

A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF SENSE OF AUDIENCE
ON THE WRITING PROCESSES OF EIGHT ADOLESCENT BOYS

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ABSTRACT

This innovative Case-Study/Participant-Observation research was undertaken to explore the relationships between Sense of Audience and the writing processes of adolescents. Further to that, its intention was to develop and explore an approach to research of school writing that would best unite the intentions of researchers with the perspective of the classroom teacher.

The Study

Specifically, an 'Interventionist' approach was conceived and adopted whereby the researcher served as a genuine classroom teacher for 8 adolescent boys for one of their regular English courses over a period of approximately 1½ years. Through the routine use of personal journals, and a system of dialogue-in-writing, he established himself as the boys' principal audience for their writing. Further, through frequent casual interaction and the development of a major group project, the researcher was able to gain access to a wide range of the boys' written language as well as an intimate understanding of and contact with their school and home lives.

Main Conclusion

The study yielded several conclusions which may be summarized as follows:

Sense of Audience influences a wide spectrum of the writing processes of adolescents, particularly inasmuch as it facilitates the interrelationship of those features of the writing system that teachers and researchers artificially separate, viz. surface features, language functions, and content.

Principal Implications

Many of the efforts teachers direct to single features of their students' writing problems may be more properly directed to the matter of developing or enhancing an Enabling Sense of Audience within their individual students.

Teacher-based research appears to reveal considerably more about learning and writing than do decontextualized research procedures.

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Tony's Writing

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17 year-old Tony worked hard to achieve the level of writing skills demonstrated by this, his last piece of writing done in school. A host of his teachers over the years in many subject areas may have worked equally hard, long, and independently at the task of making Tony a competent writer of his mother tongue. And in the end, there can be little doubt that as he was passed along from grade to grade for want of anything better to do with him, most of his teachers may have experienced a profound sense of frustration, failure and genuine sadness for the limitations imposed on his life by his inability to learn how to write adequately. His schools had passed on to him the teacherly conviction that to be a non-writer meant being a limited human being: "He work in school is so differnet from the thing he say about sports he very wereyed about what people say about him."

The First Concern

Tony's response to his writing, indeed to himself through his writing, introduces the need to explore several important questions about the nature of writing. Primarily, these questions direct our attention to the differences and similarities between spoken and written language. Both are human phenomena and in their very structure and methods of presentation reflect the nature of being human: waxing eloquently, Jacob Bronowski (1973 :) has said of writing, or the printed word, that it is the "democracy of the mind". Tony, on the other hand, sees it as an entrapping task, a personal visual tyranny that is responsible for his unfortunate social and self-image. Bronowski and Tony together signal the range of things that writing may say of human-kind: its very structure is a meaningful conveyor to others of information about its user. As is speech, of

course; but writing incorporates a more permanent system of display that at once has the capacity to seem more and less desirably human depending on the individual's mastery of its component parts, a mastery so clearly embedded and so readily accessible to the judgment of others.

For Tony, the prime difference between speech and writing is in the contrasting images each conveys, both to the world and to himself, of what kind of person he is. Tony sees his writing problems as being linked to his self-image: his handwriting speaks poorly of him and therefore requires attention; his grammar makes him sound intellectually inferior, and so needs improvement if it is to match what he knows of his other abilities; his syntax needs to be made more fluent if it is to represent more correctly how fluently he actually moves within other contexts. Put in this way, it is no wonder that Tony does not enjoy writing or that he sees it as 'work', for he does not see himself in the product which he is forced to present to his public. Nor does he see improvement resulting from the teaching methods which have been employed for him over the past eleven years.

He avoids writing, therefore, attempting it only at the vigorous demands of his teachers; yet he talks easily and competently of those very things which he is so reluctant and apparently unable to speak of in writing. It is an important matter, then, to wonder about those characteristics of the writing system which differ from speech and which render it virtually unusable for students like Tony, and so difficult for others whose competence is nevertheless greater than his.

Yet it is no longer a simple matter to determine which characteristics of written language should demand our attention. Schools have had a tendency to work on the immediately accessible surface features of written language, teaching grammar and syntax and spelling in a variety of ways, both rote and imaginative, many of which were used with Tony. It is perhaps discouraging, therefore, to learn from such researchers as Frank Smith (1975:348) that:

At the syntactic and lexical levels the differences between spoken and written language are less clear, except in relative terms. There appear to be no grammatical constructions in written English that are not available

in the majority of spoken English dialects (Wardhaugh, 1969), but they are used in different proportions and degrees of complexity in the various registers or styles of writing and speech (Joos, 1962). Similarly, there is no evidence that a different lexicon is used for writing than for speech, although words and word classes occur with different relative frequencies in writing and speech (Miller, 1951, Ch4.).

Writing's "Frozen style" (Joos, 1962) and more formal register certainly appear to be at odds with Tony's personality and general behavior, and in his personal life writing seems to be an almost entirely useless operation. Tony's concern about his writing as it differs from his speech, therefore, is in terms of how it mediates his relationships with others; in the school context, it is with others with whom he does not even necessarily desire a relationship. Smith and Tony each seem to be pointing research in a direction that requires an understanding of the relationship between the writing system and the social situations which it serves and mediates: Smith points the way in his reference to the importance of the effects of style and register, Tony in the surprising improvement his last piece of writing represents. The latter requires an elaboration of the context in which it was achieved as well as a brief analysis of precisely what represents improvement.

The broader context for his writing includes the anguish Tony suffered in his last year of trying to perform as he knew a writer should and as he knew he must if he were to pass: he would ask each day if he had to write and then would squirm and fidget in his seat for half an hour until he burst out with "O.K.! That's it!" and turn in never more than three lines of cramped, unacceptable work. Strangers reading his writing would show disgust; those who knew him and witnessed his struggle could only share some of his anguish and wonder what the point of it all was.

The more specific context for this piece of writing has to do with the circumstances in which it was written, for it was the result of his final examination question in which he was asked to sit for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and review his year's work as represented in his daily English journal, a document of personal statements and expressions. He was told that whatever he did, he had passed the course and would not need to repeat the year, but that school policy made it mandatory

that he sit for the examination for at least one half hour of the allotted total time. He was seated in a large gymnasium with some two hundred other students and, resisting the taunting and beckoning calls of his mates, surprised all by sitting for the full 1½ hours reading his journal and making his statement: he was the only student left in the gymnasium for the last forty minutes. As his teacher, I sat at an 'examiner's bench' at the other end of the long row in which Tony sat and wondered what it was he was up to. When the buzzer rang to end the time permitted him, he made the long walk to the bench with paper in hand, smiled, handed it in, said "Thank you Sir", and left formal schooling behind him. He left the impression that he was most satisfied with himself, for he did not even ask how he had done. He left me wondering for whom he had written this, his most sophisticated and carefully thought-out piece of work.

This is an important question to consider, for although the writing was initiated to fulfill the requirements of teacher and school, as were all his previous pieces, this one exceeds those demands and expectations to a surprising degree. It is the longest piece of writing Tony had ever undertaken, and he spent longer at achieving it than any other work, especially at one sitting, an accomplishment no one thought was possible for him. But perhaps more unusual for him is the third person point of view he adopted and sustained throughout the piece, and the genuinely reflective nature of the writing as a whole. It is likely, knowing Tony, that the only accommodation he made to what was known as his 'old self' was his last apparently hurried statement that "he work has improved 100 percent", an echo of his well-known tendency to 'con' his teachers into diagnosing "progress". As well, though, he must have felt an almost desperate need for real success in the eyes of his audience.

Further, Tony seemed to be involved, in this piece, in a genuine interpretation of his own 'literature', a literature that spanned a period of ten months:

He likes the sun he's is always talking about
 the wether when it is summing out he is in a good moud.
 he seemes to be experience broblems in most of he classes
 it sounds like he and he's teacher are not on speeing
 trerms....he does not have a lot of confidence in he
 school work....He work in school is so differnent from the

thing he say about sports he very wereyed about what people say about him.

Sitting quietly at his seat, Tony appeared to be caught up in a silent dialogue with his own writing. The voice he adopted was unusual for him but he handled it, in relative terms, competently, consistently, and meaningfully.

No available research on writing development enables a clear understanding of Tony's sudden-seeming improvement and behavior. As will be shown, the view of writing presented historically and adopted by most contemporary teachers, linguists, and researchers, ignores writing's relationship to the human condition and social situation, a factor which has dictated both the emphasis on surface features of written language and the methods employed to research its nature. The question of what was happening in Tony's mind at the time of his writing needs answering if we, as teachers, are to become more competent and responsible in assuring such development without leaving it to chance and circumstance. A clear step in that direction is the exploration of the social nature of writing as language, a nature that involves a consideration of the individual, his audience, and his language as a mediator of the two. Such consideration is reflected in this study's first concern for Sense of Audience in the development of writing processes.

The Second Concern

The surface features of writing have undergone some considerable research efforts over a long period of time, which have resulted in the development of several research techniques. Such research has demonstrated a preoccupation with writing as a linguistic system or product and has offered little towards an understanding of how it may be taught or how it is learned. As will be shown, research has largely been of the context-stripping variety which, while it may serve interest in writing as a linguistic system, does not provide a fruitful way of exploring writing in psychological and sociological terms.

As has been briefly demonstrated, by way only of introduction, the context within which an individual operates as a learner or teacher of writing has at least as much to do with how thought is given written manifestation as with the system's internal symmetry of

grammatical and syntactical rules. In expressing interest in the social nature of writing, then, techniques of research have to be re-directed to the individual writer's context of operation and influence, a re-direction that will serve to focus on the teacher and the student as proper actors in the research activity.

Discussion

Extensive and first-hand experience with the problems of teaching and learning writing have prompted my interest in research on the possible influence that Sense of Audience may have on the development of writing skills. Concern for Audience has further directed my interest to the nature of the research methods which will best serve the exploration of what is largely an individual-cum-social behavior.

To date, as will be shown, there is virtually no actual body of research on Sense of Audience in writing, and no studies which have incorporated or developed a context-based approach.

It is the intention of the present study first, to define and explore Sense of Audience in writing and, secondly, to develop an effective and practicable way of conducting such research in the context of the school.

CHAPTER 2

AUDIENCE IN COMMUNICATION

It is not an easy matter to find contemporary discussions of the influence of audience upon communication. Most often, only passing mention is made to the matter of audience, under more general discussions of sociolinguistics, semiotics, or language functions. Where it is given specific mention or consideration, discussion tends to proceed as though the concept of audience needs little or no elaboration and may be treated as an experimental variable needing no definition beyond that which is generally understood.

Traditionally, audience has been a prime concern of rhetoricians whose early concerns were with speakers and, later, with writers. From Plato and Aristotle and Cicero onwards, the concern for audience was framed in the broader concern for formal speech. It has even been argued, by Ehninger (1968) that audience was really rather neglected by the classical rhetorician, hence it gave way to concerns for the speaker and his subject-matter until the 18th Century when, "...the forerunners of modern psychology suggested new concerns..." based on "...the psychological-epistemological tradition of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume." (Kroll, 1978:270). Rosen (1973:178-9) suggests that even with the elaboration of audience analysis by George Campbell (1776) attention was still not being paid to the influence of audience on ordinary writers or those just learning to write:

Much, perhaps most, discourse is not the product of manifest intent nor do its authors operate with a vast array of rules inculcated by an explicit specialist training. Although the rhetoricians taught us that the audience contributes to the discourse, we now have to go much further than them and observe that adjustment to the audience is inherent in the social contract of all language use.

Barry Kroll (1978:270) provides a concise overview of the historical emphasis on audience and suggests interest has been channelled through the psychological/epistemological lacuna of the classic

thinkers, to the logical-empiricist traditions of the early twentieth century scientist, to the recent "...rival tradition...labelled 'cognitive-developmental' psychology...".

Jean Piaget's pervasive influence on cognitive-developmental psychology explains, in large part, the emphasis which research emanating from this field and relating to audience has placed on the problem of young children de-centering--a problem which Piaget expresses as a dichotomy between being Egocentric and being Socio-centric (Piaget, 1926). This emphasis has formed the basis for much of the work on audience awareness. But Piaget's results and conclusions have come under some severe criticism (Donaldson, 1978) which points to the need for researchers to pay more careful attention to the matter of context in language use as well as all, or most complex, human-behavior. That is, a view has emerged, embodied primarily within the discipline of sociolinguistics, that human speech may reflect human characteristics only if it is seen as behavior which requires a social context, a context of others.

Through sociolinguistics, therefore, language context has emerged as an important factor in language research, research which has paid some attention to the specific matter of audience, but primarily as a component of the speech act. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by Dell Hymes's' (1974:75) description of what sociolinguistics is interested in when conducting language performance research:

The heart of what one is after in descriptive sociolinguistics is perhaps clearest from the standpoint of the socialization of the child. Linguistic theory treats of competence in terms of the child's acquisition of the ability to produce, understand, and discriminate any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language. A child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would, of course, be a social monster. Within the social matrix in which it acquires a system of grammar a child acquires also a system of its use, regarding persons, places, purposes, other modes of communication, etc--all the components of communicative events, together with attitudes and beliefs regarding them. There also develop patterns of the sequential use of language in conversation, address, standard routines, and the like. In such acquisition resides the child's sociolinguistic competence (or, more broadly, communicative competence), its ability to participate in its society as not only a speaking, but also a communicating member. What children so acquire, an integrated theory of

sociolinguistic description must be able to describe.

His concept of 'communicative competence', which I see here as a most important one for understanding language development, may be seen to incorporate the specific notion of audience influence but only as a component of speech development. Indeed, most studies of language in sociolinguistics or related disciplines discuss audience, where at all, in terms of oral language and offer their conclusions as being true of all language forms (Higgin, 1977:83): see Flavell, 1974; Selman and Byrne, 1974; Maratsos, 1973.

The work of Hymes, Cicourel (1973) and Halliday gives explicit focus to the function of audience in language development, but only as a component of the speech act, the preoccupation of both linguists and sociolinguists. Indeed, as Stubbs (1980: 16) points out, many major sociolinguistic researchers of the past decade do not even index writing, including Trudgill (1974), Pride and Holmes (1972), Bell (1977), Edwards (1976), Dittmar (1976), Ardener (1971), and Gumperz and Hymes (1972). This list, which could readily be extended, shows as well that where writing is indexed, even in Halliday, it is most often as a reference to print, rather than the writing process.

What emerges from a search for studies in audience is that the obvious lacuna is tied, partly, to the concept of writing which seems to pervade much of the work of linguists, psychologists, sociolinguists, and ultimately teachers. That is, where direct discussions of audience may be found there is an emphasis on the formal conditions of language and on product, such as in those discussions emerging out of the concerns of the rhetorician, or the college essay-writer, or the dramatist. Recent work on language in general reflects a bias for spoken language and effectively denigrates written language wherein the historical interest in audience has been found. The result is that as written language as process has been virtually ignored, so has the concept of audience which is most easily seen as being a problem of the written code. What is needed, therefore, for a discussion of audience to be seen as important and relevant to language development, is a view of written language as a social phenomenon which, like spoken language, requires a social context. As will be shown in Chapter 6, even those few recent studies that do

deal with audience in the writing process severely limit the concept, a function of their not giving complete credence to writing as language.

Summary

The concept of Audience has had only limited attention from those interested in language:

1. Concerns dating back to antiquity and the rhetoricians give primacy to the rule-bound formal discourse for which audience-awareness was a major factor and for which a speaker needed training;

2. Most often, the concept of audience in recent work is subsumed under the more general concern of social context in language use and is therefore not recognized as a factor requiring separate exploration and theoretical development;

3. More recent interest which may give primacy to language as social interaction ignores the role of audience in writing, directing attention to oral language instead.

What is needed, therefore, is a consideration of the nature of audience and its effect on the writing process, and more specifically, on the composing processes of beginning and mature writers. What must first be made clear is that writing is itself a language process that may be discussed in terms often similar to those employed in discussions about oral language.

CHAPTER 3

WRITING AS LANGUAGE IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

The Historical/ Linguistic Barriers

Rosen's conviction that we must "observe that adjustment to the audience is inherent in the social contract of all language use" (1973:178) is not reflected in the views of writing held by the linguists of the early part of the twentieth century. In general, that is because there appears to be a reluctance to relate any language research to social context, a view which pervades much of the more influential work on writing today and which therefore needs some background discussion.

That expressions of the importance of relating language study to social/cultural studies have been slow in either being made by or universally accepted among linguists may be traced in large part, within this century, to the seminal work and influence of Ferdinand de Saussure. De Saussure developed his theory of language between the years 1878 (in his first important work, MEMOIRE SUR LE SYSTEME DES VOYELLES DANS LES LANGUES INDO-EUROPEENES), and 1906 to 1911 in three courses he offered which have been elaborated in COURS DE LINGUISTIQUE GENERALE (1916). His analysis of language has come to represent the methodological approach to linguistic study known as Structuralism which, with variations, renders language into two broad aspects, Synchrony and Diachrony, or Code and Message, as R. Jakobson (1962) was to coin the same concepts. Code, that aspect of language which was for Saussure supra-individual and existing in the collective consciousness of the whole society, was to become the focus of attention for most subsequent linguists. Message, the manifestation of Code in action in and between individuals, was to become of secondary importance to linguists, being, as it is, more difficult to observe and categorize empirically. That is, although de Saussure gave formal recognition to the social component of language, it was the form of language that was to receive the attention of the linguist. Although his work has been criticized and

adapted by several linguists since 1916, his emphasis on Code has dominated over Message.

The Prague School of linguistic studies, formed in 1926 and including such linguists as J. Vachek (1973), R. Jakobson (1928), and N. S. Trubekoj (1928) employed de Saussure as a source of inspiration, (although not the main source), and shared his views on the dichotomy of Code (Synchrony) and Message (Diachrony), but were notable in their attempts to break down the barrier between the two. One consequence of these attempts was their emphasis on language not merely as a system, but as a dynamic system of human activity. Their interests in language were far-ranging, and interesting work was done in the examination of linguistic functions, including their distinction between 'communicative' and 'poetic' language functions. Yet, although the members of the Prague School had varied literary and cultural interests which were reflected in their work on linguistics in general, they gave prime emphasis to the phonological component of language, a reflection of their and other linguists' interest in the general notion of empiricism and synchronic analysis as was expressed in the first thesis in their TRAVAUX DU CERCLE LINGUISTIQUE DE PRAGUE (1928):

Synchronic analysis of contemporary facts (which alone offer complete information, and of which one can have a 'direct feeling') is the best way to know the 'essence and character' of a language. (Lepschy, 1972:55)

It was the emphasis on formal logic that informed the work of V. Brondal (1948), L. Hjelmslev (1953), and J. J. Uldall (1957) in the Copenhagen School. Hjelmslev's work in the 1930's on what he and Uldall called 'glossematics' was particularly rigorous in its attempt to develop linguistics as a separate science which would interpret language in its own terms, to the exclusion of other non-linguistic phenomena. The attempt to set up a mathematics of linguistic elements kept these linguists working well within the framework of Code, preoccupied as they had to be with language forms rather than language acts, or Message.

It is seen most clearly in American Structuralism how a split of views about the importance of Message, or language in action, in social context, was to materialize even within the general school of

Structuralism begun by de Saussure. In America, and primarily through the work of L. Bloomfield, synchronic interests in language prevailed along with an intense concern that such study should be of the highest order of empirical standards. Bloomfield's behaviourism was thus contrasted to the diachronic interests and mentalist concerns of E. Sapir (1924) whose humanistic approach led him to make frequent attacks on what he viewed as the serious limitations of construing language only in its forms:

To say in so many words that the noblest task of linguistics is to understand language as form rather than as function or as historical process is not to say that it can be understood as form alone. The formal configuration of speech at any particular time and place is the result of a long and complex historical development, which, in turn, is unintelligible without constant reference to functional factors. (Sapir, 1924:150)

Nevertheless, in spite of Sapir's arguments and popular work in American and international linguistic studies, it was Bloomfield's work which "...contributed most to spreading...the principles and methods which are normally associated with the label 'American Structuralism' (Lepschy, 1972:84), in large a materialistic or mechanistic view of language behavior which was necessarily intent on the forms and calculus of various structural aspects of language.

This interest in synchronic analysis, in code and form, as opposed to diachronic analysis, to language evolution or history, may also be seen to influence the work of fields other than linguistics, particularly in anthropology where the influence of Levi-Strauss (1966) has been so keenly felt and extended. Building his theories out of the work of Comte, Durkheim, Mauss, Marx, and Sartre in sociology, and Freud in psychology, he was inspired specifically by the work of de Saussure in linguistics. Thus, informing his view of culture in general was the important principal of Code, which led him to an emphasis on the study of a culture's forms of behavior rather than on the description and interpretation of the behavior of individuals within the culture. Such an emphasis, emerging out of the concepts of structuralism itself and focussing on structural linguistics particularly, is largely responsible for Levi-Strauss' popularity on the one hand, and for the criticism of his work on the other. Edmund Leach, for example, heavily criticizes Levi-Strauss'

work, contrasting his techniques and values to those of Malinowski whose own socio-anthropological studies were based on the intimate understanding of a single small and exotic society:

There are many kinds of anthropological enquiry, but Malinowski-style intensive fieldwork employing the vernacular, which is now the standard research technique employed by nearly all Anglo-American social anthropologists, is an entirely different procedure from the careful but uncomprehending description of manners and customs, based on the use of special informants and interpreters which was the original source for most of the ethnographic observations on which Levi-Strauss, like his Frazerian predecessors, has chosen to rely. (Leach, 1974:19)

Thus, although the advantages of structuralism for science are many, its precepts have often provided the linguist and the socio-anthropologist with the opportunity, perhaps the necessity, of remaining aloof from direct involvement with the groups and individuals whose language it is they study.

The Move Away From Language In and For Itself

The second half of this century is witnessing a tendency for language studies to be seen as an inter-disciplinary concern, a trend seen in the work of A.N. Chomsky and the Transformationalist School of linguistics. His work extends "...the horizons for linguistics to a re-establishment of links with other fields which had been severed in the search for 'language considered in and for itself'." (Lepschy, 1972:126) as de Saussure conceived it and as re-affirmed by Bloomfield. In one regard at least, Chomsky may be compared here to E. Sapir in the wide-ranging personal interests which guided his concerns within linguistics, (particularly his interests in the history of culture, psychology, and philosophy). Yet, in another regard, his generative-transformational grammar, particularly his notion of "deep structure", calls back the interests of the structuralists in code or form and preoccupies much of Chomsky's efforts to describe human language while also reflecting his animated interest in scientific methodology. But Chomsky takes us away from the narrower interests of Bloomfield both with his stressing of the creative/individual use of language, with his mentalist character which we

may associate with Sapir, and in his willingness to frame his theory within broad psychological concepts. This tendency was resisted, often vigorously, by post-Saussurean European linguistics (especially French) in an attempt to render linguistics an independent science.

Yet it would be a mistake to think that Chomsky represents a strong tendency to move towards studies of language in its social context. As Dell Hymes (1974:75) has justly pointed out:

...the tendency to separate linguistic form from social context has received renewed impetus from the insistence of the leading theorist of the present day that: "linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance." (Chomsky, 1965:3).

The ideal speaker-listener is not likely to be found in any classroom and much criticism from such sociolinguists as Hymes (1974) and Cicourel (1973) concerning the Chomskyan view of language research has served to direct attention back to the matter of context. However, in America, where Chomsky's works are most popular, this has occurred slowly.

It is principally in the British School of Structural Linguistics that there may be seen a clear trend to view language as a socially-dynamic system requiring methods somewhat different from those employed in the European and American structural schools, both of which exerted an influence on J.R. Firth (1957), one of the principal British Linguists, who employed an adapted Malinowskian notion of 'context of situation' which took him closer to the heart of language as social action.

More recently, however, M.A.K. Halliday's 'neo-Firthian' structural linguistics attempts to deal directly with language in use and has served to inform the work of recent influential educationalists, particularly James Britton, Nancy Martin, and Harold Rosen at the University of London. (Their work will be elaborated upon in a subsequent section of this chapter.) Halliday's views might well be summarized in his claim that:

We do not experience language in isolation--if we did we would not recognize it as language--but always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said derive their meaning. (Halliday, 1978:28)

And while he applauds Chomsky's ability to show that natural language can be studied as a formal system, as idealized language, which Chomsky calls Competence (as opposed to Performance), he makes his choice of what to study clear when he argues that, "We ...must learn to take account of the fact that humans speak, not in solitude, but to each other..." (Halliday, 1978:92).

But while there are linguists, such as Halliday, who are beginning to show an interest in language as communication, to take the study of language beyond its developed introversion and into the workings of contemporary societies, the science of linguistics still keeps the study of language apart from a science of human communication:

Modern linguistics, which might have been expected to make a major contribution in precisely this respect, has turned, out paradoxically, to provide one of the major obstacles; and this paradox must count as one of the oddest legacies of the history of ideas in the twentieth century. (Harris, 1978:3)

That it is a linguist making such a remark perhaps serves best to indicate the major change taking place in the focus and interest of modern linguistics. Recently appointed to the first Chair of Linguistics at Oxford, in 1976, Harris (1978:18) continues his criticism by specifying the particular change linguists must make in their view of human language:

There is a new way of looking at Homo Loquens. The key to it might perhaps be put in just three words: 'language presupposes communication'. As an epigram, that may not sound very thrilling, or very revolutionary, or very profound. But the fact is that not only the dominant trends of the past two decades but almost the whole of linguistics for the past two millenia has been based on exactly the opposite assumption, that communication presupposes language.

Summary

To date, interest in language has reflected a strong preference for matters of form over process, a preference that dates back to antiquity and extends clearly into modern times. What has been shown thus far is the very recent development from a preoccupation with language as form to an interest in the social context of language as summarized in Figure 1 below.

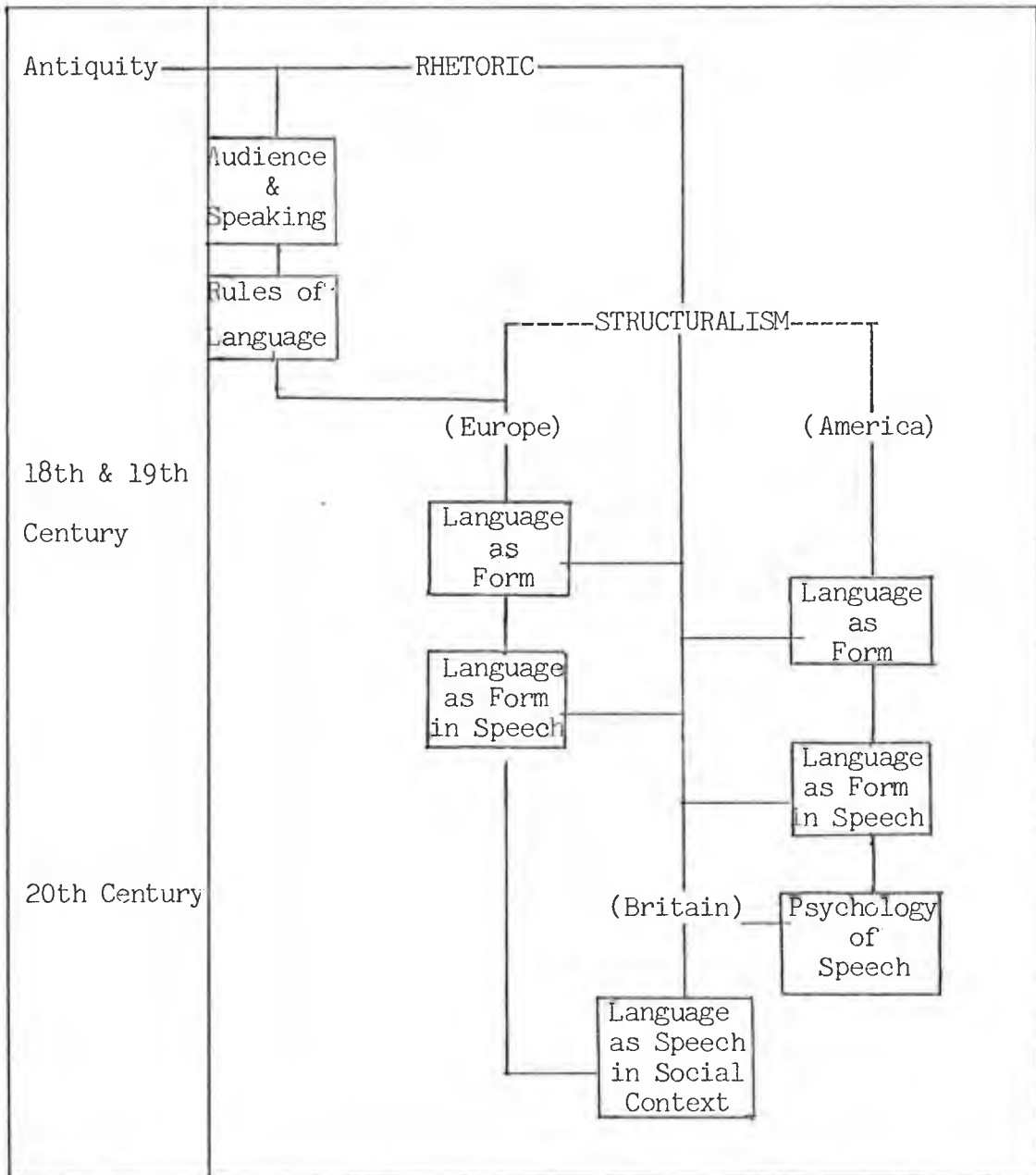


Fig. 1 Perspectives on Language: A Historical Summary

What is lacking, and what is needed as a basis for research in audience and writing is the development of a view of writing as socially-based language behavior. Or, to paraphrase and adapt Halliday (1978), we must yet learn to take account of the fact that humans write not in solitude, but to one another--with one another in mind.

A Growing Interest in Writing as Language

There is a paradox implicit in linguists' concerns for the forms of language inasmuch as it could be expected that their preoccupation with structure over such a long time (two millennia, as Harris suggests) should have provided major insights into the language's most structured form of expression: writing. Yet, the amount of confusion and the intensity of the controversies surrounding the matter of teaching and learning writing, couched in the general criticisms of the schools' failure to render their students literate, indicate that the nature of writing itself is not clearly understood or universally accepted. This rather interesting and troublesome paradox requires some elaboration here.

One of the problems that the systematic study of language has faced historically is that the linguist's interest in the spoken language has been necessarily bound up with written expression. That is, linguists have faced the problem of how to deal with the transience of the spoken word and sentence by freezing it in its written form, and by considering the latter the true representation of the former. Indeed, it is difficult to conceptualize how the problem could have been handled in any other way, until very recently with the development of electronic sound-recording equipment. However, the status and understanding of written language have suffered from direct lack of attention and interest because of the very fact that they considered written language to be strictly the symbolic structure for the spoken language. Hence, the particular nature of written language, with all its different characteristics, was effectively and perhaps unwittingly ignored.

Thus, attention has not been directly paid to either the product of written language as a system or to the process of learning, creating, or utilizing written language. R. Harris (1980:6) expresses the situation in terms of what he calls 'scriptism', "...the assumption that writing is a more ideal form of linguistic representation than

speech...", and claims that although linguists reject scriptism in principle, they demonstrate it in practice:

The scriptist bias of modern linguistics reveals itself most crudely in the way in which, for all their insistence in principle on the primacy of the spoken word, linguistic theories in practice follow the traditional assumption that standard orthographic representation correctly identifies the main units of the spoken language. Thus, for example, "Mary had a little lamb" will be treated for all practical purposes as unquestionably identifying a 'sentence' of English, and the 'sentence' will be cited thus on the printed page, and its construction analysed without any reference to how the given sequence of orthographic forms "Mary had a little lamb" is to be pronounced. The appropriate pronunciation is taken to be already known to the reader, or irrelevant, or both.

The result as it regards writing is that what linguistics has had to say about oral language has been said largely in terms of printed speech, the assumption being that what has been said also applies to writing. Saying anything as comprehensive about writing as a separate system was seen as irrelevant. Indeed, the matter of the nature of the interrelation between oral and written language behavior has not been given a significant amount of attention as a consequence of the linguistic view that writing is best seen as serving the needs of our interest in oral language. This is rather poignantly demonstrated in the stated views of Bloomfield himself:

Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks (1933).

The art of writing is not part of language, but rather a comparatively modern invention for recording and broadcasting what is spoken (1948). (Stubbs, 1980:24)

This point of view may be fair enough if the goal of the linguist is to achieve an understanding of human language only in its oral forms, as it may be fair enough to say one is going to study only Code and not Message. But it seems also singularly unfortunate that one legacy of such a goal is a generally myopic view of human language in its written forms, particularly when societies, through their schools, place such a premium on the ability of the individual to write effectively.

Michael Stubbs (1980:16), Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Nottingham, echoes much of what Roy Harris says of the status of writing in world linguistics, but focuses the attention of criticism on American structural linguistics:

...for important reasons in the history of linguistics, in the 1930's and 1940's the dominant school of American structuralist linguistics regarded written language as merely a pale reflection of spoken language, and did not study it in any detail.... Within contemporary Chomskyan linguistics, from the late 1950's onwards, the dominant interest has been in language per se, and hence no attention is paid at all to distinctions between written and spoken language.

He extends his criticism of linguistics to socio-linguistics, thus indicating some of the extent to which the linguists' approach to writing has pervaded the work of others:

Even within sociolinguistics, for which a central aim is to study language variation, the communicative functions of written language within different language communities has hardly been touched on. For example, this topic is not dealt with in what are arguably the two most important collections of papers in the last decade, by Hymes (1974) and Labov (1972a). (Stubbs, 1980:16)

He notes as well that writing is not indexed in the works of a number of major studies, as related in Chapter 2. There are, however, isolated linguists who have maintained an interest in writing, particularly in the work of the Europeans, J. Vachek (1973) and Haas (1970). But it is nevertheless clear that the work of linguists in general fails to take up the question of whether writing has a life of its own, or whether it is merely parasitic upon speech.

Summary

What we find emerging out of 20th Century linguistics is a clear and pervasive tendency to view language as form at the expense of language in action, and to view written language as the concrete representation of oral language. The over-all consequence is that a considerable lack of attention has been paid by linguists to either writing as product of linguistic expression or as a process of language behavior. The isolated linguists such as Vachek and Haas, who have maintained interest in writing, have not served sufficiently to fill the void

felt most keenly by educationalists whose task it is to serve the writing needs of the society as a whole via the school/learning process. Most significant is the failure of linguists to explore the question of the importance of the social context to language development, and hence to the matter of audience in writing.

CHAPTER 4

WRITING IN THE SCHOOLS

The Official View

Thus far, it has been necessary to carry the discussion of writing away from the context of schools wherein this research has been conducted. The need was seen to provide the basis for the modern views of writing which, while ~~having~~^{they have} emerged out of a traditional structuralism, are undergoing change as seen in some of the most recent studies in language. Nevertheless, change is occurring slowly and unevenly as may be seen in this century's development of government opinion about the teaching of writing in schools.

In Britain, as in other countries, a mixture of public interest and concern has given rise to government reports on the status of education. A chronological look at several of these official statements serves to reveal the general ambiguity regarding what was felt must and could be said about writing, an ambiguity which may arise from the fact that little attention has been paid to the research which has been undertaken in the last two decades on the matter of the teaching of writing. These reports, however, do tend to offer an interesting chronological perspective on views and attitudes regarding the teaching and learning of writing in British schools, and for the particular interests of this study, reveal an emerging but undeveloped interest in the matter of Sense of Audience.

The Newbolt Report (1921)

The Newbolt Report enthusiastically endorsed writing as the prime concern for schools and articulated such endorsement with a degree of vigor and vitality which bordered on hyperbole. The statement, unmatched in passion or conviction by any of the subsequent reports, including the most recent Bullock Report (1975), seemed to herald a new era of interest in the nature of writing:

Our witnesses emphasize the great importance of the writing of English, or 'composition' as the climax of school work. They agree in making a claim for it which puts it in a new place as a factor in education. They feel that in teaching Composition they are concerned directly and immediately with the growth of the mind. Dr. Ballard, for instance, told us that investigation showed proficiency in Composition to be the surest sign of a high degree of mental intelligence, and that it was the most valuable exercise in the school for the purpose of developing the specific abilities which enter most largely into our lives. Mr. Hartog claimed that the teaching of Composition develops individuality, that it has, indeed, a transforming influence on the children, on their whole outlook, on their whole judgement, on their sense of responsibility. We ourselves fully endorse these views. (1921:71)

Embedded within their statement is the traditional view held by schools prior to 1921 and up to the present that writing is an excellent means by which to determine the general progress of a student, a view which has gone a long way towards establishing writing in schools principally as a means of evaluation. What makes the Newbolt Report somewhat unique is that beside this view of writing as evaluation is the recognition of what it may mean for the individual on personal grounds. That the latter may be sacrificed by preoccupation with the former is made clear in a warning:

It is the measure of all that has been truly learnt, and of the habits of mind which have been formed. In fact, the capacity for self-expression is essentially the measure of the success or failure of a school, at any rate on the intellectual side. If the habit of merely perfunctory or artificial writing is allowed to usurp its place, the avenue to mental development will have partly been closed. (1921:71)

But the report reflects its historical context in spite of its intention to look forward. It continues a rather brief discussion of writing by referring to it as an art which can reveal the underlying concern--literary writing, (that is, writing development which is based on models from Literature). The discussion is not thorough, albeit vigorous, and does not attempt to discuss what the process of writing is, choosing instead to warn of the over-indulgence of teachers in setting essays for their students. Teacher preoccupation for form and technique is a consequence, the report claims, of teachers having "...no adequate recognition of the intermediate steps by which this formidable task should be approached..." (1921:71).

Since it is set in the early part of the 20th Century, it is no surprise to find that the report focuses on teaching methods, and views writing from a literary point of view with emphasis on product. What is surprising is the degree to which it anticipates more recent views of writing in giving it priority in self-development. This provides a rather balanced view of writing in demonstrating its capacity to serve a range of functions:

We should free ourselves from the idea of the model, and substitute for it the idea of the problem. The pupil should say something of his own, for a given audience and with a given object. This we think a suggestive point. (1921:71)

The very brevity of the Newbolt Report's consideration of writing provides one kind of evidence of its views on the importance of writing in the curriculum. Yet, its enthusiasm for the learning of composition, which it claims should be the goal of all subject teachers, and its attempt to balance its valuing of literary writing with its emphasis on the importance of personal content make it a very modern report indeed.

The Hadow Report (1931)

But if the Newbolt Report was heralding a new era in teaching and researching writing, little evidence of innovation or continuing enthusiasm showed up in the Hadow Report ten years later. A much more austere report, and limited to the study of school for students between the ages of seven and eleven, it seemed to have no awareness of the claims or views of the earlier report. In its statement of the aims of English teaching, the tone of the entire report is reflected:

The aim of English teaching between the ages of seven and eleven is the formation of correct habits of speaking and writing, rather than the abstract and analytic study of the language. (1931:155)

The report says very little about the nature and potential of writing and, in contrast to the 1921 report, simply proffers what are considered the proper goals of English teaching and therein a very mechanistic view of the writing process:

(The pupil) should obtain...the ability to summarize his acquired knowledge. He should be able to spell all the words in the vocabulary that he uses; and, although oral expression will have a place of greater importance than their exercises in written English, he should be able to arrange in order and set down in writing his ideas on a simple and familiar object. (1931:156)

Thus the vigorous enthusiasm expressed by members of the Newbolt Report for the value of writing is contrasted. The Spartan approach to matters of writing are further reflected in the fact that less than one page is devoted to writing with no discussion of process, no sharing of research or first-hand experiences presented, and only a token number of suggested teaching methods proffered. This implies a view of writing markedly in contrast to that of the Newbolt Report and is further reflected in the fact that more space was given to handwriting than to composition.

The Newsom Report (1963)

Although restricted in its scope to the group of average and below-average students between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, the Newsom Report reflects some significant changes in attitudes about students and about their relationship to writing which took place in the thirty years following the Hadow Report. Entitled Half Our Future, its intention was to demonstrate the value of this group of students to society, and therefore the emphasis schools needed to give to their particular problems in learning. It contrasts with the Hadow Report in recapturing the Newbolt Report's concern for preoccupation with correct form: It reflects, in general, a wide-spread concern among teachers that academic writing emphasis was not relevant to all students and only frustrated many in their endeavors to do well at school. Out of this concern emerged an attempt to articulate a clearer relationship between language and learner. To this end, the report states that "...real communication begins when the words are about experience, ideas, and interests which are worth putting into language..." and should be seen within the context of "...the personal development and social competence of the pupil..." (1963:153).

While the Newsom Report also provides little space for the discussion of writing, it does clearly show a concern for making it a servant of social and personal needs by de-emphasizing concerns for

correctness in favour of "...free out-pourings..." through which "...gradually, improved writing develops...", and experience with a wide range of forms, audiences, and purposes of a practical nature is gained. (1963:157).

In its concluding statements on writing, the Newsom Report acknowledges that writing may serve personal needs which talk may not:

(Writing may) allow adolescents to write out of themselves what they are not always prepared or able to talk about: in the writing, deeply personal thoughts and feelings may be disguised or transmuted. (1963:159)

Particularly in light of the papers and discussions which emerged out of the Dartmouth Conference four years later, the Newsom Report seems to reflect the concerns of teachers of the sixties and is clearly a wide swing away from the pedantry of the Hadow Report in 1931.

The Plowden Report (1967)

In general, the Plowden Report seems to catch some of the vigor of the Newbolt Report and offers an overview of the history of writing, thus suggesting a growing awareness that writing could be thought of in broad developmental terms. It also includes a reference bibliography which the others did not and which, while not extensive, indicates further awareness that the matter of writing is complex and not rendered comprehensible simply through the sharing and developing of innovative teaching methods conceived outside the framework of theoretical research:

The growth of the study of linguistics, with its interest in describing and analysing how language works, the differences between written and spoken language and the influence of language on children's thought and mental development, will no doubt come to be reflected in teachers' courses and in classroom techniques. (1967:222)

More than its predecessors, the Plowden Report reflects and acknowledges growing awareness about the nature of language and its relationship to personal growth.

In its summary of the history of English teaching, it draws attention to what is construed as a major change in teaching English:

The past is still with us in the trend in some schools to emphasize the techniques of reading and writing at the expense of speech and in the survival of a theory of grammar that derives from the inflected language of Latin....

But revolution has certainly come. It began when infant schools recognized how much and how spontaneously children learn of the world and of language in the four or five years before they come to school.... (1967:209-210)

That they chose to regard changes in the approach to teaching writing as one of the most significant and worthwhile aspects of the 'revolution' is significant in itself and once again reflective of both teacher and research concerns in the mid-sixties:

Perhaps the most dramatic of all the revolutions in English teaching is in the amount and quality of children's writing....In the thirties, independent writing in the infant school and lower junior school rarely extended beyond a sentence or two and the answering of questions, and for the older children it was usually a weekly or fortnightly composition on prescribed topics only too frequently repeated year by year. Now it is quite common for writing to begin side by side with the learning of reading, for children to dictate to their teachers and gradually to copy and then to expand and write for themselves accounts of their experiences at home and at school. (1967:218)

The report on writing is concluded with statements which recall the sentiments of the Newbolt Report and which are given the credibility lacking in the older statements by virtue of the apparent tendency of the Plowden Report to base conclusions on contemporary and anticipated research:

There has been since the war such progress in the teaching of English that it might have been thought, that, with Project English on the way, we might have treated it more briefly. But English permeates the whole curriculum as it permeates the whole of life. We cannot afford to slacken in advancing the power of language which is the "instrument of society" and a principal means to personal maturity. (1967:223)

The Bullock Report (1975)

Where the Plowden Report was in a position to anticipate impending research in English, the Bullock Report was in a position to respond and react to it. Thus it is that much of what the report has to say about writing, it says couched in the concepts and terminology

of the Schools Council Writing Research Unit. And, while it does not necessarily demonstrate a complete understanding of what the research unit said, it does reflect acknowledgement of the value of such research to the teaching of English, a position which is directly stated:

We believe that the influence linguistics can exercise upon schools lies in this concept of the inseparability of language and the human situation. (1975:174)

The terms of reference of the Bullock Report were wider than those of its predecessors and similar to those of The Newbolt Report. That it is repeating much of what the older report said speaks well of the Newbolt Report and reflects the general degree of stasis that existed in the matter of writing in the interim years. What is immediately significant here is that the Bullock Report is able to speak of writing in more specific terms, in particular in terms of writing functions developed by the Schools Council Writing Research Unit:

When a child writes in the spectator role, whether autobiography or fiction, he exposes, by what he chooses to write about and the way he presents it, some part of his system of values, and his satisfaction lies in having his feelings and beliefs corroborated or modified. (1975:165)

Yet, the report is often weak in its treatment of specific aspects of writing. For example, The Bullock Report says hardly any more about the role of audience in writing than did the Newbolt Report when it referred to it as a "...suggestive point...". The Bullock Report says of audience:

...we believe that writing for other audiences should be encouraged. If a child knows that what he is writing is going to interest and entertain others, he will be more careful with its presentation. (1975:165)

This says very little about the role of audience in the child's writing process, in spite of the fact that it is referred to as "...one further feature of written communication which is no less important in the development of children's competence...". (1975:165)

Summary

The official view of writing in schools over the past ten decades reflects a large degree of uncertainty about how writing should be talked about and what role it does and should play in the lives of individuals. The basis for such uncertainty would appear to be the lack of a credible body of guiding research in writing development, a lack only recently being corrected by such work as the Schools Council Writing Research Unit in London, to which reference was made in the last two major reports.

The reports also reflect a growing interest in and awareness of the problems of teaching and learning writing, and would seem to be signalling thereby a general readiness for more thorough and incisive studies of written language in the school context.

Finally, the Newbolt and Bullock Reports each make direct references to the importance of audience in the writing process, but the latter shows no evidence of growth of awareness concerning the nature of audience over the intervening fifty-four years.

The perspective gained through these reports points to the timeliness and importance of the work done by the Schools Council Writing Research Unit (Britton et al, 1975), whose work on Function and Audience serves as a basis for the research of the present study. That work will be discussed presently.

Recent Research in School Writing:
Function and Audience

In light of the linguists' view of writing, it is not surprising to find that research in education regarding writing has been primarily concerned with the forms of written language rather than with the process, since process was to be considered a 'given', pre-determined by established and documented literary conventions. Further, as M. Stubbs (1980:97) puts it:

Often the functions of written language have not been considered since the view has been that written (that is, literary) language has no function in the sense that it is for pleasure, an end in itself.

Yet, educationalists may not remain as insulated from the consequences of a lack of knowledge about the very processes they are required to teach as theoretical linguists may, and much unrest amongst teachers

and educational scholars has led to recent considerable questioning about the nature of language acquisition.

At the Dartmouth Conference on the Teaching of English in 1967, a new emphasis on language growth was articulated by teachers and scholars on an international scale: concern was expressed for a move away from traditional emphasis on skill acquisition and the transmission of cultural heritage through writing to a focus on personal growth (J. Dixon, 1967). Yet, in a peculiar sense, both research and teaching remain in a holding pattern where their efforts concern the writing process. As recently as 1971, for example, Earl Buxton for the National Council of Teachers of English described Janet Emig's research report, The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders (1971) in the following way:

This report describes an expedition into new territory, an investigation of the writing process. This is an area hitherto almost untouched by researchers in written composition who by and large have focused their attention upon the written product. (Emig, 1971:v)

Six years later, Linda Flower and John Hayes describe the teaching situation in similar terms:

In the midst of the composition renaissance, an odd fact stands out: our basic methods of teaching writing are the same ones English academics were using in the seventeenth century...We help our students analyze the product, but we leave the process of writing up to inspiration. (1977:449)

Janet Emig (1971) presents a view of the situation in the classroom, relating the problem there to teachers' lack of knowledge about writing:

The secondary curriculum, for example, requires students to write, not only in English classes but in almost every other class as well; and students are frequently, and justly, reminded that skill in writing is a major determinant in college admission and, indeed, in the range of choices their personal and professional lives will proffer.

Yet if certain elements in a certain order characterize the evolution of all student writing...and very little is known about these elements or their ordering, the teaching of composition proceeds for both students and teachers as a metaphysical or, at best, a wholly intuitive endeavor. (1971: 1)

In the last two decades researchers have examined a number of features of the written language form in education in a great number of studies relative to earlier periods. But, as noted above, the emphasis has in this work been largely on surface features. Since the publication of Hunt's work (1965) with syntactic complexity, several researchers have conducted studies in writing development using his T-unit, a measuring device readily appropriate to concerns for the tangible features of written language. A review of the research literature referred to in NCTE publications, for example, shows a preponderance of work in the area of syntactic complexity since 1965 which eventually, by the seventies, combines with interest in the sentence-combining teaching techniques developed by Mellon (1969), O'Hare (1971) and others. Together, these two interests have become the prime focus of major studies in written language, along with the continuing interest in matters regarding techniques of evaluating writing produced by students in school systems.

The work of Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod and Rosen (1975) departs markedly from this general focus on the surface features of writing and expresses a direct concern for determining the nature of the processes young writers might employ in learning their mother-tongue's written code. An unprecedented interest among teachers in the group's work has been expressed over the past decade, both in the large number of studies which have incorporated their language models and ideas, and in the number of international conferences which have given emphasis to their findings. For example, the 1979 Ottawa, Canada National Conference which was devoted for the first time entirely to writing, and the 1980 International Conference in Sydney Australia, entitled "English in the 80's" focussed sharply on the implications of their work and demonstrated the practicality of their models of language development, in function particularly.

That is not to say that their work should be seen as complete or definitive, but to point to its generally-accepted usefulness as both research material and as insight into the writing process. Garth Boomer (1980:6) who is presently speculating on ways of expanding Britton's model says of it:

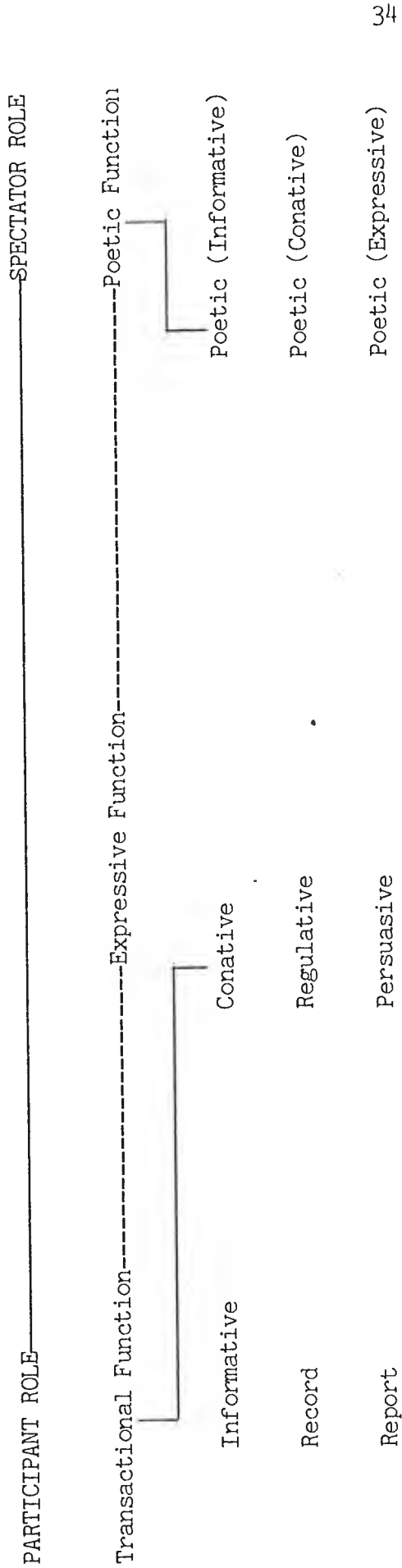
While it is becoming quite fashionable to question Britton's conception of "the spectator role" as opposed to "the participant role" in writing, I know of no other

classification which deals so adequately with artistic writing. Britton's distinction between "global" (poetic) and "piecemeal" contextualization (transactional) in writing leads to productive speculation about possible differences in composing an essay as opposed to composing a poem.

The heart of the model is what Britton (1975) refers to as 'expressive' language, or language which is personal, close to the self, and which may be developed into language further removed from the self either in the 'transactional' or the 'poetic' mode. The complete model may be seen in Figure 2 below.

The danger in accepting a language functions model such as Britton's lies in the temptation to use it merely to sort out samples of writing into their respective categories according to what it appeared the writing was attempting. But the importance of the notion of function is in terms not only of the features of the written language which result from taking up the demands of a function, but in terms of what the category is saying about the relationship between the writer and his reader. Or rather, between the writer and what he construes his reader as requiring in order to establish, maintain, or confirm a social relationship mediated by language. By placing his functions-continuum under the umbrella of the concept of 'role', either 'Participant' or 'Spectator', Britton points to the social primacy of language functions. This is an especially important concept for the classroom teacher to realize, for it points to the fact that in a child's taking on a teacher's imposed writing task, he is really taking on a specific kind of social relationship which may be made manifest only in terms of certain linguistic forms. In failing to structure his language according to the teacher's hopes or expectations or demands, the child may be failing to respond to the demands of the relationship as well as, or rather than, merely the demands of the language. That is, a given function may be characterized not only by specific linguistic features, but also by the demands made by one kind of inter-personal relationship rather than another. For example, 'transactional/tautologic' language makes manifest social as well as cognitive-linguistic capabilities and choices. What is essential here is that there is a relationship between the social and the cognitive features of language, each of which needs to be taken into account by the teacher intending to further the language-development of the child or the adult.

Fig.2 Function Categories



This relationship is nicely described by Howard Giles (1979) in his 'accommodation theory' of convergence and divergence in speech acts. He presents the image of an individual making decisions about whether or not to render his language similar to that of the individuals with whom he finds himself associating. He shows that while individuals are quite capable of adapting or extending language to suit the construed needs or demands of others in any given social situation, a host of factors affect whether this will happen. Like so many others interested in language and social relationships, Giles focusses only on speakers. A discussion of whether his notion of convergence/divergence in language behavior applies to writing will be taken up in a subsequent chapter in this study. For now, the importance of his theory is that he points to shifts in language style (and therefore function as well) as being generally within the capability of the normal individual--as well within his repertoire of choices. How much one values a particular relationship will affect the nature of the choice he makes about his language-use. Teachers would do well to keep this in mind when judging a child's language performance on specific assignments.

This brings us to the matter of 'expressive' language, the heart of Britton's model of functions. Britton et al (1975:10) describes expressive language as signalling the self and reflecting "...not only the ebb and flow of a speaker's thought and feeling, but also his assumptions of shared contexts of meaning, and of a relationship of trust with his listener". (1975:1). The emphasis on 'self' in expressive language is what is essential to his notion of expressiveness. It is from the basis of one's defined 'self' that personal language is extended outwards to seemingly more impersonal forms of language, the formal transactional and poetic functions. Often, teachers show little respect for expressive language in the school situation (as indicated by its disappearance over the years in school, one important finding by Britton's team of researchers (1975)) preferring instead to get right to the more formal language forms for which they feel responsible. But as Jakobson suggests (Sebeok, 1960), language functions are not discrete in nature, and any categorization of functions must take account of the fact that a writer, in focussing on the specific demands of one function, simultaneously incorporates the "accessory participation of the other functions" (1960:353).

The importance of this in regards to expressive language is seen in terms of 'accessory participation' enabling the expressive, the Self, to influence and perhaps enhance the use of language at all levels, howsoever discreet that influence may seem to the observer. As will be seen in the next chapter, Self must be defined in terms of its social context and, as well therefore, as a potentially expanding entity which pervades and extends the range of the language-use continuum at every point. This may be seen schematically by adapting Britton's model to show more clearly the relationship between a growing Self and language use. By considering Self as, 1) a dynamic process involving the influence of others in one's social environment and, 2) the matrix within which all social/linguistic behavior takes place, we may envision the following diagram:

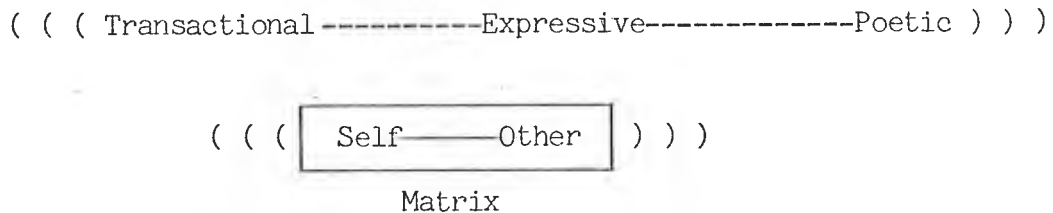


Fig. 3 'Expanding Universe of Discourse'

This model of an Expanding Universe of Discourse serves not to change the Britton model but rather to emphasize his intentions in putting expressive language at the center: expressiveness is more static than Self, upon which it depends for its particular nature, and it must therefore be seen as expanding towards and simultaneously extending the sophistication of its formal arms. While the centre may hold true at, perhaps, the gutteral level of linguistic expression, language close to the Self must be seen as expanding at a rate equal to the individual's growth in his repertoire of social/linguistic experiences and capacities. In that way we may conceive of Einstein, for example, as having a highly sophisticated expressive language which defines his Self, or of any individual as having a more complex Self at some later stage of his life than at some earlier stage. This complexity is reflected in his 'common' language.

In any case, the important factor here, and in the Britton functions model, remains the social nature of language and writing,

a factor which now more clearly points to the need for an exploration and definition of the role of Other, or Audience, in writing development and process.

Summary

The work of the London Schools' Council Writing Research Unit provides an immediately useful means by which teachers and researchers may view writing development. It represents the first relatively cohesive description of the writing process and, at the same time, points to specific ways in which that view may be refined and extended. Their work with function is of primary importance in that:

If we consider...the linguistic system itself, we find that the adult language displays certain features which can only be interpreted in functional terms. These are found, naturally, in the area of meaning: the semantic system of the adult language is very clearly functional in its composition. It reflects the fact that language has evolved in the service of certain particular human needs. But what is really significant is that this functional principle is carried over and built into the grammar, so that the internal organization of the grammatical system is also functional in character. (Halliday, 1975:16)

It is important to note that discussion about function is in terms of the social roles, those 'certain particular human needs' the language may serve in its respective specific functions. That is, concern is with the individual in his role/s as a socially/linguistically active individual.

Britton gives emphasis to the social nature of his functions model by incorporating an Audience model which will be elaborated upon in the next chapter. What is essential here is that he effectively spreads an umbrella of social intention over the functioning of an individual's language use. However, his own study did not fully explore the relationship between audience and function, for his intention in that study was to demonstrate and test the effectiveness of his models in categorizing the writing of children collected over a long period of time. He has not yet applied his results to considered case-studies of children in the process of writing; however, work was collected for that purpose.

This study intended to explore, in part, the possibilities of relationships between Sense of Audience and language functions as he describes them. What is needed, therefore, is 1) a model of Sense of

Audience that may be applied to written as well as oral language, and 2) a context-based study that explores the ways in which Sense of Audience influences a writer in the process of composing written language. As will be shown, the Schools' Council Writing Research Unit establishes a highly useful notion of Sense of Audience, which requires refinement if it is to be applied to process rather than simply product.

Through a summary discussion about the nature of writing, Chapter 5 prepares a basis for the development of a Sense of Audience model that has been used in the present study.

CHAPTER 5

SENSE OF AUDIENCE IN WRITING

The Writing Process: Is It Autonomous In Nature?

Writing and speech are like two railroads with overlapping boards of directors that share, over part of the route, a single right of way. At times they seem to be the same, but there has never been a formal merger and their managements have too many ingrained rivalries now to approve one. (Bolinger, 1968:164)

Bolinger's metaphor both poses interesting questions for the researcher of writing and serves to demonstrate the basis for the controversies presently forming the backdrop against which this study is being undertaken. For example, if speech and writing are separate systems, to what extent and at what points do the 'boards of directors' overlap? If they share part of a 'single right of way', how extensive is the route and where and how does it begin and end? Are the 'ingrained rivalries' between their managements functionally or structurally inherent or are they merely the biases attributable to the historical emphases of linguists?

Vygotsky speculates that speech and writing diverge in a special way that points to certain considerations which teachers should make in their deliberations about teaching methods:

A feature of this system is that it is second-order symbolism, which gradually becomes direct symbolism. This means that written language consists of a system of signs that designate the sounds and words of spoken language, which, in turn, are signs for real entities and relations. Gradually this intermediate link, spoken language, disappears, and written language is converted into a system of signs that directly symbolize the entities and relations between them. It seems clear that mastery of such a complex sign system cannot be accomplished in a purely mechanical and external manner; rather it is the culmination of a long process of development of complex behavioral functions in the child. (1978:106)

For educators, such questions and speculations as Bolinger and Vygotsky pose are important matters to pursue. For linguists such as Bloomfield, they are largely and easily cast aside by an

unwillingness to recognize writing as language in the first place, as "...only a reflection of speech..." and "...merely a device for recording speech..." (Bolinger, 1968:176); or, in the view of C.F. Hockett (1958:539) as distinct from language and therefore as a "...sister branch of the more inclusive field, cultural anthropology...".

Although linguists have changed their views toward writing several times in the past century or so, it is difficult to find one who does not give over-whelming emphasis in his discussion of writing to the narrower matter of reading; that is, linguists tend to mean the printed word when they refer to writing. The educationalist, on the other hand, is necessarily concerned with the problems not only of reading the printed word, but in the acquisition of the skills of writing it. The educationalist is therefore caught up in completely practical matters for which are required clear and strong statements concerning the nature of the writing process. Teachers deal with children who by and large speak very well in a wide range of styles and dialects when they come to him; to what extent may he expect them to write well? What aspects of their spoken language may he exploit or depend upon to facilitate their learning of the written system? These questions are daily imposed upon the classroom teacher of English in his attempt to structure methods upon some realistic theoretical base, the consequences of which both he and his students must face in both personal and professional terms.

Carl Bereiter and Marlene Scardamalia take up these questions in pursuing Olson's (1977) notion of 'autonomous text'. They argue that writing is best seen as autonomous because in written language meaning is in the text whereas in oral language it resides in the speaker. They further argue that:

By the time (young children) reach elementary school they have developed the ability to function in the common 'genres' of conversational speech....When children enter school they must relearn this extraordinary complex of discourse skills almost from the ground up, in order to master the difficult new art of written composition.(1979a:2)

Thus they develop what may be seen as an instructional process of 'weaning' the child away from the nourishment an interlocutor provides in oral speech. This position clearly has strong implications for teaching and makes it clear that speech and writing are indeed separate

linguistic entities, particularly inasmuch as:

In learning to converse, children develop a complex language production system that is tied at every level to inputs coming from the conversational partner. In writing there is no conversational partner. Hence, the language system as a whole is largely inoperable, lacking the inputs it needs, and so a new system needs to be built. (1979a:2)

This view of writing appears to be print rather than process oriented, and ultimately results in "...a mechanization of language and a loss of the living idiom..." (de Ajuriaguerra & Auzias, 1975: 311). Bereiter's, Scardamalia's and Olson's basic assumption--their 'elementary fact' of writing (1979a:2)--is that there is no conversational partner. They overlook, by virtue of their concept of the nature of writing, the notion that since oral language development is so dependent on a partner "at every level" it may be the case that writing is as well, even though in a different fashion. Vygotsky (1962:99) provides a way into such a consideration while at first glance seeming to confirm what Olson, Bereiter, and Scardamalia have to say:

Writing is also speech without an interlocutor, addressed to an absent or an imaginary person or to no one in particular--a situation new and strange to the child. Our studies show that he has little motivation to learn writing when we begin to teach it. He feels no need for it and has only a vague idea of its usefulness. In conversation, every sentence is prompted by a motive. Desire or need lead to request, question to answer, bewilderment to explanation. The changing motives of the interlocutors determine at every moment the turn oral speech will take. It does not have to be consciously directed--the dynamic situation takes care of that. The motives for writing are more abstract, more intellectualized, further removed from immediate needs. In written speech, we are obliged to create the situation, to represent it to ourselves. This demands detachment from the actual situation.

Vygotsky recognizes that writing does not have an immediate interlocutor as does oral speech, but suggests that the key difference between writing and speech is in the 'dynamic situation' that frames oral language in a concrete way and which needs to be represented to ourselves as writers in an abstract way. This clearly differs from Bereiter's and Scardamalia's view that there is no situation to be represented and no dynamism directing the process:

(Autonomous text) is a coherent piece of language that can accomplish its rhetorical purpose without depending on context or on interaction between sender and receiver. (Bereiter, 1979a:2)

While Vygotsky is clearly not making a case for the congruence of speech and writing, making it clear that the one does not repeat the developmental history of the other for example, he does say that it is in the abstract quality of written language that the child encounters the "...main stumbling block..." to development, and that the "...act of writing (implies) a translation from inner speech..." (1962:98). This latter statement opens up possibilities for the influence of Sense of Audience that Bereiter's and Scardamalia's argument closes off. (This matter will be taken up below in a related discussion of the concept of Self.)

It may well be that the autonomous text position is a result of a consideration of only certain types of writing or writing situations. Vygotsky (1962:99) points out that his "...studies show that (the student) has little motivation to learn writing when we begin to teach it...", whereas de Ajuriaguerra and Auzias (1975:312) suggest that, "In writing...the hand that speaks gives pleasure to the child, for whom it is a 'discovery' and a means of representing something within himself. It is speech and motion.", but qualify that with, "Writing does not become a constraint until certain school requirements make their appearance." (1975:312). So is it writing alone that Vygotsky, Olson, Bereiter, and Scardamalia have within their ken? It may be that discussions of writing development which focus on school writing are providing us with more insights into schools than into writing. That is a danger best overcome by recognizing the school as a context which influences writing by virtue of the specific functions of writing it tends to demand, and of its pervasive audience-type, factors which were taken up in the work of Britton et al (1975).

In decontextualizing the behavior of writing, researchers may readily make mistakes about its nature, mistakes which become embedded in what are otherwise important conclusions affecting how schools will take up the matter of teaching writing skills. For example, Bereiter (1979b:3) draws on the work of Goody & Watt (1963), Havelock (1976), and Olson (1977) to say that:

Writing may require and thus foster a different kind of thought from that involved in speaking. Because writers get little feedback and because they must address unknown readers in unknown contexts who have unknown states of knowledge, writers are forced to develop what Olson calls "essayist techniques"--a form of discourse characterised by explicit references and by propositions linked together by logical entailment rather than by reference to experience shared between writer and reader.

His emphasis on the forced "essayist techniques" seems to completely deny his awareness of writing as poetry, story-telling, personal letters, journals, and the myriad other writing functions which may be undertaken either in or out of school. His seems to be a restricted interest in one limited school-dominated writing purpose, an interest to which he may be entitled, but certainly not one which should inform his concept of the writing process in general. Even if he is discussing a major writing function as taken up by schools, he ignores or fails to be aware of the teacher audience faced by the student-writer. Young writers in school do not have quite the sort of problems with audience as Bereiter describes: the pervasive teacher-examiner audience (Britton et al, 1975) is certainly known in precisely the ways he describes that it is not. It would seem that the notion of autonomous text restricts his awareness of the nature of writing by excluding from his view those features of a social environment which affect writing as they do speech: the result is an artificially complete separation of oral and written language.

In fact, it is not necessary to consider writing as autonomous text in order to distinguish it from oral speech. That is, writing may be seen as differing from speech on the basis of certain autonomous characteristics, and as being similar to speech on the basis of certain communicative properties. Although much of the discussion concerning these possible concurrences with speech refers to reading, it does provide insights into the matter of learning to write. Frank Smith (1975:348), for example, (as introduced in Chapter 1) argues that:

At the most molar level of discourse, it is obvious that speech and writing differ....At the syntactic and lexical levels the differences between spoken and written language are less clear, except in relative terms. There appear to be no grammatical constructions in written English that are not available in the majority of spoken English dialects (Wardhaugh, 1969), but they are used in different proportions and degrees

of complexity in the various registers or styles of writing and speech. Similarly there is no evidence that a different lexicon is used for writing than for speech, although words and word classes occur with different relative frequencies in writing and speech (Miller, 1951, Ch.4).

In short it would appear that differences between written and spoken styles of language are not greater than those occurring within spoken language. The evidence supports the view that speech and writing are variants or alternative forms of the same language, but not the more superficial proposition that writing is speech written down.

His argument is that spoken and written language have their basis in the same 'deep structure', but not 'surface structure' (in Chomskyan terms), and they may thereby be seen as both related and autonomous, depending on the level of operation one is discussing. One implication of this argument is that since written language is not related to the surface structures of spoken language, the writing system provides the reader or the writer with a way to mean or to determine meaning without recourse to the spoken word.

Hartwell (1980:113) refers to Smith's view as the "Direct Access Hypothesis" in reading theory and suggests that it has some direct implications for the teaching of basic writing:

Attempts to remediate apparent dialectic interference by stressing sound/writing connections solely at the surface level, as in traditional grammar or second-language-based pedagogies, would seem to be counterproductive, limiting the student's conscious attention to surface detail when he needs most to escape from such limitations. In other words, such pedagogies offer bottom-up models, which distort the actual practice of literate adults.

His suggestion for a "top-down" model of teaching writing is based on evidence such as that in Kinneavy (1979) which indicates that maximum exposure to the code of writing is the best way of learning how to write. (In at least this way, writing development would seem to parallel oral language development in children.) Vygotsky (1978:118) lends strong support to this view in his statement that:

...writing should be incorporated into a task that is necessary and relevant for life. Only then can we be certain that it will develop not as a matter of hand and finger habits but as a really new and complex form of speech.

He adds, "Of course, it is also necessary to bring the child to an inner understanding of writing and to arrange that writing will be organized development rather than learning." (1978:118). His view prompts the question that if we transferred the responsibility for the development of speech from natural social interaction to structured methods of teaching, would our children be as awkward and as slow to develop in their oral language as they are in their written?

In other words, teaching writing from the ground up, which Bereiter suggests is necessary because of the differences he had delineated between speech and writing, is not a sound principle to follow, for it overlooks the fact that there already exists a solid "grounding" for written language usage in the deep structure of the orally competent individual. It becomes necessary, therefore, to look beyond the surface structure differences of writing and speech to the specifics of what may be meant by deep structure concurrences in order that they may be related through teaching practices to syntactic realization in a way more natural to language development.

This is a significant consideration and points us toward the importance of a writer's Sense of Audience development in the same way that questions of oral language acquisition point us towards the importance of human relationships as a *prima facie* condition to language development (Moscowitz, 1978). For example, personal style, so readily manifested and recognized in oral language, may be a function of both the individual's physical characteristics and the social environment which he has assimilated into his deep structure, and which thereby plays a role in language production at that level. De Ajuriaguerra and Auzias (1975,313) imply that personal style may be equally important in writing development as it is in oral speech performance:

...despite its arbitrary nature, writing develops in the child in accordance with laws that can be compared with those of overall psychophysiological development...Writing has a personal style intimately bound up with individual characteristics, and this opens up differential psychophysiological horizons.

By not recognizing the need for writing development to be augmented by the deep structure that was achieved through the development of oral language (particularly its social component), we may be

interfering with the natural development of the unnatural form of language we call writing.

Before concluding this discussion on the nature of writing, it should be said that there is another way of looking at writing as autonomous text. Essentially, what is unacceptable about Olson's concept is its semantic basis. Stubbs (1980) provides a functional basis for differentiating writing from speech, showing how the one may move away from the other in terms of its intended purpose. He suggests that there is evidence of an overlap which serves to show that the two are related. Examples of this are to be found in the use of speech in formal situations, the record-serving ritualistic poetry and highly conventionalized narratives of certain primitive cultures which have no written conventions, and writing which seems stylistically 'wrong' because it is too much like talk (often considered a fault of beginning writers forced into formal situations). This view, which suggests that writing is increasingly autonomous in its distance from speech, thus complements Britton's writing-function model, described in the previous chapter, which gives emphasis to the developmental nature of learning how to achieve writing that is both distant from speech but nevertheless related to the individual through his expressive language functions. That is, writing may be said to be autonomous only inasmuch as it takes its position at the extreme end of a Talk-Writing continuum which is activated by sense of purpose or function and characterized primarily by differences in style. Joos (1967) offers a function scale which demonstrates this continuum rather effectively and shows how language may move through five styles of usage:

1. Intimate
2. Casual
3. Consultative
4. Formal
5. Frozen

This style-continuum parallels Britton's model of writing functions in its movement outward from Expressive to either Transactional or Poetic language, but expresses the difference between speech (the first four styles of language usage) and writing (Frozen

style) clearly, although coarsely, Britton's model is more successful in illustrating how writing may move more smoothly out of speech than is Joos', and is concerned more specifically with movement within written style and function.

Summary

The notion of autonomous text distracts us from the realization that writing is a human phenomenon that remains tied to the human condition at all levels and at all points, from the writer through to the reader. With the rejection of the notion of writing as being autonomous text, attention is focussed back upon the individual and social context which writing mediates and from which it arises. The concept of Self and Audience are thus seen as factors to be considered in any inclusive exploration of the writing process.

Self

Chapter 1 presented a piece of writing from a 17 year-old student named Tony that, depending on the reader, could be construed as being unsatisfactory, meaningless, touching, even devious. Does this piece of his work express his shaped insights into himself and his school, or is it a reflection of an intention to impress his audience and thereby satisfy certain material/school needs? If the text were truly autonomous, we would have to look only to it for an answer. If it were a matter of its failing to achieve an autonomous nature because of its many grammatical and other errors, then some relatively simple corrections would make its meaning clear. But the meaning of the text of Tony's writing is contained, as well, within the context which prompted its production in the first place. That is, the meaning of the writing is not merely in the text, as Olson would have us accept that it should be. To understand what Tony's writing means, it is essential that we know what he may have intended it to mean at the time he wrote it.

That may seem a hopeless task, for readers with no access to Tony's life and predicament would seem to be unable to derive meaning because so much is unavailable to them. Yet, without something of that knowledge or awareness, it is not likely that the meaning of his text will be construed at all accurately: a teacher would derive one set of meanings, a psychologist another, one of Tony's peers yet

another. The teacher may see hope in its words; a psychologist, concern; a fellow-student may feel he is perpetrating a great joke. If the meaning were to be in the text, such apparent confusion would not materialize, for each reader would be faced with the same set of static clues to advance and confirm his understanding of Tony's meaning. But the reality is that each reader does bring to the text some measure of personal bias which will influence the simplest of interpretations, a bias of differences which affects the reading of great novels and scientific journals as much as a piece of troubled student writing. It is more a statement of whimsical hope, therefore, to say as Olson does, that meaning in writing is in the text rather than in the person. Indeed, it is simplistic to see meaning as being the exclusive property of either text or person, in either speech or writing.

Accepting the notion that meaning properly resides in any solitary feature of language would render the 'meaning' of a text fixed for all time. That might arguably yield a simple and tidy world, but it "...would make the language a useless and dead instrument, having no function in the social process of adjustment..." (Miller, 1973:73). In Mead's view, it is the very nature of human language to unfix meaning, something animal gestures may not do. It is precisely this capacity that makes human language and therefore humans themselves flexible and creative, as animals are not:

Language and the meaning of words are not fixed, but open. Language would have only a superfluous, unneeded function if words were used only in the ordinary sense. Habit would take over, if that were the case, and the use of words would be confined to parrot-minded individuals. Under such conditions problems would have to be solved by the trial-and-error method; no new words would be possible, and creative thinking would be precluded. (Miller, 1973:75)

Malinowsky (1923) and Firth (1957) describe language as operating always in a context of situation which it must yield to as well as influence, and which explains the mutability of meaning. M. A. K. Halliday (1978:28) summarizes this view:

Essentially what this implies is that language comes to life only when functioning in some environment. We do not experience language in isolation--if we did we would not recognize it as language--but always in relation to a scenario,

some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said derive their meaning.

Inasmuch as writing is language which bears the author's intentions of saying something to somebody, so must it also derive its meaning from a context larger than itself.

Yet, it is easy to understand how one might initially come to construe writing as being autonomous in contrast to speech because of the latter's readily perceived interdependence. Writing, on the other hand, seems to be a solitary activity which offers a tangible and fixed product as a manifestation of some quiet, individual process. And its meaning seems fixed by the virtue of the physical word. But is this construal of the isolated writer an accurate or a complete one? Mead and Wittgenstein suggest that the meaning of a word is in its use and has no value unto itself. In terms of the written word, meaning must be seen, therefore, as a function of its writer and its reader: it may not be autonomous in its meaning, nor may we see its meaning in terms only of the writer or reader, but as a function of the relationship between writer, sentence, and reader. The difficulty with this is a consequence only of the abstract and apparently unobservable nature of that dynamic interdependence. But to assume on the basis of what is not observable that what is basic and essential to making meaning in oral language is not essential and basic to written language is to deny that writing is language. If we are to accept writing as a language form, then we must look for the ways in which it is able to retain and utilize the dynamic situation so essential to human language use and meaning.

For this purpose, Mead's concept of Self is most useful and is based in part on his view of meaning:

Meaning is...not to be conceived, fundamentally, as a state of consciousness, or as a set of organized relations existing or subsisting mentally outside the field of experience into which they enter; on the contrary it should be conceived objectively, as having its existence entirely within the field itself. (Mead, 1934:78)

If meaning exists entirely within the field of the individual's experience, then the individual using writing to make meaning must be incorporating the entire field of experience within himself.

In oral language, the individual must certainly draw upon past experiences, give new order and shape to old ideas, and respond to those of his language partner in a direct way. In the case of writing it is the situation of having a partner in dialogue that seems to be missing, a lack that may make the writing task seem to be a solitary one. Yet it need not seem so.

If the writer, endeavoring to make meaning, must incorporate the entire field of experience within himself in the private situation of the writing task, he must also need to incorporate the social dynamism of language. That is, he must incorporate his construal not only of experience but of those others which go or may go to making up the social component of experience, the component so essential to language use. If Mead's and Wittgenstein's notion of meaning being in the use of words rather than in their form or sound is accurate, then the writer must be construed as someone making meaning by using words in a context much as he does when he is a speaker--in a social way. This is not to suggest that an individual may not use language privately, but to say that there is no such thing as private, autonomous language, only social language used privately in a context of construed others assimilated by the individual into the system of internal language and thinking. This is to accept what Halliday (1978:92) points out when he says that we "...must learn to take account of the fact that humans speak, not in solitude, but to each other.". Writing, with all its surface differences, is but another way we have of speaking to one another and is therefore no more autonomous than speech on any but the most superficial of planes.

Mead construes Self as a component of the individual which is dependent upon his social environment for both definition and development. Further, being social, Self is dependent largely on the language process: Self is a function both of an individual's internal states and external social influences. As a thing separated from one's outer world, Self is something which the individual tries to maintain and enhance. But Self is also a function of the outer world, and must thereby account for those external influencing factors by an accommodating shift in its own nature. The result is that Self is a flexible construct through which the individual is able to both affect and make responses and adjustments to his real world. As Stangvik (1979:37) suggests, Self is therefore a personal awareness "...which is

regarded as a basic frame of reference in the process of selection, evaluation, and organization of experience...", a frame of reference, that is, which is basically linguistic.

But Mead argues that interdependence is not merely between Self and language, that by necessity it includes the individual's social environment of others:

The Generalized Other is the social, cognitive, rational component of the Self. It is invoked whenever a person considers what he ought to do, and no person can consider what he ought to do and no one can be conscious of what he is doing without involving the Generalized Other. (Miller, 1973:53)

The interdependence of Self, language, and Generalized Other is best explained by what he refers to as the two stages by which the individual uses a symbolization process to define himself and assimilate the Generalized Other into his own experience:

In the first stage the individual directs the communication towards himself. In this way he may try out how he himself is affected by specific actions. This may be done by means of "significant speech". "We mean by significant speech that the action is one that affects the individual himself and that the effect upon the individual himself is part of the intelligent carrying out of the conversation with others (Mead, 1934:141)." (Stangvik, 1979: 54)

This first stage is seen by Mead as an interior dialogue which he believes is the essence of thinking and which is basically linguistic. In the second stage:

"...the individual communicates with a social audience what he has checked on himself, and symbols are significant so far as they arouse reciprocal experiences and determine the same kind of actions in relation to the objects of experience (Mead, 1934:147)." (Stangvik, 1979: 54)

Although Mead seems to be referring mainly to oral language, (he makes only passing reference to written language in Mind, Self and Society (1934)), the amount of time afforded the writer to thinking and shaping his language as opposed to the speaker makes the process described even more relevant to the act of writing, where writer can usefully assume the role of reader. In this regard, writing sets up

an occasion in which a highly controlled modulation may occur between the Self and the Generalized Others. This modulation operates not only at the level of editing, but also at the level of thinking, at the level of inner-language and composition.

The importance of this notion of Self is in its capacity to link up that state of dynamic tension, which we see as central in oral language use and development, to the more private act of writing. Through the concept of Self, we may view the individual writer as participating in a rigorous exchange of ideas with Others whose attitudes he has assimilated and which inform his own behavior.

Sense of Audience

The concept of Self re-introduces the individual into the language process from which he has been excluded in the notion of writing as autonomous text. It also focusses our attention on what Mead calls the Generalized Other, and what will be referred to in this study as Sense of Audience.

A distinction should be made here between 'Sense of Audience' and 'Audience'. The latter term may be taken to refer to a writer's intended external audience, known or unknown, and which may or may not affect the writer at arms' length. That is, it remains a matter of choice for the writer whether an external audience will affect a change in his writing, in his articulation and inclusion of ideas or manner of expression. A writer may ignore an audience that is external to himself. 'Sense of Audience', on the other hand, is intended to refer to an assimilation and organization of the attitudes of members (particular or general) of an individual's community, whether actual or ideal, into the Self. Assimilated audiences, therefore, are integral to every decision an individual makes by virtue of their incorporation within the very fabric of the Self: they may not be ignored. As does Mead's Generalized Other, Sense of Audience "...arises out of the capacity of the individual to take the role of the other, the attitude of the other towards the individual's behavior..." (Miller, 1973:50) As will be shown in the next Chapter, previous studies concerned with audience influence in the writing process have adopted the former notion of audience as simply an external consideration for the writer. This study is concerned with audience as participant as well as object of intention: Sense

of Audience.

In virtually all the studies of audience to date, no attempt is made to define and explore the concept: concern is primarily with the effect of a writer's awareness of an audience as an influence on the surface features of writing. One significant exception is the work emerging out of the Schools Council Writing Research Project and published in Educational Research, (1973:Vol.15) in which a serious and useful attempt to define and categorize audience is made. In an article entitled WRITTEN LANGUAGE AND THE SENSE OF AUDIENCE, Harold Rosen (1973:177) provides much of the basis for concern with Sense of Audience that this study extends:

...a highly developed sense of audience must be one of the marks of the competent mature writer, for it is concerned with nothing less than the implementation of his concern to maintain or establish an appropriate relationship with his reader in order to achieve his full intent.

Rosen's discussion of audience is guided by his sense of the importance to a writer of social relationships. He therefore makes it somewhat clearer than other discussions that audience is less an object of attention and more an influence on the individual through a process of modulation between Self and Other:

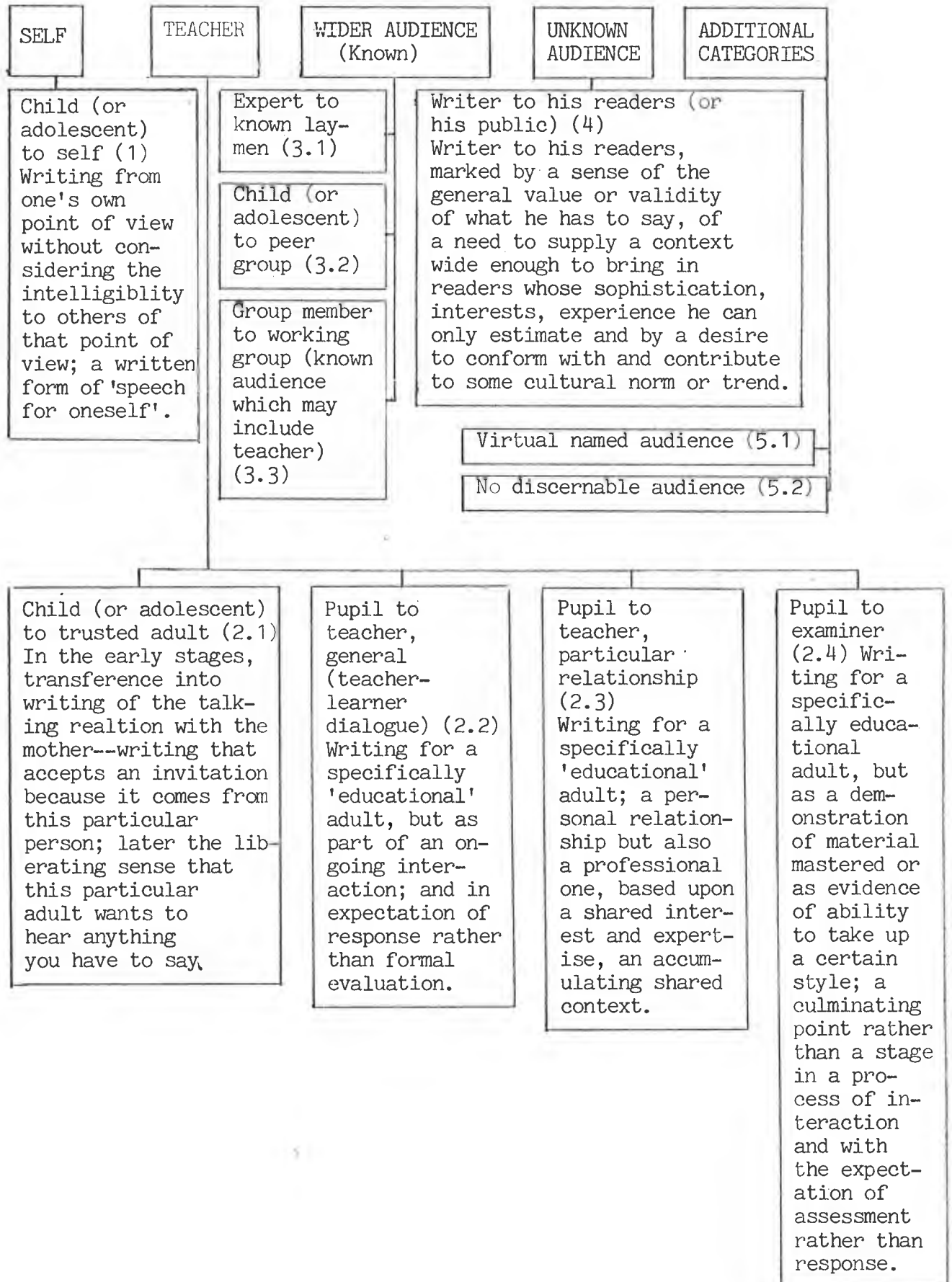
In spite of the fact that (writers) are physically isolated from their audiences the act of writing inserts itself into a network of social relationships which will make the writer say this rather than that; in this way rather than that, or perhaps to suppress this and add that. (1973:177)

He therefore perceives the writer as someone who "...becomes the performer of a social act in the arena of 'context of situation'" (1973:179) which for his purposes is dominated by the school environment.

The concern of Rosen and the Project team was to identify those audiences which are or might be available to student writers in the school situation for classificatory purposes, and to explore their effect on the writing done in schools. For this purpose, the classificatory scheme illustrated in Figure 4 was adopted.

Rosen's discussion of the scheme is most interesting, particularly his elaboration of the categories of Self, Trusted Adult,

Fig. 4 Britton's et al (1975) Audience Categories



and Unknown Audience. He says of the audience of Self that "...the writer himself must be the first-stage audience for any worthwhile writing..." (1973:183), and hence lays a basis for all writing that echoes Mead's notion that the individual "...directs the communication towards himself..." (1934:141) in order that he may call out in himself the responses he wishes others to make. Rosen (and the Schools Council Writing Research Team) also see an affinity between the writing for Self and that for Trusted Adult who may play the role that the child's mother once played and thus enable writing "...that accepts an invitation because it comes from this particular person in whom there is confidence..." (Rosen, 1973:183). This is a most important point, for it provides us with one way in which we may see the individual in a position to internalize an audience that may serve him in a range of future writing situations and demands. It is in this context that Rosen (1973:186) suggests:

...it may...turn out that pupils who operate well in categories 1 (self) and 2.1 (child to adult) are most likely to produce examples of category 4.1.

This seems likely to Rosen because of his view that "...a writer who operates well in any of the categories will be in the first instance his own audience..." (1973:186).

But Rosen (1973:183) acknowledges that the focus of the Project's interest in Audience was on the reader, even though care was taken to express their interest in the reader in terms of a relationship between reader and writer. Nevertheless, the shift to a primary interest in reader is evident at several points in his discussion, which leaves a gap in the concept of Sense of Audience that requires filling. This gap is in terms of what he may mean by Self, a matter which he does not take on except to imply that Self means the exclusion of Others:

1.1 (Self) - Writing from own point of view without considering the intelligibility to others of that point of view; a written form of 'speech for oneself'....(1973:183)

In terms of this study, such a concept of Self is not a useful one even though the distinction required is very subtle. As explained in the previous section on Self, internal dialogue includes a Sense of

Audience or Other, whether a particular or generalized Other. Self is a social construct; it must always operate in a social context. This may not be an important distinction to make when considering writing that is rote or mnemonic, as Rosen suggests, but it is an important matter when considering intimate diary entries or difficult explorations of a private sort. Rosen (1973:183) suggests that the writer does not have an audience other than himself in mind when:

... what is set down or explored is regarded as a private concern, e.g. an entry in an intimate diary,
 ... or the exploration is so difficult or tentative that the writer could not afford to have anybody else in mind (i.e. is unable to operate the internalized other). He is using writing to discover what he thinks.

In both cases, it is more useful to think that the writer does have some internalized audience which is enabling the writing in the first place, no matter how intimate or strained the process may be, for if he is thinking at all then he requires the social context that Sense of Audience provides. His difficulty lies, therefore, in terms of the quality of his available internalized audience--in its enabling capacity. That capacity may be enhanced in the school context if teachers are aware of audience internalization as a concern or as a phenomenon intrinsic to language development. Under these conditions of teacher awareness, a student's pattern of daily oral and written exchanges with others, mates and teachers, becomes a clue for the teacher to the nature of what may constitute relevant structured writing activities. In addition, slow development in writing or difficulties with specific writing tasks may be seen by the teacher to be linked to the writer's lack of effective internalized audience, a function of personal social experience. This notion of an inadequate Enabling Audience could go far to explain why learning to write is best achieved through writing experiences of a top-down nature rather than a bottom-up one (Kinneavy, 1979). Where Rosen (1973:183) suggests that the writer in difficulty with his thinking "...may be unable to operate the internalized other..." it is more to the point to say he does not have a suitable alternate internalized Other to replace or balance the inhibiting one imposed upon him in, for example, the Teacher-examiner situation.

This notion of an internalized Enabling Audience may help to

explain, as well, why talking often assists subsequent writing and why some writers seem able to go right to the written process where others need to talk it out first: it may be that the audience is as or more important than the talking. For the writer who has a repertoire of audience with whom he feels confident and whose likely responses he may anticipate and incorporate, internalization enables him to compose more readily in what seems a private way. Thus writing is what Rosen describes as the performance of a social act in a context of situation: a social act at every level, from thought to ink.

A Model of Sense of Audience

A writing/audience model should demonstrate the relationships which exist between the individual, the language system, and the audience influencing the writer. Frank Smith (1979) speaks of a model which he describes by the following diagram:

WRITER-----TEXT-----READER

He argues that no link exists between the writer and the reader other than the text, and thus shows that each interact only with text as produced. The problem with this model is that it fails to take account of the writer in process and the factors which influence that process and writer. It fails, that is, to say anything of use about the nature of writing.

The development of a model which incorporates the dynamics of the writing process as well as the nature of text must take account of a number of factors. First, in speaking of a 'Writer' we must make it clear that we are speaking of a human individual who is employing the language system of a social individual in interaction through language with other social individuals. Thus, we are really looking at the social behavior of the Self. Secondly, we are considering the Self in terms of its response to social experience. That is, since we are dealing with the language use of an individual in a social situation, we are dealing with the shaping of language-expressed experience both encountered and intended or anticipated (Volosinov: 1973); we are dealing with the experience of a Self with Others:

SELF-----EXPERIENCE WITH OTHERS

There are three important aspects to this expression. First, each component of the model has an effect on the other. Secondly, the relationship is mediated by language which is to be considered the agent of the change. Thirdly, as Self and Experience are changed, so is the language used:

SELF-----LANGUAGE USE-----EXPERIENCE

We therefore begin the development of the model with the view that all components of the language interaction are in a state of dynamic tension which produces change and in which no component is independent of the other. This view is based on the tenet that language is a social phenomenon which does not exist autonomously and thus itself expresses a social situation. Here we may refer to Wittgenstein and his concept that the meaning of a word is in its use; Mead's view of the Self as a social entity dependent on language for expression and development; and to Volosinov's concept of experience as being meaningful only as it tends towards perception and expression which in turn depends on the extent of its social orientation. Thus we have a social-interaction language development model.

To render the model more useable to this study's concern with writing and audience, somewhat different terms must be employed. Since we are discussing the Self as 'Writer' and Others as the writer's 'Audience', the obvious change must be made:

WRITER-----LANGUAGE USE-----AUDIENCE

A number of features of this model differ significantly from that of Frank Smith. First, since the intention is to give emphasis to the dynamics and interdependence of language, the idea of "Text" as Smith uses it is subsumed under "Language Use". Secondly, the notion of "Reader" is subsumed under the more inclusive term "Audience", providing the opportunity to consider the role of audience not only as the

intended reader but as an incorporated participant in the writing process. Thus Smith's claim that the writer has no link with the reader is rejected on the basis that it is too simplistic a view of language use, failing to provide any insight into the writing process as social interaction.

This model is considered as the basic unit describing the relationships between writer, language (and text), and incorporated and intended audience (and reader). As a unit, it must therefore be seen in the special contexts which may have a further influence on a writer. In the terms of this study, that special context is the school and more specifically, the relationship with the classroom teacher. The following model is therefore seen as providing a more appropriate and complete generalization describing the relationships between the individual, his context, and his language. We begin, therefore, with the basic unit applicable to all writers in any given situation:



Fig. 5 Basic Unit of Audience Model

We must then incorporate this unit of interaction into a model describing the school situation and those immediate factors influencing its operation:

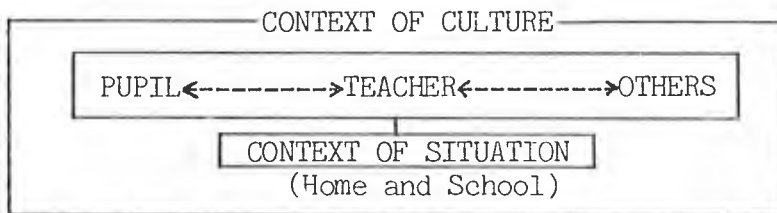


Fig. 6 Operant Unit of Social Context for School Writers

The complete model is therefore seen in the following way:

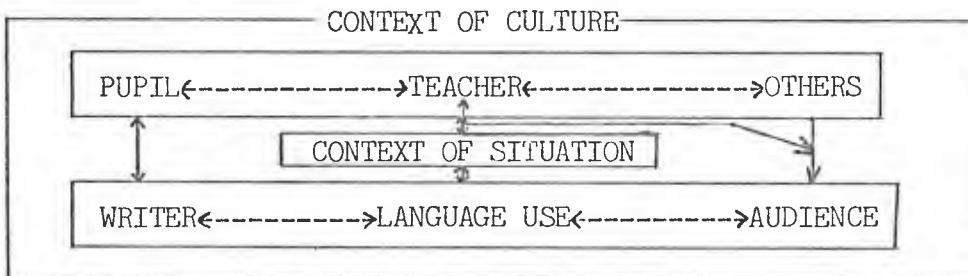


Fig.7 Complete Model of Sense of Audience

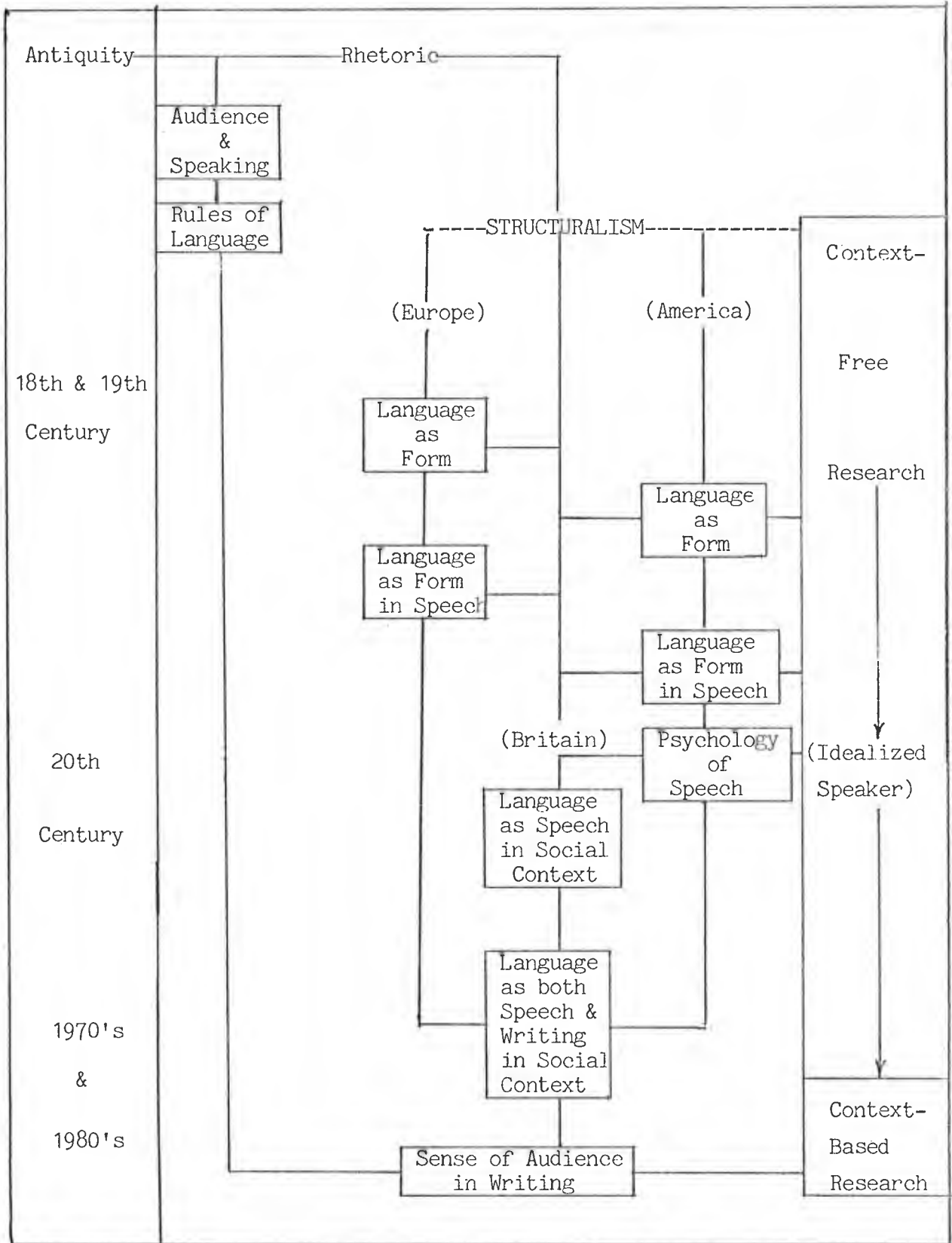
Summary

What we are interested in, as the model of Sense of Audience implies, is the pupil as a writer in a context of situation, and Others who bring to bear upon the writer some enabling or inhibiting influence during the process of composition.

Work on writing done by such researchers as Emig and Britton (et al) has helped pave the way for explorations of the nature of the writing process in its social context. What is still needed, however, is research methodology that clearly takes into account the social nature of the writing process that was denied by earlier views of writing.

Figure 8 , below, illustrates the progress of a Twentieth Century development of an interest in speech in its social context, to the last decade's concern for writing as language, to a renewed interest in Sense of Audience as it might be applied to written language.

Fig.8 Perspectives on Language: A Historical Summary to Date



CHAPTER 6

METHODOLOGY AND SENSE OF AUDIENCE

A Critical Look at Research on Sense of Audience

As has already been stated in Chapter 1, the intent of this study is to conduct research as a teacher might should the conditions be right. The reasons for this intention are four-fold: 1) the environment of the classroom and the role of teacher are highly familiar to me; 2) it is primarily to educationalists that this research is directed; 3) the role of teacher-as-researcher offers certain key advantages to the researcher that other postures are not afforded, as will subsequently be explained in more detail; and 4) the concept of Sense of Audience and its relationship to Self necessitates research that achieves close contact with student-writers in their personal/school contexts.

It is largely with the latter point in mind that the work on Sense of Audience done by Barry Kroll (1978) and Marion Crowhurst (1979) are brought under scrutiny here, out of which directions for the present study's methods are developed.

Kroll's study, reported in an article entitled, "Cognitive Egocentrism and the Problem of Audience Awareness in Written Discourse", "...began with the general hypothesis that writing, because it created increased cognitive demands, lagged behind speaking in level of decentration..." (1978:274). His research depended heavily on the work of Piaget and his experiments regarding the abilities of young children to decentrize, to take another's point of view in an act of communication. While largely supporting Piaget's conclusions, in particular that young children act in an egocentric rather than a sociocentric manner, Kroll was also interested in whether such conclusions are true of communication in a written mode or in just the oral mode used in Piaget's and others' complementary studies, (e.g. he refers to Glucksberg & Drauss (1967) Shatz & Gelman (1973), Maratsos (1973), Wellman & Lempers (1977)).

There are two significant problems with Kroll's study. The first has to do with the research design he employed, the other with the features of written communication on which he focussed. His design incorporated a carefully structured experimental context involving thirty-six fourth grade pupils and a board game which required learning. Each child was independently taught how to play a game and, upon subsequent occasions, was required to teach the same game to trained experimenters, first in the oral mode, then in the written mode, (with a second group simultaneously reversing the order of modes). His procedures were intended to create the greatest amount of control possible over the use of oral and written language, thus standardizing "...the 'feedback' conditions of speaking and writing..." (1978:276). To do this, the listener assigned to each child was to pay attention to the child's explanation, "...but not to ask questions or make any comments...":

Prior to the experiment, the listener had been coached on maintaining a pleasant and receptive facial expression, but on avoiding any overt gestures of understanding or confusion....The design made it possible to eliminate virtually all listener response, and yet to do so in an unobtrusive, almost natural way. (1978:276)

The role of listener as Kroll describes it hardly seems "almost natural", and it must be wondered how the child perceived his listener's limited non-participating responses. It would seem likely that this situation would be most unnatural to the child even though it might be familiar to him as a school-like activity. But it is unlikely that generalizations about a child's language might be arrived at from this highly controlled experimental situation. What seems to have been achieved in this study's attempts at experimental control was at the expense of learning much about how the child behaves when a listener does participate in his attempts to explain: the very give-and-take nature of oral language described by Bereiter as being basic and useful to the oral situation is excluded almost entirely here. Further, the 'listeners' were female undergraduates, not the familiar teacher-type, peer-type, parent-type that the child would likely have encountered before, especially in a situation that posed the particular nature of problems conceived by Kroll for them to solve. How many young adults would these children have encountered in

their 'real' worlds who were willing to sit patiently, pleasantly, and receptively to their halting explanations? Kroll gives us an insight into the strategy the children may have employed in handling this unusual situation, a strategy which may warrant more consideration than other features of their behavior or the experimental design:

In the event that the child seemed distressed by (the listener's) lack of response, or if the child directly asked for a response, the listener was to nod affirmatively. However, this situation never occurred. [emphasis mine] During the task, the children focussed much of their attention on the game materials in front of them. (1978:276)

With their attention on the game, how much of the children's language was directed at the 'listener' and how much at some other internalized audience? Kroll states in his discussion of the results that "...these fourth-grade children demonstrated limited communication skills when explaining the game: they were not highly proficient at adapting messages either to listeners or readers...". (1978:279) His argument, based on Piaget, is that they had difficulty decentering; that is, they had problems with audience awareness.

Kroll's conclusion reflects a confidence in Piaget's conclusions regarding his own experimental findings. But, as Margaret Donaldson points out in Children's Minds (1978:19):

(Piaget) has constructed such a far-reaching and closely woven net of argument, binding together so many different features of the development of behaviour, that it is hard to believe he could be wrong.

Yet there is now powerful evidence that in this respect he is wrong.

She elaborates on the work of Hughes (1975) who showed that children from a very early age of three and three-quarters years to five years could decentre. She suggests that the difference between the experimental situations Piaget structured and those Hughes structured involved what she called the 'human sense' (1978:24) of the latter's procedures and tasks, that Piaget's subjects simply did not understand what it was they were supposed to do.

The point of this for the present study is that the laboratory situation, so carefully designed by Piaget in his work and Kroll in

his study, are essentially decontextualizing operations from which it is difficult to generalize results about language that will apply to an individual's complex social context in predictable ways. As Margaret Donaldson (1978:23) points out, we may dispute Piaget's claim, as Hughes does, but not his findings. Rather, we have to understand the reasons why such findings as Piaget's and Kroll's are made in the first place: that is best done by considering that his subjects bring to bear on his limited laboratory situations and tasks a whole range of complex human/social behaviours that may not be either construed or controlled by an external observer, and which will certainly influence the subject's experimental behaviour. In Kroll's study, it is the high degree of artificiality of the communicating context between child and 'listener' that the child must deal with in order to perform at all that renders his conclusions suspect. In Margaret Donaldson's terms, it is the lack of 'human sense' in the situation that makes the child behave and perform as he does, and which Kroll fails to consider. Indeed, the laboratory situation is likely the most improbable situation in which to enable 'human sense' to be operable in a positive way: the individual subject of a controlled and decontextualized experiment must construct personal behavioural strategies in order to perform in ways that make sense at all, strategies which must be seen to affect the results and which must be seen as accountable features of the experiment. This matter will be pursued further, below.

As well as the artificiality of Kroll's controlled laboratory experiment, the scope of the analysis given to the writing produced by the subjects renders generalizations only marginally useful to an understanding of writing processes. Kroll's principal concern was the amount of content, of rule information, contained in either the oral or written modes produced by the children. In their first attempt to explain the game's rules, those children asked to take up the explanations in writing performed significantly ^{more poorly} ~~poorer~~ than those operating in an oral mode according to the criteria of the amount of information contained in the respective explanations. In the second attempt by each group, both groups performed equally well in their performance of their respective alternate mode of discourse. However, since the greatest improvement was made by the group who first performed in the written mode and then switched to the oral, Kroll concludes:

Thus the evidence seems to warrant the general conclusion that decentration in writing tended to lag behind decentration in speaking for these fourth-grade children. (1978:279)

How other features of the written discourse compared to those of the oral mode is not taken up at all. This is unfortunate, since the matter of audience awareness he is focussing on would likely affect style, length, complexity of organization, syntactical structure and so forth. That is, the child's awareness of his audience is likely to have an effect on how he writes as much as on what he reports. For those children operating in the written mode in the first session, without benefit of even limited visual clues from their intended audience, the task might be made more difficult than for those with an audience present albeit limited in the degree of response rendered. That is, the difference in the amount of content in the first session between writers and speakers might be a function of audience awareness alone, and not of the written mode's incapacity to embed audience awareness as effectively as speech. Had both groups had the same degree of contact with their listeners/readers perhaps the results would have been different. A consideration of the differences between the writing of groups one and two in terms of matters of style, for example, might have proven to be of interest as well.

It is important to understand that Kroll is concerned with "audience awareness" and not Sense of Audience as taken up in Chapter 2 of this study. The difference is in the former's concern for audience as an external agent of influence rather than an internalized participant in the thinking/language process. Especially in this regard does his study fall short in its conception of audience by limiting the relationship of audience and individual to the cognitive mental operations of the writer, and thereby excluding the affective influences audience may have as a social component of and participant in language use. It is difficult to understand just what we can learn about audience awareness by considering it in piecemeal fashion, for surely the effect of audience is a consequence of all the ways in which an individual may relate to another at any given moment. One is reminded of Vygotsky's criticism of dividing up a field of study into its elements rather than its units (1962) and thus failing to perceive anything useful at all. In terms of

audience awareness, the elements are to do with the cognitive and affective perceptions by the individual of his audience, whereas the operant unit of concern is the individual's construed relationship with his audience or audience type. This operant unit is what is meant by Sense of Audience.

It is in regards to this distinction that Marion Crowhurst (1979) questions her own experimental design in her study entitled "Audience and Mode of Discourse Effects on Syntactic Complexity in Writing at Two Grade Levels". Her concern was the effects on syntactic complexity of audience awareness, as measured by Hunt's T-units (1965). Like Kroll, she gives consideration to only one feature of the subjects' writing. Her findings were that while audience awareness does affect the writing of older children, it has no effect on the writing of children in the Sixth grade. This might prove an interesting speculation, if it were not for the fact that she was not able to ascertain whether her subjects were focussing on the audience she intended:

A sense of audience would not appear to have been strongly mediated in this study. Subjects had to imagine the audience and could easily have responded to the assignment without attending to the audience constraint. It is interesting to speculate about differences which might be found if students were writing to real audiences for real purposes. (1979:107)

This is an interesting and important point for her to make, and underscores the importance of considering whether the classroom teacher is really achieving a genuine sense of audience awareness in students when asking them to write to a theoretically unknown and distant audience, when his actual intention to be the reader is known by the students anyway. This is one of the matters taken up in the next Chapter's analysis of the writing done by the subjects of the present study. More importantly it is a research problem that is overcome by the approach used in the present study as will be discussed below.

Kroll's and Crowhurst's studies point to three difficulties in the study of Sense of Audience and writing that the present study takes up. First is the matter of defining what may be meant by Sense of Audience. For previous studies, this term refers to

audience as an external feature of the writer's environment. For this study, audience is a matter both of the external and internal world of the writer--both an influence as an object of intention and as a participant in the process, as discussed in Chapter 5. Secondly, other work focusses on single features of the writing product without considering the internal effects of one feature upon another. Thirdly, the research designs of other studies employ a laboratory setting which effectively decontextualizes the behavior of the subjects, a problem difficult to overcome in the laboratory situation no matter how clever the design is for controlling variables. It is to this matter of methodology that I now direct our attention.

The Case Study Approach

As indicated by the model of Sense of Audience in Chapter 5, the interest of this study is to observe the individual within the context of his real world as a writer concerned with using language for himself and for others. It is inappropriate and futile, therefore, to consider any research approach which requires the extraction of the individual from his environment in order to observe his behavior under controlled and preconceived situations. There are two limitations that by design and necessity, respectively, give direction to the methods employed in this study. First, my stated interest here is that of the relationship between Sense of Audience and the writing process; secondly, and in relation to this interest, physical and time restrictions make it impossible to take proper account of large numbers of student writers. Primarily for these reasons, then, the Case Study approach has been adopted for the purposes of this research and has been refined and extended according to the particular requirements of the subject matter and the context, as described in Chapter 7.

The case study approach is not viewed by the scientific community as a strictly scientific approach to problem solving, and hence warrants discussion here. In the past decade, considerable attention has been paid to the matter of how research in education should and can be conducted both so that findings may be considered valid across scientific disciplines and so that teachers might be

able to view the research as appropriate to their needs and situations. It is not surprising to realize that research in education long ago adopted the scientific model to conduct inquiry into human behavior and teaching methods. But, as Donald Graves (1980:1-2) puts it:

The research on best methods for teachers was of the worst type. We took the science model of research and attempted to remove certain variables from their context to explain two crafts, teaching and writing, by dismissing environments through statistical means. We tried to explain complex wholes and processes through "hard data" about insignificant variables removed from context.

We complained that teachers would not pay attention to the research. But so far the teachers have been right...most of the research wasn't worth reading. It couldn't help them in the classroom. They could not see their schools, classrooms, or children in the data. Context had been ignored.

Particularly in regards to the second paragraph, Graves echoes the comments made in the opening remarks of Chapter 1 which describe the lack of helpful research in writing which prompted the present study. But the problem of choosing and developing the most useful research methods appears to be a most difficult one, one which has received much attention from a wide range of researchers across the disciplines. The primary problem would seem to be the prestige that the scientific method has won for itself, justifiably, over a long period of time and which therefore casts doubt on alternative methods of conducting inquiry and making observations. Yet, such writers as Kuhn (1978), Mehan & Wood (1975), Mischler (1979) and Magoon (1977) point out, methodology is a complex matter which is the product of philosophy as much as logic and which has undergone and is under-going constant evolution. In large part, methodology is tied up with the question and value of what one is looking for. In the matter of research in writing, for example, employing strict scientific methods which require context stripping procedures is highly inappropriate from the outset if we are acknowledging that it is the context that demands our interest. As Graves (1980:9) suggests:

Research in education is not a science. We cannot transfer science procedures to social events and processes. We are not speaking of corn, pills or chemicals when we speak of what people do when they write....Research about writing must be suspect when it ignores context or process....Devoid of context, the data becomes sterile. One of the reasons teachers

have rejected research information for so long is that they have been unable to transfer faceless data to the alive, inquiring faces of the children they teach each morning.

This is not to say that researchers in education are disparaging the proponents of the scientific method. Rather, educationalists are making demands of methods which science is not able to meet satisfactorily and at all levels of inquiry: it may be that education is developing a self-concept which is responsible for the introduction to the field of research of complexities traditional science is not designed to explore. That this is likely is supported by the view of Mehan & Wood (1975) concerning how systems evolve from one level of complexity to another:

...each science seeks symmetries. A symmetry is an internal order of explanation. For example, the laws of elementary particles establish symmetries.

At the next level of organization, these symmetries become problematic. The task of the solid state physicist is to examine the "broken" symmetries of elementary particle physics and seek new symmetries. The symmetries of solid state physics will be "more complex" than symmetries of elementary particle physics. Similar relations obtain among the contiguous links in the chain of sciences.

Magoon (1977:651) offers a similar view of the evolution of methodology in his interesting discussion of the development of "constructivist" research which he shows to be based in large part on the philosophical considerations of such writers as Kant, Wittgenstein, and Weber. He emphasizes that approaches to research undergo periods of development and consequent acceptance or rejection. He suggests that acceptance reflects a process of coming to value what a method may describe as the important phenomena that fall within its purview but which may not be considered important in other discrete systems of research.

The constructivist approach to research takes in those values described by ethnographical, ethnomethodological, anthropological, and sociological researchers which hold as a chief assumption that:

...the 'subjects' being studied must at a minimum be considered knowing beings, and that this knowledge they possess has important consequences for how behavior or actions are interpreted....This knowledge is further assumed to have a

complex set of referents and meanings that also must be taken into account when the scientist is studying human actions or behavior....A second assumption, independent of the first, is that the locus of control over much so-called intelligent behavior resides initially within the subjects themselves, although this capacity for autonomous action is often severely constrained, for example, by either explicit or tacit recognition of social norms. (Magoon, 1977:651-2)

These assumptions direct researchers towards designs, therefore, which pay attention to the subjects whose behavior is being observed. The criticism given Kroll's study approach, for example, regarding his apparent disinterest in how his subjects' construal of their 'listeners' may have affected their performance, was made in the light of such assumptions as these. George Kelly (1970:23) puts the matter somewhat more humorously, but with no less serious an intention than Magoon:

Ordinarily, if I wanted to play the game by the rules of objectivity, I would not stoop to ask you outright whether or not my description of your actions was correct; the noises you might make in reply could be taken in so many different ways I can be sure of being "a scientist" only if I stick to what can be confirmed. Being a "Scientist" may be so important to me that I dare not risk sullyng myself with your delusions. I shall therefore play my part and retain my membership in Sigma Xi by referring to your reply as a "vocal response" of a "behaving organism". HELLO THERE, BEHAVING ORGANISM!

The Case Study approach satisfied the arguments of writers such as Magoon (1977), Garfinkle (1972), Sacks (1972) and Mehan & Wood (1975) for a research approach to complex human behavior that takes into account the mind of the individual. Particularly in terms of this study's interest in Self and Sense of Audience, the case study approach is both necessary and fundamental and is in agreement with what Magoon describes as a theme of constructivism which "...will rapidly gain credibility in the decade ahead for educational researchers...". (Magoon, 1977:651)

Bruce Bennett (1980:7) of University of W. Australia, supports a case study approach to writing research in a paper entitled "Some Future Directions in Writing Research", in which he refers to David Tripp's (1980) argument that:

"...we should begin to collect, and make sense, of classroom phenomena, not by applying theories developed elsewhere, but by collecting many 'bounded instances'...which, although constrained by the particularities of circumstance, may nevertheless contain more general truths." This would be practical 'action research' of the kind which teachers could carry out, containing no more in the way of research paraphernalia than a statement of method and context.

This, I believe, is a major possibility for writing research....

Case studies, properly classified and indexed would, he suggests, "...open up (the case study approach) for wider discussion and (achieve) the building of an empirical base on which properly grounded theories might be built..." (Bennett, 1980:7).

Donald Graves (1980:7) is no less enthusiastic about the value of the case study in writing research and suggests that it is of value now because we have researched what he calls the "ends" of writing--the teacher and the student--and are now ready to approach the "middle"--the writing process. This would bring teacher, process and student together in the proper context of situation from which we may come to understand the nature of writing as a human activity.

Participant/Observer Research

But Case Study research by itself may not be enough if we are to both understand the individual and generalize what we have learned to enable teachers to carry such knowledge from room to room. The environment of the school provides the researcher with an opportunity to participate in a student's world that is not as readily available elsewhere: we may have to rely on secondhand accounts of what the student does at home or on the streets; the formalization of the school context is relatively more available to the researcher as an active participant where he is less likely to be seen as an alien influence and more as a member of the social structure.

This is an essential matter, particularly since writing as language is a social phenomenon which must be observed and understood as part of a larger context. As Graves (1980:11) states so emphatically:

Writing research must involve the fullest possible contexts in the 80's. We can no longer have experimental or retrospective studies that move in with treatments of short duration, or that speculate on child growth and behaviors through a mere examination of written products alone. Contexts must be broadened to include closer and longer looks at children while they are writing. These contexts must be described in greater detail.

Case studies per se do not assure the researcher an understanding of his subject's living situation: they do not necessarily ensure direct contact with a subject's actual environment of activity. They may be based on second-hand accounts, journal or diary entries, occasional interviews with the subject or with those who know him or her. In such cases, we are not so far removed from the traditional scientific model of research described by Mishler (1979:2):

To test the generality of our hypotheses, we remove the subjects of our studies from their natural social settings; their normal roles and social networks are left behind as they enter our experimental laboratories, much as we leave our shoes outside on entering a shrine. To meet the assumptions of statistical tests, subjects are then randomly assigned to different experimental treatments, as if they were as interchangeable as the seeds of different strains of corn or alfalfa....Thus, the elegant methods of experimental design and statistical analysis developed by R.A. Fisher for the agricultural sciences have been carried over into the human sciences, bring with them their context-free assumptions.

Mishler provides an insight into the need for a different approach that is reflected in the writing and work of Garfink^{el} (1972), Sacks (1972), Graves (1980) and others who are less interested in beginning research with hypotheses than in understanding the kinds of hypotheses that may emerge out of their subject's human/social contexts. Setting out to prove a single hypothesis rather than to understand a complex situation tends to make us, as theorists and researchers, "...behave as if context were the enemy of understanding rather than the resource for understanding which it is in our everyday lives..." (Mishler, 1979:2).

These arguments point forcefully to the need for research in the human sciences that describe a participant role for the researcher, a role which is taken up and extended particularly by ethnomethodologists, especially Garfink^{el}. Although ethnomethodology is a

relatively new approach to research in general and although its procedures and concepts attract considerable controversy from traditional research, its basic premises may be seen as an extension of those in sociology and ethnology, (Mehan & Wood, 1975; Garfinkle, 1967; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). The emphasis here is on the usefulness and importance of what Mishler (1972:2) calls our "everyday consciousness" concerning both our work as researchers and our everyday lives as members of a society. In general, ethnomethodology echoes much of what Magoon (1977) has said about constructivist approaches in research, what Halliday (1978) has said of semiology, and what Malinowski (1923) has said of anthropology: that the social context of a subject's behavior provides us with the best understanding we may achieve of his actions and purposes. As their examples show, the best way into such understanding is for the researcher to participate in the environment which frames his subject and subject-matter.

Thus, the approach taken for the present study offers two levels of observation and sensitivity from which the process of writing will be considered: the Case-Study Method is combined with a rigorous Participant-Observer approach in order to arrive at further understandings about the influences of an individual's Sense of Audience on his writing processes.

Case-Study/Participant-Observer Approach:
Description and Discussion

The qualitative research enterprise depends on the ability of the researcher to make himself a sensitive research instrument by transcending his own perspective and becoming acquainted with the perspectives of those he is studying.
(Wilson, 1977:261)

Wilson's statement, made as a concluding remark in a paper entitled "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research", serves well to sum up the positions regarding the importance of context in research on human behavior, and to point to some of the problems inherent in such work.

In freeing ourselves from the unnecessary constraints and limitations of the traditional model of research, so do we lose the inherent researcher-reliability built into that system's mode of

operation. It is a particularly apparent loss in Participant-Observer research which, by definition, involves researcher-behavior which may not be replicated by subsequent research. This is especially the case in the present study, as will become clear shortly, and therefore needs to be dealt with as an initial problem requiring solution.

First, the Case-study/Participant-Observer method itself is not intended to provide final proofs for essential hypotheses, but rather descriptions of instances which either need to be accounted for by existing hypotheses or theories, or which may be seen as challenging established systems of explanations (Mehan & Wood, 1975). In either case, a case study is better described as a study of what Rob Walker (1977) and David Tripp (1980) call a "bounded instance": the case studies in hand are framed by my own personal perceptions and influenced by my immediate research context.

Such an admission in traditional research models would render the study unscientific and therefore invalid. In constructivist terms, however, this first problem of enquiry may be best faced by what Scriven (1972) describes as a necessary precaution which would render subjective reports reliable:

If we can test someone's claim on a very large number of occasions and find him extremely reliable, we have good reason to believe him on other occasions when he testifies about events of a kind that we know to exist even though we cannot check them directly ourselves; that is, unless we know of some pervasive source of error about such testimony by him that overrides the prima facie case we can build up from his usual reliability. (Magoon:1977, 96)

The basis for reliability may seem to some to be over-extending the degree to which humans may trust one another: certainly scientific studies may be forged (and have been); for no study, no matter how 'scientific', may be completely free of the wiles and motivations of individuals. However, there is one essential condition which governs the behavior of scientists and which determines their ethical code and therefore their reliability. Bronowski (1978:122-125) describes it in the following way:

...what has made science successful as a social leaven over the last three hundred years is its change from the practice of individuals, however great their ingenuity, to a communal enterprise....Everybody knows that I write the scientific paper on an implicit, unwritten understanding among scientists that it can be absolutely believed to be what I believe.

But the credibility of the researcher and the reliability of his conclusions and descriptions may be determined in somewhat more specific terms than those offered by Scriven or Bronowski. Wilson, (1977:261-2) for example, offers a list of questions that are useful guidelines both for a consideration of the validity of research procedures and findings, as well as for the researcher's own description of his work. The first set of questions may be used to determine the researcher's ability to transcend his own perspectives in the research setting:

1. What was the researcher's role in the setting?
(e.g. teacher, administrator, researcher...)
2. What was his training and background?
3. What was his previous experience in the field?
4. What were his theoretical orientations about relevant topics?
5. What was the purpose of the field study?
6. Who supported the study?
7. Why was the particular setting chosen?
8. To what extent did he become a participant?

The second set of questions may be used to determine how effective the researcher was in understanding the perspectives of his subjects:

1. How long was the researcher in the setting?
2. How regularly was he there?
3. Where did he spend most of his time?
4. With whom did he spend most of his time?
5. How well did he understand the language of the participants?
6. How was he perceived by various groups of participants?
7. Which members of the community were his informants?
8. Was there systematic variance in his understanding of the perspectives of various groups?
9. What were the differences in information gathered by various methods?
10. What were the levels of confidence the researcher placed in various conclusions?
11. What was some of the negative evidence?

While these questions will not be used in any specific order of sequence or priority, they will be used in subsequent chapters of this study as a check for the inclusion of pertinent information, and discussion about specific features of the research activities.

Summary

Throughout the preceding chapters it has been stated that a new view of both writing and writer is emerging out of a dissatisfaction with traditional views. The present chapter describes the need for a new approach to research methodology that will promise more success than the traditional scientific model does in the area of writing research. What this amounts to, as Janet Emig (1980:5) argues is the beginnings of the development of a new paradigm governing the shape and nature of research in writing. She refers to Kuhn's (1978) concept of a paradigm:

By definition, the paradigm is a social phenomenon, a way of thought shared by a group of scientific workers. As the work proceeds, difficulties typically accumulate-- observations that do not fit expectations, previously unnoticed theoretical weaknesses that come to light. Eventually the increasing weight of these difficulties produces a sense of crisis, and a phase of revolutionary scientific activity erupts, leading to the emergence of a new structure of ideas. (Gruber, 1974:256)

She herself concludes that:

The pre-paradigmatic stage is the phase of revolutionary scientific activity . In writing research, I would suggest, we are at this stage. (Emig, 1980: 5)

In adopting the case-study and context-based participant-observer approach to exploring what is a very recent and emerging view of written language, the present study must be seen as belonging to the beginning of a new tradition in writing research heralded most clearly and substantially in education by the work of James Britton et al (1975) and continued by researchers such as Donald Graves.

The laboratory-based, context-stripping procedures of such studies as Kroll's and Crowhurst's is seen as serving what is

quickly becoming an out-dated view of language and language development. As a consequence, such studies may only marginally serve the needs of classroom teachers and students. The views of Stubbs (1980), Garfink^e~~le~~ (1967), Magoon (1977), Wilson (1977), Graves (1980) and others point to the need for context-based studies which take account of the social/human nature of language, a need the present study attempted to fulfill in its interventionist approach to case-study/participant-observer research on the influence of Sense of Audience on the writing processes of adolescent boys. The interventionist nature of this study will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

A DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY'S AIMS, CONTEXT OF OPERATIONS, PROCEDURES, AND ACTIVITIES

Aims

I have described this study as emanating from my interest in Sense of Audience on the one hand, and for achieving a measure of credibility for the teacher as researcher on the other. I have argued as well that the methodology implicit in Case Study and Participant/Observer research will best serve these concerns, which combine to place particularly unique and significant demands on the role of the research.

The first priority was imposed largely by the nature of Sense of Audience as I have defined it in Chapter 5, and required a more intimate and longer term contact with research subjects than the traditional research techniques seemed to encourage, enable or permit. At the same time, my experience as a classroom teacher persuaded me that the distance any teacher must keep from his students was sufficient to allow for the objectivity that research must achieve for itself, particularly at that point where data must be considered and conclusions drawn: a distancing greater than that of the normal classroom teacher seemed unnecessarily remote from the context of operation that I have argued is essential to research into human behaviour generally, and education particularly.

I intended in this study, therefore, to maximize the advantages of my previous teaching experience by operating as a genuine teacher of those students whose work I would eventually submit to the rigors of research analysis. This study is particularly unique by virtue of its essential Interventionist component which, I believe, has been unnecessarily avoided in virtually all previous research on writing. Interventionism has served this study well in a variety of ways, as will be discussed, including enabling me to extend my scope of observations, through the articulation of a number of complementary

aims.

Following is a list of the study's aims, the first two of which have already been discussed above and in Chapter 6. They should be considered my Principal Aims; that is, those which I set out with initially, and on which I focussed the bulk of my attention. However, as indicated, direct involvement in the field of context of my subjects generated a list of subsidiary goals which were essential to the carrying out of my tasks as a teacher and which complemented and extended the scope of the Principal Aims of my research. As will be shown, attempts to realize some of the Subsidiary Aims enabled me to fulfill my research intentions to a degree I might not otherwise have achieved:

Principal Aims:

1. To determine the influence of Sense of Audience on the writing processes of adolescents;
2. To develop and explore effective research procedures which:
 - a) provide insights into the writing processes, particularly in terms of Sense of Audience;
 - b) emphasize the potential relationship between good teaching and sound research that may be bound together in the role of the teacher.

Subsidiary Aims:

1. To appraise the effectiveness of the use of journals in teaching writing;
2. To determine and relate what students feel about writing as a language medium and how those feelings affect writing development and use;
3. To appraise the students' construction of the teacher in pupil-teacher communication, especially in writing;
4. To determine how or whether success in one function of written expression may influence development in another;
5. To observe, where possible, whether there are relationships between a student's everyday use of oral language and his use of written language;
6. To record which functions of writing students would adopt if given a free choice in the matter;
7. To determine what uses of writing students perceive and either accept or reject as being important or useful to themselves.

While the Subsidiary Aims are stated here as belonging to the intentions of the research, they must also be seen as necessarily existing alongside my pedagogic intentions, tasks, and responsibilities, one kind of testament to the affinity that may exist between the two.

Context of Operations

My interest in the problem of Sense of Audience for adolescent writers grew out of over twelve years of teaching experience in English at the secondary school level. Although I had been involved in an extensive teacher-developed school-based research project concerning language development and curriculum, the objectives of the research were seriously frustrated both by the scope of the project and the demanding realities that daily teaching of large numbers imposed.

My intention in this study, then, was to find or create a situation in which the naturalness of the setting could be preserved while the scope of responsibilities within it could be rendered manageable for the purposes of teacher-oriented research on what were for me familiar problems in a familiar setting.

My previous work at the Masters level included an exploration of Sense of Audience but only as part of a more general interest in language functions. The only suitable subjects that could be found for that study were female adolescents who had kept a record of their personal and school writing over six or more years:

Both Ruth Parbs' study (1974) of student writing and this one had difficulty in finding boys who had kept their school writing and, in this case, either attempted or kept personal writing as well. The need for research into the relationship between writing and the male adolescent is therefore indicated. (Paquette, 1971:102)

I had retained a continuing interest in pursuing that recommendation as this study commenced.

Establishing the Research Base

Working out of the London Institute of Education in the United Kingdom under the supervision of Professor Harold Rosen, I approached a modern purpose-built comprehensive inner-city school with a request

to conduct research in the English department. The Department Head had recently completed studies at the Institute and was known to be interested in research on matters of writing. His academic background in mother-tongue language development was considered very sound by both his teaching colleagues and the University. It was felt, therefore, that he would be encouraging and helpful in my research endeavors.

Initial contact and discussion of the general concerns of research with him proved to be highly productive and I was welcomed into the school and English department as a participant researcher. It is important to say that my relationship with school, department, and staff appeared to be an unusually good one from the start for a number of reasons, and led to special arrangements most conducive to close research. First, both the Department Head and several staff members were new to the school at the time this research began, a fact which contributed to a mutual personal and professional understanding which is less easily achieved by a researcher trying to become part of an established staff. An understanding was quickly reached that research was welcome in the school as long as it contributed to the school, to the staff, and to the students. Agreement was also reached quickly on just how such a contribution was to be made: what may be described as a symbiotic relationship was established.

I indicated my areas of interest, and the Department Head explained a problem of over-loading in a class of fourth-year English students. It was recognized that it would serve mutual needs if I were to become the regular English teacher for eight of the students of that class. Eight students was seen as a manageable size for intensive case-study work and that number would effectively reduce the class to a workable number for the teacher. The class-room teacher was to have the largest say in who would make up the eight students and, by coincidence, the students selected were all male, aged fourteen to fifteen.

The course from which the students were to be drawn, a new one called "Additional English", was not an examination-bound course. Being new to the department, the course did not yet have a rigid curriculum content or design, and I was trusted to apply my experience and inclinations to serve the needs of the students as well as those

of my research. Thus, a union of needs and interests was achieved from the outset.

A period of one and one-half years was established as the amount of time that we would each find useful and practicable for our respective needs. During that time I was considered and acted as a staff member functioning in a special capacity as both teacher and researcher. This was a unique situation in research, particularly dissertation research, made possible by a combination of the special demands of the study, the personalities and needs of the respective participants in the situation, and the general receptivity of the school to the presence of researchers. In general, the frequency and nature of my contact with the study's subjects and their contexts provided an opportunity to conduct rigorous case study/participant-observer research in a manner that could answer Donald Graves' (1980:31) criticism of traditional research in schools:

In the past, research has been done at too rapid a pace, We can no longer zoom in on a research site, emerge like green berets from a helicopter, beat the bushes for data, and retire to our ivy-covered sanctuaries. Sadly, an increasing number of school systems have marked their schools as "off-limits" to researchers. With good reason. Researchers, like poor campers, have not left their sites more improved than when they arrived....Research that ignores context tends to be in a hurry, to avoid the human issues of the persons involved in the study.

I was accepted into the school primarily as a teacher, as an important resource for a limited number of the school's students, and in turn I accepted that I had to fit into the structure that the school had developed in order to realize its own needs and purposes. The first demand, therefore, placed upon me was that I must adapt my timetable to the established routine of the students involved. This demand was not completely possible for me to satisfy, however, and in discussion with the Department Head a mutually useful compromise was readily achieved. The students' timetable for English lessons indicated meetings that took place on three separate days of the week for seventy minutes each. I felt that, given travel time, attendance at the school for more than two days per week as a regular commitment might place aspects of my research programme in some jeopardy. A system was therefore worked out whereby two meetings a

week was seen as my time commitment and the department would provide an internal substitute teacher for the third meeting whenever I made the request. This arrangement took substantial pressure off me, and contributed further to the amiable relations with the school. As will be shown, much of the time I met with my students for each of the time-tabled three meetings per week in any case, especially in the initial stages of the research. A typical timetable for the students in their Additional English class, as it affected me, is as follows:

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
Additional English:	10:20- 11:30	9:00- 10:00	-----	11:50- 1:00	-----

Fig. 9 Typical Timetable

Of a total possible 161 hours of class time available to me for class-time work, I participated in 120 hours of structured regular classroom teaching, and provided structured substitute-teacher work for the boys for the remaining 41 hours. This represented the total minimal time for which I was committed to the school and the boys. As will be shown, this figure of 120 hours was considerably extended through extra-curricular activities with the boys.

The responsibilities I accepted were ones largely consistent with any regular teacher's responsibilities for providing the best possible instruction and assistance to an assigned group of students. In this regard, the nature or quality of responsibilities was the same for me as for any teacher; only the number of students to whom I was responsible was diminished from the ordinary. Regular attendance at staff or department meetings and any other similar staff responsibilities were not designated as essential. However, I did frequently attend such meetings, including parent-teacher meetings, often participating as a speaker or presenting an account of my research progress, or presenting my views on school matters when such input was requested by the school's administration. I valued these activities within the school, both as a means of coming to know the school better for purposes of my research, and personally as a fulfillment of my continuing interests in teaching. At least as

important was the ease with which many staff members came to associate research work with teaching, one consequence of my accepted and readily apparent double role in the school.

In summary, the school context enabled me to operate as a legitimate classroom teacher, with full and total accountability to the students, parents and administration expected of me as of every other teacher. The only major concession made to me as a researcher was the minimum number of students I was expected to teach, a concession which was necessary but which did not affect the nature of my responsibilities as a genuine teacher. That I had access to work-room space, secretarial help, library lending privileges, use of the school bus, and was requested to participate in applicable discussions concerning individual students, reflects the degree to which my presence and work in the school were considered normal to the context.

Basic Procedures and Mechanics of Operation

A classroom was made available to me in which to conduct my lessons at the times specified in the timetable. With place, time and subject provided, I faced the problem of what specific activities would yield the most useful and plentiful writing samples consistent with my interest in Sense of Audience and with the students' needs. I decided that the most flexible form of writing activity would be a daily journal in which the students and I could write back and forth to one another about a wide range of matters and in a variety of styles and functions. Although the detailed nature of these journals will be given in the next chapter, it should be pointed out here that they enabled the students and ^{me} I to carry out discussions in writing on a one-to-one basis and across what Britton et al (1975) describe as the language function continuum from Expressive to Poetic and Transactional modes. These journals were seen as the basis of the writing programme for the boys and were written in virtually each day of class for anywhere from ten minutes to an hour depending on the boy, the need, and the opportunity.

Each boy's journal remained in my possession and, with the permission of the boys, each entry was photocopied and made available for inclusion in the study. At the end of the study, the journals were returned to the boys. Where a student felt that a particular

entry should not be included in the study or shared in any way with anyone else, it was agreed that such an entry would be removed and kept by the student. This did not occur, in fact, until the very end of the study time.

I felt, however, that journals did not provide a wide enough audience or purpose for writing, and therefore other genuine writing opportunities were sought and developed with the boys. The problem faced here was that of finding writing activities that involved real audiences and real issues. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8, a project was developed to raise money for an overseas trip for the boys, which involved their making direct and written contact with a host of individuals, groups, and officials. This project became the principal means of going beyond the limitations of the journals as a source and stimulus for writing activities.

As well as journals and the project, both of which served as the principle classroom activities over the study-period, I was interested in exploring and observing the other aspects of the boys' personal and social contexts. Therefore an agenda was structured through which I could participate in activities with the boys collectively and individually. The agenda included a number of visits to each of their homes in order to discuss a variety of matters with their parents; field trips to theatres outside their immediate community; weekend trips to football games; visits to my home to work on aspects of the project; and miscellaneous/spontaneous meetings in restaurants, at evening school functions, and project-based functions such as jumble sales and sponsored walks. The most extended period of continuous time spent with the boys was during a three week trip to Canada, the realization of the project.

Figure 10 shows a Calendar of Activities and events which reflects, in a very general way, the nature and frequency of activities I was involved in with the boys over a seventeen month period of time. Several informal visits were made to the boys' homes, usually in relation to a planned activity, and I made frequent contact with several of their respective 'mates'. The Canada trip indicated in the Calendar was a most intensive and exciting period of association with the boys during which we acted as a group in formal functions with the Mayor of the City, for example, were interviewed by newspaper reporters, went skiing and hiking, made

Figure 10

Calendar of Activities and Events
November 21/1979-----January 30/1981

Classroom	Journal Dialogues	120 Hours
Activities:	Project Development	-----
	Interest-based writing	14 Months
1979 Nov.	First encounter with students; first writing activity; Commencement of journal writing; first taped interview	
Dec.	Commencement of meetings with parents in homes	
1980 Jan.	First extra-curricular activity: stage play in West End subsequent meeting with Alan Bates (actor)	
Feb.	Completed first meeting with individual parents	
Mar.	First letters and essays sent to prospective project sponsors and Head Master	
Apr.	Visit to my home to work on project materials	
May	Participation in village jumble sale; Owen leaves group	
June	First football game attended with some of boys	
July	Meeting with Canadian school group; End of Term	
Sep.	Re-commencement of journals and project activities; half necessary funds raised; Schools Council promises help	
Oct.	Michael removed from group; Trip itinerary planned	
Nov.	Letters of request, introduction, and gratitude to sponsors and Canadian hosts and organizers	
Dec.	Letters completed, evening with parents planned	
1981 Jan.	Meeting with parents and boys to discuss trip itinerary	
Feb.-Mar.	Trip to Canada; commencement of special diaries	
Apr.	Final formal meeting and taped-interviews with boys	
Total: 17mos		

over-night visits to farms, and camped in the wilderness. In all, the Canada trip offered me the opportunity to observe in the boys, in a compressed fashion, what I had seen often intermittently over a year and a half. I was able to witness their contact with and reactions to a whole range of new and often frightening or puzzling experiences. In all, the Canada trip was an exceptionally rich and illuminating culmination to my contact and work with the boys, a contact which was nevertheless based on my role as teacher and which richly served my needs as researcher.

Summary

It may be seen, then, that the mechanics of the research operation were based on the role of the teacher. The advantages of this role for the purpose of fulfilling the aims of the study were numerous and included access to the subjects' specific and general context of living and operating, often in special ways. Specifically, the mechanics of the research operation may be seen in this way:

1. The subjects and I met regularly in timetabled classes for a total of 120 hours over a period of 14 months;
2. My basic relationship with the subjects was that of teacher/students, thus I was a familiar figure from the outset, at least in a general way;
3. The daily and regular activities which served the research aims were shaped and bound by familiar and accepted curriculum objectives and general teaching methods;
4. The sources of data consisted of:
 - a) materials developed in the course of curricular and extra-curricular activities;
 - b) observations made of students' behavior in and out of class;
 - c) discussions with subjects' parents, other teachers, and peers.

This summary provides only the most general overview of my specific activities and intentions with the boys, and serves primarily to provide background information and to set up a discussion of the interventionist nature of this study.

Activities

The Double Role: A Discussion

The context of a field of research can hardly be as fully understood by an observer standing on the outside looking in as by one who is both participating in and intentionally giving shape to the environment of activity and effect. That is, the argument that a researcher must remain aloof from the field of his study in order to maximize his potential objectivity is made at the expense of the potential sensitivity participation might yield. This argument bears consideration if one thinks of participation only in terms of the researcher getting lost amid the forest of unmanageable variables threatening the clarity of his intended vision. Yet, the danger confronting the aloof observer may be far greater because of the number of variables he is unable to perceive and hence, ironically, unable to control for want of awareness. Adding to research the dimension of intentional shaping goes a long way towards solving the conundrum concerning researcher participation in the field of study.

However, the dangers inherent in interventionist studies may be as readily apparent as the advantages are unexplored. In the first place, no research could be considered credible if the researcher had merely manipulated his target context in order to achieve predetermined results; nor would research be credible if intentional shaping of the field were done randomly or insensitively or without expertise. However, interventionism, conducted by a genuine and committed participant whose intentions and skills are normal to the field of study and consistent with the field's usual active members' purposes, brings an opportunity to research to provide cold objectivity with a depth that would make it more palatable to a wider range of researchers presently arguing over methodology. But more to the point, such interventionism would provide increasingly accurate insights into the complexities of human behavior.

My intention in this study to utilize an interventionist approach for the fulfillment of the Principal Aims had as its foundation considerable previous and on-going teaching experience in schools similar to the one in which the study was conducted. Furthermore, my commitment to teaching provided the motivation for me

to conduct the study in the first place, as a response to questions about learning and teaching which had confronted my own teaching endeavors over a long period of time. Thus my experience, commitment, and sensitivity to the field of study served my interventionist intentions well.

The implicit demands placed upon a researcher with such intentions have principally to do with the need to be an active, total, and effective participant without sacrificing the intentions of the research role. In the case of the present study, that demand imposed on me the task of functioning as a teacher committed to being at least a good representative of teaching within my professional field or discipline.

An understanding of the status of the researcher as a teacher is important to this study. It is also important to understand the balance achieved between the two roles: it is no more difficult for a researcher to balance his functioning as a researcher with that of a teacher than it is for other researchers in education to balance 'observer' with 'statistical expert' or 'mathematician'. Indeed, it may be more difficult and interfering for the researcher to exercise his expertise as a teacher than to exercise it and apply it to his work. I consistently found that the teaching I did during the week gave my research deliberations a useful measure of invigoration, and my role of researcher provided an equally useful measure of clarity to lesson preparations. Under the conditions I had negotiated for myself as researcher/teacher, no interference by one with the other was experienced: they were found to be stimulating and complementary roles, both of which I was able to enact with confidence.

There is a final matter of importance regarding the double role of researcher and teacher: As a close inspection of the Subsidiary Aims will suggest, it would have been a futile task to have attempted to apply an equal amount of analytical rigor to each aim within the traditional and practical constraints of the dissertation study, a fact which sometimes meant having to rely on and to acknowledge reliance on professional/personal intuition. That seems to me to reflect a state of intellectual health in research for two important reasons.

First, any researcher must rely on intuition at one or more points in his study, no matter how controlled his research design.

It is not always clear, however, in many studies just where intuition and objectivity blend together. In this study, the intuition which must serve the classroom teacher daily may be seen in a relatively clear manner to be serving the demands of research as an effective and consciously-conceived complement to the more conventionally accepted analytical techniques.

Secondly, acceptance of one's intuition as a credible source of preliminary knowledge, which may serve on-going exploration and examination of tentative new knowledge, opens up possibilities for insights into behavioral phenomena. Covert application of intuition may not serve a researcher's questioning as readily, straining as he must against the force of his own implicit understanding in the name of an unnecessarily pure and impossible objectivity. Polanyi's (1967:4) considered statement that "...we know more than we can tell..." points sharply to the desirability of operating with more confidence than researchers usually do within the parameters of personal tacit knowledge in the public arena of research.

Classroom Activities: An Overview

As previously mentioned, the principal initial classroom activity was the writing of daily journals in which the students and I wrote back and forth to one another in a 'dialogue of writing'. The following is an example of a simple dialogue held between Robert, one of the boys, and me in December, 1979:

Robert--Tell me more about your interest in writing or journalism: Is this a strong interest of yours? Do you think that writing serves a useful purpose in today's world? After all, it is said that fewer and fewer people are reading anymore, so maybe fewer and fewer should write. Maybe we should get into film-making.

.....

So, today Mr. Paquette wants to know more about my great interest in journalism. Well, to start with I always read the daily papers and think that some of the comments written are very helpfull to the reader. For instance in the sports sections, news of transfers etc is explained in great detail, and if the news of the transfer was not written in a paper, then who would know about it apart from the people involved?

I also like writing a great deal and the idea of travelling around the country and reporting on major news stories, appeals to me greatly.

I doubt however, that I would like to write a book or a novel of some sort. I think this would probably get rather

tiresome and boring.

I have also been told that to be taken on as a trainee journalist, I would need at least two A levels. As this is very, very difficult, I doubt if I will ever become a journalist, but it is something that I would like very much indeed.

This pattern of give and take in writing was established as a routine from the second day of classes and continued to the fourteenth month: from November 1979 to January, 1981.

The principal purpose of the journals was to establish myself as the boys' teacher, as the sole and obvious audience for the bulk of their writing. I felt that this would, at least, answer the prime criticism of other studies of Sense of Audience wherein it was difficult to know who the writers had in mind in spite of the researchers' attempts to limit audience to one kind or another. However, the writing also served as a principal means by which to get to know the boys and to enable them to get to know their teacher. It was not held back from them that I was a researcher interested in their writing development. Indeed, that was discussed on the very first day and on several occasions thereafter throughout the seventeen months of their contact with one another. They were not informed of the specific interests I had in their writing, but it was impressed on them that my major task was to look for ways to improve their processes. The matter seemed to interest them in only the most general of ways and seemed to affect them only to the extent that they were careful about not taking their writing away with them until it had been copied for me.

The writing also served as the means through which work was done on individual writing problems, from spelling to essay development, although it turned out that this was done only infrequently and not with all of the boys.

The actual writing was begun in the first few minutes of each class, after the usual salutations and discussions of the events preceding our meetings. In each case, I would have written a response in their journals to the previous meeting's entries and the boys would begin their writing by responding in turn and/or by introducing a new topic. This activity took as little as ten minutes or as long as sixty, depending on such variables as mood, the topic at hand, the press of other matters, and so forth. Frequently, I had the time during class to make immediate responses to some of the

boys' entries and a running dialogue would be achieved on topics the individual would have wanted to talk about but also wanted to keep private from the others. This particular writing was interesting for the special purpose which it revealed writing could serve, and will be explored further in the Case Study analyses.

While I had developed general and specific class lessons ranging from lessons on particular novels, general writing problems, reading of plays to be seen on subsequent days, to group discussions on matters of interest to myself and the boys, the more usual class activities beyond that of journal writing were those which emerged as necessary from comments or requests from the boys themselves. In one case, they wanted to read a typical Canadian novel, and therefore Who Has Seen the Wind by W. O. Mitchell was introduced, read, and later discussed. More often, however, the boys asked for assistance with work to be done for other classes, particularly in History, their other English class, or biology. This was undertaken with the agreement of the respective course teachers and provided me with a way of looking at their writing in other situations. Because of the small number of students in the class, I was able to provide individual help with their interests or writing problems.

My relationship with the boys grew closer as time passed and emerging out of this relationship was a stated interest in learning more about my Canadian home and life-style. Through the showing of slides and consequent discussions and further questioning, one of the boys asked if it might be possible to raise the money for them to go to Canada to experience winter conditions first hand. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, this request was soon developed into a project which I saw as serving my study's and the boy's needs and interests rather well. By January of 1980, the third month of the study, class activities began to center around development of the project and attempts to raise funds. While this meant a personal investment of some considerable time in meeting and talking with people entirely peripheral to the study, I was enabled through these efforts to penetrate the workings of the boys' immediate community of business people, bankers, social organizations, parent associations, sports figures and so forth, and thus gained an extended view of the context in which the boys lived. As well, however, I was able to set up contacts for the boys to write to, which they were

requested to maintain until the project's funds were raised. This mainly involved the writing of letters, some personal meetings, and the development of essay position statements concerning the advantages to them and their community of their intended trip to Canada. The boys found these somewhat difficult to write and much time was devoted in class to working out the best ways of writing letters of introduction and request, an activity which directly served my interest in Sense of Audience.

Throughout all the shared activities and events, I kept a diary of observations and comments which fueled my subsequent analysis of the boys' writing and social behavior. Further, three taped interviews were held with the boys, one at the beginning of the study, another approximately half way through it, and the other near its conclusion. These focussed primarily on those matters relating to their writing, either directly or indirectly, and served to fulfill at least in part some of the Subsidiary Aims of the study. Excerpts from some of these will be presented in subsequent chapters as part of the study's analysis and discussion of the boy's writing.

Summary

In order to make the move from theory to practice in a manner consistent with the concern for context in research, I adopted the role of teacher in a secondary school in inner London, thus making this an interventionist study. Working within the context of this school, I took on the task of teaching a group of eight boys whose work and behavior were to serve my research aims.

The principal means by which I obtained writing from the boys was through daily journal writing which took on the shape of a dialogue-in-writing between us. Also, a major project was undertaken which involved active communication in writing from the boys to a wide range of audience types both familiar and foreign to them.

In all, over 250 hours was spent in direct contact with the boys, 120 of these in the classroom. The balance was spent largely outside the school, including nearly 80 hours outside their own country. The extended amount of time spent with the boys was seen as an important part of the study, enabling me to make close contact with the context that formed their environment and influenced much

of their behavior.

The two principal aims of the study were stated in the following way:

1. To determine the influence of Sense of Audience on the writing processes of adolescents;
2. To explore and develop effective research procedures which are consistent with the needs and aims of teaching practice.

A first look at the boys themselves is now needed to complete the general picture relevant to the study.

CHAPTER 8

A GENERAL PROFILE OF THE BOYS

Social-interaction and Language Behavior

First contact with the eight boys of this study was in November 1979 and final contact was projected to be May 1981. The boys were originally part of a larger group of mixed-ability and mixed-race "Additional English" students who were being taught by a first-year teacher who was having difficulties dealing with the range of abilities and behavior problems in her class. In response to my offer to take on the teaching of eight of the class, she and the Department Head agreed on eight boys who represented the widest possible cross-section of students, ranging from serious behavior problems to the most academically astute and interested in the class.

The following general profile of the boys is not an intensive approach to analysis, but the presentation of a view which is accessible to the teacher and important to his teaching decisions. It provides the very real backdrop of personalities, and teaching criteria against and with which I conducted my research. In this sense, then, I am providing here the basic human context in which I operated in my double role as researcher/teacher.

As well as demonstrating a range of writing competencies, which will be detailed later, the eight boys also represented a range of classroom behavior and a wide range of general academic abilities as described by their various teachers and tutors. The range of classroom behavior demonstrated by the boys is shown in Figure 11 below.

Of the eight boys, all but Mike, Owen, and Chris were seen to be normally active in the school's social environment. Owen, the only black boy in the group, was found to be very concerned about his color and thereby restricted himself only to classroom activities with the other boys. He ultimately excluded himself from the group's central project, as will be discussed at length in the present chapter, had serious problems regarding attention span, and work which required

Figure 11

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR

	Age	Classroom Behavior	Academic Performance
Mike	15	Frequently disruptive	Very low
Mark	14	Cooperative, Involved	Low to Fair
Owen	14	Quiet but Attentive	Low to Fair
Chris	14	Quiet, Cooperative Frequently absent	Low to Fair
Steve	14	Noisy but Involved	Fair
Ricky	14	Occasionally disruptive	Fair
Karl	15	Restrained but Cooperative	Good
Rob	15	Cooperative, Involved	Good

quite often seemed beyond his abilities to cope with, a fact which finally prompted his removal from the group near the end of the study. Chris missed so much school that court action was threatened against his parents, a threat that was ultimately removed but which affected his attitude toward school and his teachers in a negative way.

Both individually and collectively, the group presented a friendly front and did not resist being drawn from the larger class. The situation was clearly conducive to this ^{amiability} ~~ambience~~, for the group was given the use of a special 'cottage', a small on-campus house, as a meeting place, and it was made clear that we would likely pursue different course objectives than the larger group, objectives which they would each have a say in expressing and developing.

The boys had met with me in the context of their regular classes over a period of two weeks, or six classes, and had each talked with me about on-going projects, life in London, and other miscellaneous matters. I was not present when the selection of this particular group of eight was discussed and made with the larger class.

When I met with the boys for the first time, in what was to become our regular meeting place for the first seven months, I attempted to make my role as clear as possible: Interest in conducting research into their writing was discussed at length and no attempt was made to disguise interests, needs, or general projected methods. However, it was also made clear that juxtaposed to the research role was the role of classroom teacher that carried with it all the responsibilities and advantages of that designation. The boys were quick and enthusiastic to point out, though, that the situation seemed a special one, and no attempt was made to deny that. Indeed, the specialness of the situation was seen as an interesting and fortunate event of which we would attempt to make the most.

Our initial meetings, held in regular class-times three days a week, for seventy minutes each time, were given to determining basic routines and discussing my Canadian life-style, often contrasting and comparing it with the boys' London life. Clearly, the emergent prime interest of the small group was to get to know one another, with the focus being our respective natures and backgrounds. Out of this essential interest and need grew the particular use of journals

in which we were to have private dialogues in writing, and the first written exchange entitled 'I am the one who...' which provided me with my first direct contact with the boys' writing competencies.

The tone and atmosphere of the class was generally friendly and noisy. Although the boys were not close friends outside of school hours, with the exception of Rob and Karl and, tentatively, Ricky and Mike, they seemed ready and able to converse with one another about football, (their prime area of interest), and any special events of the day or week. I often found it difficult to calm the boys down in my teacherly attempts to provide focus for each lesson or activity. However, they were generally cooperative and willingly directed their attentions away from what appeared often to be disjointed chatter to writing in their daily journals, the content of which will be the prime focus of the study's analysis of their writing.

The room in which the group did its writing was rather small and lacked what I felt were suitable writing surfaces. However, for the first two months together, the boys did not seem interested in using the other rooms of the cottage in which to do their writing more privately and with greater ease. Instead, some sprawled on the floor, others wrote in their books on their laps, and others commandeered from the outset whatever table or desk surface was available. Over all, some adopted the posture and attitude of a serious writer, others seemed entirely content with what appeared to be an almost totally inappropriate and uncomfortable personal body configuration. By the second or third month, however, each student began to demand or devise better physical conditions for writing. This will be discussed in the next section in more detail and with reference to particular individuals.

Over all, the intimacy of the cottage and the independence afforded us by the Department Head provided a participant/observer situation that allowed considerable time for me to observe and make notes on the social and writing behavior of each of the boys in the group, time which was taken largely during periods of student writing and hence did not interfere with my teaching responsibilities or needs. The social behavior and attitudes towards others within the group was of primary interest to me in terms of my interest in Sense of Audience. In this regard, the boys' attitudes, responses, and general behavior

towards myself were also of prime interest, insomuch as I was to become one of the boys' most important classroom audiences and partners in dialogue, written and oral. Charts were therefore made to present a visual representation of the boys' social and language behavior in the general environment of their activities. These are presented here as a summary overview of the boys behavior and represent observations of the boys in my class and in several other classes of which they were members, of their playground behavior, and of extra-curricular activities such as afternoon and evening theatre trips and special work-sessions at my home. The first chart (Figure 12) represents their general non-linguistic behavior in groups of two or more and is an indication of how they tended to move in and out of group activities. Such features of behavior as physical contact, eye-contact, activity participation, physical movement, gesturing, posturing and stance were taken into account. The second chart (Figure 13) represents only oral behavior. Both of these charts are intended only as a quick external means to an assessment--a teacher's eye-view--of the boys' sociability. They serve to help give focus to the analysis of the students writing described in a subsequent chapter. Details of how the individual boys responded to me will also be given later and in relation to specific writing samples.

These initial observations of behavior, made over a period of approximately three months, were based on both distant and close associations with the boys in a variety of activities ranging from classroom discussions, evening visits in their homes, lunch-hour encounters with large groups, evening theatre visits, first encounters with strangers, private talks and so forth. These observations, constantly subject to revision and extension, were considered essential if a thorough understanding of what was happening in their written work was to be achieved and if effective help was to be offered them. But the most essential use for observations of their social behavior was in terms of understanding how or whether they were able to construe and assimilate Others in ways useful to their writing activities. In this sense, it became clear that it was important to have a clear understanding of the range of their social contacts, of their repertoire of Others, and of what significance they gave to those contacts. As will be delineated later, an individual

Figure 12

SOCIAL INTERACTIVE NON-LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR, INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

	Avoidance	Restraint/ Tentativeness	Ease/ Fluidity	Gregariousness	Aggression
Mike		Characterized by his 'Strutting' Behavior-----	Once into group sit- uation, adopted group behavior patterns awkwardly		
Mark			Confidence permitted wide range of group types & ages		
Owen	Except in pre- structured situations-----				
Chris	Disliked all school activities co-operated if pressed-----		Once involved relaxed & active-often surprised at self for en- joying activity		
Steve			Moved readily into group situations, even totally new ones but quickly be- came dominant figure-----		
Ricky		Risked moving into group situations, at first quiet, moody, non- active			
Karl			Quiet, but confident, alert, re- sponsive & constructive		
Rob			Socially astute and relatively sophisticated and adaptable		

Figure 13

SOCIAL-INTERACTIVE LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR, INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

	Avoidance	Hesitation/ Restraint	Ease/ Fluidity	Talkative/ Gregariousness	Aggressiveness/ Manipulative
Mike	When aware of inappropriateness of his normal loud & coarse language		Within restricted social setting of small peer & known adult group	Easily excited & hyperactive especially around females	
Mark			Capacity to adapt tone, expressions & lexicon for group demands or preferences		
Owen	Avoidance, but not rude or impolite, aloof, quiet				
Chris		Restraint, participation through gesture, laughter & short phrases			
Steve				Very active-- associated with humorous histrionics	
Ricky	-----	Moody, ---- quiet, fast mumbled talk	Best in one to one situation		
Karl		Quiet, very soft spoken, gentle, clearly interested & engaging, slow to start, listens			
Rob		Feels sense of 'place' socially	Very fluent & flexible At ease with adults	In specific situation of dominance particularly re. age	

Language-use Profile was found to be of considerable use in understanding each boy's Sense of Audience application in written language. As the conclusion to this chapter shows, these observations and those reflected in the following charts served to guide me in developing and selecting the specific criteria presented in Chapter 9 for analysis of the boys' writing.

Writing Performance

The First Writing Activity

Since initial discussion between the students and me involved elaborated and often invigorating interchange regarding our personal backgrounds, the first writing activity was directed at giving shape and permanence to the anecdotes, elaborations, stories, and arguments. Six members of the group therefore undertook to write of themselves by completing and elaborating on the sentence "I am the one who...". The boys' papers were intended to be read only by myself, and my paper was to be shared between them. Two others wrote on the following day without the opening guide sentence, but with the same purpose for writing in mind, which was to provide background material or history of interest to themselves and to me. The six boys began writing during one class session and ended the following day. Although I suggested that they might take the pieces home for completion, none did so. The following are extracts of all the boys' writing, photocopied from the originals, and intended to give an initial sense of the ease or difficulty each student may have experienced in their first writing intended for me.

Mark

I am the one who
 I am a hard work who works well with
 other people. I live at 5 school house.
 I am a fan of Tottenham Football Club
 I enjoy the work which has been set
 me. I go to scouts I also go swimming
 I have got two brothers and one sister
 called Dawn Steven Michael.

.....

Robert

I am the one who

My name is Robert and I am fourteen years old. I will be fifteen on the 28th January 1980. I was ~~born~~ born in Tottenham and have lived here all my life.

I have several interests. I like many sports, mainly Football (Soccer), but I also enjoy playing and watching cricket, tennis, Rugby union and athletics. I also like new-wave music which is a type of music based on the idea called Punk Rock, which has spread over England and Europe, and some parts of the U.S.A in the last few years.

Going back to soccer, I support a team called Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (Spurs for short). The stadium in which they play is just around the corner from here ~~North~~ (N.P.S). They are in the first division of the Football League. There are four divisions in the Football League of England and three in the league of Scotland. The best Football Clubs are in the first division, the second best are in the second division and so on.

As you can probably tell from the amount I am writing ~~is~~ ~~the~~ about this, Football is the greatest pleasure I have in life.

Chris

I am the ~~one~~ who.....?

you should no my name and tutor group and my year, and the school I go to. you should check IF I'm good or bad in Extra english. and check IF my writing is bad or Reading is bad. you should no that why did we pick english because) to help us learn more English. you should know IF your work is good or bad. How you react to this teacher. See how my writing changes though the year. IF your characters good.

.....

MikeMe

I am the one ~~who~~ who love to play football and I will help you if you need help I am a rokerilly and we do not like Mons, pintis, snuck head, Tevat or raker. we are not stude maker but if a fight come is us we will fight. I have a football that is TOTTEHAM HOTSPUR.

Ricky

I am the one who works very well, and I can do good work, I try to keep my work reasonably well, I think a lot when I have to write a piece of work, my writing is reasonably neat I think it could not be worse I write very small because it makes it neater and so you don't really do a lot of mistake they don't really show but if you write big and you cross something out it looks very untidy and it spoils the piece of work you are doing. I think when there is a lot of children in the class the class seems to get noisier because when one person speaks the two people there the volume goes up but if there is a small group you can concentrate much better and the teacher can see you much quicker but when there is a lot of children the teacher can not get round so quick because the kids are impatient and want to see you first but people will have to wait their turn and be patient.

.....

Karl

I was born in the North Middlesex Hospital in Edmonton, just up the road. I am more cockney than most think I am. The people down London are cockney, (I think) but not sure about Liverpool and are scared, and are happy, black, white, black, and white.

Steve

I yonised to have a pet dog called Pagan I know its a wierd name but its better than fagan (my freinds dogs name). He had a disease which ~~the~~ one of the best vets in London didnt know what was. We never found a cure ~~but~~ to his disease but we found that if we bathed it every other day then it didnt get so sore. Some times I went out to a freinds house and would forget to feed him and my mum would have to do it for me, but she got feed up of this arrangement and eventually she gave it away to a man she knows ~~is~~ who lives in the country (Devon) I havnt seen him since.

P.S. I wish I could.

.....

Owen

I am Owen and I go to Northumberland Park School. I am in the fourth year. The lesson I am in at the moment is Additional English. It is mainly the same as the every day English. I chesse it because I wanted more English.

My first reaction was one of disappointment, for the work initially appeared to be untidy, brief, and clearly lacking much of the content that had surfaced during casual, but often animated talk. It seemed as though the boys were not really interested in sharing much of their lives, or at least as much as they did in talk. Yet, it was easy to confuse group animation and involvement with individual participation, and when re-considering the situation of our oral dialogue as contrasted with the more solitary and quiet act of writing, it became clear that few individuals had really said very much in terms of details about their lives. What was missing from these pieces of writing was largely the sense of involvement one got from the oral/group situation which was largely guided and stimulated by two or three individuals, and which provided the illusion of quantity or content. In fact, the writing was not so far removed in terms of content, in most instances, from the oral contributions of each boy.

The oral situation, however, did provide the stimulus for each individual to offer more bits and pieces of information, which emerged as responses to specific stimuli, but which were ultimately not expanded upon in any particular order, if at all. The group discussion was largely characterised by disjointedness, a feature of sharing often supported or dictated by talk. As content it was rendered unsatisfactory by the implicit expectations of the writing system. Hence, what seemed to be the life and vitality of the group discussion, what made it seem so successful and stimulating, was entirely missing from the writing: the sense of involvement and Other-awareness that feeds the oral situation.

Yet not all the pieces were equally devoid of a sense of Other-involvement. Owen, for example, seems only minimally willing to take up the demands of the task. Ricky begins writing about himself, focussing on what he thought I was most interested in (that is, writing) and losing himself in a discussion of class size, as though he were talking to somebody else suddenly. Rob seems to understand and accept best what I was interested in and speaks directly to me, clearing up matters which he must have felt would have confused his reader who was a foreigner and unaware of the football scene which, he points out, "...is the greatest pleasure I have in life...". This apparent difference in Sense of Audience between Owen at one end of a continuum, and Rob at the other, is what frames the interest of

this study.

The first writing activity revealed little about the individuals' Sense of Audience except in relative terms and even then only the shallowest of surface features: while it is apparent that each writer saw or accepted his audience's demands or interests differently or responded to them in different ways, it is not clear from this first writing just how each construed his audience or how a change in the construal would affect the writing. What was clearest from this writing activity, then, was the confirmation of my contention that a long period of time with the writers was going to be necessary if any significant insights into how Sense of Audience affected writing were going to be gained. Further, it was clear that to come to understand the nature of the influence of Sense of Audience one had to gain an understanding of the individual writer in his broad context as a social/linguistic interactor.

Sense of Audience is not the only concern of this research, however. As discussed, helping the boys with their writing problems, whatever they may have been, was also a clear and important aim. As can be seen by the extracts shown above, these problems were many and covered everything from grammar and syntax, to organization, handwriting, spelling, and punctuation. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, in regards to Hartwell (1980), Kinneavy (1979), and Smith (1975), it is more likely that a top-down approach to help and practice is the most effective. Thus, setting out to provide each student with a clear and genuine sense of the usefulness of the writing medium and involving him in such use from the outset seemed the most effective way of providing the students with help. Just how or whether such writing activity would effect their mechanics and organizational skills was of interest, as stated in the list of Subsidiary Aims.

Observations of how the boys went about the physical act of writing proved of interest as well, and the thought could not be avoided that, for example, Mark's sprawling posture was somehow related to his writing. It seemed from the first that the better writing came from the more writer-like individuals who generally came equipped with pen or pencil, knew how to handle paper, and provided themselves with the best physical posture and writing surfaces. It seemed that Mark was generally more indifferent about how or what he wrote than was Rob or Karl, so what was this a function of? If Mark felt it

important to say something clearly and effectively in his writing, would his body-posture and preparedness change in some way? Certainly Mark was good in an oral situation, and attended to the demands of dialogue very well: he would not have thought to be slovenly or awkward, to slur his words or cover his mouth, so why was there an apparent indifference in the writing activity, in an individual who seemed to feel that communication between himself and others was important and achievable? Would the development of a more substantial and clear relationship with me as his reader affect a change in his writing?

While several questions were posed about the boys' writing habits from this first activity, specific observations were noted about such factors as their tendency to talk while writing. Some talked in full voice, word for word, during the entire writing activity, even stopping the writing process in mid-sentence and transferring from the written mode to the oral by suddenly directing their words not at the paper or some unseen audience but at one of the group members who was otherwise preoccupied with his own writing. It seemed that the better writers wrote in more silent concentration: in these cases it did not seem that the spoken word was needed to serve the written at all during the act of writing.

The First Four Months of Writing:

A Summary of Observations

The first four months of the study lasted to the end of the half-term in the school and thereby served as a useful unit of time over which initial observations might be revealing a pattern in the boys' writing behavior and performance. These Initial Observations of Written Language Performance and Behavior are presented in summary form in Figure 14. During this time period, a substantial body of work was produced by each of the boys. Figure 15 presents a chart summary of the holistic observations made about each boy's collection of work made to that point, and signifies the writer's accomplishment from piece to piece in terms of how well his writing served the needs of the task and the reader. The dichotomy of Contracted--Expansive was used to signify to what extent the writer explored his subject matter or topic fully enough for the demands placed upon him: the criterion

Figure 14

WRITTEN LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE AND BEHAVIOR: INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

	AVOIDANCE	RELUCTANCE	PERFUNCTORINESS	WILLINGNESS	INVOLVEMENT	ENTHUSIASM
MIKE	Many mechanical & physical problems, tasks unenjoyable					
MARK		Embarrassed about handwriting, labored movements, enjoyed stories poor posture, slow to begin, tense and quiet. Poor spelling, punctuation errors frequent				
OWEN	Act of writing usually labored Unproductive, work full of Spelling, punctuation errors			Constant prodding to get him started, once begun seemed to enjoy process: spelling, punctuation and some grammatical errors.		
CHRIS						
STEVE		Reward-dependent, tended to use writing as means of performing; few errors or serious writing problems.				
RICKY				Also reward dependent, but could frequently get seriously involved: some spelling, punctuation problems not serious in nature. Used writing time efficiently, seldom expansive or expressive.		
KARL						
ROB				Displayed competence and ease, but very technical in tone and presentation. Neat, thorough, efficient, infrequently expressive.		

of Expansiveness is familiar to both students and teachers as one frequently applied measure of success in writing.

An example of a Contracted expression is offered here from an attempted discussion with Chris about his first mountain skiing experience in Canada. When I asked him what he enjoyed the most about his three-day experience, his reply was "Coming down!". Now, one might not want to argue about Chris' conciseness nor about the credibility of his answer. What might be questioned, however, is his failure to either recognize or take up my interest in talking about his experience at some length: "Coming down!" closes discussion rather abruptly. In an oral situation, the interlocutor may well prompt Chris further and manage to elicit further description and narration, but in writing the need for such elaboration resides in the writer's awareness of what the task is really all about. That is, the writer needs to have internalized his audience sufficiently for him to serve as an internal interlocutor, for the task is really a social one defined in terms of the potential exchange between individuals.

The chart presented in Figure 15 attempts to show the degree to which that potential was realized over a period of time and through a number of pieces of writing. The figures used are purely arbitrary and serve only to show the position of one student relative to the others. The figure of 10 arbitrarily designates the point at which the writer was adequately satisfying my interest in and need for communication and response. All the writing represented was directed to me in journal entries. Another chart, presented in Figure 16 shows how much the writer appears to make his writing a legitimate and thorough communication between himself and the reader, during the first four-month period. This is largely a reflection of the writer's view of writing as a means of personal expression and was determined through several discussions with each writer, (as will be reported later), and through exchanges in writing about specific written responses. That is, I questioned the extent to which the writer felt his own writing skills could communicate his intentions to a reader. But as well, the factor of the writer's willingness to say things in writing rather than in talking, for example, are indicated in this arbitrary measurement. Robert, for example, frequently held back from saying anything of a personal or expressive nature, preferring instead to use writing to make lists or to talk about 'safe' subjects such as football games.

Yet in talk, he was most communicative about a range of matters he felt were affecting his life. Figure 16 is therefore an expression of how willing a writer was to use writing for personal communications as opposed to communication of impersonal or 'safe' information. Again, the figures used are purely arbitrary and designed to represent only a summary of my initial observations and reactions to the boys' writing. Yet, some interesting comparisons may be made. Mike, for example, wanted his writing to say much more than I felt it did-- what effect would this discrepancy have on Mike's use of writing? Most often, Mike felt his writing was very good, troubled only by spelling errors, and he was oblivious to its contracted nature and the fact that often it was not on topic, or seriously disjointed, or simply illegible. Rob, on the other hand, seemed to have achieved just what he wanted. In his case, I felt he did not have high enough expectations, that he was "copping out" (as it was put to him): Rob's writing, which might be judged successful as opposed to Mike's, was also deemed dull where Mike's was colorful and interesting, albeit incomplete. Where Mike appeared to be holding back in his writing in terms of quantity, Rob held back in terms of the significance of what was said, rendering his writing primarily sound but without interest.

The chart presented in Figure 17 points to the degree of competence each writer demonstrated over a period of time and a number of assignments or activities. Embedded here are some of the possible reasons why the boys may have had low expectations for their writing and accompanying low intentions for what they wanted to achieve with it. The attempt in this chart is to indicate through the dichotomy of Circuitous--Consolidated the degree of frustration or dissatisfaction produced by each boy's skill or lack of skill in effectively expressing his ideas. 'Circuitous' refers to the degree to which the boy lacked the appropriate lexicon or syntactic structures necessary to satisfyingly precise sentence structures. 'Consolidated' refers to competence in using those same linguistic features of communication, specifically to the degree to which the writing successfully managed to subordinate structural elements effectively. It was felt that such competence would affect the pleasure and enjoyment one would feel in taking up the task of expressing oneself in writing.

Figure 17

WRITING COMPETENCE

	CIRCUITOUS										CONSOLIDATED									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
MIKE								*												
MARK								*												
OWEN								*												
CHRIS											*									
STEVE													*							
RICKY											*									
KARL												*								
ROB														*						

The observations made and represented in Figures 15, 16, and 17 are not intended to be precise measurements of their indicated criterion, but rather as holistic indications of where each boy stood in relation to general teacher-expectations of a good writer. These observations were checked against the opinions of the boys' other teachers, past and present and were found to be consistent with their views as well.

Summary

The boys represented a good cross section of the school's population in their language competence and social behavior. Their writing skills were substantial enough for my purposes and aims, and the boys were clearly willing and interested in being my subjects/students for the long period of time necessary for the study.

Their writing skills ranged from seriously poor to highly competent and may be seen as following a line of improvement from Mike through to Rob in the following way:

Mike	Mark	Owen	Chris	Steve	Ricky	Karl	Robert
VERY	-----						VERY
POOR							COMPETENT

Their initial and early writing activities, those undertaken in the first four months of the study, revealed some diverse and interesting features which were apparent manifestations of the degree to which each had developed a Sense of Audience which could serve the demands of the writing task. However, it was clear from the outset that what their writing tended to reveal about Sense of Audience was not sufficient for the purposes of this study: observations of their oral language and general social behavior suggested that a more intimate and lengthy period of time with the subjects would likely yield significantly more insights into the nature of the boys' writing processes. Access to the broader context of their personal and social lives seemed readily available to me largely because of the generally amenable nature of the boys and their interest in my background.

A relationship between the boys and me was established which was primarily characterised by mutual sharing of thoughts, feelings, and interests all largely mediated by the daily journals' dialogues-in-

writing.

Although two of the boys did not stay with the group for the duration of the study, their time was sufficient for their work to be productive of insights into the nature of the writing processes. The other six boys were actively engaged with me for fourteen months of class time and for a subsequent period of time afterwards involved in the realization of the group's major project. The total time period over which contact was maintained for purposes of the study was seventeen months.

Finally, initial observations of the boys' oral and written behavior provided me with a firm foundation for the selection of the criteria for analysis to be applied to the whole of their writing. A discussion of those criteria follows in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9

THE CRITERIA FOR ANALYSIS

General Categories

As already stated, the intention of this study was to explore the influence of Sense of Audience on writing processes. Implicit in this intention is my view that the nature of Sense of Audience cannot be determined merely by the dissection of written products. Accordingly, I set out to create what I could confidently claim to be my subjects' actual Sense of Audience in their writing, an accomplishment achieved mainly by the use of dialogues-in-writing between myself and each of the boys. The establishment of a known genuine audience in the study enabled me to direct my analysis to a consideration of possible changes in the general process and nature of the boys' written work over the period of time they were directing their writing primarily to me.

In approaching the study in this way, I was keenly aware of the lack of any substantial precedent on which I could base my analysis. I felt responsible, therefore, for providing a broad base of analysis on which subsequent studies could achieve perhaps sharper focus on relevant specifics. That is, it was my view that a detailed study of only a single feature of the boys' writing would not provide a sense of the extent to which Sense of Audience could affect writing processes in general, and thus would fail to provide insights into the inter-relatedness of all the features of writing. My attention, therefore, was directed not at the narrower features of writing, such as syntactic complexity, but rather at the writing system and writing process as a whole. It was my intention thereby both to give teachers information useful to their practical needs, and researchers a more useful basis for extended exploration of Sense of Audience than has hitherto been achieved.

My decisions regarding what I would report on within the confines of this study, from the abundance of data yielded, were made on the basis of the needs and interests of both research and teaching practice.

Such an attempt at unity was consistent with the double, but integrated, role of teacher-researcher that I had realized throughout the study.

Accordingly, I focussed on three writing-related categories which I felt could incorporate the universal and traditional concerns of teachers of English and which would yield an abundance of observations useful to the theoretical researcher. These categories were:

1. Mastery of the Writing System
2. Written-language Functions;
3. Content.

An elaboration and discussion of each will reveal how they were related to Sense of Audience.

Mastery of the Writing System

For the purposes of this study, I construed the writing system primarily in terms of its established set of structured conventions intended to compensate for the loss of speech devices. This is not to deny that the writing system contains developed features which serve its many specialist purposes and which may differentiate it from speech in a functional respect, but only to indicate that I focussed my attention on the basic writing skills and behavior of the boys. The intention of employing this category, therefore, was to direct attention to the most basic features of relatively simple writing endeavors, such as the matter of punctuation, which served to provide my subjects with their most frustrating, pervasive, and visually apparent problems.

I found the work of Mina P. Shaughnessy (1977) to be an essential reference for my consideration of the problems and progress of the boys in the study, five of whom were considered by their teachers and by me to be remedial or developmental writers, or what Shaughnessy called 'Basic Writers (BW)'. Her view of her BW students was consistent with mine of my subjects, namely that they:

...write the way they do, not because they are slow or non-verbal, indifferent to or incapable of academic excellence, but because they are beginners and must, like all beginners, learn by making mistakes. These they make aplenty and for such a variety of reasons that the inexperienced teacher is almost certain to see nothing but a chaos of error when he first encounters their papers. Yet a closer look will reveal very little that is random or "illogical" in what they have written. And the keys to their development as writers often lie hidden in the very features

of their writing that English teachers have been trained to brush aside with a marginal code letter or scribbled injunction to "Proofread!" Such strategies ram at the doors of their incompetence while the keys that would open them lie in view. (Shaughnessy, 1977:5)

A large part of the purpose of this study was to determine whether Sense of Audience might be one of the keys to which she refers.

Although Shaughnessy did not pay direct attention to the matter of how Sense of Audience influenced the development of a student's writing processes, she was clearly aware of its significance to the writer, chastising the teacher who merely rides roughshod over the student's technique or sentence structure, "...as if thought were merely the means for eliciting grammatical forms...". She argues convincingly that:

Paradoxically, we tend to discover what we as individuals have to say by talking with others....Ideas come out of the dialogue we sustain with others and with ourselves. Without these dialogues, thoughts run dry and judgment falters.... Without strategies for generating real thought, without an audience he cares to write for, the writer must eke out his first sentence by means of redundancy and digression, strategies that inevitably disengage him from his grammatical intuitions as well as his thought. (Shaughnessy, 1977:82)

She agrees, that is, with James Britton (1970;1977) about the importance of construing learning as being characterised by dynamism, particularly the dynamism of oral language. In this regard, she warns of the need to recognize an essential difference between the writing system and the oral system:

The differences arise, mainly, from the degree of consolidation each form of expression allows. Speech is more likely to follow normal word order and to tolerate a high level of redundancy and loose coordination. It is perfected in the dynamics of dialogue, not at the point of utterance. Writing, however, withholds utterance in order to perfect it. (Shaughnessy, 1977:51)

I would want to qualify her view of the withholding of utterance in the writing process with the statement that withholding utterance does not need to imply a loss of the dynamism she argues is essential to the perfection of consolidation unless such a loss is effected by

an inhibiting or undeveloped Sense of Audience. Where the 'perfection' of attempted consolidation is realized by a writer in his work we may have evidence of a substantially enabling Sense of Audience within the individual writer, the manifestation of an internalized state of social dynamism.

Shaughnessy is aware of the importance of internalizing the social milieu common to all oral language situations and of the consequences of a writer's failure to achieve it, a consequence which means that:

...the writer cannot carry on the kind of conversation with himself that leads to writing. Either he will be blocked from writing or he will allow his words to run on, like an idling engine, disengaged from personal thought or purpose.
(Shaughnessy, 1977:)

Such disengagement affects the degree of mastery of the writing system, as I have defined it for my purposes, and thus reflects the possible importance of Sense of Audience even in the development of such concrete matters as punctuation. Shaughnessy articulates this matter with clarity and firmness:

Students should be helped to understand, first of all, the need for punctuation, both as a score for intonations, pauses, and other vocal nuances and as a system of marks that help a reader predict grammatical structure. This understanding comes about when the writer is able to view his own work from the reader's perspective. It should not be surprising, however, that BW students, who have generally read very little and who have written only for teachers, have difficulty believing in a real audience. (Shaughnessy, 1977:39)

Thus, Shaughnessy's impressive work on the errors inherent in a BW student's writing points towards the significance of a developed enabling Sense of Audience to a student's mastery of the conventions of the writing system, a relationship I explore in the work of my eight subjects.

Written Language Functions

Two important factors have led me to consider the use of a language-functions category in the analysis of the development of my subjects' writing. The first is the view of writing, as I have developed it in previous chapters, as a social activity which mediates the relationship between a writer and one or more others. That is, writing

has evolved as a functional device in the service of fulfilling multiple social needs and demands. In this respect, then, research into the writing processes of individuals must take account of its functional nature.

Secondly, Britton and his colleagues (1975) have shown clearly that schools are preoccupied with a small percentage of the range of writing functions available, choosing for a host of reasons to give overwhelming emphasis to a single function. In light of their findings and juxtaposed against the general dissatisfaction with writing development in schools, an exploration of written language functions as they relate to writing in general and to Sense of Audience in particular seems both fruitful and necessary.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Britton's scheme of language functions is a useful research tool, and I have applied it to the writing of the boys in this study accordingly. Of particular interest was his concept of the Expressive function which he views as serving the development and realization of the others, Transactional and Poetic. This valuing of the Expressive function served the concept of Self and Sense of Audience as I have developed it in Chapter 5 exceptionally well and provided me with the principal reason for employing the daily journal and dialogue-in-writing, an effective means by which to elicit expressive language. In basing my teaching strategies in this study on expressive language, I was able to trace the development of the boys' writing into other language functions, a development which arose more naturally than attempts to impose the use of specific functions upon them would have elicited.

Principally, then, by applying Britton's (1975) scheme of language functions to the work of my study subjects, I was able to discern movements within their writing processes that related to Sense of Audience in specific and clear ways.

The language-function scheme applied to this study was presented in detail in Chapter 2 and summarized below in Fig. 18:



Fig. 18 Summary of Language Functions

Content

The writing system has evolved not merely as a means of achieving an incredibly complex array of syntactic and grammatical inter-relationships between symbols, but to bear the weight of an individual's world of experiences, thoughts, and feelings. Thus, the specific content to which an individual applies the system will have a significant bearing on what conclusions about his writing development a researcher may draw.

Sense of Audience should clearly have an effect on what it is a writer is willing to include in his writing, and what he includes should in turn or simultaneously affect the functions he employs and the confidence with which he approaches his task. That is, the nature of the content of a piece of writing would seem to bear a relationship to the other features of his writing as well.

Accordingly, I have given considerable emphasis to the matter of the nature of the content the boys incorporated into their writing over the period of time I worked with them. This was a particularly appropriate consideration in light of the nature of this study and the degree of involvement I had with the boys over a relatively long period of time and range of activities. That is, I had the opportunity to develop a reasonable sensitivity to what mattered to them, and was thereby able to draw some conclusions regarding the content in their writing, conclusions which related to both writing development in general and Sense of Audience in particular.

Specific Criterial Areas of Focus

In the previous section, then, I have outlined the general categories, (Mastery of the System, Written-language functions, Content), that describe the parameters of my analysis of the boys' writing in relation to Sense of Audience. Within those parameters, I defined five areas which encompassed features of writing most likely to be subjected to the influence of Sense of Audience:

- Area 1. Development in Expansiveness of Content:
subject-focus; direct and implicit recognition of audience needs (as indicated in part by parenthetical explanations, direct audience references, allusions to shared contexts); fluidity of content development (use of transitional devices, logical interrelatedness of ideas).

- Area 2. Development of Intention to Use Writing as an Authentic Means of Personal Expression:
dissatisfaction with distractions during writing; concerns for neatness, appearance (legibility and aesthetics of presentation); interest in editing; demands for response; appropriateness and range of tone, style, and voice; concern for completeness and demands for sufficient time; shifts in physical posture when engaging in serious writing; demands for special equipment and for suitable writing locations.
- Area 3. Development of the Ease with which Writing Tasks are Undertaken:
improvement in image of Self-as-Writer (readiness and willingness to use writing, preparedness, personal manner); beginning processes; disappearance of talk-for-writing; improvements in handwriting, paper-condition, margin-doodling (as a distraction and replacement for writing activities).
- Area 4. Development of Appropriate Levels of Language Convergence in Writing:
development of lexicon (or demand for assistance with vocabulary): responsiveness to increased range of demands by reader/interlocutor; appropriate changes in tone, style, voice, and format; readiness to take up increased range of issues; reluctance to attempt maximum convergence at the expense of control, fluidity and personal style.
- Area 5. Development of the Awareness of Need for Improvement in Mechanics, Construction, and Organization of the Whole Piece:
unwillingness to send out writing that is not error-free; explicit requests for assistance with spelling, grammar, syntax, format; on-going editing.

The fifth area is seen as an awareness both of one's failure to make expressions clear to Self and Others, and a desire and capacity to improve the appropriate skills. Hence, what is indicated by such awareness is a learning readiness that is tied to one's sense of the effectiveness of his own language use in terms of both Self and Others. What language he perceived as inadequate to Others he is likely to want to improve if his intention to communicate is strongly developed. As will be shown, the boys were initially only marginally aware of what was wrong or cumbersome about their writing and were largely unmotivated to do anything about it; later, some were asking for specific or general editorial assistance from myself or other teachers. This change appeared to be coupled with their becoming readers of their own writing, readers with a developing sense of how others would read their work.

This latter change was treated as one indication of the development of Sense of Audience.

While these specifics are not inclusive of all features of written language that might be considered, they served to provide a suitable and useful framework appropriate to the study's purposes, which was to consider the general development of writing processes. Accordingly, each of these areas was applied to an individual boy's writing only where appropriate, and discussions of my observations of their work subsumed these areas under the three broader categories of Mastery of the System, Written-language Functions, and Content.

CHAPTER 10

SPECIAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS EMPLOYED

IN THE ANALYSIS OF WRITING

A number of terms and concepts, some of which have been referred to in the previous discussion of this study's criteria for analysis, require introduction and elaboration here:

1. Convergence;
2. Plateauing;
3. Thresholding;
4. Vacillation;
5. Authentic Communication.

Convergence

The fourth area of criterial focus referred to in the previous Chapter makes reference to the concept of language convergence. First introduced in Chapter 4, this notion is drawn from the work of Howard Giles (1979) in his discussion of Accomodation Theory. Although his reference is to oral language, his interest in the ways and degrees to which a speaker will accomodate his language to that of his audience has application to written language as well, particularly to the dialogues-in-writing which formed the core of the writing done by the boys. Giles expresses the view that in many cases it is prudent and valuable for an individual to adjust his language content and style to the construed language-patterns of his partner,¹ but that there are times as well when convergence may not be a wise or useful strategy. In the latter case, Giles is concerned with how an audience might interpret maximum convergence, possibly seeing it as effrontery, mockery, or an unwelcome attempt to join the inner circles of a closed group by taking up its language. If we extend his concern to writing, we reveal yet another worry: teaching writing, or more particularly teaching the written code of Standard English, is in effect a demand for maximum convergence. This demand may have two specific negative effects: First, it may have the consequence of preventing the learner from using

his own language as a building base and thereby render writing a barrier to expression. Secondly, demand for convergence may block possibilities of genuine social interaction because the demand is one-way, thereby effectively excluding the teacher from becoming a language "partner".

There is another concern, however, which is essentially a peculiarity of the normal student-teacher relationship in language: Giles suggests that convergence is a skill that is basic to all normal language-users, a skill which is made manifest through active participation in language interaction. A probable parallel for writers of such convergence-producing situations is the sharing of personal letters. But in the school situation, the writing process is largely acted out only by the student and for a reader who is unlikely to respond in written form. That is, in the school situation, young writers are not really involved in a language interaction process, leaving the question of where they make contact with the language they are supposed to be emulating. It would appear that teachers attempt to substitute error-correcting and structure-imposing techniques and exercises for the natural processes that apparently served the child better in his oral language development. It may, therefore, well be the case that many children experience difficulties in acquiring the skills demanded of them in writing because what is expected of them is simply not really available for them as a useful working model. Because the typical models of good usage presented to them by teachers are not ones which involve them in the way oral dialogue does, they may be rendered useless, or, at best, marginally useful.

The journal dialogues incorporated into this study are an attempt to employ the student's natural abilities of convergence in the writing situation and thus to enable Sense of Audience to be maximally developed and applied.

There is a final concern about the concept of convergence that warrants some discussion here. If it is to be construed in writing as a desirable language skill or as a reflection of a constructive language device, it must be in terms of its being inclusive of other language styles of the individual rather than exclusive of them. That is, convergence must be seen as being an extension of a writer's range of language use which carries with it the stamp of his particular expressive voice. Maximum convergence, however successful attempts to achieve

it may be, carries with it the danger of erasure of personal voice and therefore loss of interest in using the medium which implies the demand and carries the threat. In terms of the student-teacher relationship, then, convergence must be seen as a two-way extension of change in normal language-use, each in effect inviting the other to communicate in a newly-forming language structure. How far and how fast the teacher may thereby draw the student towards a particular point of formality in language use in writing would then depend on the communicative powers of the student's language at any given time: a continuous modulation between expressive and more formal language use would be the rule, each modulation drawing with it and extending the expressive voice of the individual into the realms of increased formality and sophistication. To sever the learner's personal voice from his language use in the name of maximum convergence would be to exclude the target language from his personal repêtoire of useful language functions as well as the social milieu which takes its nature in part from these functions. Convergence must therefore be seen as movement or development, not merely as performance. For this reason, clues regarding the development of readiness for increased convergence towards specific written styles may and should be found or looked for in the learner's broad context of social action, including oral language use.

Plateauing

Throughout my own teaching experience I have observed and been puzzled by what appears to be an apparently inexplicable cessation in the writing development of individual students, a cessation that was evident in both BW and skilled writers. In BW writers, the phenomenon seemed characterized by a stasis, particularly in the development of such skills as punctuation, syntax, grammar, and even handwriting. In skilled writers, the stasis extends to fluency, transitional devices, topic-development (expansiveness) and general essay-development techniques in which continuing growth had previously been exhibited. That is, plateauing is a phenomenon wherein the apparent skills of the individual writer seem to cease in the course of their normal development. This seems to me to be a very serious matter, particularly in light of my observations that plateauing, once manifested, may persevere for a considerable length of time, perhaps becoming permanent.

It is a particularly interesting and serious phenomenon that may well be exacerbated by the response of the classroom teacher to its manifestation in any given student. In the case of Tony, for example, whose work is represented in the opening pages of Chapter 1, his teachers had come to accept his lack of development with a resignation that I feel may well have prolonged the plateauing effect that frustrated them and him.

Insomuch as it appears to be such a pervasive phenomenon, appearing in the development of my subjects as well as many of my previous students, and insomuch as Sense of Audience may well bear some measure of relationship to its probable cause and solution, I have incorporated it into subsequent analysis and discussion.

Thresholding

Thresholding, the incomplete or partial assimilation of audience, is possibly related to Plateauing. I have coined this term to indicate the apparent withholding of complete assimilation of Others into the Self, a phenomenon I observed in at least two of the boys. The specific consequence of Thresholding appears to be the failure of the individual to be able to engage in that dialogue with himself that will or may lead to writing appropriate to the needs, demands, and interests of the intended reader.

This is a purely speculative concept, conceived as a possible explanation for the puzzling writing behavior of two of the boys in this study, and will be discussed further in the appropriate case studies of the following Chapter.

Vacillation

This term describes a movement within either a single piece of writing or a pattern encompassing several pieces which may indicate imminent development of the writing process from one level or kind of usage to another. As such, vacillation, which is signalled by a variety of apparent mistakes or inconsistencies in writing style, tone, voice, content development, or organization, may be one indicator of a break from the stasis of Plateauing in an individual's general writing development. It is therefore to be considered as a significant

development in itself, one which must be recognized and exploited by the teacher of writing in a way constructive of the writer's continuing development: It is likely that a writer experiencing the phenomenon of vacillation may construe it as a deterioration of his skills which he saw at least as being stable during the preceding period of Plateauing.

The concept of Vacillation, in conjunction with that of Plateauing suggests one kind of general writing development which could be seen as a pattern, or a recurring pattern, in a writer's progress:

Acquisition of Skills---Plateauing---Vacillation---Realized Development

This concept is therefore worth exploring further, and will be discussed and elaborated upon in relation to specific examples coming out of the case studies which follow and in the final chapter on Discussions; Implications, and Recommendations.

Authentic Communication

Expressive Language and Authentic Communication combine to form the main thrust of my intentions as both teacher and researcher. A writer's use of Expressive Language implies that his intentions to communicate that which is important to him at the moment are genuine and beyond dispute: Expressive language, that is, signals authentic communication.

As we move away from the use of Expressive Language, however, it becomes increasingly more difficult to decide whether a writer (or speaker) is merely using language to perform, to create the illusion of satisfying external demands to communicate, to create what Britton et al (1975) calls 'dummy-runs'. Authentic Communication therefore is a term I have employed to replace that of Expressive Language in the case of a writer's use of other language functions. The underlying assumption is that it matters considerably whether a listener or reader construes an intended communication as being genuine in nature in terms of the response he will make to it, and whether the speaker or writer himself considers his purpose to be genuine or construed, in that his intentions will affect his language. In the case of writing particularly, the lack of authenticity^{ty} in one's work over a long period

of time (perhaps years) may well have a serious effect on the overall development of written skills and attitudes, contributing at least to the phenomena of Plateauing and Thresholding referred to above.

While it is notoriously difficult to decide on the authenticity of another's communication, it is a judgement that, as speakers, we make on every occasion of interaction with others. We may often be wrong in our judgements and we ^{are} likely ^{to} spend all of our social lives perfecting our attempts to be accurate. In research on writing, authenticity has been ignored, and the need to make judgements regarding authenticity has been avoided. Given the nature of research on writing that focussed on product alone or on single writing activities, perhaps that is just as well, for authenticity is likely best seen as an overall pattern of behavior and intention that may not be perceived in any single instance or as a consequence of any particular communicative mode.

It is my conviction, however, that since the matter of Authentic Communication is an essential component to the quality of human social relationships, it must not be avoided as a concept important to the inquiries of formal research into writing, particularly since responsibility for its inclusion in writing may well have been unintentionally abdicated by teachers in their preoccupation with performance.

I have taken the opportunities this study has afforded me, through the close and long-term association with a small group of writers, to explore the matter of Authentic Communication in writing as it relates to Sense of Audience. Again, while it may be virtually impossible to determine the authenticity of any single writing intention, it appears to me that judgements framed by long-term relationships and varied activities stand a good chance of achieving credibility and therefore offering significant insights into the writing process in this regard.

CHAPTER 11

CASE STUDIES: KARL, STEVE, MIKE, OWEN

The Use of Journals/ The Canada Project

The Journals

As indicated by Marion Crowhurst (1979), the central problem of doing research on Sense of Audience is being able to determine precisely what audience it is the student or subject has in mind when involved in writing.

To overcome this problem from the outset, I employed the use of daily written journals as the prime writing activity of the group and established the format as a dialogue-in-writing between myself and the eight boys. This dialogue-in-writing accomplished three significant things: first, it enabled me to know with as much certainty as may be possible who the audience was the boys had in mind when writing; secondly, it created the opportunity to establish writing as serving useful, interesting, and personal ends; thirdly, it enabled me as teacher to have substantial, direct and close contact with the boys, and as researcher to achieve a necessary measure of distance for purposes of subsequent analysis.

The use of journals for purposes of getting the boys to write and for purposes of observing their writing processes proved to be of exceptional value: I was able to observe the writing process while simultaneously being a genuine participant in the endeavor, thus achieving a large measure of sensitivity to its intentions and accomplishments. The concept of Participant/Observer research achieved its height of usefulness, credibility, and efficiency in this continuing activity and in the analysis of all other writing activities conducted.

As will be shown, several of the boys extended their writing activities from the journals to other generic forms and functions, but none were used for evaluative purposes for course performance. That is, no grades or marks were either demanded or given, leaving us free to use our writing for the legitimate purpose of communication and

personal expression, an unusual situation, perhaps, for most teachers in most schools. Evaluation of progress in the course was handled through the submission of written statements concerning each boy's general level of progress in writing and classroom behavior. Specific matters relating to writing were left as a concern between myself and each boy individually. I felt that this freedom from having to ascribe specific evaluations for each piece of writing contributed significantly to the general level and nature of involvement in writing we achieved.

The following is a typical early example of a journal's dialogue-in-writing, showing the often wide range of topics and issues that surfaced out of our relationships and which were given focus in writing activities. As well, this example points to some of the problems inherent in daily journal writing. For some of the boys, the barrage of questions and statements I directed here to Ricky were overwhelming, and I found that I had to stick with single questions or statements or run the risk of being ignored altogether:

You and Michael have been friends for a long time.
Do you quarrel often? Isn't it interesting how good friends can have terrible fights and become even better friends afterwards!

I enjoyed your company yesterday, as did Miss Edmonds.
You are continuing to gain my respect and I appreciate your help--
I'm still new over here and find it difficult, often, to work with the people here. That makes your cooperation rather important to me.

What do you intend to do when you are through school, Ricky?
(Do you have any plans or dreams?)

What did you think of the play we went to yesterday? (And meeting Alan Bates and the back-stage crew?)

-JP

P.S. I understand you took some pictures with Miss Edmonds--
what pictures did you take? (Are you interested in photography as a hobby, by the way?)

.....

Yesterday I enjoyed myself and it was good to meet Alan Baites, I wanted to meet the others. but I supposed it. was a bit to much for them to come down, Mrs. Edmonds asked if I wanted to take any pictures so I took 3 the first was of a man getting into the Taxi and there was an old lady walking across the road and I took it, and the last one was a man with a green hat coming towards us. So I took it, Michael and myself are friends but the other day we had an arguement. So I gave Micheal a last chance if he wanted to be my friend so he accepted it, Micheal enjoyed it a bit better than myself because I dont really like them kind of plays but it was not bad afterwards I arrived home at about 705 pm. because. I went arrounds Micheals for a cup of

tea and some chips I bought them on the way to Micheals, This morning took some pictures in photography I went down bruce grove I dont mind photography.

-Ricky

Subsequent to this written discussion, Ricky became the official group photographer and journal recorder, an indication of the practical nature and consequences of journal dialoguing.

Some of the boys ferreted through my writing, and often chose to respond only to some of what I had said. Others attempted to deal with everything, or even changed the topic altogether by introducing their own questions or issues. In all, there was an essential freedom to the writing that took the boys time to learn to exploit, but as we progressed, I found that I had to overtly direct the conversation less and less:

Well, I'm glad you're back. As you can see, we are going to get to work more seriously now on our plans to raise money. I hope you enjoy making the boxes. Can you now commit yourself to saving a fixed amount of money?

-JP

P.S. What is happening to Michael?

.....

I am glad in away I back but there is alot of agravation at the moment with the teachers. Mr.----- my Games teacher had an armuement with me well not an arguement but a quarral. he said have you got you P.E. Kit and I said no so he said you have to do lines, but I did not want to do lines and I refused so he picked me up and said if you dont do them lines betime 3.20 I will throw you through that window so I sat down and when he went I got the bus from Pastuer Garderns and went home, Mr.----- said to me come back after school Thrusday so I have to go. Mrs. ----- wants to see me about being late. But I will be alright, Miceal is not at school because his sister has got chicken pots so if Micheal comes to school. he might gave it to someone but micheal might be back Monday.

-Ricky

The nature of my responses or questions in the journals depended, of course, on which boy I was writing to. For example, Rob had more of an influence on the nature and direction of the entries by virtue of his ability to initiate discussion than did Ricky, as shown in the exchange which follows:

...so what kind of a kid were you to raise, then? (And I wonder what your parents would say to this question???)

-JP

.....

I can't remember when I was really young. But my mum said I never cried or anything. I never caused her many problems, well not any that I can think of. I spent most of the summer out in the garden raking around while she worked indoors, watching to make sure I didn't disappear or anything. Winter was more boring and I would mostly sit in and watch T.V. or read comic books. I have had a rather eventful life up until now. This is perhaps the part of my life which I have enjoyed least of all. I am at an age when I have not really got much to do except play football, watch T.V. and read books. I am too old to play about with such things as mentioned on the opposite page and too young to go into pubs drinking etc. School work becomes important at this time and much of my life must, unfortunately, be based on this for quite a while. When my exams are over and I leave school and hopefully get a good job, I will probably really begin to enjoy life once again. But nobody knows what the future has in store. I can just hope.

-Rob

.....

You describe school as an uneventful time in your life: Do you feel that school is only worthwhile in the academic sense? What about socially?

-JP

.....

School is a very worthwhile experience academically, but I don't know about socially. I was always a damn sight happier about making friends in my own way rather than being forced to be friendly with every boy in my class at school. I believe that schools force you to mix with people who you do not really like. Please give me your comments about friendship. This can be a very delicate subject. I think that homosexuality should be outlawed. I'm sure your opinion could be different. After all, if the whole world was homosexual than their would not be a world!

-Rob

The journal dialogues were also useful in discussing matters relating to novels or short stories we had read together and discussed as a group, as this example from Ricky's journal shows:

George should have killed Lennie in a more of a way to let the men see him kill Lennie but he done it his way but he should have let Lennie run away to the mountains but either way Lennie was going to be killed.

-Ricky

.....

Ricky--Why do you feel George should have let the others see him kill Lenny? That is an interesting point and I would like you to explain it to me further. Do you think, then, that George was guilty of murdering Lenny because of the way he did it?

-JP

.....

I felt that George should have let lennie run away and tell the men that he could not find him and when the men left George should have went with lennie and George should have sat down and learnt lennie diffrent things so he would not do anything else wrong, but if the police was out looking for lennie he should have them gave up that is my opinion on the situation.

-Ricky

The journals were an interesting and productive activity for both the boys and myself. But they were also initially difficult to write, for in using them as we did, to get to know one another, they were bound to reflect much mutual uncertainty. The examples shown above reflect, particularly, the development of my own responses to the situation, moving from an apparent awkwardness and certain anxiety about the process and my own role in it, to an increased willingness to engage each boy on his terms as well as mine. Initially, I tended to simply ask a lot of questions; as our relationships developed, however, I asked fewer questions in each exchange, responding less to my predetermined assumptions about what the boys would want to talk about and more to what they actually were talking about. The result was a more relaxed approach to the writing and a more rigorous and stimulating exploration of issues, theirs and mine.

The Canada Trip

I found that the exclusive use of journals was an inadequate vehicle for the potential variety of purposes available to a writer. As well, I felt that I was an inappropriately restrictive audience for the boys and therefore undertook with them to find a way of extending the range of writing functions and audiences. At the prompting of one of the boys, I initiated a project which, although somewhat ambitious, would thrust us individually and collectively into a stimulating and genuine series of writing-mediated activities.

As we eventually conceived of it, the project was to undertake the raising of £2,000.00 to finance a group trip to Western Canada, my permanent home, where I could involve the boys in a host of winter and

countryside activities familiar to me but entirely alien to them. The trip, the group's culminating activity, would stimulate a wealth of writing activities to a wide range of known and unknown people. Thus, each boy wrote several letters and various documents to a wide variety of persons explaining his intentions of going to Canada and requesting financial and other assistance.

- Included in these activities was the establishing and maintaining of Canadian pen-pals with whom it was hoped that billeting could be arranged. My principal task in the whole matter was to orchestrate their attempts, make initial contact with prospective sponsors, and organize the specifics of our Canada-side activities.

The project took considerable time. However, the return in terms of my research intentions was considerable, for I made contact with the boys and their community and families in ways I had not anticipated would be possible within the constraints of time and resources available to me. And the amount of writing undertaken without complaint or question was particularly impressive, exceeding my hopes considerably.

The range of people written to included such formal/official figures as the Agent-General of a Canadian province, School Council officials, a film/stage actor, local businessmen, bankers, newspaper editors, local parents' groups, their own Head-Master, and parents, students and teachers in Canada. At one point I was able to arrange for the boys to meet several of their established pen-pals during a trip to London undertaken by them in connection with a Canadian school trip. In all, their writing in connection with the trip served as a counter-foil to the journals, enabling me to make a wider range of observations about Sense of Audience.

Ultimately, the project was successful and the Canada Trip was undertaken in the last three weeks of the study's sixteenth month. And while the details of the trip are not in themselves of direct relevance to this study, it should be emphasized that the undertaking affected all the boys in ways that were clearly manifested in much of their writing, particularly as it regarded Sense of Audience. With the exception of but one boy, none had ever been abroad before: they had previously been largely limited to movement and contact within their single London community. One boy had virtually never left the confines of the community except on very infrequent school bus journeys. Thus, this trip which was realized in a very real sense through the

accomplishments of their own writing, was a means of introducing them to a new world of people, ideas, and values, and to an entirely new sense of affinity with their own written language, as will be shown.

The Case Studies

The first four case studies which follow presented me with two problems that set them apart from the last four, presented in the next chapter. The first two, Karl and Steve, for highly disparate reasons, provided virtually no evidence of writing development. In each case, I felt that elaboration of their work within the confines of the present study would afford little in terms of insights into writing processes. Therefore, only an overview of their nature and situation is provided here and only the broadest of conclusions regarding Sense of Audience is offered, conclusions which nevertheless bear some measure of consistency with those reached in the more detailed cases of the other six boys.

The second two, Mike and Owen, were excluded from the study, each for different reasons and at different points within the study's time-period. However, unlike Karl and Steve who stayed in the group to the study's end but offered few specific insights into the writing process, they offer what I consider to be significant insights into the relationship between Sense of Audience and writing processes.

Karl

Karl was an exceptionally pleasant boy who always seemed to be happy and content. His mother confirmed that he was seldom in low spirits and appeared to be consistently stable and cooperative both at home and with his friends. At school, Karl was seen by his teachers as a good student who showed steady progress, never caused disruptions, and was consistently active in class discussions.

Ironically, I came to consider his attributes of stability, good humor, and cooperativeness as largely disadvantageous for both my own research purposes and his writing development. His evenness of personality seemed to prevent him from taking matters completely seriously: he viewed writing tasks or assignments, for example, as merely interesting activities for a teacher to be giving, but failed to see them as anything more than a mere game to be played or exercise to be completed. This appeared to be the case in his other courses as well, where

although teachers were happy with his progress, he never seemed to become fully involved in the tasks, never extending his abilities beyond the immediate demands of assigned work.

Consistent with his apparent indifference to whether he was involved in a demanding class assignment or doing nothing at all, Karl seemed to have no genuine goals or ambitions, literally shrugging his shoulders and saying that "Something will come along". His only real interest, much to the chagrin of his parents, was football, in which he participated only as a spectator. While his casual indifference to all manner of events and situations contributed largely to his popularity amongst his peers and many of his teachers, it also frustrated many others who complained that he didn't seem to have much spirit for anything.

Yet, neither was he a problem for any of his teachers or friends, and there seemed to be nothing specific that need inhibit him in his pursuit of whatever he might one day focus on. However, from my point of view, his even, complacent nature interfered with opportunities afforded him to respond to challenges to his intellect, imagination or skills. This evenness manifested itself everywhere, but particularly in his relationship with me. From the outset our relationship appeared to be a good one, characterized by an open friendliness, good humor, co-operativeness and amiable dialogue. However, the relationship seemed to depend entirely on my initiative at every turn, with Karl merely responding to whatever was placed before him in terms of both discussions and activities. That is, there developed no meaningful or extendable relationship between us that could have formed the basis for genuine interaction beyond the superficial one which seemed predicated on the playing out of assigned or accepted roles.

The immediately significant result for me was a lack of perceived development in Karl's writing, a lack which seriously frustrated my attempts to gain insights into his writing processes. His writing demonstrated a puzzling evenness of performance over the fifteen months of the study and through the great range of writing activities in which he always willingly participated. In the end, I felt that it was this lack of a serious interactional relationship between myself and Karl which seemed to have contributed strongly to the nature of his writing, and therefore pointed to a relationship between Sense of Audience and writing processes.

Steve

The same tentative conclusion was arrived at in the case of Steve's writing. He also offered little evidence of writing development that would enable me to achieve insights into the writing process. My association with Steve coincided with what was a most difficult and troubling period in his life. He was the only boy in a broken family of a mother and six sisters, a situation he was beginning, at fifteen, to find exceptionally difficult. The result was an almost complete disregard for the concerns of others and particularly for those of his teachers or school mates whose problems he construed as being less complex and less important than his own. Steve's readily apparent and arrogant selfishness rendered his behavior both disruptive and histrionic. He demanded attention at every turn in both individual and group relationships. At this point in his life, the very independence he seemed to have gained from being the male and oldest child in his large family worked against him in his peer groups where his superior social maturity and self-confidence seemed out of proportion to that of his mates. As a result, during the trip to Canada with the group, Steve dominated in every situation he could and had to be disciplined, both by myself and the other boys who operated in a collective fashion to prevent him from detracting from their own enjoyment.

Steve announced early in the study that he saw no real use for writing and preferred talk, because "I'm good at talk, and talk gets things done and writing doesn't". The result was an almost complete unwillingness to seriously engage himself in writing in spite of the fact that from a technical point of view, he was a competent writer. The few exceptions of genuine written interaction between Steve and me were not sufficient in either number or extent to warrant a close look at his processes; and as in Karl's case, there was no observable progress in his work or in his attitude toward writing.

However, as for Karl, Steve's reaction to writing activities and teacher/student relationships does have a bearing on my general conclusions about Sense of Audience and Participant/Observer research, and will therefore be referred to in Chapter 14 in a discussion of conclusions, implications, and recommendations.

Speech

Mike was the oldest of the boys in the group, ranging from late fifteen to age seventeen over the study period. He was also the most boisterous and rowdy, and ultimately had to be removed from the group because of the negative effects he was having on the other boys. I removed him from the group, reluctantly, in the tenth month, and Mike was thereby restricted from participating in the Canada Project.

Chapter 7 provided a general overview of his oral-language behavior and indicated the narrow social range in which he operated. His language was characterized by a strong London dialect, relative to that of the other boys, and by a jargon which he ascribed to a specific social group generally known as 'Rocker-Billies' who were recognized by very specific musical preferences, hair-styles, clothing fashion and social behavior. He enjoyed being identified as a 'Rocker-Billie', particularly since there were very few of his inclination in the school. Generally, Mike was treated by fellow-students and teachers alike as a school oddity, but one who had a clear measure of personal charm and attractiveness. That is, it was my observation that Mike tended to be a social isolate, taken into groups only at their outer edges and primarily because of the surface-features of his personality and behavior. He indicated to me that he had few friends at the school and that they tended to be transitory acquaintances.

Figure 19, a Social Interaction oral-language Profile, itemizes the observed trends of his oral language with specific social groups. It was clear from these observations that Mike virtually never engaged in what may be described as sustained conversations, either as a listener or speaker. This seemed to be explained in part by his general hyperactivity, by his strained relationship with teachers, and by his brusque manner with strangers, either peer or adult. This is not to say that Mike was not talkative, for he was, but to say rather that his talk was virtually always characterized by immediate or impending hyperactivity, short terse statements, brief attention-span, and performances of bravado and strutting behavior. Even in the most serious of situations, when he was being admonished by a teacher or myself for example, his attempts at explaining himself were short and embedded either with anger and frustration or feigned indifference.

But there was another aspect of the oral language characteristic of Mike which became interesting and comic on two occasions, and which

MIKE'S SOCIAL INTERACTION ORAL-LANGUAGE PROFILE

Figure 19

Peers		Family		Adults	
Male	Female	Strangers		Known	Teachers
Chatty	More Relaxed and Extensive	Hesitant but then uses Language of	Quiet & Relaxed With Sister Two Years Younger	Listens Responds Calm but Quiet	Short/ Cryptic Humorous
Loud	Argumentative	Performance & Attention,	Brief but Relaxed	Does not Initiate Dialogue	Argumentative
Disjointed	Infrequent	Dis-jointed	Moody with Parents		Accommodating but not Discriminating (Stereotypes)
Blunt	Softer Tones	Terse			
Humorous	Less Blunt	Humorous			

provided some insight into his writing problems. The first was when he was in attendance at a play which was sparsely populated by a predominantly serious-minded adult audience. Throughout the first half of the play, Mike voiced his reactions to the play's every turn in his usual loud and blunt manner, but with no particular listener in mind and without any sense that he was disturbing a large portion of those sitting within three rows of him. At one point, eight or more people immediately in front of him rose as one and moved further away from him, all the while giving him stern, angry glances. His reaction was to express, in full voice in the quiet theatre, "Cor, they don't like the way I talk!". After that, he remained perfectly silent and claimed afterward that he did not enjoy the play. It was as though, in spite of the admonitions given him by teachers for just such oral behavior and social thoughtlessness, he had suddenly become aware that his actions were disturbing and unwanted: he seemed genuinely hurt by the incident. The interesting feature of this particular incident from my point of view was that even though Mike frequently talked aloud without seeming to require others' responses as one would in a normal verbal situation, on this occasion he demonstrated that he was aware that others could hear him. It was as though his frequent 'talking to himself aloud' reflected an incomplete internalizing of Others: his Sense of Audience seemed to ~~lay~~^{lie} at the threshold between his internal Self and his construed external environment of Others.

This 'thresholding' was indicated by his writing behavior as well, which always combined talk and writing, one juxtaposed against the production of the other. Frequently, his talk, which was always disturbing in the group context, would suddenly shift from mere association with his writing, to a demand for attention and involvement with others, (cessation of his writing being one consequence). Mike frequently seemed to be at a point in his talk or his writing where he could go either inwards to private reflection or outwards to public involvement, neither direction seeming certain to follow prediction.

On another occasion when his oral behavior provided insight into his writing processes, Mike was involved in a reading activity. He had been asked to read over his seven-month old journal and to give consideration to what he felt he had achieved in his writing. He positioned himself prone upon a flat table and proceeded to read his journal-dialogue aloud. He read the entire journal in this fashion,

taking up first his own voice and then mine in a manner which suggested that he was not reading it as an historical record, but as a piece of immediate on-going dialogue. Often he even stopped to argue with 'me' even though I was quietly sitting on the opposite side of the room, clearly not involved with him. Finally, when asked to stop reading his journal aloud, Mike gave up reading it altogether, saying he had lost interest in it. He made no written response to his journal whatsoever. This behavior, juxtaposed against his general tendency to talk to himself aloud, reflected the high degree to which Mike depended on speech to serve his other language functions and thus also lent support to my notion of his social-linguistic thresholding of Self and Others. That is, his reliance on oral language indicated an over-dependency on the oral language situation of social interaction, a dependency that may well block the audience assimilation which is necessary to the writing process.

Mike was not a conversationalist although he was a talker. He could not recall, nor had he been observed being a participant in any conversation involving a single, primary topic lasting longer than two or three minutes, other than arguments with teachers or other adult officials about his alleged wrong-doings from time to time. With his peers, or with strangers, his talk was brief or extended-but-disjointed. In calm situations with adults, parents or teachers, Mike's principal posture was as listener/responder and he would most frequently call upon his sense of humor to carry him through such conversational situations.

Mike's oral-language profile, (represented in Figure 19 above), points to an individual who has not achieved close language-mediated relationships with many (if any) individuals or groups. His closest friends, the 'Rocker-Billies', seemed bonded more by external features of behavior, dress, musical conventions, and so forth than by the use of everyday language or even formal language codes or expressions. Indeed, member identification did not require personal contact, which was in any case infrequent compared to contact with his school-mates, adults, and family. This is not to say that his language was observed to be unimportant in his normal interactions with people in his environment, but that it did seem to mediate a narrower range of relationships than did other features of his behavior. Furthermore, his language behavior also seemed to provide very real barriers to easy relationships with most people with whom he was seen to be in contact.

In general, it was my observation that Mike demonstrated an inflexibility and apparent incompetence in using language to initiate, maintain, and extend social relationships. This inflexibility/incompetence was manifested in his frequent stereotyping of people with whom he was engaging, a process demonstrated by the restricted accommodating adjustments he made in his language-use from one encounter to another. I concluded that Mike's oral-language behavior had an adverse effect on the development of his capacity to assimilate a Sense of Audience that would serve him well in a written-language situation or task. Both the narrowness of his audience repertoire and the lack of any in-depth language-mediated relationships were seen as possible problems for him as a writer, problems which I attempted to account for within the concept of Thresholding.

Writing

In all, Mike only wrote thirty-one times out of a possible seventy over the ten months he was in the group. A combination of his behavior and his frequent absences prevented him from writing more. Yet, Mike seemed to be genuine in his intentions to respond to my questions and promptings when he did write, giving what appeared to be honest and sensitive insights into his personal life and revealing his private views of a variety of matters. Much of this content, however, seemed almost incidental to his intentions, reflecting not so much a particular response to a specific audience, as the consequence of his failure to discriminate between audiences: he saw almost every adult as a confidante of sorts. The principal concession to me as his audience seemed to be Mike's willingness or interest in employing what he called 'rude language' in his writing.

However, his first piece of writing, his "I am the one who..." paper, written in November of 1979, was approached with frankness and seriousness, his first encounter with writing for me apparently staving off his propensity for clowning and other disruptive behavior. In that piece he took care to be neat, accurate, and as thorough as ten minutes would permit:

Me

I am the one ~~hw lew~~ who love to play football and I will help you if you need help I am a rokerbilly and we do not like MODS, punk's, snicle head, Teach or polceir, we are not turcle maker but if a fight come to us we will fight.

I have a favor football in it is TOTTENHAM HOTSPUR.

-Mike

Here, Mike felt he had revealed the central features of his personality. Indeed, his interest in football, his willingness to be of assistance to others (observed in a number of situations), his identification with the Rocker-Billies, his readiness to fight, and his association with the local football team are all reasonable summary features of his life and life-style. Unlike some of the other boys, Mike seemed aware of what I had wanted here, stuck to the topic at hand, and provided a reasonable over-view, albeit in a brief fifty-eight words.

Mike's handwriting presented the most difficult barrier to understanding what he had written. Even though his spelling was sometimes bizarre in nature, (for example 'snicle' for 'skin'; 'turcle' for 'trouble'), it was more often correct and therefore did not interfere with a patient reader's comprehension of his meaning. Nor was his grammar so incorrect as to inhibit easy understanding of his sentence structures and intentions. But his handwriting often defied even his own attempts to read his work as little as half an hour after writing took place, as was the case in the following example:

It was good on TV in side so my dad if I
 could send up and watch the football on TV and
 my dad side you I was sitting on the stool
 and my mum side so my "make a cup of
 tea" and I do it was about 8-15 and I
 full asleep want I watch up it was 12:37
 and my dad side I had missed the football
 football so I was water for bed and
 had a bag my T-shirt close down and bed
 I got up and my dad gave me 70p
 and he side it is all the way if he had
 so I side I think you for the money dad
 and then he want the work and I got
 side for school. ✓

His inability to read the handwriting of others, even when I felt it to be perfectly legible, paralleled his own handwriting difficulties, and I had to print my own writing if Mike was to understand it. Mike's work was legible if he took considerable time to produce it, and I felt that his difficulties both in handwriting and reading of handwriting pointed primarily to lack of practice and interest rather than to specific small-motor difficulties. In any case, his troubles in these two areas of writing clearly did discourage him from enjoying the process, or wanting to spend much time being involved in it. Nor did he seem to want to do much about improving his legibility: In the first place he was not really aware that others had difficulties reading his work; in the second place, he was more concerned about his spelling.

I found that Mike could improve his spelling only if his contact with a word's correct form was made in a rote, continuous fashion, with repeated exposure to a limited number of words each day. That was productive only if he was showing genuine interest and a willingness to work, both of which he demonstrated only once, when the Royal Air Force Recruiting Officer told him he had to be a better speller for admission to their programme in mechanics. However, his interest waned after four days of spelling assistance and I therefore soon redirected our attention to more holistic concerns in his writing; that is, principally to using writing as a way of talking to one another.

However, by the end of the tenth month, Mike's writing seemed to offer no apparent signs of improvement. His personal behavior remained disruptive and his interest in writing completely faded. He was therefore removed from the group and returned to the original class from which he had come. Samples of his writing will serve to demonstrate the lack of development that characterized his ten months with the group. The first is from the third month, the next from the sixth; and the last from the ninth month:

24/1/68

The change in me is down to the fact that I am going a not water-talk for my 16th Birthday and I do not want to lose it so I am really being good in school. When I go into the R.A.F I will do the play I will be one of the ground crew. I will be a Mechanical Engineer. In answer to the question if I like the play I did not really enjoy the play it was a bit boring for me. but if we went out again I would go with you

-Mike (3 months)

Thank you Thank you for promising to look us to see something more enjoy. I will not do with not. Be firing in the R.A.F. And I am the older in the cars. And I will be seen in what 5 in 16 And I will have to look some CSE for the R.A.F.

-Mike (6 months)

A baby

I was born on February 29th 1964 and my dad was very happy. I do not know a lot about when I was a baby but when I was about 5 months old I do not know on the table and I started to eat it. Then we went there and we went to Canada for 3 years. I was too young to remember a lot about it so I can not tell you anything about it. Oh yes my sister Kimberly was born over there and me and Kim was very close. I was always helping my mum was Kim and all my help to dress the baby and one time I think that Kim wanted to go to the toilet and I left her legs up in the air and she fell. She was under her hair and my mum came in and gave me a good scolding and started me to bed but my mum would not mind me helping with Kim. Then we came home and to England I was 1. Then my mum say I was a good boy and I was never in trouble and then we move to another place and my mum was pregnant. Was my little sister Jackie and she was born when we was like 81 for about 5 months.

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

The lack of significant development in Mike's writing, in spite of considerable tutorial assistance from myself and previous remedial instruction from other teachers, led me to consider Mike as a poor research subject relative to the other five boys in terms of this study's interest. However, one feature of his language-use, oral and written, points to a significant conclusion which helped shed some light on the writing processes of the other boys.

Mike's apparent limited capacity to accommodate his speech to the language-use of his speech partners was reflected in his written work as well. It would appear that his assimilation of Others into his Self is so general as to be of minimum practical use in matters of language accommodation, a phenomenon maximized in his writing. This seemed to be exacerbated by the tendency of virtually all of his acquaintances to respond to his behavior in the same general way: his behavior thus prevented him from construing specific Others in any but rather broad stereotyped ways. Such generalization of individuals did not satisfactorily serve his developmental needs as a social-interactor; nor did his consequent Sense of Audience serve his writing needs well, other than in the most marginal of ways. This appeared to be a function of his failure to fully assimilate the nature of those with whom he had contact. Such 'Thresholding' of Sense of Audience, a possible stage in assimilation, was observed in the other boys as well, but appeared in them as a truly developmental phenomenon. In Mike's case, he appeared to have reached a plateau in his ability to construe and/or assimilate others as fully as language might enable, a plateau which appeared in him to be insurmountable and which may have been a major factor in his poor writing development.

Finally, Mike's oral language behavior was seen to parallel his writing behavior and production so closely that it became clear early in my association with Mike that to understand his development in the latter, one had to have insights into the former. To approach his writing in isolation from his broader linguistic/social context would have been to constrict the possibilities for achieving some knowledge of the nature of his writing problems. I was left with the question that if Mike's writing problems had been approached early on in school as a problem in social-communication, as a problem of Sense of Audience development, rather than as a 'writing' problem, would he have

demonstrated more normal writing development? Unfortunately, at seventeen, Mike had become an imposition on teachers working in the normal classroom situation and little assistance could be given to him under these conditions.

Mike's writing, although error-intensive and frequently virtually illegible, was nevertheless communicative, for the patterns of errors and poor graphemic shapings were translatable, over time and through effort, to recognizable words and meanings. What concerned and interested me about his writing was Mike's failure to develop further in any of the five areas discussed in Chapter 9, particularly in terms of his inability to effectively accomodate his language use to his audience. This latter issue was seen primarily as a reflection of his inability to assimilate Others into his Self, a failure which subsequently affected his writing processes.

Mike's departure from the group affected his usefulness as a subject to the present research in restricting the amount of time and contact with his writing I could have. It was viewed, however, as detrimental to Mike's progress in other areas in English to keep him on in the small group context, as well as being detrimental to the other group member's progress within the group. However, Mike's behavior and writing performance did provide me with the notion of the Thresholding of Sense of Audience, a concept I was to find useful in my consideration of the work of the other boys. As well, the importance of context in research was seen in Mike's case as essential to an understanding of the development of language-use.

Owen

Speech

Owen's early removal from the research group, in the sixth month at his own request, renders him an incomplete study as well. However, there are certain features of his oral and written language behavior that appeared early in the study and which warrant discussion here for the insights they provided for the on-going work with the other seven boys.

Owen was from the outset concerned about the image he was presenting to the other students in the school in being a member of this small group. Firstly, he was the only black boy in the group, a fact which provided him with considerable anxiety and which prevented him, in turn,

from participating with the others in extra-curricular activities. Of prime concern was the intended trip to Canada, which he saw as having a totally white population in which he would feel extremely self-conscious and afraid. As much of a problem, and perhaps more, was the idea that the group was construed by other students as being a remedial class, an association Owen felt repulsed by. He had, in the two years prior to the beginning of this study, been a remedial student and was for the first time a member of a "regular" class.

Although Owen and I seemed to be on good terms, he was often extremely aloof, as he was in most other social situations, and could not be persuaded to feel at ease with the group. A visit to his home to discuss the possibilities of the Canada trip revealed the same kind and degree of aloofness and anxiety in his mother and family. The school's Headmaster described Owen and his family as having achieved an insulation against the community as a whole, an insulation which did not seem to be attended by bitterness as much as by inhibition and fear. Their insulation, inhibition, and anxiety seemed somewhat peculiar in light of the school's approximately forty percent black population, and the family's relatively long-term residence in the area. I was unable to fully understand the reasons for their felt predicament and ultimately simply respected Owen's demand to be excluded from the group and returned to the larger class.

While a member of the group, Owen was always polite, frequently demonstrated a strong sense of humor, and was highly resentful of rowdy or childish behavior on the part of the others. He was a good listener, and in observed dialogue with specific individuals in the group was seen to be an interesting, respected, and confident conversationalist. Like Mike, however, his conversations seemed predicated on peer-humor and he was not seen to participate in extended single-topic conversations with either fellow students or teachers. He was a thoughtful individual, however, whose responses to me or members of the group in serious discussions were well-shaped, clear, careful but brief constructions. Figure 20 provides a summary of Owen's oral language behavior as observed.

Writing

Although Owen's writing was characterized by errors in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and by poor handwriting, it was not as flawed

Figure 20

OWEN'S SOCIAL INTERACTION ORAL LANGUAGE PROFILE

Peers		Family	Adults		
Male	Female		Known	Strangers	Teachers
Humor-based	Infrequent	Unobserved	Calm	Unobserved	Direct,
Often his-	Largely		Accomodating		Quickly
trionic	unobserved		in language		disengaged
Highly			use		Self-
discrimin-	Accomodated	Polite,		confident	
atory,	readily	Firm,		Aloof	
Self-		Aloof		Responsive	
confident				upon demand	
Forthright					

as Mike's in any of these respects. The sense of what Owen was trying to say was always reasonably clear from the outset, and therefore communicative. However, his other English teacher and past English and Remedial teachers saw him as only a marginally-successful writer and did not press him, once out of remedial classes, to improve his skills. Their approach to evaluation was to indicate some of his errors to him, but to evaluate his work on other bases, (which were not always clear or articulated).

Owen was seen by his teachers as being a good student, for he behaved well and, more frequently than not, completed his homework/writing assignments. I found him to be a co-operative and willing student as well.

However, most of his writing was clearly done quickly and only in order to satisfy the demands of the assignment and needs of the teacher: most of his writing was excessively brief and often was done in class time even when the teacher requested more time be spent at home with the work. This brevity and general disinterest in extending or pursuing ideas through the writing assignments paralleled his oral-language and social behavior, as it did in Mike's case: In general, Owen wrote only because it was expected of him. An example of such writing was a piece done for an assignment concerning the novel Of Mice and Men. The assignment was made in the last fifteen minutes of a class period and intended for homework, but Owen began and completed it in that fifteen minute space of time:

I would say that george did not murder
 lennie because he was ~~forced~~ pushed
 out of his miserer and if he did not
 do it the other men would have done
 it.

On the other hand, when pressed to be explicit on a matter which affected both of us personally, Owen spent considerable time and gave much thought to a lengthy written response. In this case, his writing was seen to be clear and, significantly, reflective of a potential for continuing growth in skill development. That is, his efforts in this

case seemed to me to be extending his existing skills to their limits, and indicative of a capacity to benefit from help. Both my promptings and Owen's complete transcript are included here:

Owen, we have to talk about your disinterest in the Canada trip. This is a must now. You can begin, if you will, by letting me know as best you can why you don't want to go. We must get on with our plans and I don't want to leave you out. Please tell me now why you don't want to go and whether that is final or not.

P.S. Please remember that we are going to raise the money-- your parents will not have to come up with it.

-J.P.

.....

Sir. The Canada trip did not interest me from the start as you know like when you mensioned it you said who ever wants to go put their hand up and I did not also you asked and I said i donn't no but after I said no.

Some of the reasons for me not wanting to go on the trip to Canad is that to tell the truth the other lads i do not mix with and do not really talk to them as well unless they are in the same class and that is oney this one I dont go arond with them at all. I do not like hightes so I don think I would like the climb mountains. I hate the cold and wet. I don't really like the idear of staying in a wigwam. I have traveled in a plaine befor over sea (and I did not like it) so I have had some idear i went to Jamaica My perents say it is allright by them if i do want to go on the ripe to Canada with you.

I do not really like it when it snowes when it snowes over here i do not go out i all ways stay in because i am very easy to catch a cold or the fule. My perrent don't mind me going but they do not like the idear of climbing up mountains. Karl and Robert and Crish are all righth and Mark but i do not hardly talk to them unless we are in here and i have nonthem for four years and if I do not talk to them now how can i go on holiday with them. I sorry sir but I have made up mind i am not going on the Canada trip. I sirposse it would be an expeerece and i could say that i have been to Canada. I sirposse it will be a nice place to go for a holiday. I'm great full for you to ask me to go with you on the trip but the trip is not really for me. I do not really see the advantage of going on the trip to Canada. Most people say i am a shy person and i do not make Friend very easy allthrough i have really a lost i don't no if i would get on well with the people over in Canada very well.

-Owen

At no other time was Owen as concerned to be as clear or thorough either in his writing or in his dialogue with me. This writing took him a full hour to accomplish, the time spent, at his own request, alone in a room separate from the other boys. In a lengthy written response to his statement and explanation, I accepted his position

and feelings, inviting him to stay on in the group in any case and asking him for his opinion about whether staying on would be wise or useful. His written response was simple, short, and direct: "I would like to stay in the class with you." However, two months later, in a written request that reflected some of the careful phrasing of the above piece, he asked to be returned to his original class:

I do not like to come to these classes because my mates many of them have come and asked me if I go to reading classes I say no but they still laugh. So I would prefer to go to Mrs.-----'s class in there people can not see you and I know you may say that you can not be seen in the house but that is where they saw me. In Mrs.-----'s class it just look's like and ordinary English class. So i would prefer to go back into the class. I do not want to go back because of you or anyone in the class I would just prefer to go back.

After some discussion with the teacher whose class it was Owen wanted to return to, he left the study group.

The two pieces of writing shown above were read by his past remedial teacher and two of his other English teachers. They confirmed my opinion that these contained some significant differences from any other writing of his they had read. Of particular significance was the care shown in the first one to be thorough, systematic, and persuasive. Further to that, each piece showed concern for the reader, each one taking care to make certain no feelings were hurt: "I'm great full for you to ask me to go with you on the trip but the trip is not really for me." and in the second, "I do not want to go back because of you or anyone in the class I would just prefer to go back.". This reflection of Self and interest in others is in contrast to his normal writing, even in the course of journal writing, where a lack of involvement with either subject matter or audience was the rule.

Finally, these two pieces also reflect a competence with the language seldom shown in other pieces of his work. For example, and in spite of two punctuation errors, this sentence is indicative both of his Sense of Audience and of his capacity for complex and effective sentence structuring: "So I would prefer to go to Mrs.-----'s class in there people can not see you and I know you may say that you can not be seen in the house but that is where they saw me.".

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

The most sustained and most carefully thought-out linguistic exchange I had with Owen was conducted in writing: oral situations seemed to render him quiet or anxious. Thus, in his case, writing served a communicative function that speech seemed unable to do. That writing seldom, if ever before, served such communicative functions for him seemed to be a consequence of the school's restriction on the use of writing for transactional or poetic purposes. Generally, Owen preferred the anonymity of large classes and, consistent with this, the attendant anonymity afforded by structured assignments and impersonal subject matter. Yet, he seemed to have the capacity to extend his thought and language into higher levels of exploration than his teachers gave him credit for, or than the levels on which he usually chose to operate.

Owen was clearly impressed and pleased with the effect his writing had (in the two cases shown above) in persuading me to act in accordance with his own wishes. Oral exchanges between us had simply resulted in my persuading Owen to 'hang on', a function of my being more effectively persuasive in the oral situation. Writing seemed to present Owen with the opportunity to present his opinions and feelings more slowly, carefully, without interruption, and with resulting thoroughness, self-confidence, and effect. It may well have also served to equalize other social disadvantages for Owen that are maximized in the oral situation. For example, Owen had definite problems maintaining eye-contact with his interlocutors, a problem negated in the writing task; dialect differences, for example between myself and Owen, were made unimportant in writing; and, if racial differences were a problem, (I am white), then writing may have minimized Owen's concern, and so forth.

I saw in the writing shown above the opportunity to extend and develop Owen's writing skills, his interest in using writing, and his self-confidence. This opportunity was negated by other circumstances, but provided further insights into the relationship between language-use in writing and social relationships. As in the case of Mike, Owen's writing problems were best seen in light of his broader personal/social context if an understanding of how the teacher may best serve his needs was to be achieved. Owen's Sense of Audience appeared to be more highly developed and more flexible than Mike's, but his decision to level his audience range to one broad type was as effective in

restricting his growth as was Mike's inability to be definitive in his construals and consequent assimilations of audience.

Summary of Mike and Owen

In the cases of both Mike and Owen, Sense of Audience was seen to be a probable influence on the limitations of growth in writing. Although they were not as active or involved as were the remaining six boys in the study, speculations about their writing and social behavior provided additional effective conceptual tools with which to consider and view the other boys' writing processes and social contexts. Specifically, the notion of leaving one's Sense of Audience at the threshold of assimilation was seen as most interesting. In Mike's case, it appeared that he was unable to internalize more than he did of his audience experiences; in Owen's case it seemed that he chose to do less with Sense of Audience than he might have had his social/personal anxieties been less. In each case, Thresholding seemed to be related to the phenomenon of Plateauing in their writing development. In Owen's case, at least, I felt such Plateauing could be overcome through associating writing with more social/personal issues and expressive language use. Unfortunately, that speculation could not be pursued.

Finally, writing was not seen to be a part of the normal lives of the two boys except in the school task-oriented situation. For each boy, even school writing assignments were seen to be highly infrequent and often exceptionally brief and unchallenging. That is, writing experience in terms of quantity, frequency, range of audience or range of function was relatively rare, a reflection of their teachers' views that writing skill development was effectively beyond their abilities or interests. This view was particularly reflected in the evaluations of their written work, evaluation which largely ignored developmental problems and was therefore primarily token in nature. This is not to say that the teachers were indifferent to the boys' needs, but rather, frustrated by their own previous failure to assist them in areas of grammar, spelling, essay-writing techniques, and punctuation. Each boy was effectively abandoned as a potentially successful writer but, on the other hand, each was asked to perform as though he were one. This, again, appeared to me to be a function of the school's narrow view of the uses of written language as well as external-examination pressures and high class-loads.

CHAPTER 12

CASE STUDIES

Mark, Chris, Ricky, Robert

Mark

Speech

Mark was an exceptionally popular boy among his peers, teachers, and adults. His genuinely warm manner with virtually everyone he met elicited like responses even from those meeting him for the first time, which meant Mark often engaged in conversations, usually concerning his personal background and wide-ranging interests. Yet, he seemed more at ease linguistically with adults than with his peers, and with girls more than boys. Interestingly, he also seemed to be more verbally at ease and more active with relative strangers than with those whom he knew well or who were part of his normal context. For example, his verbal interactions with teachers, while friendly, were usually very short, often characterised by elliptical sentences. On the other hand, during the group's trip to Canada, Mark was often observed in long involved conversations with people he had just met. Usually those conversations were about his home in London, or about camping, swimming, cooking, or scouting, all special interests of his. Mark was the first boy to strike up a conversation with the stewards and stewardesses aboard the aircraft taking the boys to Canada, for example, and felt at ease enough to venture to the galley to ask for special services, and to voluntarily explain who he was and why he was aboard, even though this was his first time aboard a plane.

Yet, his oral language was not of itself fluid in its structures or in its particular sound qualities. Rather, it was characterised by what seemed to be problems in delivery of long sentences and in the pronunciation of individual words. He often seemed to hesitate before uttering each word or short phrase, creating the effect that he was taking care with his language, and thereby he drew the interest of his listener. The effect of this slight hesitation gained its maximum

positive effect when he was in a casual or relaxed mood; but when he was placed in, for example, a more formal tension-inducing situation, his hesitation was increased which prompted his interlocutors to interrupt him with assisting words or phrases, whereupon he soon became quiet.

In spite of the lesser success with more formal situations, Mark was always interested in participating in dialogue. While in Canada, he, Steve and I were asked for an interview by the national radio network, the CBC. Mark agreed with hesitation in spite of his nervousness. During the course of the interview, the broadcaster had to assist him several times and Mark ended up saying a lot less than he had wanted or intended, mainly as a result of his failed attempts to compress his anecdotes successfully and smoothly. Yet, having been in such a situation often, he happily accepted the broadcaster's assistance and enjoyed the interview. This anecdote illustrates Mark's genuine enthusiasm for social/linguistic interaction as well as his developed strategies for overcoming his apparent weaknesses in such situations.

Mark's sensitivity to the need to accommodate to the language of others was one of his strongest linguistic features, whether it was an accommodation to tone, style, or lexicon. Indeed, he frequently demonstrated a heightened sensitivity to lexicon particularly, listening carefully in new situations and picking up the appropriate vocabulary quickly. On one occasion, when a professional ski instructor was explaining the operation of special equipment to the group, Mark was paying his usual quiet but strict attention. Afterwards, one of the other boys described the skis as having "a special harness on them", to which Mark responded with a decided tone of chastisement and mock-disgust, "Not 'special harness' you stupid git, 'safety release-binding!'".

The best indicator of Mark's interest in social interaction over a variety of situations was his keen interest in drama. During my association with him, he was involved in two plays in which he had significant roles demanding a considerable amount of language involvement. His delivery of lines was always adequate, but always characterised by the same straining to articulate that was so noticeable in his everyday speech. In spite of his difficulties with lines, Mark was always ready to audition and work very hard at overcoming his initial inadequacies. Figure 21 presents a summary of Mark's oral behavior in social situations.

Mark's family consisted of an older brother, a younger brother and sister, and both parents. They were a mutually-supportive group and it

Figure 21
Mark's Social Interaction Oral-Language Profile

Peers		Family	Adults	
Male	Female		Known	Strangers
Aggressive	Warm,	Engages all	Brief	Brief
Dominating	Extended	members	Respectful	Humorous
Conver-	conver-	well		Confident
sations	sations	At ease		Accommodates
short	Engaging	Respectful		readily
	tone			
	Listens			

seemed clear that Mark's amiable nature came at least in part from the active way that the mother and father, particularly, encouraged each of the siblings to be responsive and polite to one another in their conversations. Although they lived in a very small house for such a large family, and although conversation between them seemed to be frequent and free-flowing, the household was pleasantly quiet, reflecting the degree to which each member, including Mark, was sensitive to the others. Further, as I observed on frequent occasions during visits to their home and during other activities in which members of his family were present, Mark was encouraged particularly by his father to be genuinely involved in making plans, giving advice, and counselling his younger siblings.

Mark's active participation in virtually all family matters and the extent and nature of support he received from all members of his family seemed to provide him with the self-confidence and social competence observed in virtually all situations outside the family group. This family-based confidence served him well in situations with his peers, for Mark was subject to potentially threatening ridicule and mockery for his excessive weight, a liability for an adolescent, which he managed to turn into an apparent asset in most situations.

Writing

Mark demonstrated considerable difficulty with the writing process. He was unable to form individual letters with ease and took a considerable amount of time completing even the shortest of writing tasks. For the first two months of the study, he would write by positioning himself on his side on the floor, a posture which exacerbated his writing difficulties considerably. Although he did not talk during his writing as Mike did, he approached it word by word, seeming to take longer than his cumbersome physical movements required. His oral reading was characterized by the same slowness of presentation, slowness which seemed to contribute to his tendency to read all first-encountered materials in a monotone. Once practised, Mark's reading became varied in pitch and tone and was quite good, as was his delivery of stage speech. Both in reading and writing his slowness seemed to prevent him from getting a sense of the whole sentence or sentence group. Where in reading, the result was his monotone, in writing it appeared to be an increase in the frequency of errors, a result of his focussing on the word rather than the phrase or sentence. For example, he wrote "I am a hard work"

instead of "worker", a mistake he would not likely make in oral language. Other difficulties which seemed to be a function of his slowness included short sentences, disjointed organization and over-all brevity of composition. His "I am the one who...." paper is a good example, containing each of these features:

I am the one who
 I am a hard work who works well with
 other people. I live at 5 school house
 I am a fan of Tottenham Football Club
 I enjoy the work which has ben set
 me. I go to 5 work I also go 5 swimming
 I have got two brothers and one sister
 called Dawn Steven Michael.

Although, as he said, "I enjoy the work which has ben set me.", his writing in all courses was similar in terms of length, errors, and sentence structure. His favorite kind of writing was the creation of stories and he worked very hard when given such an assignment. None of his work ever exceeded a single page, however, and he seldom did any of his writing at home. It should be emphasised, therefore, that length of work in Mark's case may likely have been more a function of his speed of production than of intention or lack of content, for he seemed to enjoy the idea of writing if not the act itself.

One of the more striking features of Mark's writing was the great difficulty he had in beginning his work. He would take up his pen and simply sit hunched over his paper or note book staring unseeingly away. During these often lengthy periods of time, he would be difficult to contact as though he were in deep thought. Often, he would simply not be able to begin or, more often, would jot down something rather perfunctory as though to minimally satisfy my expectation. For example, after a two week holiday I asked him, in writing, what he had done during his time away. After a twenty minute period of staring silence he wrote simply, "Over the holidays I went camping." In several casual discussions with him about this behavior, he said he was not really thinking

about anything, and particularly not thinking about his writing or what to say. More importantly, he claimed he did this whenever he really did feel he had nothing worthwhile to write that would be of interest to me.

In response to this latter claim, I reviewed all his journal entries and noticed that often Mark had not responded directly to my questions or statements at all, choosing instead to pursue some other matter of his own choice, always autobiographical in nature. Further, whenever I asked a question about Mark's past or about his particular interest in camping, his response would be lengthy and enthusiastic. Realizing that Mark was largely performing in order to fulfill the task of journal writing much as he did for other assignments in other courses, I approached Mark with the question of whether he would like to write an autobiography. The approach was made in light of other observations concerning his tendency to talk with adults at length about his interests and his past, a tendency described above. He asked what an autobiography was and how it was supposed to be written. I explained that it was just the story of one's past life and that it could be written in a number of ways--he could decide how after he began. Without any considerable enthusiasm, Mark said he would 'give it a go' and wondered where he should begin. For two class sessions in a row, while the others were doing project work, he and I simply chatted about his past. The following week, I presented him with a new journal book with the title neatly printed on the front cover: "The Autobiography of Mark -----". His first entry, on April 24, 1980 began with a statement clearly referring to earlier conversations with me, and therefore firmly establishing the identity of his primary audience: "So we had to move. My mum and dad looked at the house and disecided to take the the job."

Mark wrote in his new journal nearly every day between April 24 and November 17, 1980, giving up writing in November in order to participate in plans for the trip to Canada, after which the autobiography was returned to him and he began writing in it at home. During this time he virtually stopped writing in his daily journal, preferring instead to spend the class time quietly working in a nearby room. Near the end of each class period he would return to the group's room with his day's writing and ask me to read what he had written. As well, he almost always asked me to show his work to his past Remedial Language teacher with whom he had a pleasant and casual relationship. His interest in her reading his work was clearly so she could see how much writing he was accomplishing, and particularly that he was actually writing a book.

His interest in the latter aspect of his writing could be seen in the pride he showed about how tidily he kept his autobiography--never doodling on it or crumpling a page--and in how directly he drew others' attention to the printed title: "The Autobiography of Mark -----". In November, when it was clear that he would not have sufficient class time to work on it for some time, he asked me if I would have it typed so that it would "look more like a book", and if he could have copies made. Since I had been typing it out regularly in any case, I simply photocopied the typed version for Mark and left him with an extra copy. Mark was especially proud of his accomplishment and asked if he could make copies to distribute to his family and friends.

Mark's 6,000 word autobiography, written over a six month period, contains more writing than he had accomplished in two years in all his courses combined. More importantly, it was the longest sustained period of writing he had ever undertaken.

It is a very self-indulgent piece of work, reflecting the same naive egocentrism that his conversations with adults demonstrated. But it appeared at the same time to extend his opportunities to shape, emphasize and perhaps exaggerate and/or explore realities and fantasies. Peculiarly, the degree of self-indulgence and apparent immaturity or naivety that it reflects is at odds with the persona he presents in most other situations. It is as though the combination of the written mode and the encouraging audience enabled an aspect of his personality to surface freely for the first time. In order to discuss this matter more completely and as it relates to Sense of Audience, I have presented the following excerpt in its original form. This excerpt forms two pages of a thirty-one page continuous narrative covering approximately five years of Mark's life but focussing primarily on a number of camping experiences. As do most of the entries, this one deals with his relationships with a number of girls and his swimming competitions with boys, each incident taking him from near rejection and defeat, to love and success:

the tetter. Then one of the teacher came
 out and toled Ann to go back to her
 beds. Then the teacher toled me to
 go to bed so I went back but I could not
 sleep that night I just layed thinking
 When we had breckted we went over to
 the beach. When of the gaints saw me
 I was layng there so they come over to
 me to see what the matter so I shode the
 letter to them. When they had benches
 They said "there is nothing you can do
 so why dont you forget her". I can not
 because I love her so one of my friends
 went up to Ann and said "do you now have
 much you have up as Mark". He really
 likes you in fact he loves you.
 Then he went away. That night
 there was a dog so most of the boys
 tried to get me to go but I just layd
 on my bed. When they had all gone there
 was a knock on the door I said "come
 in" Ann was at the door. What do you
 want? Just go away will you I
 dont want to see you". Ann said "I
 know I have upset you but I

can not go out with it any more
 but I hope we could be good friends"
 Have you gone out with that boy? "Yes"
 I went straight out and went looking for
 that boy when I found him in the desga
 I said, used Ann ena then for you then
 he said what do you mean you know
 you what I mean goes two times. No
 one called me that and gets away with it.
 But it is true though she went to hit me
 but I was on a tumber but that when he hit me
 I did not fall it. When I hit him he fell
 to the floor. When the re boys saw I was
 on a tumber they tried to get us about when
 they did the kid's face was covered in
 blood. When they got me for it Ann
 came in and said "what have you done
 to him Mark?" He was two timing you
 so I just told him a lie then they let go
 and I went back to the herts. I was
 in the showers when the teacher came
 in and he want to know why I done that
 boy so I told him that Ann had told
 me to go back to me so I went to see
 it it was true I found it was then I,

Mark never talked about these incidents but was not reluctant at all to have others, especially adults, read of them. As contrived or exaggerated as they may seem, they are not entirely inconsistent with the general measure of popularity he enjoyed among both boys and girls. It seems likely that in giving shape to his past experiences through writing, he was doing as much exploring as he was fantasizing, and that at least some of the apparent exaggeration may have been one consequence of writing's demand for compression. In any case, he did not seem to feel that others would find his adventures incredible and he was more interested in what his teachers would say about his writing than about its content.

In spite of problems with legibility, spelling, sentence structure, errors in punctuation, and problems with dialogue indicators, I was able to read his work sufficiently well to consider it communicative, hence I did not take time away from his writing activities to dwell on the surface problems of his writing: he had already spent two years in a remedial writing program, but with little success.

Mark's primary concern was his handwriting and we both felt that there was little to be done in that regard except to have him write a lot and to take as much care as he could. In the event of his writing becoming public, as in the case of letters, I agreed to type his work for him and thereby free him from some of those concerns which inhibited him from writing freely. This emphasis on his content made it clear to him that I was more interested in reading than in examining, while retaining my concern for clarity.

Mark's letters to others reflect two of his primary problems with the written medium which helped to indicate to me the importance to him of an enabling Sense of Audience. Firstly, he did not see writing as serving personal interaction, for he had virtually no first-hand experience in that regard; secondly and perhaps consequently, he had not developed sufficient skills of consolidation and fluency in any style but the narrative and was therefore very nervous when undertaking to write to a distant and unknown reader. In the two letters which follow, for example, one to an unknown adult in Canada who had offered to help organize our trip, and the other to a Canadian student with similar interests in drama, Mark demonstrates what I felt to be a compensating strategy in having to write outside the more comfortable framework of the narrative:

Dear Ray

My name is Mark I will be 16 years old when I come over to Canada I am 5 foot 7, blond hair, blue eyes. My weight is about 12 stones 12 bouns. I am really intrerested in swumming I would lick to meat some of canda swiners I also would lick to swim with them I am also intresting in the theaters I would lick to see some plays it it is posobol I would lick to tacke part in a play it I could. I have meaney other intrest I was Lick to whoch at least 2 hores (of Telly) a day I would lick to see all the places that have some histore of you country

-Mark

I had told Mark that Ray had asked each of us to write letters telling him something of our interests and backgrounds so that he could plan for our arrival. Mark's strategy was to offer a list of his characteristics and background details, departing remarkably from his oral language and journal writing style. This departure and adopted serialization became a feature of all his early letters no matter to whom he was writing, although his peer letters did contain an echo of his journal's more fluid style:

Dear Don

I have receive your luttile that yous sent me. I am also intres in Drama I have all read stard in one play. I am in the middol of a nother play which is called Dracular spchtachuley. Where I live there is a park where I go to play football I have many hobbyes eg. Football camping and swimming I go swimming twice a week I have all ready made the swimming team. I am 5 foot 5 blond hair and blue eyes. I have 2 brothers and 1 sister. My brothers names are Steven and Michael My sister name is Dawn. steven is 13 Michael is 16 Dauwn is 9 and ~~in~~ am 14. You have wood neare you I woul would go and explore. How many plays have you be in and directed. Could you send me your photograph of you.

Hope to here from you ~~son~~ son

-Mark

Clearly it had helped that Mark had received a personal letter from Don from which he took the cue to be somewhat more conversational and warm, but it was not until after the trip was over and he had met those to whom he had been writing that his letters became more fluent, personal, and reflective of his personality and oral language competency and confidence. Unfortunately for my immediate purposes, he would not permit me to keep or employ his subsequent personal letters. The only example which I was permitted to keep and to quote was one of two he had

written on behalf of the group thanking me and another teacher for our efforts on his behalf in planning the Canada trip. I offer it here as an example of his developing style and sense of confidence in public writing:

Dear Gene

Thank you for what you have done for us. We are very grateful. If it was not for you we would not be here gone to Canada. We all appreciate the hard work you put in to get us over there. We all think you are a super block.

We know the trip is important to you as to want as you rescess for your work. We all give our thanks for giving us most of your time for you do

Your sincerely,

Mark

This letter was the first instance in which Mark chose to write on unlined paper, one further indication of his increased confidence.

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

Although Mark may not be considered a good writer by any school standards, his skills are substantial enough to effectively serve certain of his personal needs and interests. His autobiography indicated some growth over the six months in such writing features as attempted use of quotation marks to indicate dialogue, a perceptible improvement in

handwriting and visual presentation on the page, an increase in on-going and correct editing of errors, and the development of a consistent means of structuring a generic literary form (even though he may not have been conventional in that regard). In this writing, Mark was not responding to the reward of evaluation, but rather to a genuine interest in giving shape to his own experiences and to sharing them with others, an interest hardly to be realized if the potential writer can not perceive a genuine reader for his work: His observed attempts and his growing awareness of the need to conventionalize his writing were tied to his desire to have someone read his work. As his teacher, I served as an immediately accessible reader, representing those genuine listeners so familiar to him and whom he so frequently sought out.

Mark's world was a wide and varied one in terms of his activities, his self-confidence and trust in others freeing him to venture where many of the other boys were reluctant or afraid to go. Yet, the framework of shared conversation within which he operated was more strictly limited, largely by his own self-interest and narrow linguistic style. In writing that limitation is particularly evident in his use of the narrative technique and autobiographical content. In oral language interaction, this was all evident in the restricted kind and number of people with whom he shared his personal life through sustained conversations. In writing, his limitations are manifest in the lack of writing he had done for others, usually performing, where at all, politely but minimally. He used writing primarily as a means by which he might cooperate with his teachers and only occasionally for enjoyment in his brief and infrequent short stories.

Although there were many teachers who liked Mark and whose company he obviously enjoyed, there seemed to have been little opportunity achieved wherein they could have participated in more extended conversations that might have expanded Mark's linguistic experience, audience repertoire, and subsequent use of language functions: Writing was not viewed by any of his teachers as providing such an opportunity.

As the general uniformity of his writing shows, Mark was unable or unlikely to use writing to explore a wide range of subject matter or to employ various styles or functions effectively. The narrative form of language use in writing seemed entirely appropriate to his present abilities and it was clear that subsequent development would only

emerge out of continued use/exploration of the narrative. In essence, narrative writing seemed to have a sufficient breadth of possibilities to serve his social needs and interests at that stage of his personal and social development. The narrative thereby warranted more attention from his teachers as a means to his personal growth and to development in other written language functions, an attention that was nowhere evident in his regular course work.

His interest in reflexive dialogue, so often observed, was extended to his writing through autobiographical writing. The success of this as a means of getting him to write is seen as a function of providing him with a familiar audience/theme relationship, the teacher-as-reader being a particular example for him of the enabling Interested Adult audience familiar to his oral language situations. The process of writing which so captivated him for nearly six months extended what he was able to do in the oral situation by giving him the means and the privacy to delve more deeply into his theme of camping and social relationships, to shape more carefully, to explore more creatively. Perhaps fantasy provided the flux for such exploration, but the Sense of Audience he developed the psychological and social base necessary for what amounts to a risky articulation of his Self-view. The combination of the writing medium and a receptive audience who, in Mark's construal, enabled him to talk in writing, yielded to him a means of expression that he had not recognized or explored before.

What was needed in Mark's case was more time, for by the end of the study he had come to see himself as a real writer and was not overwhelmed by his specific writing problems or frequent failures in the attempt to be clear or effective. Indeed, at the study's end, on the flight back from Canada, it was Mark who collected the boys together to sign a letter of appreciation he had written on behalf of the group: Mark seemed clearly ready for a more rigorous approach to his specific writing problems. He had become, in his own view and in mine, a writer with a problem rather than a problem-writer.

What I had apparently achieved with Mark was to have found a way of uniting an enabling audience type with a personal theme, and a generic written-form that could mediate both, thereby serving to provide him with writing activity that had the potential of being developmental in

nature. In terms of this study's first Principal Aim, therefore, Sense of Audience was seen as the missing element enabling a union of an available theme or content with a means of expression.

Chris

Speech

Chris hated school, or more particularly, what the school had done to him and his family. As he saw it, the school's response to his virtually constant truancy, "bunking off" in his vernacular, had caused extreme duress in his family and especially for his mother. And indeed, much duress was apparent as a result of the local schools Council's threatened court action against Chris' parents' failure to make their son attend school regularly. Chris' record of truancy was exceptionally long, extending back to his third year of school and climaxing in the fifth year of secondary school during which he frequently missed all but two or three days in any given month, resulting in the extreme measures by the Council.

No one I questioned, including the school's administration and Council truancy officers, was clear about why Chris so consistently, and against all forms and manner of pressure, resisted regular attendance at school. Even Chris was uncertain why he did not like school, although he was clear about why he had come to hate this particular one.

Chris' preference was to stay home and help his mother with her housework, a job which he enjoyed and performed well. He seemed to have completely defeated his mother's attempts to get him to go to school and she made only token attempts to force him to do so. In essence, by his fourth year of secondary school, Chris had managed to win control over his parents in the matter of making decisions about his school activities, yet he was not an aggressive boy. Rather, he was, as everyone conceded, simply someone who genuinely did not like school--at all. By what seemed persistence alone, Chris had won the sympathy of parents, frustrated his teachers, and stirred official boards into legal action.

In several discussions, both oral and written, Chris emphasized to me that he did not like anybody in schools whether they were peers, relatives (he had a brother in school), or teachers. Outside the context of school, however, he had some close friends (and school-mates), participated in the usual array of social activities such as football, local gambling games such as Toss the Penny, frequented local cinemas and so

forth. But in the school environment particularly, Chris was as completely uninvolved as he could manage without actually being rude. He was never once seen in the school context in an actual conversation with peers or teachers, although he delivered brief expressions of greeting or comments on immediate issues such as the weather or specific events taking place. His speech with teachers was always characterized by the formal 'Sir' or 'Miss', and was always of the shortest possible duration.

In short, Chris never seemed to do anything to alienate or anger anyone except by not attending classes frequently enough for his teachers to be of effective instructional assistance. When in attendance he would do what was expected of him, socially and academically: he would get right to work, he would participate in activities, he would respond in positive ways to the promptings of his mates and appear to be involved. Yet, while he was caught up in the demands of the immediate situation, he virtually never extended his involvement beyond it. Indeed, except for the very few occasions when he went with a class on a school trip, Chris had never ventured outside his immediate community. On two occasions when the boys were going to my home to work on project materials, Chris never arrived, claiming later that he was afraid he would have become lost, even though the others had promised to look after him. On the one occasion he did go with the group to a London play, he did get separated from the rest, got temporarily lost and mislaid his train ticket: he never went with the group again on short trips outside his community.

The results of his social behavior in the school context were seen in the relatively restricted social life he led outside of school, which was characterized by a lack of involved peer relationships. His Nan, mother, father, and sister were the people he talked to more than anyone else; he had what he claimed were his best and longest conversations with his sister and his mother. His principle activity with peer groups involved the football games he participated in on the front lawn outside his flat, and the betting games for pennies he indulged in. All of this was reflected in his oral language by characteristic short sentences or utterances in response to others' initiations, lack of involvement in group discussions, avoidance of argumentative situations wherever possible, and a general politeness that indicated compliance rather than agreement or concurrence. Figure 22 presents a summary of Chris' oral

Figure 22
Chris' Social Interaction Oral-Language Profile

Peers		Family	Adults		
Male	Female		Strangers	Known	Teachers
Compliant	Infrequent	Not	Compliant	Non-	Obedient
Brief	Brief	observed	Respectful	engaging	Respectful
Accom-	Non-		Brief	Reserved	Non-engaging
odating	initiating		Non-	Well-	Brief
	Non-		engaging	mannered	
	engaging				

language behavior in social situations.

Chris simply did not seem to have an interest in close personal relationships beyond those with his immediate family. His peer relationships centered around a small number of physical activities which did not require much language-mediated involvement. These activities included football, petty gambling, and other similar activities which required rather formulaic oral responses and conventional expressions. It was through the repeated and fluid use of such conventional/repeatable linguistic behavior that Chris created the illusion of being involved, and through virtual exclusive use of which he described the limitations of his involvement with others.

Writing

It was not difficult to get Chris to write. Indeed, he enjoyed the opportunity to be involved in a quiet activity and to produce something substantial. His writing was always neat, for he was interested in presenting a pleasing visual product and in cooperating with his teachers. However, his writing appeared to vacillate between genuine communication with me and mere performance aimed at satisfying basic demands. For example, the following piece of writing was but one of several unsolicited themes on football written to impress rather than to share or explore or inform:

Well last night the Gernman holders Brosiamanchemaladback beat Entrack in the final of the first legs 3-2 Entrack went in to the lead but Brosia pulled a goal before half-time to make it 1.1 but in the 60 minute Entrack scored a brilliant goal outside the box to make it 2.2 but 1 minute from the end Brosiamonchengladback got a winner from Holzenbien and takes the lead next week to Entrackfrancfurt.

Often he would present particularly elaborate descriptions of games, including detailed players lists with the individual player's number and position, each piece rather effectively imitating the voice and style of professional sports journalists or sports-casters. On the other hand, he as often addressed himself directly to my questions in a thorough expression of his personal views and feelings. For example, in the following piece, he was answering my question about whether he had enjoyed the previous day's visit to a theatre and went far beyond the apparent demands of the question:

I thought that the play was good it was a good audience to watch it the actors were very good at doing the blood and shooting won another and the price I aspected was a little bit to high £2.50p I though Alan bates was the best one of all he was acting nearly everytime. When we met him behide stage he was very good he said he works eight times a week he does alot on the act bussness everytime he plays. When I was coming back near the picadilly line I put my ticket in the machine so it could be mark or tick and then I left it in there I forgot to collect it and it came out the otherside of it half way near woodgreen Vicotria my mates said to me wheres your ticket Chris and I said I put it in the machine I forgot it. Robert Wilcox said to me and the others I better sneak you past the wood-green officer we then walk near them but somehow they did not see me I ran one of the officers said come back you we all ran I had some Coke I gave it to all of them to share accept Wilcox he did not want none. I enjoyed the play the best bits come at the end when there were hangings and arguing in it the play was about a thriller the writer who wrote this was Simon Grey.

Vacillation such as that represented by these two pieces seemed to indicate a hesitant willingness in Chris to take me at my word that I was interested in getting to know him better. The last piece presents Chris' vacillations on two distinct levels. First, as a whole and counterpoised against the previous example, it demonstrates a tendency to move away from performance writing whenever he felt he had a genuine issue to discuss or situation to describe. Usually, such a situation was characterized by a high degree of excitement for him and the issues of concern were most often those relating to school attendance. In general, school events seemed not to qualify as sources of real excitement and he would relate such events or situation when called upon in rather rote fashion.

The second level of vacillation shown in this piece is revealed internally, with Chris responding to my interest in his reaction to the play in a somewhat dutiful fashion, ("I thought Alan bates was the best one of all he was acting nearly everytime"), but then diverging into the lost ticket episode which seemed to be what he was more genuinely interested in writing about. His response to the play was genuine in the sense that he had enjoyed it, but was contrived in the sense that he also knew he was expected to enjoy it and to react in specific terms, ("the play was about a thriller the writer who wrote this was Simon Grey."), that are not genuinely communicative of his responses. This reaction had no doubt been fostered by many previous similar writing tasks following other school field trips and teacher demands. However,

the incident in the underground tube system in London (the "picadilly line") was one he had approached with considerable trepidation, telling me prior to the trip that he was certain he would get lost or that something would go wrong if he were made to come home with the other boys and without an adult. The event had confirmed for him how risky the world beyond his community was, and he therefore did not venture out again with the group on subsequent London trips. That his narration of the episode is buried in his response to my question about the play, and framed by a sense of duty to the question, shows his uncertainty about what is suitable communicative material in the eyes of the school. Or, put another way, it shows his uncertainty about what others are most interested in, and reveals an internal conflict between expressing the content valued by others with that valued by himself. The surfacing of such conflict in this piece signalled a new realization for him wherein his previously suppressed personal intentions were beginning to exercise some force within the nature of his writing.

One of Chris' letters (there were few, for he was usually absent), embodies much of the uncertainty his vacillations represented and which surfaced when he was confronted by genuine written communications from me in his journal or from others in letters. In the following instance, he was responding to a letter written to him by a sixteen year-old high-school girl from Canada. His first sentence reflects his usual tendency to take up others' demands almost without question, primarily to get them out of the way. But as the letter proceeds, he moves away from response out of duty and begins to provide some genuinely intended personal insight and information. By the end of the letter, it is clear that he has actively considered the particular problems his audience might have in conceptualizing what he is talking about and he provides the appropriate but unsolicited information. That is, he indicates an ability and willingness to become aware of his audience as an individual and to account for that in his writing. Finally, he signals his novice status as a letter writer, and his consequent dependence on others in written-interaction, by inaccurately imitating his audience's method of closure, ("Well, I'll sign off now."), with "I'll be seeing you off now". This provides one example of his willingness and awareness of the need to accomodate his language to that of others:

DEAR TINA,

I received your letter so I'm going to tell you about me in Tottenham, London my age is 14 years old 15, in April. I like Football alot and I can play tennis and Cricket my hobbies are Football and Football games. well I've heard alot about Canada and its always Snowing there I can't wait to stay there for busness I have lots of friends in Tottenham. In School my best lessons are Maths and TECHNICAL DRAWING. The lessons I hate are biology and D.M.L. Demodern Living. I can't wait until I leave School in 2 years I Don't no what I'm going to work for but I might work with my big sister who is 20 and I've got a brother who is 13. Sometimes Every Saturday I go with my mates and brother to a hamburger shop which is called the wimpy part of Tottenham up the Road. There are shops everywhere. well I'll be seeing you OFF now I'll write more to you

Thank you
your

Sincerely

I saw Chris' vacillation both between individual writing tasks and within them as signifying a likely development both in his Sense of Audience and his view of the writing process. With this in mind, I began to direct my interest in Chris to very specific issues and events in his past and present life. Primarily, I took up with Chris, in his journal, the matter of his hatred of school. The results were impressive and immediate, yielding the sort of writing represented by the following, his first piece on the topic, which totalled 350 words and was his longest entry in the first eight months of the study:

When I first went to Northumberland Park School I had found a class room with all boys and girls in their I was scared when they picked me out to go in a class but I followed their orders and then I got new books for science and maths and English and so on. I got muddle up with some questions from booklet to booklet when doing my lesson. When I finish my work i had been given alot of homework to do. Other people like me when saying words in French in the first years they used to laugh at you when saying it wrong. It was hard in the first year with homework and work to do I hated some off the teachers because they use to tell you off when you was not doing nothing. I stay away for weeks and weeks because I was and had colds for months in the second year it was all the same except my mates called me names like other people do and I had my own choice for staying at home no one done nothing about it yet until 29 days were over I enjoy the holiday. They poned me up lots of times to say are we going to make appointment with you and I said you hurry up and tell the kids stop calling names and thats what my mum said an all. I went back after all thats what happen in theird year happen I said to mum can I have a tutor and she said no. Once you get back you will be alright so I went back after 29 days it was alright then my lessons were not so easy. But all the way through the 3rd year I did not like games because we had rugby we had to play in the mud I did not like it so I brought a note and they started saying I was chicken they did not believe the note my mum wrote. I had stayed off a few time because I did not like the lessons so I wrote the letters my self. I still hated school from theiron but I had to I did not get much in my 3rd year exam.

This entry was followed by twenty-eight more of a similar nature and theme. I responded to approximately half of them in writing, taking up suggestions Chris had made, asking further questions, disagreeing about certain matters and confirming others, sharing similar personal feelings and anecdotes, and so forth. While this appeared to have no particular effect on Chris' attitude in his other classes in general, it clearly affected his writing behavior in my class, for he wrote often without prompting, for sustained periods of time, and was

less directly interested in neatness. (His handwriting remained legible, although his written characters became smaller and somewhat less well-formed, as though he were now in a hurry.) More importantly, he had come to consider school as an acceptable place in which to discuss his own views and feelings, and to consider writing as a viable means by which to give them shape.

This development manifested itself in two principle and significant ways by the twelfth month and again in the fifteenth month. In November of 1980, precisely one year from the beginning of the study, Chris permitted me to show his writing about his views of school to other teachers. (Up to that point, I had been the sole reader/audience of his journal entries.) This followed my suggestion that his teachers might understand him better if they had a chance to read his work and might thereby have a chance to work something out. His acceptance of that argument signalled the first time that he felt his writing was effective, and indicated the growing self-confidence he had in his own written expressions. Up to that point, oral interaction with teachers and council officials had been largely unsuccessful for him, for he could not match the skills of his interlocutors in persuasive argument: he thereby became more quiet, passive, and absent. His written work had obviously impressed and involved me with his explanations and arguments, without producing the usual consequence of tension and conflict within him. In all, the clarity of his views achieved through the accumulation of his writing, developed in a relative state of calm rather than battle, fostered a growing sense of confidence in himself and in writing as a legitimate and useful medium of personal expression. Having a constructive, encouraging, yet critical reader permitted Chris to learn how to give a credible shape to his yet unexplored feelings about school and thus I became an important Enabling Audience for Chris' writing activities. This development became an important one for the next stage in his development as a writer which took place in a rather dramatic fashion in February of 1981, the fifteenth month of the study.

Prior to the Canada trip, each of the boys had agreed to begin and maintain a daily journal which would not involve dialogue with me, but which would rather simply involve keeping a record of their experiences and feelings over the twenty days of the journey. While such an activity had many obvious advantages for the boys and their families, for me it served as a way of observing my influence as an audience on

their writing processes in a way I had not been able to previously. In these journals, for which I would be the immediate audience as I had been for the others, there was to be no direct audience participation, such involvement, if any, being left to the internal processes of each writer. In Chris' case, a major interest was whether he would return to his earlier tendency to write out of a sense of duty, or whether he would actively engage his reader in his expression of his experiences.

Within an hour of being aboard the aircraft taking the group to Canada from London, Chris suddenly stood up in his seat and yelled forward to me in a voice full of both enthusiasm and urgency: "Sir, I want to write!" His demand, which elicited chuckles from the other passengers, was prompted in large part by his failure to bring his journal book with him in the plane. He was immediately provided with my own journal in which he was invited to write. The following is an excerpt from this first entry of what eventually became a twelve thousand word journal written over but twenty days. This excerpt catches the tone and degree of detail typical of every entry:

When I left my mum she was a little bit depressed because I do alot of work and help my nan in anyway. So on my own I walked to school carrying my luggage. I met all the others at the school at 10 o clock, we took some photoes off us I just wanted to go so we went it took one and a half hours to get there [with] all the other parents We had to go through the customs they check our passports, border passes. our luggage, after Mr. Packett brought me something to eat at a sort of a cafe after we went through got on the plane (I said to myself this is going to be the first time ever when I'm going to miss my friends and mum and dad, brother, I felt a bit sorry but I deserve a holiday I said the work and worrying I do....

When Im about two thousand miles away from where I been the furthest it makes me think that I'm going to meet other people from around the wourld it is strange for me because I've never been outside London before but first time on a trip I'm very excited meeting people making more friends, outside England and you get a feeling where your missing your relatives and friends and other things from England and around the wourld....First day on the plane and its been really good.

Chris' reference to me by name, ("Mr. Packett"), indicated he was writing to an audience other than or larger than the single audience of his previous work. This was a feature of all of his subsequent nineteen entries. When later questioned about this, he said he thought that his parents and other teachers would probably "want a read too", so he wrote it in such a way that it did not seem directed at just one reader.

His interest in sharing his work with other readers was marked by his request that the work be typed and corrected by a secretary. This was seen as a significant development in Chris, for although he was aware that his writing was plagued by errors and awkward constructions, he had never shown any interest in doing something about them, in spite of two years in a remedial programme in writing and reading. When asked which mistakes he wanted corrected, he said his "spelling and punctuation".

His request for assistance with errors came at a time when I had noted increased experimentation in his writing, particularly with punctuation. As can be noted in the writing above, he is especially remiss in his use of the period, choosing not to use it at all most of the time and often confusing its use with the comma: "...they check our passports, border passes. our luggage. after Mr. Packett...". For whatever reasons, Chris did not acquire the proper use of the period (for example) from all the direct assistance he had had over the years and particularly in the previous two. However, his failures in this regard do not point to the ungrammaticality of his language use. Rather, in spite of repeated exercises in copying teachers' notes from the blackboard, text from books, and having to correct his own errors in response to teachers' demands and assistance, Chris simply had not learned all the conventions and systems essential to clear, communicative writing. That he had the ability to structure complex and effective sentences, on the other hand, is shown by this one from the writing above:

When Im about two thousand miles away from where I been
the furthest it makes me think that I'm going to meet other
people from around the wourld....

His errors here show an uncertainty and lack of confidence with the system rather than an inability to master it. As Mina Shaughnessy (1977:18) puts it, the problem lies in "...partialness, in the writer's unawareness of a ^{punctuation} ~~punction~~ 'system', in their fragments of misinformation that by now have often become trusted stratagems in the battle with the page...". Chris' most "trusted stratagem" appears to be the simple ignoring of the period: he often marked a sentence change through the spacing of his intended last word and next beginning. Rather than make an error, most of the time he did not punctuate at all.

How an otherwise linguistically competent individual fails to master relatively simple features of language is somewhat puzzling. However, from my observations of Mike, Owen, Mark, and Chris, at least some of the problem seems to stem from their failure to genuinely engage in the communication being mediated by the written word: their partial personal or emotional involvement in the process of intended communication has seemed to render them each but partial masters of the system. Particularly in the cases of Owen and Chris, there appears to be nothing that should prohibit the achievement of full mastery unless it is an indifference towards writing that is not observed in their oral language behavior. In Chris' case it is especially clear that such indifference is related to his Sense of Audience.

Again, Mina Shaughnessy puts the case clearly and strongly for what she calls the Basic Writer (BW):

BW students write the way they do, not because they are slow or non-verbal, indifferent to or incapable of academic excellence, but because they are beginners and must, like all beginners, learn by making mistakes....(Shaughnessy, 1977:5)

It is essential to note that, like Chris, these students are not beginning language-users, but rather, new at using written language for authentic communication with an involved reader/audience. For years, Chris had accepted minimal performance in his writing as satisfactory and, as it had been confirmed to him time and time again, this was a successful strategy for year after year the school had passed him from level to level in spite of insufficient writing progress. At the point when he began to use writing to express things of importance to him, when he had what he construed as an audience interested in his experiences, he displayed a serious interest in his own writing problems. He began to more actively experiment with the possibilities, to take chances with his attempts at being conventional in order to be clear. That so, he managed to overcome the Plateauing that had characterized his work for at least two years.

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

My work with Chris resulted in a change in his writing that was characterized at first by a vacillation between minimal performance and authentic expression of feelings, views and ideas. This initial

vacillation appeared to make manifest Chris' uncertainty about my genuineness in wanting to communicate with him as opposed to merely wanting to see samples of his writing for evaluative purposes. With subsequent emphasis on issues of prime importance to Chris, his writing became more consistently expressive, more interesting, more detailed, more experimental in nature, and seldom needed to be prompted by me. Further, near the end of the study, I did not see the need to respond to each piece of Chris' writing, nor did Chris demand or request such consistent response. Finally, Chris broke away entirely from a direct dependence on me as interlocutor, by writing a twelve thousand word journal that had a much wider adult audience in mind. This journal, the longest sustained piece of writing he had ever attempted, clearly bore the mark of his enthusiasm, his reflexive thinking, and his interest in sharing his experiences through his writing with a wide range of readers. His sudden overt concern for correcting his errors before his work was shown to others was consistent with his increased involvement with the writing system and with his audience of readers.

By expressing a clear and consistent interest in Chris, and by using writing as the prime medium of shared communication between us, I felt that I had established the Enabling Audience that was needed to bridge the gap between token and Authentic Communication in his writing. Chris' acceptance of me as a genuine partner in written-dialogue served to develop his Sense of Audience, which enabled him thereby to share his language with those other adults who he construed to be similarly interested in what he had to say. As for Mark, the internalization of such an enabling and participating audience provided Chris with the sense of his being a writer and of having the capacity to express and shape his experiences through writing. In turn, this developed self-confidence in written language prompted an increased interest in mastering the system's conventions, which there was no evidence to indicate was beyond his capacity to achieve.

Ricky

Speech

Ricky tended to be a very moody boy and frequently was in trouble with his teachers for his disruptive classroom behavior. Yet, he was by no means a vindictive or spiteful person, most often being genuinely sorry for the trouble he seemed to cause to others. Although he seemed to like being with others his own age, he tended to be alone much of the time, even separating himself from others when involved in group activities. He was an argumentative individual who seemed to enjoy the give and take of verbal conflict and would thereby argue with virtually anyone about anything, frequently with a humorous intent that was not always apparent to others.

Ricky's speech was very slurred and I often found that I simply could not understand him and had to ask him to repeat much of what he was saying. He seemed very tolerant of this situation which continued throughout the duration of the study, and patiently repeated himself again and again. He was particularly difficult to understand when speaking to me on the telephone, which combined his slurred speech problems with a lack of fluency particular to this situation. Most often, I literally had to guess what he was trying to say from the context of the situation. Yet, it was clear that although Ricky's speech was unclear, he was otherwise a highly competent speaker and those more familiar with him from longer acquaintance had no apparent difficulties in understanding him.

He was a highly energetic speaker, often excited and frequently anxious-seeming, which contributed somewhat to his having fewer sustained conversations with people, peers or adults--his speech tending to overwhelm his partners. Some of his excitability seemed to extend from his genuine but often intense concern that he be understood and agreed with, a situation that resulted in argument much of the time.

Figure 23 presents a summary of Ricky's oral language behavior in social situations.

Writing

Although Ricky was not keen about writing generally, frequently turning in incomplete assignments or failing to do them at all. in his other courses, he took up the task of journal writing readily. From discussing this difference in his attitude with him, it appeared that

Figure 23
Ricky's Social Interaction Oral-Language Profile

Peers		Family	Adults		
Male	Female		Strangers	Known	Teachers
Animated	Infrequent	Calm	Polite	Engaging on	Condescending
Argu- mentative	Subdued	Warm	Brief	a one-to-one	Brief
	Calm	Hesitant	Subdued	basis	Defensive
	Brief	with	Non-	Humorous	Can be
		Father	initiating	Polite	humorous

he was genuinely interested in writing about himself, much as Mark had been, and saw the journals as an opportunity to speak out on issues, to reveal his talents in certain activities, and to develop a relationship with an adult that would not be based on authority. His other teachers agreed that his writing was generally poor and token in its attempt to be either exhaustive of content or clear in articulation. From the outset, Ricky's journal writing showed an active and genuine attempt to make himself clear and known to his reader.

For example, in the following excerpt from a long autobiographical entry in his journal, Ricky attempted to explain the origin of his inclination to fight and argue and how it had been undergoing change in recent years. The writing contains all the mechanical and structural problems typical of his writing, particularly, as for Chris, those having to do with the use of the comma, period, and quotation marks. Many of his errors involve unsuccessful attempts at complicated sentence structures, indicating more a lack of familiarity with writing than an inability:

...the buzzer went and we all went for playtime in the playground. My friend had a ball and he said Ricky do you want to play" I said alright then and we had a game World Cup. My mate bob said shall we get a gang and me and you are the leaders and I said there is only won leader he said well it must be me then, and I said sorry but I could kill you he said come on then I hit him and we were fighting then I walked away when we went back to class he came up to me and said alright rick you can be the leader so we got lots of kids and went around in a gang. We used to beat up other gangs and then they would join up with us. then we thought if we got boys and put them in the toilet we could keep them as hosterges and let them go at the end of break, we would get some gaurds so they could not escape. Then while they are keeping them in the toilets we would get some more it was really funny at the time but not now

His autobiographical sketch was approximately 4500 words in length and was achieved in ten class periods, spread over three months and between other writing activities. Although, like Mark's, this writing tended at first to be strictly narrative in nature, focussing on his activities with his mates and girl-friends, near the end of the study the entries became reflexive and speculative in nature. This change in his autobiography seemed to be one outcome of dialogue between myself and Ricky in which we discussed, in writing in his daily journal, the consequences and morality of his recent school behavior. In one such exchange, for

example, Ricky wrote to me in response to a strongly worded statement of mine indicating that he was risking losing the respect I had developed for him as a result of his serious misbehavior over a period of a month. This writing shows, again, the usual problems with periods, commas and quotation marks, as well as a difficulty with complicated shifts in verb tenses:

My brother heard that I was getting into trouble. and he talked to me about it, and I did not listen, and I wish I had of now. Mrs. ---- had been good to me and so had you and Mr.----- I really appreciate that you were all concerned, and I was luck not to be thrown out of the school. My mum and dad dont know that I have been though the trouble I have, and I rather wished that this matter will be forgotten about forever, and I will really try my best from now on. I am really glad now that you wrote me that letter because when I got home I sat down and read it and then thought to myself why am I doing these things, and all the teachers will one day turn on me, and I dont want that to happen, but I am really looking forward to Canada. And I hope now that everything goes ok now.

P.S. Thanks for your letter Jerre.
-Ricky

This response, written in the ninth month of the study was the first time Ricky had attempted anything other than a strictly narrative/ autobiographical piece, with the exception of some short entries in response to my questions about specific matters. By November, the twelfth month, he was frequently attempting a more speculative kind of writing such as this final entry in his autobiography:

The last year I have seen changes in my work at school and my behavior, because I have had talks with alot of people and they said to me you might as well try for one more year and I thought that if my behavior and attendance was good they would write that on my report but I have thought deeper into the matter if I stay on a year then I could get better results and get a good job but if I left school I would not have nothing and probably go on the DOLE but I dont want to collect about £24.00 aweek of them and when I get the job in the post office I will probably work in a shop and work my way up as a manager. I will never get introuble with the police anymore because there is no point in doing anything wrong so they wont have to worry about me again. My dad talked to me about what subjects I was going to take if I wanted to get in the post office I said I wanted to take Geography, photography, Maths, English, Add. English, Woodwork, and History. And he said why geography and I said because I want to do assortering that is sorting the mail out for the postman in the morning.

Interestingly, his letters to others began to reflect some of the content that his journal and autobiography had been exploring. As well, there was an increased sense of ease in his writing. The tension, excitability, and anxiety that manifested itself in his early work disappeared both in the examples given above and in this letter to a Canadian girl whom he had not yet met:

Dear Janet,

Thanks for the letter you sent me, I was waiting for the other girl to write back, but when Jerre Parquette said "I had a letter I thought it was from her and, when I read yours it seemed very similar to the one she sent me, my lessons at school are becoming no more important to me, because I had alot of trouble, My work at school was quite bad and the only good report was, Maths, I am good at maths because I play darts and you have to take away and add up quick, I have been in trouble because I have misbehaved and not bothered about school, I just wanted to get out of school and get a job, but now I know that if I want to get a job I have to work hard at school, And pass some of my exams, I want to work in the Post office, I have got a good chance and it is very good money, My subjects I want to take are Maths English Geography and History, Games I have to do, I am sorry that I had to tell you but that is why I have not wrote, I have been seeing teacher and my parents. But I hope now I can ~~write~~ write regularly to you, I am looking forward to coming over Canada and seeing new things, Janet who wrote to me before seemed very shy in her letters, I don't think you are shy, but it is not really anything wrong in writing letters to each other to get to know what your like and when I come over to Canada, I should

Probably meet you, Have you ever been over England, because I knew a girl called Janet Wells and she emigrated. but I don't think that is you, because you said you have lived in Canada all your life. Jerre said to me get that letter wrote to her because he said you broke up from school for a couple of weeks, so then when everything settled down, I then thought I should write, thanks for the photo you sent me, and if you want one I will put it in my next letter because I have not got time just yet, so I will send you a photo next time, Well hope to hear soon because I liked your first letter and read it carefully.

~~FROM~~ FROM
~~Ricky~~ Ricky —

His selfconfidence manifests itself throughout the letter in such sentences as, "Janet who wrote to before seemed very shy in her letters, I don't think you are shy, but it is not really anything wrong...", and in his closing sentence, "Well hope to hear soon because I liked your first letter and read it very carefully...", which also shows a measure of sensitivity and cleverness combined, (it virtually assures a response!). This apparent self-confidence was missing from his earlier writing and is associated here and in the next piece with his willingness/interest in approaching an impressively wide range of ideas and issues in any single writing activity. In the letter above, for example, he deals with the confusion about the two 'Janets', his personal background, his feelings about school, his intended future, his recent misbehavior, Janet's personality, and so on.

The example below, his last regular journal entry written the night before the Canada trip, nicely catches the increasingly relaxed approach to his writing. His developing confidence and interest in writing is a reflection of the degree to which he had assimilated an enabling Sense of Audience through out previous journal dialogues:

Well Jerre, hasn't the time flown by it is funny I said flown by because we are flying tomorrow and I am getting very excited about the idea, I have a little shopping to do before I

get settled down in that place where me and Steve are going to stay I appreciate all you have done for me to go on this trip and my parents and do you remember the first time you spoke to me, I can you said what work are you doing and I said project work, then the next day Mrs. ----- said we were going to be with you in future, and I didn't like the idea at first but I am really glad she chose me because I now that many boys in our school would love to fly to Canada. I hope that we all get on well over there I am sure we will do you know what time I wrote this letter 9:15 Tuesday night and I am just going to jump into a lovely hot bath so I dont what the water to get cold do I anyway Jerre thanks alot for getting us all to go and planing it all, I bet Chris will be a bit nervous dont you. My mom is very excited for me and my dad too they said I should make the most off it and I promise there will be no trouble from me in anyway. My sister was crying at the table when I was writing this letter because she thought that the plane may crash anyway she as stoped now and I am getting in my bath for tomorrow.

-Ricky

His daily journal covering the trip reverted, necessarily, to a more narrative form of writing, but, unlike his autobiographical work, his narrative descriptions of events were intertwined with commentaries and evaluations of those events.

Over the fifteen months of the study, Ricky became a writer of much greater calm, fluidity, and confidence. And although he was still exhibiting the same problems with punctuation and still making occasional mistakes in grammar, he was more frequently attempting complicated sentence structures and sounding increasingly like a mature writer, as these excerpts from his last piece of writing indicate:

See you then Jerre. Till then, thank Mary for me and I hope you have a safe journey back to Canada and say bye to Jeremy for me your son.

-Ricky

P.S. When you go to Canada you must write me a letter and give me your address where you are staying.

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

Ricky's oral language behavior reflected an excitable, anxious person whose speech was often hesitant and terse. His written language reflected these characteristics in its tone and disjointed organization of content. However, as the relationship between Ricky and myself developed into a calm and constructive association, his writing began to reveal through its control and increasing fluency a more thoughtful and reflective person than had been anticipated through initial

encounters. Surprisingly, however, development in control of sentences was achieved in spite of any perceptible improvement in his punctuation which remained characterised by difficulties with periods, commas, and quotation marks particularly. Unlike Chris, Ricky never did express the need or desire to correct his errors, although he appeared to be entirely aware of many of his own inconsistencies. This may well have been a result of his increasing self-confidence in other areas of writing, and of his shift from preoccupation with one function of writing to others, a shift which may have precluded his interest in a simultaneous concern for mechanics. This is suggested particularly by his later writing which appeared to abandon the use of punctuation almost entirely. This left the matter of punctuation up to me, as his reader, and I was clearly prepared to fill in what was missing. In attempting to balance his growing interest in writing with his proven distaste for lessons in punctuation and grammar, I may well have, through misjudgement, missed an opportunity to improve his mechanics at a point of readiness.

However, where Mark and Ricky restricted their writing largely to the autobiographical and narrative styles, Ricky began in the last two months of the study, to show a development outwards to both reflection and speculation, extending his narrative writing to speculative and conative functions. By the end of the study, Ricky made some attempts at poetic writing as well, often blending it in with his other work to augment, often simply to impress, more frequently to experiment with shaping his experiences through his written language.

Ricky maintained more direct contact with me through his writing than did Mark, interspersing his autobiographical activities with self-initiated written dialogues through his daily journal. This provided me with the opportunity to encourage and prompt Ricky to explore issues and ideas which, while more external to himself, were nevertheless based on his self-view and personal experiences.

A combination of his superior writing skills and the more extended use of the journal dialogues were the main influencing reasons why Ricky extended his writing to more functions than did Mark or Chris. The lack of an enabling Sense of Audience was seen to be the predominant

reason why such development in his writing had not taken place prior to the commencement of this study, in spite of the fact that his writing skills were clearly sufficient to bear the burden of increased cognitive and linguistic demands.

Robert

Speech

Rob was a sound academic student and a good-humored boy who was quick to react to the wit of others. He was, consequently, popular with his teachers and friends. He was, as well, a fluent and flexible conversationalist, interested in and capable of engaging in dialogue with a wide range of different people.

Over the period of the study, Rob showed an increasingly strong interest in participating in conversations with adults, particularly wanting to be involved in their arguments. Frequently, he would stand at the edge of a small group of his teachers, listening intently and obviously looking for the proper and appropriate way of entering into their dialogue, often asking, "May I have something to say about this, Sir?".

His relationship with his father seemed to provide the basis for much of his developing fluency with adults. He was a stern man with high personal standards of and expectations for linguistic performance and was exceptionally active with Rob in discussions, mainly about school, politics, and football. Their discussions were often quite formal in nature and Rob's language was overtly monitored and corrected when it did not live up to expectations. Rob did not seem dismayed or discouraged by such monitoring, possibly because he was clearly interested in both the discussions, and in meeting his father's expectations. More likely, Rob was not discouraged because his father did appear to be genuinely interested in what Rob was saying, as much as in how he said it. In any case, the structure and formality of language-use so dominant in that relationship carried over into the school in at least one important way, as will be shown in the discussion of his writing.

Figure 21 provides a summary of Rob's social oral-language behavior.

Figure 24
Robert's Social Interaction Oral Language Profile

	Peers		Family	Adults		
	Male	Female		Strangers	Known	Strangers
Fluent	Somewhat	Initially very	Some	Involved,	Very formal	Relaxed
Humorous	formal	formal	strain	attempts	initially	Readily en-
Dominant	Often	Accommodating	with	sustained		gages in
Accom-	reserved	Attempts to	father	conversations		conver-
dating	Engages in	initiate and	Open in	Uncertain		sations
	more ser-	sustain ser-	his talk	how to enter		Respectful,
	ious	ious conver-	Polite,	on-going		Polite,
	conver-	sations	Respectful	conver-		Humorous
	sations	Polite	Involved	sations		
	and more			Polite		
	sustained					

Writing

Rob's writing was as fluent, controlled, and competently executed as his speech. Technically, he seemed to need no assistance or special help with such matters as punctuation, grammar, or spelling. Nor did he feel the need for assistance with his writing, stating that "I consider myself quite good at writing and my English teachers also seem to think so." Initially, I wondered whether I could be of any direct use to Rob at all.

However, it soon became apparent that Rob's writing tended to be cold in tone, shallow in content, and narrow in range of styles employed or attempted. His teachers complained that although he always turned in technically correct pieces, they were almost always dull and predictable. Yet, they were satisfied with his work, especially in light of its capacity to meet the standards of external examinations. In a taped interview with Rob about his writing, he commented on the writer-reader relationship he had with his teachers, and thereby provided one insight for me into how his writing abilities might be developed further:

Researcher: Are you always aware of writing to another person?
Do you always have another person in mind, or people in mind when you write?

Robert: Well,...in English class or History class, we write essays.

Researcher: To whom?

Robert: Not to anyone, just for ourselves and the teacher who marks it. We just give information. Not to someone. We just write information down on paper and whoever happens to be reading it soaks up the information.

Researcher: Is there a difference for you between this kind of (journal) writing where you have someone in mind and the kind of writing where you say you're not writing to anyone?

Robert: Oh yeah! There's a difference because when you're writing to someone you always...you're as careful...you're careful what you say. You know...you have to think, "How can I put it so he understands it?" If he's someone who comes from a different country, like you, and...but when you write an essay you think "I can put the information down, it doesn't matter who's reading it, they all understand it." But when you think you're writing to somebody about something then it's I think it's easier to write to somebody about something.

His construal of his teachers as non-person in their role as readers pervaded all his writing and was demonstrated in the first few journal entries he made to me:

So, today Mr. Paquette wants to know more about my great interest in journalism. Well, to start with I always read the daily papers and I think that some of the comments written are very helpfull to the reader. For instance in the sports sections, news of transfers etc is explained in great detail, and if the news of the transfer was not written in a peper, then who would know about it apart from the people involved....

His stereotyping of teachers as non-persons, not to be confused with a Public Audience or Unknown Audience, was a strategy he had incorporated into all his work and from which he achieved an artificial sense of confidence that I felt to be interfering with his creativity and development. In the piece quoted above, there is an indication of arrogance in the tone of the piece as a whole, and perhaps of indifference to what he was saying.

It became clear quickly that a change in audience, were it genuine, could readily and effectively upset his equilibrium. For example, in a letter written to a Canadian teacher in which Rob was to introduce himself and make a request for assistance, his writing made manifest his lack of confidence with an audience about which he could not make many safe assumptions:

Dear Ray:

Jerre has told us that you going intend to aproach the folk club with our problem. I will be very grateful if you help us to raise the money.

We are all looking forward very much to visiting Canada. I hope that if we come, we get a chance to visit the club.

It strikes me that Canadian people are a lot more helpful to our cause than English people. I realise that we are not a charity, but some people refuse even to listen.

As I am already running out of things to say I will tell you something about myself. (Try not to fall asleep too quickly.)

I play and watch a lot of Football (soccer). This is a great pleasure to me. Also I go to music concerts. I like New-wave music (eg. The Jam, The Photos etc) Do not ~~worry~~ worry if you have not heard of the Photos. Not a lot of English people have either.

I support Spurs. I also play for a Sunday morning team.

Well, I've told you a bit about myself and if you're not asleep and you are reading this piece out, goodbye.

Yours Robert Willcocks

(P.S. Spurs is short for Tottenham Hotspur Football Club)

(P.P.S. We need £625 please)

His sudden lack of fluency, his defensiveness, the crude way in which he indicated the group's financial needs, his excessive number of errors

relative to his other writing, and the general awkwardness of the whole piece betray the loss of his personal confidence in this new social situation. However, after having met and associated with Ray for three weeks while in Canada, Rob wrote a letter of gratitude which reflected both a return of his confidence and a warmth and genuineness not in the first one:

Dear Ray,

I thought maybe it would be nice to write you a poem just to say thanks, but I'm not really much good at that sort of thing, so instead I'll have to write you this letter.

I really appreciate everything that you have done for us here in Calgary and I would like to say thank you. Our stay here has been absolutely marvellous and one day perhaps I could return the favor if you ever want to visit jolly old England.

I have every intention of returning to Calgary in a couple of years, hopefully at Stampede time. Maybe I will even move over there for good sooner or later (hopefully). The people and places are wonderful and we have all made many new friends whom I hope I can see again in the near future.

I would also like to thank everyone at the alternative school for making so many arrangements on our behalf. Particular thanks to Jim to lead us on the winter camp out. Without him we would have been in a real mess.

Anyway I don't want to say goodbye so I'll just say see you soon.

Yours thankfully, Robert

Rob wrote both these letters in his 'official' capacity as group representative, so an intentional air of formality was desired. Yet there is hardly any comparison to be made between the two in terms of their effectiveness or polish. And this difference is primarily a function of the change in his Sense of Audience, not of his writing skills.

Such a change in his Sense of Audience was realized in his writing to myself as well, going from the piece shown above, ("So today Mr. Paquette wants to know..."), in which he does not even address his audience directly, as though it were being written to somebody else (or anybody else), to the more direct and engaging pieces that were to characterize the bulk of his journal and other writing.

More than any of the other boys, Rob explored the range of writing functions as described by Britton and his research team (1975), occasionally using the opportunity afforded by my questions or interests to write in the poetic mode, thus showing his talent in this regard. On

one early occasion (the fourth month) he responded to my personal anecdotes of life as a youth in Western Canada by writing a story of his own about life in London. In this activity, he wrote two pieces, the second being his improvement on the first. It is important to realize that as for all the boys' writing, there were neither demands on how he should write his response nor any reward/ evaluation promised or given:

GROWING UP IN LONDON- no.1

Jimmy ran down the busy High Street. The smell of petrol fumes and thick, heavy atmosphere filled his nostrils. Got to get away from mums sight. He weaved his way in and out of the packed crowd.

When he thought that he had run far enough, he decided to turn into a side street. The atmosphere instantly changed. The sound of traffic changed to kids playing football and old women chatting. Boy!, Freedom was sure worth the run. He glanced around. Houses in straight rows ran down both sides of the street. The peace was suddenly shattered by the noise of a pack of singing skinheads.

GROWING UP IN LONDON- no.2

The High Street is always busy, Traffic is thick and the smell of petrol fumes fill the air. People walking in packs, weaving in and out of each other as they peer into shop windows. Side streets lead off the main road. Houses, side by side on either side. Quieter, but still noisy. Kids screaming and footballs bouncing.

Different types of youths in different dress and with different hair styles. Skinheads, Punks, mods, Teds, Heavy rockers, etc. Hard to be ordinary. All like different music. All can be violent. All hate each other.

However, despite all this, just ten minutes bus ride separates city from forest. Epping forest, overrun by gras, logs, and trees. Ponds and lakes. People fishing and looking for tadpoles.

His use of the poetic mode came at a time when I was involved in showing slides of my home country, sharing personal anecdotes about my youth, and describing the natural countryside that is so accessible in Canada. Rob's attempt here parallels my attempt to create the mood and atmosphere of home.

Subsequent to the time of sharing anecdotes came a period during which the group was involved with me in discussing and arguing about issues such as the Afghanistan crisis, the Iranian Embassy crisis in London, football violence, and others in which I attempted to develop a Canadian point of view in opposition to their British one. Rob took

up the invitation for argument and became intrigued with the notion that he had a cohesive and identifiable point of view that often contrasted with mine. At this time he began his book, Robert's Book of Issues, Arguments, and Proclamations, which he saw as an opportunity to participate in formal and adult issues. His first entry began in this way:

I'm glad that you have issued me with this book. It gives me a great chance to give my views and give certain people a good verbal battering. Straight into one of the things that I feel strongest about. The Moscow Olympics....

This entry and the book as a whole signalled a change from the shared writing and direct-audience contact of his daily journal, which he maintained along with his new book. The entry indicates that I remained an intended reader, but that he clearly extended his intentions to some general Others he never directly identifies. It is likely that his audience here takes in those represented in the media (the news was full of controversy about the Olympics at this time), his peers (particularly those interested in sports), and teachers who had been taking up the issue in his classes. Yet, it is equally clear that I remained the immediately accessible audience, for he never shared his book with anyone else: it was as though he was now using me, a familiar and challenging audience, to represent Others he would like to have similar access to as a writer.

It was at this point in his writing that Rob began to take notice of his own language structure, to acknowledge his concern for problems he recognized. After some particularly difficult and largely unsuccessful attempts to influence my views about the role of the police at football games, he returned to his daily journal for a while, abandoning his "Issues" book temporarily, and made this entry:

Back to regular 'journal' writing. I must say that I did have one or two problems about writing that argument, but after some extensive thought I managed to present what I thought to be a fair piece of writing, expressing all of my opinions on the matter of violence. JESUS! That was a long sentence. Should I have split it up into two smaller sentences? Sometimes I have wondered about breaking up large statements into small sentences or one big sentence. Please give me some advice about this....

Thus out of a sustained and genuine attempt to communicate and persuade, and through the often vigorous conflict between himself and his teacher on this issue, emerged his readiness to give more careful consideration to his own rhetorical skills: the issue was real, the interaction stimulating, and hence the need to be clearer and more effective was pressing. Rob had arrived at a point in his own language development where he needed his teacher to serve not just as an involved audience for his ideas, but as an expert in the matter of their expression and formulation. Rob's readiness was more than merely apparent: it was pressing, for it came hard upon a keen sense of frustration and therefore was ripe for exploiting.

Since the end of my time with the boys had virtually arrived, I was not able to follow up Rob's writing needs as extensively as I would have had I another term with him, but nevertheless, it was clear to me that I needed to develop a 'curriculum' of activities and methods for his continuing writing development that would be far different from that for any of the other boys. At the same time, it was equally clear that I had established myself as an Enabling Sense of Audience that would likely serve him through the next stage of his development, which would include work of a more objective nature with both of us looking as hard at his language as at his arguments.

Discussion and Preliminary Conclusions

From the outset of the study, Rob was a good writer, handling competently all the mechanical and structural features peculiar to the writing system. He did not seem to use writing, however, in spite of this mastery, for purposes of Authentic Communication, and it was to this end that I directed my efforts in devising activities to extend Rob's use of writing beyond that of mere performance.

The approximately twenty thousand words of his writing in the study covered the range of language functions from expressive to both transactional and poetic. Since attempts at specific language functions were not solicited or demanded, the range covered by Rob was seen as a genuine attempt to achieve the most effective language use in communicating with his audience, an intention not observed in his regular course work with his other teachers.

Rob's interest in participating in dialogue with adults about what he construed to be adult issues enabled me to readily engage him in discussion through writing of a wide range of topics. However, his personal construal of teachers seemed to actually interfere with his ability to engage fully and openly, an attitude at odds with his interest in adult interaction. By ostensibly abdicating the teacher role as Rob construed it, and by extending his audience repertoire to real external audiences, I managed to become an adult audience that Rob felt both comfortable with and challenged by. The resulting relationship was a new one for Rob and the result initially was writing that reflected some tentativeness with subject-matter, tone, style, and technique. The result was an extension of Rob's writing in each of these areas and a change in his attitude about his own writing. He became far less complacent with his immediate competence and began asking for assistance with matters especially of style.

The relationship between Rob's writing competency and his Sense of Audience had resulted in a plateauing in his writing that affected him at every level of production, and most crucially in terms of his willingness and interest in using writing for Authentic Communication. For him, therefore, writing competency was almost a handicap to his social, cognitive, and affective development, covering up as it did deeper levels of communicative capacities and attitudes that required exercising and changing. By providing him with a different Audience than he was accustomed to over a considerable period of time, I was able to assist him in overcoming the Plateauing effect of his earlier writing.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents the conclusions reached concerning the study's Principal Aims which were stated in Chapter 7:

1. To determine the influence of Sense of Audience on the writing processes of adolescents;
2. To explore and develop effective research procedures which are consistent with the needs and aims of teaching practice.

A discussion of the study's Subsidiary Aims will be undertaken in Chapter 14 in an exploration of the implications and recommendations emerging out of the study's central conclusions. However, as will be shown below, there was a strong relationship demonstrated between Sense of Audience and the focus of several of the subsidiary aims, namely: Authentic Communication; use of journals; pupil-teacher relationships; interrelationship of language functions in development; relationship of oral and written language use; and student preferences for particular language functions. Therefore, many of the concerns of the Subsidiary Aims will be embedded in the conclusions regarding Sense of Audience.

Sense of Audience

The concept of Sense of Audience was explored and developed in Chapters 5 and 6 in terms of a Self-Other relationship which saw Self as being dependent upon the social environment of Others for both definition and development through a process of construing and assimilating. The importance of this interrelationship to language development was seen in two ways: first, the relationship is mediated largely by language through its capacity to represent the Other to the Self; secondly, as the Self develops via the social/language process the language system of the individual also develops. This three-way process of development was seen therefore as a unit of personal

development characterized primarily by a dynamism that was described as a modulation between Self, Language, and Other. The importance of this dynamism to writing was seen in terms of the capacity of the individual to internalize it, embodying it in the assimilation of his external audiences. This assimilation of audience, of Other into the Self is what was meant by Sense of Audience. In these terms, Audience Awareness was viewed as the initial or early consciousness of an external Other, or the first necessary stage leading to genuine assimilation or Sense of Audience.

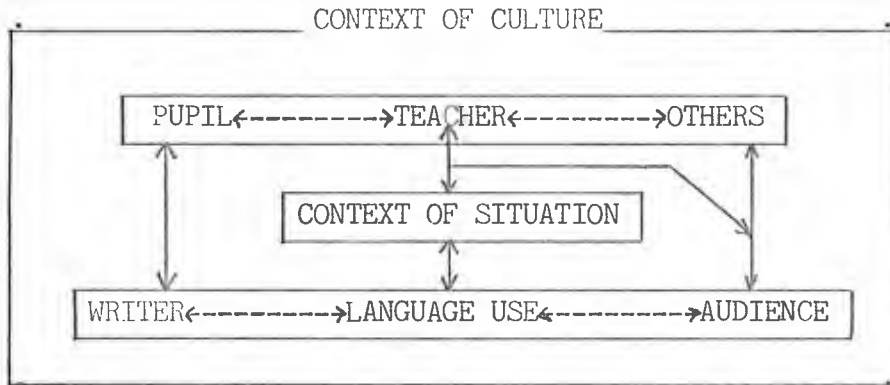
The importance of Sense of Audience to personal and linguistic development was seen as manifest in what George Mead described as the two stages of achieved interdependence of Self, Language, and Other:

In the first stage, the individual directs the communication towards himself....

(In the second stage) the individual communicates with a social audience what he has checked on himself, and symbols are significant so far as they arouse reciprocal experiences and determine the same kind of actions in relation to the objects of experience. (Miller, 1972:141)

The significance of these two stages of interaction will be shown below to be related to the effect of plateauing in writing development, a phenomenon observed in the writing of all the boys of the present study and acknowledged by many teachers as a central concern in the teaching of writing.

A model of Sense of Audience was developed in Chapter 5 which indicated in a general way those aspects of the subjects' environment of Others to which I would give emphasis in the conducting of research on their writing processes. The model was conceived in an attempt to provide a schematic account of the importance of viewing Sense of Audience as a dynamic construct having vitality and significance only in the broad context of its realization by the individual writer:



The case studies presented in the previous chapter provide a basis for conclusions regarding a relatively large number of aspects of the writing system that Sense of Audience was seen to influence. These will be discussed under the general headings of Mastery of the System, Writing Functions, and Content.

Mastery of the System

Summary of Observations

The case studies developed showed a varying ability in the six boys to be consistently correct in the application of the system's use of punctuation and spelling, features which are peculiar to writing as opposed to oral language. Other skills mastered in varying degrees by the boys were paragraphing, use of capitalization, and dialogue indicators, but these were seen to have less of a negative effect on the fluency with which their writing communicated their ideas. As well, since formal essay writing was not attempted to any significant degree through the study, the larger organizational problems inherent in such work were not encountered and therefore are not given emphasis in this discussion.

The period was the feature most often misused and which provided the greatest amount of difficulty for the reader, even if the reader was the originator of the material. Only Robert, of the six case studies developed, was skilled in its use, although he was not adept in the use of the semicolon or colon, features which he clearly needed to develop mastery of for his increasingly complex sentence structures.

The five boys who demonstrated difficulties with the full stop in written language did not exhibit parallel difficulties in their oral

language performance, a fact which led me to feel that there was nothing innate about the boys' abilities that should prevent them from readily learning the use of the period. Nor was their written language characterized by inadequacies that would point to any general cognitive disability interfering with language learning. Rather, their failure to master the system at every level of its basic structure seemed to be more a function of either their infrequent use of it or a lack of genuine personal involvement in the system as a means of communication. The fact that each boy had received at least two years of remedial training in such matters as the features of the written system without complete success, particularly in regards to the relatively simple use of the period, encouraged me to conclude that familiarity with the system was not the prime problem, for each boy encountered writing more frequently than many other students and had more rigorous teaching than many others. What appeared to be the case was that they had developed an attitude of indifference toward writing that had inhibited the extent of their commitment to it as a means of communication. That is, although they were clearly familiar with the system, they had not become familiar with using it as a means to self-expression: they had become literally partial users of writing, stopping just short of full mastery of its features much as a part-time amateur potter might stop just short of mastery of his craft for lack of need or interest. For each of the five boys, the amount of energy and time required to perfect their technical skills seemed to be a poor investment in light of the minimal demands they placed on the system for communication or self-expression.

This is not to say that they did not have an awareness of the need for the full stop in written language, for they did. They had even developed what Mina Shaughnessy refers to as "trusted stratagems" for taking its need into account: Often the comma seemed sufficient to them; frequently a space left between the last word of an intended sentence and the first of another satisfied; repeatedly, the capitalization of a word in the middle of a sentence appeared to signify a new sentence. Only infrequently would any of them fail to signify a full stop in some fashion, such failure occurring mainly in very long sentences where it seemed they had simply lost sight of their intentions over the relatively long time it took to produce the string of words, or in the complexity of the ideas they were trying to express.

Their trusted stratagems had become readily recognizable to their teachers as "their problems" and as such were treated as "givens" by all the teachers and by the boys themselves: by the beginning of their last five or six years of school, they had become known to others and to themselves as problem-writers and attention was given to their problems in a bottom-up approach to teaching writing. This teaching strategy appears to have failed primarily because the boys were not sufficiently interested in the process of writing and saw everything that had to do with it as merely school-bound exercise, having little relevance to their personal lives.

I was able to effect a change in the boys' attitude about the writing process by establishing myself as a genuine participant in their writing activities and expressing a real interest in what they had to say. As a consequence, the boys began to write often, without complaint, and with reliance on their trusted stratagems to take them through the communicative act. Because their errors were not substantial enough to block communication through writing, I was able to simply ignore them as errors, and focus instead on the content and on their intention to communicate. The result was an increase in the amount of experimentation in their writing, taking some to the need for consistency in the use of quotations marks, some to trials with paragraphing, (including, in Mark's case no paragraphing whatsoever), and others to often bizarre attempts at spelling and punctuation. In Robert's case, where the basics of punctuation and spelling were under control, he eventually came to articulate a need for re-thinking his use of sentence structure in general. In all cases, I noted an increase in the amount of on-going editing, particularly in the longer pieces of work and near the end of the study.

Before shaping these observations into a general conclusion about the influence of Sense of Audience on system mastery in the boys' work, one other related observation should be summarized here: basic skill in the use of oral language seemed to outstrip that in written language except in the case of Robert, where mastery of the one seemed to parallel the other. This inconsistency seems to me to be explained at least in part by a difference inherent between the two modes of language: oral language appears to require less conscious awareness for its use than does the written, where para-linguistic characters have to be formed ever so carefully, along with the linguistic ones. That is, there is

a degree of cognition required for basic decisions and formation in producing written language that is not demanded by the use of oral language, a demand which goes some way to explaining why very young children do not learn to write at the same time they learn to speak. However, it is also apparent that the usual school writing situation heightens to an unnecessary degree the need to attend consciously to one's act of writing and that in large part such heightening is achieved by forcing a writer's attention fully onto the writing process. When an audience of genuine significance to the writer is established, the intense measure of conscious awareness focussed on the writing process itself is diminished, enabling thereby an increase in the flow of thoughts into words, into sentences, into whole structures of writing. That is, by providing, establishing and developing a Sense of Audience for student writers, we may be going some distance towards realizing Roy Harris' (1978:18) tenet that "...language presupposes communication...".

Conclusion

The lack of development in the boys' mastery of the system's uses of punctuation, spelling, and other particular specialist markings or indicators was related to the preponderance of writing exercises and tasks the boys had experienced in previous school assignments which failed to effectively involve them in a genuine process of communication. Plateauing of their skills was related, that is, to the lack of an audience that they could engage in ways which would challenge their existing levels of, and satisfaction with, partial mastery: through their genuine attempts to be clear and thorough, to genuinely engage an Other, they had overcome the stasis of their development by means of the dynamism or meaningful social interaction through writing. As discussed, such language-mediated interaction necessarily affects a change in the language itself.

The observations made and reported in Chapters 8 and 9 therefore led me to conclude that:

Sense of Audience had the effect of directing the subjects' dependence away from individually devised, inconsistent, and confusing trusted stratagems, to a willingness to learn conventional strategies more consistent with the needs and demands of language-mediated social interaction through writing.

Written-language Functions

Summary of Observations

Expressive writing furnished me with the opportunity needed to establish and maintain a casual yet extensive relationship with the boys in the study. This relationship afforded me access to the broad context of their lives, an access that was mutual insofar as personal contexts were shared not exploited. From the outset, with the exception of Owen, the boys welcomed the establishing of a relationship that transcended the limitations implicitly imposed by formal institutional roles and often mediated by relatively formal, constrained language. But it was interesting to note that they were considerably more hesitant to realize the relationship in expressive written language than they were in the oral mode. This reluctance to use Expressive Language in writing was clearly based on their implicit assumptions that writing was a school-based activity that mediated formal relationships, not casual ones. The fact that expressive writing had not been part of their school experience had, of course, fostered their notions in that regard.

However, once the routine of journal writing had been established and the process of engaging in written dialogue with me was accepted, concern for which function they were writing in virtually disappeared and a preoccupation with function was replaced by emphasis on interaction. Expressive writing seemed appropriate to the tentativeness of the group members' initial reactions to one another, offering each of the writers, including myself, the opportunity to shift from one tone to another, from one content-base to another, and from style to style as it suited the moods and needs of the occasion. This ability and willingness to shift the nature of the language to suit the changing intentions of the writer, enabled each to explore and create the specific context of a new form of interaction. In this way particularly was Expressive Language seen to serve the function of exploration as Britton, et al (1975:89) have described it. More importantly for this study, Expressive Language was seen as the primary way in which a Sense of Audience could be established that would foster development in other functions for each writer.

However, the interest in the expressive writing of the early activities soon gave way to an associated and apparent need for more formal or controlled shaping of the ideas and issues emerging from the

written dialogues. After about four months, the six boys whose case studies have been developed in Chapter 9 began to respond less to the journal dialogues and more to my invitations to participate in more structured writing of autobiographies, shaped personal anecdotes, arguments, and position papers. Ultimately, after about ten months, they became most keen about extending their writing to external unknown audiences and new functions. While the written dialogues continued throughout the study, they began to serve different purposes than did the early ones, focussing on immediate issues such as the Canada project. However, the expressive function continued to be suitable for discovering and exploring ideas which were developed in subsequent transactional or poetic writing: The expressive writing of the journals and the direct involvement of myself as Audience seemed to provide an immediately useful sense of security, particularly for purposes of experimentation with ideas and language. Figure 25 indicates both the function of writing undertaken by each boy and the extent to which he endeavored to give his work a formal character.

Expressive Language functions seemed to serve best the immediate needs of the group members, but the poetic and transactional served their longer-term and public needs best. Mark's autobiography, for example, took him beyond satisfying primarily my questions and interests to providing himself and largely unidentified others with a more controlled personal history of the experiences referred to in his journal but extended in his book. Chris' twelve thousand word trip-journal transcended his immediate needs and interests as well, primarily by expanding his scope of intended readers, an endeavor which affected the tone of his writing by giving it a more formal ring. Yet, the boys' formal writing, while characterised by a greater cohesion of content, order, tone, and style, continued to draw upon features of their expressive writing, even in Rob's work. Indeed, the pattern of writing behavior for the group in their formal work was a vacillation between the Expressive and the more structured functions of their transactional and poetic writing. This vacillation provided me with some of the clearest indications of the internalizing of audience interaction within the journal writing. This interaction they then applied to the activities of their more private and rigorous writing. That is, via the process of vacillation between Expressive and other functions, the boys were developing their audience involvement with

Figure 25 Language Function Use and Degree of Formality Attempted
 (Relative to One Another)

	Transactional (Formal)	Expressive Language (Casual)	Poetic (Formal)
Mike		Autobiography	
Mark			Autobiography
Owen		Conative	
Chris	Report	Descriptive	Autobiography
Ricky	Report	Descriptive Conative	Autobiography Speculative
Robert	Report Conative Descriptive		Autobiography Poetry & Short Stories Speculative (often becoming poetic)

the reader into a Sense of Audience that served all their writing in the class.

As has been made clear, the basis of the journals was the relationship between myself and each of the boys, a relationship mediated by Expressive Language and extended into the more formal writing of the transactional and poetic functions. That relationship was somewhat different for each of the boys, depending, of course, on their individual personalities, needs, and construals of who I was to them. Accordingly, each boy elicited different responses from me which in turn resulted in different writing activities. Robert, for example, was interested in and more capable of exploring a wider range of subject matter, resulting in his attempts at a wider range of language functions than any of the other boys. I saw my relationship with the boys as being framed to a large degree by their apparent linguistic abilities and found that taking up certain kinds of questions with one did not elicit the same responses as with another. In general, those with more limited writing skills restricted themselves to narrative autobiographical writing and responded best and most enthusiastically to those requests that enabled them to utilize the appropriate forms available. Robert and Ricky, for example, did not remain as satisfied with narrative/autobiographical writing as did the others, and took up issues that were more appropriately dealt with in the transactional conative function, a function that Owen might eventually have taken up, but Mark, Chris, and Mike simply did not seem ready for. I found that when I insisted that they take up the demands of the transactional, their performance was totally unsatisfactory, their resulting attitude ranging from complete indifference to anger, an attitude that threatened to truncate their interest in continuing to write in their journals and other books. Robert reacted with reluctance only when it appeared that I was making an assignment rather than engaging him through my usual statements of interest, curiosity, or disagreement.

Finally, I noted a distinct relationship between the boys' oral language behavior in social situations and their writing. Each of the boys was clearly more capable and more interested in writing in ways and about content that paralleled his conversations with others in the oral mode. By getting them to depart radically from their oral language patterns, I observed that their writing became performance based rather

than authentically communicative and interactional with their audience: they provided me with what the London Writing Research Unit (Britton et al, 1975) referred to as "dummy-runs". But that is not to say that they would not attempt to extend themselves beyond the limitations of their oral language behavior: Mark's autobiography, for example, was clearly a challenging extension of his interest in sharing and shaping his past for others and for himself, an extension that was more likely to lead him to develop his other skills and interests than would plunging him into tasks that did not relate to his present interests and abilities. Equally, restricting Robert to narrative writing seemed inappropriate to the development of those skills and interests which were readily apparent in his oral language patterns of social interaction.

What seemed to serve the boys well in their oral language situations that was missing from their writing activities was the phenomenon of two-way language convergence. In observing the boys in dialogue with others, particularly adults or peer-strangers or girls, it was clear that they had the capacity to converge towards the language of their interlocutors at every level and to some useful degree, and that when their interlocutors converged towards their language, a mutually useful and productive social base was created from which they could operate successfully. In most of their school writing, however, the boys were forced to do all the converging toward an audience whose written language they were uncertain of and of which they had virtually no examples. Of course, they had examples of print in the text-books of the various courses in which they were required to write. But with the exception of stories or poems, many of which served as models in a general way for their own infrequent story or poetry writing, they genuinely became involved with or wished to emulate little of the text-book material which they read. Further, the authors of the texts which they read (primarily for purposes of subsequent examination) were not available to them in person, and hence print became the disembodied persona of various people to whom they gave little thought and showed virtually no interest. The teacher to whom they wrote, although real enough, provided virtually no writing for them which they could associate with a real person or with a process. Writers were therefore somewhat mystical creatures who achieved perfection first time, and teachers were basically perceived as non-writers. That is, they had no

examples of writing before them other than the teachers' mimeographed instructions and blackboard notes or the professionals' polished print that could serve to encourage them to take on the risk that writing involves for them but not, apparently, for anyone else. They were not involved in a process of sharing written ideas the way they did spoken ideas, but in a process of exposing their linguistic inadequacies to the critical eye of a non-writing reader whose standards, which had to be satisfied, were embedded only in the work of others. This is a far cry from the situation they face and learn from in the oral language situation where two-way convergence both encourages and reduces the consequences of the risk of failure. Their attempts at maximum one-way language convergence in writing, therefore, were either debilitating in the case of Mike, Owen, Mark, Chris, and Ricky, or simply compliant, in the case of Robert.

The use of journals and dialogue-in-writing served to challenge and exploit their capacities and to meet their needs for two-way language convergence in a way that the usual classroom writing activities, where the teacher serves as an aloof examiner audience could not. This situation effectively reduced the consequences of risk and stimulated experimentation, particularly in the exploration of other language functions.

Conclusions

The observations summarized above and based on the case studies developed in Chapters ^{11 and 12} led me to draw five conclusions concerning the relationship of Sense of Audience to written-language functions:

1. Expressive written language served as a highly effective linguistic means through which the subjects appeared to assimilate an interlocutor as an enabling Sense of Audience;
2. Sense of Audience influenced the writers to draw on their Expressive Language to serve those language functions which demanded more conventional and rigorous structuring;
 - a) Sense of Audience thereby provided a greater range of content, apparent depth of thought, and ease of production in the transactional and poetic functions;
 - b) Sense of Audience thereby reduced the incidence of dummy-runs in the transactional and poetic functions;
3. Sense of Audience encouraged the writers to interrelate the entire range of language functions, particularly in first-drafts, by implicitly enabling and encouraging experimentation;
4. Sense of Audience enhanced the fluency of the writing by enabling a sense of two-way language convergence that paralleled the subjects' oral language situations;

5. Sense of Audience fostered the subjects' individual interests in extending their language use to and improving the use of other written-language functions.

Content

Summary of Observations

The freedom to choose, emphasize, and explore their own content in their work was seen to have as immediate and pervasive an effect on the boys' writing processes as the use of Expressive Language. For those whose writing skills were the least well developed, the effective range of content was the most restricted, limited primarily to the autobiographical. In their case, when pressed to extend their interests to those of a more abstract nature or more general or public appeal, they either showed a strong reluctance to write and/or produced dull, short, or dummy-run text. Ironically, the subject matter they were each required to write about in virtually all their other courses seldom included those which I found to genuinely interest them. Further, when an assignment did occasionally encourage them to select their own subject matter or indicated topics of interest to them, they seldom got seriously involved.

The boys' journals contrasted with their regular course writing mainly in the extent to which they became actively involved in sharing and shaping their ideas about their personal interests. Yet, as explained in the previous section, it took a little while before such involvement was achieved, a function of their uncertainty about whether personal content and expressive writing was appropriate to the school context. Chris, for example, whose most pressing issue was school attendance, wrote tersely about it at first, being unfamiliar with expanding his views and feelings, especially in writing. Robert, whose abilities and interests covered the widest range, including many of those issues his teachers asked him to write about, was also unfamiliar with being genuinely involved. For example, in attempting to persuade a reader over to his own views even on subjects which seriously interested him, he tended to take the writing as a mere assignment and not a genuine request for or act of communication.

There appeared to be a strong relationship between expressive writing and personally-valued content that unless realized prevented either from being taken up by the boys. That is, it was futile to try

to get the boys to talk about Steinbeck's views on the American dream in Of Mice and Men, for example, in a casual or expressive way if they legitimately had no interest in the matter. Nor was it successful to get them to formally express their ideas on issues they felt strongly about. In either case, their writing revealed a lack of fluency, a brevity, and a tone of indifference or even anxiety. For example, Chris seemed entirely unable to write a letter to the Headmaster explaining his ideas and describing his feelings about school attendance, even though he had talked these out with me many times. It became quickly apparent that the relationship between content and Expressive Language was a function of their Sense of Audience: who they construed they were writing to made a great deal of difference to the nature of their writing just as it did to their speech in oral language interaction.

The function of the journals and dialogue-in-writing in these terms was to provide opportunities for the interrelating of the advantages of expressive writing, personal content, and an involved audience/interlocutor. The combination of these three elements was seen as enabling each boy to engage through writing in a process of Authentic Communication that was otherwise absent from his writing processes.

Because Mike and Owen only partially took up the invitation for linguistic interaction with their audience, the interrelationship of function, content, and Sense of Audience was substantially reduced in effect, a result made manifest in the restricted nature of their writing development.

Conclusion

Observations made of the boys' initial hesitancy to incorporate personally interesting content in their writing, and their eventual authentic involvement with their own ideas, feelings, and thoughts, led me to the following conclusion regarding the influence of Sense of Audience on content in writing:

Sense of Audience promoted and strengthened the inter-relationship between the Expressive Language function and content incorporation necessary to the process of Authentic Communication.

Summary

The conclusions reached concerning Sense of Audience emerged from my work over a period of seventeen months with a group of eight adolescent boys and are based on observations made of their work and behavior as summarized in this Chapter and in the Case-studies of Chapters 11 and 12. The seven conclusions were stated as follows:

1. Sense of Audience had the effect of directing the subjects' dependence away from individually devised, inconsistent, and confusing trusted stratagems, to a willingness to learn conventional strategies more consistent with the needs and demands of language-mediated social interaction through writing;
2. Expressive written language served as a highly effective linguistic means through which the subjects appeared to assimilate an interlocutor as an Enabling Sense of Audience;
3. Sense of Audience influenced the writers to draw on their Expressive Language to serve those language functions which demanded more conventional and rigorous structuring;
 - a) Sense of Audience thereby provided a greater range of content, apparent depth of thought, and ease of production in the transactional and poetic functions;
 - b) Sense of Audience thereby reduced the incidence of dummy-runs in the transactional and poetic functions;
4. Sense of Audience encouraged the writers to interrelate the entire range of language functions, particularly in first-drafts, by implicitly enabling and encouraging experimentation;
5. Sense of Audience enhanced the fluency of the writing by enabling a sense of two-way language convergence that paralleled the subjects' oral language situations;
6. Sense of Audience fostered the subjects' individual interests in extending their language-use to and improving the use of other written-language functions;
7. Sense of Audience promoted and strengthened the interrelationship between the Expressive Language function and content incorporation necessary to the process of Authentic Communication.

Chapter 14 presents a general assessment of these conclusions, especially in terms of their implications for research in general and teaching-practice in particular.

CHAPTER 14

FINAL DISCUSSION

At the outset of this study, I presented an example of writing of one of my own students who had served to make me aware of the importance of the social nature of writing. It was Tony's final piece of writing attempted in school and, although rather pathetic in its stark lack of basic competence, it had told me as much about my teaching as it had about his skills. Both had simultaneously, it seemed, taken some small step forward in development. The matter seemed simple enough: I had apparently facilitated development of Tony's writing by enabling him to write about matters close to him and by showing a real interest in what he had to say. That it had taken me nearly as long to have achieved what seemed such a simple insight into basic good teaching as it had for him to have achieved very simple improvements in his skills prompted some serious reflection about the assumptions teachers like myself were making about the writing processes at which so many of our efforts and concerns were directed.

I therefore undertook this study in order to pursue more rigorously than I could while being a full-time teacher the matter of Sense of Audience, a term which had embedded within it the underlying assumption that writing was a social phenomenon.

I undertook research into Sense of Audience determined not to lose my perspective as a classroom teacher, for I wanted to gain practical as well as theoretical insights into the matter of writing development. I therefore undertake now to provide a general assessment of my findings concerning Sense of Audience as they relate to both research and teaching practice.

The Concept of Sense of Audience

Both the topic, Sense of Audience, and the type of research undertaken, an Interventionist Case Study approach, demanded the breaking of new ground. Sense of Audience required exploration and development as a concept that would carry us beyond the limitations of previous

considerations, particularly those of Kroll and Crowhurst (1979). Although I do not intend another summary of the concept, for that was provided in the previous chapter, a re-casting of its salient features is necessary for an assessment of its applicability to research and teaching in light of the major findings of this study.

Firstly, Sense of Audience was presented not as an external feature of one's environment, nor as a static entity that might be ignored, forgotten, or simply unencountered. Rather, dynamism and internalization within the individual were seen as its primary characteristics, providing a view of Sense of Audience as being intrinsic to the Self. I found that these aspects of the concept consistently extended the usefulness of Audience as a research tool throughout the study, providing me with the means by which I could explain much of the writing behavior of each of the boys, particularly the phenomenon of Plateauing. Having established a dynamic relationship with the six boys, which was based primarily upon genuine communication, I observed significant changes in their writing. For the two boys in whose writing I perceived no development, I had been unable to effect such a relationship, which would have realized development of external Audience into internalized Sense of Audience. It seems reasonable to speculate, then, that the connection between lack of writing development and failure to develop a writing-mediated relationship confirms the significance of the dynamic nature of Sense of Audience to language processes.

Secondly, I realized that Sense of Audience may influence writing in both negative and positive ways: it may either enable or inhibit writing production and writing development. The concepts of an Enabling Sense of Audience and an Inhibiting Sense of Audience were found to be useful variations, serving to account for the fact that the boys' previous assimilations and stereotyping of audiences (primarily teacher-examiner audiences) had not necessarily resulted in positive influences on their writing development. Most particularly, establishment of an Inhibiting Audience was seen as a likely cause of Plateauing and the development of an Enabling Sense of Audience was seen as a means of overcoming it. As important, an Enabling Sense of Audience was seen as a powerful influence on the boys' willingness to write, resulting in a significant increase in both the amount and variety of writing they undertook without reticence as compared to their previous writing in any of their other classes. These two elaborations on the basic

concept of Sense of Audience are therefore important tools for explaining differences in writing behavior between individuals and between the separate pieces of a single individual's work.

Previous work on Sense of Audience or simply on Audience Awareness, either did not employ a sufficiently developed concept, (as in Kroll, 1978 and Crowhurst, 1979) or, where a substantial concept was developed, (as in Rosen, 1973 and Britton et al, 1975), it was not fully applied to Case Studies. This study therefore combined a close, long-term look into writing processes with the advantages of a more definitive basic concept than had existed before. That concept was found to be highly relevant to the task of exploring the relationship between Sense of Audience and writing processes.

The main conclusions emerging out of the work with that concept may now be assessed.

Main Conclusions

Sense of Audience

The seven conclusions arising from the six case studies were accompanied in Chapter 13 by more specific and detailed discussion than will be undertaken here, where the intention is to provide both a general assessment of the study's conclusions and a view of the writing system as a whole as Sense of Audience was found to relate to it.

Interrelationship of Writing Components

In each of the chosen categories of Mastery of the System, Written-language Functions, and Content, I concluded that Sense of Audience clearly had a strong influence on the writing of the six boys whose case studies were presented in Chapters 11 and 12.

In general, Sense of Audience was the means by which the artificially separated components of writing were brought into interrelationship. Choice of content, for example, affected decisions concerning language function, and the degree of care, experimentation, or suspended concern that was shown for mechanics and conventions. That is, Sense of Audience was the primary factor which prompted the individual writer to effect a decision regarding one component of the writing system and which in turn affected decisions or performance in terms of the others. The basis for the decision, which seemed to be a conscious one in the first stages of the study and more intuitive as it proceeded, concerned the nature of the relationship between Audience

and writer that writing was being called upon to mediate and develop. As each boy came to recognize his audience in terms of the encouragement and mutual involvement that was available, each made decisions regarding his written language which were appropriate to his personality, level of existing skill development, and personal interests. Each made his decisions manifest in clear ways in his writing activities, some earlier in the study than others.

Expressive Language

The role that Expressive Language came to play in this study must be given strong emphasis here. Clearly, a symbiotic relationship between an Enabling Sense of Audience and Expressive Language came into being as each boy became aware of the advantages and the availability, in the given situation, of first one or the other. It was through the use of Expressive Language that the boys were each able to discover, explore, and exploit the relationship being offered to them; it was, on the other hand, their developed Sense of Audience that enabled them to utilize, shape, and extend their Expressive Language and so give realization to the range of their linguistic capacities. Again, as their use of Expressive Language was extended towards the outer arms of the function continuum, so were the possibilities for the kind and quality of their relationships with their audience discovered anew which in turn fed and confirmed further linguistic exploration and shaping. In other words, the dynamism which is so essential to both learning and social development was seen to be inherent in the connection that existed between Expressive Language and Sense of Audience: One was seen to influence the writing processes only inasmuch as it operated in combination with the other. In this regard, Sense of Audience and Expressive Language may be construed as a basic unit of dynamism influencing writing development as a whole.

Authentic Communication

Further, Expressive Language achieved its maximum advantage for the writers in this study by virtue of their inclusion in their writing of those matters which were of prime importance to them. While their early expressive writing was often abundant, it tended to draw for its content on those issues, ideas, or feelings which were largely at the periphery of their interests and which often required little or no development beyond brief reference. Sense of Audience encouraged the development of a self-confidence that freed them to go to matters of

more serious or genuinely interesting content which seemed to require more elaboration and exploration, hence placing increasing demands on their linguistic capacities. The elements of an Enabling Sense of Audience, Expressive Language, and Personal Content, therefore appear to be the necessary combination for the achievement and maintenance of Authentic Communication.

The achievement of Authentic Communication between individuals whether in writing or in speech, is surely a highly significant matter that may have been ignored in the schools in light of the importance placed on performance, and in research because of the emphasis on the surface features of written products. Its evolution from the development of an Enabling Sense of Audience in this study is therefore an essential testament to the influence of Sense of Audience on writing processes.

Teacher-based Research

As discussed in Chapter 6, the need to account for context in research is becoming increasingly accepted. However, very little research has been undertaken in Education that has not retained the distancing from the classroom environment so typical of traditional context-stripping research techniques. The interstice between research theory and practice formed the basis for my second aim in this study, to explore the advantages of teacher-based research.

This interest was particularly relevant to the exploration of Sense of Audience, where close, long-term work seemed especially appropriate. My work in the study as a genuine classroom teacher was extensive, with concessions being made to the special needs of research only in terms of the quantitative extent of my teaching responsibilities. The primary concession arose out of the fact that I was conducting the study on my own, and therefore the number of case-studies I could undertake was severely limited. The second concession had to do with time, two years being the total amount that I was able to invest; the third being the conventional constraints imposed upon Dissertation research, particularly those of length and available resources. These limitations and concessions are particular to this study and to my own situation, and are restated here as an important backdrop against which I must assess the approach as a whole.

It is important to assert first that the particular mode of operation adopted by a researcher acting as a teacher is subject to a

great number of environmental and personal conditions. It became apparent to me that with gentle persuasion, sensitivity to the chosen school's needs and character, and careful planning, a researcher is more likely to be able to fulfill his needs than not. This is particularly so if he has an established teaching background which the school is able to recognize as both credible and applicable to their context, and if he is willing to involve the school in his endeavor.

I found that, far from interfering with or restricting my research tasks, my adoption of the role of teacher meant that I had far greater access than is normal in research endeavors to those features of the boys' school and personal context that had a direct bearing on my research aims. The nature of the writing process itself seemed especially suitable to my research approach: because its permanent nature made it appropriate to postponed consideration, I was able to precisely enact a participant/observer research role wherein reflection on the actual process and later consideration of its subsequent product combined to provide an abundance of research data.

Other Conclusions

Subsidiary Aims

The conclusions which are presented here relate mainly to the seven Subsidiary Aims delineated in Chapter 7 and are given secondary importance only in relation to the study's primary focus, Sense of Audience. These secondary conclusions are worthy of independent study in their own right, and reflect the abundance of insights context-based research may yield. The designation of 'Other' for these conclusions signifies only that they were not given primary attention in the present study.

The Use of Journals and Dialogue-in-Writing

Journals were the very heart of both my teaching and research procedures, relating to virtually every aspect of the boys' writing development and the establishment, maintenance, and extension of my association with them. It has already been emphasized that Expressive Language was one of the three essential components to growth in writing: Journals were the concrete means to the use of Expressive Language and all that it implies. Although their use was, in this study, largely taken for granted, my previous teaching experience being my only source of reference to their use, a number of things may be said about them

here with confidence.

First, journals provide probably the most flexible medium for the developing writer: They may be seen as peripheral to the business of the curriculum; they free the writer from restricting concerns of presentation and structure; their nature encourages experimentation without risk from evaluation; they provide an ongoing source of personal history and reflection; they are suitable to a wide range of content and functions. Most importantly, they are personal rather than strictly institutional and therefore have an implicit value to the writer. Of course, a caveat must be placed on these claims: their flexibility is directly related to the intention of the teacher.

It becomes essential, in light of that caveat, to say that journals do not necessitate an interference in the process of what many teachers might consider the normal business of the classroom English teacher, for it is clear that even ten minutes of writing a day in the journal is an effective amount of time where none was spent on expressive writing before. It should now almost go without saying that as the evidence of this study shows, Expressive Language is the basis for development of all language functions and it is an essential matter that its use in schools be assured. Journals are clearly a major and convenient means to Expressive Language use in the classroom.

However, an important warning needs to be made: like anything else in schools, the use of journals may become highly institutional and thereby relegated to the mere exercise of habit and official routine. This is a very real danger that threatens the extensive applicability to writing development that is the journals's potential. Beyond trust in a teacher's intentions and sensitivity to the dangers, there is little that can be said about how to avoid the danger, for in the end journals are statements about the genuineness of the participants' intentions in communicating with one another. However, the frequent use of dialogues-in-writing is one measure that will assure that the teacher and the student will maintain a heightened sensitivity to their usefulness and so ascribe to them a value appropriate to their potential.

Dialogues-in-Writing

Journals may be used in as many ways as one has the imagination to devise. My use of dialogues-in-writing within the journals was but one particularly useful means by which to establish contact with my students and to involve them in an immediately useful process of

writing. For my purposes, dialogue-in-writing served to provide a bridge between the direct give and take of oral language and the inner dialogues a mature writer may employ. That is, it was a primary means for me to ensure and monitor the assimilation of a Sense of Audience for their writing. In this regard, dialogues-in-writing set up the students' expectations for the dynamism that is intrinsic to effective, mature writing processes once the internalization of Sense of Audience has been achieved. In terms of previous discussions in Chapter 5 , they effectively encouraged and enabled the student to view writing as dynamic and inter-active rather than autonomous and static in nature; in terms used elsewhere, in Chapter 10 , they fostered the development of two-way language convergence that made subsequent language exploration more appealing and likely.

These are strong claims for journals and dialogues-in-writing, claims that may be readily supported through practical use and in consideration of the Case Studies in Chapters 11 and 12. But there are some limitations, particularly in regards to the employment of dialogues-in-writing which, when over-used may well serve to restrict the students' writing development or even interfere with the relationship between writer and reader. What is required, is a teacher's sensitivity. In an unpublished paper entitled "A Case Study of Susan's Journal", Mary Tebo (1981:16) puts the matter succinctly:

In some instances there are genuine attempts (in journals) to communicate which invite response. At other times, where the writing seems to be serving other purposes, she is almost saying "Hands off: I'm sorting this out for myself.", and perhaps what is needed in these cases is only an acknowledgement that what has been written has been read....There is a need to draw attention to the fact that internal dialogue with an "assumed audience" may be...a valuable means for personal growth without the need for continual teacher intervention.

The Construal of the Teacher as a Non-person

Perhaps the most sinister discovery of this study was that none of the boys construed their respective teachers as genuine readers or, therefore, in the context of written communication, as real people with whom they were making contact through writing. It was not that they viewed their teachers as 'public audiences' and therefore merely representative of others, but more seriously, that they could not construe them as human participants in the writing activity at all.

Indeed, they often had no sense that anyone was reading their work. This seemed to be principally a function of the folder system their teachers employed wherein work was placed and later commented upon, if at all, in only very general terms. In spite of exceptions to this practice, where an individual teacher would read and 'mark' or otherwise evaluate a piece of work, the image that the boys developed was of the non-participant, the non-person. To them, writing was done so that somebody who might come along might be able to read it. But further to this the boys had not been encouraged to think of themselves as writers only practicing writers. That seemed to lead to their notion that their teachers were not real readers of their work and therefore not real people in their role: since the writing was not authentic, neither were its component parts, which included the teacher/readers.

What is so essentially sinister about this situation is that the boys were prompted, nevertheless, to continue writing, confirming in each of them at each attempt that writing served only some dim and unattractive school purpose rather than a human purpose. It is hard to imagine another situation that would be as capable of denigrating and demeaning the potential that writing may offer an individual. And what is more, this situation was not a result of contrivance on the part of the boys' teachers. On the contrary, their teachers were clearly and industriously attempting to involve their students in a worthwhile and productive activity. What they seemed to be unaware of was the potential value of their personal participation as genuine readers of the boys' ideas, thoughts, and feelings--the importance of a writer having a sense of there being somebody at the other end. What may be concluded from this situation is that in the preoccupation with the need to have students producing written work, teachers may well be losing sight of the importance of their special role as readers and participants, thus rendering the whole process impotent and even destructive of human potential.

Implications

Teaching Practice

Sense of Audience

Sense of Audience influences the writing processes of adolescent boys. It seems likely that it would affect the writing of girls, and younger or older students as well.

More importantly, Sense of Audience may influence the writing of a student either by inhibiting or enabling its continuing development, and therein lay the most significant implications of Sense of Audience for the classroom teacher.

In the general sense, it is important for teachers to realize that whether they intend it or not, students are likely to view them, for practical reasons, as their principal audience. Development of Sense of Audience will take place, therefore, in terms of their particular and various experiences with their classroom teachers. Broadly speaking, it also seems apparent that such construal and assimilation of teacher/audience experience is likely to be reflected in terms of a dichotomy with Inhibiting Sense of Audience at one extreme, where writing may not be undertaken successfully at all, and with Enabling Sense of Audience at the other, where writing is maximally facilitated. Any teacher in the position of eliciting oral or written communication from a student could theoretically be placed somewhere along such a continuum and be seen as affecting his students' writing development accordingly. It is probably not as simple as that, however, for the student brings with him into each new situation, a Sense of Audience born out of his past and on-going experiences with others that will affect any new experience.

This general situation, then, generates three separate and readily apparent implications for the classroom teacher:

1. By virtue of their pervasiveness in a student's writing experience, teachers constitute a significant proportion of a student's assimilated Sense of Audience construct as it affects the particular demands of school writing;
2. Any individual teacher is likely to have an effect on the quality of an individual student's general Sense of Audience as he becomes specifically incorporated within that general construct;
3. The individual teacher may effect a significant measure of control over the way he is construed as an audience and thereby over the nature of the student's developed Sense of Audience.

The integrating theme of these specific implications is that a teachers' manner matters as much, at least, as his methods, his curriculum, and his materials to the success of his students' writing development. What seems important is that a teacher's relationship with his students is best achieved on a human plane, not an institutional one; that it should be an unpremeditated human relationship only minimally affected

by his status as a teacher.

It would seem trite to reduce the efforts of a two year study to a statement that would draw little or no surprise from virtually any quarter in education, were it not for the myriad of writing kits, examining and assessing strategies, writing-exercises, and other teaching ploys and aids that effectively and continuously come between the student writer and his teacher/audience. The wide-spread use of these aids, strategies, and ploys attest to the tokenism that may well characterize general agreement with my claim for the importance of teacher manner. The lack of expressive writing in schools in general, for example, reflects rather starkly that teachers strike a much more consistently formal posture with their students than is necessary or beneficial, a fact that may well speak of lack of confidence in what may be a more natural student-teacher relationship than institutions are prepared to encourage or foster.

The implication that this study articulates--that the teacher's personality, relationship and general manner with his students (as embodied in his students Sense of Audience) constitute a significant influence on writing development--may well be part of an important foundation for the building of teacher self-confidence in the teaching of writing. This is simply to re-affirm, really, that writing is a social phenomenon that is not conducive to rote methodology or aloof teaching.

Plateauing

More specific implications may be drawn as well, particularly regarding Plateauing and the use of Expressive Language which has become familiar to many teachers through the work of Britton et al (1975).

Teachers are often puzzled and frustrated about the advent of an apparent stasis in their students' writing development, and therefore go to great lengths to re-stimulate growth. Their efforts are frequently made in terms of specific features of written work, from grammar, syntax, lexicon, to general essay techniques. Yet, it may well be that they should look first, or rather, to their relationship as a reader/participant with the writer as a source of both cause and solution to the plateauing. That is, a diagnosis of Inhibiting Sense of Audience may well be more accurate an indicator of cause, and measures taken to assure the development of an Enabling Sense of Audience a more effective

remedy.

Expressive Language

The importance of Expressive Language to writing development has been stated and re-stated throughout this study: its significance cannot be overstressed. However, as this study shows, Expressive Language is effective as a means of expression and development only when it is operating as a partner with its associated elements of Enabling Sense of Audience and personal content. Teachers endeavoring to foster their students' skills by simply making assignments that demand or enable Expressive Language without an understanding of its dependent nature on other features of the writing process, are apt to be disappointed with the results and suspicious of the claims Britton and others make about it. Expressive Language may well be talked about as a theoretical element, but in the real world of the classroom it essentially exists only as a unit alongside personal content and an Enabling Sense of Audience.

Expressive Language, viewed in this way, is certainly one of the essential "basics" of writing development.

Teacher-based Research

The implication here is rather straight forward: the classroom teacher has access, potentially, to more data than any external researcher may observe or be aware of. The teaching context is indeed rich enough to be overwhelming and therefore some measure and kind of distancing from the context is necessary if a reasonable focus might be achieved in order to gain insight into matters of concern to research and education.

As this relates to writing, however, it needs to be emphasized that the very nature of the written product and the writing process gives a teacher an essential opportunity to step back from the stream of on-going activity in order to reflect, record, and synthesize. Only he has such immediate and in-depth access to the less obvious and subtle data which constitute processes, problems, and solutions for writing.

Yet, it is also clear that full-time teaching is too great a responsibility and too demanding a task to expect much from the classroom teacher by way of on-going structured studies. What is needed, therefore, is an effective and mutually-trusting relationship with full-time research institutes and individuals who may work together to

articulate and present research findings that have their bases in the real context.

As this study has shown, the separation of theory and practice in education is neither desirable nor necessary, for it is clearly possible to conduct the affairs of the one without interfering with those of the other. Indeed, it is clear that research and teaching practice may readily enhance the effectiveness and relevance of one another. Phil Goodhall (1981:160) puts it lucidly:

It is clear to those of us who teach in the school in which I work that to be successful, we must share in the research, the findings, the ideas and suggestions of those people who work on the other side of the 'educational fence' from those of us who 'do it' every day....

Only then will we shed our distaste for theory and research. And we need to do just that if we are to stand firm in our own classrooms against the political onslaughts of minimum competency regimes, operant conditioning techniques and the peddlars of administrative expediency.

Research

There is no need for the hesitation and reluctance that traditional research has shown for the type of full participation in schools that characterised this study, with but one qualification: researchers intending to conduct their work by assuming the role of classroom teacher need to have both a substantial teaching background at the level on which the research is focussing, and a strong commitment to the students' individual needs. Teaching may often provide an intense experience for the classroom teacher and a researcher who has not the experience from which he may intuitively draw to meet daily demands is in no position to achieve a useful level of objectivity about his data. Further, the moral demands of teaching are themselves clear: the needs of the students come first for the classroom teacher, and therefore a large measure of expertise and sensitivity as a teacher is necessary if the researcher is to balance his special needs against those of his students. Concessions such as a reduction in the numbers of students taught or in the frequency of contact with them by no means make up for lack of direct personal teaching experience. As I found in this study, eight students can easily impose as many demands for time, energy, and imagination on an individual teacher as can two hundred.

Teacher-based research is clearly a double-edged operational tool. If the researcher intends to conduct himself as a genuine teacher, then he will discover early in his work that he may make only the most general of plans for much of his activities, for the dynamic nature of the classroom situation does not lend itself readily to the kind of precise and reliable presumptions that characterize research programs that are decontextualized and programmatic in nature: that is its immediate disadvantage. But therein lies its relevance and excitement as well, for whatever may happen does so under the watchful and involved eye of the researcher whose framework of research intentions, while flexible, are nevertheless necessarily firm. Aims are more likely to be extended than shattered, for they are construed against the background of teaching experience that provides the necessary measure of tolerance for and anticipation of the change and upset that is endemic to the situation of school children.

Summary of Conclusions and Implications

In light of the number of conclusions and implications yielded by this study, it is useful and important to compress them into two encompassing statements which are intended as a reminder of the significance the individual conclusions and implications bear to education rather than as a replacement for the more detailed account which has preceded.

The general conclusion yielded by this study, then, is:

Sense of Audience influences a wide spectrum of the writing processes of adolescents, particularly inasmuch as it facilitates the interrelationship of those features of the writing system that teachers and researchers artificially differentiate.

The principal and encompassing implication of this general conclusion for education is that:

Many of the efforts teachers direct to single features of their students' writing problems may be more properly directed to the matter of developing or enhancing an Enabling Sense of Audience within their individual students.

This implication does not in itself imply that writing problems will automatically disappear, although some may well seem to do so, but

rather that the student is more likely to recognize the system's inherent integrity and be thus in a better position to make more logical and conventionally acceptable choices regarding its use. He will be, that is, in a better position to accept and give serious regard to teachers' advice concerning his problems if he views the teacher as a genuine and special partner in the process of Authentic Communication.

Recommendations for Research

Subsidiary Aims

A number of Subsidiary Aims emerged out of my classroom teaching, as related in Chapter 7. I was not able to pursue any of those aims as fully as they warranted, and it is in regard to them that I will make the first recommendations for subsequent research.

First, although I used journals extensively, I did not trace in any careful or thorough manner the movement from expressive writing to any specific other functions. Indeed, I did not intend for the students to move from the journals in any one direction. It would be of special interest, then, to see how students would perform in response to a transactional assignment that reflected those themes and ideas that had already been substantially explored in expressive writing in their previous journal entries, where specific reference to the journal work was encouraged and monitored.

Secondly, it became increasingly apparent throughout the course of this study that there were interesting and essential similarities between the boys' oral and written language use, similarities which served to provide certain insights into their writing processes. However, this matter which I consider to be an essentially important one, requires more rigorous exploration than I gave it here. Of special interest would be the specific parallels between syntax in general and pauses/punctuation in particular that might exist between an individual's casual oral and expressive written language on the one hand, and his formal oral and transactional written on the other. At the same time, a detailed exploration of the similarities and differences between content and fluency in the oral and written mode for the same individual would be an important consideration that might well point to special ways in which writing may be used to serve the needs and interests of individual students. While I touched on this matter, especially in reference to the lack of sustained conversations and certain content

in the oral language behavior of the boys, I did not pursue the differences in detail. Particularly in light of the demands for fluency and incorporation of impersonal content by teachers in student writing, this matter warrants serious consideration. My expectation is that for every individual there are established patterns of behavior and sets of associated expectations regarding oral language use that may affect an individual's use of and expectations for written language, particularly inasmuch as both modes of language operate within a social context. It would be most interesting to match student expectations gained from their oral language use to the capacity of the written system to fulfill them, and to the extent to which the schools anticipate or incorporate them within the framework of teaching methods.

Research Procedures and Other Matters

The matter of the research operation itself demands some attention here. The only serious frustration I experienced in my work in this study was related to my incapacity as a single individual to expand the many points of focus that emerged during the course of the study and out of the teaching context. The more salient of these I incorporated into my expression of the Subsidiary Aims, but many warrant full studies of their own, or at least fuller exploration and elaboration than I have been able to provide here. Many others I had simply to ignore because attention paid to them, no matter how tempting they seemed, became a distraction from my principal focus. There were many others, likely, of which I simply did not become aware.

In the last month of the study, during the Canada trip, I elicited the help of another teacher whose assistance I found immeasurably useful. His interest in my work and the boys, combined with the similarity of his teaching background made me realize how useful and considerably more efficient and effective it would have been had I worked out such a pairing with a regular teacher within the school earlier in the study.

My association with him also pointed to the advantages that a carefully structured pairing of full-time researchers would have yielded, each developing an associated focus of attention and intention on the same small study group.

I would think, however, that more than a pair of researchers working with a single group would be counterproductive, in regards especially to the dangers of losing the intimacy with subjects that was so beneficial here. The prime two advantages of pairing, however, would

be in terms of the amount of dialogue concerning the research problems and possibilities, and the increased capacity of the study to take up issues as they emerged out of the interaction between researchers and subjects.

Finally, although I associated and discussed much of my research with other teachers in the school, I did not undertake to make detailed comparisons of development of my subjects' writing in my class with that of their development in their other classes, an omission which I regretted but for reasons indicated above, could do little about within the framework of this study. Nevertheless, it was apparent to me at several points that such an undertaking would have proven most interesting and rewarding.

From general discussions about some of the boys with their other English teachers, it seemed to me that little transfer between their writing development in my class was being realized in their other classes. This has interesting and serious implications, but it would require a sensitive and complex research operation to search out and articulate the reasons why transference might not be occurring in such a situation. It may be that in young writers an Inhibiting Sense of Audience may effectively cancel out the effects an Enabling Sense of Audience might be yielding in another situation. Or perhaps it takes longer for the advantages of a developed Sense of Audience to manifest itself elsewhere, particularly where teaching practices do not directly attempt to take account of Sense of Audience. In any case, this is clearly an interesting and apparently profitable direction for subsequent research on Sense of Audience and/or writing development.

In conclusion, I must strongly recommend that subsequent research on language use in schools be attempted in ways that parallel the teacher-based research approach of this study, for it is clearly an effective and rewarding approach which yet requires considerable systematizing, elaboration, and exploration if it is to realize its potential relevance to both theory and practice.

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