analyze many other sources that have the same idea, and, and, eh, 5

Lida: And say the same thing with different sources?

Peter: Yeah,

Lida: Yeah, that's true.

Peter: And I think you don't raise questions to ask.

Lida: (Puzzled) Questions? (Pauses and writes down on her draft, "questions") OK, thank you. (Turns to Tomoko) What do you think? 12

Tomoko: Eh, I really think you pointed out a very serious problem. Your main point, I understand your main point was that people, the people have to read and write because their role, their role (in society) is changing. 17

Lida: Right.

Tomoko: I want to, to read more statistics (about the illiterate issue), statistics and also some efforts to, to,

Lida: Efforts to help (these illiterate people).

Tomoko: Yeah, efforts to help, 23

Lida: (Writes down on her paper) efforts to help, OK,

Tomoko: to, to add to the conclusion. You, you skip here.

Lida: Yeah, I know, yeah. 27

Tomoko: How about your opinion on mine?

Lida: I think it's really good. I just, eh, one thing is you're trying to say how mother, if they don't, if they go to work, then they neglect their kids,

but if they don't go to work, people will look down on them, right? If you're going to bring that out, the negative attitude toward stay-home mothers, right? Maybe, maybe you, maybe you should talk more, more about, expand on this negative concept, like people, people supported, you say, oh, people look down on stay-home mothers, how, where, you know?

Tomoko: Ok, thank you.

39

Lida: Sure.

The language that students used in the discussion were from what they had learned and talked about before in class. Words such as paragraphs, sources, raise questions, main point, statistics, conclusion, etc. were about how to write a research paper and bore specific meaning for the students. In the context of peer editing, students were trying to use such words to talk about one another's draft.

Not only was the students' language shaped by what they had learned, but also their roles as writers and readers. The teacher gave them instructions about what to do in peer editing. He did not give them a written worksheet this time, but gave it to them in some later peer editing events. Appendices B and C were two of the early worksheets he gave to students to use for peer editing. In these worksheets, the teacher described in detail his requirements for both student readers and writers. Though in the first peer editing event, students did not have the worksheet, most of them were trying to follow teacher's instructions. For example, they should be encouraging as well as critical to one another.

In the beginning of the excerpt, Lida, the writer, initiated the discussion on her draft by asking Peter, a

group member, his opinion about it (Line 1). Using "you" and "my paper" in her question, she defined the interrelations between herself as the writer, Peter as the reader, and her paper as the text. After hearing Peter's opinion, she turned to Tomoko and asked the same question in an elliptic form (12). Immediately after Tomoko gave comments on Lida's paper, she started to initiate the discussion on her own paper (28). Her question switched her role from the reader to the writer and at the same time Lida's role from the writer to the reader. She also made clear the interrelationship between herself as the writer, Lida as the reader, and her paper as the text. Both Lida and Tomoko asked questions to initiate the discussion between themselves as writers and others as readers, but since they did so at the middle of a progressing conversation, they also switched the topic and led the direction of the conversation. The three questions from the writers divide this excerpt into three topics: Lida and Peter's dialogue about the problems in Lida's paper, Lida and Tomoko's dialogue about the problems in Lida's paper, and Tomoko and Lida's dialogue about Tomoko's paper.

In responding to one another's papers, the student readers all started with "I think" to express what they said was their own opinions (2, 9, 13, and 29). They also used "you" to address directly to the writer (3, 9, 13, 25, 30, 33, 35, and 37). At one point Tomoko used the phrase "I want to" (19) to express her will about the possible change

in Lida's draft. And when the students mentioned the texts or content of the texts under discussion, they also made it clear by using "it", "your main point", or "you say" (2, 14, and 37). Here the reader and the writer made a clear distinction between themselves.

The responses the readers gave to the writers were generally encouraging (13-17 and 29), but they were also critical (2-5, 9, 19-21, 25-26, and 35-38). To such constructive responses, Lida and Tomoko both expressed their gratefulness (11 and 39). At two places, Lida actively helped her readers to express their opinions on her own writing (6 and 22).

From the above episode, we can see the following norms in the peer editing:

Writers, on the one hand, were active in inviting responses from their readers. Lida even helped her readers to express their opinions. However, writers were also passive in accepting or clarifying others' ideas. For example, when Lida was puzzled at one point by Peter's comments, she let it go instead of asking for clarification or explanation (10-11). Both writers ended the topic by expressing their appreciation to the readers.

Readers, on the other hand, responded to writers by acknowledging the relationship and reaching back to give encouraging yet critical comments and suggestions. Tomoko and Lida both gave some positive comments or compliments before pointing out the problems. Here Peter seemed to be

an exception. He was the first to respond to Lida's paper, and he started directly with critical comments. However, he did not seem to discourage Lida, who kept helping him out with his ideas. In this sense, he, like other students, was encouraging.

In spite of the fact that students played the roles of writers and readers in peer editing, it is uncertain whether or not they took the responsibilities of writers and readers as described by the teacher or, we may say, as understood in American culture. For example, Peter's response to the writer was direct. Though it was not taken as discouraging by Lida, it reflected Peter's understanding of reader responsibility, which he might have brought to peer editing from his native culture, Hungarian culture. In her study about cultural values and norms in human interaction, Wierzbicka [1991] contrasted Hungarian and English speakers' interactional styles and concluded that former's style is more direct than the latter's. Blum-Kulka and House [1989] studied directness levels as cultural indicators of interactional styles and also found cross-cultural differences: In some cultures, people speak more directly than in other cultures. Blum-Kulka and House claim that it is problematic to determine directness levels and at least two sets of factors seem to affect interactional styles: cultural and situational-contextual. The situational-contextual factors include, among others, degree of addressee's obligation to carry out the speech act and

relationship between the speaker and hearer. In Peter's case, his directness could have been affected simultaneously by his cultural interactional style, his sense of responsibility as a reader, and his relationship with his partners.

Another example is that writers' understanding and playing of their role might have been influenced by their cultures. Both Lida and Tomoko were from Asian countries, and they were not active in negotiating the meaning of their texts with their readers. This might be seen as specific cultural interactional style. In some Asian cultures, students are taught to be "modest", that is, to accept others' critique without arguing. The cultural belief is that it is always good to hear different opinions; if you are wrong, correct it, and if you are not, you can caution yourself never to make that kind of mistake.

It is understandable that students brought to class their cultural knowledge and beliefs. I observed other similar happenings many times in this and other three ESL writing classes, especially in the beginning of a semester. After students gained more experience doing peer editing, plus other similar activities (for example, discussing readings in groups and doing writing exercises in pairs), students gradually gained better understanding of writer/reader responsibilities in American culture. In the next episode, we can see the change.

(2) Constructing Patterns and Norms in FC-II at a Later Stage

To compare with the first episode, the second one shows us that over time students changed the way they enacted peer editing. Students had more negotiation between themselves; they could speak out and better defend themselves; they also helped each other expand their notions of reader/writer responsibilities.

This event took place on Monday, April 27, 1992. The semester would be over in three weeks. Students in FC-II had just learned to write the argumentative essay. They had written a first rough draft of such an essay, exchanged it with their partners for a written response, and brought to class their own draft and the written response to their partners' paper for oral discussion. When there were twenty minutes left for the period of the class, Mr. Beran transitioned the class to peer editing. He instructed the students to discuss their draft based on the written response. After that, ten students in class immediately broke into five pairs with each pair sitting some distance from other pairs. Lido and Ana began their work by reading their written responses to each other. Next they edited Lido's draft and then Ana's. The following dialogue started as they just finished working on Lido's draft and shifted to Ana's. Ana's essay was about the teenager pregnancy and early marriage. In the essay, Ana argued that a pregnant teenager should be discouraged from marrying right away

because the early marriage would harm the young couple's reputation, destroy their education, create financial problems for them, and have a high potential for divorce.

Lido: All right, let's talk about your paper.

Ana: All right, my paper.

Lido: Nice paper. 3

Ana: Thanks.

Lido: Good topic, eh?

Ana: Yeah, because I am pretty familiar with it.

That's why I didn't have to research on it. It's all in the Philippines. (Looking at Lido's response) Ok, you mean I have to prove on it? 9

Lido: Early marriage leads to divorce, right?

Ana: May lead to divorce.

Lido: Yeah, yeah.

Ana: Because I wasn't sure if it always leads to divorce.

Lido: So in that case, say, if a, if a girl gets pregnant, 15

Ana: Uhu,

Lido: what should the, what should the couple do about

Ana: do about?

Lido: do about that (pregnancy)? 20

Ana: You know that's already, that's going over border (getting pregnant is a mistake) already. So, eh, probably, stick to, stick to the idea that (early marriage) may lead to divorce, not thinking about what's going to happen to the child? What happen to you (getting pregnant), you know, that's something about the divorce itself already. I think what I shall do is to give examples and references, right?

Lido: Just give examples. 29

Ana: Sure. (Writes down "More examples.")

Lido: Yeah.

Ana: Ok, what else? what else? what else? (Questions asked in a manner of rapid fire) Yeah, I should counterargue. (Referring to Lido's written response) Remember? I counterargued, then I didn't answer it back?

Lido: Uhu, Uhu. 37

Ana: (Writes down "Counterargue.") Yes, what else?

Lido: I, I have a friend

Ana: I have, like so many friends, eh, one already got married here (in America), a month ago, you know Lucy? (Seeing Lido shake his head) No? that girl, and I have another classmate she got kicked out of my school and she said I have been raped. She got pregnant too. 45

Lido: Anyway, what the friend did? I mean, the girl got pregnant.

Ana: Did he marry her?

Lido: No, he didn't. She had a baby.

Ana: Yeah, maybe they didn't like each other.

Lido: I don't know, probably the guy likes the girl, physically.

Ana: Physically.

53

Lido: But you know it's too early to get married at that age.

Ana: Yeah, it's too early at that age.

Lido: So you know.

Ana: Maybe my primary, eh, primary - argument is that, eh, like adolescence is a time when you make your own decisions, your hormone is changing, and everything is changing, and you may be more mature, and in how many years, things may change, and things will change.

63

Lido: Uhu.

Ana: And so I offer the solution that they should not marry. Prestige (your family's and your own reputation) first, think about it.

Lido: But they are not marrying? They are, are running away from their responsibilities, you know?

Ana: Oh, wait a minute.

70

Lido: Because they are responsible for the baby.

Ana: I think, well, this is one thing I didn't say there, but I was going to say they are not marrying but with each other working together to support the, to support the kid after the woman is giving the birth. Yeah, I should put that. (Writes down "Stress that parents are still responsible even if they do not marry.") I think we're done.

...(Pause)

79

Lido: I think your paper is clear (according to the class norm) because you have the example.

Ana: I think your paper is clear enough. As I said, well, we should prove on those, on those two ideas (in Lido's paper) I mentioned a while ago, but it was clear.

85

At the beginning of this episode, Lido initiated the topic switch and began giving positive comments (3 and 5). Ana responded to Lido's compliment by explaining why she had done a good job. The reason she gave was that "I am pretty familiar with it (the topic). That's why I didn't have to research on it. It's all in the Philippines." (6-8). On the one hand, the reason was true. In the peer editing, Ana talked about her friends in the Filipino society. She also

expressed her cultural values and beliefs against sex and pregnancy before marriage, describing it as going over border (21-22), disgraceful [from Lido's written response, see Appendix D], and losing family prestige (66-67). What Ana meant by border was the bottom line for young people to behave. But what was the standard for such a border? In front of whom should one feel disgraceful? Who cared about family prestige and for what reason? In different societies and cultures, there would be different answers to these questions. In this case, Ana's points of view reflected her values and beliefs that had been nurtured in the Filipino culture.

On the other hand, it was not all true that she "didn't have to research on it", nor was it "all in the Philippines." As she corroborated in the interview, the societies and peoples she was thinking of in writing the essay were "mixed". The examples she gave to Lido included her friend Lucy who was now in America. In her essay, she also quoted examples from the books written by American sociologists and researchers. In this sense, Ana was constructing a social context that was a mixture of Filipino and American societies.

From the dialogue, we can see that Ana as the writer was eager to hear from the reader. After Lido asked her to give examples (29), she gave a very positive answer and wrote down "Use examples" on the response sheet Lido had done for her. She then asked four times in a row "What

else" in order to get more suggestions from Lido. Finally, Lido started to tell a story about his friend.

We can also see that Ana was eager to tell her stories. She interrupted Lido before he finished the first sentence of his story on hearing his narrative beginning "I have a friend." (39) In contrast to Lido's "a friend", she had "so many friends" whose stories she could tell as examples of the current discussion topic. She immediately told two such stories. Her friend in the first story was apparently in the United States because of the time (a month ago) and place (here) she gave and also because she asked the question "You know Lucy?" (41-42) Since Ana and Lido did not know each other in the Philippines, they could only have common acquaintance in this country. Though she used the word "friends" in the beginning of her story, she did not use it consistently. In telling the second story, she used "classmate" instead. What made Ana use an alternative word for "friend" might be her negative feeling to the behavior of those who got pregnant in their teens. We could also see her attitude from one sentence in the outline she wrote for her first rough draft, "Marrying early does not only harm your reputation but distorts your schooling and future goals." Lido did not get to tell his story until Ana finished her two stories, and the pair then exchanged their opinions on Lido's story.

In this exchange, Lido revealed his purpose for telling the story about his friend - to remind Ana that she should

stress the unmarried couple's responsibilities to their child. This turned out to be clear when Lido said, "They are, are running away from their responsibilities, you know?" (68-69) And then he stated in his next turn, "... they are responsible for the baby." (71) Before Lido made his argument clear, Ana restated her primary argument. Only after Lido stated his concern about the baby, did Ana realize the problem. After a little more thinking, she acknowledged that "this is one thing I didn't say there." (72-73) She then wrote down a note for herself: "Stress that parents are still responsible even if they do not marry."

Finally the writer ended the discussion on her draft by saying, "I think we're done." (78) Then they had a short pause. They looked around, and seeing that other pairs had not yet finished their work, they came back to exchange a final impression on each other's work (80-85).

By comparing the first two episodes, we can see:

The reader and writer in the second event were able to cooperate more effectively. As narrative self and narrative other, they became part of each other's stories. Ana's writing about teenage pregnancy and marriage evoked in Lido the memory of his friend's story, and Lido's story in turn evoked in Ana more stories about her friends. They used such stories to support each other and, at the same time, to explore the situation which evoked the writing. At first Ana stated that "It's all in the Philippines." (7-8)

However, through doing peer editing with Lido, she constructed a social context that was a mixture of Filipino and American society. This she corroborated when I interviewed her, "Yes, I was thinking of both societies. I had experience in both societies, and it's hard (for me) to think about just one in my writing."

Students' use of certain pronouns might be another way they signaled their collaborative relationship. Lido used "us" at the beginning of the dialogue (1) and Ana also used "we" at the end of it (83). Their use of the first person plural form suggests that as reader and writer they were more united than the students who used "you" and "I" in the first episode. There was not a clear You and I in terms of carrying on the task; the activity was truly interactive and cooperative. (See more discussion on the use of pronouns in the ninth episode.)

As a result of the activity being interactive and cooperative, the writer in the second episode better defended her point of view. When there was acknowledgement and appreciation, there was also argument. While this could be seen as resistance of the writer to criticism from the reader, it is more appropriate to assume from the context of this collaborative dialogue that the argument between the students enhanced their understanding and knowing others as well as themselves. In many cases, student readers or writers were not sure about what they, themselves, thought or wanted to say. Only when there was an argument, could

their points become clearer and better articulated. Unlike the earlier episode, disagreement led to elaboration, not defensiveness and dissatisfaction.

Readers in the second episode were also encouraging while being critical. This kind of reader responsibility had been structured by the teacher in the classroom context. Before students were asked to think about the paper's weaknesses, they were always required to point out the strengths. But students in the second episode were not passively following the teacher; they actively constructed themselves and the classroom culture in the process of peer editing. The fact that they could better defend their writing in peer editing increases the likelihood of their speaking out, arguing, and defending their views in other contexts. And this might enable them to enact themselves in the new culture and in turn to transform the social world.

The next two episodes were from the W-II classes. We can find a similar development pattern in these two episodes as we have seen from the first two episodes.

(3) Constructing Patterns and Norms in W-II at a Beginning Stage

What happened in the following episode seemed coincident with the happenings in the first episode: Students were appropriating teacher's goal in their work, but had difficulty doing so. They did not share their understanding of reader/writer responsibilities. Though a

worksheet directed them in addition to teacher's instructions, and though both partners claimed afterwards that they were trying to be cooperative, they did not seem to play their roles well.

This peer editing event was on Monday, March 16, 1992. In W-II class, students' first rough draft about an interview was due. When the class started, seven students in class sat around a doughnut-shaped table with their teacher Miss Kelly sitting on the side of the chalkboard. Miss Kelly started the lesson by dispensing the peer-editing worksheet [see Appendix E] to the students. She then gave detailed instructions about what to do in the peer editing, using the worksheet as a guideline. She told the students to use the first ten minutes to read his or her partner's draft and do the questions on the worksheet, and use the remaining ten minutes to discuss in the pair the drafts and the worksheets. She then asked the students if they had any questions. No one had any, so she asked the students to have their first rough draft ready and choose their own partners. She encouraged students to work with partners that they had not worked with before. It took the students a few minutes to pair with each other. Each pair sat close to one another while with some distance between the pairs. At first students worked individually and exchanged few words only once in a while. Each student read his or her partner's first draft silently and wrote down the answers to the questions on the peer editing worksheet.

Two students, Trang and Vicky, worked together. Trang had interviewed an American friend, Philis, and written a story about him. Vicky had interviewed her English tutor, a student in West College, and written a story about this tutor. The following is an excerpt of the conversation between Trang and Vicky in editing each other's drafts.

Vicky: How do you think of this paper? (Reads Question 1) How many paragraphs does it have?

Trang: How many paragraphs, four? 3

Vicky: Yeah, one, two, three, four.

Trang: (Goes on to answer Question 2) Yes, they actually have introduction interest you, and if eh, if eh, I think it will be more interesting if you add more information (in later paragraphs). Do not give the, the, the clue first, so they have to, they have to, like, 10 they just know that only one thing, like, like introduce paragraph, you give the information about, but so not give all, only little bit, and little bit, so they want to find out what happen a little by little in the body paragraph, give more and more, and in conclusion, just, eh, give my opinion of,

Vicky: Eh, 17

Trang: But this is a very interesting essay, make the other want to read more about it.

Vicky: Hmm, (Starts talking about Trang's paper) I know Philis, I know something about him. He is French American, oh, here, French American, not France. And here, if you are talking about a class or something, I think it better to say he is a (instead of "the") teacher, and he is a (instead of "the") student, and also, oh, here, they (Philis' parents) have to work hard at the time? 27

Trang: I just want to say that they have to work hard when his oldest brother was young.

Vicky: Aha, maybe because, because, maybe just say (his parents did not have time to help him with) his study, or something, maybe? I mean I understand you, what you want to say here.

Trang: It seems not clear. 34

Vicky: And, and, oh, here (pointing to the sentence "... his father is a head of family setting rules,") you say rules, and maybe you say some rules? add some?

Trang: That's fine, setting rules.

Vicky: Okay, that's okay. Eh, maybe, maybe here, here, (pointing to the sentence "... his mother made sure

her children getting the homework done.") she made sure her children getting, maybe getting should be got, past tense.

44

Trang: I think that's okay.

In this episode, Vicky, the writer, initiated the dialogue by directly addressing the reader, Trang (1). However, she referred to her own paper as "this paper" and "it" (1 and 2) as if she were talking about someone else's paper. This put distance between her and her writing. After counting the paragraphs, Trang gave a lengthy comment on Vicky's introduction, but Vicky did not seem to understand. Her only response was a short "Eh". Her tone suggested that she had something to say, but hesitated and did not speak out. So Trang went on to give some positive comments. Although Vicky did not seem to understand Trang's comments, she did not try to clarify his comments or defend her writing. As soon as Trang stopped talking about Vicky's draft, Vicky abruptly started her comments on Trang's draft after a short pondering "Hmm" (20). There was no hint that Trang had finished all his comments, or he was ready for the transition. Vicky's abrupt switch did not seem to be helpful in this situation.

Vicky's beginning comments on Trang's draft showed her approach to the text as a reader - to engage herself with the story by stating her personal relationship with the main character in Trang's story: "I know Philip." (20-21) Though she did not say anything else positive about Trang's draft, she did write some positive comments on the worksheet in answering the question, "What do you like about this essay?"

Her answer was, "I know Philip so I could learn more about him. Also it (the story) was interesting." After the initial comment, Vicky began to give Trang some suggestions: to change "France" to "French", "the teacher" to "a teacher", and "the student" to "a student" (22-25). Trang listened but did not immediately respond to her. Next Vicky tried to help fix the structure of a sentence (26-27). After two turns of negotiation, Trang acknowledged that the sentence "seems not clear." To Vicky's next two suggestions, Trang neither accepted nor negotiated with Vicky. Trang's "That's fine" (39) rejected Vicky's suggestion about a phrase, and his "I think that's okay" (45) rejected Vicky's suggestion about changing a verb tense. And two such rejections closed the conversation. There was no appreciation from the writer to the reader, nor other closing remarks.

We can see from the above excerpt:

First, two readers saw their responsibilities differently. At first, Trang followed the accepted procedures and tried to point out the strengths as well as the weaknesses of Vicky's writing and give suggestions for improvement. However, Vicky did not validate his suggestions and abruptly switched the discussion to focus on his paper. Her initial comment "I know Philip" suggested that she attempted to engage in dialogue that could establish a collaborative relationship between the pair. Nonetheless, she again switched too soon. After her words

about Philip, "He is a French American" (21-22), she immediately began to comment on details of form, "... oh, here, French American, not France" (22). Though her suggestions were all correct, they did not help building the relationship between the pair.

Then again as in the first episode, students played their roles as writers passively. Vicky just listened and gave no oral response to her reader though she did not seem to really understand or agree with him. Trang did not ask any questions either though he rejected some of Vicky's suggestions. We could see the tension in the interaction. On the one hand, writers were not sure about what their readers were talking about, yet they did not seem to know how to clarify the meaning; and on the other hand, the readers seemed to have a lot to say to the writers, but they did not know how to get the messages through.

Vicky and Trang both expressed their frustration about not being able to communicate more effectively when I interviewed them later. Vicky commented on their work,

I don't know what happened. I couldn't do it. I think he doesn't like to talk? To tell what he's thinking about? I don't know. He's just closing the door all the time. I cannot talk to him. Maybe that's because of his culture? I don't know. Maybe. I don't really understand him, but I was trying. I couldn't work with him."

For Vicky, communication was not just a problem between herself and Trang. In general, she thought it was hard to communicate with someone who spoke a language other than her native language Spanish. She said,

Here (in the United States), I have to be specific when I talk. When I say something, people always ask why, how come. Then I have to explain. In Mexico (her country), I can speak what I want. Here I have to think about what I am going to say, and I am not sure what I am going to say.

However, Vicky thought that things were getting better over time and peer editing was one activity that helped her. She never worked with Trang again in peer editing during the rest of the semester, but she felt that gradually she could communicate better with others in peer editing and other occasions.

According to Trang in his interview with me at a later time, he was trying too at the time he worked with Vicky. He said that it was hard to understand what Vicky meant to say, and sometimes he thought he was right so he did not take the advice from Vicky. Though he said that peer editing was helpful, he indicated that at first he thought only the teacher had the authority to check students' work. For a student who had stayed for many years in an educational system where peer work was not among the pedagogical practices, it would take him or her some time to learn the new cultural norms in school. And peer editing could be a good sociocultural as well as pedagogical practice for students to gain such cultural norms.

(4) Constructing Patterns and Norms in W-II at a Later Stage

To contrast with the previous episode, the one in this sub-section shows that two students actively negotiated and played their roles as writers and readers. Unlike in the previous episode, students also supported one another in building a collaborative relationship through peer editing.

It was November 25, 1991, almost the end of the first semester. After the teacher gave the worksheet [see Appendix F], she said only a few words about the general tasks the students were supposed to do in pairs before she asked the students to pick up their partners.

At this time of the semester, students were working on writing essays. The topic for this particular essay was about being successful in life. During the peer editing time, Eiko and Jae Yong worked together. Eiko's essay "Fragmented Japanese Family Bonds" was about Japanese businessmen's relationship with their families. In her essay, Eiko disclosed the increasing tension that Japanese businessmen's wives felt because their husbands had to work hard and could not have a regular family life. Eiko also explored the social factors that caused the problem. Jae Yong's essay "Ways To Be Successful" was about how to be successful in one's life. He argued that there were two keys to success: efficiency in using one's time and self-confidence.

The pair started with individual work, reading each other's draft, writing down the answers to the questions on the worksheet, and once in a while exchanging a few words. When they both finished reading and doing the worksheet, Jae Yong started to talk.

Jae Yong: Ok, (seeing Eiko resting on her arms) eh, are you tired? (Eiko shaking head) Ok, I want to talk first and I think this is like, eh, flowing water, very smooth, but I think it's not, not clear 4
sometimes because at, at first, I, I didn't find the place, place of thesis in the paragraph. It just like letter, something, yeah, I could find, like, I feel like a letter, to show us, Japan, Japanese, Japanese husband are like this like this, but it doesn't have any, like solutions, or suggest, like just to introduce us Japanese husbands are like 11
this, just this my opinion, and eh, (looking at the first question on the worksheet, "Read only the introduction. Does it make you want to read the rest of the essay? Explain why or why not?") "Explain why". That's why I don't know, why eh, and why, why, you think why, eh, it, made me read the rest of the essay? why? why? why do I made me to read the rest of the essay? 19

Eiko: Why do I want to read the rest of the essay? I am not sure. I don't know why, It's yours, yours

Jae Yong: Yeah, it's my opinion.

Eiko: So I want to explain why they don't communicate a lot. That's why I write they don't communicate, why it is open (the problem has become a common knowledge) now. I don't think whether it's all.

Jae Yong: So what? 27

Eiko: So I didn't tell about this (solution). You said to me there is no result became solution, right? But I didn't write the solution.

Jae Yong: You just introduced. This is why I want to

Eiko: I mean just because there is distance, it's open now. It's my opinion, It's the reason for me (to write about it). But there's somebody who doesn't think about this. 35

Jae Yong: Good idea. (Slowly says and writes down the following sentence which is formed by the words in Eiko' paper) I wonder why, why company system and Japanese economy make Japanese businessman not to communicate with his family. Do you think this is ok. I just write the same word.

Eiko: Yeah, why do you want to read. 42

Jae Yong: I just wonder why, why,

Eiko: Ok.

...(pause)

Jae Yong: (Starts to answer the second question) Last paragraph I think it is review of second and third paragraph and make a combine of Japanese economy and Japanese society. 49

Eiko: The economy system means the company makes people work hard so it means what, it's kind of vague, I should change this word, the situation in Japan.

Jae Yong: So you mean the 2nd paragraph mean the company want to make hard work, the 2nd paragraph

Eiko: The 2nd paragraph talk about eh, company make 55 them work harder and Japanese society like money is important economy, ok, it's talk about economy.

Jae Yong: Japanese economy makes people work hard for money, and family, and

Eiko: (family) may not be very important. 60
...(Pause)

Jae Yong: Sorry, I can't give you a good advice.

Eiko: It's good. You gave me some advice.

Jae Yong: The only thing I said is...

Eiko: It's ok. 65
...(Pause)

Eiko: (Starts with the second question on the worksheet) Your thesis statement is "to achieve your goal that everyone want success in any field, we have to spend our time without wasting and make 70 ourselves confidence about reaching success." right?

Jae Yong: What? What you mean? (to recorder, laughing) I can't understand what she's going to tell about.

Eiko: You can.

Jae Yong: You can, why? (Pointing to Eiko's answer to the first question, "I can understand what he is going to talk about.") This is why you want to read it?

Eiko: Uhhu. 79

Jae Yong: Ok. (Reads Eiko's answer to the third question) "He should explain more clear in each body, especially 1st body." Why why why this word (pointing to "first body") Is this for the second paragraph or the first paragraph? 84

Eiko: I mean, just body, especially 1st body. I understand well but the 2nd body is more clear because how you use the example of Rockey.

Jae Yong: Hmm.

Eiko: I understand more clear, I understand, but here (reads a sentence in the first body paragraph) 90 "Poster Hurt can't take a vacation because he doesn't want to waste his time." I want more clear around here.

Jae Yong: Why?

Eiko: (Reads the sentence again) What is this "waste his time?" 96

Jae Yong: Yeah, but, yes, but, I think you

Eiko: Vacation is not waste time and he wants the vacation too. In this essay, he said so. What you mean he waste his time? Business time?

Jae Yong: Yes, I think business time. Just I focus on this success business person he doesn't want to waste time, he want to work to use maximum time.

Eiko: Uuhu, he wants more time. 104

Jae Yong: More time.

Eiko: He needs a vacation too.

Jae Yong: Yeah, he needs a vacation, but he, he, his job is a business person, he focus on business time, not on vacation time. If, if he is a player, player, he must plays a lot. 110

Eiko: But I don't know.

Jae Yong: Instead of playing something, he works a lot.

Eiko: You mean it's natural, right? it's natural, but how do you know he doesn't want to take a vacation?

Jae Yong: He doesn't want the vacation because 115

Eiko: because he doesn't want to take his business time, business time or something, yours is very general. I don't know, ask her (teacher), I don't know.

Jae Yong: Ok. 120

Eiko: That's just my opinion, I don't know.

Jae Yong: Ok, ok, and

Eiko: I think it's a good job.

Jae Yong: Really?

This episode can be divided into two sections: the first one is about Eiko's draft (1-65) and the second about Jae Yong's (66-124). In the discussion, Eiko and Jae Yong used their classroom vocabulary, such as clear, solution, thesis statement, introduction, and body paragraph, but it is also evident that they were engaged in one another's ideas.

Jae Yong followed the classroom routine to give positive comments first, using a metaphor from his own culture - flowing water - to describe the smoothness of the writing (3). His compliment sounded genuine rather than dictated by the worksheet. Then he used another metaphor - a letter - to point out that the structure of the writing

was too loose (7-8). From Line 15, he started to involve Eiko in the discussion on the first question in the worksheet.

When Jae Yong suggested to Eiko that he did not know why he wanted to read the rest of the essay, his intention might be to challenge the writer - you did not make me want to read the rest of your essay, or he was being playful and joking, knowing he was supposed to do the job, or he was making fun of the worksheet, or he was eliciting Eiko's help to fill out the worksheet. Whatever his intention was, the effect of this move was to share responsibility or at least problematize it.

At one point, Jae Yong commented on Eiko's essay, "... it doesn't have any, like solutions, or suggest(ion), like just to introduce us Japanese husbands are like this," (9-12) Then after Eiko explained her purpose of writing the essay, "I want to explain why they (husband and wife) don't communicate a lot," (23-24) Jae Yong responded, "So what?" (27) "You just introduced." (31) It seemed that Jae Yong considered it a drawback that Eiko did not offer any solution to the problem. For him, it might be insufficient to just explain why there was such a problem if there was not any solution. But he finally accepted Eiko's explanation and wrote down on the worksheet why he wanted to read the essay, and this was the result of many turns' negotiation.

Lines 62-65 is about an apology Jae Yong gave to Eiko. Jae Yong might have felt sorry because he did not do all the questions himself. But it was also possible that he did not feel truly sorry. In some Asian cultures, to apologize is no more than a cultural routine for a speaker when he or she finishes talking. In the above excerpt, the apology that took place at the end of the first section may be seen as a conclusion of the section and also a transition to the second section. Right after it, Eiko started to comment on Jae Yong's draft by reading aloud her answers from the worksheet. Just as Jae Yong had done to her before, Eiko asked Jae Yong his opinion of his own writing by inviting him to comment on her summary of his thesis statement. Such move could be seen as relationship building and social lubrication.

It seemed that Jae Yong was being playful in shifting his role from the reader to the writer. He did not get into a serious discussion on his own writing right away, but sounded more like joking. He laughed and raised his voice to talk into the recorder, saying that he could not understand what Eiko quoted as his thesis statement (72-73). To this, Eiko just said, "You can" and ignored his next question, "Why?" (74-75) So Jae Yong moved his attention to the first question and said "OK" to this one (77-80). From the way they carried the conversation so far about Jae Yong's paper and Eiko's response, it looked like they did not think that differently. But when they started talking

about Jae Yong's first body paragraph, we could see how their way of carrying the task (joking and collaborative) made possible their substantial arguments and critique. They had a lengthy discussion (81-122) on the paragraph (especially one sentence in the paragraph), and the focus was on if a businessman should take a vacation and if that was a waste of time. Eiko and Jae Yong expressed totally different opinions about the question.

Eiko's stand complied with her ideas in her own paper, which described the problem of Japanese husbands' absence from home and loneliness of their wives. She showed great sympathy for the wives and concluded that Japanese people should "value on family more." [from Eiko's first rough draft of her essay written on 11/24/1991] She stressed over and over again in arguing that vacation was not a waste of time and businessman needed a vacation too (98-99, 106, 114). To consider Jae Yong's vacation question from her point of view, of course she would think that businessmen should spend some time with their families, including having vacations.

Jae Yong's idea conflicted with Eiko's because he was arguing from a businessman's point of view, that is, in order to be successful in your business, you had to work hard and sacrifice your personal life. The tension in Eiko and Jae Yong' argument reflected two opposite positions, which connected very much to their social and cultural selves. They did not reach an agreement until the end of

the section. It was unlikely that they reconcile the conflict of two deep-rooted values and beliefs in such a limited period of time. However, after they confronted the opposition, they learned the existence of other points of view that might be very different from theirs.

Finally, Eiko gave a general comment on Jae Yong's draft - "It's a good job." (123) And Jae Yong's confirmation "Really" (124) became the closing remark for this section of the dialogue. Their final words seemed fit into their playful conversation. Looking back, the pair signaled this "vote" frame from the beginning, which showed a way of relationship building.

To compare the fourth episode with the third one, we can see some development in peer editing in the W-II classes:

First, throughout the excerpt of the fourth episode, we can see that the reader and writer both participated actively in discussing each other's writing. They shared reader and writer responsibilities and had plenty of negotiation about ideas of their essays. However, this did not happen in the third episode, in which the writers listened to the readers but did not participate in the discussion of their own writing. They either accepted, or refused, or gave some kind of ambiguous response to the readers' suggestions. Therefore, topics were finished in one turn, and further discussion got stuck.

Next, students in the fourth episode followed the classroom routines better. Although they were critical readers, they also supported one another. This support went beyond the superficial compliment we saw in the first and third episodes, and students seemed to have gained more shared knowledge in the process of practicing peer editing during the semester. Talking about their experience later in the interview, Vicky and Jae Yong both said that it was in the process of doing peer editing that they gradually gained more positive view on the activity.

To compare FC-II with W-II classes, we can find the following:

Peer editing is a dynamic and developing process. In both intermediate and advanced levels, students were less comfortable with the activity when they started doing it. At the beginning of a semester, student writers listened to the readers but were reluctant to participate in the discussion on their own writing. Yet later in the semester, they became more comfortable and more engaged in the activity. They would still listen, but not in a passive way. They participated actively in the discussion as readers or writers and even defended the ideas they wanted to express in their writing. This change indicated that students had started acquiring norms of the American culture: to freely express yourself, to argue for your point of view, and to defend yourself when criticized. This

change of their selves might lead to their transforming the social world in the future if they enact themselves the same way in their social life.

Why, regardless of their language proficiency level, did the students need a period of time to get better in doing peer editing? One possibility is that peer editing is a cultural activity. For ESL students, it is a process of acculturation. At first, though students were in the same classroom, they did not have a lot of shared knowledge. Instead, they brought to class their own cultural knowledge which was a mixture of their long experience in their own cultures and a short one in American culture. In the process of constructing a classroom culture, there was misunderstanding, miscommunication, or even conflict among them. For example, many students had not been encouraged to be critical of each other in their own cultures. In some cultures, talking is not appreciated; it is, therefore, not nurtured from childhood and throughout one's whole life [Hymes, 1972]. The research questionnaire that students completed shows that over 90% of them had not had any experience doing similar peer work before they came to the United States. For these students, peer editing was culturally new. The cultural knowledge they brought to class did not apply or completely apply to the new situation. In addition to knowledge about peer editing, students also confronted other cultural values and beliefs

that appeared in their writing and talking about their writing.

Therefore, it is not strange that there were cases of misunderstanding and even conflict when students first started to participate in peer editing. When they stayed longer in a class, they gained more shared knowledge. They communicated better with more discussion and negotiation going on. There was still misunderstanding and confusion sometimes, but there was substantial difference between the peer work at the beginning and a later stage during a semester time. We see this happening in the four episodes in this section of the chapter. The analysis of other six episodes in the next two sections focuses on how students enacted themselves and their ethnic identity in peer editing, but these episodes also provide evidence for the developing patterns and norms of peer editing in these ESL writing classes.

This research was conducted in a limited period of time, and the examples we have seen mostly showed indications for further change or the beginning of change in students' relationship and classroom culture. There are other studies that provide the support for my assumption about students' possible change in the long-run. Among these studies, Lu's study [1992] about writing and acculturation supports the notion that students' change can take place in the process of their learning to write. According to Lu, writing process enables students to

continually "act on rather than merely react to the conditions of her or his life, turning awareness of the situation into 'inner change' which in turn bring about 'change in society'." [p.888] In learning to write, sociocultural as well as linguistic conflict that students experience is painful but also constructive. It can be used in a positive way to facilitate students' ever changing of their ethnic identity and their acculturation.

Although in both intermediate and advanced levels the classroom culture developed with time, there were differences between the two levels in terms of students' level of socialization into the American culture and society. I will discuss in more detail this difference and its meaning in the next section.

Ethnic Identity and Acculturation in Peer Editing and Rewriting

In the last section, I have focused on the construction of the relationship between the writer and the reader when they negotiate the texts in peer editing, but I have not dug deeply into students' writing. In this section, I will look closely at the content of the texts, and the related episodes from the peer editing. What do the students write? What do they talk about? What is the content of their discussion? And what do they revise in rewriting? In answering these questions from a sociocultural perspective, we can further see the interrelations between the writer,

the reader, the text, and the social context, and moreover, we can see in these interrelations a dynamic changing of students' ethnic identity in the process of their acculturation.

In the writing process, peer editing is a step between writing a first rough draft and revising or rewriting it. I will explore the sociocultural meaning of peer editing by examining these sequential steps: first rough draft, peer editing, and rewriting. We will see how students edited their first rough draft, and how peer editing affected their rewriting and revision.

I will give three examples (episodes five, six, and seven), each of which includes one or two students' first rough draft (in most cases parts of the draft), the episode of peer editing related to the draft (including written response in some cases), and the revised second draft (the relevant parts). The first example is about a personal narrative writing, "My Family"; the second one is about an argumentative essay, "Divorce and Its Effects on Children", and the third one includes two research papers, "Rehabilitation" and "Our Lord - the Emperor".

(1) Breaking Down the Ethnocentrist View of the Self

In this episode, we can see how an ESL student began to break down the ethnocentrist view of himself and redefined himself in the peer editing.

Toward the mid-term in the first semester, students in W-II class had a chance to write stories about their families. At the time, students had a number of topics to choose from. They could write about a family member, or their own experience as the oldest, middle, or youngest child in the family, or they could write about one of their parents as the role model in their life, or they could choose to write about the whole family. Dong-Won, a student from South Korea, chose to write about his whole family: his parents and three siblings. The following is his first rough draft.

My family

A relationship between my family and I are the relationship between a needle and thread which means it cannot be separate. A needle have to be together with thread and I have to be together with my family.

I have parents, one brother and two sisters. First, my father is very strict, so whenever I talk with my father, I feel very uncomfortable. I felt it has a wall between my father and I. Which means it cannot be like a friend. However, he is very nice person. Second, whenever I talk my mom, I feel very comfortable, because she is not strict at all. She is such a warm person, so I can tell her about my problems and what happen in the school. Third, I feel really comfortable with my brother. I really respect him as a adult, because he has a responsibility for take care of us. In the U.S., my parents are not here, so the oldest who is my brother has to take care of us. Also whenever I fight with my sisters, he always on my side. I really like him. Fourth, my older sister is like my mom. When my mom is not at home, usually, she cook, wash laundry, and clean the house. Even though she is only two years older than me, she is more mature than I do. Finally, fifth, I'm really close to my younger sister, because she is a year younger than I, so I request a lot of things to her. Sometimes I bother her a lot, because she is the only one who can do my order. Therefore I feel very comfortable with my younger sister.

My family cannot be separate. We will be all together forever.

In this story, instead of just describing his family members, Dong-Won told his story by exploring his relationship with and feelings toward each family member. He was the narrator as well as one of the characters in the story. He started introducing his close relationship with his family by using a metaphor from Korean culture - "like the relationship between a needle and thread." Then in the body paragraph, he wrote about his relationship with each of the five family members, his father, mother, elder brother, elder sister, and younger sister.

Dong-Won' story tells us that he regarded the family relationship as very important in his life. Though he loved everyone in his family, his relationship with each of them was a different kind. This situation was basically decided by his position in the family - the third child of four and the second son. His father was an authority figure. Not only did Dong-Won feel "uncomfortable" with his father, but his mother also never talked back to his father. His mother, warm and kind, made Dong-Won feel "very comfortable" to be with. His elder brother, the first son in the family, acted like his father when the children were not with their parents. Dong-Won felt "really comfortable" with him, "really respect him," and "really like him." He did not directly say how he felt about his elder sister, but from his description of her, mature and responsible, we can see the nature of his relationship with her. (In his second

draft, he added that his sister "is also pretty.") His relationship with his younger sister was unique in the family because she was the only one he could take advantage of. He felt comfortable and close to her, giving her orders and teasing her. In conclusion, he had a close relationship with all the family members for different reasons. He considered the tension between his father and him as normal and fine; and his fights with his sisters did not prevent him from loving them. In such a family, Dong-Won felt that he belonged to it and would never be separated from it.

Though Dong-Won loved his family very much, he never used the word "love" in the whole story. As in other Asian cultures, Korean people don't use the word "love" to describe in public their feelings to even the closest family members. They use a moderate word "like" instead, as Dong-Won did in his story. To people who are not familiar with the Korean culture, the failure to use "love" may come across as poor word choice. The question about the word was not raised in the peer editing probably because Dong-Won's partner Noriko, who was from Japan, shared his feeling to the word "like". When I interviewed him, Dong-Won told me that he felt "love" too strong to be used in his writing. In Korean language, "like" is literally used among family members.

Dong-Won's family was somewhat between the two cultures - the Korean culture and the American culture. All four children were in the United States to be educated and they

would stay permanently in this country. But the father's business was in Korea so he would come to visit his children for only a short period of time once in a while. The mother came more often than the father to take care of the children, but she would stay home with the father for some considerably long periods of time in the year. When the parents were not with the children, they coped with the situation very well with the eldest brother playing the father's role and eldest sister the mother's role.

Family support and a strong cultural base might be one thing that helped Dong-Won gain a positive attitude - an "additive" one [Gibson, 1988] toward the American culture. In the interview, Dong-Won talked about his positive life experience in the United States, saying that he had a lot of friends, including some American friends. Unlike most of the other students, he found that it was not that difficult to make American friends. He was also optimistic about his future in the United States.

Two places are notable in the peer editing Dong-Won did with Noriko. One is when Noriko asked Dong-Won to add a sentence in the introduction to make his metaphor in the introduction clearer to his readers.

Noriko: You need to add a sentence here (pointing to the introduction).

2

Dong-Won: Why?

Noriko: It's not clear. People don't understand.

Dong-Won: Some people understand, some people don't know. This is too clear. Everyone understands it. Even children understand it. I think people understand. I am smart.

Noriko: I don't know this (I am not sure that everybody understands it). Do you have an eraser? It's good to add a sentence, you understand. 11
Dong-Won: You have to add a lot. This is not easy.

Noriko read Dong-Won's introduction and thought the metaphor needed further explanation for people to understand, so she asked Dong-Won "to add a sentence" in the introduction (1). But Dong-Won did not like the idea because in his opinion, the meaning of the metaphor was so clear that everyone should understand it, though he also admitted that "some people don't know" it (5-8). Then Noriko insisted that she did not know it and "it's good to add a sentence." (10-11) At this, Dong-Won gave another reason for not doing so, that is, if he did add to it, he needed "to add a lot" and "this is not easy" to do (12).

It is notable that though Dong-Won seemed unwilling to further explain his metaphor, he realized from Noriko's request that not everyone understood the specific saying from his culture. This was something that he did not realize before and did not accept at first. "Some people understand, some people don't know." Who were the people that understood and who were the ones that did not? This was a good question for himself and others to think about. Was it true that "everyone understands it"? If it was, then why did some people, at least one person, Noriko, feel not sure about it. On Noriko's side, she was puzzled by the Korean saying written in English. To her Dong-Won's explanation "which means it cannot be separate. A needle have to be together with thread and I have to be together

with my family" still did not help her to understand the exact meaning of the metaphor. This indicated that cross-cultural understanding failed. Afterwards Dong-Won thought about Noriko's suggestion, but still decided not to add anything to the first paragraph. He explained this when I interviewed him, "The metaphor I used, I think after they read my second paragraph, they can understand."

From the above example, we can also see that using the same language, English, did not automatically guarantee that students understood each other. When a student used English, he or she could still be strongly influenced by his or her own culture. Then when challenged by another student with a different cultural background, he or she had to reconsider what he or she took for granted before. He or she had to realize that not everyone shared everything in this world. This kind of challenges prepare students to gradually break out an ethnocentric view of the self, and add new features to his or her ethnic identity.

And the other noticeable place in the editing of Dong-Won's writing was when Noriko had a question about Dong-Won's description of his father.

Noriko: What do you mean "uncomfortable"? You don't like him? 2

Dong-Won: You don't understand? He is my father, I like him. But... 4

In his first rough draft, Dong-Won used three lines to describe the tension between his father and himself and half a line to say that his father "is a very nice person." From

reading those three lines, Noriko got the impression that Dong-Won did not like his father, so she asked. Dong-Won was surprised again to learn that his "clear" expression was not understood. He then tried to explain how could he not like his father. Though he ended with a "But..." and did not talk about the improvement on the spot, he did add a lot more about his father in the revised second draft. He developed the half line into a nine-line description about how nice his father was and changed the word "nice" into "wonderful".

... First, my father is very strict, so whenever I talk with my father, I feel very uncomfortable. I felt it has a wall between my father and I. Which means it cannot be like a friend. However, he listen to me and he talks about his childhood. Whenever he does these things, I feel comfortable. Also I feel really sorry for him, because I study in the U.S. with my three siblings, so he has to make lots of money. Actually, six months ago, he come to the U.S., and he had sightseeings around here. He really loved it, but he couldn't stay here for a long time, he had to go to Korea because of his business. Anyway, he is a wonderful person. ...

This was not just a quantitative change. He redescribed his relationship with his father. He did not always feel uncomfortable with his father. There were times when he felt comfortable. He also showed that he understood his father's feelings as a loving father. Thus he made his argument stronger - the "family cannot be separate" and "will be all together forever."

This is one example of students during peer editing reaching out to others, reflecting on themselves, and redefining themselves. This again could be a first step for

students to evolving their ethnic identity and acculturate into the American culture. In the interview, Dong-Won summarized his feeling toward the peer editing:

... I think it very helpful to work with peers, especially Noriko is from Japan, and I am from Korea, so when I write something, because I lived for long time in Korea, I think of, when I think in Korean way to approach some idea, maybe the other country, the other culture, not every culture understand what I mean, so when we work together, we are from different country, maybe she doesn't understand sometime, so she, she want to ask me: 'I don't understand. What is this?' Then I got an idea. Ah, it's my own expression, and here I can change it, my work, to easy, to make easy understanding.

(2) Growing through Cultural Conflict

In this episode we can see how different cultural values and beliefs conflict with each other in peer editing and how a student was growing through such conflict. He decided not to lose his cultural values and beliefs, and he also gained new insights into them.

Toward the end of second semester, students in FC-II class wrote an argumentative essay. This time, before students did peer editing in class, they exchanged their essays with one of their classmates and wrote a reaction to it. After writing the reaction, they did peer editing in class.

Barbak's first rough draft was 7-page long, titled "Divorce and Its Effects on Children". In the introduction, Barbak raised his argument:

An unhappy couple has to stay married in order to provide their children with full parental care without

allowing their own problems to conflict with this duty, so that a healthy future of the children may be secured.

Following the introduction, Barbak wrote nine more paragraphs to explain why he had such a point of view. He saw this as a serious problem in American society, which he repeatedly called "our society" in his essay. He cited many studies from American researchers. However, his argument reflected his cultural values and beliefs: couples with children should not divorce. During peer editing, Barbak worked with Maida. In her written response to Barbak's argument, Maida agreed with Barbak that divorce set a bad example for the children. Then she continued:

As much as I believe of a strong family bonding, I think that ... if the parents are not happy living together, then they might as well proceed with the divorce. If they are also staying together for the benefit of the children, their home would always be chaotic because their parents would not stop fighting if they do not get along. This kind of arrangement is not also a good family example for the children.

This shows that Maida did not agree that children could be well raised in an unhappy family. Then in discussing Barbak's essay, they had the following dialogue:

Maida: If you (husband and wife) live together, you don't get along, you have to fight, right? 2

Barbak: Right, you have to get along, You have to get along, you have to.

Maida: I mean, that's really funny, I mean 5

Barbak: No, it isn't, because I don't want, if I divorce, that's set a bad example for your children by showing that you are giving up, by showing that everything is finished, by showing that something like this is possible, that's disgraceful. Why 10 should the children have to see how the parents go apart?

Maida: You are living together, you fight and you still set a bad

Barbak: You are not supposed to fight. 15

Maida: Let's be realistic here.

Barbak: No, you are not.

Maida: Is it possible for you not to fight in front of the kids?

Barbak: Right, that's what you're supposed to do, not in front of them. 21

Maida: But somehow

Barbak: I'm saying that's something that has to be controlled.

Maida: Maybe you can control it for a while but 25

Barbak: That's my point of view.

Maida: I agree with you, just the

Barbak: I just think divorce shouldn't happen. You have to know who you'll marry. 29

Maida: You cannot really tell because, ok, for example, I will get married to somebody, somebody who I found, who, I mean, I really love, and I found I'll love him forever, forever, somehow, something happened, so, in one of those days, you can't tell what's really going to happen although at the very beginning, you really loved each other. 36

Barbak: Yes, it's just, if you decide to make your children, if you want to bring certain people to the earth to carry on your name, you decide you are going to make something together that will represent you in society, and if you produce that and you divorce to destroy the life of your 42 production, that's not the whole point to get married. (not clear) ... I am saying issue of divorce shouldn't even be brought up when children are present, because the consequence of your divorce. I write here, six, seven consequences. 47

Maida: It's not fair why if a father has an affair with

Barbak: Right, exactly, if a father or mother goes often to have an affair with someone else, knowing that she has a child, what kind of example is that, what kind of example is that setting to your child, you do something like that. 53

Maida: What about secret affair?

Barbak: Secret affair? That's something else, if it comes out, I am saying, I am saying, it shouldn't even come out. It's not we are not happy, but we have to stay together. That's not the point. The point is the situation like that should not even come up to lead to a divorce because there are 60 children present. That's what I am saying. Before you have an affair with somebody, you have to know that you have children. You can't do it. That's the whole point of my paper. I am not saying now we're fighting and we have to stay together. No, that's not the point of the paper. The point of paper is more, it shouldn't even come to a discussion. It 67 shouldn't even come to a divorce. Maybe I didn't make it clear, what I want to say is more like it

shouldn't even come to a divorce. Let's talk it out,
and try to change. 71

This episode can be divided into four topics: fights between couples (1-28), marriage and divorce (29-36), reasons to have children (38-47), and the consequences of an affair (48-71).

In the beginning of the first topic, Maida asked the question about the fight which she had mentioned in her written response. (1-2) Barbak immediately answered "Right", but he did not mean to say yes to Maida. Instead, his "Right" was connected to his next statement which contradicted Maida's meaning - he denied that there should be any fight (3-4). But Maida insisted that it was impossible not to fight. In the following seven-turn dialogue, they did not reach an identical view on this point. At last, Barbak said "I just think divorce shouldn't happen." Then he switched to the next topic by saying "You have to know who you'll marry." (28-29) This led to a discussion about whether you could be sure that you marry the right person. According to Barbak, you had to know who you would marry so that you would not think of divorce after you got married; but for Maida, you could not tell at the time you married what was going to happen. Barbak regained the floor by saying "Yes", and dismissed Maida's counterargument (love is irrelevant) (37-38). He then started to talk about why people had children: one reason was "to carry your name," (39) and the other was to "represent you in society." (41) For Barbak, this was consistent with his

cultural values and beliefs. This time, Maida did not directly comment on Barbak's point of view. Instead, she brought up another question, that is, what if a father had an affair that caused fight between the couple. Barbak answered that such a thing should never happen because it would lead to divorce. He then summarized "the whole point" (64) of his paper.

In the process of debating, both Barbak and Maida took the issue in a personal way. They used the pronouns such as You, We, I, Your (children), etc. (1, 3-4, 6-8, 13, 15, etc.) to refer to the married couples facing the crisis of divorce, though they were both unmarried. At the same time, they were aware that the problem was also social because it could not be discussed independent of a specific society. According to Barbak's paper, the society he was thinking about in writing was American society. However, from the solutions and rationales he offered, we can see his own cultural values and beliefs. Like Ana in the second episode, the social context in his mind when he was writing was a mixture of his native country and America.

Barbak's ideas conflicted a great deal with Maida's because it reflected the conflict between cultures. When Maida said "Let's be realistic here," (16) she was thinking solely about American society because, as she pointed out later in her interview with me, "This (the United States) is where we live now." Maida was from a Catholic family. Her belief was that "as a Catholic, you shouldn't divorce", but

she "would just talk realistically". She was "not just thinking about her religion, but also how other people will react" to the issue of divorce. In her opinion, one should take American society into consideration in talking about divorce. Some of the questions she raised in peer editing had not appeared in Barbak's earlier drafts, but in his later drafts there was evidence that he had begun the process of finding ways to accommodate his values and beliefs to his new social setting.

In writing the second draft, Barbak added a conclusion in which he wrote what had been discussed in the peer editing:

One might also argue that it is not realistic for parents who are in a conflict to remain married just for the sake of their own children. Yet marriage is a commitment and not simply a game that a couple can quit playing after becoming bored. Most married couples decide to have children so that their own traits and attitudes, which they consider to be the best, are passed onto the next generation. Yet if they want their child to exhibit the desired behavior in the future, they will have to make sure that their child develops into a healthy adult. As we have seen, a divorce impedes such development and therefore has to be avoided. Therefore it is crucial that unhappy couples settle their problems by contacting counsellors who are specialized in this field. If external help is not desired, then the establishment of rules within the house is also very effective. An example of a rule would be not to argue in the child's presence. Whatever the solution might be, the child should not be treated like a tag rope. It is crucial for unhappy parents to realize that their child is not an object but more an individual, who needs support and love from both parents on his way towards maturity.

In this paragraph Barbak used "one" to refer to Maida and others who, like Maida, thought that his idea "is not realistic." He then argued for his point of view, using the

language he used in his dialogue with Maida: "Most married couples decide to have children so that their own traits and attitudes, which they consider to be the best, are passed onto the next generation." "An example of a rule would be not to argue in the child's presence." It was in the dialogue with Maida that Barbak began the process of finding ways to accommodate his values and beliefs to American culture and society. He decided to add these in his conclusion because he learned from the peer editing that he had ignored the American context (69-71) and he had to add those things to show the "whole point" of his essay (63-64).

Barbak's change in his rewriting indicated his first step of acculturation into the American culture. It was possible that when he was in his own country and surrounded by people who shared same culture, he took his cultural values and beliefs for granted. It was through cultural conflict that he gained new insights into both his own culture and American culture. This is an example of how an ESL student negotiated his ethnic identity in an ethnically plural situation. It suggested that students had to be prepared for changes in a multicultural context.

(3) Constructing a Non-Ethnocentrist Self

In this episode, we can see how peer editing helped students explore their ethnic identities. Students started to see the difficulty of cross-cultural communication: What had been "obvious" in a unicultural context might not be the

same in a multicultural context. And their attempts to dialogue across their differences enabled them to carry out the process of acculturation.

On Wednesday, March 18, 1992, students in FC-II did peer editing on their first rough draft of the mid-term research paper. Yanling and Hazuki were a pair. Yanling did research on rehabilitation - a process of restoring a person's ability to live and work as normally as possible after disabled from injury or illness; and Hazuki did her research on the Japanese emperor - its past, present, and future. They started with reading each other's draft and exchanging a few words. Hazuki also wrote down some comments while reading. Then they started to comment on one another's draft. They began with Yanling's draft.

- Hazuki: The whole thing looks nice, but one thing, I don't even see any transition. The only paragraph is... eh, from here, and this is all one paragraph.
- Yanling: No, they are separate, actually, this is first paragraph, and that is the second one. Well, because I didn't indent. That's my problem, and you know, 7
- Hazuki: So, you have to indent.
- Yanling: Yeah, I know, I know. 9
- Hazuki: I don't see any thesis. I see many points you want to say, but you have to have a thesis.
- Yanling: Sure, I will.
- Hazuki: There aren't much grammar mistakes, except a few type mistakes. 14
- Yanling: Oh yeah.
- Hazuki: I saw some of them. It's like just typing, typing, so that's not your problem.
- Yanling: Uhhu?
- Hazuki: (Looks at worksheet Question 1) You said you didn't include the thesis statement, right?
- Yanling: Yes, I didn't do that. I am trying to find some thesis that can tie everything together, you know, tie everything together. 23
- Hazuki: Maybe you should focus on one point which you really want to say. If you want to talk about the

patient, you should say more about that point and focus on that point, rather than give a few sentence for each point. Maybe you should point out, this is really what I want to say. 29

Yanling: Hmm.

Hazuki: It should be very clear.

Yanling: Yeah.

Hazuki: And some other terms, like, your are medical student, you know some of the terms, but for non-medical student, it might be difficult to understand all the terms. Maybe you just explain a little bit. 35

Yanling: Yeah.

Hazuki: I guess that's okay. I think if you write on, you will write more. This is only four pages, and you are going to write more, right? 41

Yanling: Right.

Hazuki: This is only your first draft. I think it's okay. It's pretty good. Explain a little bit the terms. 45

Yanling: Uhhu.

Hazuki: That might help others to understand.

Yanling: Uhhu, thank you.

Hazuki: What's this part? 49

Yanling: This' where I get the references, just a journal, that's my reference, American Journal of Nursing.

Hazuki: I like the way that you have numbers because it explains. 54

Yanling: Yeah, thank you. I haven't written down, so the weakness is like,

Hazuki: The transitional words.

Yanling: Oh, yeah, so the transitional words, and to emphasize what I really want to say? Or whatever my thesis is? And, eh, transitional words? And what did you say? You said give more detail? 61

Hazuki: Yeah, detail, to explain medical terms.

Yanling: Oh yeah, okay.

Hazuki: What about mine? 64

Yanling: I don't know. Your paper seems to me is like really well done. You did

Hazuki: Thank you.

Yanling: You did, I mean, everything. You did introduction. 69

Hazuki: Not really, introduction, oh, I am going to write introduction, but this part II is the part I have written. This is not going to be the only part.

Yanling: Okay, to me, like I don't really understand them. The background of what's happening in Japan, so to me, it's very interesting, especially, like the back, you know, all the history background, but I read it really fast, so I didn't really see those history background, background really helps, helped

your thesis. I mean, I don't really get that, 80
because to me, it's like you just tell all those
events and actual events and all those people's
name, but I don't really get it. Why you really
give that history background? Maybe I didn't read
it carefully.

Hazuki: Should I take out or something? 86

Yanling: No, I don't know. I think it's better for
your essay, but to me it's like, it seems to me like
you pick up all those instances that are really
important, but you, you might want to tie with your
thesis, like say, why, why is, in this incident why
the Emperor is really important? Something like
that? 93

Hazuki: Yeah, maybe, I like to put the evidence and
then explain why I did it.

Yanling: Yeah, yeah, actually, that's like my paper, I
put everything into it and then do the explanation
later, maybe.

Hazuki: It's like you understand because you did your
research, but to others, it's kind of 100

Yanling: I know, I know,

Hazuki: a new topic.

Yanling: Yeah.

Hazuki: You know all the things, what's going on,
Yanling: but it didn't really tied to your thesis, but
the rest of it, it's pretty good. It's really
interesting to me, like, I didn't really know all
those history events, evidence, or, to me it's
really interesting.

Hazuki: So I have to make others understand. 110

Yanling: And for my paper, I really think I need to put
all the evidence together and have this one pie. It
will be really helpful.

This whole episode can be divided into two parts, one
about Yanling's draft (1-63) and the other about Hazuki's
(64-113). In the first part, Hazuki first pointed out the
need for transition between the paragraphs. Here Yanling
admitted that she had two problems, the transitional words
and indenting. Then Hazuki pointed out a few other problems
she found: there was no thesis statement, there were a few
typographical errors, and some medical terms needed
explanation. Though Yanling argued a little bit about the
problems, she basically accepted all the suggestions. By

the end of their discussion about Yanling's draft, she herself summarized the problems with Hazuki's help (55-63).

Both Yanling and Hazuki had each chosen a topic that they were familiar with or interested in. And the topics they chose revealed something about their evolving ethnic identity. Yanling's topic was one that she would not have been able to write about if she had not been in this country for a while. It was not just some facts in her field of study, but also about herself. When she did the first rough draft, she did not tell her personal story, but merely used the materials she had collected - journals, books, and so on. In peer editing, she learned that a research paper was also personal in terms of its writer's interests and knowledge. When she did the second draft, she added a first paragraph in which she described her own experience helping a patient recover from her paralysis.

Last month, I went to the State Rehabilitation Hospital for my nursing class. Mrs. Smith was assigned to me by the instructor. Mrs. Smith had right C.V.A. which means that the left side of her body was paralyzed. I still remember the first day I met her: she seldom used her left hand during the meal, it just hung there like it didn't belong to her body at all. While the physical therapist stood her up and tried to get her to move her left leg, the left leg just dragged behind her as if it wasn't under her control. But three weeks later, the last day of my rehabilitation clinical, it was another scene: Mrs. Smith used her left hand freely during the meal, and did jigsaw puzzles by using her left hand. More impressively, she is now able to walk without any assistance for about twenty feet. Mrs. Smith was very happy and said to me, "Because of the rehabilitation care, I am able to stand up again and live my life independently."

In this paragraph, Yanling told a story about herself working in a clinic. Though this was a research paper, personal life stories found their way to it. This shows the position of narrative in academic writing. In the interview, Yanling told me more about her life on the new land. She came to the United States to be a nursing-major college student about three years before. In addition to the scholarship she got from the college, she worked part-time all year round to support herself. She was expecting to graduate from the college as a nursing major in a year and a half. She had been working very hard to realize her dream in this society. She was proud of herself and her telling of her own story in her research paper had a special meaning. That is, she has done all this as a Chinese. What she had done is far beyond just having learned the English language, she was also becoming a professional in this new society. From her relationship with her patient and colleagues in the clinic, we can see the kind of social relationship she had established in this society. She had been doing well in making effort to become a competent member of this society.

She used her own story to tell what rehabilitation is. She also used this example to lead to two later paragraphs. In one she wrote, "Mrs Smith is just one of the millions of disabled people who benefit from rehabilitation care. However, throughout history, disabled people have not always been treated respectfully." She then briefly recalled the

history of rehabilitation. In the other place, she wrote, "In my rehabilitation clinical experience, not only did I see Mrs. Smith recover and ready to go home, I saw all of my classmates' patients go home with confident smiles on their faces. ... Besides, not only has my own experience shown that rehabilitation is successful, but also a lot of research has been done which affirms that the patient profits from it." This part led to the further research evidence.

Hazuki's research paper was about Japanese Monarchy. In her first rough draft, she introduced the Japanese Monarchy, its past and present, and discussed its future. Her argument was that the Emperor and Monarchy was part of the Japanese history and tradition. Since the old Emperor was dead, the crime he committed in the World War II had also become history. The new Emperor could become the symbol of Japanese tradition which Japanese people would enjoy and cherish.

In peer editing, the main issue that Yanling raised about Hazuki's first draft was to clarify the background about Japanese monarchy (74-85). "It's like you understand because you did your research," (99-100) Yanling observed. She also admitted that she did not know much about the cultural background in Hazuki's paper and this made it difficult for her to understand what Hazuki was trying to say in her paper. As Dong-Won and Barbak in the previous examples, Hazuki thought she had explained everything

clearly. But all at once they realized that some people did not understand such "obvious" matters. They could not help wondering what the problem was. This is another example of cultural miscommunication.

Hazuki's research paper showed her cultural knowledge and interest. She was from Japan and had a strong sense of a Japanese identity. She came to this country when this school year started. However, she was in this country with her family from 1980 to 1985 and learned her English. She thought, on going back to Japan in 1985, that she was an American girl. Having been educated for five years in the United States, she felt her difference with her Japanese peers. Then six years after she left the United States, she came for the second time. She spoke fluent English and could read and write fairly well, so she got into the Freshman Composition II Class right after she came. However, Hazuki realized when stepping on this land once again that she was a Japanese. She was too young to really understand her ethnic identity the first time she was in the United States. Now she saw that she had her own ethnic identity that made her different from others. Yet, being in this country, she had to make others understand her (110).

In the interview, Hazuki told more about her feelings toward the cross-cultural communication in the peer editing:

... I tried to write as much (background) as I can (in my research paper). When I talk to Japanese, even a stranger, I can assume he or she knows something, so I can just say a little bit. Then he or she would understand. It's hard to communicate with others who

don't share the culture, opinions, thoughts. A person from a different culture doesn't know anything (about my culture). You have to speak a lot to make him understand. If you share your culture and feeling with some person, it's easier, but if you don't share, it's more hard.

In this section, I have focused on the content of students' writing, the peer response to their writing in doing the editing work, and the rewriting after the peer editing.

From what students wrote and said, we can see that their English language level was closely related to their acculturation. Advanced students were likely to be in a higher level of acculturation. They wrote more about American society and their life in this society though they were still concerned about their own ethnic group. On the other hand, students in the lower language learning level wrote more about their own society and culture in which they had lived for a long time. But they also started to show concern about the society they were living in now. After all this was their current life world. They could not immediately know all about it or feel they belonged to it because it was so different from their original life world. They needed time to do so, to become acculturated in the American society.

What students wrote and said also shows that when students were doing peer editing in the same class, they paid attention to the basic problems that they shared, to acculturate into the American society. As students knew

more about the new culture and how it worked, they would have a broader perspective on the problematic social issues and their own situation, and they would ask themselves if that was the situation they wanted, how they could change it, and how they wanted to express themselves in their action for change.

Peer Editing beyond Rewriting - A Sociocultural Practice

The previous section focuses on the first three groups of my research questions. We can see that peer editing was full of sociocultural meaning for student writers when they wrote, did editing with others, and then rewrote. This section will continue to explore the sociocultural meaning of peer editing, focusing on the fourth group of my research questions: Does peer editing only have meaning for student writers? Does it have any sociocultural meaning for student readers? And if it does, what is the meaning we can see from peer editing episodes? To answer these questions, three peer editing episodes (episodes eight, nine, and ten) are presented and analyzed.

(1) Peer Editing as a Self- and Social-Constructing Process for All Participants

The eighth and ninth episodes in this sub-section were from the same peer editing event. These episodes indicated that peer editing had sociocultural meaning for student readers as well as student writers. In doing peer editing

students constructed themselves and this was a first step for them to act on transforming the social world. Students explicitly talked about their ethnic identity and how they wanted to evolve it in American culture.

At the beginning of the first semester, FC-II students did a writing exercise - to write an argumentative essay. This was before Mr. Beran gave any instructions on this kind of essay writing because he wanted students to experience it first and get some feelings about it. Also no peer editing was done on the first rough draft of this essay though students did get feedback from Mr. Beran before they revised their first rough draft. Mr. Beran then graded the revised papers, but he told the students this grade was only for his reference, that is, he would not count it into their final grades. One of the students, Shinya, wrote an essay titled "International Students at West College". Near the end of the semester, with Shinya's consent, his essay was edited by the whole class divided into groups. At that time, students had learned in class about how to write an argumentative essay [see Appendix G. Students used this worksheet in a previous peer editing], so this was a chance for them to review and examine what they had learned. The major difference between this peer editing event and the rest was the roles that students played. This time since all the groups in the class edited the same essay, all the students except one were readers.

During the peer editing, students worked in groups of three. In each group, they shared a copy of Shinya's essay and a peer-editing worksheet [see Appendix H]. They first read the essay, and then went over the questions on the peer-editing worksheet.

The main idea of this essay was that international students and American students should increase mutual understanding. This was crucial if international students were to learn English language faster and better, and more importantly, to have a better life in the United States. Shinya described a few incidents that had happened on campus. These incidents showed that misunderstanding existed between international and American students. Shinya advocated that international and American students make an effort towards a mutual understanding and friendship. Here is the essay.

International Students at West College

What do international students feel about staying at our college studying everyday and talking only with other international students? Do they feel they want to talk with Americans? Lately, most of the international students, especially Asian students, do not try to go out with Americans. They only keep in touch with students who came from the same countries or those areas whose culture is similar. Isn't that sad? This is nonsense. Think about why you came abroad to a different and strange country you had never seen before. They must learn about America - its history, culture, values, and language as well. Obviously, we, international students, need to take an action that will change our life style in the U.S.: we need to realize that we are required to assimilate into American culture.

It is necessary to get closer to native Americans to know what the customs here are. Also, it helps us to

accelerate in your English abilities in speaking, writing, reading, and listening. To understand American habits such as their special customs, ritual, and religion is the most important matter for you. It is the first thing you have to do after you arrives here from your country so that you can learn the new language as easily as your native language through your new knowledge and friends.

It will be too late to start our action unless we stand up right now. Otherwise, there will be something happened which influence our life here. For instance, one occurred at the end of last semester. That happened in an Anthropology class right before the final week. The student president of the Japanese Awareness Club was invited to give students a lecture about Japanese culture. The content of his lecture, the first half of his speech, was no problem because he avoided a deep analysis of Japanese culture, yet some of his speech was absolutely wrong. In that class, even though there was a Japanese student, the lecturer just kept giving wrong information about Japanese culture without asking her. Furthermore, he offended the culture itself. This story became big news on campus among international students, professors, and African and Hispanic American students. At this time, some of the students recognized what had been going on between international students and native Americans. We all, including American, did not know about different cultures at all. We should have communicated more with Americans, so that this incident could never have happened. There was a big lack of knowledge in cross-cultural understanding.

On the other hand, international students take a conservative attitude towards Americans, chiefly White Americans. They tend to complain about American culture in which they do not try to assimilate. for example, an overseas student went to a bookstore to get some stationary goods and he asked a salesperson where the articles he was looking for were. The salesperson immediately asked him to repeat himself. At this time, Americans usually say "What?". After the student was asked, what he thought was that the salesperson was so mean to him because she responded with displeasure. He kept telling this story saying she was a mean salesperson. In my opinion, almost all international students experienced this kind of things here, because some other language have respect saying which are used in these situations. What the salesperson said was considered one of harsh words for him. This incident happened because of a student's lack of understanding about American and different culture. He should have learned them before he went.

Now we must all stand up and try not to have anything like these unfortunate incidents so that we

have a better life here in the United States. International students tend to ignore to learn new culture, instead they get together with other international students; similarly, Americans never have any understanding about other cultures. This certainly causes some controversy between international students and Americans. Therefore, we must think about getting closer to each other and learning what the different cultures are. By doing this, international students can have a big confidence to spend life here and we all are able to have a internationalized sense throughout studying. Now, all Americans and international students should corporate together studying about other culture to maintain our college life better, so that staying at our college will be the most unforgettable to all of us.

The essay reflected Shinya's awareness of his dynamic ethnic identity. He was sensitive to the feelings and attitudes of American students towards himself and other international students. He saw the existing problems and wanted to fix them. What he and other international students could do was to get close to American students. As he put it, the purpose of coming to the United States was to learn about "it's history, culture, values, and language as well."

In the essay, Shinya used the word assimilation a few times and gave readers the impression that he thought the best solution was to be completely Americanized. But after careful reading, we can find what he meant by assimilation was actually acculturation. He did not want to give up his own identity. Instead, he thought that international students should acquire American culture and also introduce their own cultures to American students. Shinya's thinking in the essay showed a non-ethnocentrist view of the self, his willingness to seek understanding from others, and his

desire to have a multicultural learning environment for all the students in West College (see especially his conclusion).

The peer editing on Shinya's essay showed that students had a positive attitude toward the topic of the essay. They were interested and concerned about the issue that Shinya raised in the essay. They agreed with Shinya's main idea which advocated the mutual understanding and friendship between the international students and American students who were studying in the same college. They also liked the examples in the essay.

Students were likely to share Shinya's thoughts and feelings because they were in the same situation. When they read the essay, they identified themselves with the writer. They might have had the same experience as the writer, or they might have found what the writer thought and felt was exactly what they thought and felt. In a word, they found themselves in the essay instead of outside of it.

Therefore, their discussion on the essay in doing the peer editing was not just from the outsiders' viewpoint; their interpretation of the essay was their reflection on themselves. In peer editing, students showed that they understood what Shinya was talking about and they shared with him a positive attitude toward a cross-cultural understanding and acculturation. From the following group discussion, we can see how students made sense of Shinya's essay.

One of the groups had three students, writer Shinya and other two, Carlos and Huifang. They were summarizing the fourth paragraph when the following dialogue in the episode started.

Carlos: What do you think? 1
Shinya: What do I think? I think, I think, the fourth paragraph is about the attitude of international students, about American culture.
Carlos: is about 5
Shinya: Yeah, attitude towards the new culture
Carlos: I think, it's more like to keep your own culture.
Shinya: Keeping, you mean the old culture, right? Your native culture. 10
Carlos: Yeah, keeping your, your native culture and put it into the American culture.
Shinya: Hm, you are right.
Carlos: And it will solve misunderstanding. 14

The above discussion started with reader Carlos asking the writer Shinya to summarize the fourth paragraph. Shinya repeated the question, and after saying "I think" twice, he gave his opinion (2-4). Carlos was not sure if he got it and asked Shinya to clarify what he just said. Hearing Shinya's interpretation, Carlos showed some disagreement by giving an alternative, "It's more like to keep your own culture." (7-8) But this was not all. After another turn's negotiation, Carlos came out with a better idea, that is, "keeping your native culture and put it into the American culture, ... and it will solve misunderstanding." (11-12 and 14) To this, Shinya agreed.

This is a dialogue in which the reader and the writer negotiated the meaning of the text. The writer used the term assimilation but he did not only mean that

international students should learn American culture and become Americanized. This was only one side that he wanted to focus on. The other side was that American students should learn other cultures and understand international students. In the peer editing, the reader made it clear that they understood what the writer really meant - one should keep one's native culture while socializing into American culture. This was an additive attitude toward the new culture(s). It shows how, in the process of peer editing, one student's writing could make others reflect on themselves, and in turn their expressions could give the writer new ideas about what he or she had written.

The following is another excerpt from the same episode, in which the group discussed the question whether this essay was argumentative, the group produced the following conversation.

Shinya: (reads Question 3) "Do you consider this essay argumentative? Why?"

Huifang: I don't know, I don't know.

Shinya: OK.

Carlos: You need to think of it. 5

Huifang: Eh, yes.

Shinya: Yes?

Huifang: Because, it's about the international students to enter, to know about American culture.

Shinya: Uhhu. 10

Huifang: and we will have better life in the United States.

Shinya: Uhhu.

Huifang: He argue about... Did you

Shinya: I don't know.

Huifang: OK, OK, I mean the author mentions, OK? The author mentions he has problem and has a suggestion, that's all.

Shinya: It's easy 19

Carlos: Eh, it make, it makes you to think, to have different experience with other students

Huifang: different? or the same
 Carlos: different or the same
 Huifang: Yeah, kind of 24
 Carlos: Do you think it's fine with the author?
 Huifang: No.
 Carlos: Why not?
 Huifang: Hay, you can answer. Don't just ask a
 question. That's not fair. 29
 Carlos: It's fair.
 Shinya: Did he answer anything against the thesis
 statement?
 Huifang: You didn't really have the suggestion.
 Shinya: This is the thesis statement. 34
 Huifang: There is no suggestion.
 Shinya: What do you think? OK, I got it from you. I
 get from Carlos.
 Carlos: from myself. I think it is argumentative
 though it doesn't have any counter-argument. 39
 Shinya: Uhhu.
 Carlos: I didn't see a clear thesis statement. Where
 was it? It say in order to learn their language, you
 have to get into culture.
 Shinya: So you guys think the essay is argumentative.
 Carlos: Yes, this is argumentative. 45
 Huifang: What do you think? How about you?
 Shinya: Ah?
 Huifang: What do you think?
 Shinya: What do I think? Wait a minute. That's "there
 is not counter-argument". 50
 Carlos: No counter-argument, but it calls for action.
 Shinya: It is what?
 Carlos: It calls for action at the end.
 Shinya: It cause?
 Carlos: It calls, calls, 55
 Huifang: c-a-l-l-
 Shinya: OK, all right, this is over.

In the discussion, at first no one directly answered the question, that is, to give a definite yes or no to the question if this was an argumentative essay, just as Carlos put it, "You need to think of it." (5) They then discussed the writer's main idea, the thesis statement, the counter-argument, and the conclusion. They finally decided that the essay was argumentative though it did not have any counter-argument and the thesis statement was not clear either. The essay was argumentative because it argued about the

necessity of international students' understanding and socializing into the American culture, the problems they encountered in this process, and the possible action they could take.

In the above negotiation, Shinya, the writer, was the last one that acknowledged the essay was argumentative, on which both readers had agreed. Huifang asked him twice, "What do you think," (46 and 48) but got the answers such as "Ah" and "Wait a minute." (47-49) Later he said, "That's 'there is no counter-argument'," (49-50) meaning that he was still not sure. At this, Carlos said, "No counter-argument, but it calls for action." (51) Shinya had some difficulty understanding the word "calls", but as soon as he was clear about it, he agreed with his readers, "Ok, all right, this is over." (57) Shinya commented on this group work later in his interview with me, saying that he learned new words and got new ideas about his own essay. Though he did not rewrite the essay after the peer editing, what he had learned would benefit his writing in the long run.

In another group there were also three students: Jiahao, Maria, and Peter. The writer was not in the group, so three readers worked together to negotiate the meaning of the text. From their conversation, we can see how students helped one another to understand the text, negotiated the relationship between themselves, and enacted peer editing as a self- and social-constructing process. The following is

how they started their discussion and summarized the second to the fifth paragraphs.

- Peter: (Reads the whole essay). 1
- Maria: Ok... Now... We're asked to summarize each paragraph.
- Peter: Oh, we should mark the problematic parts?
-
- Jiahao: OK, so international students have to, have to manage to learn more English.
- Maria: To inform themselves.
- Peter: English and their customs.
- Maria: English ability and ... 10
- Jiahao: To understand the culture.
- Maria: (Reads and writes down) OK, international students should assimilate with Americans in order to improve their English abilities and gain knowledge about American habits and customs. OK, paragraph three, eh, eh... 16
- Peter: This is the action we should take.
- Maria: Eh, yeah, yeah, this is about actions should be taken right away in order to avoid, eh,
- Peter: Further problems and misconceptions?
- Maria: Yeah. (Reads and writes down) Actions regarding this problem should be done right away in order to avoid 23
- Peter: Further problems and misunderstanding.
- Maria: Further problems and misconceptions. OK, number four. (Reads the fourth paragraph) see, they, they misunderstand the action of Americans because they never try to mingle with Americans, so, they don't know what, what, their attitude, what the Americans' attitude is, you know. 30
- Peter: That's right.
- Maria: Uhhu, so, eh,
- Jiahao: International students, they, they don't try to understand American culture.
- Maria: International students don't understand 35
Americans because they don't try to, they, they, they neglect, or they neglect them, or they don't try to get to know them. (Writes down and then reads the fifth paragraph).
- Jiahao: We have to talk to them so that they understand our culture also. 41
- Maria: International students and American students should try to cooperate, in order to, to understand each other, yeah, to, in order to improve our relationship in a sense? or in general? in order to? in order to,
- Jiahao: to maintain, in order to improve our understanding of each other's culture.

Peter: The same thing as, OK, the paragraph three, the
action should be taken 50

Maria: Uhhu

Jiahao: to maintain our culture, to maintain our
culture, this is what he says, to get together, to,
Maria: (Reads the fifth paragraph) and, and to
experience a better life? a better life? 55

In this 55-line conversation, the group summarized paragraphs 2 to 5. As readers, students were trying to catch the writer's ideas in the essay. Following the development of the essay, they discussed the following questions: what international students should do ("international students should assimilate with Americans", 12-13); why they should do so ("to avoid further problems and misunderstanding", 23-24); the problem that existed ("international students, they, they don't try to understand American culture", 33-34); and what every student at West College should do ("international students and American students should try to cooperate, in order to, to understand each other, ... to improve our relationship", 42-45).

However, students did more than summarizing. Some of their words and expressions signaled their reflection on the essay. For example, Jiahao said, "(International students have) to understand the (American) culture" (10), "We (international students) have to talk to them (American students) so that they understand our culture also" (40-41), "(The action should be taken) to maintain our culture" (52). Jiahao's words were his own words, which were not explicitly used by the writer. His last idea ("to maintain our culture") was especially developed from the writer's

original ideas. Another example was students' use of the word assimilation. Like the writer, they used the word in a sense of acculturation [see Note 6]. But they did not just follow the writer to say so, they have their own thinking of the issue. We can see this from the pronoun "we" they used in discussion.

Students' continually shifting of ground in using "we" signaled the operating of their multiple identities: "we" as peer editors, "we" as international students, and "we" as West College students. First, students used "we" to refer to the peers working in their group. That was when the conversation started, Maria and Peter both used "we" to refer to all their group members (2 and 4). Second, students used the word to refer to the international students. Peter (17) and Jiahao (40) both used the word in this sense. By so doing, they identified themselves with the international students in the essay. Finally, students used we to refer to West College students. Maria (45) and Jiahao (47-48) both used "our" to mention international students and American students at West College. Here students narrated themselves as sharing some commonness with American students, that is, they were both students though they represented the two sides that needed much effort to understand each other.

(2) Supporting One Another in Acculturation

The episode in this sub-section indicated that in the peer editing process, a student writer's writing and talking evoked in student reader his thinking about himself. This further suggested that students could find support from one another in the acculturation process. Therefore, both student writers and readers benefited from doing peer editing.

In late March, Ayako, a student in W-II class wrote a story about her experience of being the middle child in the family. She did peer editing with Elving. They started with reading each other's first rough draft, using the worksheet to write down the response. When reading, Elving showed curiosity about Ayako's wearing old clothes from her siblings. He told his own story about a similar experience he had when he was younger.

Elving: When I was fifteen, my brother, he was eleven,
he, he takes my clothes. I don't like it. 2

This is a piece of personal narrative, invoked by Ayako's writing. Instead of wearing old clothes from his siblings, Elving passed such clothes to his younger brother. He told the story from another perspective, an elder brother's perspective. What he was trying to say was that he, like Ayako, did not like the experience either. Therefore, he shared Ayako's feeling shown in her story. Elving's talking about his experience showed an understanding of Ayako's story and also made the

relationship between them close. This part of comments was not directly about the writing, but it was important because it helped to define the relationship between the reader and writer, that is, the reader identified himself with the writer. This was significant for the writer too because it made her realize that her writing had been acknowledged by her peer and she might want to keep on doing what she had been doing.

Then after a while, in the middle of his reading, Elving pointed to the last paragraph and asked Ayako:

Elving: Are you going back to Japan?

Ayako: My mother, brother, sister will go back to Japan. I am staying here.

Elving: Your family went to Japan just for vacation?

Ayako: No, they stay there. 5

Elving: You'll stay here?

Ayako: Yeah, I want to learn English. I don't have any idea to study in college.

Elving: Are you happy? 9

Ayako: I like the space here. I have to drive to go shopping. In Japan, we don't need to. I don't like drive.

The topic in this episode is evoked by the last paragraph of Ayako's story, where Ayako mentioned her parents and their three children. Elving asked if Ayako was going back to Japan. Ayako said no but her mother, brother, and sister would. She also explained why she was going to stay behind, that is, to learn English. Elving was then concerned about if she was happy here in the United States.

It seemed that Elving was very interested in Ayako's staying in the United States to learn English. Elving himself was in such a situation that he needed to learn

English as quickly as possible. In my interview with him, he told me his life story. He had immigrated from Columbia a few months earlier after he married an American woman. He was a medical doctor in his country with four years working experience. After he came to the United States, he was required to pass exams for a doctor's license in order to work as a doctor, but he was not able to make it because of his limited English. He had been learning English and working in a hospital as a doctor's assistant. He took English classes from morning till four o'clock in the afternoon, and then went directly to the hospital to work until midnight. He was full of hope for the future, but he also felt the harshness of the life. So when he asked a question about Ayako's feeling about staying in this country, he had his own answer in his mind. Ayako's answer was only about her first impression of the United States. When they were doing peer editing about Ayako's story about her family, she was not prepared to answer the question in detail. But her answer in that context was not really important. What we could see is that Elving asked such a question, and the reason for him asking was that he was very concerned about it. This was the question that was in his mind and he wanted an answer for it. The United States was where he was living now, and he always had his homeland in his mind to compare with this new land. He had asked himself many times why he was here. Before he made the decision to immigrate to this country, he had compared the

two lands and made a choice. And now experiencing a new life in this land, he could not help asking the same question over and over again. He was then also interested in hearing from others what they thought of this new land.

Students were constantly seeking and giving support to one another in peer editing. Even when they were discussing specific language problems, they were building relationship between themselves. In this excerpt, Elving pointed out a few problems in Ayako's draft and gave her some suggestions about how to improve her draft, for example, to use appropriate pronoun "her", to correctly write a sentence with "as if", and to add a conclusion to the story. Another example is Vicky in the third episode, who gave her partner Trang straight forward suggestions about the use of articles and adjectives. What students looked for in peer editing was not just correct answers to language problems, but also understanding and establishment of a collaborative relationship between themselves. The mutual support could make students see that they were not alone in facing this new culture and society, and they could help one another evolve their ethnic identity and acculturate into American culture.

In this section, I have focused on the meaning of peer editing beyond rewriting. Even when student writers were not required to rewrite after the peer editing, or when they did not seem to have accepted all the suggestions for

rewriting, they still benefited by participating in this constructive activity. For student readers, peer editing was also meaningful. Though readers did not have the responsibility to rewrite for the writers, they benefited by interacting with student writers and other readers. Peer editing is meaningful for every participant because it is a sociocultural process.

In peer editing, student readers and writers are narrative selves and narrative others in active interaction with one another. They tell and retell their stories. They then become part of one another's stories, and find support in one another in enacting their ethnic identities and acculturating into American culture and society.

Students' writing and peer editing are closely related to the social context. Exploring themselves in writing will at the same time enable them to explore their social situations. We see this happening in episodes eight and nine, when students identified themselves with the writer and took the social context of writing as their true social situation. They talked about how to enact themselves in this social situation and the possible actions they could take to change the situation. All this indicated that peer editing provided opportunities for students to explore their changing selves, and in the process prepared them to transform the social world.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has examined peer editing from a sociocultural perspective: how students interact as narrative self and narrative other, how they evolve their ethnic identity, and how they acculturate into the American society. And such examination has been made possible by answering the four groups of my research questions.

First, I have attempted to answer the questions about how students do peer editing in groups or pairs, the interactive norms and patterns that can be found in peer editing, and the way students construct this piece of classroom culture. From the first four episodes in Chapter V, we can see that student writers and readers actively negotiated and constructed the cultural patterns and norms.

Though students seemed to have difficulty playing their roles as readers and writers and cooperating with one another when they first started doing peer editing in class, they were able to gain more shared knowledge in practice. For ESL students, peer editing was really a cultural activity. In order to be able to participate in it actively, students negotiated and constructed cultural patterns and norms. The first four episodes in Chapter V suggested that at the beginning of a semester, students had limited negotiation about their relationship, their roles, and their writing. However, by the end of a semester,

students could more effectively negotiate and play their roles as readers and writers. The social relationship they build among themselves indicated their change in the new culture.

Second, I have attempted to answer the questions about how students show concern about the issues of ethnic identity and acculturation in writing and subsequent peer editing, and what they write and say about these issues. We can see from all the episodes that students wrote about themselves in all kinds of writing. Since students' selves were social selves [Burkitt, 1991], to write about themselves was to face the social situation in which they live. Shinya's essay (see the eighth and nine episodes) "International Students at West College" made Shinya seriously think about how to live in the United States as a minority person. In peer editing, students shared Shinya's thoughts and explicitly talked about the social actions they could take to construct a better social relationship between American students and international students. Their ideas strongly suggested that they would like to acculturate into American culture with an additive manner [Gibson, 1988].

Students also wrote and talked implicitly about their ethnic identity and acculturation. When writing and talking about her research paper, Hazuki in the seventh episode showed an awareness of her ethnic identity. When she was younger, she thought she could easily become totally Americanized, but now she realized the difficulty of

acculturation and ever changing of one's ethnic identity. This was a true starting point for her to enact herself and her life world.

Third, I have attempted to answer the questions about how students do rewriting or revision through peer editing, how they carry out self-reflection, self-definition, and self-enactment, and how the outcomes of peer editing affect students' acculturation. Episodes five to seven showed a few cases of students' rewriting through peer editing. These cases suggested that peer editing and subsequent rewriting could help students enact themselves socially and culturally. Dong-Won in the fifth episode reflected on his relationship with his father and redefined this relationship in rewriting. In doing so, he had a better understanding about one kind of human relationship. More significantly, he showed a non-ethnocentrist view of his ethnic identity and his willingness to add new features to it.

And finally, I have attempted to answer the questions about what in peer editing is meaningful to student writers when they do not seem to directly take student readers suggestions and make changes in rewriting, why peer editing is also meaningful to student readers, and how this meaning is manifested in peer editing process.

The findings indicated that the significance of peer editing could be seen not only in students' rewriting, but also when student writers did not make obvious changes in their rewriting. In such cases, student writers were still

benefited. Student readers, too, were benefited from participating in peer editing. We see this happening in the tenth episode when Elving and Ayako told their life stories in peer editing. By so doing, they could find support in each other in enacting their ethnic identity and acculturating into American society. Another example is Maida in the sixth episode. In her interview with me, she verbalized her own change over time in peer editing from a reader's perspective,

I might change (my ethnic identity) in some way, but not totally. ... I changed over time in peer editing. When I checked others' paper, I didn't really want to criticize their paper. I would say, 'Oh, This is good. This is good.' I would rather be positive because I didn't want to hurt other people. Then I learned in doing peer editing in order to help other people improve their paper, you really, I mean, you have to balance. You have to criticize and give them some positive response about how to write.

In summarizing the answers to the four groups of research questions, we can see that the ever changing of ESL students' ethnic identity is the most important change in students' self-enactment and acculturation. For ESL students, ethnic identity is a process, which does not have a fixed nature but is subject to change over time and place. And this change is influenced but not passively determined by the social context. Students can choose to change in an additive manner, that is, to add new features from the new culture to their old ethnic identity.

The change of one's ethnic identity in an additive manner is to acculturate into a new culture, and ESL

classroom can be the place that facilitates the change. Peer editing as a process of cultural interaction has a great impact on students' acculturation, and the process of acculturation in turn influences peer editing. ESL students, who want to socialize into the American culture without being "melted", can do so by writing and telling their own stories. When they interact in peer editing, they first become aware of their ethnic identity in the cross-cultural contact, and this is a key step in acculturation [Wurzel, 1988]. This step might lead to further steps - to have a non-ethnocentrist view of the self, to seek understanding of others and be willing to contact the unknown and unfamiliar, and to seek change in both the self and the social world.

Narrative, either written or oral, is the key element in the ethnic identity [Johnstone, 1990]. The change in narrative causes change in ethnic identity, and the change in narrative is the result of active interaction between narrative selves (in my case, student writers) and narrative others (student readers). On the one hand, student readers have a decisive influence on the writer. They can help the writer gain a new understanding of himself or herself, give the writer a new image of his or her ethnic identity, and help the writer understand the new culture and society. On the other hand, the writer can help readers do the same things. When the reader and the writer talk together, they become part of each other's story [MacIntyre, 1981]. They

both change dynamically in the process of writing and peer editing. This is a sociocultural process, in which ESL students are becoming competent members in both old and new cultures.

Implications for practice:

1. This study suggests that peer editing could be an indispensable activity in ESL writing. Some do not agree with this because they think that peer editing may make students have wrong image of themselves or feel themselves better than what they really are. And some are concerned about ESL students ability to perform the job, thinking that they would only share "ignorance". In a word, these people do not believe that ESL students are benefited by doing peer editing in the writing process.

My study shows that in their learning to write, ESL students could have much to contribute to their learning and this contribution should not be undervalued. Though in a sense they are at a disadvantage in the new society, they do not necessarily acquire the new language and culture passively. They could be active participants, engaged in negotiating their roles and responsibilities, constructing the social relationship for themselves and responding to interactive social process and demands.

In peer editing this sociocultural practice, students could also provide support for one another. Students need such support to face the tension they experience. In the

language acquisition process, students may constantly feel a tension between their knowledge and understanding of the new language and culture and the actual new language and culture. In Kress' term, this is a "sustained resistance." [1989, p.90] To solve the problem, students need support from both their teachers and their peers. From my study, we can see that in peer editing, students actively negotiated the meaning of their writing. They could help others as well as themselves make progress in language learning and acculturation.

ESL students appreciate this chance for them to actively construct their relationship with each other and to learn about acculturating into the American culture. Huifang in the eighth event summarized her feeling about the peer editing,

Peer editing is very helpful. I like it very much. ... What I think is what I (was) taught before. It's very hard to become an American even if you speak fluent English. But I kind of like here (the United States). ... I can communicate with people from other cultures. I did this in peer editing and we helped each other.

2. My study also suggests the significant position of personal narrative in writing and peer editing. Though some argue that college students should focus on "academic writing", it is doubtful how pure academic this kind of writing could be.

In my study, students did all kinds of writing, including academic writing such as argumentative essays and research papers. What they wrote were personal as well as

academic. When Yanling in the seventh episode wrote a research paper on rehabilitation from a professional's perspective, her narrative about her personal experience combined well with the explanation of her point of view. And much of the narrative was added after the peer editing, when Hazuki asked Yanling to clarify some of the medical terms in the paper. In peer editing, students worked together as narrative selves and narrative others. Their knowledge gradually changed as their peer demanded change in the language of narrative writing.

In my study, genres such as lab reports, which do not allow integrating life stories into the text, did not appear. It would be interesting to study how students use those genres to write and then edit their writing among themselves. According to Bruffee [1986], all kinds of writing are social practices, including scientific writing. Using as an example, Bruffee quotes a story about two biologists, who changed their proposals many times through their negotiations with their peers. We may need more evidence to say that personal narrative can be used to negotiate all kinds of writing, but we can see that personal narrative was crucial in students' writing and peer editing in the ESL classes of my research interest.

3. This study also indicates teacher's importance in organizing and directing peer editing. Peer editing can be done in various ways, and in different classrooms the methods that work may also vary. This study does not focus

on how teachers organize and direct peer editing, but we could feel teachers' existence in the whole process of students' work, from peer editing worksheet to the language students used in discussion and negotiation. Since there is no one best way that works in every class, it is teacher's responsibility to choose or design the method that may work best in his or her classes.

Implications for research:

This study used peer editing as one pedagogical practice in the ESL writing class to explore the sociocultural meaning of ESL learning for students. While the study offers interesting beginning information in the area, it would be important to conduct more research of this kind.

More research needs to be done in the similar programs at other institutions. The research should be conducted in more private colleges and in institutions of a different nature, for example, public colleges, community colleges, universities, or adult schools. We can then compare and contrast the research findings to look for the patterns of how ESL students evolve their ethnic identities and acculturate into the American society through peer interaction in their learning to writing.

The present study also deals with only one pedagogical practice in ESL writing. There are many other practices such as teacher-student conference, dialogue journals,

readings for writing, etc. It would be interesting to examine these pedagogical practices from a sociocultural perspective. This kind of research will certainly contribute to our better understanding of the whole writing process as a sociocultural process.

Finally, the study suggests that a longer period of research will be more appropriate for drawing generalizations. Since the study deals with a process of change over time, the changing patterns would be seen more clearly if they could be observed over a longer period of time. The observation in this study lasted for only one semester in each case. If a group of ESL students can be followed from the beginning to the end of their staying in an ESL writing program, a lot more would be observed concerning how students evolve their ethnic identity and acculturate into the American society. This does not mean that ESL students start to change only when they get into a writing program or they stop changing when they exit it. The change of ethnic identity and acculturation is a life long process for many ESL learners. But the years when they are in a writing program may well be as a critical period of time for the reason that the learning process has a strong impact on their current and future life.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Where did you grow up?
2. How long have you lived in the United States?
3. What is your first language?
4. Do you speak any other language(s) besides your native language and English?
5. How old were you when you began learning English?
6. Do you plan to stay in the U. S. permanently or temporarily? Why?
7. What is or is going to be your major at West College?
8. What is your career goal?
9. Did you do any peer work similar to peer editing in school in your own country?
10. When did you start doing the similar kind of peer work in school?
11. What do you see as the purpose of peer editing?
12. Do you find peer editing on your writing to be useful?
13. Do you find peer editing on your classmates' writing also helpful to you?
14. Do you have any suggestions for peer editing work?

Your name, please. _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

APPENDIX B

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (1)

FC-II

Here are some suggestions for responding to other students' essays:

1. First, react to the writing, giving your own thoughts and feelings about the content of the piece.
2. Be supportive by looking for and finding some aspect of the writing which you thought to be effective. For example, you can say, "I like how you did X because of Y."
3. Next, ask the writer honest questions about points that confuse you or point out areas that you would like to see developed further.
4. Finally, when giving the writer negative criticism, give a reason: "I don't feel that X is working because of Y." Keep suggestions for improvement to a minimum. Let the writer offer her own solutions.
5. Be brief. Be sensitive to the writer.

Suggestions for the receiver of feedback:

1. Ask for specific feedback on some aspect of the writing you're not sure of or want to work on more.
2. Listen actively. Take notes on what is being said.
3. Ask questions for clarification if you don't understand what is being said.

Aspects of writing to consider in giving feedback:

- * What do you most enjoy/admire/appreciate/like about the writing?
- * Does the essay move well? Is it easily readable?
- * Is enough information presented?
- * Do all the parts interconnect? Are ideas clearly part of a pattern?
- * Is the word choice effective?
- * Is the grammar relatively free of error?

APPENDIX C

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (2)

FC-II

Read your classmate's paper. Then answer the following questions. Possible answers are YES NO SOMEWHAT. Remember to explain why you have given a particular answer.

1. The paper is clear.
2. The paper is informative and educational.
3. The paper is convincing.
4. The paper makes sense to me.
5. There is a clear thesis statement in this paper.
6. The body paragraphs have clear main ideas.
7. These main ideas support the thesis.
8. There are digressions in this paper.
9. The paragraphs are linked together through the use of transition signals (words, phrases, and sentences).
10. Sometimes I had to stop and reread a section because I didn't understand it.
11. There are examples of plagiarism in this paper.
12. The author gave proper reference citations for all ideas and quotes taken from other sources.
13. all quotes are necessary quotes.
14. The conclusion makes sense.
15. The conclusion is satisfying.
16. The author has consulted a variety of sources in the research process.
17. The list of works cited follows correct MLA format guidelines.

***** 1. The strengths of this paper are

***** 2. The weaknesses of this paper are

APPENDIX D

LIDO'S WRITTEN RESPONSE TO ANA

Frankly speaking, I like your paper but it would have been more influencing if you had asked and counterargued some questions of your argument. You said that pregnant teenagers should be discouraged from marrying because of the following reasons: that marriage is a sacrament vowed by lovers who accept responsibilities, that early marriage may lead to divorce, and that early marriage conflicts with your studies. You might want to say that different cultures and family backgrounds have different approaches to this problem. You might want to offer solutions to teenage pregnancy aside from not marrying. In what other ways would the couple be better off? What should they do to the unborn baby? You said that early marriage may lead to divorce. Do you mean that they should disregard the baby if they were to find someone (other) whom they really love? What about their responsibilities to the child and moreover, to each other? You also mentioned that early marriage is a disgrace to the family's reputation. Don't you think that by not marrying the family's reputation will be spared? Gosh, I can't think anymore, I'm bust. Good luck in your paper.

APPENDIX E

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (3)

3/16/92 W-II

Working with a partner

1. How many paragraphs does the essay have?
2. Does the beginning of the essay, the introduction, interest you and make you want to continue reading?
_____ How does it do this?
3. Has the writer used any of the expressions we discussed from your text (page 60) or others we talked about?
_____ How many? _____ In your opinion, are they used correctly? _____ Do they make the essay more interesting? _____
4. Identify the topic sentence in each paragraph.
5. Is the essay well organized? _____
6. What do you like about this essay?
7. How can it be improved? Give specific suggestions.
8. How would you rate this essay overall?

APPENDIX F

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (4)

11/25/91 W-II

Exchange the essay you wrote for the "Assignments" section with your classmate and answer the following questions:

1. Read only the introduction (the first paragraph). Does it make you want to read the rest of the essay?

Yes _____ No _____

Explain why or why not.

2. Locate the thesis statement. On the basis of your understanding of the thesis, what do you expect to read about in the essay? How do you expect the essay to be organized? Explain briefly in the following space:

3. Can you give any recommendations to help the writer make his or her paragraphs more coherent?

4. Look at the conclusion. Does it move from specific to general and leave you with a sense of completion?

APPENDIX G

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (5)

11/13/91 FC-II

Argumentation Essays - Evaluation Form

Organization:

1. Did the writer begin with background information to the topic by giving a quote, an anecdote, some statistics or the elaboration of a problem?
2. Is there an identifiable thesis statement?
3. Is the thesis statement argumentative?
4. Does each body paragraph have an identifiable topic sentence which argues for or against the thesis?
5. Does each paragraph provide adequate support for its topic sentence?
6. Did the writer include enough transitions to indicate when a new idea was being presented? If not, indicate where a transition is needed.

Content:

1. Is each argument well-supported either through logical reasoning (deduction) or with evidence in the form of statistics, facts, examples, and other valid support?
2. Are there any error in inductive or deductive logic (logical fallacies)? Where?
3. Is there at least one counterargument? Where? Does the writer provide adequate refutation to this counterargument?
4. Does the conclusion logically follow the rest of the essay?
5. Does the conclusion make a suggestion, offer a solution, or call for action?
6. Did this essay convince you? Why or why not?

APPENDIX H

PEER-EDITING WORKSHEET (6)

12/2/1991 FC-II

Names: _____

1. Read the essay and mark the problematic parts.
2. Summarize each paragraph:

3. Do you consider this essay argumentative? Why?

4. Analyze the structure: (How does each paragraph function in the essay?)

5. What is the writer's main idea? Do you agree with him or her? Why?

6. What title would you suggest for the essay?

7. What do you like about this essay?

8. According to what you have learned about argumentative essay writing, what would you like to suggest to improve this essay?

NOTES

1. My definition of such a society is from Toward Multiculturalism [Wurzel, 1988, p.1-p.10]. The American society really is and should be a multicultural society though it is often understood and acted upon as a unicultural one. My dissertation is an effort toward the building of American society into a real multicultural one.

2. These questions are asked mainly from the perspective of ESL learners, and also ESL teachers and researchers like myself who used to be ESL learners. Because of my own ethnic background, I feel it more appropriate to address the questions from a minority group member's position. Therefore, my dissertation emphasizes how ESL students could face the challenge of the reality in their self-enactment and acculturation process rather than how the majority group should act on such issues. The minority should and could play a role in transforming the world instead of passively waiting for the favorable change.

3. My intention of choosing peer editing as an exemplary issue in this dissertation is not to downplay the significance of teacher editing and evaluation. The teacher's role in students' learning process should never be ignored. Peer editing as a classroom activity is organized and directed by the teacher. It is usually the teacher who divides the students into pairs or groups (letting students find their own partners is also an organizational strategy),

designs the peer editing worksheet or makes the decision to let students do free editing, monitors and summarizes the peer work, to mention just a few things. By stepping out of this class activity, teachers do not listen to their students directly in order to "hear their students' collective experience in the reports of group records" and "hear their students' individual experience through the writing that their collaborative work emboldens them to provide in logs and papers." [Bruffee, 1988, p.11]

4. Krashen [1981] differentiates between the meaning of "acquisition" and that of "learning". For him, acquisition is a spontaneous process of rule internalization through natural language use, while learning is a process of consciously developing second language knowledge through formal instruction. However, the two terms are often used interchangeably as synonyms, as can be found in the theories under the discussion in the section.

5. I have changed the name of the college and all the participants' names for the purpose of protecting their privacy.

6. The term acculturation is an "etic" term from the sociocultural theories I examine in this dissertation. Students never used this word either orally or in written throughout the research period. Once when I talked to students in class, I introduced the term to them. Students told me that they knew the term assimilation and used it in the sense of acculturation. Another time, when I

interviewed Shinya, we discussed the term acculturation. Shinya realized that the term acculturation was the one that he would like to use instead of assimilation. He said,

So international students should acculturate. I use assimilation in the same sense. ... I was in this seminar, and I learned assimilation is to get into American cultural. This is fine, but I don't want to give up my own culture. ... I want to acculturate into American culture. [from my interview with Shinya on 2/24/92]

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