Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014

1-1-1994

Evocations of selves in "disappeared" eighth grade girls : an interview study of their responses to peer conferencing in process writing.

Maryann Ruth Catherine Jennings
University of Massachusetts Amherst

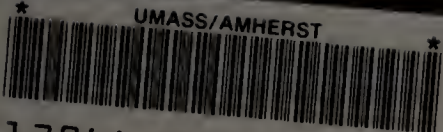Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

EVOCATIONS OF SELVES
IN "DISAPPEARED" EIGHTH GRADE GIRLS:
AN INTERVIEW STUDY OF THEIR RESPONSES
TO PEER CONFERENCING IN PROCESS WRITING

A Dissertation Presented
by
MARYANN RUTH CATHERINE JENNINGS

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1994
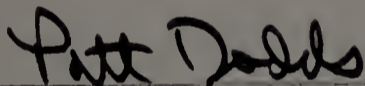School of Education

EVOCATIONS OF SELVES
IN "DISAPPEARED" EIGHTH GRADE GIRLS:
AN INTERVIEW STUDY OF THEIR RESPONSES
TO PEER CONFERENCING IN PROCESS WRITING
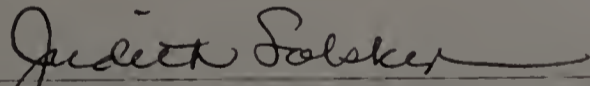
A Dissertation Presented
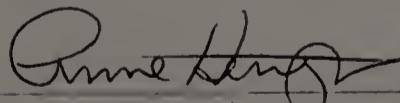
by

MARYANN RUTH CATHERINE JENNINGS

Approved as to style and content by:
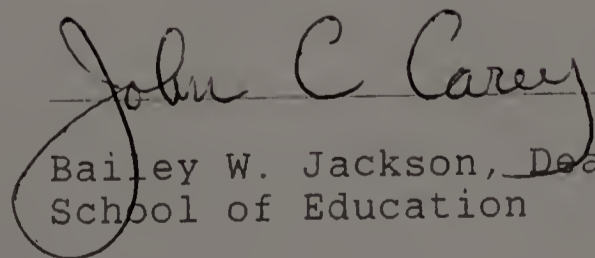
_____
Patt Dodds, Chair

_____
Judith Solsken, Member

_____
Anne Herrington, Member

_____
Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is the work.

And there is the life that has enfolded and, on occasion, overwhelmed that work.

I have held the work of pursuing a doctoral degree in my heart, in the literary tradition of the knight's quest: to aspire and achieve to a noble goal by virtue of a pure heart and honorable intentions. My purpose has always been clear to me: for no other reason, I wanted to complete a terminal degree simply to learn and grow through the challenges.

Not surprisingly, over the 10 years it has taken me to complete this project, my determination has often wavered. However, my interest and excitement has never waned. Throughout, my energy was sustained and my dedication supported by an enormous cohort of blood family and chosen family.

My gratitude is majestic.

- To my loving parents, Robert Stent Jennings and Ruth Theresa Jennings, for their unconditional love and support and their examples of industriousness, respect, integrity, and forthrightness who, when they encouraged me to do and be everything I could, probably never

imagined their tree-climbing, sports-loving,
scraped-knee, class-clown daughter would become their
daughter, the Doctor.

- To my big brother, Dr. Robert Bruce Jennings, for
finding and loving the path of intellectual exploration
and to his family - his loving wife Barbara and their
two beautiful, gifted children Elizabeth and Richard -
for their constant loving acceptance of and belief in
me.

- To the sensational and demanding teacher role models
from my life, whom I have held in my heart for a very
long time and who are present with me in my classroom -
their presence is a flame refining me: my Great-aunt
Leslie Stent, for her pioneer work as a practical,
down-to-earth, no-nonsense teacher, who inspired me
with her stories, musical laughter, and belief in me,
and who told my parents often that I was going to turn
out fine; the late Isabel Mabel Morrill, my high school
English teacher extraordinaire, for her dignified
attention to deep detail and willingness to entertain
differing ideas and earnest questions as valid
intellectual positions; especially Helena Laramee, my
high school Art teacher and life-long intellectual

associate and challenger, for her intensity and fierce appreciation for ordinary and extraordinary beauty, for creation, for life, and for learning.

- To Patricia Scott Griffin, once my partner in the happiest of adventures for ten years and now my closest family, for her steady faith in me and sublime conviction in my abilities and discipline, who nudged my early interest, saw me through plodding years of part-time coursework, witnessed my research, writing and growth, and catalyzed my continuing transformation into wholeness and personhood.

- To my multi-layered, chosen family: Sandy Anderson - for her steady companionship through our shared struggles of the heart; Carol Drexler - for her generous wisdom and compassion; Marcia Feinstein, fitness instuctor nonpareil - for her endless encouragement, applause, and fabulous laughter; Elaine Garofoli - for the lesson and connection in the crucible of her early friendship; Georganne Greene, Bobbie Harro, Andrea Kandel, and Joanne Silver-Jones - for the spiritual support of ritual and laughter; Jen Hixon - for always choosing to live out loud and for her loving friendship; Linda Marchesani - for her provocative questions, conversations and encouragement;

vi

- To Dr. Deborah Edelman, who has shared many dance steps with me through the light and the dark over seventeen years, for becoming a treasured, trusted friend and confidante.

- To the Light of Day, Dea Sasso, who is a visionary of energy and joy, creating herself through remarkable struggle, sacrifice, and passionate artistry, for striding right into my life and really seeing me.

In all their names, remembering their generous, steady support, reassurance, urgent encouragement, and genuine praise, I promise to pass the same along to others, fully expecting to effect cascading random kindnesses in the world.

ABSTRACT

EVOCATIONS OF SELVES

IN "DISAPPEARED" EIGHTH GRADE GIRLS:

AN INTERVIEW STUDY OF THEIR RESPONSES

TO PEER CONFERENCING IN PROCESS WRITING

MAY 1994

MARYANN RUTH CATHERINE JENNINGS,

B.A., AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

M.A., AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Patt Dodds

The reality of students' affective experiences in the peer conference phase of process writing has been underresearched and real student voices are missing from the literature. Adolescent girls' development of self – actually a corporation of selves – and identity is a site of struggle within oppressive dominant discourses, often resulting in girls' disappearing into a gender-stereotyped loss of that self/selves and identity. In this study, a series of four interviews with five pairs of "disappeared" eighth grade girls provides the voices of adolescent girls discussing their experiences with and affective responses to peer

conferencing. A modified form of Brown [1988] and Brown
and Gilligan's [1990] model for reading/listening for
care and justice perspectives was used to guide
interpretations of the interviews. These "disappeared"
girls talk of intricate, interior negotiations around
offering suggestions to peers about their writing,
revealing a balancing or blending of care and justice
concerns. This blending indicates their capacity to
interrelate broadly across the human spectrum of
response, from independence to connection. These voices
also give evidence that peer conferencing offers
opportunities for girls to rehearse and express
resistance to dominant discourses as they struggle to
establish their selves and to hold on to their selves
in the writing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xv

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of Problem

Through twenty years of research and practice, the
teaching of writing as a process has shown it is an
effective method of enabling students to improve their
writing [Cooper and Odell, 1978; Foster, 1983; Goswami
and Stillman, 1987; Hillocks, 1986; Huff and Kline,
1987; Krendl and Dodd, 1987; NCTE, 1979; Petrosky and
Bartholomae, 1986; Raphael et al, 1988, Tarvers, 1988].
Writing process (or process writing) is a general
approach to the teaching of writing that asks students
to focus on the various and sometimes recursive phases
through which a writer moves a piece of writing from
initial ideas to final copy.

This method operates from the fundamental concept
that knowing language facts is quite different from
understanding language processes. Writing is an
activity, not a set of ideas or a mass of information,
and learning to write is a matter of discovering how to
do something. Further, that activity is characterized
by the recursive enterprises of prewriting, drafting,
and revising.

While it is not a single, unitary entity, teaching writing as a process shifts the focus from the end product to the process by which one arrives there. It openly gives students the skills and strategies they need to succeed with writing. To do so, a safe, non-hierarchical classroom is required, a classroom in which the relationship between teacher and students is neither polarized nor antagonistic with the teacher as source of all knowledge. Such an atmosphere is companionable and encouraging with careful attention placed on the students' knowledge and struggle.

While writing may be accomplished by one's self, in isolation, it is actually a kind of community activity, always involving a writer, a message, the medium of language and an audience [Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod and Rosen, 1975; Elbow, 1973; Graves, 1983; Moffett, 1968]. In order for the writer to know her/his work is effective and successful, the meaning must bridge the distance between writer and audience. Only by sharing trial drafts and receiving an audience's comments, questions and suggestions can the writer determine the extent of her/his success and/or the need for further revision. The adolescent in school accomplishes this exchange and feedback in the phase of writing process called "peer conference" [Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983; Moffett, 1968]. Basically, in a

2

peer conference a student reads aloud her/his text to peers, asking for peer questions, comments and suggestions on the text's content (clarity, coherence, logic).

Reading research on teaching writing, experiencing writing process in my own classroom, and conducting a pilot study have highlighted the importance of peer conferencing for me. Thus, of the many possible activities which can take place in a writing process classroom, only peer conferencing and revising will be used as the focal points in this study. In revising, a writer makes changes in the content of a piece by deleting, expanding, adding, or rearranging, frequently in response to feedback given by peers in conferences.

The majority of research on writing is carefully built around cognitive knowledge, the objective facts of composing and teaching writing [Britton et al, 1975; Emig, 1971; Flower and Hayes, 1981; Gregg and Steinberg, 1980]. The cognitive domain encompasses reason, all mental activity involved in knowing, and the mind's functions of information processing and acquisition of knowledge. Researchers have not much examined the affective domain, which embraces emotion, subjective feelings and thoughts as they relate to an individual's experiences and personality and her/his perceptions of them.

Many researchers, while using student voices, allow them to speak only to the cognitive domain; that is, what writing is and how one does it. Thus, the nature of what students experience and how they feel about those experiences as they perform the activities of the writing process remain a mystery. It is important to inquire into the affective domain because what students experience may provide us valuable information about what we ask them to do in writing process classrooms. In addition, it may show us how writing process activities, specifically peer conferencing, affect the psychological development of the adolescent self.

Given what is currently understood about adolescents' development and their sense of self, some writing process activities, specifically peer conferencing, might lead to negative affective responses. Traditionally, sense of self is one's descriptive attributes or behavioral characteristics as seen from one's personal perspective or the sum of descriptions one would take to be a true representation of oneself (relation-to-self, self knowledge). The exposure of the self in writing, the sharing of writing, negotiating peer interactions, all may be risky and threatening for adolescents.

In current thinking and as referred to most often in this document, the self is less a single core than a changeable constellation of entities, one's fluid identity in process. It is not a singular (self) but a plural (selves) conception. Thus, the term "selves" is used primarily here to acknowledge that plurality even while the phrase "sense of self" is also used to indicate an awareness of identity which is not necessarily an awareness of that corporation of selves. Further, the composite term "self/selves" is used to mark that blended concept of singularity and plurality. At adolescence, young people struggle to discover and understand who they are and what they mean. Somehow, they must manage a coherent existence, constituting their selves from within while the dominant discourses without work to construct those same selves.

Recent studies [Gilbert and Taylor, 1991; Gilligan, 1987, 1990; Gornick, 1971; Spender and Spender, 1980] have shown that girls in particular are at higher risk during adolescence with regard to feeling threatened and vulnerable in situations such as peer conferencing. According to Gilligan [1982, 1987], adolescent girls who operate from an ethic of care in a world dominated by an ethic of justice, risk losing touch psychologically with their emerging self/selves. They begin to silence that self/selves as they seek to

5

establish and maintain relationships with others. With

that silencing, they begin to lose touch with

themselves and "disappear." Their struggle is

complicated by being situated in a language system and

discourse practices which regulate and limit their

visions of themselves as young women. These disappeared

young women are the adolescents I am most interested in

for this study.

Thus, the confluence of my interests in what

students experience in peer conferences and my concern

for adolescent girls' development of self/selves urges

me toward two intertwined research questions:

1. What do adolescent girls have to say about
   their experiences in writing process peer
   conferencing?
2. How do adolescent girls affectively respond to
   the peer conferencing components of writing
   process?

Significance of the Study

This study is the first effort to gather

practical, descriptive information about adolescent

girls' affective experience in the writing process

classroom. It will enrich what is already known about

the cognitive domain of writing and teaching writing

(methods, skills, strategies) by adding information

about the affective domain of adolescents doing peer

conferencing and revising (experiences, thoughts,

feelings). Such information will be of help to the teacher of writing by providing information about the psychological and affective impact of those writing process activities.

This study also will provide information about the experiences of peer conferencing and revising for some adolescent girls, particularly those identified as potentially "disappeared," and the possible impact of these writing process phases on their sense of self.

Further, this work will elaborate a portion of an earlier pilot study's findings [Jennings, 1991]. In that study, I glimpsed unexpected evidence of a human wholeness of self not generally seen in adolescents. Such wholeness is a move away from gender-stereotyped behaviors towards a kind of androgenous capacity for expressing the full spectrum of human concerns, a capacity enabling girls to exhibit strength and independence and boys to display compassion and connection.

In that pilot study, both adolescent girls and boys expressed concerns stereotypically connected to the gender different from their own; that is, when talking about peer conferencing, girls made particularly strong statements regarding their authority over their writing (a stance typically expected of males) and boys made very clear statements

7

of care for the feelings of other students (a position ascribed generally to females). This finding suggests to me that peer conferencing may give adolescents the opportunities to exercise the full range of human capacities for care and justice that are largely missing from other parts of their lives.

Limitations of the Study

This study is designed to find out what it is like for selected eighth grade girls to do peer conferencing and revising. It is not a full scale examination of the writing process itself or of the teaching of writing as a process. Nor am I concerned with the experience of adolescents in general. The study's sample is purposefully limited to those adolescent girls who exhibit the described characteristics of being "disappeared."

Since the sample is small and limited, it cannot be assumed that findings from these participants would be true of all adolescent girls. Nonetheless, the data and conclusions from this project will help illuminate some adolescent girls' experiences with peer conferencing and revising and inform subsequent studies of adolescent girls.

A further limitation resides in the data analysis framework developed by Brown and Gilligan [1991]. Although providing for multiple readings of/listenings to the data, it depends heavily upon the understanding and interpretations of one person, the researcher. I designed this study to expand the original interpretive framework by modifying the analysis protocol and by providing opportunities for the participants to express their interpretations and for their teachers to provide comments on the girls' changed behaviors in the classroom.

In light of the increasing presence of women in the social, cultural, and economic spheres of this country (which belies the unspoken increasing constrictions on female gender role behavior), we need to find and root out those educational practices that conserve and perpetuate the positioning of girls and women as "less than." We need to ask adolescent girls, already "disappeared" under the pressure of external forces, to describe their experiences in peer conference and revising. We need to know whether those experiences enhance their confidence and sense of self, not undermine them.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE
Introduction

Just as many varied experiences and texts carried
me to the beginning of a dissertation, uncounted texts
urged me forward and form the interwoven historical and
conceptual basis for my questions. Thus this literature
review starts at the skin of my experience as a teacher
of writing process and moves inward toward the heart of
my teacher-feminist concerns with strengthening girls'
sense of self.

The journey begins with a look at the historical
development of teaching writing as a process, noting
the abundance of cognitive testimony from student
writers and the scarcity of inquiry into the affective
domain of learning writing as a process. Connections
are made between writing, self-discovery and the
development of self/selves (not a singular entity but
rather a shifting display of entities). Going deeper
into writing process, I examine the history and concept
of the peer conference phase and lament the absence of
student voices about that experience.

Entering the realm of psychological development, I
trace the works outlining adolescence in general with

its grounding in boys' experience and close in on the scholarly revelations of the different experience for girls. Further, my look at the relationship between the nature of the development of the female self/selves and the context of culture and society's dominant patriarchal discourses crosses the path of writing process and leads ultimately to my research questions.

Teaching Writing as a Process

By the mid 1960s, generations of complaints against the dominant product model of teaching writing, which focused primarily on correctness of form and surface conventions, finally resulted in the development of teaching writing as a process, not a product. Findings about the negligible effects of teaching grammar and/or the harmful effect of spending time on it instead of actually writing [Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Schoer, 1963], coupled with the pronouncement that composition is a process and should be taught as a process [Douglas, 1966], helped establish a new teaching approach and opened a new field for research into writing and the teaching of writing.

After years of focusing on correctly written products as the goal, teachers and researchers began to realize that students needed to learn <u>how</u> to write; to do that, they needed to understand <u>what writers actually do when they write</u>. The difference between just knowing language facts and understanding language processes is the difference between "knowing <u>that</u>" and "knowing <u>how</u>". They are two different kinds of knowledge, not antecedent and consequent: learning <u>that</u> is "acquiring information"; learning <u>how</u> is "improving in ability" [Foster 1983, p. 117].

While there has always been continual academic/scholarly concern about what writers actually do when they write, such interest was primarily limited to the dissection of published pieces, literary notebooks, letters and diaries - all final products of the writing process. There was no explication of the processes writers used to get to these final, polished products in order to assist or instruct students in their own writing. For the most part, for students, writing remained a solitary and mysterious conjuration.

Gradually, through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, scholars discovered and described models of the writing process that approximate what goes on when a writer sits down to compose a work [Braddock, Lloyd-Jones and

Schoer, 1963; Cooper and Odell, 1978; Frazier, 1966;
Moffett, 1968; Murray, 1980; NCTE, 1979; Rohman and
Wlecke, 1964]. Most agreed that there are three basic
components: (a) prewriting, the finding, exploration
and expansion of ideas; (b) drafting, getting the ideas
on paper; and (c) revision, reconsidering the ideas,
the treatment they receive, and the way they are
expressed.

Rohman and Wlecke [1964] were the first to suggest
stages writers went through: prewriting-writing-
rewriting. They believed this linear composing process,
rather than grammar and drills, could become the
content of a successful writing course. This linear
model of composing was soon expanded to a more accurate
description of the composing process as "recursive": an
interactive procedure, a dynamic, circular flow
sparking synthesis and creation, repeating itself
indefinitely or until a satisfactory condition is
reached [Emig, 1964, 1971, 1983].

Macrorie [1968] and Elbow [1973, 1981, 1986]
expanded the understanding of rewriting to include
revision as seeing again and getting the ideas right.
They separated revision, which meant moving around
words and sentences and adjusting content, from
editing, which meant adjusting the etiquette of

presentation (spelling, punctuation and the like) [Tarvers, 1988]. This important distinction gives students a way to focus solely on the content of their writing, to see if their text makes sense and has the effect they want, without hobbling their authorship with surface conventions.

My review of recent studies shows evidence that, on the whole, the approach of teaching writing as a process works: it is a successful method of enabling students to improve their writing and their metacognitive awareness. One review outlines four studies of successful acquisition of writing skills in 5th & 6th graders, exhibiting their metacognitive knowledge about the process of writing narrative and expository texts [Raphael et al., 1988, 1989]. A district-wide assessment of 5th, 7th, 9th & 11th grades demonstrates that writing skills were positively related to writing process [Stoneberg, 1988]. Another evaluation sampled student writing and used questionnaires in a three-year study which shows an increase in learning about writing and confidence level [Krendl and Dodd, 1987]. Although there are ongoing debates about aspects of writing process, there is a broad body of knowledge about the teaching and learning

14

of writing and the composing process itself
[Herrington, 1989; Hillocks, 1986].

Cognitive and Affective Dimensions of Writing

Nonetheless, within the established body of
knowledge about teaching writing as a process, precious
little tells us about the affective experiences of
learning writing as a process. While some works may
offer a glimpse of students doing writing [Atwell,
1987; Berkenkotter, 1984; Calkins, 1983; Goswami and
Stillman, 1987], the focus is forever on the cognitive
domain, the empirical, measured realm, the what and how
of doing writing.

Thus, there are two problems with the literature
as it stands. First, in its efforts to establish a
knowledge base, most research into teaching writing
process has concentrated on the cognitive domain,
successfully constructing important new knowledge by
using quantitative or empirical blueprints but
completely bypassing the affective domain; such
research assumes a flat objectivity. This stance of
objective science has made the composing process
synonymous only with intellect/cognition, ignoring the
affective domain and thus halving reality. Since

research has addressed primarily the cognitive dimension, it is now time to explore the affective experience of writing process.

The second problem is the mystery of the missing details about the experience of doing the writing - the affective realm of "What's it like?" and "How does it feel?" This is an ineffable dimension of students' existence, available only in their own voices which are remarkably absent from most research. Only the students themselves can provide the interior description of what feelings and experiences interweave and accompany the cognitive doing of writing process.

The three student voices heard in Berkenkotter's [1984] study of student writers' authority over their texts are the earliest opening into the affective dimension of writing I could find. By using different writers' quotes that display a flux of confusion, pride, anger, resignation and hope as counterpoint to their writing group feedback, Berkenkotter discovers

> (writers) would respond to their readers in significantly different ways depending on the writer's personality, level of maturity, and ability to handle writing problems [p. 313].

and that

> ...out of their transactions with their readers some students would assert their proprietary rights over their texts while others would gain - or lose - a sense of authority [p.313].

Further, she writes,

> These responses hinge on a number of subtle
> emotional and intellectual factors. We need to
> learn more about these factors and about the
> process through which writers gain a sense of
> authority over their texts [p. 318].

Brand [1987] restates Berkenkotter's challenge

bluntly: "...a realistic and complete psychology of

writing must include affective as well as cognitive

phenomena" [p. 436]. She further elaborates the

heretofore unmentioned connection between cognition and

the affective domain. Because writers "arrange and

rearrange...decide what belongs and what

doesn't...exercise possibilities... remember...[and]

predict" [p. 436] and because "writing is an exercise

in inclusion and exclusion" [p. 437], there is a link

between cognition and affect. Inquiry into this

intersection finds that personality may govern

discursive style [Jensen and DiTiberio, 1984; Selzer,

1984], just as discursive style has an impact on

personality [Brand, 1980; Denman, 1981]. What is known

and who knows it - knowledge and the self/selves -

cleave and twine to yield text.

Writing and Self-discovery

The act of writing is often an intimate revealing of the vulnerable self/selves to others and, at the very least an audience of the self/selves. Writing has probably been used as a vehicle for self-knowledge and personal growth ever since people began to keep diaries, collect personal letters, and even record in ship's logs. As Rohman [1965] tells it, "...journal-keeping is an exercise in the discovery of myself for myself" [p. 109].

Rohman and Wlecke's [1964] notion of . self-discovery through writing was a harbinger of the 1966 Dartmouth Conference at which scholars and teachers challenged the traditional concept of writing as a display of mastered knowledge and consistent application of standard rules, proposing instead an approach that de-emphasized grammar and rhetoric to focus on the student's personal growth through language. Thus students were encouraged to enjoy "free" writing experiences, where ideas flowed first and form and content were worried about later, if at all [Judy and Judy, 1981]. This recognition of the personal dimension afforded teachers and students more fertile

and more readily available sources of writing and opened the still relatively unexplored connections among the realms of writing, psychological growth and the affective domain.

Professional associations weighed in by formulating professional practice guidelines which recognized the affective effects of writing process. The National Council of Teachers of English developed a 1974 Position Statement which included directions for taking care of students' developing self/selves and sensitivity:

> Through language we understand, interpret, enjoy, control, and in part create our worlds. The teacher of English, in awakening students to the possibilities of language, can help students to expand and enlarge their worlds, to live more fully.
> Since a major value of writing is self-expression and self-realization, instruction in writing should be positive.... They should be freed from fear and restriction so that their sensitivity and their abilities can develop [p. 219].

And in 1979, in The Report of the Committee on Writing Standards, the NCTE claimed:

> Beyond the pragmatic purpose of shaping messages to others, writing can be a means of self-discovery, of finding out what we believe, know, and cannot find words or circumstances to say to others. Writing can be a deeply personal act of shaping our perception of the world and our relationships to people and things in that world. Thus, writing serves both public and personal needs of students, and it warrants the full, generous, and continuing effort of all teachers [p. 24].

This way of connecting the affective domain with the act of writing opened up more abundant sources for that writing. Yet all such writing can not be accomplished in a kind of vacuum just for the self/selves. A return must be made to the notion that writing is actually a community activity involving the writer, a message, the medium of language and an audience [Britton et al., 1975; Elbow, 1973; Graves, 1983; Moffett, 1968]. Further, meaning must successfully bridge the distance between the writer and the audience. Real writing in the real world means other people will experience it.

Peer Conference

The initial concept of real-life writing situated in a community, which underlies the current notion of peer conferencing, was put forth by Moffett [1968]. His ideal suggests each student write

> a) about "raw material from his own
> experience which he is motivated to write about
> and to invent an appropriate rhetoric for";
> b) for the class group, which is "the
> nearest thing to a contemporary world-at-large";
> and
> c) expecting to be read and discussed [p. 12].

Understanding that writing is usually neither done nor left in isolation, but generally begun to affect

others, Moffett matter-of-factly anticipates the development of the peer conference in the writing process classroom. Since other people will ultimately see a piece of writing and seek to understand it, why not ask their help in the process to make it better? He writes:

> Learning to use language, then, requires the particular feedback of human response, because it is to other people that we direct speech. The fact that one writes by oneself does not at all diminish the need for response, since one writes for others. Even when one purports to be writing for oneself - for pure self-expression, if there is such a thing - one cannot escape the ultimately social implications inherent in any use of language [p. 191].

and further,

> A maximum amount of feedback would be provided him in the form of audience response. That is, his writing would be read and discussed by this audience, who would also be the coaches. Adjustments in language, form, and content would come as the writer's response to his audience's response. Thus instruction would always be individual, relevant, and timely [p. 193].

In their work with writing functions, other scholars also recognize that the relationships among writer, subject, and audience vary interactively, as does the resultant writing [Britton, et al., 1975; Emig, 1964, 1971, 1983]. Britton et al. make note that writing is always in "context of situation" where one is "writing this kind of thing in this sort of society for this sort of person" [p. 61]. Further, LeFevre

21

[1987] argues that writing is a communal act in which the author engages dialectically with society and culture.

The argument is strongly made, then, for student writers to write and read their writing and to respond to others' writing, participating in and contributing to an arena of audience. As yet however, no one has examined how such interactions with an audience may feel risky and even silencing to an adolescent, especially girls who experience risk and silencing in many ways.

A Brief History of Peer Conference

The phase of writing process generally called "peer conference" has been many things during a long, well-documented history [Gere, 1987]: writing groups in literary societies, peer-tutoring groups in college, writing clubs, peer evaluation, and collaborative writing projects. Developing critical thinking skills, increasing rhetorical skills and modulating the paper load for instructors are among the effects claimed by the various users of peer conferencing. Clearly, writers can come together in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes. I am interested in none of these

peer conference configurations or effects, but rather
in the simpler version that exists in many current
junior high/middle school writing process classrooms.

The literature reveals a limited trail left by
research studies focusing narrowly on such student-
to-student consultations about content. The majority of
works are concerned with demonstrated, quantitative
improvements shown in various writing skills - the
cognitive domain - leaving the experience of writing -
the affective domain - largely unexplored.

Historically, the trail begins with Lord [1880]
who suggests students read their writing aloud and
criticize one another. Peer conferencing is variously
claimed simply to improve writing [Bellas, 1970;
Bright, 1895; Bruffee, 1973; Cady, 1914; Carpenter,
1905; Cook, 1895; Leonard, 1917; Macrorie, 1968;
Noyes, 1905; Nystrand 1986; Schelling, 1895; Wolf,
1969] and to increase the writer's awareness of
audience [Bright, 1926; Buck, 1906; Cooper with
Atwell, David, Giglia, Grabe and Locke, 1976; Elbow,
1973; Hamalion, 1970; Hausdorf, 1959; Judy, 1973;
Kelly, 1981; Maimon, 1979; Moffett, 1968; Nystrand and
Brandt, 1989; Sears, 1981; Shuman, 1975; Snipes, 1971;
Thurber, 1897; Watt, 1918; Zoellner, 1969]. Peer
conferencing encourages discussion and revision [Beach,

1976; Benson, 1979; Clifford, 1981; Harris, 1986; Herrmann, 1989; Kaufman, 1971; Kirby and Liner, 1980; LaBrant, 1946; Peckham, 1980; Peterson, 1982; Snipes, 1973] and reduces apprehension [Fox, 1980; Gebhardt, 1980; Katstra, Tollefson and Gilbert, 1987]. The learning of writing by secondary school students is enhanced by conference talk [Sperling, 1989], and an "Advice to Writers" project is described as an effective way for students to reflect on and articulate what they do when they write [Aversa and Tritt, 1988].

Emig [1982] briefly mentions students talking in groups but only prior to their writing. She admits more research needs to be done in this area. Gere and Abbott [1985] concentrate on peer conference talk but only the talk that is directly connected to the conferencing/writing task. Huff and Kline [1987] detail response groups, their structure and function, but give short shrift to writers' responses to criticisms. In an elaborate study of peer response groups in two ninth grade classes, Freedman [1987a] reveals how response is accomplished, but neglects the student voices available. Later on, Freedman [1987b] expands her report to include a national survey of writing teachers' response practices, but again keeps to the quantifiable, the demonstrable, the cognitive domain.

24

However well they inform, these works leave us to wonder about the experience of actually doing peer conferencing, especially as an adolescent student. What must it be like to have peers suggest content changes in one's writing? What does one do with such suggestions? How does one decide to make changes? How does one decide to disregard the suggestions? How does it all feel?

Student Voices

The second problem with existing writing process literature mentioned above was the lack of student voices. Although some important studies do seem to access students' comments about their experiences with writing, the focus has always been on students' cognitive processes of inventing, composing, revising, and editing. Even as they have asked what students know and understand about writing, these researchers have passed over what those same students experience as they do the writing. The student voices included in these studies speak only to the cognitive domain.

Shaugnessy [1977] focuses on the struggle of basic writers, but their voices never speak to us about the experience of that struggle. Emig [1971] and Flower and

Hayes [1977, 1980] ask students to talk about what they do as they composed, not what the experience is like. Even teachers who write about teaching writing miss the fact that their students might have something valuable to say about the experience of writing and conferencing [Graves, 1981, 1983; Calkins, 1983, 1986; Giacobbe, 1986; Atwell, 1987a, 1987b].

More recently, Applebee [1986], while discovering that process-oriented instruction can easily degenerate into an inappropriate lockstep application, recommends a reconceptualization of process instruction that is more student-centered - but does so without consulting any students! In a separate monograph authored by 8th grade students, they write only about becoming good writers by writing frequently, sharing their work and criticism, and discussing the writing process itself [Marashio, 1982].

Only in a few studies are there faint student voices hinting at what it is like for them actually to do writing process activities [Berkenkotter, 1984; Cleary, 1991; Goswami and Stillman, 1987]. In the Goswami-Stillman text [1987], only four teacher-researchers' articles which chronicle real classroom projects exhibit student voices. One piece contains excerpts from student dialogue journals, two of which

reveal the merest sliver of the students' real, lived feelings about doing the writing [Lumley, p. 171]. In another piece, one student expresses her experience, but it is specifically about open topic choice in writing [Atwell, p. 180]. Elsewhere, lots of senior honors students talk about their experiences writing, but primarily about interacting with computers [Holmsten, pp. 188-199]. And a later piece offered four student voices who speak in their year-end evaluations [Branscombe, pp. 216-217].

Cleary's [1991] loud pages are brimming with students' voices, think-alouds, and pieces of writing. I heard them on each page, real students talking about and through their lived experiences with writing in school. This researcher provides a remarkable look at students' writing struggles and successes and offers insightful recommendations for effective writing curricula. But amid the clamor of student voices, there are only slender notes that reveal what goes on in the affective domain for these forty eleventh graders.

Students have much more to say about their experiences doing writing process activities than has been heard thus far in the small body of research on learning writing as a process. What they would say is important to understanding how students, adolescents

27

in particular, are affected by doing writing process activities.

What writing process is and how it benefits student writing have been firmly established. What is needed now is an examination of what writing process activities do for the affective domain and for the emerging adolescent self/selves in particular.

Adolescence

At junior high/middle school age, approximately 10 to 14+ years, children are in the middle of the chaos, catharsis, and construction of adolescence. General theories of adolescence and adolescent development abound. The early adolescent is described as a complex and diverse individual [Thornburg, 1983]. This growth period is, physically, the beginning of the most rapid and dramatic changes in the human organism since infancy [Serafica and Blyth, 1985]. Developing bodies and social changes pose significant challenges and often disturbances to the self-concept of both sexes, often placing the greater burden on girls [Thornburg and Glider, 1984].

At this stage, new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting are evolving which allow reflection upon social

28

experiences. The social changes, accompanied by
physical and emotional changes associated with puberty
[Crockett, Losoff and Peterson, 1984] often result in
unusual, drastic, daring and sometimes aggressive
behavior [Bondi and Wiles, 1981].

Students experience swirling concerns for autonomy
and attachment, separation and belonging, all of which
are conflicting keys to the growing sense of self
[Smulyan, 1986]. During this time of growing into the
world, girls and boys become more self-aware and begin
to see themselves as individuals. The adolescent is
foregrounded in a spotlight in her/his own mind, a
position of frightening vulnerability. Elkind [1967,
1978, 1981] describes the power of an "imaginary
audience" on the emerging self/selves. This audience is
a part of consciousness that grows out of the premise
that others are as admiring or as critical as one is of
oneself; consequently, the adolescent is continually
constructing or reacting to obsessively interested
onlookers.

In the physical world, the peer group becomes the
very real manifestation of the imaginary audience.
Peers serve as a source of extra-familial
identification and as a criterion for measuring success
or failure, which is crucial during social development

[Maier, 1969]. Adolescents' allegiance and affiliation bases shift from parents and teachers toward the peer group, which becomes the prime source for standards and models of behavior [Bondi and Wiles, 1981]. Elkind [1981] and Postman [1983] provide evidence of the desire to conform to peer norms, building on data showing that the peer group is often the primary reference source for attitudes, values and behavior [Davis, Weener and Shute, 1977]; in fact, peers' opinions have greater impact than any others. Further, peer pressure is a multidimensional force, varying in strength and direction in its effects on the adolescent [Clasen and Brown, 1985].

All these theories of development have in common at least two unfortunate limitations: (a) most of the evidence supporting each is derived exclusively from the examination of male experience and (b) an emphasis on "separating" oneself out from others, with no attention to relational aspects of development. According to these prevailing views, in order to establish an identity, one must painfully separate from childhood and family, becoming an autonomous individual. As researched and proclaimed, the notion of the separate, autonomous individual has become elevated to mythic status in Western thought. It is an

overpowering prevailing norm of development and is thus a powerful prescription of what should happen for every person. This leads ultimately to labeling any experiences that differ as deviant and undesirable.

Unfortunately for girls and women, this dominant concept of development neither fits their experiences nor describes their understandings fully [Miller, 1976; Gilligan, 1977, 1982]. In fact, because girls' and women's experiences are different, they have been dismissed, devalued, even pathologized in this male-dominant, patriarchal view of human development [Walkerdine, 1990]. Further, because current views of adolescence are stuck in the values of separation and independence and fail to acknowledge the interdependence of human life, they paint a distorted image of the human condition.

Psychological Development in Adolescent Girls

Currently, two areas of research overlap here: (a) inquiry into psychological theory and women's development focusing on self/selves, relationships and morality; and (b) examination of adolescent development.

Gilligan [1977, 1982] and Miller [1976, 1986] shattered conventional thinking by focusing on women's development, noting that women's sense of self is built around being able to make and then maintain connections with others. This way of thinking/being has long set women apart from the mainstream of traditional, male-dominated, Western thought because of its central notion that self and others are connected and interdependent. These researchers' challenges exploded the dominant traditional concepts of the self as separate and morality as justice to include both the experiences of separation and connection and the values of justice and care. Their works suggest a wholeness of human response, a spectrum of capacities for independence and connection available to both males and females.

Beginning with the admission that adolescent girls have simply not been studied much [Adelson, 1980], researchers interested in adolescence have begun to fill in the blanks left behind by traditional, male-oriented concepts of identity, development and morality [Adelson, 1986; Adelson & Doehrman, 1980]. Some researchers argue specifically that conceptions about adolescent development must pay attention not only to

32

individuation but to connectedness as well [Gilligan, 1987; Grotevant & Cooper, 1983; Youniss, 1980].

Gilligan [1987, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1991] suggests that for many adolescents, girls in particular, issues of connection and relationship are paramount. Unlike the dominant patriarchal theories of adolescent development, girls do not see the way to their identity by separating from but by being in relation to others. Gilligan [1982] calls this a morality or perspective of care, with an emphasis on responsiveness and interdependence as opposed to a morality or perspective of justice, with its emphasis on equality and individual rights. Further, she suggests that modes of moral judgement may be related to modes of self-definition.

Support for this theory is given by one study [Smulyan, 1986] of the corresponding difference in girls' and boys' responses about the conflict in "Romeo and Juliet." The researcher found that girls were more concerned than boys with maintaining connections, using communication to solve interpersonal dilemmas, and defining themselves in relation to significant others; boys were concerned about being treated fairly, and they defined themselves by separating from others and becoming independent.

Social responsiveness and moral concern are present in girls and boys in early childhood [Gilligan, 1987; Gottman, 1983; Kagan, 1984; Stern, 1985], along with the experience of connection. Therefore, adolescents clearly have available to them the materials for orienting both to a perspective of justice as well as to a perspective of care.

As noted earlier, there is a wholeness of human response, a spectrum of capacities for interconnection and independence that is available to girls and boys, women and men. That we do not develop and freely exhibit both perspectives is testimony to the consistent overwhelming valuing of one and the continued denigration and dismissal of the other in the different socialization processes for females and males. While most people show evidence of both kinds of consideration, one mode usually dominates their thinking [Lyons, 1987]. Girls learn the dominant voice of morality, that of justice, and are able to present this culturally valued dominant voice. But in addition, they possess another voice, that of care, and are able to shift voices with greater flexibility than boys, a flexibility that is a strength heretofore seen as a difference or deficiency [Johnston, 1988].

34

In light of girls' concerns with relationship, there is a flicker of resistance in their lives at the edge of adolescence [Gilligan, 1990b]. It is a resistance against the gender-related role of concern for relationship in which they insist on knowing what they know and are willing to be outspoken, risking an interruption or loss of relationship. Soon, however, this political resistance turns into a psychological resistance, wherein girls are reluctant to know what they know and fear that such knowledge, if spoken, will endanger relationships and threaten their survival. Thus, paradoxically, girls are taking themselves out of relationship with themselves for the sake of relationship with others and are self-consciously letting go of themselves [Gilligan, 1990b].

My personal experience over twenty years in an urban, public junior high/middle school has afforded me time and opportunity to observe adolescent girls as they moved from a seventh grade knowing to an eighth and ninth grade unknowing. I watch as girls "disappear" before my eyes: their classroom presence and behavior seem to match the interior events catalogued by Gilligan and her colleagues.

Girls arrive in seventh grade, bright, outspoken, confident, curious and questioning; their behavior

marked by noise, ready eye contact, eager movement,
willing comments, questions and laughter. By the
beginning of eighth grade many have begun to shrink
away, to disappear; by ninth grade, most girls appear
silent, passive and indifferent. Their behavior
consists of silence, lowered eyes and avoidance of eye
contact, immobility, furtive whispers and "I don't
know."

This observation, often made by teachers, that
girls in general become less outspoken, less likely to
disagree in public or even to participate in classroom
discussions, suggests to Gilligan [1987] that secondary
education, or the interpretive frameworks of the
culture in general, may be more readily accessible and
comprehensible to those students whose experience and
background are most similar to that of those who shape
the frameworks, that is, boys and men.

Gilligan's work, heretofore reflective of but
isolated from social and political contexts, is clearly
backdropped by recent thought on women's development in
relation to position, power and patriarchy. In essence,
there are two currents of thought that make sense to me
and that give Gilligan's work a broader context: social
construction and a dialectic of social constructing and
inner constituting.

Social Construction of the Female

There is a substantial body of work which
explicates the notion that girls' and women's realities
and behaviors are the products of the dominant
discourses or the traditional gender-stereotyped
expectations of society and culture. Girls and women
are seen as acted upon by these external influences.
Major contributors to the thinking on the social
construction of girls' realities include Davies [1989],
Gilbert [1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b, 1990], Gilbert and
Taylor [1991], Gornick [1971], Hare-Mustin and Marecek
[1990], Heilbrun [1988], Horney [1926], Lott [1990],
and Walkerdine [1986, 1990].

Seeing the psychological development of girls
displayed against the patriarchal social context is
both more sinister and more poignant as the overlay of
power and powerlessness appears. Indeed, in her latest
work with adolescent girls, Gilligan [1990a] confronts
the effects of dominant patriarchal discourse,
embracing feminist revolutionary political thought by
titling a recent paper and presentation "Joining the
Resistance: Psychology, Politics, Girls and Women"
[1990b].

While Gilligan began exploring and describing the
interior life and development of girls and women,
charting a course of discovery that steers modern
psychological thought away from the coolly rational,
fixed and dichotomous to the passionately imaginative,
messy and contradictory, she has joined others who have
been examining girls' and women's lived realities as
they are constructed and controlled by the external
forces of the dominant, patriarchal discourses.
Additionally, she offers that girls may not be mere
passive recipients of certain social roles, presaging
the later dialectical. Yet she connects girls' interior
landscapes to the sculpting effects of social winds and
cultural rain:

> Daily, girls take in evidence from the human
> world around them - the world which is open
> for psychological observation all day long,
> every day, "for free." And in this way, girls
> often see what is not supposed to be seen and
> hear what is supposedly not spoken. Like
> anthropologists, they pick up the culture;
> like sociologists, they observe race, class
> and sex differences; like psychologists, they
> come to know what is happening beneath the
> surface; like naturalists, they collect their
> observations, laying them out, sorting them
> out, discussing them between themselves in an
> ongoing conversation about relationships and
> people which goes on, on and off, for much of
> the day, every day [1990b, p.16].

Historically, Horney [1926] is the earliest
mention I found of the notion that social and cultural

pressures influenced the struggle and establishment of a woman's gender identity, that is, social construction. She links the development of passivity in young girls to their taking on male-defined values and goals. This is perhaps the first identification of the dominant, patriarchal discourses which saturate culture and society. Much later, Gornick [1971] examines historical and early modern literary concepts of woman as outsider - powerless, subordinate - and how such concepts prescribe reality.

More recently, Davies [1989] looks deeply into schooling and early childhood texts to uncover multi-layered, coercive systems at work:

> Masculinity and femininity are not inherent properties of individuals, then, they are inherent or structural properties of our society: that is, they both condition and arise from social action. Each of us, as members of society, takes on board as our own the 'knowledge' of sex and of gender as they are socially constituted. As children learn the discursive practices of their society, they learn to position themselves correctly as male or female, since that is what is required of them to have a recognisable identity within the social order [p. 13].

This is a chilling description of the prescriptive forces that operate on subconscious levels throughout culture and society from traditions, religion, movies

and the American Dream to dime novels, toys, greeting cards and color-coded diapers.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek's [1990] look at psychology and the construction of gender shows how, under conditions of social inequality, privileged members of society have control over meaning-making, thus influencing constructions of reality for others, specifically women. Without accusation, but for the sake of widening awareness it bears explicating that "privileged" has always meant white males. For Lott [1990], behavior depends not on gender but on social context and the human capacity for learning attitudes, expectations, and sanctions that separate the experiences of girls and boys. Gilbert and Taylor [1991] argue that "popular cultural texts play a significant role in the construction of femininity, and that such texts work in a complex relationship with young women's conscious - and unconscious - desires" [p. 2]. And Heilbrun [1988] writes:

> We can only retell and live by the stories we
> have read or heard. We live our lives through
> texts. They may be read, or chanted, or
> experienced electronically, or come to us,
> like the murmurings of our mothers, telling
> us what conventions demand. Whatever their
> form or medium, these stories have formed us
> all [p. 37].

For me, the notion that anyone's identity, female
or male, is socially constructed in response to
external forces alone is only half the loaf of this
life. The power of the dominant, patriarchal discourses
is undeniable, but human beings, while accommodating
and pliant, seem inherently picky and resistant.
Surely, since we are intelligent, sentient beings it
makes more sense that there are internal forces at work
forming the self/selves as well.

Bridge to the Dialectic

Further thought has broadened the concept of
social construction to consider that girls and women
are not solely acted upon from without but also
struggle, reject, and choose from within. Writers
exploring this dialectic of social constructing and
inner constituting are de Laurentis [1984], Weedon
[1987], Alcoff [1988], and Hekman [1991].

In particular, the works of Gilbert [1988a, 1988b,
1989a, 1989b, 1990] and Walkerdine [1986, 1990] seem to
extend beyond the limits of social constructivist
thought. While much of their work firmly establishes
the overwhelming influence of external, dominant
discourses, they both reject the passivity - the notion

of "social dupe" [Hekman, 1991] - seemingly inherent in
the constructivist stance. Quietly, Walkerdine and
Gilbert claim interior capabilities that can resist,
reject and/or choose, an inner activity of constituting
one's reality. In this, they herald the dialectic
between social construction and the inner constituting
being.

Walkerdine takes a broad scope in her work, using
a conception of power/knowledge which connects the
State's standardized description of what should be to
its power to regulate the governed in order to produce
the prescribed. There are thus a panoply of discourses
available to the population, overtly and covertly
presented by tradition and institution, arrayed from
normal (valued, sanctioned and therefore desirable) to
different (deviant, pathologized and therefore less
desirable). Such discourses have become "truths"
invested with a power which produces material effects.

This is not a problem, unless an individual seeks
to position her/himself in a discourse outside the
particular discourse prescription for gender. As Weedon
[1987] warns,

> Even when we resist a particular subject
> position and the mode of subjectivity which it
> brings with it, we do so from the position of an
> alternative social definition of femininity. In
> patriarchal societies we cannot escape the

> implications of femininity. Everything we do
> signifies compliance or resistance to dominant
> norms of what it is to be a woman [pp. 85-86].

The power of gender discourses exerts profound
control in schools. As a social institution, school
"not only defines what shall be taught, what knowledge
is, but also defines and regulates both what 'a child'
is and how learning and teaching are to be considered"
[Walkerdine, 1990, p. 32]. In modern thought a child
who is learning should exhibit certain behaviors -
active, inquiring, discovering - clearly qualities
ascribed/prescribed to boys and all of which are the
direct opposite of the characteristics ascribed/
prescribed to girls - passive, silent, accepting.

For a girl, this leads to a bewildering conundrum
centered around an excruciating contradiction: she can
be a good student, acknowledging those certain
qualities and thereby risking the painful loss of her
position as feminine and female, or she can maintain
the feminine position by suppressing good student
qualities, thereby losing learning and, according to
Gilligan, her self/selves.

Walkerdine's droll comment underscores the
immensity of this contradictory dilemma: "The struggle
both to perform academically and to perform as feminine

must seem at times almost impossible" [p. 103.].

Further, she leads me toward the dialectic by her

incisive argument:

> I shall not argue that young girls passively
> adopt a female role model, but rather that their
> adoption of femininity is at best shaky and
> partial: the result of a struggle in which
> heterosexuality is achieved as a solution to a set
> of conflicts and contradictions in familial and
> other social relations. That the girl appears
> willingly to accept the position to which she is
> classically fitted does not, I would argue, tell
> us something basic about the nature of the female
> body, nor the female mind, but rather tells us of
> the power of those practices through which a
> particular resolution to the struggle is produced
> [1990, p. 88].

In counterpoint, Gilbert [1988a] situates her

examination of dominant discourses in the particular

activities of reading and writing in the classroom. For

her, the language system itself - from traditional

literature and genre to classroom discourse patterns -

which is a construct of the patriarchy - plays a key

role in ideological formations and subject positioning

by perpetuating gender inequalities and divisions.

Because of the mainstream texts surrounding them (tv,

MTV, teen magazines, advertisements, jokes, movies, DJ

patter, paintings, songs, album covers, anecdotes,

comics, news) and the book-texts available to them in

and outside of school, girls are presented with scripts

of relationships between women and men that are fairy

44

tales: tales of female love winning over the rake hero
and taming male aggression; tales that bear little
resemblance to the realities of divorce, single
parenting, physical abuse of women and children,
unemployment and poverty [p. 15].

Gilbert, using similar language as Walkerdine,
specifically skewers teen romance novels as being
particularly odious:

> These discourse practices prepare girls for
> romantic heterosexuality because they engage with
> the production of girls' conscious and unconscious
> desires. They offer a happy-ever-after situation
> in which the finding of Mr. Right comes to seem
> like a solution to a set of overwhelming desires
> and problems. They help prepare young girls for
> heterosexual practices and romantic love, both of
> which are seen to be important for the
> continuation of the system of marriage,
> child-bearing and raising, and domestic laboring
> [pp. 15-16].

When girls try to step outside dominant discourses
and position themselves in alternative ways (active,
strong, outspoken, independent) it seems unspeakably
difficult because alternative images are rare at best
and much too exotic and risky to desire for one's self.
As a result, girls are unable to construct alternatives
for themselves because such are not offered by the
dominant discourses and so do not live in girls'
imaginations or desires.

With the existence of powerfully prescriptive
dominant discourses thus established by these thinkers,
I must note that writing process classrooms, even in
their efforts to reconfigure competitive power dynamics
and reconstitute traditional management structures, are
not exempt. Because they are situated within school,
language, system and culture contexts which are the
custodians and perpetuators of the dominant discourses,
such classrooms provide only temporary respite. I
suspect that, reminiscent of Sisyphus, girls are able
to gain ground for their selves by expressing,
examining, and holding to the selves in their writings,
only to have the dominant discouse bleed through to
them via casual teacher/peer comments or interactions.
With their untested beliefs, partially formed gender
identities and tremulous senses of selves, girls thus
move between articulating interdependent strength and
disappearing into prescribed femininity, between
actuality and desire, within the environment of the
writing process classroom. This internal swing suggests
the weaving of identity from the warp of external
dominant discourses and the woof of inner constituting
selves.

Leading undeniably to the dialectic and echoing
Walkerdine and Gilligan, Gilbert warns conclusively

that "the danger is to assume that women and girls
passively accept this ideology or that they do not
struggle against its seduction" [p. 16].

The Dialectic of Social Constructing
and Inner Constituting

It seems clear enough that social construction
from external dominant discourses can not encompass the
entire process of self and identity development. The
recent work of Alcoff [1988], Belenky, Clinchy,
Goldberger and Tarule [1986], de Laurentis [1984],
Hekman [1991] and Weedon [1987] illuminate the
interplay between social construction from without and
inner constituting from within.

Women are able to move away from silence in the
face of an externally oriented perspective on knowledge
and truth, the stance of "received" knowledge, toward
the conception of truth as personal, private, and
subjectively known or intuited [Belenky, Clinchy,
Goldberger and Tarule, 1986, p. 54]. The "fountain of
truth" can shift locales and reside within the person.
There still may be the belief in right answers, but
when the truth resides within the person it "can negate
answers that the outside world supplies" [p. 54].

This revolutionary step is the realization of what I call "deeper" knowing and evidence of an inner constituting of self/selves. It is "an important adaptive move in the service of self-protection, self-assertion, and self-definition. Women become their own authorities" [Belenky, et al., p. 54]. While subjective knowers distrust and often passionately reject "objective" rational thought, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule see subjective knowledge, deeper knowing, as a move ultimately toward "constructed" knowledge in which women weave together the strands of rational and emotive thought and integrate objective and subjective knowing. In the position of constructed knowledge, women view all knowledge as contextual, they experience themselves as creators of knowledge, and value subjective and objective strategies for knowing.

Now a word about the notion of self and selves as terms used here. Experience and reflection lead to the sense that there is certainly a something inside - not a unified, single self as endlessly preached by western male thought perhaps, but at least a discernable, evolving constellation of entities and expressions, a spectrum of subjectivities. It is not a singular (self) but a plural (selves) conception. It is this something inside that resists the dominant discourse, rejecting,

choosing, and evolving, expressing resistance to and

even subversion of the dominant discourse

prescriptions. It is no passive "social dupe" [Hekman,

1991, p. 47]. Thus, in my writing I try to acknowledge

that interior constellation by using the plural

"selves" to indicate the pluralistic, mutable core of

identity within a single, physical entity of a self.

Thus, the term "selves" is used primarily here to

acknowledge that plurality even while the phrase "sense

of self" is also used to indicate an awareness of

identity which is not necessarily an awareness of that

corporation of selves. Further, the composite term

"self/selves" is used to mark that blended concept of

singularity and plurality.

Specifically, females are in the business of

constituting/ constructing themselves - working,

choosing, and not choosing - within the system and

discourses around them. They are

> ...defined through the interplay of meanings
> within discursive formations....a subject that
> both creates new discourses and resists the
> oppression inherent in the discourses that define
> subjectivity [Hekman, p. 48].

De Laurentis [1984] joins the notion of

constituting an inner self/selves with the notion of

external determination, arguing that the subject is

formed through the interaction and intersection of

49

these inner and outer worlds [p. 182]. Although

individuals are constructed by what she calls "codes"

and social formations, they are able to rework these

influences in their own particular ways and thus avoid

complete determination by them. It is her position that

each individual retains the capacity to constitute a

particular subjective construction from the various

ideological formations to which he or she is subject

[p. 14].

Further, de Laurentis claims that subjectivity is

an ongoing construction, not a fixed entity:

It is produced not by external ideas, values,
or material causes, but by one's personal, subjec-
tive engagement in the practices, discourses and
institutions that lend significance (value, mean-
ing, affect) to the events of the world [p. 159].

Alcoff [1988] echoes de Laurentis, opposing the

passivity of the constituted subject of the social

constructivists and espousing the concept of

interaction between inner and outer worlds [p. 424].

She clearly connects this interplay with women's

development, claiming

Woman's identity is relative to her context,
yet she is also the creator of that identity [p.
434].

Weedon is most eloquent in arguing that while the

individual is socially constructed in discursive

practices, that is neither the end nor the limit of the process. She elaborates:

> (the individual) none the less exists as a thinking, feeling subject and social agent, capable of resistance and innovations produced out of the clash between contradictory subject positions and practices....a subject able to reflect upon discursive relations which constitute her and the society in which she lives, and able to choose from the options available [p. 125].

She carries the argument forward, presaging the language of Walkerdine [1990] and Gilbert [1988a]:

> As individuals, we are not the mere objects of language but the sites of discursive struggle, a struggle which takes place in the consciousness of the individual. ...the individual is not merely the passive site of discursive struggle. The individual who has a memory and an already dis-cursively constituted sense of identity may resist particular interpretations or produce new versions of meaning from the conflicts and contradictions between existing discourses [p. 106].

Further, with succinct encouragement she writes that, in the development of identity, "even where choice is not available, resistance is still possible" [p. 106].

Thus I believe that adolescent girls consciously and unconsciously participate in the business of manifesting, identifying, organizing and establishing their selves for themselves, for others and for the world.

Assumptions

Based on the previously reviewed literature, I make several psychological assumptions underlying this study: (a) that humans - male and female - have the capacities for response and connection as well as reciprocity and independence, which are currently gender-connected; (b) that the discovery and development of self/selves and identity is an ongoing process; (c) that that process produces a constellation of entities and expressions, not a single unified self; (d) that the development of self/selves and identity result from the interplay and struggle between external social constructing influences and inner constituting forces; and (e) that the identities of girls and women are prescribed by dominant discourses which they must accede, choose and disappear into or resist, choose against and invent alternatives.

Such a clutch of assumptions urges me to the broad question, what does resistance to dominant discourses look like in the world of the adolescent girl who is struggling to become? Unfortunately, this compelling concern is far beyond the scope of this small study, leading me to investigate a more defined slice of life.

To the Questions

Understanding the work and perspectives of these thinkers provides a thicker description of what is going on for girls in adolescence. In light of their findings about girls' struggles to discover and maintain self/selves, identity, and an active, questioning voice, and my discovery of two strong young female voices in my recent pilot study [Jennings, 1991], I am prompted to speculate on the connection, if any, between doing writing process activities, specifically peer conferencing, and the strengthening of self and the resistance to dominant discourses.

It is possible that the peer conferencing phase of the writing process offers adolescent girls the opportunity to rehearse and express identities and behaviors that are outside gender-stereotyped prescriptions and which exhibit resistance to dominant discourses. The act of responding to another person's writing may call forth from girls the stereotyped response of caring for another's feelings and for the relationship. Receiving feedback on one's own writing, however, may give girls the chance to hold on to their selves and refuse to disappear or to automatically and silently accept suggestions for change.

If girls in peer conferencing express more of the wholeness humans have the capacities for - caring for others, caring for the self/selves, caring for relationship, caring for independence - this may be evidence that peer conferencing is a place where girls can rehearse and express resistance to the influences which force so many of them to become silent and disappear.

Ultimately then, the questions which I seek to answer with this dissertation arise out of considering the teaching of writing as a process and the psychological development of adolescent girls, both as discrete areas of inquiry and as they intersect:

1. What do adolescent girls have to say about their experiences in writing process peer conferencing?
2. How do adolescent girls affectively respond to the peer conferencing components of writing process?

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

One purpose of this study was to discover what it was like for certain eighth grade girls to do writing process activities, specifically peer conferencing. I was also interested in their affective responses to such activities. Primarily, the intent of this study was to find out how peer conferencing may affect the emergence and strength of adolescent girls' sense of self. This chapter describes the design and methodology of this research project. Issues concerning the overall research approach, participant selection, data collection, data management, data analysis and trustworthiness will be discussed.

Overall Research Approach

I wanted to find out what particular adolescent girls affectively experience in peer conferencing; I did not search for causes of that experience, assessments or proofs, but understanding. Since only adolescent girls themselves know what they experience

and feel, the design of this study was based on the premise that only they possess the knowledge I sought.

To find out what goes on for people as they experience certain phenomena, using a qualitative approach to research made sense to me. Qualitative research is able to explain, describe and explore a chosen phenomenon [Marshall & Rossman, 1989]. The chief advantage is that qualitative methods allow the researcher to study a selected phenomenon in depth and detail [Patton, 1980].

Qualitative research is a search for meaning from the participant's perspective [Bogdan and Biklen, 1982]. Such methods find ways of "understanding social phenomena from the actor's own perspective" [Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 2]. This is what I wanted to do.

More importantly, qualitative research

values participants' perspectives on their worlds and seeks to discover those perspectives, views inquiry as an interactive process between the researcher and the participants, and is primarily descriptive and relies on people's words as the primary data [Marshall & Rossman, p. 11].

Thus, in this study I solicited the knowledge possessed by the participants; they are the authorities.

For me, from a feminist perspective, the methodology for this project had to be appropriate so it neither objectified the participants nor thieved

their experience. My intention was to minimize the tendency of research to transform those researched into objects of scrutiny and manipulation [Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1983]. This intention was best accomplished by creating conditions in which the adolescent girls themselves entered into the process as active subjects. My questions only began the construction of data; the participants had opportunities to examine and mold the information by adding/deleting and highlighting. Lastly, engaging these female students in an experience in which they, as authorities, were sought out and heard and thereby co-produced knowledge, may have affected their lives, contributing to the transformation of patriarchal oppression.

In addressing these concerns, interviewing offered the most appropriate approach of investigation. Small-group interviews gave these adolescent girls maximum opportunities to explain their subjective experiences as active participants in their school world, their internal world, and in the arena of peer conferencing. Best stated in Shipman's [1972] succinct words, I chose interviewing because: "If you want an answer, ask a question.... The asking of questions is the main source of social scientific information about everyday behavior" [p. 76]. Therefore, I asked adolescent girls

about their experience with peer conferencing in "a conversation with a purpose" [Kahn and Cannell, 1957, p. 149].

I was well aware that my use of interviews and even my choice of open-ended questions structures and influences what is related by the participants: context is a part. Regardless of consciously benign intent, I realize that my questions might have led the participants. Additionally, I understand my eventual interpretations of data were subjective acts upon subjective reports.

Purposeful Selection of Participants

The pilot study undertaken to inform the structure and method of this dissertation [Jennings, 1991] suggested limiting the number of participants in order to facilitate the management of time and energy in the interviews. In that pilot study, I conducted a series of group interviews with four eighth grade students in each group. This number proved to be at least one too many in terms of attentional demands on the interviewer and the speaking opportunities that had to be shared by the participants. Thus, I asked the girls to choose a

partner with whom they would be interviewed and then I scheduled those pairs.

The study site is an urban public middle school with a student population of approximately 1,200 in a middle-sized city. Although the neighborhood surrounding the school ranges socio-economically from working class to upper middle class, students arrive there from all parts and socio-economic levels of the city.

Permission to conduct the study was obtained in writing from the Director of English for the city and verbally from the school's principal and the students' three cooperating teachers.

The selection process began with three forty-minute classroom observations in twelve separate eighth grade English classes in which writing process activities were a part of the work. The students have had a minimum of one year's writing process work prior to entering the eighth grade.

The observations afforded me ample opportunity to identify those students who most closely matched the characteristics and behaviors of "disappeared" girls [see p. 4]. My interest focused on these particular girls because of the aforementioned psychological risk. Once potential participants were selected, I asked the

59

students' teachers to corroborate or refute the list of girls identified as "disappeared" through my observations. All the girls identified both by observation and teacher designation were invited to participate in the proposed study. There were 20 girls so identified and invited (see Appendix A). A printed description of what the participation would entail along with the informed consent/parental permission form was sent home with them (see Appendices B and C). Twelve responded with interest. In addition, I used a separate, specific consent form requesting the use of their actual first names only in the opening section of the dissertation (see Appendix D).

In a convivial morning meeting, the 12 girls chose their own interview partners as I stood aside. Of the 6 pairs, I was able to schedule interviews successfully with 5 pairs of disappeared eighth grade girls who discussed with me their experiences doing peer conferencing. Two of the ten girls are African-American while the rest are of white European descent.

Data Collection

I was interested in investigating the "bound slice of the world" [Locke, Spirduso and Silverman, 1987, p.

91] that is a particular peer conference design with a specific function. Hereafter, the activity referred to as 'peer conference' in this paper means 2 - 4 students meeting in a group to provide feedback to each other on the content only of first drafts of original written material. In this configuration, each writer takes a turn reading her/his draft aloud to the others. The listeners are responsible for providing oral, sometimes written, feedback to the writer in the form of what they liked, comments about effective sections, questions about unclear or confusing portions, and suggestions for changes to improve the content. The writer then decides what revisions her/his paper needs or decides to make no changes at all. The focus is on content only, not mechanics or other surface conventions, and the purpose is to improve the effectiveness of that content.

The interior realm of what adolescent girls experience, think, and feel while participating in peer conferencing was accessible to me only through their own words. The more alive their words, the better; therefore interviews were best for data collection [Spradley, 1979; Patton, 1980; Oakley, 1981; Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Tripp, 1983; Parker, 1984; Lincoln and

Guba, 1985; Measor, 1985; Mishler, 1986; Seidman, 1991].

Although detailed and enormously helpful in shaping the design of this study, Seidman's model of in-depth interviewing [1991] required alteration for an adolescent population. Three 90 minute interviews would be difficult to arrange considering the tightly structured time blocks of a public school, and my experience told me that such extended, focused time would be torturous for quick-silver teenage minds and bodies. Instead of "in-depth," I merely wanted to reach "wading depth" with them. Further, given adolescents' varying capacities for describing their experiences and internal states, I framed shorter, more focused interview time and questions, blending Seidman's second and third interviews: "The Details of Experience" and "Reflection on the Meaning" [Seidman, 1991, pp. 20-21]. Taking from Seidman's experience and example, I used focus questions to guide the interviews.

Since I was aware of my possible perceived image and power as an adult and teacher, I believed it best to interview students in small groups [Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Hedges, 1985; Persico and Heavey, 1986]. I believe this configuration gave my presence less impact. Also it offered students the greater comfort of

not being alone, providing chances for them to interact
and to piggy-back ideas with each other as conversation
flowed. Aside from keeping the conversation on topic
and asking for clarification and specific information,
I felt I was able to sink into the shadows beside the
softly whirring tape recorder.

For the simple reason that, as Dean & Whyte [1958]
put it, "the sophisticated researcher does not expect
informants to have consistent well-thought-out
attitudes and values on the subjects he is inquiring
about" [p. 2], I constructed an interview schedule that
encouraged participant reflection. While some things
the participants said may have been consciously thought
about before the questions arrived, I expected that
many responses, because they answered questions that
come from outside the participants' daily adolescent
realm of concern, did not have the benefit of much
conscious thought. Thus it seemed only honorable to
make room for the participants to review the typed
interview transcripts and choose what they thought was
important for me to report.

Therefore, I scheduled a series of four 40-minute
interviews with the 5 pairs of participants spanning
four to five weeks. Each pair met once a week to
interview about the focus topic for that week. Several

days prior to the next interview, transcripts were typed, copied and given to each participant for them to review what they said and add to, delete from, or otherwise modify the text of their words. In this review, I asked them also to pick out what they thought was the most important thing(s) they had said. Unfortunately, this reflection did not provide me with much information as the girls did not actively or easily engage in the review activity.

The First Interview

The focal questions in the first interview were

What kinds of writing process activities have you done?
Explain what it is you do.
What can you tell me about peer conferencing? How does it work? What do you do?

The girls' descriptions of what constitutes "writing process activities" were important because, to understand the thoughts of people, the whole analysis of experience must be based on their concepts, not ours [Boas, 1943]. Their answers and discussion indicated which activities had the most impact/meaning, positively or negatively, on their experience. Further, their description of the peer conference phase was important in establishing it as the focal situation in later interviews.

Transcripts of the interviews were delivered to the participants. They were asked to review the text with the following questions in mind:

Is there anything you want to add?
Is there something you wish to take out?
Is there anything you disagree with?
Are there any other changes you want to make?
What do you think is the most important thing you said?

Their designating a "most important thing" would have offered me their more consciously determined and deliberate selection from the text of their words. None of the participants, however, appeared very interested in this review/reflection process as no one carried out my request.

The Second Interview

The second interview continued with an exploration of the following peer conference situation:

Pretend you have listened to someone read her/his draft. You think there are some problems with the content. You have some suggestions for the writer. What can you say about this situation?

Focusing on this peer conference situation offered a specific exemplar context which is critical to the experience of writing process and would be relatively consistent for all interviewees so that comparisons could be made among their discussions of the same dilemma.

The Third Interview

The third interview began with a review of the previous interview's transcript. This interview proceeded with an exploration of the following peer conference situation:

> Suppose you have written something that you consider really good. You like it the way it is. During a conference, a peer suggests you make a change in the content (as opposed to a change in surface conventions such as spelling, punctuation, etc. What can you say about this?

Written Profiles

At the end of the third interview, participants were asked to write a short profile of themselves with these instructions:

> Write a short profile of yourself...a brief introduction to who you are. Include all the things you think are important that the readers of my dissertation should know about you.
> I will use parts of what you write to introduce you to those readers.

Such profiles provided some self-chosen information about the participants that the researcher could not know and was yet another way for them to take part in the project. Again, when the transcripts of the third interview were delivered to the participants, they were asked to pick out the most important thing they thought they said.

The Fourth Interview

The fourth interview began with a review of the
previous interview's transcript. The balance of this
interview was devoted to tying up loose ends, arranging
for forgotten forms, etc. and these follow-up
questions:

How have you changed about taking suggestions and
making changes in something you've written?

In a few words describe your basic attitude
towards taking suggestions.
What does it feel like inside when you have
decided, "No I'm not going to make that
change...I'm not going to take that suggestion...
I'm going to keep it the way I had it"?

What can you say about doing these interviews?
Has anything been different for you by being
interviewed?
Have you changed in any way or in anything you do
because of doing these interviews?
What did you like about doing the interviews?

As a parting memento they wrote short responses to the
following three questions:

When and how did you figure out (or did someone
tell you? who?) that you did not have to change
anything in the content of your writing if you
liked it the way it was?

When you choose not to use somebody's suggestion
to change something in the content, but keep it
the way you like it, what does it mean that you do
that?

What are the unwritten rules about being a girl?
(What are the things you are supposed to do or be
in order to be considered a girl? a real girl? a
good girl?)
Where do these rules come from?

Their responses to these questions about the nature of becoming/being a girl were added to their profiles, resulting in enhanced portraits.

As an informal check on the main data set from the adolescent girl participants, additional interviews were conducted with the cooperating teachers at times available in their schedules after the student interviews had been completed. The focal question for the teachers was

> Have the participants in this study who are from your classes changed in any way(s) since the interviews began?

Data Management

Data collection and data management are virtually simultaneous activities; therefore I kept a researcher log, recording all relevant thoughts, procedures, comments, questions, decisions and rationales that arose [Lincoln and Guba, 1985]. I carried this notebook with me at all times, using it in the analysis stage to note and reflect on what I saw in the data.

Further, I recorded notes of pertinent discussions, field observations and observations made during interviews. Sketchy notes made during interviews, discussions or observations were reviewed immediately after each event in order to fill in the

thin spots while information was still fresh in my mind.

Audio tapes were made of every interview and a copy was made of each tape; one copy was kept in a locked file cabinet while the other was used to produce the typed transcripts and to listen to while I read the typed transcripts during data analysis.

Six copies of the typed interview transcripts were made. One copy of each interview became the property of each participant to review, add to or change and, finally, keep; I used four to mark on during data analysis; one was kept in a locked file cabinet with the audio tapes. Two years after completion of this dissertation, all the tapes will be destroyed.

The transcripts and tapes, in addition to the notebook, provide an audit trail for any independent judges to inspect and review in order to authenticate the findings of the study [Lincoln and Guba, 1981; Marshall and Rossman, 1989].

Data Analysis

"Data analysis is the process of making sense out of one's data" [Merriam, 1989, p. 127] and is undertaken "to determine the categories, relationships

and assumptions that inform the respondent's view of the world in general and the topic in particular" [McCracken, 1988, p. 42]. In other words, my analysis had to provide a description, an understanding of "a bound slice of the world" [Locke, Spirduso and Silverman, 1987, p. 91].

I systematically searched through and arranged research data in a manner that increased my understanding and enabled me to present what I have discovered to others. This process involved organizing data, breaking it into units, synthesizing, searching for commonalities, discovering what was important and deciding what to tell others [Bogdan and Biklen, 1982].

While data analysis was an immense, messy, ambiguous, painstaking, time-consuming and non-linear process, it was also a creative, fascinating search for information about relationships among categories of data [Patton, 1980; Marshall and Rossman, 1989]. Ultimately, analysis transformed my data into a somewhat orderly, structured and manageable form with some meaning [Marshall and Rossman, 1989].

Specifically, Patton [1980] and Taylor and Bogdan [1984] urge analysis that is inductive, a stepping back to identify themes and patterns in the data. Taylor and Bogdan's [1984] further challenge for me was to

accommodate the emergence of themes and patterns by combining my "insight and intuition with an intimate familiarity with the data" [p. 130].

The data that developed out of the interviews were handled many times. Initial listenings of interviews (while typing the transcripts) gave me preliminary, surface comprehension which was deepened by review and further discussion with the participants.

I listened to and read the data multiple times [Patton, 1980; Lyons, 1988; Marshall and Rossman, 1989; Brown and Gilligan, 1990; Gilligan, 1990] in order to focus closely on (a) the content consisting of actual experiences and (b) how the participants talked about the peer conferencing situation and described themselves.

Through multiple hearings and readings I discovered recurring commonalities which I write about as categories and themes concerning adolescent girls' affective responses to doing writing process activities, specifically peer conferencing, the center of this study. Further, these listenings and readings enabled me to hear distinct voices of self/selves, justice or care, detachment or connection, and voices blending.

The primary model for analysis came from work by Brown [1988] and Brown and Gilligan [1990] in "Listening for Self and Relational Voices: A Responsive/Resisting Reader's Guide." Their data analysis calls for multiple readings/listenings of an interview text: one reads/listens four times for different voices of a self telling different stories of relationship. Four readings are needed to go "beneath the surface of a narrative to see or hear its complex orchestration, its psychological and political structure. Each reading amplifies a different voice" as the reader/listener uses first "one interpretive lens, then another, listening first for one voice and then another" [p. 4].

In the work by Brown [1988] and Brown and Gilligan [1990], the interviews were constructed around the reporting of a "moral conflict." As a consequence, their readings/listenings guide was aimed at understanding "complex narratives of real-life moral conflict and choice" [Brown, p. 1]. This interpretive framework thus spoke in terms of two moral domains and their different perspectives: care and justice. Since it was not my intent to investigate moral domains, using their framework necessitated a translation from the vocabulary of care and justice as moral

72

orientations into the terms of writing process and the experience with peer conferencing. In other words, I needed to determine how the voices of care or justice would sound when talking about the experience of peer conferencing.

In adapting Brown and Gilligan's framework to accommodate the focus of this study I synthesized a construction of voices. Understanding Brown and Gilligan's voices of care and justice and how they sound, I translated those voices into speaking about peer conferencing. Peer conferencing is a personal experience that highlights people relating, much like the moral conflicts about which Brown and Gilligan's participants spoke. Therefore I felt their framework could be used legitimately in this broader way.

In the following elaboration of how/what I read/ listened for in the interviews, I offer sample talk to illustrate what was underlined or bracketed as important. I take these examples from later interviews in which the talk was not as clear or concise as those which appear in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation. While those quotations are the most lucid and representative, they arise from only a few interview pairs. Here, I use the words that were not as exemplary, but which help explain the coding system and

which give certain voices more presence in this document.

The first reading focuses on the story, the what. "The reader/listener's goal is to understand the story, the context, the drama" [p. 5]. Within the girls' voices telling about their experiences with writing process and peer conferencing, I looked for "recurrent words or images", "emotional resonances" [p. 5]. In this reading, the details about what happens in writing process and peer conferencing, as understood by each participant, were established by underlining or bracketing in black pen. It was possible to relate one participant's version to another's. Together, these voices of perceived realities established the shared notions of writing process and peer conferencing under which the participants operate.

For example, I bracketed the following three exchanges as ones describing the "what" of peer conferencing:

Int : What happened in the peer conference?

Sara: Just like what happened in the sixth
      grade...we would read our stories to the other
      person and tell (each other) what we thought
      should be added or taken out.

Int : What would you do with those ideas that you
      got from your partner?

Michaela: I'd read them over then look at my
      story to see what they meant...where things
      didn't make sense....

Int : You have a draft and you get in your group
      ...you said you read your draft aloud...?

Katina: To the group.

Int : What was that for? Why did you have people
      listen?

Thea: So that they could tell us what was wrong
      with it...if it was too short, too long...

Katina: ...or if it didn't make any sense...

Thea: ...or if it didn't have enough detail or if
      it had nothing to do with the stuff you had to
      write.

Katina: Yeah. Sometimes they would just say that
      it didn't make any sense....

The second time through, "the reader listens for
'self': the voice of the 'I' speaking in the story or,
in other words, the 'I' who appears as actor or
protagonist in the story of relational conflict" [p.
6]. I listened for the narrator's representations of

75

her _self/selves_ in the larger story. The story is "an attempt by the narrator to convey not only the facts, but his or her feelings and thoughts of the situation - the psychological experience. Statements with a reference to self as protagonist - what the 'I' is thinking, considering, doing, saying, feeling, learning - are underlined in green" [Brown, pp. 53-59].

In the terms of writing process and peer conferencing, participants made statements that indicated levels of self-knowledge of one's writing, self-confidence about one's writing, ownership of ideas and authority over writing.

The three following passages were bracketed as examples of 'self' statements:

Int : Go back to that situation. You've heard somebody's draft and you have something to say about the content. What do you say first? How do you start talking to them?

Sara: Well, I just heard this story from her and I'd say, "Well, what about this part? Do you really want to add something or do you think it sounds right?" And then I would suggest what I would add....

Int : Okay, explain when you get a suggestion.

Explain what you mean by you "would take the
suggestion".

Michaela: When I get suggestions, I take them...
and I see where they wanted it done...and on
another piece of paper, I don't write the whole
story over, just the paragraph or the sentences
that the suggestion was made (about). Then I
read (the story) and when I get to that part,
I read the (other) paper and see if it sounds
better, or if it makes sense. I read it out
loud to them sometimes to see if it sounds
better.

Int : What I want to ask is, have you changed
about taking suggestions?

Saundra: I have. Because it lets me try other
things and it gets me a better grade.

Int : So what have you changed?

Saundra: In the writing, when they tell me to
change something, I'll try it. And if I don't
like it, I'll just put it back the way I
wanted it.

Int : What do you think, Adassa?

Adassa: I don't think I've changed that much
because I hardly use suggestions.

The third and fourth readings were attentive to voices of care and justice. In the third, I listened for indications of care: response, connection/ attachment to others, attending/responding to others and to the self/selves, understanding others, awareness of other's needs. Statements which represent the presence of care were underlined or bracketed in red [Brown, p. 97]. When speaking about writing process and peer conferencing, the voices of care expressed awareness and concern about hurting others' feelings and apprehension about making people angry.

For example, I underlined the following three exchanges as ones indicating care:

Int : Why would you be "nice"?

Katina: Because the kid's vulnerable.

Int : How so?

Katina: Like if he doesn't talk much, he must not know many people or just not in that class and so like you wouldn't want to come up to him and tell him that he doesn't make any sense or something. You would want to tell him sort of carefully.

Alicia: You wouldn't really want to come right out and say, "It really just wasn't good."

Int : Why not?

Alicia: If you didn't really know the person
that great, they might get mad or something.

Lache: You could still tell them, but you'd have
to kind of say it in a way so that they
wouldn't...

Alicia: ...do it politely....

Lache: Yeah. Try to make it so they don't get
angry.

Alicia: You don't want to just tell them it
stinks...they wouldn't maybe like you that
much.

Int : What are some of the things you have to be
concerned about?

Saundra: Their feelings.

Int : Your friends?

Saundra + Adassa: Yeah.

Int : And the kid across the room?

Saundra + Adassa: Yeah.

Adassa: Like if you make a suggestion, they might
think that it's not good enough.

Saundra: You just have to be careful what you say.

In the fourth reading, I listened for indications of justice: reciprocity, issues of fairness, adherence to standards, equal treatment, concern for respect, right to one's own story. Statements which represent the presence of justice were underlined or bracketed in blue [p. 114]. Voices of justice showed interest in and concern about the process of writing process itself: accomplishing each cooperative step, helping the writing of others and getting help with their own writing.

The following are examples of passages that I bracketed as justice:

Meredith: It (peer conferencing) helps you so that you can get more ideas to help you with your story, because if you just sat down and wrote it you would be just stuck with yourself. A new person maybe thinking along different lines...would help you get better details or things that you missed that this person could pick up.

Michaela: I like peer conferencing because we write and then we ask that person because to us what we're writing seems right, but when we read it out loud sometimes it doesn't sound

right...so that person could tell us if it doesn't or if it does.

Alicia: It's for them to get better...because if you don't tell them, then when they turn it in they might not get the right grade.

Lache: Most of the people in class, I know, you know, so I'd probably just tell them what was wrong with it.

Int : And they don't get upset or angry at you?

Lache: No, they think it helps.

Int : Ahaa.... What about you, Alicia? Can you say anymore?

Alicia: Yeah, it helps them. Like if I had to turn something in and someone told me that it wasn't that great, I would listen to them.

Lache: It doesn't matter what it is...you just tell them. And if you don't tell them what you think about it...just be honest and tell them....

Int : What might happen if you didn't tell them?

Alicia: They might get upset because they get a bad grade or something because you didn't tell what was wrong with it.

Lache: They might not come back to you for

81

advice...just go to somebody else and ask

because you didn't tell them the truth like

what you thought about it the first time, so

why come to you if you're not going to tell

them?

Alicia: You probably caused them to get a bad

grade or something. If you had just come out

and told them, they would maybe have done

better.

Saundra: You're just trying to help them get a

better paper.

Adassa: Tell them how they could do better...

Saundra: ...or just tell them what they need.

In addition, I attempted to distinguish when these

voices of care and justice reflected societal

conventions of female and male behavior. I listened for

resistance to convention and perhaps an opening to

wholeness - an embrace against singular,

gender-stereotyped behaviors [Brown and Gilligan, p.

8]. Any such distinctions found were held in light of

the illuminations on the construction of girls'

realities that I have found [Alcoff, 1988; Brown, 1991;

Davies, 1989; de Laurentis, 1984; Deutsch, 1944;

Gilbert, 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Gilbert and
Taylor, 1991; Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1990; Heilbrun,
1988; Hekman, 1991; Horney, 1926; Lott, 1990; Thompson,
1942; Unger, 1990; Walkerdine, 1986, 1990; Weedon,
1987].

At the same time that I searched for voices
speaking through the data, I listened for and noted
other kinds of words and phrases that sounded
meaningful even though they may lie outside the
listening focus. I tried to be ready to hear such
things as expected or unexpected comments, surprises,
and interesting connections or patterns. Such
categories of information and patterns of relation
(themes) can be examined. As soon as I made categories,
the noted pages were separated out and grouped together
in folders [Bogdan and Biklen, 1982]. In the case of
units of data that were coded for more than one
category, duplicates were made and placed.

After the phenomena are described in the
participants' words, and connections between
commonalities have been explained, data analysis
requires the development of tentative theories
regarding the meanings and a search for alternative
explanations. To facilitate these processes, I tried to
see if reorganizing the data might lead to different

findings [Patton, 1980], checking for negative

instances in patterns [Marshall and Rossman, 1989].

The findings incorporate four layers, which,

because of the bulk of material and the range of

topics, I have divided into two chapters. Included in

Chapter 4 are (a) short profiles of the participants

drawn from self-portraits authored by them and informed

by the final short piece of writing they did for me and

my notes about each interview pair; (b) a description

of these adolescent girls' experiences with peer

conferencing told in their own voices; and (c) a

description of their affective responses to peer

conferencing in their own words. Chapter 5 is a

presentation of the participants' voices of self/

selves, care and justice as they appear in their

discussions about two specific peer conference

experiences indicating a blending and resistance to the

dominant discourses.

In transcribing the girls' talk into this

document, for coherence, I have edited myself out,

eliminated "um," "like," and "you know", and combined

related ideas when they originally appeared in separate

comments.Their words provide the perspectives which

inform the theory I build from the data gathered

[Taylor and Bogdan, 1984; Marshall and Rossman, 1989].

Establishing Trustworthiness

Multiple methods of data collection and data management have been deliberately built into the design of this study in order to assure trustworthiness. A qualitative analyst returns to the data over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations and interpretations make sense, if they reflect the nature of the phenomenon [Patton, 1980]. To further insure credibility and consistency, I include three recommendations of Lincoln and Guba [1985]: an audit trail, member checking and recognition of researcher biases.

The collection of documents which includes observation notes, informational letters, consent forms, interview transcripts, participants' written profiles, and my researcher's journal provides a way to follow the plans, responses, questions, and reflections as they developed during the course of this study.

To the extent that participants are able to relate to the description and analysis in a qualitative report, it is reasonable to accept the credibility of the report [Patton, 1980]. Thus, member checks with the participants about the interviews are part of the data gathering process itself and were considered during

data review in order to confirm the validity of the
data and the researcher's interpretations and
observations.

Member checks were provided by asking the girls to
review the printed transcripts and note particularly
important ideas in them. While this strategy greatly
appealed to me because it provided a way for the girls
to participate even more deeply in the creation of new
knowledge, they seemed less than enchanted with the
notion of reviewing their interview transcripts. As a
result, little new material came out of this phase of
data gathering and data checking. The girls appeared
uninterested in participating in this way, claiming
satisfaction with their transcripted words as they
stood.

In addition, the actual first names of the
participants are used in the acknowledgment page of the
resulting document. This is a modest honorarium for
their efforts and may have worked as an incentive for
thoughtfulness and candor. I believe actual
identification of the participant can be a powerful
factor in what gets told: "If you're not going to use
my real name, do I have to tell the truth?" [Alverman,
1991] In the profiles, findings, and discussion

sections I use pseudonyms chosen by each participant in order to provide a modicum of anonymity and privacy.

Finally, as the researcher in this study, I readily acknowledge two key biases that I bring with me into this inquiry. First, as an English teacher committed to the teaching of writing as a process, I carry with me a highly favorable opinion of that method and recognize the possibility of my misunderstanding the participants' explanations of their experience doing writing process activities. On a deeper level, as a feminist teacher, my concern has long been for those "disappeared" adolescent girls cloistered in classrooms, fearing they were going out into the patriarchal world ready-made victims. I feel it has been a particular failure of mine that I have been unable to communicate successfully with such students in my classroom and I recognize now my urge to hear them indicate that they are not victims but self-knowledgeable, self-confident and strong young women.

With these project designs for trustworthiness and this awareness of my own biases, I believe my interpretations have been constructively critical. In this study I was not in search of "one truth"; I aimed to be instructed by voices heretofore unavailable. My

87

objective was to discover, describe and explore lived

realities.

CHAPTER 4

PORTRAITS OF THE GIRLS, THE INTERVIEW PAIRS AND
THEIR REPORTED PEER CONFERENCE EXPERIENCES

Introduction

I begin this chapter with introductions of the
girls in order to give a sense of persons and
personalities against which their words can play. The
girls are introduced by short portraits in their own
words and then in my words taken from my notes about
each interview pair. The portraits are constructed from
the descriptions they wrote of themselves and their
written responses to questions. The descriptions of
their presences during the interviews and each one's
interactions with her partner come from notes I made
during and after each meeting.

The end section of this chapter offers a glimpse
of the web of the peer conference experience reported
in the girls' own words. On a cautionary note, my
interpretations here and in Chapter 5 are focused
solely upon what these girls report and discuss in
their interviews; I can not know what they actually do
in peer conferences nor if what they talk about

genuinely reflects their true responses or some imagined ideal.

Nonetheless, their thoughts turn and flex around the experience of doing peer conferences and, in particular, negotiating the interpersonal twists and intricacies of giving and receiving advice. Further, their words and how they talk about their experiences partially reveal their affective responses. From the palette of individual experiences, these girls create impressionist pictures which mirror each other, providing a look into what it is like for these adolescents to share their writing and give and receive advice in the writing process.

The Portraits

Coupling four 40-minute interviews with the girls' reviews of the typed transcripts gave me thought-full accounts of their thoughts and feelings around the specific experiences of peer conferencing. Realistically speaking, however, our initial relationship as strangers, the fleeting nature of the interviews, and my adult/teacher status made it difficult for me to get to know them in depth. I could

only begin to establish a deeper understanding of them: who they are or how they perceive themselves.

In order to get a step closer, during the second interview I asked the girls to write out a short profile of themselves. Later I asked them to write out answers to questions I had become curious about and which had occurred to me only as the interviews had progressed. These portraits, constructed from those profiles and answers, give me their perceived descriptions of themselves: who they are and what kind of person/girl they are, the rules for being a girl, and their perspectives about what it means to be a girl. The portraits are offered here as beginning sketches, to be filled in later with the colors of care, justice and selves.

I present their written pieces as the initial, introductory outlines of the girls. My blend of their words, found in the two brief self-explorations described above, constitutes the text of the portraits that follow. The descriptions that appear are taken directly from both those written responses, without alteration. The renderings, although rudimentary, are special offerings, empty of artifice. For the most part, they provide a self-selected, self-guided look into the lives of these girls and how they see

themselves. Unfortunately, Alicia never responded to my curiosity questions, and so her presence has much less detail. And Thea never provided either of the writings and so is not represented with a portrait.

As the interviews commenced and progressed, I was drawn to make observations of the girls, their behaviors and their interactions in addition to the notes I made concerning the content of their talk. Their presences during the interviews seemed as important as their words in offering me a picture of who they were as well as what their experience was like.

Each interview had a texture to it that came from the girls' attention, posture and manner of their talk. Even while attending to the content of their responses to the interview questions, I was aware of how they were participating. After each interview I made two sets of notes. The first focused primarily on the content of the talk, marked with questions, speculations and ideas for better questions. My second set of notes detailed my impressions of what I had observed and sensed about the girls during the interview.

Thus, the profiles of the girls appear paired with their interview partner and are followed by my

impressions of the girls and about the interview pair taken from my notes.

Kelly

My name is Kelly and I am 13 years old. I am tall and very blond with brown eyes. I am lucky to own a quarter horse and a dog who has more than one name. I have an older brother who is psychotic! My hobbies are horseback riding, sewing, drawing, rollerskating, hanging with my friends and going to the mall. My favorite type of music is heavy metal. To be a true girl is to have a feminine mind; like to love and to live and to love to love; to have a mind free of dribble.

Kelly is clearly an active, doing girl who, in the last sentence seems to be struggling to find a balance between what she knows and likes (activity) and what she suspects are more proper concerns for a girl (loving and relating). She appears to be on Gilligan's [1990b] edge of psychological resistance when adolescent girls begin to go underground, to lose the self, to begin to silence themselves for the sake of relationships outside the self. This is the same

struggle with the dominant discourse detailed by both Walkerdine [1990] and Gilbert [1989, 1991].

Sara

My name is Sara and I am 13 years old. My hobbies are listening to music (my favorite kind is classic rock) and reading. My favorite kind of books are mysteries, the Hardy Boys to be exact. Also, I love writing poems. The unwritten rules about being a girl? We girls are supposed to love the color pink and dolls. We're supposed to dress nicely and set good examples for others. We are supposed to be a good girl by doing what we're told, not making rude noises, and loving all. These rules come from Mother Nature, I suppose. Most of mine come from my great-grandmother.

Sara is very aware of the dominant discourse's rules and expectations for girls. But her use of the word "supposed" implies a suspicion of those rules and expectations and an initial resistance to them.

Initially quiet, Kelly and Sara quickly became comfortable with the process. Both girls were thoughtful, talkative and animated. In answering my questions, they frequently took off with ideas and engaged each other in friendly debate and banter,

looking at each other regularly. They looked me in the eye easily. Their ease seemed to belie their designation as disappeared girls until I checked with their teachers who reconfirmed that Kelly's and Sara's classroom behaviors did indeed match the description of disappeared girls. Apparently, in the less public, less populated interview situation, they found it easy to speak.

Meredith

My name is Meredith and I'm an average 13 year old. I have a lot of interests that are always changing. I read a lot! Reading and English are my favorite subjects in school. Even though my interests change I have always loved animals, especially cats. When I get older, I hope to do something in forestry. To be a true girl and a good girl means to have good morals and to submit to authority but to have your own independence too. I don't think you have to be delicate to be a girl. The rules I follow come from the Bible.

Meredith shows her struggle is beyond the suspicion stage. She is trying to reconcile that girls are expected to "submit to authority" and yet manifest the will to be one's own authority.

Michaela

My name is Michaela, I am 13 and I have real long
light brown hair and green eyes. I enjoy doing many
things. I like to play sports, like volleyball, but I
love writing. It may not show through my past English
grades but that's because we were doing punctuation. I
like to do real writing, story writing. I like going to
the beach and different places. I think school is okay.
I think the unwritten rules are about knowing your
place in life and how to go about it. You are supposed
to be, I don't know, lady-like. I think people come up
with these rules for girls because we're always being
the more intelligent one, and being able to express
ourselves better, especially in writing.

Michaela expresses suspicion and resistance to
what girls are "supposed to be", offering a conspiracy
theory because girls are so obviously better. She is
active and thoughtful and doesn't like the idea of
having to give that up.

Meredith and Michaela were thoughtful and
talkative but somewhat reserved. While they readily
expanded upon ideas, they did not engage with each
other much. Some verbal exchanges took place as well as
some eye contact. Initially shy, their eye contact with

me became comfortable. They clearly loved to write and did lots of it in and out of school.

Katina

My name is Katina and I'm blondhaired with blue eyes. I was lucky to move here; I've got a lot of good friends here. I was brought up in a messed up household and learned that there is more to life than the phone, malls, and movies. I also learned that your friends are not always going to be there when you need them, so you have to learn how to be independent. I'd say the unwritten rules say you have to be caring, · understanding, and tough. I say that because a "real" girl should always care about other people and be there for friends. You have to be understanding because most of the time you have to know what someone else is going through to actually help them. And I say tough because you can't let anyone push you around, you have to stick up for what you think is right and who cares what anyone else thinks? And if someone calls you a bitch, you can't stand for that, you have to fight back. (I'm sorry that the word was used but that is the only way I can express myself and explain the rule.) Because if you start now and let everyone push you around and say

stuff like that about you, who knows what you're going to be like when you grow up. If you do that then you can't be independent.

Katina's life has obviously provided her with some serious lessons about living, getting along, and surviving. For her, being tough is as important as being a caring, understanding girl. Yet while caring is important, she devalues it because it can lead (has led) to problems and possible hurt. She expresses a strong rejection of passivity and an embrace of a strong, independent self.

Katina and her interview partner Thea (who did not provide a written profile or answers) responded quietly to questions and sometimes became silly, teasing each other. They seemed not terribly interested in the questions and did not seem to give a lot of thought to their answers. Many times I found I had to ask questions in different ways to help them get at what they had to say. They tended to answer with one answer and never elaborated, rather repeating the same response. Eye contact was made between them only during times of teasing each other, not for discussion of interview questions. Eyes usually cast down during my

questions and looking off as they answered, they made
eye contact with me infrequently.

Alicia

My name is Alicia and I will be 13 in January,
1992. I have dirty blond hair and blue eyes. I like
school and most subjects. I like English a lot. I live
with my Mom, Dad and two brothers Bobby and Brendan. I
used to have a dog but on October 2 he ran away.

Alicia's comments are the most disturbing to me
because there is almost no person represented. While it
may only be the result of her incomplete, truncated
response, the impression is one of a girl who has
nearly disappeared altogether.

Lache

My name is Lache and I am 13 years old, the
youngest of three. I kind of like school, because if I
didn't go to school I wouldn't have as many friends as
I do. In my spare time I like to talk on the phone and
go to the mall. When I grow up I would like to become a
chef. There are no rules of being a girl. A girl can do

anything she wants to. There are no things that a girl can't do. You have to live.

For Lache, friends and relationships are important but not all-important. She is a determined girl. She is resisting the dominant discourse rules strongly; right now, nothing will hold her back from doing the things she wants to do.

Alicia and Lache were also very quiet, giving limited answers and never expanding upon ideas. They were quite reserved physically as well as vocally, their voices were very soft and it was difficult to hear them. They commented only in response to my questions, never offered anything extra and never talked to each other during the interviews. They never engaged each other in any way. They usually looked down or into middle distance; eye contact with me was made sometimes during my questions, rarely as they answered.

Saundra

My name is Saundra and I'm 14 years old. I have a little sister, a stepsister, a stepbrother, a stepfather, and my mom. I hope to go to college and become a lawyer. To be a girl, you have to be sweet, dress a certain way, talk a certain way (no swearing,

but we do anyway), be able to flirt, and be able to hold on to a long-term relationship.

Saundra is very aware of and accepting of the dominant discourse rules. But she also shows that she knows real life is not totally that way by the simple fact that girls swear. For her, this implies a subversion of the rules, a resistance.

Adassa

My name is Adassa and I am 13 years old and the last child in my family. My family is from Jamaica. I live with my mother and 3 sisters and 1 brother. There are twelve nieces and nephews. I do not have a father and I have no grandparents. I like to talk on the phone, watch tv, listen to the radio, play the piano, and read books. I like being around my friends and family. I'm a very nice person. School is all right, I guess. I hate when teachers call on me to read or answer questions. I don't think there are any unwritten rules about being a girl. And if there are any, I wouldn't obey them anyway.

Adassa may not have thought much about what it means to be a girl and never looked at the expectations

of the dominant discourse and so doesn't see any rules. Yet she says she would resist them anyway, just in case.

Saundra and Adassa were quite shy and the quietest of all. They were thoughtful about what they said but never seemed sure of what they had to say. Their answers were painfully short and I always found myself saying too much in order to elicit responses. They never talked to each other or took any opportunity to expand upon ideas on their own. Eye contact between them was non-existent and rarely made with me; they kept their eyes down or looked into middle distance when listening to my questions and while giving their short answers.

It is interesting to consider these profiles, remembering that these girls are identified as "disappeared" adolescent girls. My observations of these girls, supported by teacher concurrence, told me that they were silent, passive and indifferent, their behavior consisting of silence, lowered eyes and avoidance of eye contact, and immobility.

But here, in their words about themselves, I see a divergence from the expected. For example, although "disappeared" adolescent girls are supposed to be

overly concerned with relationship, only three of the girls use family relationships/position in their descriptions of themselves. In addition, instead of subscribing wholesale to passive positions or endeavors such as sitting out or watching others, the primary, and unexpected, descriptors they used for themselves are the things they _do_: sports, activities, hobbies. Further, in their answers about what it means to be a girl, they claim they can do anything, be independent, and be tough. Michaela even offers the idea that if there really are any rules for being a girl, they were made up because girls are so much better.

Yet some of their responses to the end questions about "rules for being a girl" do repeat lines about behaviors and attitudes which are prescribed by the dominant discourse: being caring, loving, lady-like, a good girl. This reveals the sinister power of those prescriptions to influence the choices girls make for themselves as described by Weedon [1987] and Walkerdine [1990]. What they say shows me that these girls are struggling between (a) the will to act, to be fully human and (b) the wish to fulfill the dominant notion of what it means to be successfully female. There is an underlying drive to find a practical equilibrium for themselves as they move between their desire to act out

society's script for girls and their need to honor their selves and act genuinely.

The Experience

In the beginning interview I sought to establish two things: (a) a relationship with the girls, at least a thin connection, and (b) the reality of peer conference, according to their experience. It is interesting to see how the girls talked about doing peer conferencing, but I am especially intrigued by the subtle considerations and negotiations they acknowledged and accommodated within the peer conference experience. The texts printed here are those which jumped out in answer to my first and second questions, "What do adolescent girls have to say about their experiences in peer conferencing?" and "How do adolescent girls affectively respond to peer conferencing?" These texts retained significance through five readings of the interview transcripts.

I begin with the girls' described realities of the peer conference. They spoke of it in nearly identical terms, spelling out a shared understanding of the purpose of peer conferencing, what you do, things you say, and what you do with suggestions. Next is their

detailing of the intricate exchanges between peers and how they negotiate their way. Here they presented the interpersonal concerns of how to give suggestions, the possibility of hurting feelings, and the difference between working with a friend or a student from across the room.

The Shared Understanding of the Peer
Conference Experience

Sara, by virtue of being in the first interview pair, was the first to report the facts of a peer conference succinctly by saying,

> In sixth grade we read it to the other person and
> they told us what they thought about it and what
> they think is too much or too little; then they
> would read us theirs and we would tell them
> all that. [And in seventh grade], we would read
> our stories to the other person and tell what we
> thought should be added or taken out...just like
> what happened in sixth grade.

Her description of the peer conference is the operational one echoed by all the others.

Additionally, the girls acknowledged and agreed that, for them at least, the central purpose of the

peer conference was to help the writer with the writing. As Meredith said,

> Usually you pick your friend to be your partner and we would each read and we would tell what we liked and didn't like about it and what you could fix or if you needed some ideas to go along past what you'd already written. You know your friend could help you out. I guess it helps you so that you can get more ideas to help you with your story.

Her later comments include reference to what one may or may not do with such help: "My attitude is that they're just trying to help you and it's your choice if you want to take the suggestion or not. They're just trying to help you out".

> This exchange between her and Michaela further established their shared understanding of the primary underlying function of peer conferencing:

> Michaela: I think it's to help you write better. You're just not writing for yourself, you're writing for others. You're not just writing so that you understand it but you're trying to make it clear for other people too.
>
> Meredith: Yes, you want to make the story inter-

esting to other people. If you don't talk to
other people about it and see if they like it,
if you just write it, sometimes it may be
interesting to you but not to anybody else. So
you need help in that.

Michaela later adds,

I think they're just trying to help me. I write
them down [suggestions] and I think if they really
make sense. I write them in and say, 'They're
trying to help my story be the best it can.' So I
just take them and write them over a couple of
times and see how it sounds.

Alicia and Lache added confirmation that peer
conferencing was good for helping the sense of a piece
of writing:

Lache: It's good for a second opinion about some-
thing.

Alicia: About if it makes any sense and if it's
good enough to turn in the way it is. Like
some things I said a few times and it didn't
really make sense, saying it a couple of
times. And she noticed it and so I crossed
it out.

Clearly, for these girls, the peer conference is the arena where a writer first reads a piece aloud and receives responses and suggestions from the peer and then offers the same attention for the peer. The primary underlying function for the peer conference is purposeful help for the writer and her writing.

In order to help the writer and the writing, certain kinds of ideas and suggestions are offered in very considered ways. The girls obviously drew on experience and were able to explain the kinds of ideas and suggestions that can get shared.

According to Meredith, examples of the ideas that could be shared were requests for clarification and observations about the piece's effectiveness. She said,

Sometimes my partner would tell me, 'Well, I didn't like this part. I think you should try to make it clearer for me because I don't understand it too much.' or 'I don't think you're going to be able to go along too much with this part of it. I don't think you'll be able to carry the story on with that. So maybe you should change it.' And I would do the same for her.

Thea and Katina repeated the kinds of things partners or peer groups might tell a writer about the

general sense of the work, its length, or where plot or characterization went awry:

> Thea: They could tell us what was wrong with it...
> if it was too short, too long.
>
> Katina: Or if it didn't make any sense.
>
> Thea: Or if it didn't have enough detail or if it
> had nothing to do with the stuff you had to
> write.
>
> Katina: Yeah. Sometimes they would just say that
> it didn't make any sense.

Beyond the kinds of suggestions that could be offered, there was always the deeper issue of what the writer can do with suggestions once she gets them. It is here that my fascination really lies because of the simple yet startling things these girls said. Their comments are startling because, according to what I understand Gilligan [1990, et al. 1991] to claim, disappeared girls at this age could be expected to accept suggestions and automatically make the changes in their writing. That is, they would come out of relationship with themselves by letting go their hold on their text, making the suggested changes in order to maintain relationship with the other and their stance as female. Such were not the responses reported by the

girls in this study. The meaning of their responses of resistance and the stance they took toward suggestions makes up a major portion of the following chapter; here, the girls speak simply of what they can do with suggestions about their writing.

In an exchange between Kelly and Sara, Sara mentions succinctly what one might do with such advice by saying, "You will either take their advice or not take their advice." And Alicia clearly states that, "If I didn't like any [suggestions] she made, I could just not do them if I didn't want to." Also, she says, "You look it over first. Because they might have suggested taking out a sentence and you might like it there. And you might say you want to keep it in."

In these early interviews then, the girls are sure and clear as they establish several things. First, a peer conference calls for sharing oneself by reading aloud/listening to the writing and offering/receiving suggestions about content. Next, these girls understood the primary function of peer conferencing is to help the writer and her writing. They had specific ideas about what they could say as suggestions. And most interestingly, they knew the writer has options and control: she may try out suggestions, take them, use

them, or simply disregard them. They understand that it is the writer who has control over the writing.

The Negotiations

In the interviews, the girls expanded upon the fleeting exchanges during peer conferencing, especially the giving of advice or suggestions. For these girls, the idea of talking to another person about her/his writing was not a simple, clear-cut case of diagnosis and recommendation, but a complex series of considered negotiations, a struggle to somehow show both care and justice. Their talk indicates an awareness of degrees of connection, atmosphere, nuance, feeling, and responsibility to the process implicit in such exchanges during peer conferencing.

Three connected relational issues of significance arose in their discussions about responding to another student's writing in the peer conference. Their serious commitment to the helping aspect of the peer conference (justice) ran smack into the overall problem of how to give suggestions and was greatly influenced by their major concern about possibly hurting the writer's feelings (care). All this, in turn, was mediated by who the writer is: a friend or another student not well

known. In the interplay, how one gives suggestions was governed by who the receiver was and the potential impact of risking hurt feelings.

The girls' voices weave and balance the concerns for care and justice throughout their explanations of these negotiations. For example, in relation to how one gives suggestions, I heard the voices of care worry about hurting someone's feelings and the voices of justice claim the importance of giving good, helpful suggestions regardless of feelings.

Initial comments about how to give suggestions circled around a specific, gentle strategy. Meredith and Michaela talked about the subtle technique of saying what one likes first about another person's piece of writing as a preliminary to making suggestions:

> Michaela: You have to think how you can present to them where the problem is in their story. You have to compliment them on something. Like say, 'This sounds really good and if you want your story to sound even better...' then you make the suggestion. Every time you make a suggestion you should ask, 'Do you think that will sound better?' You know, get their opinion on it too.

Meredith: The first thing I would do would be find

the part I like, usually you have a part that

you really like in a story. And then I would

ask a question about the part that I didn't

understand, the part they should fix. Then I

would make a suggestion and, like Michaela

said, ask them if it sounds all right.

In the second negotiation strategy they also
recommended helping the writer by giving specific
suggestions for possible changes:

Meredith: You might pick up something that you

think she should change but you've got to

put it together so you know what she could

do about it instead of just saying, 'Change

that.' You should tell them, 'I think that

maybe you should put this in here instead.'

Have it all set before you tell them that.

You can't just tell them it's wrong, you've

got to tell them what to do with it.

Michaela: They might not understand...because they

don't know what you're thinking about their

story. You have to express yourself...not

tell them how they should change things but

make suggestions. Telling means that you're

kind of writing their story for them; you're telling them they have to put it this way because it sounds better. But if you give them a few suggestions, they think about which one they like better and they'll still be writing their own story.

For Meredith and Michaela, then, there were specific strategies one should use in order to make the offered suggestions most effective: begin by gently praising something in the writing, go on to offer ideas to the writer, and be careful not to take the stance of telling the writer what she should do.   .

Talking to another student about their writing is a complex, tricky endeavor as is evident in the following exchange between Kelly and Sara. In this third negotiation strategy, they both bring up the greatest underlying concern eventually mentioned by all the girls: hurting someone's feelings.

Sara: When you have suggestions for somebody's piece of writing you might want to like... I don't know, kind of ease it into the conversation, because you don't want to hurt their feelings...because some people are very...

Kelly: ...sensitive...

Sara: ...there you go! Sensitive to what you say
about their writing.

Being careful about hurting someone's feelings
with suggestions is not the only concern. Besides the
awareness of possible hurt feelings, all the girls
recognize different delivery methods for suggestions;
that is, one can either be blunt or careful in one's
offerings. The third complication is the necessity of
making allowances for the relationship to the recipient
in the peer conference: a friend or another student not
well known.

The Negotiation Knot

There was no consensus about how one should offer
suggestions to different peer conference partners. Each
girl had to resolve how to conduct that interaction for
herself. Frequently in their discussions, initial
positions (for bluntness or carefulness) wavered into
cloudy indecision as they came to recognize the
bewildering complexity of caring for someone's feelings
while trying to offer good, clear suggestions in order
to help the writer with her writing. Some girls

115

approached the conference from a stance of care, others went for bluntness, while still others decided according to the situation. All felt the importance of the relationship with the peer and weighed it carefully.

Kelly and Sara wrestle with explaining this interplay between conferencing with a friend or a kid across the room and suggesting bluntly or being careful. The phrase "the kid across the room" came out of differentiating between students who are friends and students one does not know very well.

> Sara: If you know that person well, then you can just blunt it out. But if you're with some-body you don't know, then you should really be kind of sensitive about it. Sometimes, with people you don't know, they kind of feel awkward with you when you try to suggest stuff to them.
>
> Kelly: So you just draw it into a sentence and it's a lot easier.
>
> Sara: For them and for you. With a friend, you know that person. They know that it's just a suggestion and you're trying to help them.
>
> Kelly: Right.
>
> Sara: The people you don't know well, they think

you're trying to like...

Kelly: ...be rude...and shrug them off.

Sara: Yeah.

Kelly: But it's important that you don't be too
subtle.

Immediately after this dialogue, the girls explain
more about what 'friend' means, to 'know' that person
and, conversely, to not know a person like a friend.
This succinct discussion was reflected in different
ways by each interview pair.

Kelly: When you're friends, you know that person.

Sara: You know a ton about them...all their
secrets and everything. And you know how
they'll feel when you comment about their
work.

Kelly: If you don't know the person...how can I
say this?...

Sara: ...then you don't know how they feel about
your work and then if you say stuff about
their work, you don't know how they feel if
you don't know them. Then you should really
just kind of lay back a little and just ease
it.

Some girls felt a friend needed more careful treatment while others felt one could tell a friend anything right out. As for the student who is not well known, some said she needed careful suggestions even as others advised being blunt.

In the lengthy excerpt below, Meredith and Michaela spend considerable time discussing the knot of complexities around being blunt with a friend or kid across the room and who needed careful advice. Michaela eventually backs off, saying that _everyone_ needs care:

Michaela: I would never be blunt first, right off the bat because they just read you their story. You know...they worked hard on it, you want to show that you appreciated it and that you really care about their story and how they're writing and you want to help them.

Meredith: If you're with your friend and you're joking around, you could fool around and say right out what you think, but jokingly. They wouldn't be mad at you. It's easy to tell them. They don't care if it's something mean...it doesn't bother them. They take it better because they're friends and they know that you wouldn't want to hurt their feelings or anything.

Michaela: I think it's easier to tell a person from across the room more blunt because you don't really know them. Your friends are close to you and you're supposed to be nice to them...so you have to be careful with your friends. You might know how your friends write, they might take it fine, you know them better. But you also have to be careful with the person across the room because you don't really know them.

Meredith: For me, it's easier to tell my friends suggestions. But somebody across the room it's more like I want to be careful. With friends you can be more blunt because you're friends. You can be blunt but with a smile. You don't really say, 'That was stupid' or 'I don't think that sounds right, I think you should change it'. But for somebody across the room, I'd be like, 'This is a good part, but what about this?' You know, I'd ask a question, try to be nicer.

Michaela: You know your friends. I mean, you know how they are, you know how they'll react to certain things. You understand them better.

Meredith: Yeah.

Thea and Katina engaged in an almost identical
discussion exhibiting the same awareness of the
complexities around how one gives suggestions to which
students.

In Lache and Alicia's extended discussion about
negotiating the advice-giving phase, they began with
clear, direct intentions to be blunt. As they continued
to talk, however, their commitment to bluntness wavered
and they both waffled a bit until the complexity of the
issue became overwhelming:

Lache: I would just tell them about it.

Alicia: You just tell them.

Lache: Like tell them that like it doesn't make
    sense or something...and what you think is
    wrong with it.

Alicia: If it was a kid from across the room I'd
    probably do the same thing. Because it's for
    them to get better.

Lache: Just tell them. And if it was your friend,
    still tell them. They would probably accept it
    more if you were their friend than from someone
    that they don't know.

Alicia: Yeah, that's true. Your friends will
    listen to you so it would be easier. You can
    tell them everything but just in different

ways. If it was my friend, yeah I'd come right
out and say it. But if it was this other person
I didn't know, I would say everything I had to
say but just put it in a different way.

Lache: Because you know your friends and you know
how they'll react to what you're going to say.
If it's someone that you don't know, then
you...I don't know...it's hard to explain.

In contrast to the previous pairs, Saundra and
Adassa never wavered from their belief in
straightforward, blunt talk in the peer conference.
Although they admitted a friend would probably be more
understanding of blunt advice, they saw no reason to
dance around with how one offers suggestions to the
student from across the room: just tell it.

Saundra: Same way you'd talk to anybody else. Tell
him what's wrong with it. If it's a friend, you
just tell them straight out...what's wrong with
the paper and help them fix it. I wouldn't talk
any different to my friend than to the kid
across the room.

Adassa: I would. Because you know your friend so
it would probably be easier to talk to them

than the kid across the room.

Saundra: I don't think you would treat them
differently. It's going to be the same either
way...you're just trying to help them. Your
friend will understand that you're not trying
to do anything wrong...you're just trying to
help them get a better paper.

The intricacies of these issues surrounding how to
offer suggestions to whom challenge the care and
justice equilibrium of these girls as they negotiate
their way. Somehow, they deliberate and struggle
towards reaching a new balance between two major
concerns as their care for someone's feelings crashes
into their concern for the peer conference process –
doing the right thing for another's feelings vs. doing
the right thing by offering good, clear suggestions for
the writer and the writing. To my eye, this is the
tangle between the two realms of Gilligan's care and
justice concerns, played out not in a moral dilemna,
but in the girls' common, day-to-day classroom
experience.

In this way, these girls outwardly exhibit their
internal struggles with the prescriptive dominant
discourses as outlined by Weedon [1987], Walkerdine

122

[1990], and Gilbert and Taylor [1991]: despite the desire to be nice or lady-like, the girls know mere niceties will not help the writer or the writing. They understand the kinds of suggestions that are helpful to a writer and are ready to make them. Although one way to look at this is to see their advice-giving as a manifestation of the feminine role of helping, I believe it is also accurate to see them in the position of writing colleagues who speak knowledgeably and with authority about the text with other writers.

Further, this struggle shows their capacity for embodying the full range of human perspectives mentioned by Gilligan [1990b, et al. 1991]. Clearly, they strive to make sense of how one can be responsive to the person - the perspective of care - while showing respect for the process - the perspective of justice. In contrast to Gilligan's observations, these "disappeared" girls are not silent, but rather say they would speak up in the peer conference, willingly offering suggestions in either the most efficient or most caring way they deem appropriate, risking hurt feelings and possible loss of relationship.

It seems to me that teaching writing as a process, specifically the form of peer conferencing with its guidelines and procedures, has given these girls two

123

valuable things: (a) the assistance to realize that they possess knowledge and expertise, and (b) a safe arena to exercise that authority and their own voices as they speak to other writers about the text. I believe the two are crucial for these girls in their discovering of and maintaining their selves. The evidence I found of their holding on to and expressing their selves constitutes the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE COLORS OF CARE, JUSTICE AND THE SELVES

Introduction

This chapter presents a more in-depth look at the
girls themselves and their voices about the particular
process writing event called peer conferencing. More
precisely, it zeroes in on the specific peer
conferencing aspect wherein the writer receives
suggestions about changing the content of her writing,
how and what she decides to do about such suggestions,
and what that feels like. This layered, detailed
presentation of the girls' affective experiences in
peer conferencing, their writing decisions, their
voices of justice and care and their selves begins with
their description of their felt experience. As noted in
the previous chapter, my understanding is based solely
upon their verbal reports and discussions in the
interviews; I can not, in fact, know what they actually
do in peer conference but trust that their words
represent what is true for them.

The second section of this chapter is built around
the girls' words that reveal to me the colors of
justice, care, and the selves. Their voices are filled

with the colors of their lived experience as adolescent girls struggling to define themselves and take positions within the dominant discourses, and participating as writers in peer conferences. In this section they talk about the concerns, reactions, and responses they have to suggestions that they change the content of their writing.

What is revealed in their responses here is at least a balancing if not a blending of the two orientations (care and justice) described by Gilligan and her colleagues [1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1991]. Also evident are an unexpected inner strength and confidence which arise out of their deeper "knowing," similar to that discussed by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule [1986]. This shows me that, even though these girls were identified as "disappeared" by exterior behaviors and attitudes, there exists a very good interior sense of self that holds them up even as they hold on to their selves by holding on to their writing as they wrote it.

As they speak in the interviews about writing and conferencing, about their experiences and feelings, there is a voice present in each girl that gives evidence of care, justice, self, selves, and resistance to disappearing. Once I had moved through the

transcripts three and four times reading and listening
for the voices of experiences and feelings, these other
voices were easier to see and hear. For me, the words
and phrases the girls use to talk about care, justice,
self, selves and resistance give washes of different
colors, indicating a sense of self/selves and a
dedication to that sense that folds and swirls into the
text about the peer conferencing experience. Like many
colors, the color of self has subtle hues that express
its different dimensions; in this case, those
dimensions involve the orientations of care and
justice. This section follows that color of
self/selves, its varying hues and tones, as it helps
complete the portraits of adolescent girls as they
carry on within the dominant discourses.

The chapter begins with the girls' detailed
descriptions of the peer conference and proceeds to
examine the colors of justice and care, and the more
significant voices and colors of self/selves.

Participants' Felt Experiences

Information from the affective domain, what it
feels like for these girls to experience peer
conferencing, was less than abundant through the first

two interviews. I think it is understandable because the content of those two interviews focused primarily on external aspects: what peer conferencing is, what one does in a peer conference, and how one gives advice to other people.

When, in the third interview, I asked the girls to examine more closely their own experiences receiving suggestions from peers, they talked more about how that felt.

There are three primary categories of feelings reported in their felt experiences that reverberate with import in their words: (a) feelings as one shares writing, (b) feelings as one receives suggestions, and (c) feelings as one makes or does not make suggested changes.

For every girl, the connecting thought through these categories is that when one writes, what appears upon the page are not disembodied scratchings but very real manifestations of one's self or selves. Because the writer is actually on the page, vulnerable to the hearing or gaze of others, the peer conference experience for disappeared adolescent girls is a challenge of nearly unbearable scrutiny. That these girls speak so surely about what that experience feels like shows me a strong inner sense of self, a _deeper_

knowing, which, it appears, is not exercised much elsewhere in their lives at school.

Connected to this knowing is the appreciation that what lives on the paper in the writing is part of the self/selves. The blot and scribble on the paper does not merely represent you, it is you, and offering up your ideas and words to a peer's comments and suggestions is an act of courage in the face of judgement.

While it may be that their steady tone and stance are the results of myriad influences, including perhaps the careful teaching of process writing in supportive classrooms, I suggest that their words are evidence of a reliable sense of themselves that lies deep. They speak to me from a base of "subjective" knowing [Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986], using their own knowledge and authority to give life to their voices. Further, I believe this deeper knowing, silenced and lost in disappeared adolescent girls and re-realized by many women only later on in life [Belenky, et al, 1986] is available to girls but is given few opportunities for expression or growth within the dominant patriarchal culture.

Emblematic of what the other girls indicated, Michaela and Meredith both speak clearly and

specifically about this deeper, subjective knowing. Their talk, verbally examining and attempting to explain an ineffable, internal sense, is a succinct exploration. The other participants alluded to or briefly mentioned this sense of knowing. For that reason, I use excerpts from Michaela and Meredith to provide a glimpse into these adolescent girls' deeper knowing.

Michaela tries to explain this murky notion of a knowing that she feels or senses and trusting in it even though, as a girl in this culture, she is being told that she does not know or that what she knows is silly and useless.

> I feel like sometimes I don't know if I'm making the right decision, but I feel like it's right ...like I can feel that it's not going to sound any better. Sometimes you think in your head, 'They made a suggestion so it needs improvement.' But you feel that it doesn't. I mean, you just know that it doesn't.

Meredith reports similar feelings about knowing when receiving advice:

> If they made a suggestion, I would immediately know that there is something that probably should

be changed. But if I liked it, I would probably

have to read it over until I decide if I want to

change it. Because if I like it, I won't want to

change it. I'd have to read it over and really

think about it before I changed it.

These girls are in control, they claim knowledge, and

they feel they have authority over their text. They

speak to me with voices of ownership and knowing.

While there does exist a developmental stage in

writing for children wherein, once even a preliminary

draft is on the paper, the child pronounces it perfect

and immutable, the authority exercised by these girls

is of a different sort. Theirs is not the younger

writer's intractable attitude of, "There. I did it.

It's done." Rather, these girls speak from a place of

feeling, intuition, and knowing. They have considered

their draft, measured it against what they know, and

assessed its effectiveness. Thus, they have a good

sense for the limits or successes of their writing and

use this felt knowing to inform how they hold or

further shape that writing.

Feelings While Sharing

Most of the girls' comments about sharing their writing by reading aloud were brief and underlined by their acceptance that it was something you just did as part of the writing process in the classroom. Even so, it is a felt experience for them.

Again, representative of each girl's comments about revealing the self, Meredith explains what it feels like for her to share her writing: "Sometimes in your story you have your own thoughts or feelings or things and sometimes it's hard to read it to somebody. But if you have your friend and you know they understand you, they won't laugh at you, then it's easy for you to read it."

For each girl, sharing writing is fraught with risk and anxiety about disapproval and rejection, whether the sharing is done with a friend or a student not known well. But equally present are their past experiences and sense of knowing, strength, and triumph as they take the risks, receive suggestions and find they are the final arbiters of what appears upon the page. In the process writing classroom, the repeated cycle moves them from trepidation to affirmation,

enlarging their knowing and building a sense of their selves.

Feelings While Getting Suggestions

Receiving feedback and suggestions for changing one's writing is a second aspect of primary importance in the process of peer conferencing. But even here, the girls speak with equanimity about what it feels like for them. Despite the most loving sources of feedback, getting suggestions can be unsettling because it is a kind of judgement on the particular aspect of the selves that is on the paper.

> Michaela: I write stories and read them to my grandmother. She always gives me suggestions but it's not really peer conferencing. It feels different to me. I feel like she's helping me just to help me. In school I feel like you're trying to get the grade.

> Meredith: My mom is blunt! She's like, 'I don't like that story. It's not good.' She just tells me right out! I don't mind because she's my mom and it doesn't matter.

> Michaela: Sometimes it doesn't really matter. But, you know, if you worked really hard, you

133

might feel a little bad....

Meredith: Well, yeah...sometimes....

The tone of suggestions given by peers plays importantly for these girls. Since the writers reveal themselves in the writing, their words deserve respectful responses. Suggestions for changes that are genuinely offered to help improve the writing are received well. In contrast, a peer who tells a writer what to do is not thought of as helpful at all. These girls were very clear that they did not like to be told what to do with their writing.

Michaela indicates that she would be less than receptive to a peer telling her what to do, saying,

I'd probably be like, "This is my story." I'd

probably feel that way. I wrote it. I mean, he

should be helping me, not telling me what to do.

It's just that, you know, I wrote it. And if they

say, "Do this..." or "Take that out and do this..."

you know, they're writing it for me. It's my story,

I just want ideas.

Clearly, for her, suggestions that are offered, not told, receive different treatment:

When I get suggestions, I take them and I see...if

it sounds better or if it makes sense. I never just reject them. Sometimes I reject them after I try them out because it just didn't sound any better, it sounded better the way it was. But I wouldn't just not use it.

Two other girls spoke directly to this topic, beginning the discussion about what you do with suggestions and how it feels. When asked about receiving suggestions and making the changes, Sara offers, "Basically, I will not take them. I don't like people butting into what I'm writing about. I mean, it's what I write and I like to keep it that way". She bristles at suggestions that feel like orders.

Kelly feels the same:

I'd say, "No." If it was really good and I spent a lot of time on it, I'd say, "No." Because I'd like it like that. I spent a lot of time on it. I'm not about to spend 3 hours on one little paragraph and then have it all go away, just cross it off. That's what I did once and I was really upset.

Her guiding memory enables her to keep hold of her deeper <u>knowing</u> about her own writing.

Later, Kelly talks more about what she feels:

Sometimes I feel angry at them for giving me
suggestions because the suggestion is really
stupid. But other times it makes me feel sort of
bad because they really tried to help me and it
was a really good suggestion but it just didn't
fit. Sometimes you feel good, sometimes you feel
bad.... It switches.

And Sara adds, "If I turned them down I wouldn't feel
that bad because it's just the way I feel and that's
what I like. Because if you take other people's
suggestions then you're gone [out of the writing]!".

These girls recognize that the intent behind
suggestions is always to help the writing, but they
also pay close attention to the delivery of the
suggestion. Being told what to do makes them bristle
and resist; it is more satisfying for them to consider
the various revision ideas offered and decide for
themselves what is best to do for their writing. This
is in keeping with Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and
Tarule's [1986] details of "subjective" knowing: women
becoming their own authorities.

Feelings About Making Changes

I expected that these disappeared girls, hearing suggestions to change their writing, would automatically make those changes because there was very little left of themselves to maintain a hold on the self they had committed to the paper in the writing. I felt sure their overwhelming concern would be to please the other (the peer or the teacher for the grade) by doing what was suggested, coming out of relationship with themselves and their selves on paper for the sake of the relationship with the other [Gilligan, 1990b, et al. 1991]. Yet when it comes to honoring one's deeper knowing by thoughtfully considering and then rejecting suggestions to change the writing, these girls hold on to their selves, maintaining a respectful connection to themselves and their writing.

Meredith speaks about deciding not to change the content of a piece by recounting a memorable experience:

> When I was writing my story, I really, really
> liked one part that had to do with a boat that
> disappeared into the mists. And she said, "I don't
> like that. I don't think it should probably

disappear into the mists. It just doesn't... I
don't like it." But I liked it, it was my favorite
part. So I didn't change it. I was kind of tempted
to change it because, I don't know, when somebody
tells you they don't like it, it kind of makes you
feel bad. It's like, "Well, maybe I should,
but.... No! because I like it!".

Receiving suggestions forces the girls to
negotiate a balance between what they know about their
writing and the possibility that a suggestion may
genuinely improve the content. Thea's response
symbolizes what all the girls said about this phase in
writing process: simple in the beginning and growing
more complex as she thinks about it:

> Thea: If I liked it, I wouldn't change it. I
> wouldn't ask someone else, I'd just keep it
> the way it was and not listen to the other
> person. But if this idea was good, I'd
> probably change it.
> I would check it out and see if the sugges-
> tion would be better. If it was, I would
> change it. If it wasn't, I would keep it the
> way I had it.

When she says, "If I liked it" I believe she is voicing an awareness of the aforementioned deeper <u>knowing</u>.

Katina and Thea exchange final thoughts about refusing suggestions:

> Katina: How would I feel if they told me to change it?
>
> Thea: And you didn't.
>
> Katina: And I didn't? Happy! I wouldn't really care though...it's my paper...I wouldn't really care.
>
> Thea: [I would] feel fine.
>
> Katina: Yeah.
>
> Thea: It's my paper, not theirs.
>
> Katina: Yeah...that's why I said I'd be happy... because I did something on my own!

Thea and Katina's comments were echoed down through the rest of the interviews.

Lache and Alicia continue the explanation of what to do with suggestions, including the possibility of not making those changes:

> Lache: I would listen to them, to what they had to say about my draft and then if I didn't really agree with them, I'd just do it my way...if I liked my paragraph.

139

Alicia: You don't have to take their advice if
       you don't like it. But if you think what they
       said makes sense or would be better, then you
       could change it.
       You look it over. After they make a sugges-
       tion you look it over and see if you like
       their suggestion...see if it sounded better
       or something.
Lache: I would take the suggestion and fit it in
       where they told me to put it and if it didn't
       sound right, then I just wouldn't use it.
Alicia: [You would not take a suggestion if] you
       thought your draft was fine.
Lache: If I didn't like what they wanted me to
       put in, I wouldn't use it.

When deciding not to take a suggestion, Lache and
Alicia report similar feelings:
Lache: It makes you feel good because...you did
       good.
Alicia: You feel positive that yours is better
       than the suggestion. And basically you feel
       that you wouldn't change it because you like
       yours the way it is.

140

When Alicia says, "You feel positive...", that is again another indicator of the deeper knowing these girls possess and struggle to believe in.

Saundra and Adassa mirror the essence of the other discussions, holding on to their own deeper knowing:

Saundra: Try it his way. And if you didn't like it, just keep it the way you want it.

Adassa: I'd like to have different people read it after what he said and if they agree with what he says, then do it that way.

Saundra: Put what they said down...see if it works. Then I'll do what Adassa says, I'll read both of them to somebody else. [If I thought the change was no good and everybody thought it was a good idea] I would do it my way...because I like it.

Adassa: I'd just do it my way then.

They added to the testimonies about how it feels to hold onto one's sense of self and deeper knowing:

Saundra: Feels like you have it right. You don't need it.

Adassa: Feels all right.

Saundra: You don't want their suggestions. You like yours the way it is. [Makes me feel]

good!

Adassa: Good! Because it's yours!

Clearly, these girls hold and express a deeper knowing and sureness that underlies their feelings: about their writing, the exposure of their selves in the writing, the scrutiny of peers, and the reception of given suggestions. They exhibit an undisappeared strength in holding on to that deeper knowing and their writing as they intended it. It is this last slice of the writing process experience for these girls that is the next focus.

The Colors of Justice and Care

As I moved through the interview transcripts reading and listening for colors of care and justice in their voices as detailed in Chapter 3, I made out the bright hue of care only for it to bleed into the clear tint of justice, and vice versa. The colors would not keep discrete distance or distinction. Rather, the colors in the girls' voices of personal experiences swirled and blended: their commitment to the peer conference process (justice) interweaves their empathy for the feelings of their peers (care).

142

The resulting amalgam exhibits statements both of care (awareness and concern about hurting others' feelings and apprehension about making people angry) and of justice (concern about accomplishing each cooperative step of writing process, helping the writing of others by giving good suggestions, and getting help with their own writing). The intricate, exquisite blending of these colors in their voices is laid out in their complex discussions in Chapter 4 of how (carefully or bluntly) one makes suggestions to whom (friend or non-friend).

In their words is a surprising integration of care and justice, offering the suggestion that Gilligan's [1982, 1990b] distinction does not hold in absolute terms. For these girls, either the responsibility of justice is embedded within the comfort of care, or there is a sustaining core of care within a concern for justice. Clearly, they feel a clutch of obligations to hold: an obligation to be sensitive to the other person's feelings, an obligation to the writing process by giving good suggestions, and, underlying all, an obligation to one's self/selves.

Discussions by Meredith and Michaela, and Kelly and Sara showcase the blend of these concerns expressed by all the girls. Their voices swung between care/

sensitivity and justice/responsibility, indicating that awareness of both and the use of some sort of blend is necessary for success in the peer conference. For me, this blend is the emblem of their capacities for both care and justice and their abilities to speak in the voice of each. It is an exhibition of perfect imperfection as they struggle to express the full spectrum of possible human response within the peer conference [Gilligan, 1987; Gottman, 1983; Kagan, 1984; Stern, 1985].

This struggle and spectrum appear clearly in Meredith's observation wherein she first expresses care, then turns toward justice with "but," and eventually returns to care again:

Well, you have to be kind of nice to them because some people, you know, really feel great about their story. You don't want to hurt their feelings or anything because that's mean. But you have to say, "I like this part and I like this part...but I think maybe you should change a little bit because I really don't understand it." Or something, something nice, because you don't want to hurt their feelings.

Her words represent all the girls' responses: concern
for another's feelings combined with responsibility to
the process of peer conferencing.

Meredith, exhibiting her concern for justice
within her concern for care, explains a rationale for
care and a strategy to use in the peer conference:

If you hurt their feelings by being blunt, just
saying, "That's wrong" or "That's stupid, it
doesn't sound right"...then you hurt their
feelings and they might feel that their story
isn't good and they really wouldn't work on it.
You don't want to do that. So that's why you
don't say that. That's why you don't say, "I don't
think it's good" or "That's stupid." That's why
you say, "Oh, I like this part" and then you could
ask a question about a certain part and make a
suggestion that makes it go better.

She doesn't want to discourage anybody, choosing to be
more careful than blunt. Meredith wants to ease the
conference process for her peer by saying something
nice first. She then tries to get the peer to see how
it could "go better". I heard this strategy reported a
number of ways by the participants.

Michaela's further comments reveal more of the same combination of care/sensitivity for the other person and justice/responsibility to the writing process:

> Both [the piece of writing and the kid's feelings are important]...because they both play a part. Because if you hurt the kid's feelings, they're going to take their writing not so seriously...or maybe just not try, thinking, you know, just give up, you know, it doesn't sound right. But you're also focusing on the story because you want to help find out what they mean in the story, to help the writer.

Obviously Michaela is similarly concerned with possibly discouraging the writer but also wants to do the right thing to help the story.

The following exchange between Meredith and Michaela shows their understanding of the possible consequences of a single-minded stance of justice unbuffered by care in a peer conference:

> Meredith: Well, not caring about how they feel, you could just say, "That doesn't sound good at all" and "If you want your story to sound good then change that" and then say, "Well

maybe you could do this or that." But that

might hurt their feelings.

Michaela: Sometimes you can't be careful. You have

to get the point across to them. Even though

they may not understand, after you tell them,

they notice. They finally figure out what

didn't make sense and they appreciate it.

But I would never be blunt first, right off

the bat because they just read you their

story...you know, they worked hard on it.

You want to show that you appreciated it and

that you really care about their story and

how they're writing and you want to help

them.

They realize that a strict stance of justice/

responsibility in the peer conference is possibly

damaging to the other person's sense of self and can

potentially sabotage the piece of writing. This is

further evidence of these girls' deeper knowing that

the piece of writing is a portion of the writer's self

on paper, quivering and vulnerable. For them,

compassion must be employed in the peer conference.

Alicia and Lache echo Meredith and Michaela.

Anchoring their comments in the real world of school,

147

Alicia and Lache make a link between being too careful in the conference and not giving good advice to one's peer and the possible results:

> Alicia: They might get upset if you didn't tell them because they get like a...I don't know ...a bad grade or something because you didn't tell what was wrong with it.

> Lache: And they might not come back to you for advice or something...just go to somebody else and ask. Because you didn't tell them the truth like what you thought about it, so why come to you if you're not going to tell them?

They can see the importance of honoring the purpose of the peer conference (justice) by telling the truth and helping the writing succeed. Frequently, success in writing was seen as achieving a good grade, but this need not be interpreted as diminishing the concern for justice in the process. It may be that the awareness of grades offers process writing students a clearly defined objective for honoring the peer conference purpose. Yet they are additionally concerned with possibly losing the relationship because of hurt feelings (care). Clearly, there is a delicate balance

to be determined each time these girls face a peer to discuss her/his writing.

In the following exchange between Sara and Kelly, there is a reversal in the order of concerns. For them, giving good advice is primary yet it cannot be accomplished without care because of the interference that can result from possible hurt feelings.

> Kelly: Most of the time, I just tell them what's wrong.
>
> Sara: Yeah. 'Hey, this is wrong...go change it.' Well when you have suggestions for somebody's piece of writing you might want to like...I don't know, kind of ease it into the conversation, because you don't want to hurt their feelings...because some people are very...
>
> Kelly: ...sensitive...
>
> Sara: ...there you go! Sensitive to what you say about their writing.

Overall, it was difficult for me to determine which concern - justice or care - is more central to their peer conference interactions. Obviously neither is the single, preferred mode of operation in the peer conference. There is no hierarchy of concerns. Rather they each employ a full range of colors and voices

blending to fulfill successfully the demands of both care and justice, depending upon the specific peer conference situation.

While it might be nice to display neat and tidy evidence that these particular disappeared adolescent girls have a clear, unified approach to significant peer interactions, such a simple picture would not truly reflect the genuine complexities they perceive and negotiate in those interactions. Their words provide for me an understanding of the ways these adolescent girls think about and solve necessary interpersonal relations during peer conferences.

Each girl offers her own blend of justice and care as she explains what she thought was important in a peer conference. As the interviews progressed, care and justice talk centered on two interwoven categories: with _whom_ you were conferencing and _how_ you talked to them, elaborating greatly upon the knot of negotiation discussed in Chapter 4. Clearly, in their discussions about offering suggestions, it makes a big difference who the other person is. How one gives suggestions depends greatly upon who the other person is and how the girls felt about them and their responsibility to give good advice.

All the girls enlarged upon these concerns and gave details enough for me to see that within the two categories are two paired points: (a) how = being careful with what/how one says/gives suggestions or just being blunt, and (b) who = a friend or a non-friend student from across the room.

In every interview, the girls' discussions swung and looped around these themes. Each girl determined the variation on the themes for herself, creating various relationships among the two dynamics: blunt or careful, friend or non-friend.

The first mention of these dynamics was made by Kelly and Sara when, in the second interview, I asked them to talk about giving suggestions:

Sara: If you know that person well, then you can just blunt it out. But if you're with some-body you don't know, then you should really be kind of sensitive about it.

Sometimes, with people you don't know, they kind of feel awkward with you when you try to suggest stuff to them.

Kelly: So you just draw it into a sentence and it's a lot easier.

Sara: For them and for you.

[With a friend you don't have to be as care-

151

ful] because you know that person. They know
that it's just a suggestion and you're trying
to help them.

Kelly: Right.

Sara: The people you don't know well, they think
you're trying to like...

Kelly: ...be rude...and shrug them off.

Sara: Yeah.

Kelly: [With friends] you know a ton about them...
all their secrets and everything. And you
know how they feel when you comment about
their work.

Sara: If you don't know the person...how can I
say this?...

Kelly: ...then you don't know how they feel and
then if you say stuff about their work, you
don't know how they feel. Then you should
really just kind of lay back a little and
just ease it.

Both Sara and Kelly agreed that in a peer conference
with a friend you can be blunt because you know them,
but with the student from across the room, you need to
be careful precisely because you don't know them.

For me, there seems to be an understood level of
care implied in their talk about "knowing" the friend
and "not knowing" the student from across the room.
Nevertheless, the twin concerns of caring for another's
feelings and giving good suggestions are weighed and
then blended. The important thing for these girls is to
provide the appropriate mix of sensitivity where needed
along with good, essential suggestions for the writing.

Meredith's and Michaela's long discussion offers
an in-depth look at the complexities involved. For
Michaela in particular, conferencing with a friend is
much more difficult because she feels she has to be
nice; with a student from across the room, she feels
more at ease giving the advice; she seems to feel less
concerned for their feelings. Meredith's comments echo
Sara and Kelly, as she indicates again an underlying,
implicit sense of care between friends:

Meredith: If you're with your friend you
           could say right out what you think, but
           jokingly. And they would take it as if you
           were playing around...they wouldn't be mad
           at you.

Michaela: I think it's easier to tell a person
           from across the room more blunt because you
           don't really know them. Your friends are

close to you and you're supposed to be nice
to them, they expect that from you, just to
be nice so you have to be careful with your
friends. But you also have to be careful with
the person across the room because you don't
really know them. I'd just feel better
talking to someone I don't really know.
Because with your friends, you know, you
stick up for each other. And, you know, you
don't want to criticize their story...because
you feel like you have an obligation to be
nice to them.

Meredith: My friend wouldn't think that [you were
being mean] because they know you. I know
her, she knows me. We know that we wouldn't
want to hurt each other's feelings.

Michaela: But with your friend, I don't think I
could get the point across as good to them
because they're your friends, you know,
you're just trying to take it slow, trying
your best to say how good they are in certain
parts of the story. But with the other
person, you know, you can try to get
the point across better because you don't
really know them and you don't really have to

worry about what they say to you later.

Meredith: But if you want to be their friend or
if you want to know them better, you have to
be nice to them...I don't know....

Michaela: But getting the point across isn't
being mean.

This long excerpt lays out the major concerns voiced by all the girls. Peer conferencing is not a simple task, but rather an intricate process of evaluating both the writing and the writer, formulating good suggestions, and deciding on an appropriate tone for delivering those suggestions.

I believe Meredith and Michaela when they say the primary moderating factor is not keeping the friend; Michaela explains that friends would not take bluntness as meanness or an affront. What is uppermost in their minds is the concern with how the other person, whoever it may be, will receive the suggestions; friend, potential friend, or not, keeping a peaceful connection with her/him is important. At one point in this complicated constellation it is acceptable to be blunt with suggestions for a friend; the sense is that a friend will understand you are not trying to be mean but help make their writing better. Elsewhere in the

possible configuration, it is not all right to be blunt with a friend; the obligation to be nice and supportive to your friend is paramount.

Interestingly, when working with a non-friend, a student from across the room that you don't know very well, there are two corresponding points. One of these is the notion that being blunt with such a person is fine; the sense here is that the focus is totally on the piece of writing and fulfilling the function of the peer conference with little regard for the writer's feelings. On the other hand, when making suggestions to someone you do not know well, you may have to be more careful; they do not have the benefits friendship and knowing can bring, such as understanding one another and how each thinks and feels.

The most potent factor in the entire complexity is the level of knowing each other. Friends, who know you, are able to hear blunt or careful suggestions and accept them because of that knowing. For other persons who may not know you, the absence of such knowing provides a vacuum in which misunderstandings and hurt feelings can arise.

This notion of knowing the other person appears in a different way in Thea's and Katina's discussion. Their talk was as complex, showing a different split

between concerns. For each of them, the student across the room presented a problem precisely because you don't really know that person. For Thea, that meant she could be blunt; for Katina, that meant she needed to be more careful:

> Thea: It's harder because if it's your
> friend, you don't want to say anything bad
> about their paper. They'll get mad at you.
> So it would be easier to tell a person that
> you didn't know. Because if you said some-
> thing wrong, and you didn't really know
> them, and they got mad at you, then it
> wouldn't really bother you.
> With a friend, you don't want them getting
> mad at you. With the kid across the room,
> just tell them what's wrong with it.

> Katina: With the kid across the room, if you
> know something was really wrong with the
> paper, you'd have to be careful because you
> don't really know the person. You wouldn't
> really want to say something real mean so
> you'd have to be careful on the way that you
> tell them.

> Thea: Well, I wouldn't be that mean. I'd just
> tell them what's wrong with it. I wouldn't

say, "It's a stupid paper" or anything. I'd

just say what was wrong with it and if they

wanted any help with it.

[With a friend] I wouldn't just come out and

say.... I would ask them if they wanted me

to say what was wrong. I don't want them to

get mad at me or anything.

If it's someone else that you don't know

too much, you just tell them nicely.

Katina: Because the kid's vulnerable. Like you

wouldn't want to be a person that he doesn't

know, come up to him and tell him that he

doesn't make any sense or something. So you

would want to tell him sort of carefully.

Thea: You have to think about the kind of person

they are. And also what's wrong with the

paper.

Although she first favors the blunt approach with a
non-friend, Thea's final comment echoes and succinctly
details the primary factors in managing one's comments
in the peer conference. Once again, it is just not all
that simple; in offering suggestions, one is forced to
consider the writer her/himself as well as the writing
itself. Thea's earlier observation about friends

getting mad shows that this is important for her; she does not want to risk a friend's anger.

Each girl has a concern for justice that requires her to give the peer good suggestions and thus to tell the truth about the peer's writing, an act of honesty which may be painful and which may jeopardize friendship. They each proceed to modify this drive to meet their peer conference responsibility and to accommodate their concern for care. It is the concern for care that urges them to be gentle with some peers and more blunt with others.

Thus the girls' voices discussing peer conferencing in these interviews give evidence of the blended colors of Gilligan's [1990b, et al. 1991] justice/responsibility and care/sensitivity, accommodating and expressing more fully the possible spectrum of perspectives available in humans. Further, set inside the context of Walkerdine's [1990] and Gilbert's [1989; 1991; and Taylor, 1991] dominant discourses, these girls do exhibit the care and sensitivity prescribed for females, but it is as a backdrop against which they speak with knowledge and authority not traditionally ascribed them.

The Colors of the Selves

The third and fourth interviews and follow-up
questions asked the girls to focus specifically on
their experience receiving suggestions to change
something in the content of their own writing: What was
it like for them to get suggestions? What did it feel
like? What did they do with the suggested changes? Did
they make the changes or reject them? What did it feel
like to reject suggestions? These questions were an
attempt to get beyond experiential reporting and
venture into more subtle layers of the girls' awareness
of self/selves.

It is in their assorted commentaries about
receiving suggestions in the peer conference that I
find strong colors illuminating their voices of the
selves. The peer conference, which has such potential
for hurting one's feelings and/or assaulting one's
self-confidence, has instead, for these girls, been a
place where their equanimity has shone through their
"disappeared" qualities. I believe these girls are
aware of themselves - the self/selves - especially as
exposed on paper in their writing. Further, their
discussions of receiving suggestions and coming to
revision decisions reveal the importance of trusting

and honoring what they know and thus keeping hold of the self/selves. In their words I hear a strong, supportive core of self/selves and a commitment to holding on to and maintaining that self/selves.

There are two themes, notes of particular colors that arise in their voices as they discuss what it feels like to receive suggestions for change: audience awareness and trusting/honoring their knowing and the self/selves exposed on paper.

Audience Awareness

When they speak of receiving suggestions to change something in the content of a piece of writing, these girls express an unusually focused understanding of the need for the writing to make sense to an audience. While this awareness implies a kind of disconnection from the writing, perhaps a protective distance between the writer and the particular facet of the selves exposed on the paper, it does not mean a giving up of control or power over one's writing. The girls who mention audience seem sure of themselves, their writing, and their presence in that writing. They are also clear that the writing, in order to be successful, must bridge the gap to the reader/audience: the writing

must make sense to an other's mind. In their words, I hear that they will listen to their own counsel, but if the writing does not work they are willing to use suggestions to revise.

Michaela: I wouldn't be happy [with suggestions] but then I'd have to think about it's the same thing as if they were reading me their story. It might sound great to them, but it doesn't sound that great to me. So I just have to think of what it would be like if I was in their shoes hearing it...it might not sound right to me. So I'd have to take the suggestions and I would see where I needed improvement. You have to remember you're not trying to make it sound great for just you. You've got to make it enjoyable for other people. You've got to make sure of that. Because, you know, it's the way you write, you're writing for yourself, you understand how you write, you understand how you mean certain things. But other people might not. It might not be clear enough for them. You have to remember that.

Meredith: ...just to take into consideration that she's a different person and that I was writing this for everybody to read, not just me.

When I read the part she would want me to change, I would think about how it would sound to her, not just to me. Because to me, it probably makes total sense because I wrote it. But to her, you know, I'd just think about how it sounds to her...or somebody else.

Trusting/Honoring Their Knowing
and the Self/Selves Exposed on Paper

For most of us, the writing we do that appears on paper before others is a living part of us. Whether it be a list, a memo, an outline, a poem, a speech, a story or even a dissertation, the thoughts and words come through us, thus becoming a representation of our beliefs and understandings; in short, who we are. The text, created out of our knowledge, ideas and imaginings, bares us to others: we appear to the reader/listener unmediated by our illuminating presence

163

and animation. The self/selves appears alone, squirming and vulnerable on the page. Receiving suggestions about that writing, even the most gentle and helpful, can feel potentially threatening to how one feels about oneself.

These adolescent girls appear to possess remarkable belief in the benefits of the peer conference process and uncommon trust in their companion students in the way they talk about their response to suggestions. Further, what they say reveals a remarkable self-awareness, a clear connection to and ownership of the writing, and the ability to hold onto the self in the writing and in decision-making about possible revisions.

In Sara's brief comments about one of her poems she displays that awareness, connection, ownership, and holding:

> Sara: If I change it, then it won't be what I
> feel, it'll be what somebody else feels.
> Well, on my poems...I wrote a poem for my
> social worker about my life and what I liked
> about it before I moved here to a new family
> and everything. And I wrote about what I
> liked and disliked after I moved here. And
> she told me that maybe I ought to change some

164

of the texture of the words. And I wouldn't
change any of it because if I changed any of
the words in that poem, then you wouldn't
understand at all about my past or about the
present. You wouldn't understand anything
that happened to me.

Such an expression of claiming one's knowledge and
holding onto the self she knows is on the paper led me
to listen and hear other voices telling similar stories
of self. These stories reveal the girls' sense of
ownership, power, and self-confidence they claim in
making their own decisions. What follows is a
collection of these voices.

> Michaela: If I were writing a story and they were
> telling me how they want it, I'd probably be
> like, 'This is my story!' I wrote it. I mean,
> he should be helping me, not telling me what
> to do.
> I never just reject [suggestions]. I mean,
> sometimes I reject them after I try them out
> because it just didn't sound any better, it
> sounded better the way it was.

Meredith: If I liked it, I would probably have to
     read it over until I decide if I want to
     change it. I'd have to read it over and
     really think about it [any suggestion] before
     I changed it.

Katina: If they showed me what was wrong with it
     and they explained what they thought about
     it, then I'd probably redo it, make the
     changes. Or I'd just check it over again to
     see if I think it's wrong.

Thea: If I thought it was all right...if I liked
     it, I wouldn't change it. If I liked it and
     I didn't want to change it, I wouldn't ask
     someone else. I'd just keep it the way it
     was and not listen to the other person. But
     if this idea was good, I'd probably change
     it.
     I would check it out and see if the sugges-
     tion would be better. If it was, I would
     change it. If it wasn't, I would keep it the
     way I had it.

Lache: I would listen to them...to what they had
     to say about my draft. Then, if I didn't

really agree with them, I'd just do it my
way.

Katina: You don't have to take their advice if you
don't like it. But if you think what they
said makes sense or would be better, then you
could change it.
You look it over and see if you like their
suggestion.

Lache: I would take the suggestion and fit it in
where they told me to put it. And if it
didn't sound right then I just wouldn't use
it.

Saundra: Try it his way and if you didn't like it,
just keep it the way you want it.

Adassa: [If I disagreed with a suggestion] I'd
just do it my way then.

The girls had many reasons for not taking
suggestions from anybody to make changes. These reasons
had all to do with pride, feeling good, feeling
ownership of and authority over the writing, and sense
that one knows what the writing is and what it is
·trying to accomplish:

Adassa: I know what I'm talking about.

Saundra: I know what I'm doing...same thing as
    Adassa!

Sara: It means that it's the way I want it and any
    other way would not be right to me.

Kelly: Most of the time I feel pretty good about
    having my own ideas.
    Usually it means that I don't like the
    suggestions or it ruins my story.

Michaela: [not taking a suggestion] It means to
    me that the person was just trying to help,
    but I already felt content and satisfied
    with my piece.

Meredith: It means that you like what you've
    written or that you didn't like the person's
    suggestion.

Michaela: Sometimes I don't know if I'm making
    the right decision, but I _feel_ like it's
    right. Like I can _feel_ that it's not going
    to sound any better.

Meredith: Uh huh...you can't really explain, but
    you can just know when it's not making sense

and when it does. Because it's your story,

so you know it...

Michaela: ...you know your story...

Meredith: ...yeah. In your head you might not know

if it will sound right to other people but

you know that that's your story and you like

that part. And why would you change it? You

like it.

Michaela: Sometimes you think in your head, "They

made a suggestion so it needs improvement..."

But you _feel_ that it doesn't. I mean, you

just _know_ that it doesn't.

Katina: When I don't change something that some-

body told me to do, it doesn't bother me

because I figure if I plan on doing stuff on

my own, why not start now?

Alicia: You listen to them and if you don't like

them [suggestions] and you like yours better,

you stick with yours. You feel that you like

yours more. And that your work is better than

the suggestion that was made, so you won't

change it.

Adassa: [not taking a suggestion] It means that I
    don't want to change it and that I like it
    just the way it is no matter what anyone else
    says...even if it is a teacher.
Saundra: It means that I like it the way it is.

These do not sound like Gilligan's [1990b]
silenced adolescents, out of relationship with
themselves. Nor are they speaking from their prescribed
submissive position within the dominant discourses
described by Walkerdine [1990] and Gilbert [1989; 1991;
and Taylor, 1991].

Rather, these "disappeared" girls express a
trusted, intuitive knowing and a developed sense of
self. They exhibit strengths and characteristics that
indicate a wider spectrum of human responses than
traditionally prescribed for girls by the dominant
discourses. Their words reveal compassion for the
feelings of others and commitment to the process of
peer conferencing.

Further, and more encouraging, they are thoughtful
about receiving advice, have a strong sense of self and
use their knowledge to hold on to their selves by
holding on to their writing as they wrote it. They have

stayed in relationship with themselves, they haven't given themselves up as the cost of relationships with others. These girls have not been produced spine-less, ready-made victims for the patriarchy. Although still behaviorally "disappeared" and relatively silent in many aspects of their school lives, these girls know who they are, know/trust what they know, and know how to make decisions good for their selves in their writing.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION:

REVIEWS, CHANGES, CONNECTIONS,

COMMENTARY, AND IMPLICATIONS

Review of the Study

Research on teaching writing as a process shows it
is an effective method for improving student writing.
Yet such research is bereft of student voices
describing what it is like for them to do the things we
writing teachers ask of them. Since writing entails
representing a dimension of the self/selves on paper, I
wondered what students might feel/experience when they
had to read their writing aloud to other students in
peer conference to get feedback on content and
suggestions for content changes. It occurred to me that
such activity was potentially hazardous to the health
of the emerging adolescent self/selves. My pursuit in
the research literature of students voicing their
experience with writing process, specifically peer
conferencing, led me to emptiness.

In a similar manner, research on adolescent
psychological development has, until recently, ignored
the experiences of girls. Only now do we have a

172

beginning understanding of what it is like for
pre-adolescent and adolescent girls to emerge under the
pressures of the patriarchal dominant discourses. My
own experiences growing up and over twenty years of
interactive observation in a public school has shown me
the results of the profoundly prescriptive effects of
the dominant discourses on girls. In order to fit the
expectations of being female/feminine, girls have
seemed to "disappear": they limit themselves physically
by reducing their movements and the space they take up,
they curb their energy and enthusiasm, they avert their
eyes, and, most chillingly, they silence their own
voices. The overall result takes them out of
relationship with their selves, breaking the connection
to who they wholly are, because they give themselves
away for the sake of relationships with others.

The intersection of these two concerns led me to
ask the two questions which formed my research:

1. What do adolescent girls have to say about
their experiences in writing process peer
conferencing?
2. How do adolescent girls affectively respond to
the peer conferencing components of writing
process?

In order to get at the kind of information I
sought, I first identified twelve "disappeared" girls
in eighth grade English classes in an urban middle

173

school. Of these, ten were able to be scheduled for a series of interviews - one fifty minute interview a week for four weeks. During the course of the interviews I asked the girls to respond to questions about what it was like for them to do writing process, especially peer conference. In particular, I asked about their feelings/experiences giving suggestions to other students and, more importantly to my interest, receiving suggestions about their own writing.

Although I was driven by the desire simply to find out what peer conferencing was like for them, I couldn't help but carry expectations with me. My first expectation centered on how they would talk about giving advice to other writers about content. I expected that they would be concerned primarily with not hurting the other person's feelings and therefore be less critical and incisive in their remarks. Further, my sense was that these girls, silent and out of relationship with their selves, would not have the inner strength, confidence, or sense of themselves to hold on to the self as represented in their writing. I guessed that they would automatically use and not question the suggestions they received in peer conference to change the content in their own writing. What these girls said would clearly express their

stereotypical positioning within the perspective of care/connection and give little indication of the perspective of justice/independence.

Therefore, in reviewing the transcripts I made of the taped interviews, I paid particular attention to these two areas of their talk. I was surprised and pleased to hear these girls say things that were very different from what I had expected.

Review of the Findings

In the first case, the girls were indeed concerned about being careful of the other person's feelings while they gave suggestions. The girls spent a lot of time discussing how to give suggestions (blunt or careful) to whom (friend or student not known well) so that the suggestions could be heard by the recipient without hurt feelings. As I examined the transcripts, I was surprised to hear an additional, different, underlying concern threaded through this discussion. Besides exhibiting the expected care for the other person's feelings, these girls expressed a strong commitment to the peer conference process. They felt responsible for giving the best possible suggestions to the other person - critical suggestions that would be

the most helpful for the writing. Thus, they said they
would not simply praise the other's writing, nor would
they "make nice" by only taking care of the other's
feelings; rather, these girls described negotiating
their way through to a balanced response that honored
the other person's feelings as well as the peer
conference process.

The second, more exciting, issue centered on their
reception of suggestions for changes in their own
writing. In no instance did any girl give any
indication that she would immediately and automatically
make a suggested change in her writing. Instead, every
girl claimed and believed in her own knowledge and
authority over her writing. No one believed another
student's suggestions were better than her own
understanding of her own text. Yet these girls did not
dismiss all suggestions in knee-jerk fashion. They
spoke of considering advice and trying out changes;
ultimately, however, they were the final authority over
their writing. Simply put, these girls held on to their
selves in their writing and did not give away their
power.

While the second finding is more inspiring to me
because it indicates that these "disappeared" girls are
not compliant bimbos - completely out of relationship

with themselves and having given themselves away for the sake of pleasing others, - both findings are important because they signal two vital points. First, these girls express a fuller spectrum of the perspectives available to humans - including the perspectives of care <u>and</u> justice, connection <u>and</u> independence. Second, teaching writing as a process can provide girls with opportunities to discover that they know, to trust what they know, and to practice holding on to their selves - who they are - by holding on to the content of their writing when they so decide.

<u>Changes in the Girls as Reported by Teachers</u>

After interviewing the girls, it occurred to me that I should talk with their teachers, eliciting comments on behavior or achievement changes, if any. I was able to check in with only two English teachers and one Social Studies teacher, but all the girls had one of these teachers.

At the close of the series of interviews, I asked their teachers if they had noticed any change(s) in the girls' presence, attitudes or behaviors in the classroom. They had. I do not suggest there is a direct cause and effect relationship between the girls

participating in the interviews and these observed changes in them, but it is interesting to note the proximity of the two. As a further caveat, because the teachers were aware of my research project when I asked about the girls, I cannot discount any influence this knowledge may have had on their perceptions of the girls.

I believe, however, that there was a significant impact on the girls of doing the four interviews. The invitation to speak about their experiences and feelings to an interested listener was a gift of immeasurable power for these girls, especially considering that the dominant discourses value neither what girls and women experience nor what they have to say; by their observed "disappeared" behaviors, these girls know this. Speaking and being heard had a simple yet profound effect upon them that was recognized by their teachers. I believe these noticed effects are the beginning ripples of more substantial changes to come.

Two English teachers, Ms. Douglas and Ms. Boland, and one social studies teacher, Ms. Branacci, willingly sat down at separate times to talk about the girls in the study who were in their classes. They had all noticed some changes. The participants were not the same "disappeared" girls.

Ms. Douglas reported, "Michaela and Saundra have been volunteering more. Especially Michaela, in the activity period, she's really getting into it!" She said further, "Saundra has been volunteering in class, which I'm surprised at because she never volunteers. I don't usually even see her because she's practically hiding behind her desk!"

According to Ms. Boland,

Kelly seems to have more confidence in class. She is more relaxed in class and willing to participate. She's not afraid to be wrong as much as before. She'll raise her hand. If I call on her she won't say she doesn't know. Before, she was more withdrawn, she wouldn't participate. You could even tell with her body language, she was more withdrawn. Thea participates more; she raises her hand, whereas before she didn't. There was a difference.

Ms. Branacci offered,

They're all very, very quiet girls to start with. Meredith and Lache have found themselves to be a little more comfortable in class and are speaking. In the beginning Lache wouldn't say a thing. She's just a very reserved, very nice young lady. But

she's now coming out and I think she's feeling
comfortable with herself. Alicia has been coming
around a little bit more. She's talking more. She
seems more comfortable in the class. She's not
really jumping up and raising her hand but when I
call on her she just seems to be a little more at
ease.

Yet there are limitations to the changes the
teachers noticed in these girls. As Ms. Branacci noted
about the girls who are in her classes,

None of them volunteers for reading or to answer.
If I call on them, they'd be very willing to say
what they put down on a paper. But on their own,
these girls would never feel free to volunteer
their opinion. They will answer the question if
they have an answer, but to elaborate, they
wouldn't take the liberty. They'd never take one
point and sort of go off with it.

It appears, from listening to the girls themselves
and these comments from their teachers, that the
"disappeared" state for adolescent girls that I
identified from the literature is not necessarily a
permanent or worsening condition. These girls do not
seem to be giving themselves up under the pressures of

the dominant culture which demands they do exactly
that. Instead, their teachers' observations and the
girls' words indicate the "disappeared" state is
mutable, its color blending and reacting to the voices
and colors of care and justice and the selves.

Connections to the Literature

In relation to the literature I reviewed to inform
this project, the two major findings mentioned above
are clearly connected to pieces of that literature in
several ways. A smaller finding, the voices of students
describing their affective responses to writing process
practices, as discussed in depth in Chapter 4, does not
connect to any literature directly because none exists,
but does answer one of my research questions and leads
into the first major finding.

The smaller finding offers the first student
voices in research that describe the affective
responses to doing writing process activities. In
asking students to share their writing aloud, we in
fact ask them to reveal a portion of their selves as it
is represented on paper. At adolescence, this can be a
somewhat to overwhelmingly scary thing for students to
do.

In this study, the girls' responses to the question "What does it feel like to read your draft aloud and to receive feedback?" confirm that it is indeed a scary venture for them. While it helps if you share your writing with a friend, even then, the girls admitted, showing your thoughts, ideas, or feelings as they appear in your writing still feels risky because of the other person's possible reactions.

In a classroom where competition between students is the norm and the teacher is the source of all knowledge and power (which seems to be the structure of most classrooms and which therefore strongly influences students' comfort and willingness to take risks), it is not safe for anyone, much less an adolescent in the process of becoming a person, to reveal the self in any way.

It is part of teaching writing as a process, however, that such a classroom structure is scrapped in order to provide a safe, cooperative, and supportive environment in which students feel able to take writing risks, discover their ownership as writers, learn ways to talk to peers about writing, and actually practice those interactions with each other [Elbow, 1986; Graves, 1983; Calkins, 1986; Atwell, 1987].

After at least two years doing writing as a
process, these girls speak of a base-line apprehension
for sharing their writing, their self revealed on the
paper, during peer conference. Yet this feeling of
trepidation is underscored by their confidence in the
workings of writing process itself and their ownership
of the writing.

It seems to me that teaching writing as a process
really has given these girls strategies to use in
working with their writing and with other students and
multiple opportunities to practice ownership of their
writing. And through writing process activities, they
have been able to exercise the voice of justice as well
as care as they confer with other students and hold on
to their selves in their own writing.

The first finding of major import came from
listening to how these girls spoke about doing peer
conferences. They clearly do not limit themselves only
to the perspective of care, concerned only with the
other person's feelings. Rather, they were able to
rediscover and use the voice of justice/responsibility
as well, exhibiting a commitment to the peer conference
process and belief in the benefits of insightful,
helpful suggestions. Using the voices of both care and
justice as originally put forth as moral perspectives

183

by Gilligan [1987; et al., 1988; et al., 1990a; 1990b; et al., 1991], these girls demonstrate an elegant blend and movement between the two as they talk about working to make a piece of writing better.

One may argue that expressing responsibility to the peer conference process and commitment to helping the writing of another student is a form of care and connection, not justice. If so, the necessary obverse argument, calling the perspective of justice an expression of care for independence, rules, and rights, blurs the distinctions and leaves us unable to discuss the muddied results. Perhaps it is out of a wholeness that contains a continuum of perspectives that one, several, or blends of perspectives can emerge. At the very least, employment of both perspectives as evidenced by these girls suggests a wholeness of human response, a spectrum of capacities for connection and independence, available in early childhood [Gilligan, 1987; Gottman, 1983; Kagan, 1984; Stern, 1985] but soon splintered by the prescriptions of the dominant discourses outlined by Walkerdine [1990], Gilbert [1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1991], and Gilbert and Taylor [1991].

Unlike girls at adolescence who, in concern for relationship, are reluctant to know what they know and

speak it, as described by Gilligan [1987; 1990b; et al, 1991], these girls hold on to that knowledge and say they are willing to speak what they know, risking relationships. They have re-found their own "deeper" knowing like the women in Belenky et al. [1986] and begun to trust it despite the dominant discourses telling them they have no worth, nothing to say.

The second major finding, that these girls know and trust their "deeper" knowing and hold on to their selves in their writing, strikes me giddy with hope and relief. Not only does it seem that writing process has perhaps provided them with ways and occasions to honor what they know and display ownership and authority over their writing, it has given them practice in holding on to their selves in that writing.

These girls, outwardly so quiet, so reserved, so "disappeared" by the dominant discourses, give evidence of strong, resistant interiors that enable them to trust what they know and to speak it by considering and rejecting suggestions for changes in their writing. Thus, while their external behaviors seem to indicate a passive acceptance of the dominant discourses' prescriptions, their internal core - their evolving constellation of selves - is resisting, choosing, and holding. They are, at this deeper level, staying in

relationship with themselves, not giving themselves
away for the sake of relationships, but resisting the
dominant discourse as hoped for by Gilligan [1990b; et
al., 1991].

Set in the context of the dominant discourses
then, I see these girls struggling to constitute and
maintain an inner self - or selves - in concert with
external constructing forces [de Laurentis, 1984].
There really is something inside them - a self or
selves - which resists, evolves, chooses and/or
rejects, which is no passive "social dupe" [Hekman,
1991]. Otherwise, these "disappeared" girls could not
speak with both concern for the feelings of others and
commitment to the peer conference process as well as so
ably holding on to their selves in their writing.

Commentary on Doing the Research

I experienced several negatives and an important
positive in conducting interview research with
adolescents in a school setting.

The first problem arose immediately when I
attempted to make a schedule of interviews and then
arrange for the students to be available. In the public
school where I did my research, the schedule of classes

provided only forty-five minute time chunks for each interview; an amount of time too limited for thorough, detailed discussion. Further, the feeling of some of the interviews remained artificial, whether because of my position and power as an adult and teacher or because of some of the girls' shyness, I can not tell. In addition, my position as a white adult/teacher quite probably had a singular effect on the two African-American girls in the study. Both Lache and Adassa spoke very softly and rarely made eye contact with me during the interviews.

On a positive, more exciting side, I could not help but sense the powerful effect these interviews seemed to have for these girls. I noticed slight changes in their participation as the interviews progressed; in later interviews, they all seemed more relaxed, more thoughtful, and more talkative. Indeed, their teachers commented on changes they observed in these girls as the interviews progressed, saying the girls were more likely to volunteer in class. I feel there must be an enormous impact when a person asks for your experiences, thoughts, and opinions, when a person really pays attention to you, when a person takes seriously the things you say. I believe none of us is attended to as much as we crave and therefore such

attention gives a powerful boost to one's sense of
self, confidence, and sense of importance in the world.

Implications

From this work, I think there is but one major
point to be made. It is about teaching writing as a
process.

Given the context of a culture and society
saturated by patriarchal dominant discourses which
labor, quite successfully, to fit everybody into
prescribed roles, teaching writing as a process
subverts those prescriptions by engaging students'
capacities for connection, cooperation, good will, and
independent knowledge. Writing process honors what
students bring to the classroom, claims that they know
what good writing looks and sounds like, and insists
that they own and have authority over their writing.
Such a classroom and teaching method provide a safe
arena for adolescents to rehearse writing strategies
and practice interpersonal connections and
responsibilities, counteracting the toxic effects of
the larger prescriptions.

For girls especially, writing process may be able
to help them stay in touch with their selves and what

is important to them, stay in touch with what they know, trust what they know, and offer encouragement and practice in holding on to their selves by expecting them to voice insightful suggestions and to exercise authority over their own writing. In this way, writing teachers can strengthen girls' resistance to the disabling dominant discourses.

I think the immediate next questions to investigate concern the writing process experiences of boys, students of differing socio-economic class backgrounds, and students of color, especially girls. Is there a comparable study to be done with adolescent boys, to find out if their sense of connection and care is as well provided for as these girls' sense of justice and self? What do students from differing class backgrounds experience in writing process? Further, what are the differences, if any, in the psychological development and maintenance of the self in girls of color? Do girls of color experience similar support for the self and what one knows in writing process?

Most importantly, I think we need to listen to what our students have to say about the effects of teaching writing as a process. They are, after all, the ones risking their selves on the paper. And where are the voices of students whose teachers write the

assignments with them? What does that kind of teacher behavior do to the dynamics in a classroom and what effects does such behavior have on the students themselves?

In the face of powerful external forces operating on adolescents these days, their experiencing writing process activities may serve to help maintain more integrated humans who have the capacities to exhibit the whole range of human responses.

APPENDIX A

INVITATION LETTER TO STUDENTS

Date

Dear _____,

To re-introduce myself, my name is Maryann Jennings and I have taught English here at (school) for 20 years. Right now I am completing a Doctorate in Education at the University of Massachusetts. As a part of the requirements for that degree, I must do research in a specific educational area. For me, that area concerns writing process and adolescents. Specifically, I want to interview eighth grade girls about their experiences in the peer conferencing phase of writing process.

My studies, preliminary research and observations in all of (school's) eighth grade English classes have led me to invite you to participate in my interview study. With your help, I will be able to find out what writing process may do for adolescent girls.

With this letter of invitation, I have enclosed an information sheet explaining my study and the interview questions and schedule. Accompanying the letter and information sheet is a standard consent form. In order to be a part of the study, you must have the written consent of your parent or legal guardian. Space is provided for your and your parent's or guardian's signatures.

Please share this letter and all the information with your parent or guardian and discuss it. Should you or your parent or guardian have any questions, you may write them down, talk to me in school or I can phone your home to answer.

I certainly want to encourage you to participate in the study. On the other hand, I want you to understand that you are under no obligation to do so. You will not be placed at a disadvantage now or in the

future if you decide not to take part. Furthermore, if you agree now to participate in the study but later change your mind, you may withdraw at any time.

If you would like to be a part of the interviews and research, please complete the consent form and return it to your English teacher by (date).

Thank you,

Maryann Jennings

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED STUDY

INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

Since I have focused on the teaching of writing for over 10 years in my English classes, I have seen how well the writing process approach has helped students improve their writing abilities. This improvement has also been noted in professional journals and in research on teaching and writing.

However, information on how the writing process approach affects the development of the adolescent self is notably lacking. Further, the latest research on adolescent girls in particular indicates that the teen years are a risky time for the development of self in girls. Social, cultural and educational forces convince many girls at this age to "disappear"; that is, to become quiet, unquestioning and unresponsive in public, especially in the classroom.

My dissertation seeks to couple my interest and concern in both areas by discovering the affective effects of writing process on adolescent girls.

If you decide to be a part of my study, I will pair you with one or two other eighth grade girls. In these small groups, I plan to ask you to talk to me in a series of interviews designed to explore your experiences with writing process. Printed texts of the interviews will be used as part of the discussions; this will enable you to change, add to or delete things you may have said. My goal is to listen carefully to and analyze what you tell me. In addition, I will ask you to write a short description of yourself.

Although I am inviting many girls to take part, a maximum of 16 eighth grade girls will be interviewed. Finally, if you agree now to participate in the study but later change your mind, you may withdraw at any time.

193

INFORMED CONSENT/PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

I, Maryann Jennings, as a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts, request your permission to interview your daughter about her experience in a Writing Process classroom, and make a taped record of those interviews.

The main purpose for my conducting these interviews is to gather information that will be used in writing a dissertation which will be submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctoral degree in Education at the University of Massachusetts.
I may also wish to use some of the interview material for journal articles, presentations, instructional purposes, or for inclusion in a book.
If I were to want to use materials from these interviews in any way not consistent with what is stated above, I would contact you for additional written consent.

The interviews will be done in small groups, be conducted during six sessions and take place in school. The interviews will be arranged during non-academic school time.
During these interviews I will ask your daughter to talk about what it is like for her to do writing process activities. Specifically, I will ask about her experiences in the peer conferencing phase.
The first interview will focus on her description of her experiences doing writing process activities: what she actually does, how she feels about writing, what she thinks about writing process activities and the writing itself.
The second interview will focus on the printed transcript of the first interview, giving your daughter an opportunity to review what she said and to change, add to or delete from the text.
The third interview will focus on the peer conferencing phase of writing process.

The fourth interview will be another reflective time, using the printed transcript in the same way as the second interview.

Discussion in the fifth interview will center on a short written profile about herself that she will write.

The final interview will revisit that writing and provide time for last comments and questions.

I am interested in adolescent girls' conferencing stories and the opportunity for them to give voice to their experiences. My role will be to listen as they recreate experiences and explore what it all means. I will ask questions for clarification and to further the conversation.

The tapes of the interviews will be transcribed by myself or a peer who is as committed to confidentiality as I am. In all written materials and oral presentations in which I might use material from these interviews, I will under no circumstances use actual student names unless given specific permission by all the participants, nor will I use either actual names of people mentioned, or information that identifies the school or its location.

Copies of the audiotape, any printed transcription, and the final report will be given to you if you wish.

Since the tapes are part of my Doctoral work, I will hold them for two years after my dissertation has been accepted and then destroy them.

While consenting at this time to allow your daughter to participate in these interviews, you may at any time withdraw her from the interview process. In signing this form, you are assuring me that you will make no financial claims for the use of material from your daughter's interviews.

_____ Signature of interviewer

_____ Date

I,_____, have read the above consent form and agree to participate as an interviewee under the stated conditions.

_____ Signature of participant

_____ Date

I,_____, have read the above consent form and give permission to my daughter to participate as an interviewee under the stated conditions.

_____ Signature of parent/
                         guardian
_____ Date

APPENDIX D

REAL NAME CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

I would like your permission to use your real name in the opening section of my dissertation. I want you to have a real presence in my work and using your real name in the beginning is a way to accomplish that. Also, it is a real way for me to thank you for your help in this project.

However, that will be the only place your real name will be used. In any direct quotations from you or in any discussion of findings, I will use a pseudonym of your choice. There will be no connection made between your identity and any of your words.

In this way, you will have a very real presence in my dissertation but your identity can be kept confidential.

If this is unacceptable to you, please indicate below.

* * * * * * * * * *

I, _____, give permission for my real name to be used in the opening section of Maryann Jennings's dissertation. I understand that in any direct quotations or in any discussion of findings, a pseudonym of my choice will be used, thereby keeping my identity confidential.

_____
signature

_____
date

I, _____, give permission for my daughter's real name to be used in the opening section of Maryann Jennings's dissertation. I understand that in any direct quotations or in any discussion of findings, a pseudonym of her choice will be used, thereby keeping her identity confidential.

_____
signature

_____
date

REFERENCES

Acker, J., K. Barry and J. Esseveld. (1983).
"Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist
Research". Women's Studies International Forum, 6
(4).

Adelson, J., ed. (1980). Handbook of Adolescent
Psychology. NY: John Wiley & Sons.

----- (1986). Inventing Adolescence: The Political
Psychology of Everyday Schooling. New Brunswick,
NJ: Transaction Books.

----- and M. Doehrman. (1980). "The Psychodynamic
Approach to Adolescence". In Adelson, J., ed.,
Handbook of Adolescent Psychology. New York: John
Wiley & Sons.

Alcoff, L. (1988). "Cultural Feminism Versus
Post-structuralism: The Identity Crisis in
Feminist Theory". Signs, 13 (3).

Alverman, D. (1991). "Oral and Written Language
Instruction: Ninth Grade Lower Track Students'
Attempts to Bring Meaning to Schoolwork". Paper
presented at the Third Annual Conference on
Ethnographic and Qualitative Research in Education
at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Anson, C. (1989). Writing and Response: Theory,
Practice and Research. Urbana, IL: National
Council of Teachers of English.

Applebee, A. (1974). Tradition and Reform in the
Teaching of English: A History. Urbana, IL:
National Council of Teachers of English.

----- (1986). "Problems in Process Approaches: Toward
a Reconceptualization of Process Instruction". In
A.R. Petrosky & D. Bartholomae, eds., The Teaching
of Writing; Eighty-fifth Yearbook of the National
Society for the Study of Education. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press.

Atwell, N. (1987a). In the Middle: Writing, Reading,
and Learning with Adolescents. Montclair, NJ:
Boynton/Cook.

----- (1987b). "Everyone Sits at a Big Desk: Discovering Topics for Writing". In D. Goswami & R. Stillman, eds. <u>Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change</u>. Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Aversa, N.J. and M. Tritt. (1988). "Advice to Writers: Students Discuss the Craft of Writing". <u>English Journal</u>, 77 (6).

Beach, R. (1976). "Self-Evaluation Strategies of Extensive Revisers and Nonrevisers." <u>College Composition and Communication</u>, 27: 160-70.

Belenky, M., B. Clinchy, N. Goldberger, and J. Tarule. (1986). <u>Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind</u>. New York: Basic Books.

Bellas, R. (1970). "Workshop Sessions in English Composition." <u>College Composition and Communication</u>, 21:271-73.

Benson, N. (1979). "The Effects of Peer Feedback During the Writing Process on Writing Performance, Revision Behavior, and Attitude Towards Writing." Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Colorado.

Berkenkotter, C. (1984). "Student Writers and Their Sense of Authority Over Texts". <u>College Composition and Communication</u>, 35 (3).

Bizzell, P. (1986). "Composing Processes: An Overview". In A. Petrosky & D. Bartholomae, eds., <u>The Teaching of Writing: Eighty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boas, F. (1943). "Recent Anthropology". <u>Science</u>, 98.

Bogdan, R. and S. Biklen. (1982). <u>Qualitative Research In Education: An Introduction to Theory and Method</u>. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bondi, J. and J. Wiles. (1981). <u>The Essential Middle School</u>. Columbus, OH: Merrill.

Bradddock, R., R. Lloyd-Jones, and L. Schoer. (1963). <u>Research in Written Composition</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Brand, A. (1987). "The Why of Cognition: Emotion and the Writing Process". College Composition and Communication, 38.

Branscombe, A. (1987). "I Gave My Classroom Away". In D. Goswami & R. Stillman, eds. Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change. Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Bright, J. (1895). "English at the Johns Hopkins University." In W. Payne, ed. English in American Universities. Boston: Heath.

Bright, M. (1926). "Pupil Participation in Theme Correction." English Journal, 15: 358-67.

Britton, J., T. Burgess, N. Martin, A. McLeod, & H. Rosen. (1975). The Development of Writing Abilities: 11-18. London: Macmillan.

Brown, L., ed. (1988). "A Guide to Reading Narratives of Conflict and Choice for Self and Moral Voice". Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education Project on the Psychology of Women and the Development of Girls.

----- and C. Gilligan. (1990). "Listening for Self and Relational Voices: A Responsive/Resisting Reader's Guide". Paper presented at American Psychological Association annual meeting, Boston, MA.

Bruffee, K. (1973). "Collaborative Learning: Some Practical Models." College English, 34: 579-86.

----- (1984). "Peer Tutoring and the Conversation of Mankind". College English, 46: 635-52.

Buck, G. and E. Woodbridge. (1906). A Course in Expository Writing. New York: Holt.

Burgess, R., ed. (1985). Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods. Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.

Cady, F. (1914). A Freshman Course in English. Middlebury: Middlebury College.

Calkins, L.M. (1983). Lessons from a Child. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman.

----- (1986). <u>The Art of Teaching Writing</u>. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman.

Carpenter, G. (1902). <u>Elements of Rhetoric and Composition</u>. New York: Macmillan.

Caywood, C. and G. Overing, eds. (1987). <u>Teaching Writing: Pedagogy, Gender, and Equity</u>. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Clasen, D.R. and B.B. Brown. (1985). "The Multidimensionality of Peer Pressure in Adolescence". <u>Journal of Youth and Adolescence</u>, 14 (6).

Cleary, L.M. (1991). <u>From the Other Side of the Desk: Students Speak Out About Writing</u>. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers.

Clifford, J. (1981). "Composing in Stages: The Effect of a Collaborative Pedagogy". <u>Research in the Teaching of English</u>, 15: 37-53.

Coleman, J.S. (1961). <u>The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education</u>. NY: Crowell-Collier.

Coleman, J.C. (1980). <u>The Nature of Adolescence</u>. NY: Methuen.

Cook, A. (1895). "English at Yale University." In W. Payne, ed. <u>English in American Universities</u>. Boston: Heath.

Cooper, C. and L. Odell, eds. (1978). <u>Research on Composing: Points of Departure</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

----- with N. Atwell, D. David, R. Giglia, W. Grabe and C. Locke. (1976). "Tonawanda Middle Schools' New Writing Program." <u>English Journal</u>, 65: 56-61.

Crockett, L., M. Losoff, and A. Peterson. (1984). "Perceptions of the Peer Group and Friendship in Early Adolescence". <u>Journal of Early Adolescence</u>, 4.

Davies, B. (1989). <u>Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales: Preschool Children and Gender</u>. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Davis, A., J. Weener and R. Shute. (1977). "Positive
     Peer Influence: School-based Intervention". Health
     Education, 8.

de Laurentis, T. (1984). Alice Doesn't: Feminism,
     Semiotics, Cinema. Bloomington, IN: Indiana
     University Press.

Dean, J. and W. Whyte. (1958). "How Do You Know If the
     Informant is Telling the Truth?" Human
     Organization, 17 (2).

Denman, M. (1981). "Personality Changes Concommitant
     with Learning Writing." Research in the Teaching
     of English, 15: 170-74.

Deutsch, H. (1944). The Psychology of Women, A
     Psychoanalytic Interpretation. New York: Gryne and
     Stratton.

Dorney, J. (1990). "Women Teaching Girls: Relationships
     in the Practice of Teaching". Paper presented in
     The Psychology and Women Series at Harvard School
     of Education.

Douglas, W. (1966). "On the Teaching of Process
     Writing". In A. Frazier, ed., New Directions in
     Elementary English. Urbana, IL: National Council
     of Teachers of English.

Elbow, P. (1973). Writing Without Teachers. New York:
     Oxford University Press.

----- (1981). Writing With Power: Techniques for
     Mastering the Writing Process. New York: Oxford
     University Press.

----- (1986). Embracing Contraries: Explorations in
     Learning and Teaching. New York: Oxford University
     Press.

Elkind, D. (1967). "Egocentrism in Adolescence". Child
     Development, 38.

----- (1978). "Understanding the Young Adolescent".
     Adolescence, 13 (49).

----- (1981). The Hurried Child. NY: Collier.

Emig, J. (1964). "The Uses of the Unconscious in
     Composing". In J. Emig The Web of Meaning: Essays
     on Writing, Teaching, Learning, and Thinking.
     Montclair, NJ: Boynton-Cook.

----- (1971). The Composing Processes of Twelfth
     Graders. Urbana, IL: The National Council of
     Teachers of English.

----- (1982). "Writing, Composition and Rhetoric". In
     Mitzel, H., ed. Encyclopedia of Educational
     Research 5th Edition. NY: Macmillan.

----- (1983). The Web of Meaning: Essays on Writing,
     Teaching, Learning, and Thinking. Montclair, NJ:
     Boynton-Cook.

Enright, R., D. Lapsley and D. Shukla. (1979).
     "Adolescent Egocentrism in Early and Late
     Adolescence". Adolescence, 14 (56).

Erikson, E. (1950). Childhood and Society. NY: Norton.

----- (1968). "Life Cycle". International Encyclope-
     dia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 9. NY: Macmillan.

Everhart, R. (1975). "Problems of Doing Fieldwork in
     Educational Evaluation". Human Organization, 34
     (2).

Firestone, W. (1987). "Meaning in Method: The Rhetoric
     of Quantitative and Qualitative Research".
     Educational Researcher, October.

Flower, L. and J. Hayes. (1977). "Problem-solving
     Strategies and the Writing Process". College
     English, 39.

----- (1980a). "The Dynamics of Composing: Making Plans
     and Juggling Constraints". In L. Gregg & E.
     Steinberg, eds., Cognitive Processes in Writing.
     Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

----- (1980b). "Identifying the Organization of Writing
     Processes". In L. Gregg & E. Steinberg, eds.,
     Cognitive Processes in Writing. Hillsdale, NJ:
     Lawrence Erlbaum.

----- (1981). "A Cognitive Process Theory of Writing".
     College Composition and Communication, 32.

Foster, D. (1983). <u>A Primer for Writing Teachers:</u>
    <u>Theories, Theorists, Issues, Problems</u>. Upper
    Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Fox, R. (1980). "Treatment of Writing Apprehension and
    Its Effects on Composition." <u>Research in the</u>
    <u>Teaching of English</u>, 14: 34-39.

Frazier, A., ed., (1966) <u>New Directions in Elementary</u>
    <u>English</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers
    of English.

Freedman, S. (1987a). "Peer Response in Two Ninth-grade
    Classrooms: Technical Report #12". Berkeley, CA:
    Center for the Study of Writing.

----- (1987b). "Response to Student Writing: NCTE
    Research Report #23". Urbana, IL: National Council
    of Teachers of English.

Gavey, N. (1989). "Feminist Poststructuralism and
    Discourse Analysis". <u>Psychology of Women</u>
    <u>Quarterly</u>, 13.

Gebhardt, R. (1980). "Teamwork and Feedback: Broadening
    the Base of Collaborative Writing." <u>College</u>
    <u>English</u>, 42: 69-74.

Gere, A. (1987). <u>Writing Groups: History, Theory and</u>
    <u>Implications</u>. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois
    University Press.

----- and R. Abbott. (1985). "Talking About Writing:
    The Language of Writing Groups". <u>Research in the</u>
    <u>Teaching of English</u>, 19: 85-105.

Giacobbe, M.E. (1986). "Learning to Write and Writing
    to Learn". In A.R. Petrosky & D. Bartholomae,
    eds., <u>The Teaching of Writing; Eighty-fifth</u>
    <u>Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of</u>
    <u>Education</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gilbert, P. (1988a). "Stoning the Romance: Girls as
    Resistant Readers and Writers". <u>Curriculum</u>
    <u>Perspective</u>, 8.

----- (1988b). "Student Text as Pedagogical Text". In
    S. de Castell, A. Luke & C. Luke, eds., <u>Language,</u>
    <u>Authority and Criticism: Readings in the School</u>
    <u>Textbook</u>. Lewes: Falmer Press.

----- (1989). "Personally and Passively Yours: Girls, Literacy and Education". Oxford Review of Education, 15 (3).

----- (1991). "The Story So Far: Gender, Literacy and Social Regulation". Paper presented at the Center for the Expansion of Language and Thinking Conference at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA.

----- and S. Taylor. (1991). Fashioning the Feminine: Girls, Popular Culture and Schooling. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

----- (1987). "Adolescent Development Reconsidered". New Directions for Child Development, 37.

-----, D. Johnston and B. Miller. (1988). "Moral Voice, Adolescent Development and Secondary Education: A Study at the Green River School". Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education Center for the Study of Gender, Education and Human Development.

-----, N. Lyons & T. Hanmer. (1990a). Making Connections: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

----- (1990b). "Joining the Resistance: Psychology, Politics, Girls and Women". Michigan Quarterly Review, 29 (4).

-----, A. Rogers & D. Tolman, eds. (1991). Women, Girls and Psychotherapy: Reframing Resistance. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press.

Glaser, B. and A, Strauss. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. NY: Aldine.

Gornick, V. (1971). "Woman as Outsider". In V. Gornick and B.K. Moran, eds. (1971). Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness. New York, NY: New American Library.

Goswami, D. and P. Stillman, eds.. (1987). <u>Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change</u>. Upper Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Gottman, J. (1983). "How Children Become Friends". <u>Society for Research in Child Development Monograph</u>, 48 (3).

Graves, D. (1981). "A New Look at Research on Writing". In S. Haley-James, ed., <u>Perspectives on Writing in Grades 1-8</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

----- (1983). <u>Writing: Teachers and Children at Work</u>. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Grotevant, H. and C. Cooper, eds. (1983). <u>Adolescent Development in the Family: New Directions for Child Development</u>. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Grove, R. (1988). "An Analysis of the Constant Comparative Method". <u>Qualitative Studies in Education</u>, 1 (3).

Haley-James, S., ed. (1981). <u>Perspectives on Writing in Grades 1-8</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Hamalion, L. (1970). "The Visible Voice: An Approach to Writing." <u>English Journal</u>, 59: 227-30.

Hare-Mustin, R.T. and J. Marecek, eds. (1990). <u>Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hare-Mustin, R.T. and J. Marecek. (1990). "Gender and the Meaning of Difference: Postmodernism and Psychology". In R.T. Hare-Mustin and J. Marecek, eds. <u>Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Harris, C. (1986). "Effective Strategies in Peer Evaluation of Writing". ERIC/ED 272 897.

Hausdorf, D. (1959). "An Experiment in Communication as Problem Solving." <u>College Composition and Communication</u>, 10: 27-32.

Heilbrun, C. (1988). <u>Writing a Woman's Life</u>. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.

Hekman, S. (1991). "Reconstituting the Subject: Feminism, Modernism, and Postmodernism". <u>Hypatia</u>, 6 (2).

Henriques, J., W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn and V. Walkerdine, eds., (1984). <u>Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity</u>. London: Methuen.

Herrington, A. (1989). "The First Twenty Years of <u>Research in the Teaching of English</u> and the Growth of a Research Community in Composition Studies". <u>Research in the Teaching of English</u>, 23 (2).

Herrmann, A. (1989). "Teaching Writing with Peer Response Groups: Encouraging Revision". ERIC/ED 307 616.

Hillocks, G. (1986). <u>Research on Written Composition: New Directions for Teaching</u>. Urbana, IL: ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills.

Hollway, W. (1984). "Gender Difference and the Production of Subjectivity". In Henriques, J., W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn and V. Walkerdine, eds., <u>Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity</u>. London: Methuen.

Holmsten, V. (1987). "We Watched Ourselves Write: Report on a Classroom Research Project". In D. Goswami & R. Stillman, eds. <u>Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change</u>. Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Horney, K. (1926). "The Flight from Womanhood". <u>International Journal of Psychoanalysis</u>, 7.

Huff, R. and C. Kline. (1987). <u>The Contemporary Writing Curriculum</u>. NY: Teachers' College Press.

Jennings, M. (1989). "Two Teachers Who Teach Writing". Unublished manuscript.

----- (1991). "Other Than That, Mrs. Lincoln, How Did You Like the Play? A Pilot Study: What Do Eighth Graders Think About Doing Writing Process Stuff?" Unpublished manuscript.

Jensen, G. and J. Tiberio. (1984). Personality and the Teaching of Composition. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Judy, S. (1973). "Writing for the Here and Now." English Journal, 62: 69-79.

----- and S. Judy. (1981). An Introduction to the Teaching of Writing. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kagan, J. (1984). The Nature of the Child. New York: Basic Books.

Kahn, R. and C. Cannell. (1957). The Dynamics of Interviewing. New York: John Wiley.

Katstra, J., N. Tollefson and E. Gilbert. (1987). "The Effects of Peer Evaluation, Attitude Toward Writing and Writing Fluency of 9th Grade Students". Journal of Educational Research, 80.

Kaufman, W. (1971). "The Inhibited Teacher." English Teacher, 60: 382-88.

Kelly, L. (1981). "Learner-Teacher Dialogues and Writing that is Learning." English Journal, 70: 26-29.

Kirby, D. and T. Liner. (1980). "Revision: Yes, They Do It, Yes, You Can Teach It." English Journal, 69: 41-45.

Kram, K. (1988). "On the Researcher's Group Memberships". In D. Berg and K. Smith, eds. The Self in Social Inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Krendl, K. and J. Dodd. (1987). Assessing the National Writing Project: A Longitudinal Study of Process-Based Writing. Oak Ridge Schools, TN: National Writing Project.

LaBrandt, L. (1946). "Teaching High School Students to Write." English Journal, 35: 123-28.

Lather, P. (1986). "Research as Praxis". Harvard Educational Review, 56 (3).

----- (1988). "Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies". Women's Studies International Forum, 11 (6).

LeFevre, K. (1987). <u>Invention as a Social Act</u>. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Leonard, S. (1917). <u>English Composition as a Social Problem</u>, Boston: Houghton.

Lincoln, Y. and E. Guba. (1985). <u>Naturalistic Inquiry</u>. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Locke, L. (1989). "Qualitative Research as a Form of Scientific Inquiry in Sport and Physical Education". <u>Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport</u>, 60 (1).

----- , W. Spirduso and S. Silverman. (1987). <u>Proposals That Work: A Guide for Planning Dissertations and Grant Proposals</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lord, A. (1880). "The Social Club." <u>New England Journal of Education</u>, 11: 178-86.

Lott, B. (1990). "Dual Natures or Learned Behavior: The Challenge to Feminist Psychology". In R.T. Hare-Mustin and J. Marecek, eds. <u>Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lumley, D. (1987). "An Analysis of Peer Group Dialogue Journals for Classroom Use". In D. Goswami & R. Stillman, eds. <u>Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change</u>. Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Lyons, N. (1987). "Ways of Knowing, Learning and Making Choices". <u>Journal of Moral Education</u>, 16 (3).

Macrorie, K. (1968). <u>Writing to be Read</u>. Rochelle, NJ: Hayden.

Maier, H. (1969). <u>Three Theories of Child Development</u>, (rev. ed.). NY: Harper & Row.

Maimon, E. (1979). "Talking to Strangers." <u>College Composition and Communication</u>, 30: 364-69.

Marashio, N. and Center School's Eighth Graders. (1982). <u>Writing: A Window to Our Minds, Writing Teachers at Work</u>. UC Berkeley: Bay Area Writing Project.

Marshall, C. and G. Rossman. (1989). <u>Designing Qualitative Research</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marshall, J. (1981). "Making Sense as a Personal Process". In P. Reason and J. Rowan, eds. <u>Human Inquiry</u>. NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Matter, R.M. (1984). "The Historical Emergence of Adolescence: Perspectives from Developmental Psychology and Adolescent Literature". <u>Adolescence</u>, 19 (73).

McCracken, G. (1988). <u>The Long Interview</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Measor, L. (1985). "Interviewing: A Strategy in Qualitative Research". In R. Burgess, ed. <u>Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods</u>. Philadelphia, PA: Falmer Press.

Merriam, S. (1988). <u>Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach</u>. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miller, J.B. (1976). <u>Toward a New Psychology of Women</u>, Boston: Beacon Press.

----- (1984). "The Development of Womens's Sense of Self". <u>Work in Progress #12</u>. Wellesley, MA: Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies of Wellesley College.

Mishler, E. (1986). <u>Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative</u>. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mitzel, H., ed. (1982). <u>Encyclopedia of Educational Research 5th Edition</u>. NY: Macmillan.

Moffett, J. (1968). <u>Teaching the Universe of Discourse:</u>
<u>A Theory of Discourse - A Rationale for English</u>
<u>Teaching Used in a Student-Centered Language Arts</u>
<u>Curriculum</u>. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Murray, D. (1980). "Writing as Process: How Writing
Finds Its Meaning". In T. Donovan and B.
McClelland, eds. <u>Eight Approaches to Teaching</u>
<u>Composition</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of
Teachers of English.

----- (1982). <u>Learning by Teaching: Selected Articles</u>
<u>on Writing and Teaching</u>. Montclair, NJ:
Boynton/Cook.

----- (1985). <u>A Writer Teaches Writing</u>. Boston:
Houghton Mifflin.

National Council of Teachers of English. (1974).
"Teaching Composition: A Position Statement".
<u>College English</u>, 36.

----- (1979). <u>The Report of the Committee on Writing</u>.
Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of
English.

Newman, J. (1985). "Adolescents: Why They Can Be So
Obnoxious". <u>Adolescence</u>, 20 (79).

Noyes, E. (1905). "Class Criticism as a Means of
Teaching English Composition." <u>School Review</u>, 13:
696-701.

Nystrand, M. (1986). <u>The Structure of Written</u>
<u>Communication: Studies in Reciprocity Between</u>
<u>Writers and Readers</u>. London: Academic Press.

----- and D. Brandt. (1989). "Response to Writing as a
Context for Learning to Write". In C. Anson, ed.
<u>Writing and Response: Theory, Practice and Res-</u>
<u>search</u>. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers
of English.

Oakley, A. (1981). "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction
in Terms". In H. Roberts, ed. <u>Doing Feminist Re-</u>
<u>search</u>. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Parker, W. (1984). "Interviewing Children: Problems and
Promise". <u>Journal of Negro Education</u>, 53 (1).

Patton, M. (1980). <u>Qualitative Evaluation Methods</u>.
    Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Peckham, I. (1980). "A Teacher Learning to Write."
    <u>English Journal</u>, 69: 43-51.

Peshkin, A. (1988). "In Search of Subjectivity: One's
    Own". <u>Educational Researcher</u>, 17 (7).

Peterson, B. (1982). "Writing About Responses: A
    Unified Model of Reading, Interpretation, and
    Composition." <u>College English</u>, 44: 459-68.

Petrosky, A. and D. Bartholomae, eds. (1986). <u>The
    Teaching of Writing: Eighty-fifth Yearbook of the
    National Society for the Study of Education</u>.
    Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Piaget, J. (1951). <u>The Child's Conception of the World</u>.
    London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

----- (1954). <u>The Construction of Reality in the Child</u>.
    NY: Basic Books.

Postman, N. (1983). "The Disappearing Child".
    <u>Educational Leadership</u>, 40.

Raphael, T., C. Englert and B. Kirschner. (1988).
    <u>Acquisition of Expository Writing Skills</u>.
    <u>Technical Report No. 421</u>. Illinois University:
    Center for the Study of Reading.

----- , C. Englert and B. Kirschner. (1989). "Students'
    Metacognitive Knowledge about Writing". <u>Research
    in the Teaching of English</u>, 23 (4): 343-79.

Rogers, V. (1984). "Qualitative Research: Another Way
    of Knowing". In P. Hosford, ed., <u>Using What We
    Know About Teaching</u>. ASCD.

Rohman, D.G. and A.O. Wlecke. (1964). <u>Pre-writing: The
    Construction and Application of Models for Concept
    Formation in Writing</u>. U.S. Office of Education
    Cooperative Research Project, No. 2174. East
    Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.

----- (1965). "Prewriting: The Stage of Discovery in
    the Writing Process". <u>College Composition and
    Communication</u>, 16.

Russell, D. (1988). "The Common Experience of
    Adolescence: A Requisite for the Development of
    Young Adult Literature". Journal of Youth Services
    in Libraries, Fall.

Sarup, M. (1989). An Introductory Guide to
    Poststructuralism and Postmodernism. Athens, GA:
    University of Georgia Press.

Schelling, F. (1895). "English at the University of
    Pennsylvania." In W. Payne, ed. English in
    American Universities. Boston: Heath.

Sears, C. (1981). "A Letter Home from the Oklahoma
    Writing Project", English Journal, 70: 45.

Seidman, I.E. (1990). Interviewing as Qualitative
    Research. NY: Teachers College Press.

Selzer, J. (1984). "Exploring Options in Composing".
    College Composition and Communication, 35: 276-84.

Serafica, F. and D. Blyth. (1985). "Continuities and
    Changes in the Study of Friendships and Peer
    Groups During Early Adolescence". Journal of Early
    Adolescence, 5.

Shaughnessy, M. (1977). Errors and Expectations.
    London: Oxford University Press.

Shipman, M. (1972). The Limitations of Social Research.
    London: Longman.

Shuman, R. (1975). "What about Revision?" English
    Journal, 64: 41-43.

Smulyan, L. (1986). "Adolescence in Theory and
    Practice: A Key to Understanding Middle level
    Students". Clearing House, 60.

Snipes, W. (1971). "An Inquiry: Peer Group Teaching in
    Freshman Writing." College Composition and
    Communication, 22: 169-74.

----- (1973). "Oral Composing as an Approach to
    Writing." College Composition and Communication,
    24: 200-205.

Spender, D. and E. Sarah, eds. (1980). <u>Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education</u>. London: The Women's Press.

Sperling, M. (1989). "I Want to Talk to Each of You: Collaboration and the Teacher-student Conference. Technical Report No. 37". Berkeley, CA: Center for the Study of Writing.

Spradley, J. (1979). <u>The Ethnographic Interview</u>. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stern, D. (1985). <u>The Interpersonal World of the Infant</u>. New York: Basic Books.

Stoneberg, B. (1988). <u>Analytic Trait Writing Assessment</u>. Albany, OR: Greater Albany Public School District.

Tarvers, J. (1988). <u>Teaching Writing: Theories and Practices</u>. Boston: Scott, Foresman.

Taylor, S. and R. Bogdan. (1984). <u>Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meanings</u>. New York: Wiley.

Thornburg, H. (1983). "Is Adolescence Really a Stage of Development?" <u>Theory into Practice</u>, 22 (2).

----- and P. Glider. (1984). "Dimensions of Early Adolescent Social Perceptions and Preferences". <u>Journal of Early Adolescence</u>, 4.

Thurber, S. (1897). "Five Axioms of Composition Teaching." <u>School Review</u>, 5: 7-17.

Tice, D., J. Buder and R. Baumeister. (1985). "Development of Self-consciousness: At What Age Does Audience Pressure Disrupt Performance?" <u>Adolescence</u>, 20 (78).

Tripp, D. (1983). "Co-authorship and Negotiation: The Interview as Act of Creation". <u>Interchange</u>, 14 (3).

Unger, R. (1990). "Imperfect Reflections of Reality: Psychology Constructs Gender." In R.T. Hare-Mustin and J. Marecek, eds. <u>Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Walkerdine, V. (1990). Schoolgirl Fictions. London:
    Verso.

Watt, H. (1918). "The Philosophy of Real Composition."
    English Journal, 7: 153-62.

Weedon, C. (1987). Feminist Practices and
    Poststructuralist Theory. London: Basil Blackwell.

Wolf, H. (1969). "Composition and Group Dynamics: The
    Paradox of Freedom." College English, 30: 441-44.

Youniss, J. (1980). Parents and Peers in Social
    Development: A Sullivan-Piaget Perspective.
    Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zoellner, R. (1969). "Talk-Write: A Behavioral Pedagogy
    for Compositon." College English, 30: 267-320.