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by

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Teachers' Work Toward Humanizing Secondary Writing Pedagogy and Supportive Response Groups for Writing

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Teachers' Work Toward Humanizing Secondary Writing Pedagogy and Supportive Response Groups for Writing

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Dissertation

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Dedication

To Victoria and Dana. Thank you for letting me be a part of your lives, and teaching me that school can be a humanizing place.

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Abstract

Teachers' Work Toward Humanizing Secondary Writing Pedagogy and Supportive Response Groups for Writing

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The purpose of this dissertation is to explore how secondary English Language Arts (ELA) teachers support culturally and linguistically diverse students' productive participation in classroom-based writing groups. Building on existing research on peerbased writing groups, this study defines writing groups as spaces for students to develop and share practices as writers, as well as share and respond to composed texts (Dipardo & Freedman, 1998; Loretto, DeMartino & Godley, 2016). I draw on sociocultural theories of language and literacy (Bakhtin, 1981; Cazden, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978), theories of learning spaces (Barton, 2007; Syverson, 1999; Goffman, 1973; Gutiérrez, 1995, 2008) and theories of humanizing pedagogies (Huerta, 2011; Freire, 1970; Salazar, 2013) to analyze the knowledge, practices and discourses central to the teachers' pedagogy, and their students' identities and development as writers in writing groups.

My strategy of inquiry takes a qualitative ecological approach, which foregrounds the relationship between discourses and the world (Dobrin & Weisser, 2002). Drawing on ethnographic methods for data collection, my qualitative and discourse analysis elucidates four principles of humanizing writing pedagogy: 1) teaching with care; 2) teaching with respect for students' time; 3) teaching toward independence and agency; 4) teaching through response. Collectively these principles work to support students' learning and development as writers by respecting their needs as human beings.

In my analysis of students' participation in writing groups, I found writing groups to be learning ecologies full of contradictions. In the best of circumstances writing groups were spaces for students to develop identities as writers, which included being responsible and accountable to the other writers in their community. Students did this by resisting traditional classroom discourses that support hierarchical power, and developing their own counterscripts (Gutierrez et al., 1995) that were supported by their teacher's humanizing writing pedagogy. However, despite and in light of the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy that emphasized students' individual humanity, independence and agency, for some students, it wasn't until they moved out of the teacher sanctioned writing group (either temporally or physically) that interactions with their peers around writing became meaningful.

In sum, this study builds on current empirical scholarship by affirming previous research on humanizing pedagogies, the mediating role of talk throughout the writing process, and the efficacy of studying the role of contexts and power when working with culturally and linguistically diverse youth. The findings from this dissertation argue that students need other people to support their writing process, which includes teachers and peers responding to their ideas at multiple points during the writing process. These findings also suggest that studying writing from perspectives that foreground the varying contextual variables that shape students' experiences in school is critical to understanding how students, especially those historically marginalized by school, learn and develop as writers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

During my first year at The University of Texas I read a book by Katherine Bomer called *Hidden Gems*. Within it was an exercise called "Helped or Hurt," a tool for reflection on past experiences with in-school writing. However, when I tried the exercise, what came to mind were the hundreds of students I have left in my wake, and I wondered, if given the chance, *how they would respond*. As my mind meandered through the sea of faces, I was stopped by Henry, one of the few students whose name I still remember, whose voice I can still hear, and whose quiet presence drew attention in a room of noisy teenagers.

I met Henry during my first year teaching high school English in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Lawrence is an old mill town that is now a popular location for families who want to live in close proximity to Boston, but want a lower cost of living¹. During 2006, the year I taught in Lawrence, one large high school educated the 3000 youth who lived within its city limits; the district reported that 84% of its youth were Latino; 12% White; 3% African American; 1% mixed race. Henry was one of the many students in my eleventh grade on-level (i.e. not Honors or AP) English class that identified as Dominican, a fact which heavily mediated the social worlds in which he lived. Over the course of the semester I learned that he was the oldest of three, a reluctant member of the football team, worked at Stop & Shop bagging groceries, and lost most of his friends when he left his neighborhood gang. Every day he would walk into class, sheepishly loiter near my desk, and then quietly take a seat in the front row. However, despite countless conversations with him, we rarely talked about the work of the class (which at the time I considered to be developing academic literacies).

¹ In 2006 the median household income was \$27K compared to Massachusetts \$70K.

During the last two months of school, I assigned his class a "This I Believe" essay, telling them that I would send their pieces to NPRs "This I Believe" Project, who could potentially share their essays with the rest of the world. I remember this being one of the few assignments that I was actually excited to read (which should say something about the rest of my curriculum). To my dismay the students didn't match my excitement; to them, it was just another school assignment, and so, like any school assignment they asked the perfunctory questions: How long? How many points? Do we have to type it? (Typing was an issue for a lot of my students because they didn't have computers at home.)

A few weeks later, after most of the class had passed in at least one draft of an essay, Henry showed up in the doorway of my classroom after school. This was unexpected, because outside of football season I knew he had to hustle to pick up his younger siblings at the elementary school and walk them home. But on that day he wasn't with his siblings because he was in my classroom asking for a response to his essay. Unfortunately, I didn't have a response, because I couldn't remember what he wrote. I had no "hidden gems" to discuss, no insightful questions, no specific comments. All I could say was, "remind me what you wrote about." Pathetically, I confessed that with 110 eleventh grade essays to read over the course of a week, I could not read each as closely as I would have liked. I quickly tried to redeem myself and asked him if I could read it again. With a fallen face, he shrugged, but pulled out the crinkled copy I had passed back to him that day with no comments and a completion grade. I expected him to drop the paper and trudge out the door, but he didn't retreat. "Whatever, sure," he mumbled.

Today, once again, I only vaguely remember what he wrote about. What I do remember is the growing smile on his face as I nodded, grimaced, and smiled. When I finished reading, I thanked him for letting me read it again, and asked if he had a few moments to talk with me about his writing. He nodded and that began the first real conversation I had with a student about their writing.

Over the next few years, this experience hid in the dark recesses of my mind, but didn't provoke any long term change in how I responded to students and their writing. I began providing responses to students' writing, but they were cursory at best. I *was* concerned with how I was supporting their growth as writers, but overwhelmed by the amount of time it took to provide meaningful feedback—oral or written—a sentiment documented by many writing researchers (Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Freedman & Sperling, 1985; Sperling, 1994). I was eventually saved from myself when I had a few students come to me, confused and frustrated by the conflicting messages they found in my marginalia. Ashamed by these interactions, I knew that despite the number of students on my rosters, I had to do more than provide monolithic feedback that at best confirmed what students already knew and at worst discouraged or baffled them.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

Unfortunately, students, especially ones like Henry who are considered "nondominant²" (Gutiérrez, 2008), often find themselves in classrooms with few opportunities to engage with anyone about their thinking as writers. As I found during my first year teaching, schools labeled "underperforming" populated by "at risk students" are hotbeds for transmission models of teaching and watered-down curriculum (Anyon, 1997; Oakes, 1986; Valenzuela, 2010), which limit opportunities for students and teachers to engage in meaningful response practices (Hillocks, 1982).

Additionally, in these contexts, instruction often limits students' choice and freedom to explore ideas, to inquire into topics and issues, and to develop understandings

 $^{^{2}}$ For explanation of why and how this term is used, refer to page 16 and 17.

about themselves as writers both inside and outside of school (Anyon, 1997; Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016; Oakes, 2005). Because culturally and linguistically diverse students face larger narratives in school, which communicate that identities as writers, readers, and more broadly students are not for them (Ball & Ellis, 2008), teachers in these contexts must think creatively about teaching writing in ways that "challenge, motivate and inspire culturally and linguistically diverse students to succeed" (Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016, p.381.). Teachers must resist deficit narratives of students and "care so much about [them] and their achievement that they accept nothing less than high-level success from them and work diligently to accomplish it" (Gay, 2002, p.109).

Today, teachers continue to work in contexts that are plagued by the legacy of No Child Left Behind. This legacy has transformed writing instruction into prompt-driven assessments, reducing students' opportunities to engage in meaningful writing practice to negligible amounts of time (Applebee, 2000, Behizadeh, 2014). Unsurprising, this trend is not improving students' writing, and, according to reports published by the National Center for Education Statistics (2012), over 70% of students do not display adequate writing skills to meet classroom or future career demands. I argue that we need to go back to what used to be common practice—instruction that encourages writing process and is steeped in social interactions (Bruffee, 1986; Graves, 1983; Murray, 1978); instruction that creates opportunities for students to practice composing for a variety of purposes and audiences (Bawarshi, 2003; Beck & Jeffery, 2009; R. Bomer, 2011); instruction that engages students in projects that mean something to them (Guerra, 2008; Haddix, 2012). This vision of writing is both supported by the National Council of Teachers of English and decades of writing research by prominent scholars whose research in elementary and secondary classrooms demonstrated that when writing is taught as a "complex cultural activity" (Vygotsky, 1978, p.117), where individuals make authorial choices around planning,

drafting and revising (NCTE, 2008/2016), writing instruction becomes much more about teaching the writer than *assigning* writing (Calkins, 1990; Emig, 1983; Graves, 1983/1985). Furthermore, emphasizing a student's *process* of writing more than the *end product*, teaches the student how to be a more thoughtful, more metacognitively aware, writer (Murray, 1982).

These ideas are also consistent with Kinloch and Burkhard's (2016) synthesis of research on writing instruction in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, in which they suggest that educators and researchers need to pay attention to writers—"where [they] write, how they negotiate those spaces, and how they negotiate the contextual factors they encounter [that] influence the teaching and learning of writing" (p.379). Because we know that culturally and linguistically diverse students internalize negative messages about themselves as writers, writing instruction needs to emphasize students' individualized process, and interrogate the institutions of power that dehumanize students' existing literacy practices. When teachers pay attention to students and respond to them as writers, curating spaces for them to learn in supportive, culturally relevant and empowering ways, they will hopefully begin the process of embracing their identities as writers (Haddix, 2012; Kennedy, 2006; Wissmann & Vasudevan, 2012).

As I learned from working with Henry, *response*—the written and oral reaction writers get from their reader—is one practice that students, teachers, educational scholars and researchers agree is foundational to all students' development as writers (Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Ferris, 2014; Freedman & Sperling, 1987; Sommers, 1982; Zellermayer, 1989). However not all response is helpful, and researchers caution writing instructors away from commentary focused primarily on errors, as this kind of ineffective feedback will only inhibit students' motivation for writing (Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Ferris, 2014; Sommers, 1982). Richard Straub (1996), one researcher known for his scholarship on

teacher response, talked about the complex role he took on as a responder, wanting to be more than a "reader, facilitator, or coach," and wanting to "make comments that [were] tough, incisive and critical...not only friendly and helpful...[but] expectant and proving...with conversations that [are] at once relaxed and serious" (p.381). In many process-oriented classrooms, teachers are navigating these different roles, and are also engaged in ongoing assessments of students' needs, and constantly revising their teaching based on these needs. However, at the conclusion of empirical studies of response, researchers acknowledge that a limitation of this practice is time (Haves & Daiker, 1984; Phillips & Larson, 2013; Sperling, 1994; Straub, 1996). This is particularly true for teachers who prefer oral over written response, which many believe can be more helpful than a written comment (Phillips & Larson, 2013; Sperling, 1994). Unfortunately, few teachers "can confer with as many students as we would like on any one assignment" (Phillips & Larson, 2013, p.152). Many writing assessment researchers and practitioners speak to the value of verbal discourse with students, but lament over the challenges that come with teaching students individually while managing a classroom full of other students-often an obstacle teachers find insurmountable (Anson, 1987; Straub, 1997).

Some educators have looked to peer response or writing groups as a participation structure where students can receive the kind of response they crave within the time constraints of school. In writing groups³ students have opportunities to interact as writers, which include having access to an authentic audience of readers. Early studies speak to how these groups "provide students with information about the meaning that the intended readers construct as they read" (Tang & Tithecott, 1999), and they generally find that peer review positively impacts student writers (Gere, 1987; Graham & Perin, 2007).

³ I use the name writing groups instead of peer response groups in this study, because my teacher participants decided that name was more representative of the kind of collaborative structure that writers work in outside of school. This is discussed greater depth in Ch. 3.

Anne Ruggles Gere (1987) talks about the inherent logic that comes with teaching students to work in writing groups saying, "writing groups have existed as long as writers have shared their work with peers and received commentary on it" (p.9). However, peer response groups/writing groups are commonly abandoned after the first few months of use, because many teachers' find it so difficult to organize, structure and teach in this student-centered space (Brunjes, 1993; DiPardo & Freedman, 1988; Mclever & Wolf, 1999; Meirer, 2001; Spear, 1993).

In their review DiPardo and Freedman found substantial evidence that supported the implementation of peer response groups (PRGs) in writing classrooms. Researchers demonstrated that PRGs were used as a space for thinking and writing collaboratively (Bruffee, 1986; Gebhardt, 1980; Gere, 1987), and could potentially support a reenvisioning of power and authorial relationships (Dyson 1988; Steinburg & Cazden, 1979). Since DiPardo and Freedman's (1988) review, researchers have focused on 1) how teachers support their students' learning in PRGs (Beth Kelly, 2015; McIver & Wolf, 1999; Meier, 2001; Spear, 1988), 2) students' development as writers within PRGs (Denyer & LaFleur, 2001; Ellerbe, 2012; Launspach, 2008; Lundstrom & Baker, 2009; Nystrand, 1986b), and 3) PRGs in L2 (second language) environments (Choi, 2014; Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Meier, 2001; Spence, 2003; Zhu, 2001).

This research demonstrates the need for teachers to support students' participation and engagement in PRGs through modeling specific talk and response practices (Beth Kelly, 2015; Early & Saidy, 2014; Mclver & Wolf, 1999; Meier, 2001). For example, Meier (2001) had his fifth and sixth grade students observe each other in response groups, taking notes on behaviors and talk practices of their peers. He used the students' observation to develop specific expectations and beliefs about the kinds of talk they wanted to foster in their PRGs. In another study, one of the few in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, Early and Saidy (2014) designed a three-day feedback workshop that focused on revision. They found that focusing on revision was a valuable use of instructional time and supported students write more concrete and effective arguments. Other researchers have looked specifically at students' roles within PRGs and how they support each other's overall development as writers (Gonzalez, 2000; Denyer & LaFleur, 2001; Ellerbe, 2012; Launspach, 2008). Gonzalez (2000) and Launspach (2008) established how PRGs can help students develop more agency as writers and readers in a writing community. Both studies found that when the teacher was removed, the students learned to revise together as a group, and each member developed a stronger paper.

Research conducted over the last decade has shifted to focus on L2 (second language) environments, where scholars examine the interactions between writers for improvement in oral fluency and writing development (Choi, 2014; Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Lundstrom & Baker, 2009; Spence, 2003; Zhu, 2001). Many researchers found that PRGs helped students' oral fluency, while also supporting their academic confidence. These studies have important implications for response and the authority a teacher implicitly holds in the classroom, especially with vulnerable populations who may feel more hesitant to use their voice in academic spaces.

Overall this research continues to speak to the potential of peer response/writing groups, and their relationship to students' attitudes toward writing, which could also lead to more engagement and motivation to write (Flower, Hayes, Carey, Schriver & Stratman, 1986; Lewes, 1981). However, since DiPardo and Freedman's (1988) review of peer response literature, few empirical studies have closely examined writing groups within standardized, highly tested K-12 schools, and even less in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. Furthermore, peer response/writing groups empirical research has failed to focus on secondary students' oral discourse in writing groups, and explore them

as spaces that privilege dialogue, student voice and critique, and treat writing as "humanizing social activity" (Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016, p.379). For these reasons, my dissertation extends the existing scholarship on peer response/writing groups by investigating writing groups as locations for nondominant secondary students to develop as writers, arguing that students' abilities to participate in writing groups in ways that support their peers and their own learning is one aspect of writing development (Gere, 1987).

Moje and Lewis (2007) stated that "learning is not only the participation in discourse communities, but also the process by which people become members of discourse communities, resist membership, are marginalized from discourse communities, reshape discourse communities and make new ones" (p. 20). My dissertation builds on these notions and suggests that by studying how students become members of, resist membership to, and reshape membership in writing groups, we will better understand how to support students develop as writers within school spaces.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using a qualitative ecological approach (Dobrin & Weisser, 2002) and multi-case study design (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) this study investigates the following questions:

- In classroom settings where teachers use a process approach to writing, what elements of humanizing instruction emerge?
- How do teachers understand and teach about the role of response groups within their approach to writing instruction?
- What knowledge, practices, tools and discourses do students learn in these classrooms and other educational spaces, and how do these shape their participation in writing groups?

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this section I discuss the specific theories I draw on in my analysis. First I explicate how my understanding of writing development and instruction (and subsequently, writing groups) is guided by sociocultural theories of language and literacy (Bruffee, 1986; Cazden, 2001; Mercer, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978) and discourse theories (Bakhtin, 1981; Gee, 2001; Gutiérrez, Rhymes & Larson, 1995). These theories directly attend to how social interactions mediate how knowledge, identities and realities are constructed in a writing classroom. Next I discuss theories of learning spaces, which include theories of ecology (Barton, 2007; Syverson, 2008), drama/performance (Goffman, 1973) and third space (Gutiérrez, 1995/2008). Collectively these theories provide lenses to interpret the ways in which students live and learn across multiple environments, and how these environments both support and constrain students' opportunities for learning and developing identities as writers. Finally, I draw on theories of humanizing approaches to instruction (Freire, 2003; Huerta, 2011; Salazar, 2013; Zisselsberger, 2016) to create a conceptual framework for the teachers' writing instruction. I argue that the teachers draw on these lenses to enact a humanizing writing pedagogy, which brings together the relational, critical, and changing world of composition. Collectively these theories illuminate the interactions between the knowledge, practices and tools the teachers teach and the ways the material and abstract spaces of schooling support and constrain youths' opportunities to develop as writers.

Sociocultural Theories of Language and Learning

Sociocultural perspectives are grounded in the following ideas: 1) Knowledge and knowing have their origins in social interaction (Bruffee, 1986). 2) Learning emanates from social interaction and through the assistance of knowledgeable members in one's

community (Rogoff, 1994; Vygotsky, 1978). 3) Language mediates experience and transforms mental functions (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985). Sociocultural theorists who study children's learning in classroom spaces found that classrooms are places where children learn to think and talk together to make meaning (Cazden, 2001; Mercer, 2000). Through the process of collaborating, constructing, and navigating conflicting ideas with others, students learn to expect and anticipate others' responses (Nicols, 2006). The process of knowing more is helped through the assistance of others, which many scholars call learning through appropriation of cultural practices, tools and ideas (Rogoff, 1994; Wenger, 1988).

In a paper presented at the National Institute of Education, Douglas Barnes (1974) wrote "speech unites the cognitive and social process," intimating that the process of "knowing more" occurs through communal interactions, within which students use language to share and distribute the cognitive burden of learning (Cazden, 2001; Mercer, 2000). Sociocultural theorists argue that it is largely through talk that we develop our understandings of self as members of various social worlds; it is within these worlds that we can locate ourselves and recognize the values, rights and obligations which permeate them (Gee, 2001; Wenger, 1996). Therefore, "as we listen and as we talk, we learn what is necessary to know, do, and say in that area of social life or that setting, and can display the competence necessary to be accepted as a member" (Edwards & Westgate, 1994, p. 15). In a writing classroom, the specific practices and understandings about what it means to be a writer are communicated through the interactions between the teacher, student and messages conveyed throughout the classroom space (Bazerman et al., 2005; Heath, 1983). These ways of knowing or *discourses* may or may not align with the discourses people draw upon outside of the classroom. Therefore, as students enter a classroom space, they are also learning how to navigate and negotiate the values, understandings and meaningmaking practices "acceptable" in this new space. I elaborate on these ideas in the next section by describing specific sociocultural perspectives of writing.

Sociocultural perspectives of writing

Throughout my dissertation I use the word "writing" to refer to all the practices and processes that writers enact during a composing situation. This includes talk, one of the most salient practices relevant to this dissertation, reflection, and awareness of writing identity and various purposes for writing. According to Bruffee (1986),

Students can only write about what they can converse about and, perhaps, have conversed about. Furthermore, students can write effectively only to people with whom they have been and continue to be in conversation. Finally, students' writing will only be as good as their conversation, especially their conversation about writing (p. 3).

My study builds on Bruffee's sentiments, by critically examining the complementary and competing discourses within these interactions that enhance or restrict students' learning about writing.

Drawing on sociocultural perspectives of learning, sociocultural studies of writing demonstrate that writing is done through a writing process that "allow[s] planning and refinement for social effectiveness" (Bazerman, 2016, p.14). Process-oriented models (e.g., Hayes & Flower, 1980) show how writing is mediated by "social, cultural, material, historical, technological, and personal relational variables" (Bazerman, 2016, p.15) that characterize a situation (Prior & Shipka, 2002). These processes are messy and recursive, and quite different from the earlier linear process models that fail to address writers' inner thoughts and decision making (Shaughnessy, 1979; Sommers, 1980; Perl, 1979).

Writing is also socially sponsored by the contexts, environments and ideologies directly and indirectly shaping the writer (Heath, 1983). Social theories of writing include perspectives from a variety of scholarly traditions-poststructuralist, sociology,

ethnography and Marxism—however, they all work under the notion that writing is not an isolated event, but one that is socially bound (Brandt, 2001; Dyson, 1989, 2003; Heath, 1983). Therefore, because writing is learned in a variety of distinct contexts and situations, writers need opportunities to work and problem solve in each (Rogers, 2010; Zawacki, 2006). Learning to write also involves writing within specific discourse communities where writers learn what genres, purposes, practices and skills are expected (Heath, 1983; Vieira, 2011). Writers need support learning how to transfer skills from one context to another (Dias, Paré, Freedman, & Medway, 1999; Kohnen, 2012; Stephens, 2012). In schools, a context that creates "specialized writing activities within a specialized activity system with specialized school genres" (Bazerman, 2016, p.16), students need opportunities to process how writing instruction, writing assignments, and writing practices are mediated by ideologies of school.

Researchers drawing on social perspectives of writing emphasize the importance of "activities and assignments that engage audiences and collaboration" (Bazerman, 2016, p.17) outside of the teacher (Bruffee, 1984; Crinon, 2012; Hillocks, 1086; Wolmman-Bonilla, 2000). These studies suggest that students develop an expanded sense of the communicative purposes of writing when they begin to write for audiences outside of their teacher. A social perspective of writing foregrounds how meaning is derived from the actual text, stating that it derives from interactions between parties, whatever the form. For example, when a writer composes, she brings her life experience and knowledge to her text. This is one form of interaction. Her reader then constructs meaning while reading, also bringing her life experience and knowledge to the text. This is another form of interaction. From this perspective writers and readers come together; for writers this means it is critical to understand that meaning does not reside in the words written on a page but in the subsequent response by the reader.

Theorizing Language and Power

To better understand the role of interaction and response in writing situations I draw on Bakhtin's (2010) characterization of language as a multivoiced, heteroglossic text. Bakhtin theorizes that every utterance is linked to a complex organizational chain of other utterances, suggesting that interactions don't only occur through face-to-face conversations, but travel, existing over time and space. This perspective is critical to my understanding of the way language circulates in the classroom.

Many educational theorists use Bakhtin's work to speak to the foundational role of interaction at the heart of student learning. Mainstream linguists who primarily study language from perspectives that focus on the phonology, morphology and syntax of language are often critiqued by Bakhtin and his contemporaries who argue that analyzing language in isolation denies the relationship between language and meaning, which is vital to theorists who understand verbal discourse as a fundamentally social phenomenon (Cazden, 2001; Mercer, 2000). Within this perspective, meaning in the context of writing is not "in the text itself...rather, the text functions as the vehicle or medium which mediates an exchange of meaning" (Nystrand, 1999, p.1). Dialogue, as such, is not only between people, but within people and the frames used to categorize experience. These frames are the *centripetal* force that provide a template for how an interaction is expected to occur (Bakhtin, 1981). The template is no more than a guide, because the exact language, syntax, grammar, paralinguistic markers, etc. of every interaction is unique to its local context and precludes any interaction from occurring exactly as a previous one. Gutiérrez, Rymes and Larson (1995) built on Bakhtin's notion of dialogism and heteroglossic meanings and created a heuristic that highlights the ways "power is locally constituted through various configurations of talk and interactions" (p.446). I use this heuristic of scripts,

counterscripts, and transcendent scripts to understand and critique how power is imbued within the "patterns of participation that occur" within a writing classroom.

Gutiérrez et al. (1995) states that "scripts, characterized by particular social, spatial and language patterns, are resources that members use to interpret the activity of others and to guide their own participation" (1995, p.449). Not completely unlike a script an actor may follow in a performance, a *script* follows particular social and language patterns of interaction that members use to interpret the activity of others and guide their own participation (Gutiérrez et al., 1995). As Bakhtin's work suggested, individuals will assimilate discourses through a process of taking others' words as rules to follow. Scripts, similarly, are "filled with others' words," but are contextually and culturally situated, motivated by specific goals, identities and expectations. They signal through linguistic (diction, syntax, grammar) and paralinguistic cues the roles participants should take on in an interaction. In this same vein, certain scripts are more likely to be used within particular spaces and with particular people, and always involve relations of power (Gutiérrez et al., 1995). In most classrooms, a "highly rigid monologic script" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995, p.446) emerges, which classroom researchers have called Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) or Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) (Cazden, 2001; Meehan, 1979). Such patterns illuminate the distinct power disparities between teacher and student. Beyond classroom scripts, Gutiérrez et al. (1995) suggests when official forms of knowledge are locally invoked in the classroom, transcendent scripts emerge. Transcendent scripts, therefore, are similar to what Bakhtin (1934) calls authoritative discourses, discourses that "demand we make it our own" (p.205). Authoritative discourses are present in all social institutions, and seep into the ways in which we unconsciously use language so that we do not even recognize when our language in use is not actually our own. These authoritative discourses wield power, and position its subjects in a passive role. A transcendent script is the

enactment of authoritative discourses, and is an example of official knowledge—dominant forms of knowledge generally valued as legitimate by both the local culture and the larger society—enacted through local interactions. Transcendent scripts, however, "are not monolithic reproductions of societal values...[but] only exist when [they are] locally invoked and re-invoked and appear differently across situations and at different times" (p.448) in a classroom.

Collectively, in a classroom, scripts and transcendent scripts are characterized by the power of the institution. Even when the teacher's script works to disrupt larger authoritative discourses, which privilege dominant, mainstream forms of knowledge, language and practices, and power differentials between teachers and students inherent in their positions works to control the patterns of interaction within a larger classroom space. Students may "contribute to and participate in the teacher script," however "those who do not comply with the teacher's rules for participation form their own *counterscript*" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995, p.447). Gutiérrez et al. (1995) describes counterscripts as alternative scripts that shift the position of power inherent in the official classroom script, and often work to privilege students' voices. For example, when students' interactions shift to rely on their peers for answers instead of the teacher, a counterscript emerges. Although this is just one example, the repositioning of students through student to student interaction develops a counterscript because the students are given space to adopt a more agentive role in their own learning and the learning of others in the class.

In this study, I use these theories to notice, name, and analyze how language—in both written and oral forms—constitute students' identities and realities. In the context of South Cardinal High, understanding when and how scripts, transcendent scripts and counterscripts are evoked in and outside of writing groups is helpful in understanding how writing instruction in environments that are inherently conducive to hierarchies of power can support students' development as agentive and independent learners in writers.

In alignment with these theoretical groundings, I am also aware of how the language I use positions students in this study. For this reason, I briefly explain below why, across this dissertation, I use the term "nondominant." Nondominant refers to the ways that students in this study have been positioned by society as different from mainstream, dominant culture. Instead of using terms such as minority or Students of Color, nondominant signals the main issue in the way students are *othered* by society is not *only* race, class, or culture, but power. In alignment with other critical researchers' (e.g. Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009; Gutiérrez, 2008) use of "nondominant," I use this label to highlight the intersectionality of these factors and foreground the power disparities between individuals who are a part of dominant culture and those who aren't. The "othering" (Guinier, 2004) that occurs to outsiders of dominant culture may be seen through the deficit labels assigned to them, because they speak languages, carry identities, and make meaning in ways that are not recognized as the language of instruction or communication in the school. Because these students are positioned as outside of dominant culture they are often faced in the position of reconciling warring identities, what Du Bois (1903) calls "double selves," the self that desires to maintain their cultural heritage with the other self that gains them access to school spaces. In this study, I share my analysis of two teachers' pedagogy who worked to support students' resist these "warring identities," and show them that they can be themselves and still be successful in school.

Theorizing Learning Through A Study of Space: Ecologies, Performance and Third Space

I draw on theories of ecology (Barton, 2007; Syverson, 2008), drama/performance (Goffman, 1973) and third space (Gutiérrez, 1995/2008) to analyze the overlapping material and social contexts students live and learn in. Collectively these theories are rooted in sociocultural ideas around the social nature of learning (Bruffee, 1986), but foreground how students' access to, relationship with, and transformation of certain language and writing practices and identities are mediated through material and imagined spaces. An ecological perspective focuses on the ways students' process of knowing is shaped by spatial, temporal, physical, social and psychological dimensions, reorienting our understanding of learning from one that is human-centric to one that privileges both the human and the dynamic spaces we inhabit. This perspective understands that writers are part of complex ecosystems where they learn, adapt and communicate (Syverson, 2008) and, as a result, their writing is "continually influenced by [their] social positionings, acts and responses" (Mclean, 2012, p.234). Because this study focuses on students who are positioned by society as different from dominant, mainstream culture, drawing attention to the dynamic connections and relationships between individuals and their environments (Barton, 2007; Syverson, 2008) is crucial to understanding their development as writers.

Environments, within this dissertation, do not just refer to the physical spaces humans inhabit, but the political, social, culturally constructed spaces; therefore, writing from an ecological perspective examines how a classroom's "social/textual community" (Kress, 2003, p.159) affects students as writers and their conversations with each other in writing groups. This includes "communities" that have existed beyond the present and are situated in historical contexts, "marked by events such as first drafts and revisions," as well as "historically situated technologies, social relations, cultural influences and disciplinary practices" (Syverson, 1999, p.7). These varied technologies, relations, cultural influences, and disciplinary practices that interact with students align with the persuasive evidence that writing, like other cognitive processes, involves social and environmental structures that "powerfully constrain and also enable what writers are able to think, feel and write" (Syverson, 1999, p.9).

I use Goffman's (1973) dramaturgical theory to better understand the ways social and environmental structures constrain writers to "think, feel and write" and Gutiérrez's (1995, 2008) third space theory to understand ways that these structures enable writers. Both, complementary to the previously discussed sociocultural perspectives of language and literacy, understand that learning spaces are complex, dynamic hybrid spaces, and that because of historical relations of power embedded in society, we need to design them for a more just world.

Goffman's (1973) dramaturgical theory explains social behavior for individuals and groups through a metaphor of performance. From this interpretive lens, Goffman (1973) argues that in any context one is engaging in a performance:

[Performance is] all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion, which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute the other performances as the audience, observers, or exparticipants. The pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance and which may be presented or played through on other occasions may be called a 'part' or 'routine' (pp. 15-16).

In this study, I don't use 'part' or 'routine,' but apply Gutiérrez's interpretation of Goffman's work and use 'scripts' (Gutiérrez et al., 1995). Goffman suggests that any activity done in a social setting is a performance, and to engage in that performance "an individual chooses a part from a range of possible scripts" (Goffman, 1973, p.15). These scripts are a crucial component of an actor's "impression management," which involves

how an individual manages her role according to how she is perceived by others. An individual selects scripts that reflect how she wants her performed identity to satisfy the expectations of the audience. Performed identities may shift according to the actor's motives and feelings about role, and therefore are never static. For example, a student may understand her performance as a writer to mean scoring well on a standardized test or receiving a good grade on a school-based assignment. These performances may be applauded by her audience (e.g. teacher or peers) because she writes in Standard English and applies normative writing conventions to her work. However, in another setting, for example a twitter feed, this performance may confound the audience's expectations, and disrupt how the student feels about herself as a writer. Therefore, when we understand social contexts as performances we need to understand the context in which these performances are envisioned and enacted.

Understanding social behavior as a performance also needs to account for the work happening front stage and back stage. A front stage performance, also known as the social front, is where an individual manages "setting, appearance and manner" (p.17) in relationship to the "collective concept" of what is expected by the audience. For example, the social front of the writing group in a classroom will be informed by the teachers' beliefs (and larger institutional understandings) around writing groups. However, this social front is not synonymous with the students' identities, practices, understandings about writing outside of the writing group. This difference in presentation is what Goffman (1973) called students' "backstage" (p.17).

So far these notions about performance have focused on alignment between actors and audience, however sometimes an individual or group's performance disrupts what is expected in a social context. Goffman (1973) defines underlife as "a range of activities people develop to distance themselves from the surrounding institution" (in Gutiérrez et al, 1995, p.451). In other words, it is physical or discursive space actors (i.e. students) create for themselves to separate from the audience. In a classroom this separation signals the imposition of the teacher's script, and indicates students' capacity to "display their own form of knowledge and communicate competence" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995, p.448). Goffman (1973) states that underlife activities take two forms: a contained form where students distance themselves from the surrounding institution but don't try to apply pressure to the existing institutional structure to "radically change" (p.199), and disruptive form "where the realistic intentions of the participants are to abandon the organization or radically alter its structure" (p.199). A disruptive underlife is what Gutiérrez calls a third space, because it is where the teacher and student scripts intersect, shifting the power dynamics within the learning space so that both teacher and students' cultural ways of knowing are accounted for.

Gutiérrez's (1995, 2008) third space theory understands that "people live their lives and learn across multiple settings, and this holds true not only across the span of their lives but also across and within the institutions and communities they inhabit—even classrooms" (p.149). Third spaces emerge when people learn to move across and disrupt boundaries that restrict and oppress instead of engage and liberate. In these spaces, students "begin to reconceive who they are and what they might be able to accomplish academically and beyond" (Gutiérrez, 2008, p.148). As I have previously discussed, Gutierrez's heuristic for analyzing social interactions proposed the notion of script and counterscript—"the formal and informal, the official and unofficial spaces of the learning environment" (Gutierrez, 2008, p.157). Third spaces bring together the official and unofficial spaces of a learning environment, conceptualizing these hybrid environments as places that are potentially transformational for both students and teachers. In this study I examine how within third spaces "language structure[s are] adapted and shaped by the task of producing talk and meaning for others (with sequences) in human interaction in ways that give shape to a particular social world" (Gutierrez, 2008, p.150).

Humanizing Pedagogies

I draw on theories of humanizing pedagogy (Freire, 2003; Huerta, 2011; Salazar, 2013; Zisselsberger, 2016) to analyze the teachers' writing instruction, and argue that the teachers draw on humanizing approaches to bring together the relational, critical, and changing world of composition. The relational world begets the need for community, understanding that to write means to take risks and be vulnerable with one's ideas. The critical world recognizes the relations of power within every writing situation, and the changing world expands and broadens what counts as text and what counts as a practice. These ideas are connected to five tenets Salazar (2013) suggests are "essential for humanizing education" (p.124). These tenets are as follows:

- 1. The full development of the person is essential for humanization.
- 2. To deny someone else's humanization is also to deny one's own.
- 3. The journey for humanization is an individual and collective endeavor toward critical consciousness.
- 4. Critical reflection and action can transform structures that impede our own and others' humanness, thus facilitating liberation for all.
- 5. Educators are responsible for promoting a more fully human world through their pedagogical principles and practices. (Salazar, 2013, p.128)

These tenets present a view of teaching as a practice that embodies more than a toolbox of methods (Bartholomé, 1994); it involves how teachers think about their work and interpret what is happening in their classrooms and schools. This student-centered approach acknowledges that blindly replicating instruction does not adequately attend to

the lived experiences, learning, and language use of the students in our classrooms (Bartholomé, 1994). As such, a humanizing pedagogy also recognizes the role of the teacher, and their ability to build relationships with the students in their classroom. Jennings & Matta (2009) stated that instruction and curriculum need to center on "students and relationships and emphasize student learning, not solely teaching content" (p.225). It also requires the teacher to critically reflect on the position of power they and their school hold in relationship to their students' learning and life chances (Salazar, 2013). I use these notions to better understand how the teachers and students in my study support each other as members of a learning community, how they interrogate hierarchies of power inherent in school spaces, and how these factors mediate their writing instruction and students' writing development in and outside of writing groups.

Huerta (2011) stated that "many scholars have found that the strength of a teacher's pedagogical practice depends primarily on the degree to which they embrace a humanizing pedagogy (p.39). A humanizing practice "builds upon the linguistic and cultural capital of students" (Zisselsberger, 2018, p.123) and draws attention to students' cultural, racial, linguistic, social, gender and class differences. Teachers who embrace humanizing pedagogies understand that nondominant students' struggle often comes from incongruencies between language, learning and behavioral practices in school and home, and that they need to work from appreciative perspectives to combat the ways that school discourses are often privileged by society. Through their enactment of appreciative perspectives, teachers push back against traditions of "subtractive schooling" (Valenzuela, 2010). "Subtractive schooling" denies students' cultural ways of knowing, their out of school language and literacy practices, and forces them to assimilate to "White America" in order to achieve "academic success" (Valenzuela, 2010, p.18). In contrast, a humanizing pedagogical perspective supports the development of a critical consciousness by

recognizing and utilizing "the sociohistorical and political contents of our own lives and the students' lives including the influence of societal power, racial and ethnic identities, and cultural values" (Huerta, 2011, p.39) to create culturally responsive and sustaining classrooms (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2014). Instruction and curriculum from this perspective is then "organized around a philosophical purpose of schooling for civic engagement rather than human capital production" (Jennings & Matta, 2009, p.225).

Humanizing pedagogies work towards "academic rigor through critical engagement of students as active subjects, not...banking methods that position students as passive objects" (Jennings & Matta, 2009, p. 225). Freire (1970) and Salazar (2013) talk about humanization as a process that "cannot be imposed on or imparted to the oppressed; but rather, it can only occur by engaging the oppressed in their liberation" (p.126). For students who have been historically marginalized by schooling institutions—their language and literacy practices denigrated by school because they are positioned as differentcritical engagement in the "capital P" (Janks, 2012, p.151) politics of school is crucial to their humanization. When teachers are transparent about the purposes behind their pedagogy, they engage students in the "schooling process;" when they create spaces for students to reflect on their learning and the teachers' teaching, they support student independence; and when they bring into conversation the way power or "little p politics" (Janks, 2012, p.151) mediate individual and group interactions and opportunities to learn, they engage students (i.e. the oppressed) in their own liberation. Across this dissertation when I discuss teachers' humanization of students it is not meant to imply students are not already human, but is meant as a recognition that the process of humanization is an ongoing "process of becoming – as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality" (Freire, 2009, p. 84). Juxtaposed to dehumanizing approaches that position students as objects to be conquered, humanizing pedagogies recognize and celebrate students' humanity, recognizing students and learners as active meaning-makers (De Lissovoy, 2010). They are also reciprocal: when teachers position students' humanity as integral to their learning, the students also see and engage the teachers' humanity as well, resulting in a mutual dialogic relationship grounded in teacher and students' humanity.

Theories of care

A humanizing approach also means understanding that teaching is not just focused on content, but is inherently relational. At the center of this relational, emotional and affectladen teaching is care (Noddings, 2002, 2013; Valenzuela, 2010). Theories of care suggest that "care" is not just a quality but a relational interaction, and that these interactions are the foundation for academic success (Noddings, 2013). In many contexts for schooling, rigorous intellectual work has been separated from care, as if the intellectual work of our development as humans can be separate from our emotional and moral well-being (Noddings, 2013). Noddings (2002) scholarship motions to a pedagogy of care that includes: dialogue, practice and confirmation. Dialogue is about "talking and listening, sharing and responding to each other" (p.186), while 'practice' means actually *practicing* the act of caring. This is not an isolated practice, but instead needs to be modeled and talked about through dialogue. Confirmation recognizes the individual being cared for as one of the community, and is dependent upon practice and dialogue. I posit that a humanizing approach to education then is one that is dialogic, a practice of caring, and supports students' movement and access across a variety of communities. From this perspective, teachers become responsible for not only students' intellectual development, but their ethical and moral development as well.

Valenzuela's (2010) framework builds on Noddings work, but importantly and relevant to the demographic of my study's participants, brings this scholarship into the context of Latinx⁴ populations. Valenzuela (2010) argues that existing caring theories do not attend enough to the unequal power relations embedded in school interactions and curriculum. In order to create a caring theory that attends to the way power circulates in schools, Valenzuela introduces two other interrelated ideas—social capital and *educación*. Social capital is created through "exchange networks of trust and solidarity" (Valenzuela, 2010, p.21). In schools students whose cultures differ from what is dominant often struggle to build these networks, especially when most of their teachers come from white, middle class backgrounds. Valenzuela's caring theory acknowledges the need for teachers to draw on students' culturally and linguistically diverse background and make space for discussions around the ways power circulates in schools. It is only through these discussions that networks of trust and solidarity will build. The concept of educación is a "Mexican cultural construct," and illuminates the situatedness of care within specific cultural models of "how one should interact with others" (Newcomer, 2018, p.182), interactions that are based on "respect, responsibility, and sociality" (Valenzuela, 2010, p.21). These notions of respect, responsibility and sociality are culturally situated, and need to be understood in the context of students' lived and cultural ways of knowing.

Caring, like teaching, is largely reactive and responsive. It is an action that can't be routinized or sutured to fixed rules. Instead it must be ruled "by affection and regard" (Noddings, 1984, p.24). Teaching from this perspective is challenging, because when a teacher is working with a student, they cannot give themselves over to that student completely. They need to also attend to the 30 other individuals in the class. This is why a

⁴ Although Valenzuela does not use Latinx in her 2010 piece, I use it here as a gender-neutral alternative to Latino/Latina as it is more "inclusive of the intersecting identities of Latin American descendants" (Newcomer, 2018, p.179).

pedagogy of care is nuanced. It is an amalgamation of practices that essentially centers the relational, reflective, and emotional aspects of learning.

Caring means "stretching the students' world" (Noddings, 2002, p.11) and working cooperatively with the student when they struggle. The teachers in this study don't talk about caring for their students, but show them. Victoria⁵, the ninth grade teacher in this study, attended every disciplinary or behavioral meeting for her students, working cooperatively with students, their families and the other school officials to support her struggling students. She made calls home when students were doing well (as opposed to the more typical "phone-call of concern"). Dana, the eleventh grade teacher, regularly conferred with students around their reading and writing lives, expressed genuine excitement by their ideas, interests and lived experiences, and never ever gave up on them. Both teachers celebrated their students' extracurricular lives and victories, showing concern not just for their subject matter learning, but for their whole lives.

Humanizing pedagogies complement sociocultural perspectives of writing because they argue for teaching writing as a practice that exists in the real world. These pedagogies honor and require teachers to understand and build curriculum around and in support of students' humanity, which for a writing teacher means drawing on an understanding of writing as a situated practice that takes place within and across communities (Heath, 1983), and is rooted in the learner's real-world experiences (New London Group, 1996).

Conclusion

Collectively, the perspectives discussed in this chapter provide a powerful framework for analyzing the role teachers play in students' development as writers. These theories work to analyze how the multiple "purposes, content and contexts of writing" are

⁵ All names are pseudonyms

"embedded within and shaped by the multiple contexts, ideologies, literacy practices and relationships" (McLean, 2012, p.232) both inside and outside of school. This complex and broad framework is necessary to appreciate and understand the sophisticated practices and interrelated spaces young people negotiate in their participation in a writing classroom and writing groups, as well as the ways students coordinate internal structures within writing groups—prior experiences with writing, existent knowledge, tools and practices about writing—with external structures—the teachers' expectations, knowledge, tools, practices around writing, other members of the writing group, and other Discourses about student learning and writing outside of the classroom.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

I expected to learn of other worlds from my students but I didn't expect ... to learn about the writing process from my students. But I do. The content is theirs but so is the experience of writing...My students are writers and they teach me writing most of the time.

Donald Murray (1982)

Although there is an abundance of literature on writing instruction and writing development that teaches us, 1) writing is a social activity, and 2) response to writers is a crucial aspect of a writer's development, there is a scarceness of empirical studies centering on peer response groups/writing group in culturally and linguistically diverse English Language Arts contexts. One of the challenges in reviewing this area of literature is the variety of terms associated with response structures. Therefore, in order to locate empirical literature on these various areas, I employed a variety of approaches that included systematic electronic searches through educational databases (e.g. Academic Search Complete, Education Source, ERIC, PsychInfo); bibliographic branching from relevant dissertations conducted within the last twenty years; and bibliographic branching through the "cited by" function within Google Scholar. I used the same approach for all areas of my literature review, and for that reason, I will only describe my process for finding literature on peer response groups.

Using the search terms, (peer response group OR peer feedback group OR peer review group OR writ* group*) and (writ*) and (school OR classroom), I conducted a variety of searches in the library databases mentioned above. I limited the results by searching only within the ABSTRACT field or the SUBJECT field of scholarly, peer-reviewed journals and publication dates between 1970 and 2017. This wielded 2,364

results. I then used the filters to limit results to K-12 and university ELA or writing classrooms. This limited my results to 134 studies. Within these search results I began reading abstracts to see if they fit into my criteria: writing groups is middle/secondary. I also conducted searches in the databases "Open Access Theses and Dissertations" and Dissertations and Theses Global" looking for other dissertations. I used similar search terms to the above. Using similar filters this resulted in an additional 7 studies. I used bibliographic branching on these and found an additional 10 studies. I also used the "cited by" function in Google Scholar with some of the more seminal studies (Dipardo & Freedman, 1988; Sperling & Woodlief, 1997). The resultant studies were whittled down to 37, and although I do not report on all of them here, the studies reported on represent what is to be understood about peer response/writing groups in secondary contexts.

In this review of empirical research, I discuss what research has shown to be effective oral response to writing practices, focusing on teacher-student writing conferences and peer response/writing groups. I begin this review by discussing teacher-student writing conferences, which studies suggest are complex sites of interaction that require constant negotiation between teacher and student. This research is relevant to this study, because it is the primary form of feedback used by both teacher participants, and a space where teachers' model response practices that students may appropriate in their own writing groups. I will look specifically at studies that look at writing conferences within workshop classrooms, because the classroom contexts in this dissertation define themselves as "workshop classroom." I will then review other studies that elucidate teacher beliefs about language and learning through their conference discourses.

In the next section I synthesize literature on instruction that supports students' participation in peer response groups. The need for this dissertation study is built upon this literature, because a primary finding from this synthesis expounds the need for teachers to

design curriculum and instruction to support students' learning in peer response groups. Confirming the need for this study, the review of peer response group research will point to the existing gap of scholarship that has not yet attended to how teachers' support secondary students' participation and engagement in peer response/writing groups through a variety of instructional contexts (e.g. whole class instruction and teacher-student writing conferences. Additionally, my dissertation is conducted within culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, in a "low-performing" school, which is a context understudied in peer response literature.

Teacher-Student Writing Conference

In 1982 Murray wrote that encouraging a writer's independence occurs through foundational dialogue between a student and their teacher, and happens best in an inperson, one-to-one conference. Inside Murray's vision of a teacher-student writing conference, the teacher helps the student figure out what exactly is working and how it can be made to work better. The teacher models this process, and helps the student learn to hear his own "other self". The conference provides a unique space for both parties to address any aspect of the student's writing process that might appear to be only tangentially related to writing instruction (Freedman & Sperling, 1985), such as in-school or out-of-school interests and/or concerns that may or may not lead to writing topics and ideas. Containing both the power disparities of school-based learning events as well as conversational affordances, such as the ability of either partner to choose to switch topics, elaborate, or interject, the writing conference can open or close learning opportunities as both parties interpret responses and negotiate their way through the interchange (Cazden, 2001; Freedman & Sperling, 1985). In the following sections, I discuss studies that specifically consider the nature of student-teacher interactions within writing conferences, writing conferences within a writing workshop classroom, and studies that consider the enactment of teacher beliefs about language and writing within the conference space.

Student and teacher interactions

Students and teachers often go into writing conferences with expectations for how the interaction will transpire. These expectations are grounded in beliefs about the roles each will play in the conversation. When these beliefs and expectations are aligned, the writing conference is more likely to succeed. Jacobs and Karliner (1977) and Melanie Sperling (1990, 1991, 1992) both found that the way their student participants perceived their roles changed the nature of the conversation. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods in her longitudinal study of writing conferences in secondary classrooms, Sperling found that the variation in the students' perceived roles of themselves and their teacher resulted in variations in engagement and participation within the conference space. One student, for example, viewed teacher-student writing conferences as a space to engage in dialogue with her teacher, resulting in collaborative conferences that involved near equal participation between teacher and student. Another student viewed these conferences as a space to "get ideas" (p. 143) from the teacher, resulting in interactions that more closely resembled a teacher monologue. Sperling's analysis suggested that these differences in interaction were the result of both student expectations for these conferences and their beliefs about the appropriate roles for teacher and student within conversational settings. Within this same study, Sperling examined who controlled the conference agenda, and found that when writing conferences occurred as a space to go over a teacher's marginalia, it was primarily the teacher who controlled the discussion. The teacher's written comments produced before the conference severed the student from her original writing needs. Sperling concludes her findings by noting that over time students became more comfortable taking the lead in the conference, even when the writing conferences centered around their teacher's written comments.

Jacobs and Karliner (1977) drew on sociolinguistics to analyze their data of freshman composition students, and therefore focused more on the length of talk turns and changes in discourses within the teacher-student exchanges. Their analysis engendered two different patterns of interaction based on the student/teacher roles. Depending on the students' perception of themselves in relationship to their instructor and their needs going into the conference, the length of talk turns and nature of the discourse changed. For example, between one teacher-student pair the amount of talk was roughly equal, and their discourse was more conversational—a "fellow conversant" (p.500). Juxtaposed to this pair, the teacher took longer conversational turns and employed a more academic discourse with two other students, positioning himself as a "friendly authoritative" figure. Park (2012) also used discourse analysis to examine the interactions between college students and their teachers. Through analysis of students' initial utterances, Park (2012) found a correlation between the syntactical structures they used to elicit a response in their teacher, and their stance toward the teacher. Consistent with Jacobs and Karliner's analysis, Park found that the patterns of interaction could be traced back to students' initial statements. His video analysis of one-on-one writing conferences suggested that students' use of questions declarative and interrogative –and teachers' responses illuminated the "changing epistemic relationship between students and teachers during a writing conference" (p.631). When a student began a conference with an interrogative question it anticipated an authoritative response from the teacher, keeping a steep gradient between their knowledge and their teacher's knowledge. Alternatively, a declarative question, with the response embedded in the syntactical structure, positioned the teacher and student's knowledge on relatively equal footing. Both of these studies are reminiscent of what Sperling found in her research, that students' interactions communicated how they saw themselves in relationship to their instructors.

Sometimes students' beliefs about themselves and their abilities influence the resultant dialogue. Strauss and Xiang (2006) found that their student participants took either an agentive or non-agentive stance in their writing conferences, and as a result took more or less ownership over their writing. After identifying this pattern of agentic and non-agentic stances, the researchers analyzed the linguistic markers of each stance, finding that non-agentive stances were full of hesitation and uncertainty, whereas students with agentic stances initiated specific plans to revise their work. A student's initial stance, however, did not necessarily stay that way through the conference. Strauss and Xiang (2006) observed that as the conference progressed students who took a non-agentic stance toward their writing shifted toward agentic over the course of the conference. The researchers found this pattern to be inconsistent and while recognizing these gradual shifts towards agency, the authors noted that they "[did] not occur in a linear and unidirectional fashion" (p. 374).

Students' uncertainty about their writing is certainly not a new notion, and it is not surprising that it would influence the trajectory of a writing conference. However, Bayraktar (2013) added to this research by examining teachers' responses when students had low and high self-efficacy. The researcher found that the conference interactions varied based on the students' level of self-efficacy, and influenced factors such as length of conference, types of questions asked, and number of talk turns. Students with high-self efficacy saw conferences as a dialogue and enjoyed sharing their writing. Students with low self-efficacy often struggled with writers' block, and seemed uncomfortable talking about their writing. Bayraktar also examined the teachers' responses to students, and found patterns that connected low self-efficacy to teachers' authoritative stance and deficit ideas,

and students' high self-efficacy to dialogic conferences where the student either led the conference or there was a balance between student and teacher talk and control.

A number of researchers looked at teacher-student writing conferences that were unsuccessful. These studies are helpful as they illuminate some of the many challenges that come with teacher-student writing conferences. Newkirk (1995), for example, studied conferences that failed to support the teachers' and students' goals. Unlike other studies in this review, Newkirk's looked at the interactions between one writing instructor and his two students. Drawing on Goffman's (1973) dramaturgical theory and methods from conversational analysis, Newkirk found that the instructor's main purpose was to support and not evaluate the students' writing; however, there was a secondary aim pursued by both participants—maintenance of their own and each other's appearance as competent writers. While the teacher sought to support their writing by asking questions to develop the student's thinking, the students' posturing stonewalled these inquiries. As a result, the students were left to ask direct questions to the teacher about the "quality of their writing," obligating the teacher to either evaluate, and thus take ownership over the student's writing, or to evade the question and risk being viewed as unsupportive by the student. The multiple goals driving these conferences—the teacher's goal of supporting, the student's writing process, the student's goals of receiving evaluation on their writing, and the student's and teacher's shared goal of performing competence in their roles—resulted in conferences that only partially met the participants' goals.

Consalvo and Maloch (2015) offer a more hopeful lens to writing conferences that initially looks troubling. They authored a paper that stems from a year-long qualitative study of writing conferences in two diverse high school classrooms, centering this article on students' "resistance moves" to their teacher's attempts to connect with them. Consalvo and Maloch employ discourse analysis to hone in on moments of student resistance and their teacher's ensuing response. Two themes developed out of their analysis: "a continuum of resistance" ranging from "ignoring or hiding to changing the subject to lying" (p.120), and response that remained focused on building trust and relationships in their community. Not only does this study add to the limited body of literature on conferencing in culturally and linguistically diverse settings, it also suggests that predictable routines that build a community of trust can counteract resistant behaviors.

Much of what we know about writing conferences comes from the work of K-12 teachers. At times these teachers even contribute their own voice to the research, as we see in Jodi Nickel's (2001) study, a teacher researcher who writes about a series of conferences between her and her students. Initially seeking to examine her own role as an audience, teacher and writer in relationship to student talk (Nickel, 1999), she found herself continuously drawn to the transcripts of conferences that faltered. Her conclusions revolved around four reasons for faltering conferences: 1) the teacher doesn't understand a student's purpose for writing; 2) the student retreats from the conference when they don't understand what their teacher is communicating; 3) the student disengages when they feel like their story is complete; 4) when the child and teacher are not on the same timeframe and the child needs more time to explore their topic. Ultimately these themes express two different agendas taken up by the teacher and student. Often teachers assume that they are the experts, but Nickel's shows us through the talk and text of her first-grade writers that they are very purposeful in what and how they write, and often have an agenda they are motivated to follow coming into these conferences.

Like many of the teachers showcased in the above studies, the two teachers in my study use writing conferences as the primary form of response to writing enacted in their classrooms. The instruction within a writing conference is powerful, and can potentially shift students' self-perceptions (Jacobs & Karliner, 1977; Newkirk, 1995; Sperling, 1991,

1992; Strauss & Xiang, 2006), and relationship to their teachers (Bayraktar, 2013; Consalvo & Maloch, 2015). However, this research shows the delicate nature of writing conferences, and how easily they can be derailed (Nickel, 2001).

Research on writing conferences illustrates the powerful one-on-one teaching this form of response affords. In her analysis of writing conferences in a first grade classroom, Hawkins (2016) described four different purposes for conferences that shaped the interactions between the teacher and her students. Each purpose—ranging from conferences as a space to try out and talk through ideas to conferences focused on surface level edits—depended on the students' needs and where they were within the larger context of the writing process. Hawkins concludes that, "Just as there is not one purpose for conferring, no one conference type is ideal for all situations" (p.20). In her implications for practitioners she suggests that writing teachers committed to conferring must continually examine their practices and purposes if they want alignment between the form and function of these one-on-one engagements.

In another primary classroom Glasswell & Parr (2009) present one exemplary teacher from a larger research study on understanding writing practices for academically diverse learners in New Zealand primary schools. This paper focuses on a teacher, Eleanor, who had a process-oriented approach to writing, and used writing conferences as a form of ongoing, formative assessment (Calkins, 1994). The researchers characterized her as a "kid-watcher" (Goodman, 1978) and used her observations of students, the work they produced and their interactions as another form of formative assessment. Her observations also made the space of a writing conference a powerful location for teachable moments to develop. Because of her careful observations of students, she was able to take advantage of those "just-right moments" and respond to students in specific ways. The authors show that flexible and responsive classroom structures make space for meaningful interactions

between students and teachers, which support students developing expertise in their writing. Hawkins (2016) and Glasswell and Parr (2009) reveal the practices of two highly responsive teachers, reminding us that writing conferences are individualized for a reason. When writing conferences are successful it is because the teachers are responsive to their audience, i.e. the student and the student's needs as a writer, and adjust their speech to accommodate their needs.

Writing conferences within a workshop classroom

One undisputed fact about conferences is that they are dialogical structures for response within a classroom. However certain classrooms are more conducive to response than others. One researcher found that a prerequisite for regularly occurring writing conferences is the orderliness of a classroom, because the positive and intentional routines permitted teachers to carve out other curricular and temporal spaces for inclusion of writing conferences (Kaufman, 2000). Kaufman's (2000) student participants were accustomed to a workshop classroom, which consisted of daily mini-lessons, independent work time and teacher-student conferences. The predictability of these instructional practices showed a long-term commitment to teaching writing as a daily practice, and response as something that occurs multiple times across the writing process.

McCarthey (1994) also studied students within a workshop classroom, but additionally looked into the students' prior classrooms to determine alignment between past and current instructional approaches. This element of the research design builds on what we know about students' appropriation of writing conference discourses, and how their learning of this discourse mediates their interactions with their teacher. McCathey's study takes place in fifth and sixth grade classrooms in New York City. She employs theories of classroom discourse to explore the role participants' previous understandings

of classroom interactions play in writing conference interactions. She uses analytic techniques derived from sociolinguistics to examine the links between teachers and student talk, and the writing they produce. The four focal students are responsive to the discourse communities around them and this influences the texts they produce. Three out of the four students had prior experience in writing process classrooms, two of them in writing workshop classrooms. All three students had favorable interactions with their teachers, but the two in the workshop classroom showed evidence of an internally persuasive voice, taking up the teacher's language and suggestions during their conferences and making this language their own. The fourth student, Anita, differed from the other three in that she had little experience with writing in school, and when faced with the freedoms and choice embedded in writing workshop, she was confused. The teacher's interactions were directive and unsupportive of Anita's learning. McCarthey found that although the students' talk and texts were responsive to the classroom, and seemed to be at least partially rooted in the classroom discourse, the degree to which they used this talk to inform their texts varied per student. McCarthey hypothesized that the degree to which the teacher's discourse transferred could also depend on how closely aligned the students' understandings about writing were to their teacher's. Like Consalvo and Maloch's (2015) study, Glasswell and Parr (2009) and McCarthey's (1994) papers add to the small body of research conducted in culturally and linguistically diverse K-12 contexts. Schools with highly diverse populations typically offer few opportunities for writing process instruction and dialogic forms of formative response (Christoph & Nystrand, 2001; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991). My research is situated in a school such as this; its teachers often constrained by accountability mandates. Building on the above research, my study contributes to what we know about how teachers find spaces within such restrictive

environments to enact meaningful writing instruction that is dialogic, responsive and empirically sound.

Teacher beliefs

Mainstream discourses are often unconscious and communicated without much thought. A common understanding about language in K-12 schools is that Standard English is and must be the only language of use in schools. Despite many scholars who have since challenged the insistence that Standard English must be the dominant discourse communicated to and by students (Martinez, 2015; Martinez & Orellana, 2008), many teachers still adhere to this damaging belief. Dyson & Smitherman (2009) look at how this damaging discourse interacts with students' development of voice in their writing. Although teachers often ask children to *listen* to how their words sound when they are composing, what sounds right to young children will vary for situational, developmental and sociocultural reasons. This paper reports on an ethnographic study of young students' writing development in a highly tested elementary school. Most of the students in the school came from low income homes and African American backgrounds. According to Dyson and Smitherman, the classroom teacher in the study focused much of her instruction on supporting her students to "meet grade-level expectations" (p.982); she also spent the majority of their literacy block in teacher-led writing conferences. These conferences, however, were mostly focused on editing-written conventions and standardized usagebecause that is what was tested.

The researchers found that many of the conversations between the teacher and her students were unproductive because of the teacher's monolithic understanding of language. Dyson & Smitherman shared excerpts of a transcript between the Tionna, an African American girl, and her teacher to illustrate this point. In one section of transcript, Tionna

reads her writing and says, "it is big," and then self corrects to "i's big." Next line, the teacher responds with confusion, reading the sentence, "I got it from my mommy and is big." "Does that make sense?" The teacher's lack of knowledge of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) resulted in a misunderstanding about what Tionna was communicating in her story. This interaction resulted in the teacher "correcting" Tionna's writing and therefore changing her voice. Across the transcripts, we see over and over again how Tionna's AAVE is treated as "incorrect;" whereas her self-corrections to Standard English earned praise. Although "her reading [and writing] suggested that sociolinguistic flexibility—code-switching and mixing—was becoming a part of her communicative repertoire" (p.990), this unfortunately, was not appreciated in her classroom. Freedman and Sperling (1985) also found that teachers' beliefs about student achievement came through in their talk with students. Although Freedman and Sperling's study takes place in a college classroom, a similar monolithic understanding of student achievement and learning is demonstrated. In this article, one college writing teacher's initial meetings with four students indicate assumptions around the abilities of students categorized as "lower achieving." With these students the instructor engaged in only surface level talk, while animated and extended conferences took place with the higher achieving students. Although in an interview conducted at the beginning of the study, the instructor reports intentions to treat students equally, the evidence presented to her by the researchers at the end of the study suggested otherwise and indicated that her practice was fueled by biases, not the egalitarian teaching agenda she claimed.

Many of the studies reviewed have explored (at times tangentially) teacher beliefs about writing instruction in the context of teacher-student conferences. However, the research rarely elaborates on the origin of these beliefs, and how the teachers' preparation refereed these beliefs. Denyer and Florio-Ruane (1995) add to this gap in their case study of a preservice teacher's struggle with the implementation of writing conferences. During her student teaching her cooperating teacher's instructional practices challenged what she understood about teaching and learning. In writing conferences she was "called on to listen and learn from students, not simply to tell them facts" (p. 542). When assessing them, she was encouraged to "elicit learners' reasoning and prompt them to think aloud about their texts in progress" (Murray, 1979). These expectations were in direct opposition to her previous understanding around what "school" looked it. At the end of her junior year, she was asked to reflect on a selection of her writing conferences; after closely examining her interactions with students she wished that she had given them more "talk time." At the time she was hesitant to give control of the conversation to the students. However over the course of the year, as she made sense of these new ways of thinking about teaching and learning, she saw the value of creating more space for students' voices.

Scholarship on writing conferences presents these speech events as opportunities to learn. However, we can't discount the authority, positioning and power that is imbedded within this discourse. In this dissertation the students at South Cardinal High come from non-dominant (Gutiérrez et al., 1995) backgrounds where their primary discourses (Gee, 2001) are often marginalized in schools. Through my analysis of interactions within writing conferences in relationship to whole class instruction and peer response groups, this study adds to what we know about how students are (re)positioned through dialogic and culturally sustaining discourses, and how this repositioning factors into students' development as writers.

Instruction Toward and Student Participation in Peer Response Groups

According to composition scholars the most meaningful learning is constructive, collaborative, and rooted within the social interactions of a classroom (Barnes, 1992;

Cazden, 2001; Dudley-Marling and Searle, 1991; Gere, 1987; Mercer, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978; Wells & Wells, 1984). Through talk students are empowered to take ownership of their learning by thinking more critically about their own ideas in relation to the world around them. The academic and developmental benefits of classroom talk are well documented; however, despite a long history of writing groups in the humanities, there is a dearth of empirical research supporting this structure in classroom settings.

Anne Ruggles Gere (1987) said in her seminal book, *Writing groups: History, theory and implications,* that "writing groups have existed as long as writers have shared their work with peers and received commentary on it" (Gere, 1987, p.9). However, since DiPardo and Freedman's (1988) review of peer response literature, few empirical studies have closely examined writing groups within standardized, highly tested K-12 schools, and how teachers support students' learning within these spaces.

In their review DiPardo and Freedman found substantial evidence that supported the implementation of peer response groups in writing classrooms: 1) response groups primarily function as a space for the responsibilities of response to be shared with students (Freedman, 1987); 2) these groups were used as a space for thinking and writing collaboratively (Bruffee, 1986; Gebhardt, 1980; Gere, 1987;), and 3) peer response groups support a re-envisioning of power and authorial relationships (Dyson 1988; Steinburg & Cazden, 1979). According to Freedman (1993) and Nystrand and Brandt (1989), students benefited from having an audience outside of their teachers, and the group setting provided them with more diverse perspectives and ideas about their writing. Many of the early studies centered around teachers' implementations of peer response groups, and spoke to how these groups "provide students with information about the meaning that their intended readers construct as they read" (Tang & Tithecott, 1999). These studies unpacked the challenges associated with peer response groups revealing this learning space as one that does not function without careful organization and thought.

Additionally, DiPardo and Freedman's (1988) review offered a rationale for why peer response groups are powerful spaces of learning for students, and why we may as a field want to distinguish between peer *groupings* and peer *dyads*. Although not many researchers studying peer response explicitly name this distinction, they determine from the reviewed literature that the dynamics between peer dyads and response groups are quite different—dyads often mimicking the teacher-student hierarchy (Brannon and Knoblauch, 1984; Damon, 1984; Spear,1984) and response groups encouraging a more democratic dynamic (Damon, 1984). Spear (1984) also found that there are more complicated interactions in a group setting, and students benefit from the additional perspectives which enable them to "reflect with detachment upon the value of one's ideas" (p. 74). For these reasons, I have limited my selection of studies to only those that center around peer response *groups*.

In the following sections I will first present research that speaks to how teachers have supported students' learning in peer response groups through whole class instruction, and then explore literature on what we know about student learning within peer response groups. In this second section I conclude with research conducted on multilingual populations, as my research site, according to district reports, has approximately 38% of its students labeled as "Limited English Proficiency." Both teachers in this study teach core English classes, which include students from a variety of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, some of which are classified as "Limited English Proficient." I suggest that across these areas of research a common understanding around instructional practices used to support peer response groups and the opportunities for learning within peer response groups will develop. I also believe that despite what we know from this

scholarship, further research is needed to understand how teachers can support students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds develop as writers in peer response/writing groups.

Writing instruction that supports student learning within peer response groups

According to writing teacher, Heather E.B. Brunjes, National Writing Project director, and peer response group guru, one of the main reasons peer response groups are so rarely used in K-12 classrooms is because many teachers consider it to be "the most difficult thing writing teachers can do" (Brunjes, 1993, p.20). Brunjes (1993) speculated the main difficulty is the inherent shift of power and control that comes with peer response groups. The authoritative discourse around bad teachers is their poor "classroom management." In fear of being condemned for classrooms that *seem* to be out of control, teachers, despite their better judgement, will leave little room in their classrooms for student voice (Brunjes, 1993; Spear, 1993). Additionally, teachers who do try and implement peer response groups often do so alone, and without the help of others. "Often teachers implement peer response groups in their classrooms, and struggle with student talk, engagement, and writing in these groups" (p.7), says Nicolas Meier, a disciple of Lucy Calkins. For these reasons, most teachers implement and then quickly abandon response groups, so they never end up experiencing the longitudinal benefits of this participation structure. However, teachers keep trying to make space in their writing classroom for these groups, perhaps persuaded by "commonplace logic that supports the promises of collaborative work in the writing classroom" (Brunjes, 1993, p.21), and encouraged by the theoretical and practical perspectives that also support this practice (e.g. Gere, 1987; Spear, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978). Many researchers who study writing groups write for practitioners, perhaps to support the practice with theoretical and scholarly encouragement and perhaps

to show these teachers that they are not alone in their endeavor (Beth Kelly, 2015; Mclver & Wolf, 1999; Meier, 2001; Spear, 1988).

A number of practitioner-oriented papers report on the various ways teachers have designed curriculum and instruction to support students learning in peer response groups. The authors suggest practices such as modeling written response, fishbowl demonstrations, and writing conferences as a space to model effective response practices. Laura Beth Kelly (2015) and a middle school history teacher, Mr. Ryan, designed a series of instructional lessons that would "motivate students to engage in revision, increase their enjoyment of the writing process, and empower them to offer useful feedback to their peers" (p.81). Many of the lessons centered around how to respond to papers as readers. Mr. Ryan encouraged his students to respond to ideas not surface errors. Mr. Ryan and Kelly's overarching goal for the students was for them to understanding that "writing is a process and interaction between writers and readers" (p.83). The difficulty they both found was figuring out how to teach this. However, over the course of the year both Mr. Ryan and Kelly noticed heightened engagement during the revision process. When asked to reflect on what he learned from working with his peer response groups, one student said, "I looked at my work in a different perspective after reading [my peers'] comments. I thought about my essay critically as a reader more than a writer" (p.84). Kelly and Mr. Ryan found that students enjoyed the feedback they got from their peers, and were therefore more motivated to revise; however, peer response groups did not automatically connect writers with their reader audience, nor did they guarantee students would remember that writing is always a process. He found that in order for peer response groups to become a permanent practice in his classroom, students needed constant reminders of these things.

These studies call for close examination of the teaching that supports learning within peer response group spaces. Kelly's research suggests that in addition to

instructional lessons that support students learning, whole class instruction continually plays a role in students' development as writers in the space of peer response groups. By attending to how the teachers support students as writers in whole class instruction, teacherstudent writing conferences, and peer response/writing groups, this research contributes to what we know about how students learning develops across a multi-faceted learning context.

At times in student-centered classrooms, teachers will abstain from any kind of direct instruction and instead create opportunities for students to learn by observing each other. In a writing classroom that is supporting student learning in peer response groups, one teacher-researcher decided to split up his class and have half of his students observe and take notes on the other half who were participating in response groups (Meier, 2001). The observing students were to take notes on what they saw their peers do in the response groups. Although Meier had his fifth and sixth grade students engage in this process multiple times, each time with different group members, he was disappointed with the "schoolishness" (Whitney, 2011) of their talk. "It did not sound as if what they were asking were things they cared about…they were going through the motions" (p.14), Meier's wrote. In this case, although Meier's students were motivated, writing a lot, and enjoyed sharing their stories, the teacher had specific expectations and beliefs about the kind of talk he wanted to foster in their peer response groups. This research suggests a need for more explicit teacher instruction around how students could participate in the shared space of a peer writing group.

As writing researchers and teachers, Early and Saidy (2014) took up this call by investigating how a co-designed three-day multiple component feedback workshop would support high school writers' learning around revision. Their approach included on day 1, direct instruction, on day 2, peer feedback, and on day 3, peer feedback and individual

reflection. The researchers analyzed students' revisions to an argument essay and their understanding of what it means to revise. What was particularly significant was that between day 2 and day 3 the students started asking better questions, and "see the potential in their texts and the texts of others" (p.215). One student commented, "I was able to read other people's essays and get helpful ideas" (p.215), and others reported that reading each other's essays "gave [them] a measure of essay quality" (p.215). Early and Saidy (2014) found that this multi-component approach to feedback positively contributed to students understanding of revision. They also found that this approach opened up space for students, rather than teachers, to develop agency within the writing community.

Most educators know that community is an essential component of classroom learning (Kohn, 2006), one that requires time and trust to build. According to Gonzalez (2000), peer response groups are like small communities of writers within a classroom. In her case study of three writers, Gonzalez (2000) looked specifically at how students develop trust in the context of these groups, especially when they encounter struggle. As a participant-researcher in her study, she designed and facilitated a series of trust activities at the beginning of each peer response group meeting. She offered students strategies for how to read and respond to each other's writing. For example, one of the stronger writers in the group found it difficult to trust his peers' suggestions because he didn't consider them to be strong writers. Gonzalez told him that response is not always about "find[ing] things to change, but that they could also find things they liked. The peer group could then be used to further blossoming ideas" (p.64). Suggestions like this supported the writers' development of mutual dependence on each other, while also helping each develop their own writing ability. The researchers established how peer response can help students develop more agency as writers and readers in a writing community. Both studies found that when the teacher was removed, the students learned to revise together as a group, and each member developed a stronger paper.

In other writing classrooms, teachers may teach a short lesson that models for their class a strategy or skill that the students will practice independently. These short lessons often occur in a workshop classroom (R. Bomer, 2011; Calkins, 1986), and are followed by independent work time where teachers meet with students one-on-one and conference with them. This teacher-student conference space is another place where teaching and modeling may occur. In their research, Mclver & Wolf (1999) and Hacker (1994) examine teacher-student writing conferences as a space for teaching into students' talk within peer response groups. Hacker (1994) designed a quasi-experimental study that compared students' drafts and revisions after participating in both teacher-student writing conferences and peer response groups to students who had only participated in peer response groups. For both groups of students, Hacker made recommendations for how to conduct peer response groups. These included reminding students that they were expected to be both a responder and writer; that for both roles they should ask questions; and that there should be an emphasis on revision and not editing. He then implemented one round (writing assignment #1) of peer response groups (taken as pre-test data) in both his control and treatment group; both groups were told that peer response time was their time and that "they were free to structure their remarks in any way that they thought appropriate" (p.6). After this first round of peer response groups, Hacker conducted writing conferences in his treatment group. For the next two rounds (i.e. writing assignment #2 & 3) the treatment group regularly engaged in both teacher-student writing conferences and then moved into their peer response groups. Results from the study show that the students who received writing conferences "by a fair margin" provided better comments about revision and asked better questions. Students in the treatment group also used more suggestions from their

peers in their final papers. However, Hacker also found that there was great variation across peer response groups, and recommended that more teaching around peer response was needed.

Researchers, Mclver & Wolf (1999), also examine peer response groups in a classroom that employed teacher-student writing conferences. However, in this primary classroom, the researcher also draws our attention to the literate-rich environment where students are given multiple opportunities to interact with each other and their texts. Although this paper focuses just on the discourses within teacher-student writing conference and peer response groups, it suggests a possible connection with what students are learning from whole class instruction. The teacher participant in this study drew on Calkins (1986) workshop approach to writing instruction, where a foundational component of this approach is the teacher-student writing conference. In these conferences, she followed the advice of writing-conference gurus (Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983) and kept her conferences to under five minutes, "pack[ing] [them] with practical information which the students immediately put to use" (p.57). She also saw great power in asking thought-provoking questions of her students, a practice that her students took with them into their conversations with their peers. The student participants "recognized that they were members of a community, and that writing conferences and revision were central to their roles as readers, writers, and peers" (p.60). These students reported that the writing conference gave them confidence to develop their voice as a writer. One student said matter-a-factly in an interview, "[teacher and peer] conferences and the resulting work of revision 'just make our piece stronger'" (p.60). Unlike Mr. Ryan in Kelly's (2015) study, the students without explicit instruction mimicked the discourse of their teacher's writing conferences in their own peer conferencing.

In writing classrooms, the possibilities and spaces for student learning are plentiful. Much research that concentrates on the learning within peer response groups has morphed into studies that also look at the teaching that supports student learning within these collaborative spaces. A variety of instructional practices such as teacher recommendations (Hacker, 1994), peer group to peer group observations (Meier, 2001), direct instruction around how to respond to writing (Kelly, 2015), and teacher-student writing conferences (Hacker, 1994; Mclver & Wolf, 1999) illustrate the continual effort made to *teach* students how to use each other to support their writing development. My research builds on the work of those researchers who looked at whole class instruction or teacher-student writing conferences as specific interactional spaces for students to learn from, and provide insight into how the three interactional spaces—whole class instruction, teacher-student writing conferences, and peer response groups—work together to support students' development as writers.

Writing development within peer response groups

Many teachers who spend time responding to student writers and their writing are doing so to support their students' writing development. A number of researchers have looked into how peer response serves to support these same efforts. Two different comparative studies of college students looked at peer talk in relationship to students' understanding of revision as both a reader and writer. Hewett's (2000) took a mixed methods approach to explore interactive oral and CMC (computer mediated communication) generated peer response, revealing that the medium of peer response changes the form and function of the students' comments and questions. Hewett studied two sections of students enrolled in her Argumentative Writing course. In one section, she asked students to form peer response groups through a CMC program. In the other section, the students formed face-to-face peer response groups. Over the course of the semester, Hewett recorded and analyzed the talk and the written drafts within both groups. The study revealed that both groups talked about their writing, but oral talk focused more on "global idea development," whereas CMC talk "focused on concrete writing issues and group management" (p.262). The oral talk was more "ongoing, spontaneous with interruptions and hesitations" (p.275) and the students not only commented on each other's writing, but also co-generated ideas. Hewett concluded that both mediums of peer talk influence revision, but the revision changes themselves were shaped by the different mediums.

Unlike Hewett, Nystrand and Brandt (1989) eliminated peer response from one group of composition students, comparing drafts and revisions across two different group experiences. The researchers examined 306 revisions across 91 students, and found that those students in the response group had more to say about their revision process, about their revision needs, and were able to "more accurately estimate the strengths and weaknesses of their papers as judged by independent readers" (p.203). Each study in this section speaks to the improvement in the students' writing when students participate in peer response groups; additionally, and maybe, more importantly, the researchers also show how through this collaborative experience students' identities as writers develops into more independent, and cooperative individuals.

One of the unforeseen benefits of peer response groups is what they do for students who are positioned as reader, and how that then improves their writing. Across studies researchers found that students developed identities as readers, identified as members of a writing community, and paid more attention to their real or imaginary audience during their writing process (Denyer & LaFleur, 2001; Ellerbe, 2012; Launspach, 2008; Lundstrom & Baker, 2009; Nystrand, 1986b). In their eighth grade writing workshop classroom, Denyer & LaFleur (2001) set out to better understand students' talk about writing, and how that talk did or did not support their growth as writers. The researchers focused on one peer response group they called "The Eliot Conference," because of the disagreement and discord that seemed to develop. Denver and LaFleur found that despite the tension in the group, the students used process strategies taught in mini-lessons, and language from their teacher's writing conferences to sustain their conversation. The students in the group did not agree with each other and the writer. Eliot adamantly resisted one particular piece of feedback his peers were giving him (to add detail to his characters). However, despite the discord, the students passionately responded to Eliot, and argued for their rights as a reader to fully understand the story. As researchers, Denyer and LaFleur (2001) witnessed how writing in this classroom was not a solitary act, but one that existed as part of a community. Additionally, they saw how students engaged in complicated discussions about each other's writing, and learned to "listen and read critically and to formulate reasoned response to texts" (p.37). As discussed above, students draw from various instructional practices in their classroom, and take up both the ideas and language from these spaces to support their learning in peer response groups (Hacker, 1994; Kelly, 2015; Mclver & Wolf, 1999).

Marcie Knox Ellerbe also found that her fifth-grade participants were able to use response in flexible ways to support self-identified needs throughout their writing process, and develop their understandings of the reciprocal nature of reading and writing. Across all members of the response group, "students came to understand that the role of the responder was to offer constructive feedback that supported the writer's intentional work instead of just listening to a sharing of the writer's piece" (p.190). Each member of the researcher's case study accepted that part of their responsibility in their response group was to offer constructive feedback that supported the writer's progression through the writing process. They also began "thinking like a reader," as one students explains her thoughts: I'm kind of looking for "OK that doesn't make sense there" or "That shouldn't go there" or "That should be moved." I'm thinking like a reader like and I'll say "OK that sounds good, that doesn't sound good, or I don't think that should be there" (Marcie–Natalie, Final, p. 10).

These studies explore an aspect of a writer's identity, not often acknowledged by teachers, their role as a reader. Nystrand (1986) also found students learned how to read as a writer through his comparison of drafts and revisions—one draft containing teacher's feedback and one draft revised after participating in their peer response group. Nystrand observed that the kind of response students provided was different from the teacher's more technical comments, and that the students positioned themselves as authentic readers of the text during their response group. Even when a student didn't think they needed help or support, they found the different perspective their peers offered surprisingly beneficial. After one student writer shared her writing about van Gogh's *Starry Night*, a topic that she considered herself an expert on, she realized that she had omitted important contextual information that a reader without as much knowledge as she would need to understand her writing. Without her peers, the authentic audience she needed, she never would have incorporated those two paragraphs explaining van Gogh's painting and madness.

Peer response groups and multilingual students

The studies thus far demonstrate that peer response is beneficial for students' development as a writer within the context of English Language Arts or college composition classrooms. Research conducted over the last decade has shifted to focus on L2 (second language) environments, where scholars examine the interactions between writers for improvement in oral fluency and writing development (Choi, 2014; Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Meier, 2001; Spence, 2003; Zhu, 2001). Earlier studies (Edelsky,1986; Prater & Bermudez, 1993) conducted in L2 classes suggested that instruction also needed

to shift from teacher led to student-led pedagogy. These researchers found that peer response groups helped with students' oral fluency, while also supporting their writing.

Spence (2003) builds on these studies in her examination of writers in her own L2 fourth grade Language Arts class. Her article centers on the interactions of one group of twelve students as they look at one student writer's story. Through her qualitative analysis of classroom artifacts, interviews, and recordings of the response groups, she found that the power differential between the students and teacher constrained the students' ability to assert their opinions about their stories; however, in their writing groups there was less risk for the students to express their ideas, ask questions and be vulnerable. This study has important implications for response and the authority a teacher implicitly holds in the classroom, especially with vulnerable populations who may feel more hesitate to use their voice in this academic space.

In a comparative study conducted in an L2 college classroom, Zhu (2001) investigates three response groups made up of both native and non-native English speakers. After all groups watch a "Beginning Writing Group" video and subsequently discuss the purpose of these groups, the students provide both oral and written feedback to each other. Zhu compared the interactions and kind of feedback (language functions or global comments) between native and non-native speakers, examining both kinds of response. He found that non-native speakers took fewer turns and produced fewer language functions (pointing, announcing, reacting, questioning), and although responding to the written feedback given to them by their peers, they did not clarify their meaning for their peers in their talk. Across the native and non-native English speakers, both groups offered similar amounts of global feedback, and focused much less on local comments in their written feedback. Both groups also had difficulty eliciting feedback in the response.

Within this literature on teacher-student writing conferences and the learning and teaching around peer response groups, there are still areas that deserve further exploration that my study contributes to. First of all, there is a paucity of research conducted in high schools with culturally and linguistically diverse students. Research on writing instruction in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms argues for further research on contexts, "where students write, how they negotiate those spaces, and how they negotiate contextual actors they encounter" (Kinloch & Brukhard, 2016, p.379). This study contributes to this call by studying writing groups that are designed as spaces for humanization, but in the context in school. The schooling context in this study is weighted down by high stakes testing and standardized curriculum, both of which influence how much control students are given over their learning, and how students are assessed on a day-to-day basis. The contradictions inherent in this study design—humanizing writing groups within dehumanizing school context-offers nuance and complexity to the study of peer response/writing groups. For this reason, I suggest this research contributes to the promising area of research that explores how writing instructors support nondominant students learning in peer/writing groups. In the next chapter on methodology, I describe and discuss the strategy of inquiry I took to study teachers' instruction to support students' learning in writing groups, and students' subsequent participation and engagement in those groups.

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework and Research Design

THE BEGINNINGS: STUDYING WRITING INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT THROUGH COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY

Prior to and in conjunction with my dissertation research, I facilitated a study group around writing instruction and assessment with five⁶ teachers. I describe the study group as background context in this dissertation, because this group was crucial to the teaching and curriculum implemented in the four secondary ELA classes.

As a pilot study, the year prior to my dissertation research, I inquired into the teachers' study of and learning around their own response practices through a collaborative assessment of student work. This group consisted of teachers from a local National Writing Project (NWP) site and teachers I met through the University's urban teacher preparation program. Each teacher expressed interest in learning more about appreciative assessment practices in a community that valued antideficit perspectives (Warrington, 2016; Fowler-Amato & Warrington, 2017). Over the course of the 2016-2017 school year we met on average, twice a month, read conceptual and empirical articles about response to writing (e.g., Bardine, Bardine, & Deegan, 2000; Wilson, 2007), and collaboratively examined student work and audio/video recordings of their teacher-student writing conferences. From this study of response, we developed shared understandings around the role of talk and response in students' writing lives, and in Spring 2017 we commenced developing curriculum to support students' learning in writing groups.

⁶ The year prior to my dissertation only four teachers were in the study group. Dana joined the group for only the dissertation-focused study group.

The impetus for designing this curriculum developed out of the teachers' conversations about how to bring writing groups⁷ into their classrooms, and how to shift some of the responsibility for response to students. Each teacher intentionally made space in their writing curriculum for writing for real purposes, in real genres, and for audiences outside of the teacher, and some had also previously tried to implement peer response groups; however, they had been quickly dissuaded with thoughts of chaos, wasted time, and general unproductivity, and had not followed through with the participation structure⁸. Therefore, both the designed curriculum and the study group itself were meant to support this problematic area—teachers' struggle to implement successful peer response groups—and empower teachers through a co-constructed curriculum that was theoretically and empirically-based. The teachers hoped that the writing groups would be both a collaborative structure for students to share and respond to each other's writing and a place for them to develop their identities and practices as independent readers and writers.

Beginning in August 2017, the five teachers and I spent fifteen hours designing, writing and revising curriculum to support students' learning in writing groups (see Table 3.1 for meeting schedule). During these initial meetings we read and discussed empirical research on peer response groups (e.g. Gere, 1987; Spear, 1988, 1993), designed drafts of the curriculum, and discussed how and when the curriculum would be implemented (see Appendix A for the first two days of meetings and an overview of our curriculum).

⁷ At this point, we were calling these student groups, peer response groups which was the term many of them had heard of and/or experienced in school. We later changed this name to writing groups, because they better reflected the pedagogical goals developed by the teachers.

⁸ Victoria was an exception to this statement. She had previous experience with peer response groups in her creative writing class, but had never tried them in her "on-level" English classes.

Meeting #/Month	Meeting activities/purpose
Meeting 1-49	Reflected on motivations for implementing PRGs in their classroom.
(August ¹⁰)	Came to some collective understandings around what research tells us
	about PRGs.
	Explored our pedagogical goals and curriculum for PRGs.
	Continued expanding our understandings of PRGs.
	Individual work: Wrote minilessons (due 8/25)
Meeting 5	Reviewed and revised curriculum: responded to each other's written
(September)	minilessons; revised and reworked list of minilessons based on
	reflections from the first week of school.
Meeting 6	Used student data to reflect on writing group instruction and curriculum.
(October)	Victoria brought in a video of students talking in writing groups.
Meeting 7	Used student data to reflect on writing group instruction and curriculum.
(December)	Caitlin and Dana brought in videos of students talking in writing groups.
Meeting 8	Used student data to reflect on writing group instruction and curriculum.
(March)	Astrid brought in a video of students talking in writing groups.
Meeting 9 (April)	See, Think, Wonder Thinking Routine.
	What did you see in the writing groups in your classrooms?
	What did your writing group work make you think about?
	What are you still wondering about writing groups?
Meeting 10 (May)	Celebrated and reflected on learning across the year.

Table 3.1: Study Group Meeting Schedule (2017-2018)

During the design process, I was an observant-participant (Johnstone, 1996). I coordinated our meetings, suggested agenda items to keep us focused on our pedagogical goals, and provided relevant resources for the teachers to read in support of the design of our curriculum. However, it was the teachers' thinking, and their individual and shared goals that guided our discussion and design of the curriculum. During our discussions of readings about the theoretical and pedagogical reasons for peer response groups, I offered suggestions based on my knowledge of the subject; however, when the teachers began

⁹ Meetings 1-5 were three hours long. All subsequent meetings were 1.5 to 2 hours.

¹⁰ August Workshop Schedule is in Appendix XX

designing the curriculum, I limited my engagement to responses to comments or questions directed at me. As an observant-participant, I took field notes to document their thinking over the course of the meetings; however, I intentionally limited my contributions as I wanted to make sure they felt ownership of the curriculum and instruction they planned. Additionally, I think researchers need to be conscious of the ascribed power that comes with the label "researcher" and I wished to create space for these teachers to inquire into, reflect upon, and redesign their teaching practices. These practices, Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) suggests, are necessary characteristics of "good teaching."

STUDY PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to better understand how teachers plan for and enact writing instruction to support students' participation and learning as writers in and across secondary writing groups. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, peer response and writing group research, especially in culturally and linguistically diverse populations, has failed to account for the many complex and dynamic variables that shape students' participation in writing groups. Contextual variables are pertinent to sociocultural writing research, and recognizing these variables aligns with trends in literacy and composition research that understand "discursive situations and writing processes as comprised of complex social situated constituted networks rather than [ones] statically contained" (Hobmeier, 2014, p.53).

My study will explore these ideas and investigate the following questions:

- In classroom settings where teachers use a process approach to writing, what elements of humanizing instruction emerge?
- How do teachers understand and teach about the role of response groups within their approach to writing instruction?

• What knowledge, practices, tools and discourses do students learn in these classrooms and other educational spaces, and how do these shape their participation in writing groups?

STRATEGY OF INQUIRY

My strategy of inquiry takes a qualitative ecological approach, which foregrounds the relationship between discourses and their relationship to the world (Dobrin & Weisser, 2002), and draws on ethnographic methods and discourse traditions for data analysis. Within composition studies, an ecological design has emerged as a methodological framework that emphasizes the relationships between what students write and the physical and imagined places they inhabit. As a methodological design this focuses my inquiry on the activity and locations of text production (both oral and written) as well as all the other environments that affect and are affected by the production of discourse (Dobrin & Weisser, 2002). As a critical qualitative researcher, I consider my inquiry into the relationship between the environment and discourse subsuming culture, as environments are constituted by race, class, culture and gender. Because ecological theories highlight the "impact of the spaces in which discourse occurs" (Dobrin & Weisser, 2002, p.9), understanding these relationships is crucial to understanding students' interactions within and across school spaces.

Within the larger ecological framework, I studied the writing group phenomenon through an embedded multicase study design (Stake, 2005). According to Stake (2005), multicase research starts with the object or phenomenon being studied, and although we may study single cases, "the ultimate question shifts from 'What helps us understand the case?' toward 'What helps us understand the [phenomenon]?'" (p.6). To investigate the writing group phenomenon within an ecological framework, where contextual variables

and discourse are foregrounded, it made sense to employ case study methods as well. This in depth look at the interactions between students and teachers across various classroom spaces afforded an understanding of the way teachers' dialogic and humanizing instruction constrained and afforded students' learning and development as writers. The two teachers, Victoria, a ninth grade ELA teacher, and Dana, an eleventh grade ELA teacher, are my largest unit of analysis, and within each case are two embedded cases of classes (Figure 3.1).

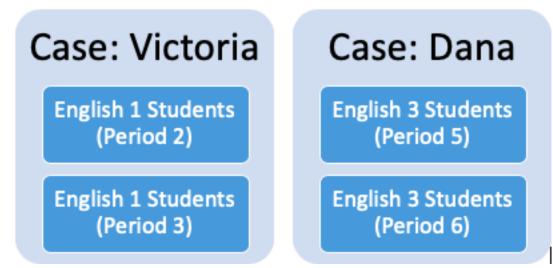


Figure 3.1: Multicase Study Design: Units of Analysis

I selected my teacher participants because of their sociocultural approach to writing instruction, their expressed commitments to creating spaces in their classrooms for student voice and agency, and their willingness to implement writing groups in classes that have been traditionally taught from transmission models of instruction. For each teacher, using convenience sampling (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014; Stake, 2005), I selected two of their English classes to focus on; each focal class was an embedded case.

The embedded design allowed for sensitivity in understanding and focusing on each case. Within each case I analyzed the following: the writing groups (i.e. interactions

between peers during this particular communicative event), teacher and student interactions across instructional spaces and participation structures, teachers' perspectives on writing instruction and students' perspectives on their identities and learning about writing.

To conclude this section and transition into the next, I want to acknowledge that collecting and reporting social and cultural information about the participants and institutions is fraught with power disparities. The methods of data collection and analysis, and a researcher's process of reporting is imbued with both theoretical and methodological commitments. I take a humanizing stance in my research and attempt to make visible my participants throughout this process. I saw them as partners, not subjects to critique and evaluate, and "aimed to humanize the research process through reciprocal relationships with participants grounded in dignity, care, and consciousness-raising" (Paris, 2011). However, although I strove for humanization through authentic conversations and participation in both the teacher and students' social and cultural worlds, I also realize that I could not completely ameliorate the power disparities between us. In following sections I discuss my research methods for the study: a) research site and participants, b) researcher positionality, c) data collection and analysis, d) methodological concerns and limitations.

RESEARCH SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

South Cardinal High

South Cardinal High is a large school in a small district just south of a mid-size southwestern city in the United States. The district has one high school, three middle schools and eight elementary schools. Although the district is in a rural area, the high school has many characteristics that are reminiscent of a stereotypical low-income urban school, the first of which is its acute focus on test scores. Across the school, the teaching and learning was dictated by the district calendar of standardized tests. South Cardinal in 2018 had a 49% pass rate for the English 1 state test and in 2017 a 51% pass rate. In addition to the annual exams, students were also subjected to monthly benchmark testing and mock state testing. Over the course of the year, I counted 27 instructional days missed due to these tests.

The student population was made up of 3,125 students, however the difference between the number of students entering as a ninth grader and the students entering as a twelfth grader is notable. In 2018 South Cardinal reported to the Texas Education Agency that 1,005 students enrolled as ninth graders, however only 632 enrolled as twelfth graders. The eleventh grade students spoke to me about this attrition rate during an early interview, saying that by the eleventh grade, most of the "problem students" had already dropped out," so that the students in their classes "were chill and cared about school" (Interview, Evan, Oct 5, 2017).

Additional student demographic data reported through the Texas Education Agency website described the students at South Cardinal as 70.6% economically disadvantaged, 20.2% English Learners (EL), 68.9% "at risk," 83.3% Hispanic, 9.8% African American, 4.9% White, 0.2% American Indian, 0.7% Asian, 0.1% Pacific Islander, and 1.1% two or more races. I report these state-assigned labels, not because they accurately represent how students identified themselves, but because they represent how the student body was perceived by outsiders, which shaped the ways students perceived themselves and how they interacted within and across their social and cultural worlds.

Relevant to my site selection was a partnership between South Cardinal and a local National Writers Project (NWP) site. The English department was the beneficiary of an NWP multi-year grant, which provided both departmental professional development and one-on-one coaching for South Cardinal teachers. According to the local NWP site website, their mission was to provide opportunities for teachers to engage in: continuous, connected learning across time and build leaders in the teaching of writing. [NWP site] teacher consultants model writing workshop sessions in K-12 classrooms, coach teachers to design and implement curriculum in process writing, and support teachers as they engage in professional inquiry, reflection, and revision of their practices in the teaching of writing.

In part, due to this grant, the study participants, both the teachers and older students, had familiarity with writing workshop and process coming into the study.

Teacher Participants

I selected Dana and Victoria from the five teachers in my study group. As mentioned above the teachers in my student group were invited from two professional learning communities that I was already a part of: our local NWP site and the University's urban teacher preparation program. Victoria and Dana were selected because they both taught at the same school, and I was struck by their commitments to equity and justiceoriented writing instruction. I also knew from previous research I had done on their urban teacher preparation program that they were reflective individuals who enjoyed and hungered for authentic conversations about both their teaching practice and students. In alignment with my humanizing stance as a researcher, I wanted to work with teachers who wished to engage in a dialogic inquiry into their practice with me. Below I provide relevant personal and professional information about each teacher participant.

Dana got her Masters in Education in May 2014, and was in the first cohort in the University's urban teacher preparation program. Upon graduation she was hired at South Cardinal to teach grades 9-12, on-level and pre-AP¹¹. During the year I was in her classroom she taught eleventh grade on-level classes and a dual credit course called

¹¹ Like most schools, South Cardinal had tracked classes. The general level class was called "on-level" and then there was a pre-AP track for 9th and 10th graders and an AP track for 11th and 12th graders. During the year I collected data, the high school adopted an OnRamps program which was a collaboration between the high school and local university where students could get college credits for a specialized 11th grade English class. Dana also taught one of these classes.

OnRamps. She described the on-level designation as classes that were populated with students who "would be ones that have traditionally not done very well in English classes, so it's been a lot of work with students that are on the cusp of maybe dropping out of high school" (interview, 7/17/17). Dana employed both reading and writing workshop approaches (R.Bomer, 2011; Calkins, 1994; Graves, 1983) to instruction. She encouraged her students to make decisions about their learning and invited them to share their voices and opinions within and outside of the classroom community. During her third year at South Cardinal she became the eleventh grade Professional Learning Community (PLC) lead. In this role she facilitated a daily PLC meeting and supported other eleventh grade teachers with curriculum development and instruction. She fueled the responsibilities embedded in this role by continuing her own professional learning, such as participating in both the NWP and National Endowment for the Humanities summer institutes.

Before getting her Masters in Education from the same University program as Dana, Victoria worked in a women's shelter. However, upon graduation she got hired at South Cardinal and at the time of data collection was beginning her third year teaching in their English department. Victoria taught ninth grade English, Sheltered English, and a creative writing course that she developed during her second year teaching. During her second year of teaching, she briefly tried implementing writing groups in both her English 1 and creative writing class, but after one week, she discontinued the practice because "it just wasn't working" (field notes, 8/1/17). Victoria worked within a strong community of teachers from her urban teacher preparation program, and used the support of her community to advocate for her students' rights and learning. This included celebrating their accomplishments at school board meetings, resisting growing class sizes that could hurt the community her students had built, and inviting colleagues and administrators into her classroom in an effort to model for her colleagues what workshop instruction looked like.

Student Participants

Student participants in the study were enrolled in Dana's English 3 Period 5 and Period 6 course and Victoria's English 1 Period 2 and Period 3. All students were invited to participate during the first week of school. I was hesitant to limit participation because of the reputation the school had for low attendance and attrition. Table 3.2 represents the student participants organized by class. In the fall, the teachers and I decided together on students to interview. I relied heavily on the teachers' recommendations, while letting them know that, if possible, I wanted my participant pool to represent diverse interests and relationships with writing and school. I also wanted to make sure that both male and female perspectives were represented, which worked out better in the eleventh grade than the ninth grade. It wasn't until the second semester of data collection that I made determinations around specific writing groups to focus my analysis on. These decisions were dependent on consent, students' attendance history, teacher recommendations and my concurrent analysis.

	Period 2	Period 3	Period 5	Period 6
Total Class Size	38	42	3312	35
Total Student Participants	16	19	16	20
Students'	7	6	13	9
Interviewed	(6 female, 1 male)	(4 female, 2 male)	(7 male, 6 female)	(5 male, 4 female)
Focal Writing Groups ¹³	2	2	2	2

Table 3.2: Student Participants

Researcher Positionality

In this section I'd like to take a moment and extrapolate the ways my agenda as a researcher and my experiences and perspectives as a human being could have impacted participants during data collection. Across these first three chapters I have made an effort to make clear my theoretical and methodological commitments to enacting humanizing research that disrupt normative and dominant discourses around schooling, teaching, learning and identity. In this section I insert my personal and professional experiences to make visible the inherent bias and subjectivity that comes with qualitative research.

¹² These numbers changed drastically across the year. Between the beginning and end of the year the classes fluctuated between 42 and 24 (at their smallest). This difference is not due to daily attendance issues, but due to kids dropping out, enrollment in alternative campuses, disciplinary referrals, movement between academic tracks, etc. Additionally, the administration told both teachers that their numbers would drop after the first week of school, because the school counselors would not look at enrollments across the various courses to determine class size and teacher load until the end of the first month of school. Both teachers suggested that they would have students who "just don't show up."

¹³ Writing groups in the ninth grade were made up of 3-4 students, whereas groups in the eleventh grade had 4-6 students in each.

Throughout data collection, I felt a certain solidarity with both the teachers and students at South Cardinal High. The first job I had as a teacher (teaching Henry) was in a school with similar demographics and struggles as South Cardinal, and because of this I felt like an insider to the school community overall. I also felt a sense of understanding and closeness to the students, in part because I had some inside knowledge to the ways in which they were positioned by society. As a multiracial young person growing up in a town and at a time when multiracial people were not represented in my local community, on television, or in books, I often felt like an outsider to dominant culture. Then as an adult, raising a child as a young single mother, I saw once again the ways that society normalizes heteronormative parenting, and how marginalized I felt for not raising a child within that normative family structure. Of course, it would be problematic for me to compare or align the ways I consider myself an outsider with the ways students at South Cardinal High might consider themselves outsiders, mostly because of the enormous privileges I am afforded. For example, growing up with parents who are both college-graduates, coming from a middle-class background, speaking in both my home and community a fairly standard form of English, as well as the privileges afforded to me by the way I look—the color of my skin, the size of my body, the absence of physical disabilities, etc. However, despite these privileges, as a researcher, the strong connection I felt to both the students and teachers supported my efforts to work in opposition to forces that work to dehumanize them through the research process, and create space for authentic conversations that were grounded in care, dignity and respect.

Additionally, the seven years of high school classroom teaching experience and my five years working within and across teacher preparation programs and other college writing contexts informed my perspective on writing instruction and the tools and protocols around critical reflection and response that I used with the teachers in the study group and

the teacher participants in my study. Furthermore, while in Texas, I've worked closely with the urban teacher preparation program and our local NWP site, as have, in varying capacities, both Dana and Victoria. For example, Dana, Victoria and I all participated in the NWP summer institute together, and for two years I was a researcher on another study where Dana and Victoria were participants. These experiences gave me insight into Dana and Victoria as students, preservice teachers, writers, social justice educators, and most importantly led me to my selection of them as participants in this study. It was across these contexts that I learned of their commitments to repositioning students who are seen through deficits, and their wish to provide transformative learning opportunities for students through talk, rigorous literacy curriculum, and choice.

STUDY DESIGN

Through an ecological, embedded multicase study framework, I studied the enactment of a collaboratively designed writing group curriculum across one academic school year. I focused my inquiry on understanding the various contextual variables that shaped students' learning in writing groups across four classes. This included formally studying the physical space of the classroom, the teachers' writing instruction (even when the instruction was not focused around the writing group event), teachers' and students' assessment practices, and students' and teachers' language in use. I also informally studied teacher-student interactions outside of class time, but within the school day. Through a combined effort of data sources—field notes, video and audio recording, artifact collection, interviews—and prolonged engagement in the research site, my intention was to better understand how writing groups operate within the larger structures and discourses of the classroom and school during the 2017-2018 school year. In the next section I explicate my data collection and analysis methods.

Data Collection Methods

Site Entry

From August 29, 2017 through September 12, 2017, I attended Dana and Victoria's classes¹⁴ with the purpose of getting to know the classroom space and students. During these two weeks I interacted with students, sat at their tables, and supported teachers by informally checking in with students. Although I had a notebook with me, my field notes during class were limited to quick jottings, that I would later expand between classes and after school. Marshall & Rossman (2011) said that entering the field requires patience and flexibility because trust and confidence take time to build. Due to my familiarity with high school students I anticipated this trust would take time, so I did my best to diminish my authority in the classrooms, listen and support, and be consistently present so that students based on trust and mutual respect, so that they would eventually feel comfortable talking with me about their identities as writers, their learning in the class, and their lives in general.

During these first two weeks of site entry, I developed a routine for data collection, which I followed for the rest of the year (Table 3.3). Approximately four days a week, for a total of 99 school days, I collected data at South Cardinal High. Although I set out to study how the teachers taught into writing groups, during the months of September, October and November only one writing group meeting took place. Therefore, my dissertation shifted slightly to focus on the teachers' overall writing instruction, with writing groups as a central focus of that instruction. Additionally, I also collected data during Victoria's book club unit and

¹⁴ Prior to site entry I chose two classes from each teacher's schedule to study (a total of four classrooms) based on convenience sampling. Because I want to observe each class three to four days a week, I chose classes based on the teachers' schedules and my own teaching schedule so that I could spend two full periods with Dana and two full periods with Victoria each day.

Period/Time		Research Activity
English 1/Period 2:	9:20AM - 10:10AM	Collect data in Victoria's class
Cardinal Time:	10:15AM - 10:45AM	Informal conversations with students
English 1/Period 3:	10:50AM – 11:40AM	Collect data in Victoria's class
Lunch:	11:45AM – 12:15PM	Debrief with Victoria
Break:	12:15PM – 12:45PM	Expand field notes/analytic memoing
Lunch:	12:50PM – 1:15PM	Debrief/informal conversations with Dana
English 3/Period 5:	1:20PM – 2:10PM	Collect data in Dana's class
English 3/Period 6:	2:15PM – 3:05PM	Collect data in Dana's class
English 3 PLC:	3:10PM - 4:00PM	Debrief with Dana/Observe 30min of PLC
		meeting

 Table 3.3: Sample Day of Data Collection

Dana's language inquiry unit because I felt the data might be useful in understanding students' interactions and language practices in other educative spaces.

In addition to the research conducted in English 1 and English 3 classes, Cardinal Time, lunch and English 3 PLC meetings were fruitful times for informal conversations with teachers and students. Cardinal Time was a 30 minute announcement/study hall mishmash of a period that students rotated through each week. For example, on Monday, students would have Cardinal Time with their Period 1 teacher, Tuesday, with their Period 2 teacher, Wednesday with their Period 3 teacher, and so on. As a researcher, this meant that twice during a seven day cycle (because there were seven periods) I got to spend an extra thirty minutes with my students. During the fall semester I used this time to get to know students. During the spring semester I would often conduct

interviews or informally follow up with students if I had a question about their work in class. During lunch periods I sat with Victoria and Dana. Upon reflection, I am so thankful for those 20-30 minutes we got to spend together each day. Lunch with Victoria was often a rather intense debrief, troubleshooting and reflecting on the previous two periods. I tried to act as a thinking partner for her, especially when she was struggling with a student or lesson, and she acted as one for me as well (see section on "Member Checking" at end of chapter). After these lunches she would have to switch gears and teach her elective class, and I would scurry to the library and try to capture our conversation in my expanded field notes. I would then go and sit with Dana while she ate lunch, and she would tell me what she had planned for class, how the day was going, and give me any updates on students I knew, etc. After her 6th period class, we would often spend a few minutes debriefing, but these conversations were always more rushed because Dana was PLC lead and had to get ready for their English 3 meeting. She also always had seniors whom she had taught the year before try and skip class and hide in her classroom (which she frequently let them do). These spaces where informal conversations with students and teachers took place were crucial sources of data that supported my understanding of the school and the teachers' classrooms as rich and complex, always moving, cultural spaces.

Data Sources

Guided by my theoretical and methodological frameworks, I employed multiple ethnographic tools to support my data collection. In my consideration of these tools, I tried to align them with my research questions in an effort to think about how the data source would help me answer my question. This process led me to eliminate video recording as a data source, because audio recordings would yield a better quality for discourse analysis and would be less intrusive to the participants (which was a concern). Table 3.4 illustrates which methodological tools were used to answer each question. I have coded tools as primary sources or secondary sources. A primary source is a tool that I focused on to answer my question, and secondary sources were to add context and/or triangulate my findings.

Data Sources	In classroom settings where teachers use a process approach to writing, what elements of humanizing instruction emerge?	How do teachers understand and teach about the role of response groups within their approach to writing instruction?	What knowledge, practices, tools and discourses do students learn in these classrooms and other educational spaces, and how do these shape their participation in writing groups?
Participant Obs/Field Notes	P ¹⁵	Р	Р
Audio Recordings of minilessons	Р	Р	S
Audio Recordings of writing groups	S	S	Р
Audio Recordings of teacher-student writing conferences	Р	Р	S
Student Artifacts (self-assessments, notebooks, process drafts)			S
Student interviews	S	S	Р
Teacher interviews	Р	Р	

Table 3.4: Research Questions and Data Sources

¹⁵ P = primary data source; S = secondary data source

Participant Observations and Field Notes

As a qualitative researcher, I was the "primary instrument" for both data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007). As a "Participant Observer" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), during all class activities, as well as before and after class, I was both collecting field notes and interacting with students. I enacted this researcher role by minimally assisting with instruction, but reacting to the context and people within the classroom as needed. Dyson and Genishi (2005) said the challenge of participant observation is "maintaining a balance between distance and intimacy," because as "researchers [we are a] certain kind of guest in a shared space, and some hosts are eager to be conversationalists" (p.58). This was certainly true, and across the year, with some students who began to see me as a confident, I had to negotiate how to maintain a trusting, caring and respectful relationship with students, while also remaining committed to fulfilling my research responsibilities.

Field notes were one of the most important methodological tools that allowed me to capture the cultural and social space of the classroom and school. During specific participation structures, such as minilessons, teacher-student writing conferences and writing groups, I would sit with students so I could best capture the smaller, often invisible interactions. When the teachers conferred with their students, I noted body language and physical movement between the two participants and took notes on what was happening in the rest of the class. I later used these notes to expand and contextualize the transcriptions of audio data. During the first few writing groups, I wrote field notes on as many groups as possible to support my sampling decisions. Once I selected writing groups to focus on more closely (not until Spring 2019), I would sit near the groups so that I could capture nonverbal communication and movement. Independent work time was the only time I did not sit at the kids table. Instead, I would sit on a stool in various corners around the room to capture students' movements and interactions at their tables, and make note of the

teacher's movements. Although it would be naïve to suggest that my presence did not, in part, shape those interactions, across the year, the students seemed to become used to my presence, to the point that there seemed to be no notable shift in discourse when I sat down at a table.

Audio Recordings

Of utmost importance to this study was the notion that writing development and learning necessitates social interaction and practices. Therefore, understanding how discourses (language-in-use) develop between participants—ways that discourses are scripted, unscripted, resisted or appropriated—was a crucial component of my study. In order to capture the ways participants used language to build meaning around writing, I audio recorded whole class minilessons, teacher-student writing conferences, all consenting students' writing groups, and many of the informal conversations I had with teachers and students.

Although I tried a few different kinds of audio recorders (including lapel mics and mp3 recorders), Zoom audio recorders and students' cell phones became indispensable tools that recorded most of the writing groups. I used two Zoom recorders to do most of my audio recording, one for each teacher. This helped me stay organized when I later had to transfer the files to my computer.

Interviews

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998) describe identities as "selfunderstandings that may guide subsequent behavior" (p.4). These self-understandings become "heuristic means [for people] to guide, authorize, legitimate, and encourage their own and others' behavior" (p.18). Because the ways people think of themselves influence how they speak, act, write, dress, listen, and so on, interviews are a powerful tool to gain insight into both student and teacher participants' identities. I conducted two semistructured interviews (Interview protocols are in Appendix B) with all teacher and student participants (Table 3.5). Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed during Summer 2018.

The semi-structured protocol allowed for a balance between focusing on topics/questions that would help me answer my research questions and flexible openendedness, which meant both explicitly inviting students to add or contribute comments or questions I had not thought to ask and implicitly letting students' interests and experiences develop in the open spaces for tangents.

Teacher interviews were done individually, and student interviews at the beginning of the year were done in focal groups, because I felt students would be more comfortable in a group setting. At the end of the year ninth grade students were interviewed individually, and eleventh grade students were interviewed in groups (a decision based on convenience/scheduling difficulties). I decided to interview participants at the beginning and end of the year because identities were constantly evolving and shifting, "develop[ing] in social practice," and because I wanted to capture possible changes/movement in perspective and self-understandings about writing across the year. Although I initially planned on interviewing the same students at the beginning and end of the year, because of absences and overall movement in class enrollment, I was able to do this for only 25% of the students.

Participant	Interview Dates	Gender	Grade/ Class	Self-Identified Racial Category
Victoria	10/13/17	F	Teacher	White
	5/31/18			
Dana	10/8/17	F	Teacher	White
	6/19/18			
Aden	4/9/18	М	Ninth/3 rd period	White
Eunice	4/25/18	F	Ninth/3 rd period	Mexican
Aaron	4/9/18	М	Ninth/3 rd period	Mexican/White
Yolanda	4/25/18	F	Ninth/3 rd period	Mexican
Dani	5/15/18	F	Ninth/3 rd period	Mexican
Vaughn	5/15/18	F	Ninth/3 rd period	Mexican
Ella	4/6/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Latina
Deshan	4/25/18	М	Ninth/2 nd period	Black
Tara	4/9/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Black
Shanti	5/7/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Black
Ami	2/20/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Mexican
	4/5/18		1	
Emmy	5/7/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Mexican
5	2/20/18		1	
Risa	2/20/18	F	Ninth/2 nd period	Mexican
Carmine	5/17/18	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Cuban
Lily	5/17/18	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Jacoby	5/17/18	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Izzy	12/15/17	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Elle	12/15/17	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
-	5/17/18		F F	
Emerson	5/17/18	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Lia	12/15/17	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Jada	12/15/17	F	Eleventh/5 th period	Black
Eli	5/17/18	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Alex	5/17/18	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
Ray	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
5	5/17/18		1	
Daron	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Cuban
	5/17/18		···· ··· ··· ···	
Jo	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Columbian
Evan	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/5 th period	Mexican
	5/17/18		1	
Rob	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/6 th period	White
	5/17/18		1	
Toby	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/6 th period	Mexican
Cole	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/6 th period	Mexican
Karl	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/6 th period	Mexican
Maddie	12/18/17	F	Eleventh/6 th period	Latina
Jose	12/18/17	М	Eleventh/6 th period	Mexican/White
Anita	12/18/17	F	Eleventh/6 th period	Mexican
	5/17/18		r · · ··	
Tali	12/18/17	F	Eleventh/6 th period	Cambodian
	5/17/18		r · · ··	

Table 3.5: Interview Participants

During the first round of teacher interviews the questions focused on their experiences, impressions and learning across teacher preparation and other inservice professional learning spaces; their teaching histories; their pedagogical beliefs and perspectives on teaching, learning and students; and specifically, their pedagogical beliefs and perspectives on writing pedagogy and response. During both informal debrief sessions and the end of the year interview, I used Retrospective Video¹⁶ Analysis (RVA) (Wetzel, Maloch & Hoffman, 2016) to help us look more closely at the interactions in a particular writing conference or writing group. The RVA protocol supported the teacher's reflection on the literacy event (Heath & Street, 1983), by inviting examination of what the interactants were doing/saying. It also supported refraction by pushing the teachers to move beyond the event and consider other possibilities for teaching and learning. I used this protocol in the study group that Victoria and Dana were a part of, when we, as a group, listened to writing group interactions: during lunch/after school debriefing conversations and during the second formal interview.

Student interviews took place during Cardinal Time and lunch periods, so were constrained by these predetermined blocks of time. During beginning of the year focal group interviews, questions focused on students' reading/writing identities, their experiences in school (both middle and high school), and their impressions of their 2017-2018 English class. End of the year interviews were more open-ended and invited students to talk candidly about their experiences in writing groups, offer suggestions for how teachers could better support their learning within both writing groups and other classroom

¹⁶ Modified for audio use.

spaces, and discuss how these groups helped develop their identities as writers, readers and learners.

Artifacts

Lisa Given (2008) said that artifacts are rich methodological tools that provide information that might not be gathered through interviews and observations. "They can be used to support or challenge other data sources..., to generate or confirm hunches, and to help provide thick descriptions of people and/or settings" (p.24). As a researcher investigating discourse both written and oral, artifacts were a useful tool for understanding teachers' writing instruction and students' identities and learning as writers. In addition to the teachers' curricular documents and photos of the classroom space, I collected from students: writers' notebooks, drafts of writing at various stages during the writing process, self-assessments, and a few miscellaneous pieces of student work from other units. (Appendix C includes a list of student artifacts, organized by case)

As mentioned above, students' self-assessments were one source of data used to explain what students understood about their learning, identities and practices as writers. Self-assessments took on a variety of forms, sometimes post-its to capture a student's quick thinking after a class activity, and other times larger questionnaires or Google Forms that were assigned at the end of each writing unit where students were asked to reflect on their writing process, reflect and assess their participation in writing groups and provide feedback to the teacher about the class. Both teachers gave students the entire class to complete these reflective self-assessments, although students only took between 15-20 minutes to complete them (field notes, e.g., 12/14/17; 4/26/18). Before the end of each unit Dana and Victoria asked me if I had any specific questions I wished to include. These data

represented a larger sample of student perspectives on writing group instruction and their own participation and engagement in writing groups than interviews provided.

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS AND DATA REDUCTION

Concurrent Analysis

In all qualitative research, data collection and data analysis are difficult to disentangle, because, as noted by Erickson (2004), "field notes, interview transcripts, and archival record [are] most appropriately conceived not as "data" in their unreduced form—they are resources for data construction within which data must be discovered" (p. 486). This is also because data analysis often begins during data collection (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014). Although my formal analysis began after data collection was complete, due to the large corpus of data I collected, I needed a way to make sense of what I was seeing while I was in Dana and Victoria's classrooms. I developed a daily and bi-monthly analytic process, which helped me bring order and structure to what I saw while in the field. This process guided my choices during data collection regarding which groups to sit in on, which student to go talk to, and what questions to bring to the teachers. This concurrent analysis was where initial patterns and understandings developed.

Daily processes included updating my data accounting log (Figure 3.2), adding audio files, artifacts, documents to their appropriate file folder, and adding "jottings" (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014) to my field notes, which memorialized brief analytic thoughts about a selection of data. Bi-monthly I expanded my field notes, adding sometimes to my daily jottings while also including notations of audio files that ran concurrent to the field note. These audio files were added as a time stamp, file location, and a few words about what the audio data would contribute to the field notes. I also wrote thematic, theoretical and methodological memos which captured initial patterns across

	A	В	С	D	E	F	G	н
1	Date	Type of Activity	Description	Participants	FN	Artifact	Video	Audio
17	9/20/	17 whole class/WW	Minilesson: finish topic prposal and collecting; brain dump	Victoria P2/P3	Victoria P2/P3 x			
18	9/20/	17 whole class/WW	minilesson: collectingstudents pick from strategyclass ends with a post-it note	Dana (P5&6)	x	w/dates & postits w/topic statement-in folder org. by class)		
19	9/22/	17 whole class/WW	minilesson: collectingusing mentor texts. Students write for around 10 min using the mentor textsprior to this they ahve a chance to explroe mentor texts.	Victoria P2/3	x			
20	9/22/	17 whole cass/WW	Studnets were put into writing groups based on genrefirst PRGS!	Dana (P5&6)	x	x2 (in a folder: reflection on expereince in PRGs)		
21	9/29/	17 whole class/WW	Publication day	Dana P5-6	x			
22	10/2/	17 whole class/WW	editing day	Victoria P2/3	x			
23	10/3/	17 whole class/WW	final draft day	Victoria P2/3	x			
24	10/3/	whole class/generous 17 conversations (GC)	students look at images and record how they "talked" with their different group members. The lesson was on productive talk	Dana (P5&6)	x	x7photos (post-its/reflecting on productive conv.)		
25	10/5/	17 whole class	publication day	Victoira P2-3		x class mag.		
26	10/10/	17 whole class/WW/RW	transition day between writing unit and reading unit	Victoria P2/P3	x	writing reflections (Period 2/3)		
27	10/10/	17 whole class/RW	reading time/focus/stamina Students got into book clubs for the first time and talked for 8-10	Dana (P5&6)	x			
28	10/17/	whole class/book 17 clubs	min. They previously met their book club members, but didn't really get into the talk.	Dana (P5&6)	x	x4 (photos of 2 PPT slides & book club groups	x minilesson (x2)	
29	10/19/	17 whole class/RW	reading time/stamina	Victoria (P2/3)	x			
30	10/27/	whole class/book 17 clubs	final book club: recorded conversation	Dana (P5&6)	x	book club rubric/agenda		recordings of each book club.
31	11/3/	17 whole class/RW	independent reading; students were asked to vote on the strategy for their minilesson. Some push back	Victoria (P2/3)	x			
32	11/3/	whole 17 class/WW/essay	getting back into their notebooks. This is the first day of their second writing unit which will focus on essay	Dana (P5&6)	x		x (whole class/minilesson)	Dana wore a lapel mic (audio quality not great)

Figure 3.2: Data Accounting Log

classes, and ultimately guided the theories I used to assist in my analysis. Writing regularly in this informal way allowed me to pull away from the immediacy of data collection, and think more conceptually about what was happening.

Data Reduction

Due to the large corpus of data I was collecting, during data collection I used my field notes to begin the process of data reduction, which focused primarily on marking minilesson audio files that I would not need to listen to. Because the teachers taught minilessons daily, I had many of these recordings and was able to eliminate files when the instruction was not focused on writing or some sort of talk strategy. I then created activity

logs for the resultant audio files, creating a separate log for each kind of literacy event (i.e. minilessons, teacher-student writing conferences, writing groups). These logs recorded each conversational turn and main topics of conversations. I listened to all recordings in time, so ultimately the detail in the logs was dependent on how fast I could type. This process allowed me to select interactional segments that I wanted to go back and transcribe. Transcription is also an act of analysis (Ochs, 1979), and I relied heavily on standard conventions developed in the field of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).¹⁷

Full Analysis

Full analysis began once data collection ended in May 2018 and continued throughout my writing process. Across three cycles of analysis (Figure 3.3), I utilized both qualitative inductive and deductive analysis, approaching my data as both an act of discovery, and through the lens of particular theoretical commitments. Over the course of data collection and analysis various theories guided my analytic approaches, and exposed the multiple layers of interaction within and across writing groups.

First cycle

The goal of this first cycle of data analysis was to get a sense of the larger corpus of data. This included a lot of transcribing, organizing and visualizing of data, and inductive coding. During the summer months of 2018 after data collection was completed I transcribed all participant interviews, and inductively coded them. Every 3 or 4 interviews I would write an analytic memo to capture patterns, themes or interesting quotations that I might want to later use in my reporting. After transcribing all of the interviews, I wrote one

¹⁷ Full transcription conventions are in Appendix D

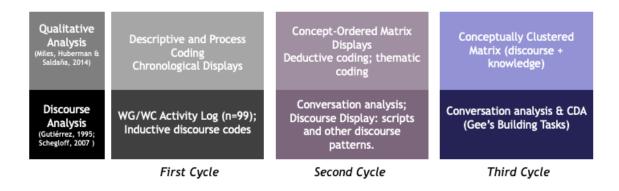


Figure 3.3: Three Cycles of Data Analysis

analytic memo around my research questions, which talked about what the interviews contributed to answering my questions. I also completed activity logs for all of the audiorecorded writing groups and teacher-student writing conferences. Once these activity logs were complete I inductively coded them, which helped me identify segments for transcription. According to Marshall and Rossman (2010) "coding is the formal representation of analytic thinking" (p.21). Through each reading of data, a mix of open and theoretical codes were applied. My open codes marked reoccurring ideas, language, and concepts, emergent patterns and themes across data. The segments I initially identified for transcription were a result of this open coding, and based on the interactions that I thought would best help me answer my second and third research question. I also used this initial coding to begin to triangulate emergent themes across data sources, which helped

During my first cycle of analysis, to make sense of the teachers' overall writing curriculum, I reviewed all my field notes to create a variety of detailed chronological matrices (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014), which throughout the duration of data analysis and reporting were helpful resources that contextualized my later analysis of

me challenge, confirm, define and broaden my initial thinking.

specific communicative events. Instead of coding all of these field notes, I wrote memos in relationship to each research question, noting specific days that I might want to return to. These memos helped me further reduce my data, and allowed me to separate field notes that I would analyze further from those that I could (for now) put aside.

To support this first cycle of analysis I went back to an early iteration of my theoretical framework and began grouping codes and memoing based on Syverson's interrelated, overlapping dimensions of an ecology (i.e. spatial, temporal, psychological, etc.) (Figure 3.4). This initial thinking illuminated the messiness of a classroom ecology, but also provided a framework for understanding the distinct but interrelated roles, discourses, activities at work in a writing group.

Second cycle

The second cycle of data analysis marked a shift toward more theoretically driven analysis. Guided by theories of discourse, ecology, humanizing pedagogies, and sociocultural writing theories I recoded field notes, activity logs and interviews. By engaging in both inductive and deductive analysis I began to build theories about the teachers' instruction, student learning and the social identities enacted within the classroom, which led me to identify two focal writing groups for each class to look at more closely. This close look entailed transcribing all related audio data (both writing groups, teacher-student writing conferences and relevant minilessons) for a microanalysis of talk. Initial discourse analysis was guided by traditions of conversation analysis, which Goodwin (1990) describes as marking the way language builds social organization, and Mercer's (2000) framework for collaborative talk (disputational, cumulative and exploratory).

	Spatial dimensions (deductive analysis; Svyerson, 1999)	texts are constructed across a bounded space. But texts also cross unbounded spaces, unimagined or predictable spaces when they enter into the world of the reader. Texts also allow writers to metaphorically travel across spacesThis also connects to the embodied attribute of the ecological system.		
Mediating tools	Current events	Inductive, descriptive. Students mention or use current events to inspire talk/writing.	7	
Language- in-use	storytelling	Inductive, process. Students talk has characteristics of narrative genre— beginning, middle and end.	24	
Mediating tools	Text connections	Inductive, descriptive. Students make connections to other texts.	2	
Mediating tools	Teacher as audience	Inductive, descriptive. Mention of work directed toward the singular audience of teacher.	3	
	Temporal dimensions (deductive analysis; Svyerson, 1999)	beyond the concept that all discourse is historically and culturally situated this concept hasn't been developed that much. This is also going to be how writing develops across time. Something interesting to think about would be the difficulty of sticking with a task over time. The text itself has a lifetime. Writing for authentic audiences extend the experience of composing the text. e.g. process; the way a task unfolds across time (minutes, sec, days, weeks)		

Mediating tools	Past schooling experiences	Inductive, descriptive. Talk around school experience prior to 2017-2018 school year.	2
Mediating tools	Writing process knowledge	Inductive, descriptive. Students and teachers talk about writing process or express understanding of process.	28

Figure 3.4: Theoretically Organized Code Book

Across my qualitative and discourses analysis I continued to collapse and refine codes, moving from 110 codes during the first cycle to 67 codes by the end of the second cycle. I also made a number of displays (e.g. Figure 3.5) to capture my evolving inductive and deductive coding. For example, to better conceptualize the writing knowledge teachers taught and students drew on, I used Beaufort's (2007) theorization of writing expertise,

Date	Min of productiv e talk	Stage in writing process: Minilesson focus	Knowledge	Tools	Scripts
1/26/18	2	Norms/Group name	Care/rhetorical/metac ognitive		R: Sharing Q: Identity & Personal experiences
1/31/18	25	Interview	Discourse community		Q: Context; clarifying; Identity & Personal experiences R: translanguging; sharing; storytelling
2/9/18	22 (between min7- 21:00 there were long silences)	Sharing drafts on Google Doc	Writing process/discourse community	Read aloud/Goog le commentin g	Q: language: diction & syntax; clarification R: translanguaging
3/1/18	14	Suggest revisions	Writing process/discourse community		Q: elicitations of help; Identity & Personal R: sharing
3/22/18	10	Testing: Revising for specific audience	Metacognitive		Q: language R: translanguaging
5/17/18	12 (group splits— Emmy and Ami are in new group)	Collecting	Writing process/genre/discour se community		Q: Clarifying R: storytelling; translanguaging
5/23/18		Revising on google docs			

Figure 3.5: Knowledge/Script Display of Writing Groups

which helped me name specific categories of knowledge I saw in my participants' teaching and learning. These domains of knowledge in relationship to specific writing group dates can be seen in the Knowledge column in Figure 3.5.

These displays helped me identify specific writing group sessions for closer thematic analysis. For example, if I noticed a theme around storytelling, I looked for examples of this in other data sources (e.g. interviews, writing samples, conference data).

Third cycle

In order to understand the way participants' interactions developed, enacted, or resisted larger school and classroom structures, I utilized tools from my theoretical framework (Goffman, 1984; Gutiérrez, 1995) and critical discourse analysis (Gee, 2015),

which collectively helped me better understand the role of language and power in students' writing development. Because discourse both reflects and constructs the social world (Gee, 2015; Gutiérrez, 1995) and is constituted by the social and power relations surrounding and interacting within it, using Goffman's dramaturgical theory and Gutiérrez's theory of scripts and counterscript illuminated the social identities developing within the classroom, and enabled me to explore how students interacted within the various classroom and school spaces, as well as how power was enacted and produced in these exchanges.

I broke up each focal writing group transcript into intonational units (Gee, 2015) and stanzas. Lines were numbered based on macro and microlines. A macroline marked one sentence in speech and microlines marked intonational units. Breaking up the transcripts in this way allowed me to sequentially highlight units of speech and made it easier to use Gee's building tasks as an analytic tool. I used five of Gee's building tasks to analyze select transcripts. The five building tasks—identities, practices, relationships, connections and sign systems—helped me better understand the ways identities and understanding about writing in and outside of school were being constructed through teachers and students' talk.

This analytic process helped me see my data through the various critical theories I used. As I went back and forth between my microanalysis of talk and the larger qualitative analysis, I began to draw connections between the students' counterscripts and larger themes around performance and resistance. This also led me to go back to my writing group activity logs and look more closely at writing group interactions I had initially coded as "unproductive."

After iterative and recursive readings of data I generated a set of themes in response to each research question. Under each theme I developed a list of data segments that best illustrated the theme, as well as segments that contradicted the theme. Visually, these examples led me to refine these themes. Overall my analytic process across the three cycles was an unruly process of trial and error. Methodologically, iterative cycles of coding, collapsing codes, analytic and theoretical memos and various displays supported my reduction and analysis of the larger data set. My close microanalysis of talk provided a way to test theories I was building about language and writing, which often led me back to other data sources for triangulation.

TRUSTWORTHINESS & LIMITATIONS

To heighten the trustworthiness of my study (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014) I use the following methodological tools: memoing, member checking, and peer debriefing. In this section I will briefly describe each tool and then speak about the limitations of the study and questions of representation.

Memoing

I engaged in memoing to capture my thinking and reflections during data collection and analysis. Memos also provided a space for me to explore my understandings about writing instruction and development and to explore how those understandings aligned or conflicted with my research. During my writing/reporting of my research I frequently went back to these memos as a way to see the evolution of my thinking.

Member Checking

I engaged in multiple forms of member checking with participants through data collection and analysis. During data collection I would share field notes and analytic memos that captured initial thinking with Dana and Victoria. This was both a form of member checking, but it was also a tool they used to reflect and revise their instruction.

Later in data analysis, after I generated initial themes, I met with Dana and Victoria to talk through these preliminary findings.

Peer Debriefing

During the last few months of data analysis and reporting I met weekly in a writing group where I shared my research and thinking with three other qualitative researchers. My peers asked me questions about my analysis and provided me with an etic perspective I at times was missing. During our writing group sessions we had long methodological, theoretical and analytical discussions around sections of data or writing which helped me articulate exactly how I came to know what I am reporting in my findings.

Limitations and Questions of Representation

Despite measures to ensure trustworthiness, there are limitations to the study design. One limitation is that data will come primarily from four classes within the same school. Because my research questions and theoretical framework foreground the social, historical and cultural contexts in which the participants live, it is implausible that claims could be made about the replicability of the intervention or study. Another limitation is that two classroom teachers came from the same urban teacher preparation program, graduating within one year of each other. The teachers, a crucial instrument in this study of student learning, have similar stances towards teaching and learning. Although my selection of cases was in part made because of this stance, it could also be seen as a limitation for those just seeking to understand the teaching to support students in writing groups and not the nature of interactions and mediating factors that influenced student learning and development within these groups. Finally, as a humanizing researcher, I am concerned with the issue of representation. Rosaldo (1989) calls researchers "positioned subjects who have a distinctive mix of insight and blindness" (p.19). A given researcher undoubtedly "grasps certain human phenomena better than others. He or she occupies a position or structural location and observes with a particular angle of vision" (p.19). Therefore, it must be acknowledged that although my intentions are to portray each participant with dignity and the respect they deserve, there will always be things that my etic perspective failed to interpret or understand the way the participant intended.

A Preface to Chapters 4 and 5: Constructing A Theory of Humanizing Writing Pedagogy

Through my investigation of the knowledge, practices, and discourses central to the teachers' instruction aimed to support students' participation in writing groups, four principles of humanizing writing pedagogy became visible. They are as follows: 1) Teaching with Care; 2) Teaching with Respect for Students' Time; 3) Teaching toward Agency and Independence; 4) Teaching through Response. The theorization of these principles emerged from a yearlong inquiry guided by the following research questions:

- In classroom settings where teachers use a process approach to writing, what elements of humanizing instruction emerge?
- How do teachers understand and teach about the role of response groups within their approach to writing instruction?

In Chapter 4 I explicate the first two principles—Teaching with Care and Teaching with Respect for Students' Time—which present findings related to how Victoria and Dana curated their classroom ecologies to supports students' development as learners and writers. This chapter supports the argument made by previous scholars engaged in humanizing research to study the contextual variables that shape students' learning in schools (Ball, 2009; Haddix, 2012; Kinloch, 2011). In Chapter 5 I expound the principles—Teaching toward Agency and Independence and Teaching through Response—which present findings related to how the teachers taught their students to develop ownership and leadership and essentially thrive as writers in and outside of school. These findings build on previous scholarship focused on writing instruction in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts.

Throughout Chapters 4 and 5 Dana and Victoria's classrooms will be discussed in tandem. Although these two teachers were individuals with distinct dispositions, teaching

distinct populations, I found many commonalities in the knowledge, practices and discourses they enacted as writing teachers, and found myself drawn to their humanizing approach to writing instruction. It is for this reason that I organize my findings around the four principles mentioned above that were, to varying extents, enacted in their classrooms. There will be considerable complexity discussed in these two chapters because the teachers' visions, embodied in their instruction and curriculum, reaches for the ideal, strives for the ideal, and, both consciously and unconsciously, sometimes contradicts the ideal.

Chapter 4: Teaching with Care and Respect for Students' Time

Across the next two sections, I describe and discuss the principles, Teaching with Care and Teaching with Respect for Students' Time, by drawing on representative data from both teacher cases. I conclude each section with a discussion of the knowledge, practices and discourses that make the discussed principle humanizing. Although these principles build on literature that has theorized humanizing pedagogies, my study demonstrates how these principles can be animated within the context of writing classrooms and teaching writing.

The findings presented in this chapter emerged from my iterative and recursive analysis of the teachers' informal and formal interactions with students across a variety of classroom and school spaces, field notes and audio recordings of the teachers' minilessons and teacher-student writing conferences, and analysis of written artifacts, such as associated planning and curricular documents and written feedback on students' writing. They are follows:

- Teachers enacted caring practices and discourses through their design/cultivation of the physical and emotional classroom environment, through their efforts to cultivate meaningful relationships with their students, and through the asset-based perspective they brought to their work.
- Through a careful guarding and protection of class time, Victoria and Dana taught their students that their work in school should be meaningful and work toward larger out of school growth as writers.

PRINCIPLE #1: TEACHING WITH CARE

The first principle of the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy emerged from the teachers' enactment of care, which included both practices and discourses they drew on in

their design of the physical and emotional classroom environment, their efforts to cultivate meaningful relationships with their students, and the asset-based perspective (Lee, 2007; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) they brought to their work. Educational researchers have, in recent years, "suggested the educational success of marginalized students often hinges on a caring relationship with an adult in school" (Antrop-Gonzalez & Valenzuela, 2012, p.300). Across this section, I present evidence that suggests Dana and Victoria fully understood and aligned themselves with these researchers. However, I will also discuss contradictions and tensions within their practices that positioned them in adversarial roles with their students, which could have in part been due to competing notions between students and themselves around what "caring" means.

Curating A Classroom Space of Care

In *The Good High School: Portraits of Culture and Character* Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983) wrote, "unless the school environment feels safe and secure [students] will not be able to focus on matters of the mind" (p.356). She wrote portraits of six high schools illustrating the ways students, teachers and administrators worked together to create a caring community, arguing that students' sense of belonging, their sense of "being visible" (p.348) was dependent on feeling safe, both physically and psychologically. In many ways this work foreshadowed how both Dana and Victoria thought about and curated the material and emotional classroom environment. Through my interviews and observations of their work before and after class, it became evident that both teachers understood that the physical classroom—the temperature, lighting, work spaces, text environment—where students learned—mattered to the students' intellectual, emotional, and social development as human beings. The design of classrooms and the experiences of teaching and learning are inextricably connected, and some educational researchers have

suggested that greater awareness around the impact of classroom spaces needs to be made if we want to move closer to humanizing approaches to instruction (Brooks, 2011; Perks, Orr, & Alomari, 2016).

The physical environment

Across the year, Dana and Victoria frequently contemplated how the physical, material and relational space of their classrooms impacted their pedagogical goals and students' engagement with their instruction and curriculum (e.g. "Victoria places notebooks for students to buy for 50 cents in back wall," field notes, 9/8/17; "Dana tells students that they can sit in corner or back wall where the pillows are *after* her minilesson," field notes, 11/14/17). They saw their classroom as a space that should be welcoming, as well as politically charged. In terms of welcoming, both teachers created spaces that they and their students would want to spend time in. They understood that students' cognitive abilities were impacted by physical and emotional dimensions, and therefore students' learning was inextricably tied to the physical and material space of a classroom. For example, both teachers had microwaves and "snack drawers" where kids could warm up food before or after class or during lunch, which led to a fairly constant stream of kids entering and exiting their classrooms throughout the day, but also communicated to students that their teachers cared about their wellbeing. The teachers also preferred the soft lighting of floor lamps over the harsh florescent lighting ubiquitous to most schools, and therefore brought in decorative lamps from home to light their classrooms (Figure 4.4). Both of these examples gave the impression that school was a place where students could exist and perform roles and identities closer to who they were outside of school.

The teachers also made political statements in the curation of their classrooms. They worked to cultivate large and diverse classroom libraries, made up of books cobbled

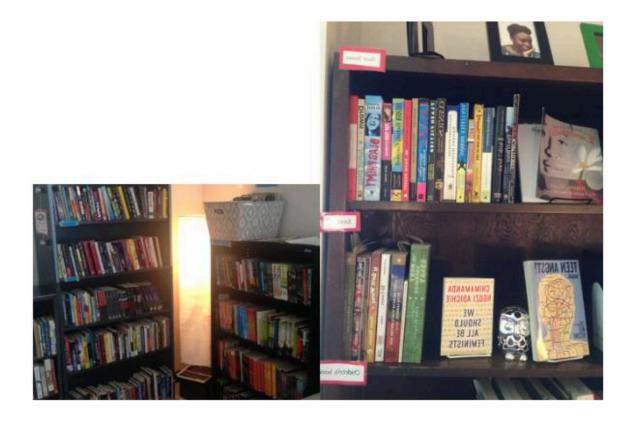


Figure 4.1: Classroom Libraries: (left) Victoria's Classroom; (right) Dana's Classroom

together from donations and their personal collections (Figure 4.1). Each shelf was carefully organized by genre and adorned by laminated labels to both attract students and promote independence. The library was designed as a resource for students to use, a tool to support their reading. The teachers knew that providing opportunities for students to select reading materials they wanted to read would support their motivation and development as readers (Fisher & Frey, 2012; Ivey & Broaddus, 2001). This pedagogical decision disrupted the tradition often followed by English teachers to rely only on teacher-selected whole class texts as the focal point of the reading curriculum (Pitcher et al., 2007).

In addition to large classroom libraries, Victoria had a reading area with a rug, pillows and stuffed arm chair that students could elect to sit in during class. Dana, having slightly larger classes, did not have space for a "reading corner," but had a rug and pillows that lined her back wall where kids who wanted to could sit. Dana and Victoria did not design their classrooms attractively simply to encourage students to show up. They believed the design contributed toward and impacted the teaching and learning taking place in the classroom. For example, Dana's lamps and pillows and her request to administration for large tables where her students could arrange themselves in groups illustrated that she understood the way physical spaces shape students' interactions with each other, her instruction, and the curriculum available to them (Brooks, 2011). (Figure 4.2)



Figure 4.2: Dana's Classroom: Large, White-Board Tables

The commonalities across the teachers' classrooms were not accidental. As mentioned earlier, South Cardinal had support from the local National Writing Project and, at the time of data collection, had employed five English teachers who graduated from the nearby University's urban teacher preparation program. Both institutions emphasized, amongst other things, the importance of the students' learning environment and choice. During a group interview, Izzy, Eli, Jewel and Lia commented, "Yeah, most teachers have lights and pillows," "like the English ones," "that's how it should be, you should be comfortable" (Interview, Dec 15, 2017).

In addition to books, other aspects of the classroom text environment made political statements around who and what held power. Dana decorated her walls with student work and framed pictures of her favorite authors (all People of Color) (Figure 4.1) to privilege voices and experiences of those who have been historically marginalized (her students included). Likewise, Victoria's classroom walls were decorated with evidence of students' existing literacies (field notes, 9/5/17), but also streamers made up of tardy slips, a satirical statement around the institutional practice of making students go to the office for a pass if they were 30 seconds late to class. These tardy slips were accumulated by the hundreds each month and so were stapled together and hung from the ceiling to mimic streamers (field notes, 5/15/18) (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Tardy Slips Hanging as Streamers On Wall

In her study of outside of school literacy spaces, Moje (2004) writes "space matters, not just for the physical environment it provides..., but also in terms of the meanings, relationships, and identities to be made in these spaces" (p.31). Unlike the industrialized model of classrooms where students are organized in rows, oriented in a single direction, in metal desks that make it difficult to sit comfortably, Victoria and Dana wanted the physical classroom space to be welcoming, to encourage students to explore, creatively engage in, collaborate and design learning that motivated them (Leander, 2004; Moje, 2004). Although limited by the constraints of the larger school, both teachers recognized the importance of a learning space, and were constantly moving their tables or desks around so that students could comfortably sit and collaborate with others. (Figure 4.4)

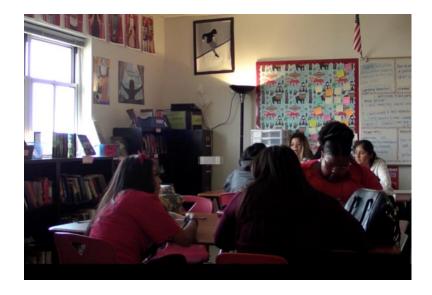


Figure 4.4: Dana's Classroom: Soft Lighting and Collaborative Seating

In an interview Dana spoke to the difficulty of this seemly simple task:

Smaller class sizes would be much more helpful. I could give much more substantial feedback, I could meet with kids one on one way more often. I could move around the room easier! *[laughter]* That would be the most helpful, more

helpful than some of the resources they give us. We have Chromebooks, man. But those things don't really matter, especially the Chromebooks when I have *that* many kids and also when those kids don't always come to school feeling safe or feeling appreciated or feeling like they have a lot of stuff going on that seems in that moment more important than what's going on at school. (Interview, May 17, 2018)

Dana astutely noticed how it was often the physical and material aspects of her classroom that got financed by the school, intimating that perhaps this money needed to be reallocated to hiring more teachers so that teachers could better attend to students' emotional and social needs. In the next section I will speak more to how both teachers, despite their large class sizes, curated the emotional environment of their classrooms through specific practices and discourses.

The emotional environment

Victoria and Dana also enacted a caring pedagogy by attending to the students' emotional and social needs. In schools across the country there has been a strong push toward social-emotional learning (SEL), researchers arguing that "SEL is a valuable way to cultivate complex human beings in diverse contexts often deeply intertwined with histories of racism, classism, and inequality" (Soutter, 2019, p.61). Although different, stylistically, both teachers did this by making space for students to notice and name their feelings. For example, before the bell to signal the beginning of class rang, "Victoria [would stand] at the door and shake every hand as students walk in" (field notes, 8/29/17). Dana, less formal and individualized in her interactions with students, would talk to students if they stopped to talk with her, but if they weren't in the mood, she tended to let them pass, noticing and observing, but not forcing interaction (field notes, e.g. 8/29/17, 5/25/18).

Dana often told me that the emotions of just a few kids made the difference between a successful and unsuccessful class, and it was fairly common for one or two kids to be an "emotional mess" (field notes, 10/9/17) on any given day. In classes of 35 kids, just one kid who had a fight with a significant other or friend, a negative encounter with another teacher or administrator, or was breaking under the pressures of any number of external forces (e.g. stability-immigration, home life, money, future), could influence the emotions of an entire table group of students. For example, after a particularly rough 6th period class I documented the following in my field notes:

(post class) Dana talks to T after class. She's been giving her a lot of attitude. This seemed to correspond with P's return. Dana tells me later that he is going through a lot, unfortunately, but it 'totally messes with that table'. (11/15/17)

"P" had just returned from a week of out-of-school suspension, and although Dana's comment perhaps unfairly blames "P" for one unfocused table, this example is illustrative of how students responded to each other's emotional state. However, talking with and observing students before class gave her a sense of how students were feeling, which communicated to her how she should interact with each student. For example, on many occasions I saw students brush past her and ignore her greeting (e.g. field notes, 10/9/17, 1/22/18, 2/12/18), which told her that something was wrong. On these occasions, after her daily minilesson she would kneel down next to the student and whisper an invitation to talk, to take a break out in the hallway, or to grab some water.

Lia's eyes are all puffy today. Her face is focused on her phone. Dana begins minilesson, looks over at Lia but doesn't say anything. After minilesson she goes over to Lia and Izzy. She rubs their back and asks them to put their phone away. She doesn't say anything about them not having work on their table. She doesn't alienate them, repeatedly approaches them, even if they don't listen...finally she goes over to them and says, "I'm not trying to nag you...but..."and they acknowledge that and smile.

Similar examples with Eli, Emerson and Elle... where they are asking her what they are supposed to do, and Dana says, this is why I was asking you to listen when you were talking. And Erica says "this is why I love you"....Dana manages

to call them out, but her tone is forgiving so they know that she will help them no matter what. (field notes, 3/21/18)

These seemingly small actions—letting a phone stay on the desk, something she would normally not allow; a back rub; explaining that she "is not trying to nag [them], but..."—showed Dana's students that she cared about their well-being and not just their ability to comply with her instruction and curriculum.

For Victoria's ninth graders, class began with a feeling circle, where students were asked to stand in a circle and say one word that represented how they were feeling in that moment. This practice was not entirely supported by the students, and they would often complain about having to stand up, fervently resisting Victoria's instructions to "vary their feeling words" (field notes, 10/10/17). Victoria said she did this because she wanted them to use words other than "good" or "hungry" or "tired" every day to describe their feelings, but this instruction made the students frustrated with the practice, causing them, at times, to resent Victoria. "Why is she telling me how I feel? Like she says we can't say good or all these other words. It's how I feel so let me just say that" (Tara, April 5, 2018). However, despite some students' frustrations, there did seem to be an impact on the larger classroom community. Victoria reflected on this practice in an interview:

There was a fight in the hallway outside of my classroom today, the first time this year, but I looked around and I wasn't worried that anyone was going to go out and join the fight and like, cause hell because they were like chillin' in our room, like we had, we had our space and it was different than the rest of the school and it was like, okay, like we can handle this. I think some of that might be because we did the daily feeling circle so much. It's super frustrating, because half the kids don't listen, but even some of the kids who don't listen at all are saying they need this every day to think about how they feel. (Interview, June 25, 2018)

The students' contradictory reactions to Victoria's social emotional learning activity are perhaps due to misreadings of each other's notions of care. Victoria's caring pedagogy was in part enacted to create space for students to state their feelings, but was also an activity meant to support their academic development. Victoria's intention was to provide them with an opportunity to diversify the words they most commonly drew on, and she did this because she *also* cared about their intellectual development. However, many students, like Victoria's, desire caring relationships with their teachers that are not tied to any academic goal or success (Valenzuela, 1999). This tension is just one of many examples that speak to the complexity of caring pedagogies, especially within contexts like South Cardinal where students have been controlled, surveilled and continually set up to fail.

Ultimately, what emerged from my data analysis was that both teachers understood that teaching students meant caring for their mind, body and spirit, and that these three facets of their humanity could not be separated. For Victoria this meant creating space in her classroom where her students could name their feelings for others to hear (e.g. "V starts class with feeling wheel. She suggests students stand, but if they don't want to they need to listen" (field notes, 11/3/17). Although uncomfortable for many ninth graders, it eventually created a community of comfort and safety where students could more easily relate to and care for one another. For Dana it meant understanding that her students often came into class full of emotions and feelings that may or may not shape their interactions with her and each other. By checking in with them individually at the door, by designing her room to accommodate their physical and social needs, she communicated to her students that she cared. Going back to Lawrence-Lightfoot's (1983) writing referenced at the beginning of this section, it said students in the six schools she researched had a "strong" sense of belonging [when they felt] their individual actions made a difference [...] when they had a sense of being visible and accounted for" (p. 348). For Dana and Victoria's students, their teachers' sensitivity to their feelings made them feel seen. Izzy, one of Dana's eleventh graders, said in an interview, "I mean she knows that we don't like, we

act out for a reason. I mean it's just, you probably don't know what we are going through, but like she understands" (Interview, Dec 15, 2017). Understanding students in their totality—reason, feelings, emotions, desires—and how they become "animated through the body's lived relationships with others" (Curry, 2016, p.913) is a crucial part of what it means to teach with care.

Curating Caring Relationships

Although caring does not need to involve emotions explicitly, caring does suggest a reaction to something or someone, a reaction that moves us not only intellectually, but physically and emotionally. To be touched by something or someone shifts our reality, which results in reciprocity: "the cared-for responds to the presence of one-caring" (Noddings, 1984, p.60).

Dana's success as a teacher was rooted in her ability to develop relationships with her students. In her end of the year interview Dana said,

I feel like that's so much of teaching—the relationships we have with students. Even when I tried to take a step back, it still matters. Like if they don't trust me, it doesn't matter what their writing is like. It's really hard to separate *them* from their writing. If they really want to feel like they're being heard and I'm paying attention to what they're doing, it's usually, it always comes back to like, let me tell you about what this is really about, and not like writing strategy that they tried out. (Interview, May 28, 2018)

Her students similarly spoke frequently and in many words about how they knew Dana cared for them. When I asked a group of eleventh graders about what they thought of their teacher they replied that Dana was a teacher who was "understanding," and "made it easier for [them] to learn." They went on to say:

- Lia: Ms. Dana works with you, and I feel that she sees potential in everybody. She pushes you and pushes you. Like she, she don't ever get to that point with any student that I've seen that she's just like "alright, whatever."
- Jewel: She talks to you and stuff, instead of pushing you out in the hallway, you know, like kicking you out, 'cause then you're not learning, like you're missing out on time. And that's what teachers, most of the teachers do. They just put you in their classroom when they don't care about it. But she talks to you and you know, eventually, we get it back together.
- Elle: The teacher I had last year, she was like real, I'm not going to say the B word, but she was a real pain in the ass, but Ms. Dana is chill, you know.

(Interview, Dec 15, 2017)

Later in the year, Elle continued on to say, "I like when teachers have a passion for what they do and they encourage students, and that is what Ms. Dana does. Like I know she cares about us—and she gives us food and back rubs" (Interview, April 12, 2018). In many ways these girls defined what it means to be a caring teacher. They said, "see potential," "pushes you," "talks to you," "doesn't kick you out, 'cause then you're not learning," "understands," and "is chill." Dana's caring pedagogy balanced both kindness and concern for her students, with a rigorous academic curriculum built upon the sociocultural realities of their lives (Newcomer, 2018), which the students noted in their interviews.

Despite all the ways that students said they knew Dana cared about them, there were moments when they still remained suspicious. At the end of the year, Dana told me that when she personalized notes to every student "the main thing they were questioning was, 'does everybody have the same note?' And I was like, no, no. It took me forever to write that note. Does that apply to anybody else? And they were like, 'oh.' And then they were like traded notes to see" (Interview, May 28, 2018). Her students were not just looking for a nice teacher, but one that *genuinely* cared about them. They wanted their personhood to be visible, to see evidence that they had touched someone.

Victoria had a similar approach to sustaining relationships with students by showing and telling students that she would never give up on them. Unlike the teachers who Jewel in the above interview talks about, those who frequently "push you out in the hallway...kicking you out," Victoria would regularly take kids *out of* ISS (In School Suspension) for her class period or if that was not possible, go and talk to them about their writing during her preparatory period.

I go to ISS constantly, and I am always talking to the kids about their writing in ISS. The ISS teacher started pulling any writing that she thinks is interesting, and she's like, 'check this out.' It's really funny. We're buddies now. And she's like, this kid needs to be in creative writing. (Interview, June 25, 2018)

Victoria showed students that her job as a teacher did not end when the bell rang at the end of their English class, but extended well beyond, following her students into other classes, clubs, and extracurricular activities. For Victoria, the students she had the best relationships with were the ones that saw and interacted with her outside of class. This was particularly true for those students isolated from the larger school population, and relocated to spaces designed to discipline, punish and shame, like ISS. For instance, one student, Mario, who was routinely sent to ISS and frequently unresponsive in Victoria's class (field notes, 10/5/17), started showing up to talk with her during her planning period (field notes, e.g. 2/22/18, 4/2/18). These pop-ins (occurring when he was skipping another teacher's class) began after Victoria went to his ISS and counseling meetings, for which she told me "[she] was the only teacher there" (field notes, 12/5/17). For Mario, and many others, the fact that Victoria showed up to make sure their emotional, social and intellectual needs were cared for made a huge difference in their subsequent engagement in the class (field notes, e.g. 12/5/17; 3/29/18; 4/2/18).

These examples from Dana and Victoria's pedagogy worked to re-construct the deficit perspectives many of their students carried regarding their abilities and futures as

readers and writers. Deficit perspectives at South Cardinal High permeated tracked classes such as theirs and forced harmful identity labels such as "English learner," "underachiever" or "unmotivated" on their students. Dana taught "onlevel" students, and Victoria taught "onlevel" and "sheltered" students. Most placements were determined by their middle school standardized test scores, and although students could move from on-level to honors classes, Dana told me this had not happened once in her four years there. "If anything, students move down from AP or honors to onlevel" (field notes, 1/29/18). Lia, Jewel and Elle's savvy description of Dana's instruction perhaps was based on experiences with teachers who didn't have so much faith in them, and was why within less than two months of meeting Dana they recognized her as a teacher who saw past the deficit-labels they carried. In the next section I will talk more about how Dana and Victoria positioned their students was a crucial factor in their ability to sustain relationships with their students.

Enacting asset-based perspectives

Asset-based perspectives (Lee, 2007; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Paris, 2012) were central to the success of Victoria and Dana's relationships with students. These perspectives positioned students' linguistic and cultural knowledge as assets to draw on and serve them in academic contexts. Their asset-based practices positioned students as competent and worthy of respect, which manifested in practices characterized by "affection and regard" (Noddings, 1984, p.24). The teachers showed respect for their students, by designing curriculum that built on students' funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), showing students they believe them to be competent individuals who have important things to say about their lived experiences, their questions, and their ideas about the world. Both

Figure 4.5: Existing Literacy Posters: (left) Dana's Classroom; (right) Victoria's Classroom

teachers began the school year by showing respect for the students' existing literacies through an investigation and sharing of these practices (field notes, 8/29/17) (Figure 4.5), followed by two weeks of daily minilessons where students were taught strategies to support their fluency and stamina as writers.

These strategies placed students' identities and experiences at the center of students' writing practice (e.g. writing territories, bumping off text, looking around the room). Instead of the teachers dictating the prompt for *all* students to respond to, their pedagogy presupposed that the knowledge of *what* to write was within the students and that they already had experiences, knowledge and practices that could be useful to them in

school. Throughout both teachers' writing curriculum, each genre study began with an intentional exploration of students' ideas, experiences, and questions so that students were continually reminded that they already had the necessary knowledge to start any writing project. For example, on the first day of the eleventh graders' study of essay, Dana reminded students why writers use their notebooks (e.g. "a place where you are putting down ideas that you may not be ready to show your audience," field notes, 11/3/17). On this day she was launching a new writing unit, and her focus was on helping students get back into their own writing practice. After a 23 minute and 15 minute writing session, she ended class by "ask[ing] them to underline one line they are really impressed with" (field notes, 11/3/17). By asking students to "notice and name" (Johnson, 2004) what was working well in their writing, she supported the development of a positive writing identity. Collectively these tools (e.g. notebook) and practices (e.g. writing from lived experiences) create space for students to develop identities as writers by seeing their lives as central to their writing practice.

Building on and creating space for students' lived experiences was central to the teachers' writing curriculum and like Lia said in the previously mentioned interview, this practice communicated to students that their teachers "[saw] the potential" in them. For Dana, her asset-based practice necessitated the listening stance she took in her interactions with students. A humanizing pedagogue requires a developed practice as a listener (Kinloch & San Pedro, 2014), and an understanding that "every discourse presupposes a special conception of the listener, of his perceptive background and the degree of responsiveness" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.346). By taking up a listening practice the teachers created spaces for students' lived experiences and cultural worlds. One of Victoria's students, Tara, speaks to the importance of listening:

I think it's important that you listen. You can feel when teachers listen and they help, but a lot of kids don't feel like they can trust their teachers so when bad things happen they won't come to their teacher. And it's the same thing with like writing and stuff. Like if teachers don't listen, when students feel stuck and don't feel like their teachers listen, they're not going to go to them, and then their work won't be good and they won't learn. (Interview, April 5, 2018)

Astutely noted by Tara, if a teacher doesn't listen, the student won't reach out for help, and as a result won't learn as much. Teaching with care, which is built on a foundation of caring relationships, demands both parties listen to each other, which is not just to serve one's emotional well-being but one's intellectual development as well.

Moving from Caring to Humanizing

Linda Lyman (2000) in her research on care and school leadership reminds us that "neither care nor caring are easily defined" (p.5), as this explication of Victoria and Dana's caring pedagogy suggests. For these two teachers, teaching with care was both a discourse, a way of being a teacher, and a practice made up of specific actions that positioned and recognized students as intellectual and emotional human beings. Educational scholars who studied care and caring define it as many things: "to care for another... is to help him grow and actualize" (Mayeroff 1965, p.463); an ethical commitment to nonviolence-a commitment that "no one should be hurt" (Gilligan, 1982, p.174); to convey and develop in students a sense of belonging (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). Collectively these definitions portray a commitment to supporting the development of a person's humanity. In a classroom, to care for a student is to humanize them; to show students they have a place in the classroom where they can be themselves. For culturally and linguistically diverse students, like the majority of students in Dana and Victoria's classes, opportunities to be themselves, to feel like they belong, are limited in school (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). Therefore, *caring* pedagogies are a critical facet of supporting students' intellectual, emotional and social growth, and like humanizing pedagogies, recognize that instruction

and curriculum need to center on "students and relationships and emphasize student learning, not solely teaching content" (Jennings & Matta, 2009, p.225).

Dana and Victoria's pedagogy illuminated a vision for teaching with care and provided insight into what it means to teach with care in schools where teachers' daily reality includes inconsistent attendance, a racially biased referral system, heavily surveilled hallways monitoring classrooms for "quiet compliance," and teacher and student success determined by grades and test scores. Although both teachers strove to teach with care, this daily reality did, at times, impact the enactment of their vision. Tara, one of Victoria's ninth graders, mentioned in the above interview the importance of listening. However, Tara's hunger for feedback, for an adult to listen to her words, to look at her writing, and authentically respond, was often undernourished by the larger school Discourses around control and compliance that disrupted Victoria's listening practice and willingness to listen to one, when the needs of the many felt more urgent. This idea around response will be further discussed in Chapter 5's section on Teaching through Response, but I mention it here not to chastise Victoria, but to illustrate the inherent complexity of enacting a caring pedagogy. Nel Noddings (1984) said that to care is an action guided "not by fixed rule but by affection and regard" (p.24). In schools where there are so many competing pressures, remembering that caring is not guided by "fixed rule" but by a collection of humanizing moments can be potentially liberating. Caring cannot be isolated to just one moment, but is instead a collection of overlapping humanizing moments that need to be continuously curated and nurtured. In the next section, I take up this idea of humanizing moments and show how they developed through Dana and Victoria's respectful attention to time.

PRINCIPLE #2: TEACHING WITH RESPECT FOR STUDENTS' TIME

Jeffrey Wilhem (2008) in his article, "Teaching with *Urgency*" calls to teachers: "In your class, at this moment, many of your students may have their last best chance to engage, learn, and succeed. Grasp the moment. Pursue it. With urgency" (p.57). In a productive and humanizing (and caring) classroom, time is valued and respectful of students; no second is wasted. Through a careful guarding and protection of class time, Victoria and Dana taught their students that their work in school should be meaningful and work toward larger out of school growth as writers. In this section I will discuss how both teachers used time to support students' meaningful engagement in their writing curriculum.

Teaching Students Time Is Precious

Within every classroom space, learning is shaped by how time and urgency are applied. In some classrooms, time is given agency, the bells and clocks turn teachers and students into passive actors in an already scripted play. However, in other classrooms, time can be harnessed by the actors, used and manipulated to support their vision for the character in a larger story. At South Cardinal, Victoria and Dana harnessed time to support their larger pedagogical goals (e.g. supporting students develop positive writing identities), which required instruction steeped in urgency. Unlike the instruction in low-track classes reported in Jeannie Oakes' (1985) *Keeping Track*, Dana and Victoria carefully guarded class time, because they believed their students deserved opportunities to achieve academic success.

For instance, Dana guarded her time by using the school bell as a signal to start her meaningful instruction. Thirty seconds prior to the bell ringing she herded the 32-37 kids assigned to her eleventh grade English classes to their seats, asking a few to help distribute materials before she began her minilesson. Instead of waiting for the bell to signal students'

movement into class, she preempted that signal and redefined it as a signal that meant her teaching would start. This routine helped reorient even the most distracted student toward the work they were there to do that day (field notes, 9/28/17).

Like many teachers, Victoria and Dana constantly referenced time: students had two minutes to get out their materials (e.g. Dana, pre-minilesson, 3/29/18), one minute to finish talking with their friends (e.g. Victoria, pre-minilesson, 9/20/17), 90 seconds to "tell [their] neighbor what topic [they] are going to write about today" (e.g. Dana, minilesson, 12/5/17). By giving students specific times for these short activities the teachers kept them orientated toward a particular short-term goal, such as getting materials ready for class or using talk and their peers to support their thinking process. Although these few examples suggest students had to move from one activity to the next without time to really think deeply about anything, this was not the case. Both teachers continually reminded students that they were working toward larger goals (as I will talk about in the next section), and the short-timed activities all worked toward building practices (e.g. using talk to support writing practice) that would help them achieve that goal. Unlike traditional images of writing classrooms that emit the message that "no one can really teach anyone else how to write because writing is a mysterious creative activity that cannot be categorized or analyzed" (Hairston, 1982, p. 79), these activities and practices communicated to students that the work of writers is a complex and involved process, but a practice they can all do.

The most salient timed activity across the year were short turn and talks that were geared toward supporting students' writing. For example, Dana at the end of her minilesson frequently told students, "I want you to take two minutes to talk about and think about what strategies you are going to use to get writing today" (minilesson, 3/19/18). In this one sentence she communicated to students that they would soon have time to write and that they needed to get ready for some potentially challenging work ahead. As this suggests,

time was also controlled so that students had time to practice writing and reading independently, which, interrelated to the teachers' caring pedagogy, stemmed from the teachers' belief that their students could do this work.

It was during this independent engagement with curriculum that Dana and Victoria supported each student's work as growing writers. This support was enacted through teacher-student writing conferences, which I will discuss in depth in Chapter 5. However, I mention it here to illustrate how momentum can be built within a short two-minute interaction. To better see how this momentum is built across a conversation, I include a representational section of transcript below, and explain through a microanalysis of talk how Dana moves a student, Elle, forward in her writing by nudging her toward a particular task, and then leaving time for the student, independently, to complete a task right then and there.

1a 1b	Dana:	Have you ever made a list of questions ¹⁸ , things that you want to know?					
2	Elle:	No, I haven't, I should.					
3a 3b 3c 3d 3e	Dana:	Yeah, you should, I think that should be your next step. Of like, why does this happen like this? What does this mean? Why do we do things the way we do?					
4	Elle:	Oh yeah::					
5a 5b 5c	Dana:	Because if you have that list of questions, It might lead to other thinking too. Does that make sense? Dana walks away to redirect a few students (45seconds)					

¹⁸ Transcription conventions are listed in Appendix D.

6a 6b	Dana:	Okay, so is that what we are going to do? Questions.
7	Elle:	Yes. [Nods]
8	Dana:	Did you write it down?
9	Elle:	Yes, I'm writing it down, right now
10	Dana:	Show me, show me, questions I have in life, write it down on your paper.
11	Elle:	Well I didn't write it down yet:↑
12	Dana:	I know, so at least write it down now so that you have it for tomorrow.

A microanalysis of Dana and Elle's interaction explicates the urgency embedded in Dana's instruction. Across this transcript, Dana's script was oriented toward a specific task (e.g. is that what you are going to do? (line 6a)), and one repeated suggestion: that Elle should write down questions she has (line 8, 10, 12). Outside of the classroom context, this interaction may seem abrupt, and unfairly didactic, but it needs to be understood within the temporal space of the writing conference. In these two minutes Dana needed to figure out what Elle needed as a writer and how she could best support Elle fulfill that need. Across the first three conversational turns (1-3) Dana identified "listing questions" as the practice that would help Elle move forward in her writing; got confirmation from Elle that this was something she wanted to do; and pushed her towards accomplishing this goal.

Continuing the theme of "time is precious," the urgency of Dana's discourse came from knowing that writing down something concrete to build on later would help Elle begin her writing practice the next day (R. Bomer, 2011). This is a good reminder that the discussed principles of humanizing writing pedagogy, although distinct, are intertwined with each other. In the above interaction, Dana's script which pushed Elle to make the most of the time she had in class, was only received by Elle because of Dana's teaching with care, where she positioned her students as valued human beings. Dana taught students that writers investigate questions they are authentically wondering about, that their ideas are worth listening to, and that they have the language and experiences to make sense of their thought and words, which are characteristics of her pedagogy I will discuss in Chapter 5.

Working Toward a Larger Goal Bounded by Time

The urgency communicated through Victoria and Dana's discursive moves in their minilessons and teacher-student writing conferences traveled into students' work time, continually pushing students forward toward a larger writing goal. This larger goal was for students to publish their writing for multiple audiences, which could be their peers within the class, their writing groups, other classes in the same grade or classes in other grades (see Table 4.1).

Victoria						
Writing Unit	Publication Date					
	& Audience					
Open Genre	10/5/17 & Class					
Feature	2/14/18 & 11th					
Article	grade classes					
Poetry	3/7/18 & Theater					
	classes					
STARR	3/23/18 & teacher					
Essay						
Memoir	5/25/18 & Class &					
	Writing Group					

Dana						
Writing Unit	Publication Date					
	& Audience					
Open Genre	9/29/17 & 3 other					
	11th grade classes					
Essay	12/13/17 & Class					
SAT Essay	2/9/18 & teacher					
Op-Ed (Social	4/26/18 & Class &					
Issues)	online audience (via					
	blog)					
Poetry	5/25/18 & Class &					
	Writing Group					

Table 4.1: Publication Dates & Audiences Across the Year

Although students often struggled to revise initial drafts, which I'll take up in a subsequent finding's section, the act of publishing for their peers, whether only the peers in their writing group (e.g. memoir unit, 5/15/18) or peers in other grades or classes (e.g. feature article, 2/14/18), brought urgency to the time they spent working in class. Across the year, as students got closer and closer to the publication date, their focus and productivity during class increased, which could have been a result of students' knowledge that they were publishing for actual readers. Researchers, such as Nell Duke, Victoria Purcell-Gates, Leigh Hall and Cathy Tower (2007), talk about the importance of providing students with opportunities to publish for real audiences, because outside of an instructional context "literate people almost always write only if there is a reader for their writing, even if (in the case of journal or personal memo writing) the reader is the writer" (p.352). Victoria and Dana understood this rationale from their participation in the National Writers' Project and teacher preparation program, both of which advocated for writing process and authentic writing instruction (R. Bomer, 2011; McKay, 2019). At the beginning of each writing unit, although both teachers made an effort to make visible how each minilesson was focused on a writing practice that was both a part of and would work toward a larger writing project (e.g. Figure 4.6), students needed frequent reminders of what this meant (field notes, 10/3/17).

For example, days before their first publication of the year students in Victoria's class struggled to produce any text that could go in their class magazine. During those last few class hours, Victoria's appreciative discourse—"I can see you all thoughtfully engaging in your writing" (field notes, 10/3/17)—worked to motivate students to keep pushing forward, and frequently referenced time: "You need to focus today," "final drafts are due at the end of the period," "If I ask you to move it is because I want you to succeed, not because I have anything against you" (field notes, 10/3/17). The idea of working on



Figure 4.6: Writing Process Cycle (Victoria, artifact, 9/27/17)

one piece of writing over time was unfamiliar for many students, as was the fact that people other than their teacher would read their work.

For both teachers the reason to celebrate on publication days lay in the accomplishment of finishing a piece of writing that students had worked on for an extended amount of time. For many students, the reason to celebrate was completing a task and the unexpected interest in something they wrote. Tara, for example, said that she "wanted to share more writing" (April 5, 2018) after she "published" her feature article on abortion. When asked to reflect on her favorite piece of writing, she commented on what it felt like to share her work with other people.

My favorite one was the abortion paper I did because I felt really good about it and I felt like I did really good on it and then I felt like we had to show it to people. Like, you know, they liked it too. They understood where I was coming from because I came in both angles of the topic. (Interview, April 5, 2018) Up to this point Tara said she "liked writing, but wasn't good at it" (self-reflection, 9/8/17). Sharing her writing with the eleventh graders and getting their positive feedback was life changing for her and an experience she repeated to me over and over across the year. Of course, not all students had an experience like Tara's. Students who were frequently absent or did not have a writer's notebook struggled to work urgently in or outside of class.

Moving from Respecting Time to Humanizing

Teaching with respect for students' time meant teaching and creating spaces for students to work with some vigor toward a particular goal or purpose. It foregrounded the necessitation of right now, and that "right now" was dependent on students finding meaning in the work they were asked to do. Students of Color are disproportionately placed in lower track classes, and plagued by lowered expectations for their participation and work and watered-down curriculum centered around test-prep (Gamoran, 1993; Oakes, 1985; Valenzuela, 1999). This results in classes where the instruction and curriculum lack meaning (often for both teachers and students) (Oakes, 1985). This dismal picture of school is presented in stark contrast to Victoria and Dana's instruction. Both teachers took advantage of every moment of class, and often followed up with students outside of class, because of the deep respect they held for their students. In addition to respecting their students as humans, they also believed in their pedagogy, believed that what they were teaching was important and would support students' development as writers inside and outside of school. Therefore, in addition to the careful guarding of time, they also used larger writing goals (e.g. publishing for authentic audiences) to build urgency into their instruction. Emi, one of Victoria's ninth graders, noticed the difference between Victoria's instruction and that of her other teachers. In an interview she told me:

I have teachers who teach something for a day and then the next day we were teaching something else, and I was like, I'm barely learning this and now you want me to learn that. I don't feel like Ms. Victoria does that, but other teachers do, and it doesn't give us any time to process. I guess it goes with time too. She makes us do things other teachers didn't and it helps. (April 5, 2018)

Emi's description of what happens in her other classes communicates how different Victoria's treatment of class time was. Although Emi doesn't complain the work in these other classes is "watered down" (Anyon, 1997; Oakes, 1985), her comments do suggest the work lacks meaning and focus. The "things" that Victoria "made [them] do" students saw supporting the development of their lives as learners and writers, an idea reminiscent of what Gay (2002) said to teachers about working with culturally and linguistically populations: teachers need to "care so much about [them] and their achievement that they accept nothing less than high-level success from them and work diligently to accomplish it" (Gay, 2002, p.109). Emi didn't mind the hard work in Victoria's class, because she could see how her teacher understood them and what they needed as writers.

Cammorata and Romero (2006) argue that teachers must articulate their "faith in students' intellectual capacities and a respect for their concerns about the world" (p.20). In the next chapter I will discuss further how both Dana and Victoria, using their response to writing practices, enact this faith and respect in students, by teaching them to be independent and agentive writers. However, I mention it here, because the teachers' focus on time was not an effort to oppress students but was due to the teachers' deeply rooted faith and respect for the students intellectual, emotional and social capacities as humans.

CONCLUSION

In sum, this chapter presents analysis of Dana and Victoria's physical and discursive environment, which illuminated how they showed respect for their students as human beings. They did this by designing/cultivating a physical and emotional

environment that made students feel cared for intellectually, physically and emotionally. They also did this through enacting asset-based perspectives, which they practiced through listening to students and designing curriculum that built on students' existing literacies. And finally, they did this by harnessing time as a series of humanizing moments that built into a larger statement about the urgent need for students to share their voices, experiences and ideas in writing. These first two principles collectively confirm the connection often made between caring literature and humanizing pedagogies (del Carmen Salazar, 2013), specifically the overlapping areas of respect, active listening, high expectations and interests in students' overall well-being (Bartolome, 1994; Cammarota & Romero, 2006; Gay, 2010). While these two bodies of literature theorize broadly the principles of humanizing pedagogies, my study demonstrates how these principles can be animated within the context of writing classrooms and teaching writing. In the next chapter, I build on this scholarship by discussing how Dana and Victoria demonstrated their respect for students' humanity by designing and enacting writing curriculum focused on building independent lives as writers. This larger idea is spread across the last two principles of my theory of humanizing writing pedagogy: Teaching toward Agency and Independence and Teaching through Response.

Chapter 5: Teaching Toward Agency and Independence and Through Response

In this chapter I continue discussing the principles of humanizing writing instruction that emerged from my analysis. Across the next two sections, I describe and discuss the principles Teaching toward Agency and Independence, and Teaching through Response. As in the previous chapter, I draw on representative data from both teacher cases and conclude each section with a discussion of the knowledge, practices and discourses that make the discussed principle humanizing.

The findings I present in this chapter are:

- The teachers supported students' independence and agency as writers through their use of workshop and process-oriented approaches, through teaching students to rely on their peers, and through modeling practices informed by their own writing lives.
- The teachers supported students' growth as writers and humans through humanizing response practices, such as prompting dialogue between reader and writer, descriptively naming what students were doing, and using disciplinary language during teacher-student writing conferences.

PRINCIPLE #3: TEACHING TOWARD AGENCY AND INDEPENDENCE

In María del Carmen Salazar's (2013) article titled, "A humanizing pedagogy: Reinventing the principles and practice of education as a journey toward liberation" she argues that, amongst other principles and practices, the development of a "critical consciousness is imperative for students and educators" and that "student empowerment requires the use of learning strategies" (p.138). Collectively these principles suggest that teachers need to support students' reflection on their own learning within larger social, cultural and historical narratives as well as support students in being intentional strategists when it comes to their own learning. For Dana and Victoria, the organization of their lessons, the writing knowledge they taught and the writing practices enacted were all designed to support the development of strategies to foster a diverse and rich writing life in and outside of school. Victoria said in an interview:

Just helping, aiding the way most students explore their reading and writing lives. My goal for my kids at the end of their time with me is to feel pretty established with their skills as readers and writers knowing that they can make de cisions and choices along the way. (Oct 13, 2018)

In a writing classroom this support meant helping students make decisions about how they wanted to enact existing writing practices and how they wanted to plan for their future lives as writers. (Interviews, Oct 13, 2018; June 5, 2018).

Both teachers were committed to *teaching* writing instead of *assigning* writing (Fearn & Farnan, 2000, xi), which translated into instruction that emphasized learning through process and through a variety of composing situations. This teaching was also focused on writing practices and curriculum that mimicked how writers live and work outside of school. In this section I discuss how Dana and Victoria infused this idea of "writing matters beyond the classroom walls" (Daniels, 2007, p.17) through their use of workshop and process-oriented approaches (R. Bomer, 2011; Elbow, 1998; Murray, 1972), through teaching students to rely on their peers, and through modeling practices informed by their own writing lives. I will also show how the teachers' emphasis on inquiring into students' lives as writers was a key component of their humanizing writing pedagogy, ultimately supporting students' independence and agency as writers.

Knowledge of Workshop and Process of Writing

When asked in their end of year interviews how they would best define their approach to teaching English Language Arts, both teachers called themselves "workshop

teachers" (Interviews, June 19, 2018; May 31, 2018). Victoria defined workshop as "taking the time in class to let writing actually happen," and ultimately supporting students to "find what works for [them] in reading and writing, like teaching people how to make those choices and how to figure that out" (Interview, May 31, 2018).

Dana attributed her thinking about writers' workshop (R. Bomer, 2011; Calkins, 1994) to her teacher preparation program, focusing primarily on the organizational structure associated with workshop (minilesson/independent work time/debrief). She said, "I like [this structure] because it is how I can give individualized support to students" (Interview, June 19, 2018). In her interview she discussed the support she provided students through conferring during their independent worktime, and pushed back against the common misconception shared by her colleagues that a writer's workshop classroom is about free-writing:

We're working towards a common goal of reading and writing and I'm teaching minilessons along the way to help kids get to that common goal. But during the time when I'm not teaching mini lessons, I'm having one on one conferences to help them along in individual ways and there's a lot of work going on and not just like not just copying or not just like I'm doing this one thing that everybody else is doing because I'm required to write on this one topic, but I don't think that it is just like, and now let's free write every day. I feel like I've, I've seen that happen, and that does not seem helpful. (Interview, June 19, 2018)

Victoria and Dana taught writing through strategy instruction that was delivered through short minilessons. These minilessons occurred almost every day, even on days when the students met in their writing groups and consisted of a short 5 to 10 minute demonstration of a specific writing strategy (R. Bomer, 2011). Strategies were taught instead of traditional prompts, because strategies could be applied to the work students were doing in school *and* applied to students' writing life outside of school (R. Bomer, 2011). The students' independent work time was designed to create opportunities for them

to make decisions about their learning space, tools they would use to write, and strategies they had to support themselves at different points during their writing process. The debrief/reflection was supposed to be a space for students to reflect on their learning, and for teachers to quickly assess the thinking and learning of the larger group (R. Bomer, 2011). Unfortunately, because of time and perhaps more powerful authoritative discourses (Bakhtin, 2010) that suggested other ways to close class, the debrief/reflection was often skipped and substituted for homework and/or end of class routines (e.g. putting away Chromebooks or notebooks) (field notes, e.g. 12/18/17; 4/6/18; 5/17/18).

Across the year, Dana and Victoria taught five writing units. During each unit they taught their students that writers write through an iterative process. Table 5.1 provides an overview of what a typical writing unit looked like in these classrooms.

Process	Notebook /Life as writer	Immer- sion	Collectin g	Draft- ing	Revision (big and small)	Editing	Publish- ing
Days	2-5	4-5	4-5	1	3	2	1
Victoria (e.g. mini- lesson)	e.g. Choices about tools (e.g. notebook s/pens)	e.g. reading like a writer	e.g. writing notebook entries like "essayist "	e.g. Fast drafting/g etting out of our own way	e.g. perspecti ves/know ledge about topic	e.g. using mentor texts to check language/ format consisten	e.g. feedback
Dana (e.g. mini- lesson)	e.g. starting from what you know	e.g. reading for audience and purpose	e.g. interview ing peers as a way to gather new		e.g. thinking about audience & purpose	cy	

Table 5.1: Writing Unit and Writing Process Overview

Although the writing process cycle is presented here in steps, the actual enactment of this process was intentionally messy and individualized. This idea, that process is messy and individualized, was central to the teachers' writing instruction, because they understood that writers often don't have a complete understanding of what they are writing at the onset. They may have an idea, but it is through a messy and recursive process that writers really figure out what they are writing (Flower & Hayes, 1981; Murray, 1972; Shaughnessy, 1979). The way that Victoria thought about workshop—"to find what works for you in reading and writing"—was inextricably tied to process. Victoria drew on sociocultural perspectives in her description of process, which she wanted students to understand as:

You have to get your ideas stirred up first and then from those ideas you got to let them be really messy and gross. Once you have your messy and gross ideas down, you can start kind of picking out, you know, comparing it to what pieces are in the genre, and so it was just like examining, being aware of what writing looks like, taking, taking the steps to make it happen. (Interview, May 31, 2018)

Victoria's description of process was not the neat and tidy linear, step-by-step process often depicted in schools (Cameron, Nairn, & Higgins, 2009; Murray, 1972), and instead presented writing as an approachable practice that we can all do. The accessibility of writing was an important component of her practices and disrupted larger monocultural narratives that people are born either "good writers and bad writers" (Flower & Hayes, 1981). This binary of good or bad can be especially harmful for students who have been positioned as "bad writers," because their language and literacy practices are different from those that are dominant within a culture.

Dana also taught writing as messy process that school-based writing instruction didn't always make visible. Here, in an excerpt from one of her minilessons (12/6/17), she talks about this messiness, while also acknowledging the contradictions in how school-writing is often taught and the actual practices of writers in outside of school contexts. By juxtaposing "school-writing" and "outside of school" writing she brings into conversation

dominant narratives around writing (Hillocks, 2002), and creates space for more critical conversations about what is taught and why:

- 01a So when we try
- 01b that means that not everything needs to be perfect,
- 01c and I know that sometimes
- 01d when you are out of your notebook for a while
- 01e you come back and you're like,
- 01f 'Okay, I'm going to sit down,
- 01g I'm going to title this,
- 01h it is going to be beautiful,
- 01i I'm going to use white-out
- 01j because I don't want any stray marks,
- 01k I'm going to ask how to spell everything,
- 011 because I don't want to misspell anything.'
- 02a That is not the point of your notebook,
- 02b a notebook is a place to try;
- 02c to try out some crazy stuff.

At the beginning of this excerpt Dana illuminated a tension students may experience when encountering writing practices taught and encouraged in her classroom, because larger institutions, such as school, often suggest writing needs to be "perfect" (line 1b). However, the point of the minilesson was to remind students that their notebook was a tool they had to support their writing (line 2a), a place to "try out crazy stuff" (line 2c) and just be messy. She emphasized the importance of *trying* and taking risks (2c). Although these are practices real writers engage in, in the space of school where writing is often associated with high stakes and gate-keeping measures, students are too afraid to take these risks (Behizaeh, 2014). By ventriloquating (Bakhtin, 1981) (1f-11) an imagined student and repeating the affective phrase "I don't want," she drew the students' lived experiences closer to her own, dancing between her own writing life and the student's. Through this demonstration, her instruction worked to diminish the distance between learning to write in school and learning to write outside of school. Multiple studies have shown that once students leave school they have to *re*learn how to write, because "the deeply entrenched classroom practices and habits can be counterproductive in the new setting" (Bazerman, 2016, p.18). Dana in this minilesson explicitly names a view of writing education that is restrictive and commonplace (and often driven by testing ideologies (Hillocks, 2002)), and offers a more humanizing writing practice that is illustrative of how writers actually work in the world.

Minilessons to support student decision making

A component of the writing workshop instructional approach, the minilesson is a teacher-directed script that Victoria and Dana learned in their teacher preparation program (Interview, Oct. 10, 2017; Oct. 13, 2017). Although the monologic script of a minilesson resembles a "recitation script" (Gutiérrez, 1993), limiting dialogic interactions, the script is purposefully short and didactic so that students have more time to actually practice writing independently during class time (R. Bomer, 2011).

Most minilessons across the four classes invited students to make some sort of decision about how they would engage in their writing practice, which included asking students to reflect on the kind of tools they needed to be successful, how to know when to ask for help, resources to support their purposes for writing, and what to do when writing was difficult. Collectively these instructional practices served the teachers' larger goal of supporting students develop writing practices that students could independently pursue both inside and outside of school. The table below lists the most common writing strategies taught in minilessons across the year.

Minilesson Strategy	Writing Process	Coding Categories Related to Independence/Agency
Getting started: Bumping off text	Collecting ideas	Making choices
Getting started: Building stamina	Collecting ideas	Making choices
Tools/preferences as writers (notebook & pen selection)	Writing Identity	Tools (to support writing preferences)
Writing what we know: Writing territories	Writing identity/Collecting ideas	Using lived experiences as resources for writing
Envisioning our topics: Writing topic proposals	Planning	Tool/Envisioning what kind of text we want to make/Making decisions
Collecting/layering topic: Using mentor texts	Collecting around topic	Mentor texts as authoritative
Using checklist and mentor texts to edit	Editing	Mentor texts as authoritative resource
Reading like a writer: using mentor texts to understand genre	Planning/Revising	Mentor texts as authoritative resource
Exploring topics through talk	Collecting around topic	Using writing community to support writing
Asking questions to develop ideas	Collecting around topic	Using writing community to support writing
Writing to think to explore topics	Collecting around topic	Tool
Surveying/interviewing others to research	Collecting around topic	Using writing community to support writing
Focus, writing fast and long (page goal)	Drafting & Revising	
Responding to each other's drafts like readers	Revising	Using writing community to support writing

Table 5.2: Most Common Minilessons in Dana and Victoria's Classes

Each writing strategy invited students to engage in a writing practice that made either explicit or implicit connections to their writing lives outside of school, collectively supporting students' decision-making as writers, teaching them to use mentor texts as resources to help them envision the kind of text they want to make, revise, and edit, as well as teaching them to rely on their peers in and outside of their writing group. For example, in the table above, the first strategy, "bumping off texts" (R. Bomer, 2011), both teachers taught during the first week of classes. This strategy invited students to begin their writing practice by using a text they had read, watched or listened to as a starting point for writing. Dana taught this lesson on the first day of school, as an example of one of the "main structures" of the class (field notes, "talks about the main structures of the class: minilesson, workshop time, debrief, and conferring," 8/29/17).

She introduces the poem "The Ride" and begins reading it aloud. Students (had picked up these poems when they walked in). Dana: "So we've read it and know exactly what it means, right?" No one respond. Dana: laughs. "No. I've read this a million times and I still don't know what it is." She talks through some of what she was thinking about. "So this is what we are going to do. You are going to read it again, reading it to yourselves and writing alongside about what is going on in your brains. You are going to do this individually, and I promise, you will have plenty of time to talk after. Dana goes around and peaks in on students

After a few min she stops everyone: "I saw some brilliance going on here" Says this to group of boys who are chatting in the front left corner.

Consistent with the minilesson structure (R. Bomer, 2011; Calkins, 1994) Dana modeled the strategy, "bumping off a text" with "The Ride" and then invited students to try it. Although many students began writing this way, the instruction was discursively framed as an invitation, so that students knew they had space to decide whether or not they wanted to use that strategy or use one of the many others they had in their repertoire.

The notebook entries below are just one of many examples that show evidence of students making decisions about how they would practice writing (Figure 5.1). In these

entries one of Dana's students, Masha, had pasted a poem, "For the Tattooed Man," she self-selected (left image, 11/6/17), which she flips back to when using the "bumping off text" strategy later in the year.

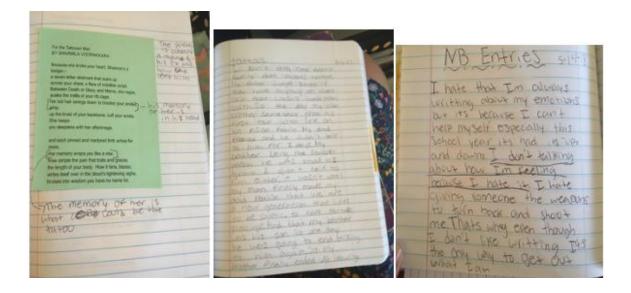


Figure 5.1: Masha's Notebook: (left two images) Nov 6, 2017; (right) May 14, 2018

Masha had re-discovered this poem while she was flipping through her notebook on Nov. 6, 2017. On the same day she re-discovered this poem, she wrote an entry titled "Tattoos" (middle image) where she talked about how her father feels about tattoos. Masha engaged in two writing practices on this day. She used her writer's notebook as a tool that could help her engage in a meaningful writing practice, which then led her to find a text to use as inspiration for her writing time, using the writer's notebook as it was intended, as a place to capture ideas for future writing projects (R. Bomer, 1995).

Masha's choices here illustrated the independence Dana's instruction afforded writing about topics she cared about, using her notebook as a tool, and drawing on strategies she could take with her once she left the school context. Masha's writing on Nov 6, 2017 was personal, as it was on most days. She most frequently wrote about soccer, the people in her life and emotions, lamenting in a later entry, "I hate that I'm always writing about my emotions" (Figure 5.1, 5/14/18), while also articulating she needed writing to "get out what [she is] feeling." By creating space in her class "to let writing happen," and teaching strategies through minilessons that students could adopt and adapt as they moved into their own writing, Dana gave her students opportunity to discover how to engage in and use writing as a practice that would support their intellectual and emotional well-being.

Building metacognitive practices through self-assessment

As students applied writing strategies to their daily writing practice, the teachers also explicitly taught them metacognitive practices to support their understanding of themselves as writers. These metacognitive practices were developed through quick reflections after class (field notes, e.g. "on post-it write which conversation was most productive and what you thought caused it to be most productive", 10/3/17) and self-assessments after each writing group session and writing unit (Figure 5.2; Figure 5.3).

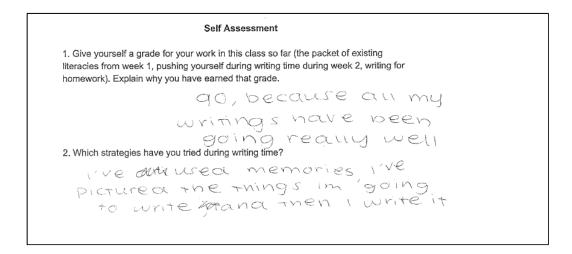


Figure 5.2: 9th Grader's Self Assessment of Writing During First Two Weeks of School (9/7/17)

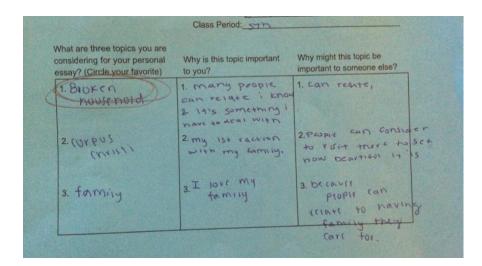


Figure 5.3: 11th Grader's Reflection After 11/28 Writing Group

Both teachers asked students to assess and evaluate their "work in class" (e.g., self-assessment, 9/7/17) after every writing unit. In these self-assessments Victoria asked students questions about writing strategies they found helpful, writing what was interesting to them, and, on occasion, invited them to provide feedback about what was or was not

working in the class (artifacts, e.g. 9/7/17; 10/10/17, 3/23/18, 4/26/18). Dana also asked students to write quick reflections on post-it notes or half pieces of paper (see Figure 5.3) to capture students' thinking about the ideas discussed in writing groups. This practice was not about assessing or evaluating their talk, but about documenting the talk so that students could use it in their next writing session. Peer response researchers have for some time been interested in the relationship between talk and students' revisions, and how teachers can help students make connections between their work in these two spaces (Denyer & LaFleur, 2001; Ellerbe, 2012; Hewett, 2000; Launspach, 2008; Lundstrom & Baker, 2009; Nystrand & Brandt, 1989). Dana and Victoria's practices add to this body of literature by contributing specific self-assessment tools and practices that students use to connect peer talk to their individual writing practice. Overall, the varied tools and practices the teachers used to support students' metacognitive practices supported students' independence and self-efficacy as learners and writers and were evidence of what Victoria said she wanted for her students and for her teaching: "to find what works for [them] in reading and writing", like teaching people how to make those choices and how to figure that out" (Interview, May 31, 2018).

Students decision-making around texts.

Another key component of the writing process approach that enabled the teachers to teach toward student independence was the principle of student choice in relation to texts. As mentioned above in the section on minilessons, both teachers built opportunities into their curriculum for students to make decisions about the kinds of texts they read and the kinds of texts they produced. Every writing unit included 2-3 days where students selected mentor texts to use as a model for their own writing. Genre study researchers argue for instructional practices like the modeling Victoria (and Dana) did, and discuss the importance of immersing students in the genre to understand its features and key traits (Bazerman, 2000). Whitney, Ridgeman, and Masquelier (2011) described this process as:

First, they involve immersing students in some purpose for wanting or needing to use a genre; students learning to use a genre are using it not just for an assignment but because they are preparing for some real-world event or are being called to step into a sphere of communication or action in which the genre is a conventional form of discourse. (p.526)

Dana and Victoria taught writing through a study of genres so that students had opportunities to immerse themselves in a variety of "writing that matters" (Daniels, 2007, p.17) outside the classroom. The immersion part of a genre study also provided students with opportunities to select texts that meant something to them. The independence supported by this practice could be seen in students' interactions around the texts, which suggests the process was meaningful to them. For example, during a poetry unit Victoria invited groups of students to meet with her so that she could support their selection of poems (field notes, 2/22/18). She told students that there would be one class mentor text, so that the class could have a collective experience, and then they would select two poems, and she would also pick one for them. In the interaction below Victoria talks to three students, Gustavo, Jean and Justin, about what poems they would like. I have separated Victoria's script from the students' for both readability and to illustrate how the students' script at times ran independent from Victoria's:

Teacher Script		Student Script		
Victoria: 01 Which two?		01a 01b 01c	Gustavo:	"Ode to the man" and:: Oh wait, I only found one.
02 folde	Okay↑ [digging through r to fine Jean's poem]	02	Jean:	I have one of mine.

		03a 03b	Gustavo:	Ou:: ↑ "The rose that grew from concrete."
		04a	Jean:	That's the one that I chose,
		04b 04c		and this one. It doesn't have a name though.
03a 03b 03c	You want to pick two poems that you are interested in. <i>[flipping</i>	05a	Justin:	What are we supposed to be looking for?
	through folder looking for requested poems]	06	Gustavo:	Poems.
04a 04b	[to Jean] Okay, so I heard you wanted this one?	07	Jean:	Yes,
05a 05b 05c	And I'm going to pick a fourth one for you [Gustavo].	08a 08b	Gustavo:	What? <i>[reading]</i> "Another reason I don't
06a 06b	Okay, this is the fourth	08c		keep a gun in the house." What if I do keep a gun in the house?
066 06c 06d	one for you [passes a poem to Gustavo]. Keep them safe,	09a	Jean:	What, why does he get four?
06e	and put them in notebook.	09b		I want this one.
		10a	Jean:	I didn't even look
07a	Which one is that? [Looks at where Jean is pointing]	10b		through the whole thing, but I just saw those two
07b	Oh, okay.	10c 10d		and 'cause I can relate, so much.
08	Sometimes you just know.			

What is perhaps most interesting in this interaction is how Victoria's script and the students' script run in tandem, but only rarely intersected. Victoria's script was responsive to the students, but focused acutely on the task to retrieve the two poems that students self-

select as mentor texts. As a result, her discourse was both didactic and concise. The students' script was frequently distanced from their teacher's as they looked through the "menu of poems" in front of them. The students across four macrolines (1, 2, 5, 9) asked questions that Victoria acknowledged, but their groupmates responded to (lines 2, 3, 4, 6). In macroline 8 and 10 Gustavo and Jean focused their words on the text. Gustavo revoiced a line in a poem and then asked a rhetorical question, whereas Jean's final comment implied a personal connection between her and her chosen poem. Across this interaction students negotiated with their teacher and each other around what and how to select poems for their genre study. Although it is unclear if Victoria's pithy script was a conscious choice to support students' independence, the brevity of her script created space for students to rely on each other as resources to support their thinking about poetry, which supported their independence as writers.

This is just one example of many where the teachers purposefully created opportunities for students to exert independence and agency around their writing practices. In a previous example, Masha from Dana's class made decisions about a text "to bump off" of during writing time and here students make decisions about texts they will use as models for their own writing. In both cases, Dana and Victoria limited their own talk, and as a result gave their students space to decide what they needed as learners and writers. This silencing is an important aspect of how the teachers supported students' independence. Because of inherent power disparities in a classroom, it is not enough for teachers to tell students they can make decisions. Teachers need to diminish their authority and presence so that students have space to develop their own. This idea will be further discussed in the next section, where I explore how the teachers taught students to rely on each other.

Students Relying on Students

It is unclear if Victoria consciously or subconsciously silenced herself to create space for Gustavo and Jean's discussion of poems or if it was just another example of a larger classroom expectation that student' support students' learning. In this section I discuss the ways both teachers positioned students as resources to support their peers' development as writers. This positioning was meant to build students' self-efficacy and independence, which also showed a respect for students as capable human beings who are strategic and knowledgeable both inside and outside of school.

Dana and Victoria valued and intentionally curated spaces for students to share their knowledge of practices and strategies that supported their learning as thinkers and writers. These curated spaces included peer-to-peer talk at the beginning of class (they called this "table talk"), during minilessons, and in writing groups. The shorter opportunities for students to share their thinking with others were critical spaces for teaching students that talk and learning are dependent upon each other (Vygostsky, 1978). These opportunities began at the very beginning of the year and acted as a scaffold to help students develop stamina, so that when they were asked to talk in writing groups for longer periods of time they had the ability to do so. For example, during the first week of classes Victoria broke up the students' writing time into two sessions, which included two rounds of talk, writing, and talk/reflection. In the excerpt from my field notes (9/5/17) below, Victoria gave students three opportunities to use talk as a tool to prepare for their writing time. On this occasion Victoria gave students a list of ideas that could help them "start thinking about the kind of things [they] could write about in [their] notebooks" (minilesson, 9/5/17). The excerpt below begins at the first opportunity she gives them to talk with their peers:

Students are supposed to talk at their tables...no one is talking Victoria: "What on this list looks interesting?" A number of students really like writing about cars. (they don't say this, observational note)

Students still reticent to talk.

Victoria: "so what we are going to do is move into writing time."

[section of field notes cut out, Victoria talks about her writing practice]

Victoria: "we are about to get into 5 minutes of writing time…write the date…every entry will start this way."

Victoria reminds students that writing may be harder this time…but it will get easier.

9:49-9:54 [Writing time]

Victoria: "I hate to interrupt you but five minutes are up. Find a stopping point.

So at this time, turn and talk to your tables. The questions are, how did you get started writing, how did you keep going even if you didn't know what to say?"

9:55..*Table talk*....

10:00: Writing time #2 - " pay attention to when your mind wanders.....when you get distracted...how do you make yourself get back to the page."

10:05: Victoria – turn and talk to your table…what was easier the second writing time?

Student talk:

Gustavo– wants to get good grades to get phone…this motivates him to keep writing.

Emmy...drawing to keep pen moving and get back into writing.

Jorge – tired.

In this one example students were still reticent to talk, a trend that continued for approximately 43% of ninth graders throughout the fall semester. However, I did not observe this trend in the eleventh grade classes, and I attribute it, in part, to the transition from middle school to high school. In February 2018, Emmy, Ami and Rochelle (all ninth graders) mentioned this to me in an interview:

Emmy: [in middle school] we had a little bit more freedom, here, there are teachers in every hall, they are like hawks.

- Ami: And if we do one thing your whole grade is affected, like one,
- Rochelle: Teachers are like, cardinals, they are there but you don't notice them at first, stalking you in the window=
- Emmy: I'm like scared to make mistake.

The omnipresence of South Cardinal's obsession with control and surveillance comes through in this interview. Although the ninth graders came from different middle schools, over 60% of the students I talked to felt immense pressure to perform well-or else. Although Victoria's invitation to talk was open ended with no intimation that there was a right or wrong (e.g. "what on this list looks interesting" and "how did you keep going even if you didn't know what to say"), this could have been unnerving to students who felt like school (and teachers) had rigid rules for how to perform (and interact) and were just waiting to catch you making a mistake. A similar phenomenon was reported in Joan Cone's (1992) study of her own untracked AP English class, where the few Students of Color in the class sat silent during a student-centered discussion. After class the one Latina girl said, "I can't talk like them. I just can't. I understand the book, but I can't say anything. If we get graded on discussions I'll flunk" (Cone, 1992, p.712). Although the demographics in Cone's class were different, in both contexts the students from Victoria's and Joan's classes struggled with how their discourses (both verbal and embodied) aligned with mainstream Discourses (i.e. unspoken rules about how to talk, behave and, ultimately, be a student in school) (Gee, 2015). Victoria and her instruction represented normative language and literacy practices, which were not always shared with her students. Therefore, her students could have internalized normative understandings about how to talk in school from both her classroom and other educational spaces and felt that if they didn't say the "right things" they, too, would "flunk". This discussion suggests that despite the humanizing instructional practice of teaching students to rely on each other as resources, practices cannot be isolated from larger social contexts, and the ninth graders' reaction reminds us of the relationships of power within institutions like school and the ways in which power and discourse are intertwined.

In contrast, the eleventh graders from first days of school eagerly talked at their tables, suggesting a level of comfort and familiarity with the high school and what was expected of them. Dana also had students work collaboratively and gave frequent opportunities for students to engage with each other around some aspect of the lesson. In addition to the curated spaces for talk, Dana would pivot her lesson to respond to students' natural inclination to talk if she felt talk would support students' learning. Unlike many classrooms where classroom discourse is highly controlled (Cazden, 2001), this responsiveness showed that she was not using her authority as the teacher to control or manipulate, but to support students' developing consciousness and agendas as learners and writers. In the example of the minilesson below, Dana, has just talked through her own writer's notebook entry, and then segued into her larger observations about Austin's homeless populations and the irony of large festivals such as SXSW that are attended by people paying "a lot of money for a badge so that they can attend and stepping over homeless people as they enter the festival grounds" (minilesson, 3/19/18). These observations evoked a lot of conversation amongst the students at their tables, which Dana then interrupts:

- 01a Okay,
- 01b So here's the deal,
- 01c here's the deal.
- 02a What you guys are doing right now [referring to the back and forth talk],
- 02b these are all great strategies to start writing your notebook entries with,
- 02c these are all major questions that I don't have answers to,
- 02d all important ideas.

- 03a So writers,
- 03b I want you to take two minutes
- 03c to talk about and think about
- 03d what strategies you are going to use
- 03e to get writing today.

Dana's naming of "what you [they] are doing right now" validated the everyday interactions her students naturally participated in, and named *talk* as a writing practice students had to rely on" (macroline 2). The students' overlapping talk in this example did not just transpire because Dana made space for it in her classroom, but, arguably, was because she incorporated an event in her minilesson that was relevant to the students' lives. It is not just enough to create opportunities for students to talk during a lesson, but those opportunities need to attend to issues, ideas and questions students care about (R. Bomer, 2011). Although not every student may have been interested in the irony of the music festival, SXSW, taking place in downtown Austin, literally on top of where many homeless sleep, the local nature of this event and the relevancy of it ignited many students' interest, asking questions suggestive of real moral quandaries:

Fern: Why is that wrong? People paid to be there.

Marla: Sometimes I see a homeless person and I'll give them money.

(field notes, 3/19/18)

The efficacy of "talk", therefore, is not just in its existence, but in the fact that Dana and Victoria's students had opportunities to talk about issues/ideas/questions/experiences that were meaningful to them. Particularly important for students from marginalized communities, part of what made Dana and Victoria's pedagogy humanizing was "situating learning in social issues" (Cammarota & Romero, 2006, p.17) that were relevant and meaningful to their students' social and cultural experiences. This instructional ethos—to

teach toward meaning—carried through in how both teachers conceptualized their writing group curriculum.

For both teachers the "turn and talk" and "table talk" structures were planned and responsive facets of their teaching and important scaffolds that made the transition into writing groups easier. The teachers also used writing groups as a space to help students develop reliance on one another as people who could support one another with their writing. Dana told me in an interview that writing groups were not just about bringing in more "student-centered learning," ¹⁹ but potentially humanizing spaces for students to build relationships and know that their voice, ideas and writing matter.

I think as a writing teacher I want what I am doing in the classroom to matter in real life and not just there. So I think that's why also having writing groups was really important for building connections and knowing that someone else cares about what you're thinking about or has been through a similar experience. Yeah, I think, I mean I hope that they take that with them, that what they say is important to at least someone, somewhere. (Dana, Interview, May 17, 2018)

Dana's interview suggested a different perspective of writing groups from what much peer response scholarship has taken. Her perspective, one that Victoria shared, argued for writing groups as spaces for student to build communities where they come to know, and thus rely on each other, as writers. Conversely, most peer review research is designed within the same paradigm of how teachers traditionally think about feedback and evaluation, which is primarily focused on responding to written texts (Cho & Marthur, 2010; Gielen, Peeters, Dochy, Onghena, & Struyven, 2010; MacArthur, Schwartz, & Graham, 1991). Although this was also important to the teachers, Victoria and Dana knew that, for their students, what would be most impactful was for them to learn "that what they say is important to at least someone, somewhere" (Dana, Interview, May 17, 2018). Other researchers who have conducted inquiries into writing instruction in culturally and

¹⁹ a popular phrase used in academic contexts when they talk about innovating practices (Feriazzo, 2018)

linguistically diverse classrooms have also argued for pedagogical approaches that are transformative for students (Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016), suggesting that instruction should help students "come to view themselves, if they do not already, as writers" (p.388). By creating opportunities for their peers to care about what each other has to say, and teaching students to respond appreciatively to each other's ideas and words, students began to see themselves and each other as writers.

Teacher as Writer

In addition to positioning their students as resources to support their peers' development as writers, Dana and Victoria taught toward agency and independence by modeling for students their practices as individuals who write texts²⁰. Through this modeling they indicated to students that writing is a personal endeavor, and often an act of self-discovery. Additionally, they showed students that writing is an intensely human act that they already knew how to do. This perspective, one so different from how schools often treat writing (Applebee, 2000), was a key tenet of their humanizing pedagogy.

Dana and Victoria shared texts—entries from their writers' notebooks and anecdotes from their lives outside of school—and specific practices and tools they found helpful in developing and sustaining their writing lives. Of the 182²¹ writing minilessons, on 156 occasions the teachers narrated moments or scenes from their own life experiences. When asked about this, Dana told me that she liked to teach writing practices "that happen in real life" (Interview, June 19, 2018). For Dana the best way to make visible to students who they are as writers inside and outside of school meant going through the writing process alongside her students, drawing on her life experiences to write about topics and

²⁰ Texts that can be found outside of school

²¹ 9th grade (n= 88); 11th grade (n=94)

produce texts she cared about. Over the course of the year, Dana focused on three main topics in her demonstrations: institutionalized racism, food, and her grandpa, whereas Victoria focused her writing on her social media and "deplugging," traveling, and her chickens (field notes, e.g. 11/14/17; 3/19/18; 5/14/18). Drawing on their lived experiences humanized both Dana and Victoria, and drew the students to them, many going up to their teacher after the minilesson and asking follow up questions about their lives (field notes, e.g. 3/19/17; 5/14/18):

As Dana walks around a student asks if there was anything wrong with that (working for big corp that exploit workers). "I worked for that money" – Fern. Sometimes I give people money, but then I think about how this was the money that I worked for. This comment brings up a lot of talk at Fern's table. (Dana's 6th period class, 3/19/18)

Yunice and Yolanda ask V to see pictures of her chickens. Interesting because they have been so nasty to her recently. V shows them the Silkies (which they "awwww" at). They begin asking questions about her husband. (Victoria's 3rd period class, 5/14/18)

Victoria and Dana not only shared experiences, ideas and questions they would use in their writing, but frequently emphasized their own struggles and difficulties with writing. Victoria would share entries from her writer's notebook with scratched out sentences, and the many pages of planning she did before starting a piece. Dana focused on the difficulty of starting a writing practice, and often shared with students how difficult it was for her to carve out time for writing (field notes, e.g. 9/5/17; 3/21/18; 4/19/18). Both teachers model for students that writing is a practice that is hard for everyone, potentially disrupting the idea often communicated in schools and in popular culture that some people are just born writers, and that writing is easy for some and hard for others (Graves, 1983; Hairston, 1982; Young, 1978). In the transcript excerpt below, Dana delivers a minilesson (audio recording, 3/19/18) focused on strategies to help students get back into the practice of writing in their writer's notebook. Through her discourse, she makes her thinking visible as a writer, showing students how she thinks about her own writing practice and what she does when "writing is hard" (line 2b).

- 1a Even though I know that I'm a writer,
- 1b and I know that you guys are writers,
- 1c and I can write on my own,
- 1d and I know that writing is super important,
- 1e a lot of times it is hard for me to write on my own
- 1f unless I'm forced to do that.
- 2a Here is why:
- 2b writing is really hard
- 2c because it requires focus,
- 2d and requires you to have your own thoughts.
- 3a It is not hard for me to scroll through Instagram,
- 3b it is not that hard for me to read a book,
- 3c because it is like happening to me,
- 3d I'm not making it happen.
- 4a So writing is difficult
- 4b and it is hard to make ourselves do it,
- 4c unless we make ourselves sit down,
- 4d and do it,
- 4e and remember the strategies we have as writers.

In the first two lines Dana presented herself (line 1a) and her students as writers (line 1b), while also naming writing as a practice she struggled with. This struggle, which she owned through her use of personal pronouns ("me" and "my own") juxtaposed two situations students often find themselves in school spaces ("it is hard for me to write on my own" (line 1e); "I'm forced to do that" (line 1f)). Across the next two macrolines Dana

elaborated on the difficulty of writing, comparing it to other practices (e.g. "scrolling through Instagram" (3a) and "read[ing] a book" (3b)) that she suggests are more passive. She then continued to present the practice of writing as difficult but attainable. Yes, it is "hard to make ourselves do it" (4b), but there are strategies she has and her students have to make this hard, intellectual work possible. Within these lines, moments of Dana's humanizing writing pedagogy are made visible. She positioned herself next to her students as writers who were engaging in challenging work. She presented writing as rigorous, intellectual work that deserved students' full attention, and used relevant examples (e.g. Instagram) and collective pronouns to reinforce her connection and relationship with her students.

Victoria, like Dana, also talked about writing as a challenging practice, and would most frequently talk about how her writing group helped her overcome some of the more challenging moments she faced. Her writing group was made up of a group of writers that she met with monthly, and was a reoccurring life experience she drew on to support her students in writing groups.

- 01a I'm in a writing group,
- 01b which is part of why we are doing this here.
- 02 This is what real writers do out there in the real world.
- 03a I write for real,
- 03b I have people I write with.
- 04a I have not had a writing assignment,
- 04b like no one has graded my writing,
- 04c no one has assigned me to do this thing in like ten years,
- 04d but I'm doing it anyway
- 04e and I'm doing it with a group of people.
- 05 What I've found is that I need support when I write.

- 06 I need people who are going through this struggle with me.
- 07a I need people to talk through ideas,
- 07b because, almost every time,
- 07c my ideas come out kind of weird,
- 07d and I just need people to talk through what it is that I'm thinking.

As Dana did previously, Victoria emphasized the "struggle" (line 6), and the notion that our ideas don't always come out the way we intend. By drawing on their own life experiences and practices the teachers modeled for students that writing often comes from someplace personal, and that writing within a community of writers often means taking risks in both our oral and written discourse. Victoria also brought into conversation the local context of school, and how school writing was most often conducted within the context of an assignment that would be graded. By juxtaposing writing practices done for a grade with the voluntary writing group she is in, she attempts to show her students the value and "real world" applications of this practice. However, this tension does pose a contradiction in her pedagogy. She is assigning writing groups as an activity that will be assessed, and furthermore, graded. This contradiction and its consequences will be explored more fully in Chapter 6.

Agency and Independence to Humanizing

Paulo Freire (1970) said that a humanizing pedagogy is when "the method of instruction ceases to be an instrument by which teachers can manipulate the students, because it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves" (p.513). In this section, I discussed how Dana and Victoria supported students' independence and agency by structuring their classes so that students had time to work independently on writing projects that embodied the broader communicative purposes of writing outside of school, and by

creating space for decision making and peer-to-peer support. To support this independence the teachers taught specific strategies that focused on building skills to sustain motivation and meaningfulness in the writer's life. Dana and Victoria used their personal writing practices to model strategies around their decision making as writers, how they worked through struggle and how they used others to support their writing practice. Unlike most writing instruction where "meaningful writing opportunities are unequally distributed, depending on many social, economic, and cultural factors" (Bazerman, 2016, p.17), the teachers understood that "critical engagement ... as active subjects" (Jennings & Matta, 2009, p.225), was crucial to students' engagement, while also being representative of the humanizing social activity writing is. By foregrounding writing as a potentially humanizing social activity that is messy, iterative and recursive, the teachers disrupted the restrictive ideologies that were driven by testing and, instead, foregrounded writing as a practice where students could "attend to the realities of [their] lives, histories and diverse backgrounds" (Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016, p.379). In the next section called, Teaching through Response, I continue this discussion of independence and agency through my analysis of Victoria and Dana's asset-based, multidimensional and individualized response to writing practices.

PRINCIPLE #4: TEACHING THROUGH RESPONSE

Aligned with what Stephen Tchudi (1997) would call high levels of freedom in the "various acts of judging student writing" (p.15), Victoria and Dana tried to enact response practices that prompted dialogue between reader and writer, descriptively named what students were doing, and built disciplinary knowledge. Through some of our shared readings on response to writing (in the study group) (e.g., K. Bomer, 2010; Spence, 2010) and undoubtedly other schooling and lived experiences, the teachers developed

understandings around response that pushed back against the traditional teacher-written feedback that Hillocks (1986) in his metaanalysis of research on writing instruction found ineffective. The practices described in Hillocks' and others' research (Anson, 1989; Tchudi, 1997) suggested narrow, external criteria for judging writing, which was the antithesis of Dana and Victoria's responses to students. Their practices were asset-based, multidimensional and individualized, focusing on what they understood at that moment about the students' writing, while also positioning the student as a co-problem solver.

Writing research on feedback and response suggests that one of the more effective forms of response is when "ideas and language" (MacArthur, 2016, p.275) between teacher/reader and writer can be discussed. In process-oriented classrooms, like Victoria and Dana's, this often looks like face to face conferences where readers (e.g. teachers or peers) respond authentically to writers by "asking questions about things that are confusing, expressing emotional reactions, or discussing content" (Freedman & Sperling, 1985, p.79). Unlike traditional teacher-written and oral feedback that focuses on "general" comments and "surface features" (Beach & Friedrich, 2006; Smith, 1997), responding as a reader gives students an opportunity to further clarify their meaning and begin to imagine how their writing can create shareable meanings that impact others. This opportunity is a humanizing process, because it redistributes power to the student by leveling their voice, ideas and experiences with that of the teacher.

However, because of large classes Dana and Victoria struggled to find time to routinely respond to each student as a reader, which is why they shared this responsibility with students, intentionally creating spaces in their classrooms where students could respond to each other's writing in writing groups. This ties back to the element of students relying on students as an aspect of teachers' humanizing writing instruction. MacArthur (2016) said in his review of peer review and feedback that "peers can provide feedback that is more frequent, extensive, and immediate than teachers," and "students may benefit from both giving and receiving feedback" (p.275). In this section I discuss how teachers modeled effective response practices through teacher-student writing conferences that could then be appropriated into students' writing groups.

Teacher Response

Research on writing conferences suggests that students' interaction with their teachers has significant impact on their development as writers (Anson & Anson, 2017; Sperling, 1996) and, I argue, is potentially a more humanizing approach to response because it brings the writer into dialogue with the reader, which levels out the power a "reader" or "responder" often has when reading work. In 1982 Murray wrote that a writer's independence occurs through foundational dialogue between a student and a teacher, and happens best in face-to-face conferences. Inside Murray's vision of a writing conference, the teacher helps the student figure out what, exactly, is working and how it can be made to work better. Ideally the teacher is just helping and supporting, leaving the student (i.e. the writer) with the most stake in their writing. Additionally the conference provides a unique space for both parties to address any aspect of the student's writing process that might appear to be only tangentially related to writing instruction such as in-school or out-of-school interests and/or concerns that may or may not lead to writing topics and ideas (Freedman & Sperling, 1985).

In the social context of a writing classroom, teacher-student writing conferences take on varying structures, often determined by context factors such as class size and rhetorical situation (Bayraktar, 2013; Hawkins, 2016; Sperling, 1991). This variation can be seen in how Victoria and Dana enacted writing conferences across the year. Dana's approach to teacher-student writing conferences aligned most closely to conference

scholarship, which describes a conference as a short two to six minute conversation where the teacher gathers information about students' learning and teaches a strategy to support students' growth as a writer (K. Bomer, 2010; Glasswell & Parr, 2009; Sperling, 1996). During each independent writing block, Dana conferred with two to five students. Her goal was to confer with every student at least once during a writing unit (field notes, 11/14/17), which meant every student would participate in at least six teacher-student conferences across a year. Unfortunately, because of other administrative pressures Dana faced and the high population of truant students, the most conferences a student got was four.

Guided by the student's agenda, Dana's conferences ranged from two and a half to six minutes in length. They followed a predictable structure that began with an invitation to the student to talk about where they were in their writing process.

DANA: So Elle, what strategy are you working on today?

ELLE: I'm working on flashbacks.

This invitation usually included language related to the daily minilesson (e.g. a strategy the student was using in their writing). In this way the writing conference acted as a logical extension of Dana's teaching. From there the student was given space to talk and Dana's subsequent utterances served to support the students' agenda. This positioning of the students' agenda is crucial to Dana and Victoria's humanizing pedagogy, and meant a great deal to their students. At the end of the year, one of Dana's students wrote her a note commenting on how much her teacher-student writing conferences meant to her, which Dana later shared in an interview with me:

One kid wrote me a note and was like, um, you came around to every single person this year and you talked to us, one on one, and that made a huge difference. And I was like, you saw what I was doing? You recognized that? Wow. (May 28, 2018)

Educators and researchers studying humanizing pedagogies talk about the importance of "find[ing] ways to capitalize on culturally and linguistically diverse students' repertoires of practice, voice(s), and literate identities when teaching academic literacies" (Zisselberger, 2106, p.121). In the conference space the teachers do this by not only inviting students to talk about their writing, but through active and intentional pursuit of their students' agendas.

Victoria's conferences during class were not as frequent and structured as Dana's. During the time I observed her class, I only witnessed her conferring with students on three days²², which she confessed was a source of tension for her. She told me multiple times across the year when I asked her about writing conferences that she wanted to sit down with more students, but worried about students getting off task, talking too loudly, and the class getting "out of control" (Interview, May 31, 2018; field notes, 11/7/17; 2/8/18; 4/9/18). In the small body of research that has studied writing conferences in secondary classrooms, this seems like a common phenomenon, where extended conferences (as described above in Dana's classroom) are infrequent; in their place teachers enact brief check-ins, a logical alternative given the time constraints of a secondary classroom (Freedman, 2005; Sperling, 1991). For Victoria, the brief check-ins before, during and after class did provide her with information about her students' in and outside of school lives which informed their writing. In an interview she told me:

I still feel like I talked, I feel like I've had, that, along the way, I know what my kids are doing, and I feel like I can communicate with them about what they are doing. And if I didn't I would, I think I would seek them out. Like I'm pretty sure I made a habit of seeking out anyone who I was like questioning. So it would have these informal kind of like drive-by troubleshooting. I don't know if there were troubleshooting. They were like, sometimes it was just like little motivators,

²² Although it is certainly possible that Victoria conferred more than three times, she said it was "something she let slip this year" (Interview, May 31, 2018).

like awesome idea or like not awesome, but like, fascinating, keep on going. (May 31, 2018)

In Victoria's interview she reflected that she knows she talked with kids, because she felt like she "kn[e]w what [they were] doing" and could "communicate with them about what they [were] doing." This knowledge of her students was corroborated by my analysis of her longer teacher-student writing conferences where the audio recordings disclosed her knowledge of students' interests, experiences and investment in their writing life. For example, after noticing one of her students' struggling with revision, she sat down with him to have a longer writing conference (1/18/18). In this conference Victoria talks to the student, Robby, about a letter he is writing to a basketball player:

- Victoria: For which team?
- Robby: Oklahoma City Thunder
- Victoria: I really like how you describe him as a loyal teammate [she reads Robby's letter and makes short appreciative comments such as "cool" and "nice"]. Do you think he gets a lot of fan-mail? How can we make this stand out even more? When someone is giving you praise, what would you want to hear more? What would make you feel special? (5) Do you remember how old you were when you started watching him?

Her string of questions prompted dialogue between her and Robby, and more specifically asked Robby to put himself in the position of someone who could get fan-mail. These questions were meant to help him revise his letter so that it would "stand out." However, they do more than just that; they show interest in who Robby is as a person, nudging him to disclose personal experiences that might give Victoria more insight into his personality and experiences outside of school. Unfortunately, this was one of only seven teacher-student conferences conducted over the course of the year, and confirmed the overall trend of talking to kids who asked for help/were visibly struggling (Gilliland, 2014; Sperling, 1991), which left many writers without teacher support for most of the year. As mentioned in Chapter four, ten of the twelve ninth graders I interviewed asked for more writing support, and were very specific in their reasoning. For example, Arlo said, "I would like to know if it was good enough, like if somebody read and didn't know that a high school student wrote it" (April 9, 2018), whereas Tara said she wanted feedback on "what kind of things need to change to make it stronger. Like if there was something that kind of went off topic, to know that we should remove it" (April 9, 2018). So although Victoria said that she always felt like she knew what her students were writing about, and was able to adequately support those who were struggling, this was not interpreted by students as "feedback" or response. These student interviews affirm what writing assessment scholarship has been touting for years, that despite the high degrees of variability in how response is taken up by teachers, student writers *want* and *need* response (Hillocks, 2006).

In this next section I provide examples of the teachers' response practices during teacher-student writing conferences, which are organized by their function (e.g. prompting dialogue between reader and writer), topical focus (e.g. invitation focused on task), the number of times this topical focus occurred across the year, and an illustrative example (Table 5.3). These examples build on existing writing conference scholarship (Freedman & Sperling, 1985; Hawkins, 2016; Sperling, 1991) by illustrating a broader repertoire of response practices that for their students—given their learning needs and educational histories—was also humanizing. This analysis of 56 teacher-student writing conference recordings (Dana: n=49; Victoria, n=7) demonstrates the complexity of how the teachers routinely responded to student writers as interested readers and disciplinary experts, showing the multiple roles the teachers take on within these short conversations.

Furthermore, this analysis illustrates how, through their responses, Dana and Victoria attended to both the classroom environment and the realities of what it means to be a writer in outside of school spaces.

The function of the first section of response practices in the table is: prompting dialogue between reader and writer, which across the three topically unique practices opened up space for students to talk more about their ideas and writing. In the first example—invitation focused on immediate task—Dana invited Derick to share what he will work on during writing time.

Function	Topical Focus	#	Example	
Prompting Dialogue Between Reader and Writer	Invitation focused on immediate task.	49 5	 DANA: Okay, cool, so tell me what you decided to do today. DERICK: So I decided to watch the interview on Jeffery Dahmer, which is the last interview before he was beaten to death in prison by an inmate VICTORIA: Will you write about that? Because that is fascinating. JUSTIN: The money? You should see their signing bonuses. It's crazy! 	
	Building context/ Storytelling	35	DANA: That's what happened to him? CESAR: That was his roommate at the time. So what happened to him was	
	Asking why/ Figuring out intention	47	 DANA: Okay, let me think about it this way. (3) So, maybe, (2). I don't know. Um, why are you asking these questions? ELLE: Why am I asking these questions? Because déjà vu happens, I mean I'm pretty sure it happens to a lot of people and wondering oh:: is that a flashback or what it was. VICTORIA: Do you want to show that you get angry? Are you angry? Are there school rules that really bother you? JOHN: Not really. I'm used to it. 	

	Noticing	12	DANA: So I'm wondering if this might be to narrow, I feel like you got a little stuck here.
Descriptively Naming What Students Are Doing	struggle		KRISTAL: Yeah
	Noticing and naming	40	 DANA: So this is a metaphor, you are comparing people free to people being locked up IZZY: Yeah, but it goes back to what you do and the choices you make. Yeah. DANA: Woah. You are digging in really deep. So what made you think about this?
		6	VICTORIA: For a feature article you have the perfect topic. TARA: Miss, did you ever have an abortion?
	Revoicing for clarification 3	49	DANA: Okay, so you have these questions about this phenomenon, this phenomenon that happens in life, like why does this happen, so you want to know. ELLE: Yeah, and I want to know why, just kidding
		3	VICTORIA: So this about people getting into each other's business? GUSTAVO: Yeah
Building Disciplinary Knowledge	Making connections to class curriculum	10	DANA: So when we talk about ideas, when we talk about essay, then we are thinking more big ideas about the world, ideas you have about what makes people happy or why we should do a certain thing. So what kinds of KRISTAL: UmmI don't know. DANA: So in one of the mentor essays, the girls talks aboutSo is there something like that you believe in?

Table 5.3: Teacher-Student Writing Conference Response Practices

This invitation is a common practice in conference scholarship (Kaufman, 2004; McCarthey, 1994), and was, frequently, how Dana began her writing conferences. Both the predictability of her discourse and its open-ended structure resulted in responsiveness from the student, and always (in my audio recordings) prompted students to respond with more

than a few words. A more critical analysis of Dana and Victoria's syntax suggested that their invitations did more than just open up space for dialogue, but signaled their humanizing stance towards students. Dana's "so tell me what you decided to do today" assumed action. She did not say, "are you going to work today?," which could suggest disbelief of the eventuality of work. Instead she positioned Derick as a strategic writer who was capable of making decisions about his writing time. Victoria's invitation across the seven recordings, interestingly enough, *never* changed. She always said, "what's going on in your brain today?" (audio recordings, 12/5/17; 2/218). The specificity of "brain" seemed to direct students toward a more specific answer focused on the work in front of them, and not more personal responses, which from interviewing her she said she tries to avoid (May 31, 2018). It also positioned the student as an individual with agency. They were not slaves to the work, but had a brain they could use and control.

The second and third response practices within this category—building context and asking why/figuring out intention—beg the writer for more information. Writing conferences often have positive effects on writing quality, because conferences increase students' awareness of audience, and more specifically, how their writing is being received by the reader (Freedman & Sperling, 1985; Hawkins, 2016; Sperling, 1991). During conferences readers guide writers toward different points for revision by pointing to questions or ideas that prompt conversation. For example, in the above example that illustrates "building context," Dana's question did not tell Cesar, emphatically, that he needed to add more context, but it did intimate that as an engaged reader/listener she wanted to know more. In this context what Dana is teaching Cesar is that his ideas matter and are interesting. Syntactically it also begs narration, which Martinez-Roldan and Malave (2010) have argued is an important discursive genre for multilingual youth to use to bring their experiences into the classroom. Across these examples the teachers created space for

students to use their lived experiences in their writing practice by asking questions that prompted dialogue, sought clarification, and showed interest without usurping the student's voice, perspective, or intention.

The teachers' response practices also served the function of descriptively naming students' practices, actions and discourses. These response practices evoked a "noticing" stance reminiscent of Goodman's (1978) "kid-watcher." The teachers' ability to descriptively name what students were doing in their writing process, while avoiding nonevaluative language gave students language to name their process or practices, which ultimately supported their independence as writers (Johnson, 2004). This kind of response was a pleasant contrast to what studies of written response in the 1980s and 1990s found: Teachers' comments were often general and vague and not specific to the actual writing sample (Brannon & Knoblach, 1982; Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Sommers, 1982). Dana and Victoria's naming practices were anything but vague, showing their students that they were careful listeners and observers who recognized them as writers who came to school with knowledge to draw on. Victoria "notices and names" what students are doing, which helps build their confidence as writers. For instance, in the conference between Victoria and Tara, Victoria confirmed that Tara's topic was appropriate for a feature article. Even though Tara may have already known this, Victoria's affirmation could have added to Tara's confidence, which many Students of Color struggle with (Ball, 2006). In the second example from Victoria's classroom, she revoices for clarification purposes what her student, Gustavo, wrote about. This simple question communicates that she is reading and thinking carefully about what Gustavo is writing. Across these examples, I am reminded of Peter Johnson's (2003) words: "Language, then, is not merely representational (though it is that); it is *constitutive*" (p.9). Victoria and Dana's descriptive response practices

contribute to the (re)envisioning of a world where their students are people who practice writing and have attuned listeners waiting to hear what they have to say.

The response practices discussed above focus on what students are doing at that moment. The next and final category of response practices draws connections between the present, past and future through the teachers' disciplinary knowledge of writing (Beaufort, 2007). In the examples from Dana's class, she uses academic language to connect lessons within her writing curriculum. Teachers need to see across isolated days/lessons/pieces of the curriculum and understand how those pieces fit to make a larger whole (Wiggins & McTigue, 2005), and part of their job is to make those connections visible to students. Dana conjures a previous lesson on features of the essay genre and a particular mentor text Kia might find useful. Because Kia is unsure what "big idea" she wants to focus on in her essay, Dana prompts her to use a tool she has as a writer, a mentor text. Discursively, Dana is not telling her to use a mentor text, which would position Dana as the decision maker and not Kia, but uses her knowledge of Kia as a writer to suggest a mentor essay that she might go back to. Across the examples where Dana names specific disciplinary language (e.g. "metaphor," "feature article," "mentor essays") that is also consistent with their workshop and process approaches to writing instruction (R. Bomer, 2011), we see writing conferences as a place for teachers to listen to and affirm what students were doing as writers, and spaces to socialize students into "a specific language of writing" (Patthey-Chavez & Ferris, 1997, p.52).

Analysis of Dana and Victoria's writing conferences confirmed what Hawkins' (2016) research on writing conferences in primary classrooms found: "Just as there is not one purpose for conferring, no one conference type is ideal for all situations" (p.20). The teachers' conferences were as distinct as the students' writing, however, collectively their discourse practices spoke to how the teachers used the conference structure to prioritize

students' voices and literate identities, which resultantly created space for students' humanity.

Moving from Teacher Response to Humanizing Response

Through my analysis of the teachers' response practices, it became clear that dialogic, humanizing response practices take time, and are not conducive to the high stakes testing environment of schools. However, despite these constraints, the opportunities teachers had to respond to students supported students' understanding of audience, their understanding of the language writers use to talk about writing, and supported the notion that students had ideas, opinions and experiences of interest to others. The response practices they enacted to support the development of these notions are a crucial part of what it means to be human.

For students like those in Victoria and Dana's classrooms, these humanizing discourses are positioned in contrast to oppressive discourses that push students to assimilate to methods and practices that reify white, mainstream culture (Valenzuela, 2010). Most writing assessment since No Child Left Behind has historically been a process of systematic approaches to strip students of their cultural resources (Giroux, 2010; Nichols & Berliner, 2007). In contrast, the teachers' response practices discussed in this section embrace students' humanity instead of methods that "detach" (Rodriguez & Smith, 2011, p.91) like the mainstream assessment practices that support language and literacy practices of white mainstream culture. This analysis offers responsive practices that are asset based and responsive to students (K. Bomer, 2010), but serve diverse functions that for their students—given their learning needs, educational histories, and expectations of their teachers—was actually also humanizing. The teacher-student writing conferences discussed in this section were learning spaces for the teacher to model discourse practices

that students had the option of drawing from for use in their writing groups, the focus of the next findings chapter. This analysis is the focus of Chapter 6, but I mention it here to conclude the conversation on Teaching through Response as it suggests that teachers' response practices were not just meant to serve students in that moment in time, but had a longer lifespan that could be carried into and reappropriated to serve their individual needs in writing groups.

Reflecting on this Theory of Humanizing Writing Pedagogy

Chapters 4 and 5 presented findings from Dana and Victoria's classroom, which theorized that the knowledge, practices and discourses enacted to support students' productive participation in writing groups are part of a larger, more humanizing approach to writing instruction. While much has been theorized about humanizing pedagogy (Huerta, 2011; Franquiz & Salazar, 2004; Salazar, 2013), few studies developed principles of humanizing instruction within the context of writing instruction. The four principles that came out of my analysis—1) Teaching with Care; 2) Teaching with Respect for Students' Time; 3) Teaching toward Agency and Independence; 4) Teaching through Response show that writing can and should be taught as a humanizing act, especially in schools like South Cardinal High where high stakes testing curriculum is the normalized curriculum and over 90% of the students come from historically marginalized backgrounds. Affirming what other educational studies have found when studying writing instruction in the context of culturally and linguistically diverse youth (Jocson & Cooks, 2010; Kinloch, 2012), these chapters foreground the importance of writing instruction that attends to context, identities and audience. The teachers attended to these larger ideas through 1) the caring practices that shaped both the physical and discursive contexts in which their students learned; 2) the way they harnessed, out of respect for students, time, and pushed students toward a larger writing goal; 3) writing units centered around writing practices and genres that exist outside of school, which promoted independence and student agency; 4) transformative interactions around writing that communicated to students that they are writers who have valuable ideas, experiences and questions. In the next chapter I present findings that focus on students' interactions and learning in writing groups, and discuss how Victoria and Dana's humanizing practices and discourses afforded and constrained their students' participation and engagement in those spaces.

Chapter 6: Writing Groups as Spaces of Performance, Underlife and Hybridity

This chapter presents findings from my analysis of students' interactions and development as writers in writing groups across Victoria and Dana's classrooms. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, through my analysis of the knowledge, practices, and discourses taught by Dana and Victoria to support students' productive participation in writing groups, a humanizing approach to writing instruction emerged. In this chapter I discuss how students drew on aspects of the teachers' humanizing approach to writing instruction as well as knowledge, practices and discourses from other educational spaces to support their work²³ as writers in their writing groups.

The findings in this chapter respond to the following research question: What knowledge, practices, tools and discourses do students learn in these classrooms and other educational spaces, and how do these shape their participation in writing groups? To investigate this question I focused my analysis on students' writing group meetings, students' self-assessments of their participation in writing groups, field notes, focal student artifacts and interviews.

A WORD ABOUT TERMINOLOGY

Although these theoretical constructs were discussed in fuller detail in Chapter 1, to support the reading of this chapter, I briefly outline specific terms used to theorize students' learning and participation in and across their writing groups. These terms, collectively, provide a heuristic to understand the power that lies within and is constructed through social interactions within and across the many physical and imagined, often competing systems, that students live and learn in.

²³ Their work includes supporting their peers, because part of being a writer in a community means supporting and responding to the other writers in that community.

- school as performance (Goffman, 1973; Erickson, 1986): Students and teachers perform roles according to rules determined by the larger institution of school. Because school mirrors "larger societal structures and power relationships" (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1988), school, like society, privileges certain identities, practices and discourses, which motivate students' and teachers' performance.
- *scripts* (Goffman, 1973; Gutiérrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995): a *script* follows particular social and language patterns of interaction that members use to interpret the activity of others and guide their own participation.
- *counterscripts* (Gutiérrez et al., 1995): A pattern of interaction that disrupts what is normative or expected in that social context.
- *transcendent scripts* (Gutiérrez et al., 1995): Dominant forms of knowledge generally valued as "legitimate by both local and larger society" (p.447). Transcendent scripts only occur when they are "locally invoked and re-invoked and appear differently across situations and at different times in classroom discussion" (p.448). (Note that I use script instead of counterscripts to refer to the teacher's discourse, even when their discourse disrupts *transcendent scripts*, to highlight the authority and position of power the teachers in this study automatically have given their position as white, middle class women in school and in society.)
- underlife²⁴ (Brooke, 1987; Goffman, 1973; Gutiérrez et al., 1995): A physical or discursive space students create for themselves, separate from the teacher, that signals the imposition of the teacher's script, and indicates their capacity to "display

²⁴ A note about the connotation of "underlife" (Brooke, 1987; Goffman, 1973; Gutiérrez et al., 1995): I use underlife to refer to groups that disrupt the status quo. However, I am aware that this term is being assigned to students who already carry labels such as "nondominant," minority, and in some cases have been labeled by the school as "underperforming" and "at risk." The notion of underlife, although seems to fit with those labels, is meant to signal students agency in school spaces where monologic scripts stifle their competencies.

their own form of knowledge and communicate competence" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995, p.448). Goffman (1973) states that underlife activities take two forms: a contained form where students distance themselves from the surrounding institution but don't try to apply pressure to the existing institutional structure to "radically change" (p.199), and disruptive form "where the realistic intentions of the participants are to abandon the organization or radically alter its structure" (p.199).

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

In this chapter I will discuss the following findings:

- Many students saw writing groups as another place to perform the "rules of school," which resulted in the appropriation of transcendent scripts that evoked traditional talk patterns (Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979). These scripts supported one-to-one conversations, but limited talk across multiple students.
- Despite, and in light of, the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy, which emphasized students' lived experiences, independence and agency, for some students, it wasn't until they moved out of the teacher sanctioned writing group (either temporally or physically) that they drew on a larger linguistic and cultural repertoire to support their talk.
- Eleven out of twenty-one writing groups became hybridized "Third Spaces" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995; Gutiérrez, 2008), where students drew on their vast linguistic and cultural resources and, in part, due to their teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy felt comfortable to redesign the writing group space to fit their and their groups' needs as writers and learners.

In the first section of this chapter, I preface my analysis of students' participation and learning within writing groups with a discussion of the teachers' writing group curriculum, drawing on data from their collaborative design of the curriculum during August 2017 and their subsequent teaching of it across the school year. Then, across the next three sections I aim to make visible students' work as writers, and how their work in writing groups was, first and foremost, shaped by the institution of school, which presented contradictory ideas to the teachers about what counts as participation and learning. I will then illustrate how students, at times, worked to separate themselves from the institution of school by creating a student underlife, which was outwardly portrayed as resisting the physically and temporally bound writing group. In the last section I illustrate how writing groups, in the best of circumstances, are "third spaces" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995; Gutiérrez, 2008) where students' discursive and embodied practices meet their teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy. Drawing on Goffman's (1973) conceptualization of a "disruptive underlife," I will suggest that the emergence of these third spaces disrupted the teachers' monolithic conceptualization of writing groups, and for some students, made it a space that could be redesigned around their needs as learners and writers.

Table 6.1 displays my analysis of each writing group and, using the heuristic of performance, underlife, third space, visually depicts how relationships of power between official and unofficial spaces within school shaped students' interactions. In reading the table, note that the first horizontal row lists the dates of every observed writing group meeting across Victoria and Dana's classes collectively, and the first column lists each writing group that was audio recorded. (#s 1-9 are ninth grade classes; #s 10-21 are eleventh grade classes).

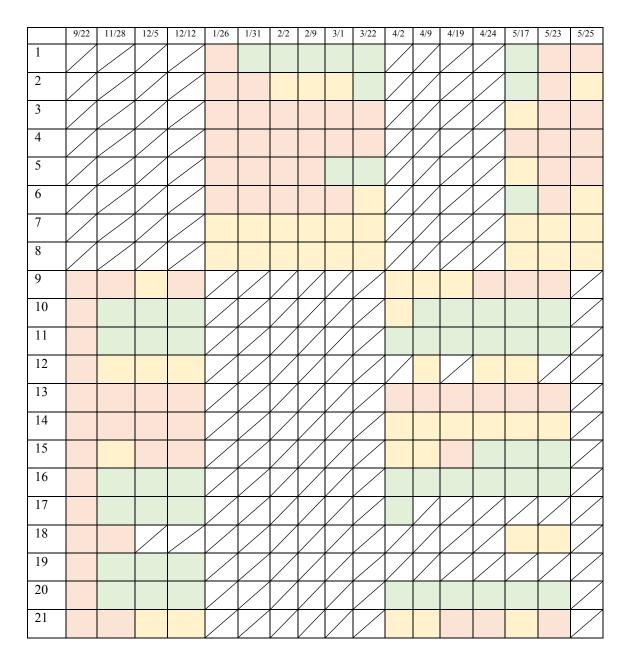


Table 6.1: Summary of Student Writing Groups as Performance, Underlife, Third Space

Key: Performance Underlife Third Space No writing group meeting

Designing Writing Groups

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the writing group curriculum was created in collaboration between myself and five teachers, and designed around common pedagogical goals, such as "build[ing] community as writers" and "giv[ing] students an opportunity to build their identities as writers/thinkers/supports" (Figure 6.1). These goals were written and developed by the teachers in the ethos of what I later named as the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy. Language the teachers—both Victoria and Dana, and the other three teachers in the group—used during the design of this curriculum suggested that they were already envisioning writing groups as a hybridized space for students to further develop the academic language of writers in school (e.g., "navigate through the writing cycle") with the practices and discourses the teachers use in their outside of school writing communities (e.g., "the language writers use when discussing their work"), which will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter.

Why do I want to Implement PRGS? Learning Student -build community as writers build individual writing identities . the language writers use when their work - build a sense of audience (put a face how to ask for "academic" support from their peers to your - cultivate an appreciative community, and give students time to practice talking in this way reader Communication (Seaking + Listaning) skills how to navigate through the writing cycle () my to give students on apportunity to build their identifies as writers/thinkers/supporters how to be supportive of other writers how to be brave with their writing through shanng and experimenting to shift who holds the power in the classroom. How to take constructive criticism + build/ develop from it. · Not only learn how to read + talk like a writer-but make it a habit

Figure 6.1: Teachers' Goals for Writing Group

The curriculum the teachers designed was divided into three themes, which the teachers saw as "different stages of skills [they] felt students needed to participate positively in writing groups" (Victoria, audio recording, 8/19/17). The three themes (referred to by units below, Figure 6.2)-listening, responding, and self-efficacyconnected to the teachers' larger pedagogical goals and the practices and skills they believed needed to be taught in order to reach those goals (field notes, 8/4/17; 8/6/17). For each theme, the study group created minilessons that the teachers could use in their different teaching contexts. For instance, under "listening" (theme #1, Figure 6.2) the teachers challenged students to resist giving advice, and instead provided mini-lessons demonstrating what it meant to listen to or share with their peers, including teaching into body language, naming strategies they used in their notebooks, and the writer's purpose for sharing and listening. To support students' response practices the teachers focused on establishing group norms, providing useful feedback, and applying feedback to writing. Finally, to support students' self-efficacy as writers and readers, minilessons were designed around challenging students to take ownership of their writing groups by creating their own timelines for meeting and articulating their needs as a writer to their group. Each minilesson was brief and targeted, consisting of explicit language, a brief demonstration, and then time for students to practice.

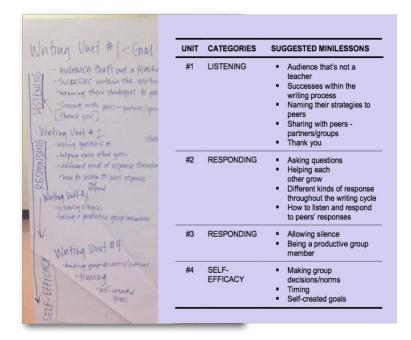


Figure 6.2: Writing Group Curriculum Designed by Study Group

Because the focus of this dissertation is not on the teachers' interactions and learning within the study group context, but on Victoria and Dana's teaching to support students' productive participation in writing groups, my analysis of their teaching did not look closely at how the actual curriculum enacted in their classroom aligned with the original curriculum developed. However, as an observant participant (Erickson, 2004) during the study group and a participant observer in Dana and Victoria's classrooms I can confidently say that although not one minilesson was used in its entirety, elements of the minilessons collaboratively designed can be seen in the majority of minilessons taught (indicated in Table 6.2 by *). The table below represents the curricular focus of Victoria and Dana's instruction before each writing group session (Table 6.2). Most writing group sessions were preceded by a minilesson that was meant to support students' listening, responding or self-efficacy as writers, but on three occasions (indicated by "I" in table) the minilesson was focused on students' independent writing practices; students on these days

sat in their writing groups and were able to interact, but there was no specific lesson related to their work in writing groups (field notes, 12/12/17; 2/2/18; 5/17/18).

	Date	Genre	Writing Process	Minilesson Focus
nedule	9/22	Open genre	Writing life	Community building/norms (WG)*
	11/14	Essay	Writing life	Sharing our notebook practices (WG)*
	11/28	Essay	Collecting	Topics-Sharing (WG)*
	12/5	Essay	Planning/drafting	Developing norms/Naming what you need (WG)*
p Sc	12/12	Essay	Editing	Using editing checklist (I)
rou	4/2	Op-ed	Collecting	Sharing topics (WG)*
Dana's Writing Group Schedule	4/9	Op-ed	Planning/envisioning	Playing Devil's Advocate: Claims & rationale (WG)
, Wr	4/19	Op-ed	Revising	Selecting one part/read aloud (WG)
Dana's	4/24	Op-ed	Editing	Google docs: written feedback/line edits (WG)
	5/17	Poetry	Planning/envisioning	No instruction (I)
	5/23	Poetry	Revising	How can you help? How can you ask for help? (WG)*
	Note: I = independent writer; WG = working in writing group; * = study group curriculum			
	1/26	Feature Article	Writing life	Community building/sharing practices (WG)*
	1/31	Feature Article	Collecting	Interviewing others about topic (WG)
dule	2/2	Feature Article	Drafting	No instruction (I)
p Sche	2/9	Feature Article	Drafting	Google docs: Read drafts outloud and comment (WG)
g Grou	3/1	Poetry	Revising	Talking through what you wrote, revising for clarity (WG)*
Victoria's Writing Group Schedule	3/22	Standardized Assessment	Revising	Identifying places for revision before WG. (WG)*
	5/17	Memoir	Immersion	Share what you learned from mentor text; share topics (WG)
Vict	5/23	Memoir	Revising	Google docs: Read drafts (outloud- <i>opitional</i>) and comment (WG)
	5/25	Memoir	Publishing	Sharing/Celebrating work (WG)*

Table 6.2: Dana and Victoria's Writing Group Schedule

Teachers' Roles during Writing Groups

Victoria and Dana's roles during writing groups were varied and evolved over the course of the year. Victoria watched students from corners of the room, and took observational notes while students met in writing groups. In respect of her desire for writing groups to be student centered spaces, she told me that "[she] struggled to know what to do when students were talking," saying, "I don't want to intrude" (field notes, 2/9/18). She would later use her observations to reflect on practice (Schon, 1983), but they also acted as a way to distance herself from what was actually happening in the students' writing groups (field notes, e.g., 1/31/18, 3/1/18). Her interactions with students were limited to those who were struggling, a pattern reminiscent of her approach to teacher-student writing conferences. For example, during the first writing group, she spent the majority of class trying to get one group of students to sit together:

Victoria finally got Ben, Joey and Christian to move over to Sami and Mariana. This seems like a success, but their moving didn't result in any talk about writing. Instead it actually stopped all talk. However this move does show a sign of respect for Victoria and their peers...it is compliance, but for them it is more? They don't seem to be moving for themselves, not because they really want to or see the value of talking with their peers about writing. But they do it for their teacher. This is the challenge. To make the talk/writing practice the motivation to work. (field notes, 1/26/18)

This interaction is emblematic of how Victoria in general approached interacting with students during writing groups across the year, but also suggested an inadvertent message sent to students that sitting with people in their writing group would fulfill their teacher's expectations. Victoria's intention as she told me in an interview was to be consistent, which she believed was "key in teaching" (10/13/17). If she consistently had them meet in the same groups than "even if there [was] hesitancy to be vulnerable, hopefully they [would] see that these [were] people that [they were] going to continue to go back to and they [would] begin to trust them" (Interview, 10/13/17). Victoria wanted

her students to become familiar with the people in their group, build trust and relationships—like she had (field notes, 1/25/18)—but the enactment of this intention was perhaps overshadowed by obstacles she felt more pressing, such as students' reluctance to move into spaces where they were in close physical proximity to other members in their writing group (as described in the above field note, 1/26/18). Although she let students make "partner requests" (field notes, 1/25/18), she ultimately made the final decisions around who was in each writing group, which she explained was because "in [her] writing group, each member made [her] a better writer, even though [they] weren't initially all friends" (audio recording, 1/25/18).

Dana's role during writing groups were also emblematic of her approach to teacherstudent writing conferences. Although I never saw her keep a record of which group she sat with on a given day (which she did for writing conferences), she regularly sat in groups, listening and often contributing to the conversation. Before starting her writing unit we talked about writing group dynamics and how she was thinking about the groups students had selected.

I think for the essay unit, this is a place where I can make suggestions. I want them to have choice, but I also want to challenge them. I'm thinking a lot about dynamics, I do want them to feel comfortable, but I also want there to be some challenge...definitely more meet ups in the next round (field notes, 10/9/17).

During the essay unit she did end up giving students more direction about who would be in their group. Interestingly, students did not follow her directions, choosing their own writing groups, groupings which she did not challenge. Unlike Victoria's adamance for consistency, which perhaps resulted in more control of writing groups than she intended, Dana's inconsistency gave her students more agency and flexibility to make the writing group a space that worked for them. Although I don't think this was Dana's intention, as she said her reasoning for letting kids "just sit with whomever they want" was because, "I pick my battles" (field notes, 11/4/17), it perhaps added flexibility to writing groups and communicated to students that they were trusted to make decisions that would support their learning. Across the next three sections—Writing Groups as Performance Spaces, Resisting Writing Groups: Students' Underlife, and Writing Groups as Third Spaces—this discussion around compliance, control, and flexibility will continue as I present my analysis of students' varied participation and engagement in writing groups.

Writing Groups as Performance Spaces

Students carry with them frames of reference for characterizing experiences, and therefore, learn early on that school is a place where they are expected to perform specific roles and rules that conform with mainstream expectations around school (Erickson, 1982). For nondominant students who often enter classrooms carrying deficit labels, these labels communicate to them that they will never successfully perform these mainstream roles (Orellana, 2007). Additionally, writing according to mainstream expectations may not accommodate students' multiliteracy and multilingual practices (New London Group, 1996), so a student who knows how to "put words together, how to use writing to express feelings, how to voice perspectives in ways that [leaves] listeners sitting on edge, holding on, and asking for more" (Kinloch, 2012, p.378) still is not able to see themselves as a writer because of mainstream discourses that depict a narrow view of what it means to write "well" (Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016).

Knowing that the majority of students entered their classrooms with negative views of themselves as writers, exacerbated by labels such as "English learner," "at risk," "underachiever" (field notes, e.g. 8/29/17; 9/20/17; 10/5/17), Victoria and Dana taught writing in a way that was humanizing, respected students' emotional, social, and intellectual needs, and taught practices that students could use both inside and outside of

school. However, despite the teachers' practices, school was a space of performance of transcendent scripts that both teachers and students succumbed to acting in across the year. In this section I explore writing groups as spaces for students to perform the "rules of school," which suggests for some students their positioning outside of dominant culture taught them that compensation for their outsider status could only be met through complying with the discursive rules of traditional classrooms.

Through my analysis of students' discourse, I found that students drew on transcendent scripts of classroom discourse, which most closely aligned with the "talk of traditional lessons" (Cazden, 2001): Initiation, response, evaluation/feedback (IRE/IRF) (Mehan, 1979). Although discourse scholars have theorized that IRE/IRF patterns must subconsciously exist in teachers' minds as some idealized script that is rooted in their own memories of school (Cazden, 2001), in this study, this "idealized script" mostly existed in students' minds. O'Connor and Michaels (1986) said, the value of IRE/IRF patterns is that "it allows the teacher to maintain the necessary control over the flow of information and advancement of academic content" (p.96). The students' appropriation of this script from educational lessons" was alive and well, but also that students understood the writing group space as a performance that had to mimic larger classroom discourse patterns, a notion that was contradictory to what the teachers' had envisioned this space to be.

Although teachers did not assign students specific roles in their writing groups, across 76%²⁵ of the groups at least one member performed a reoccurring role that invoked discourses characteristic of talk in traditional lessons (Cazden, 2001). The three roles students performed were lead-questioner, facilitator, and taskmaster, titles that emerged

²⁵ This percentage does not account for students who performed multiple roles in a group.

from my thematic analysis. These descriptive titles are also characteristic of roles often assigned in schools that have been promoted through practitioner publications such as Harvey Daniel's (2002) *Literature Circles*. In Table 6.3 I provide the frequency of each role in relationship to the number of writing groups in the data set for that writing unit. For example, there were a total of 17 individual writing groups across the four classes during writing unit 1, but in only three of them was there a student who stepped into a role as Lead-Questioner. The variety in the number of writing groups, the length of their units and the number of students present on the day of the writing group meeting.

	Lead-Questioner	Facilitator	Taskmaster
Writing Unit 1	3/17	0/17	2/17
Open Genre: 9 th and 11 th			
Writing Unit 2	13/32	7/32	11/32
Feature Article: 9 th			
Essay: 11 th			
Writing Unit 3	2/14	1/14	1/14
Poetry: 9 th			
SAT Essay: 11 th			
Writing Unit 4	18/38	8/38	7/38
STARR Essay: 9 th			
Op-Ed: 11 th			
Writing Unit 5	6/14	2/14	1/14
Memoir: 9 th			
Poetry: 11 th			
Percentage of Total	37%	17%	22%

 Table 6.3: Frequency of Roles in Writing Groups

In this next section I describe the different roles and provide a representative example from Dana's April 2018 writing groups when the class was working on a social issue-focused Op-Ed (Writing Unit 4) and Victoria's February 2018 writing groups when they were working on Feature Articles (Writing Unit 2).

Lead-Questioner

Thirty-seven percent of the total writing groups had a student acting as the Lead-Questioner. Students who took on this role would begin each writing group by asking their peers' questions, which invited talk directed back to the Lead-Questioner.

- 01 Cori: Okay, so what did you write about?
- 02 Bri: I was asleep
- 03 Cori: Okay, Kia, what did you write about?
- 04 Cori: Say it again?

When a student took on the role of Lead-Questioner, they initiated the meeting with a question, but also dominated the conversation by asking the majority of questions. The Lead-Questioner's script in the writing group evoked classroom discourse patterns (such as IRF) consistent with the dominant profile found in schools (Nystrand, 1997; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991). This conversational pattern drew from the teachers' scripts (e.g. invitation focused on immediate task, Table 5.3), but, unlike the open invitation modeled for them by their teachers (e.g. "So tell me what you decided to do today," Dana, 12/5/17), were syntactically closed (Nystrand, 1997). For instance, in Cori's first turn, "so what did you write about?" she specifically names "writ[ing]" (line 03), which limited students' available responses because it presumed that students work as writers couldn't have included research, talk, thinking, or any of the other available practices to them taught across the year. Because the teachers taught students that their writing process was individual, the script Cori is drawing on suggests larger discourses about writing and communicative competence are at work.

Facilitator

Students who took on the Facilitator role were concerned with making sure each person in the group had time to talk. This student, although only present in 17% of the group meetings, was frequently the Lead-Questioner as well, but the work of their script, as Facilitator, was to make sure everyone in the group had a turn and to move the conversation along. The transcript below, where Rob plays the role of Facilitator, is representative of other IRF scripts taken up by 14 of the 18 student Facilitators.

01	Rob:	Okay, so our topic today is social issues.
02a 02b		One big social issue is school shootings, especially the one that happened at Douglas.
03	Jake:	17 kids that's crazy
04	Rob:	Why do you think it is a social issue, Jake?
05a 05b 05c 05d heads 05e	Jake:	Well my opinion, when it comes to school shootings it is mostly white kids and I think the President is really putting it into white people's that they can fuck with us.
06		They can't do that.
07	Rob:	Yeah, they feel like they have more power.
08a 08b	Jake:	Not that I'm going to hurt them, but I don't feel like that is good for our society or anybody.
09	Rob:	That's good.
10		Another topic we have is child abuse.
11		What do you think about child abuse, Cole?
12a	Cole:	Child abuse is pretty dumb, 180

- 12b like how you can hurt a child that is growing up.
- 13 Rob: Yeah, it could ruin their whole childhood.
- 14 Cole: Yeah, it can hurt them career-wise.
- 15 Toby: Yeah, it can affect them later on when they grow, like later on.
- 16 Rob: What about prostitution, what do you have to say about that Toby?

In the above example, Rob took six conversational turns—four working to make sure each person had space to contribute to the writing group. Rob's first utterance (line 1) suggested he was not only talking to his friends, but to a more authoritative audience. His tone suggested he was truly performing a script, with the audio recorder acting as a microphone. This is a running theme throughout students' talk in writing groups, the both subtle and direct acknowledgement that despite the appearance of the writing group as a student-controlled space, students talk was a performance of specific roles *in school,* and that despite teachers' efforts to support students' independent lives as writers, school activities would forever be school activities.

The script Rob enacted in this transcript was one that was written for many teachers—questions posed to specific students (lines 4, 11, 16), and short, evaluative statements of agreement (line 9). Jake's responses work to pull Rob into a meaningful discussion about race and power and their role in school shootings, however, Rob's brief evaluative response to Jake (lines 7, 9) curtails this discussion showing the power imbued within his performed script. Here we see the struggle between local and official knowledge (McLaren, 1994), Jake drawing on his knowledge of this social issue, which has always held space in Dana's class, which is disrupted by Rob's efforts to conform to the tradition of talk in school.

Taskmaster

The Taskmaster and Facilitator were often co-conspirators. Taskmasters were acutely focused on the task assigned to them by their teachers, indicating an awareness that this writing group was taking place in school, where the time and physical space was still controlled by authoritative structures and rules of school. This student often responded to or asked a question focused on orienting the group toward the task at the beginning of the writing group, and then at least once during the session brought the talk back to the activity they were meant to engage in.

01	Yolanda:	What's y'all topic for y'alls' articles? (7)
02	Eunice:	Birth control
03	Yolanda:	Birth control?
04	Eunice.	Yup. (15)

For example, across the four short conversational turns in the above excerpt, Yolanda asks a question, Eunice responds, Yolanda verifies what she heard, and Eunice confirms, which is followed by a long pause. Yolanda's question (line 1) elicits short responses. Although this initial script evoked a typical question/answer pattern, Victoria's instructions were for students to *share* their topics, which Eunice's elaboration in line 5 suggests she remembers.

05a 05b	Eunice:	I want to write about this topic because a lot of teens are getting birth control. (2)
06a 06b		There is nothing wrong with that, that's their [decision.
07	Yolanda:	[to be safe?
08	Eunice:	No::

	because a lot of people are complaining nowadays about birth control
	and the parents should let 'em.
	I think between the ages 15 and 19
	that is the common age,
	those who are kind of smart enough will lose their virginity,
	and there is nothing wrong with that,
	but instead of putting something inside their skin to prevent them from
	getting pregnant,
	it is just unnecessary
	and parents should just talk to them first
	and not get mad
	because they made that decision to go and have sex,
	because they did it and everyone does it.
Yolanda:	My topic is about our generation and same sex marriage, because there is so much to write about.
	Yolanda:

Eunice's explanation of why she is writing about birth control occurs almost in one long breath (line 10), creating the impression that if she doesn't say everything she wants to say in one breath she won't have another chance. Yolanda, nor the two boys also in her group, respond. Instead, once Eunice finishes, Yolanda states what her topic is, effectively moving the conversation closer to completing what they understood the task to be. Although the students' monologic scripts only minimally intersect, each student in the group was able to share their topics, which also communicated students' perspectives on issues that mattered to them. Therefore, although the idea of having a Taskmaster created unequal distribution of power in a group, this role did create space for students to draw on their forms of knowledge and lived experiences.

What was most salient in the analysis of the writing groups where these specific roles and scripts were performed was how the students' interactions mimicked interactions between dyads, not groups. Interestingly in DiPardo and Freedman's (1988) review of peer response groups, they suggested researchers and educators differentiate between peer

groupings and dyads because groupings encourage a more democratic dynamic (Damon, 1984), and dyads often mimic teacher-student hierarchies (Brannon & Knoblauch, 1984; Damon, 1984). In this case students invoked transcendent scripts which effectively fragmented the groups to create dyads within the peer groupings. This affirms what Spear (1984) found: Although groups are recommended because students benefit from additional perspectives, they are more complicated and perhaps need more scaffolding and instruction. The large percentage (76%) of groups that appropriated transcendent scripts, perhaps inadvertently, stifled dialogue across multiple participants, which suggests the challenge of moving from one-on-one interactions to interactions between multiple individuals. It also suggests that students carry with them unspoken rules about how they are "expected" to perform, even when they are in spaces where there is limited interaction with their teacher.

Students' performances were in many ways implicitly encouraged by the teachers' interactions with them during writing groups and other artifacts from the curriculum, such as handouts that asked students to keep records of their work in groups and audio recorders which were used for both research purposes and accountability efforts. In Victoria's classes, as long as students were talking, they were most often left alone. This was the case until the last writing unit of the year when Victoria started sitting with groups who performed the various roles mentioned above (field notes, 5/17/18; 5/23/18). Because her students reported wanting more feedback (as discussed in Chapter 5), Victoria's action of sitting with groups who performed roles and practices that complied with larger transcendent scripts reified these performances, communicating to students that effective participation in writing groups was dependent on their compliance with traditional talk patterns.

Dana sat with groups throughout the year, but when she did her presence tended to shift the direction of students' talk toward her (e.g., Cori's group, 4/2/18; Lia's group, 4/9/18). Therefore, if students were performing roles which supported dyadic interactions, the interaction shifted from student-to-student to student-teacher. For example, in the field notes below, Lia was acting as Lead-Questioner, asking questions to first Izzy and then Marcus (lines 01, 02). However, the conversation stagnated and when Dana entered the group, her efforts to ignite the conversation resulted in her overpowering the conversation and shifting the focus from each other (i.e. the students) to her (the teacher).

- 01 *Lia starts with a question about minors being charged as adults. Izzy responds*
- 02 Lia repeats her question to Marcus who asks what she means.
- 03 No one else wants to talk.
- 04 Dana comes over. They said they talked through everything. She suggests
- 05 they help out Marcus.
- 06 Izzy reads Marcus's claim, he doesn't feel like he had a good claim.
- 07 Dana asks a question and gives him a suggestion. He asks "what do you mean?"
- 08 Dana suggests a scenario and explains.
- 09 Marcus clarifies "fairness in everything, like sports...."
- They talk about football and girls; Izzy says "dykes" and Dana explains
 why that term is bad.
- 12 Dana ask them if that [fairness in sports] is something he'd be interested
- 13 *in learning more about? She suggests he write it down.*
- 14 *Auriel asks, "what do y'all think about people who abuse animals?"*
- 15 *They aren't listening, so Dana tells them that Auriel is sharing.*
- 16 Dana asks a clarifying question.
- 17 *Izzy comments on the topic*
- 18 Lia and Izzy react to Dana saying that people get jailed for animal abuse.
- 19 Dana asks most of the questions, Auriel, Izzy, Lia and Marcus a little, respond.
- 20 She suggests during the last min to fill out their form. A lot of whining
- 21 *about not having pen* (field notes, 4/9/18).

Although Dana encouraged Lia, Izzy, and Auriel to "help out Marcus" (line 05), when Marcus said "he doesn't feel like he had a good claim" (line 06), Dana provided additional support through questioning (line 07) and "suggesting a scenario" (line 08). Her voice as the teacher seemed to overpower the students and she effectively held the "conversational floor" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) throughout the rest of the interaction, which ended with Dana reminding the group to complete the "Writing Group Record" (artifact, 4/9/18), an accountability measure implemented by Dana during the third writing unit. Although Dana's contributions to this group were to support students' thinking more deeply about claims they were making, if her goal, as stated in Figure 6.1 was to support students' listening to each other and to shift power from teacher to students, this example suggests that this process is more complicated than teaching students talk strategies and creating time and space for them to meet in groups. These illustrative examples from Dana and Victoria's interactions during their writing groups show the subtle ways that teachers inadvertently reify transcendent scripts of classroom discourse through their well-intentioned presence or invisibility.

In the next section, I bring into conversation my analysis of students who resisted the idea that they had to perform according to school rules, and use Goffman (1973) and Gutiérrez et al.'s (1995) notion of underlife to show how students acted in agentive ways by challenging the teachers' original conceptualization of writing groups.

Resisting Writing Groups: Students' Underlife

In the previous section I discussed students' participation in writing groups through the discursive roles they performed to support interactions in their writing groups. However, as displayed in Table 6.1, almost half of the writing groups challenged traditional notions of classroom discourse, some disengaging from the participation structure entirely (n=47) and others redesigning the writing group space as a productive space through their appropriation of the teachers' humanizing scripts and practices, which validated their ways of talking and being (n=56). In this section I focus on those students who disengaged from the participation structure entirely, and how both despite, and in light of, the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy, for these students, it wasn't until they moved out of the teacher sanctioned writing group (either temporally or physically) that I saw them use their peers to support their work as writers.

Goffman (1961) defined underlife as "A range of activities people develop to distance themselves from the surrounding institution" (in Gutiérrez et al, 1995, p.451). A student underlife emerged not only when students' scripts or behavior *countered* the teacher's, but when the students made connections to the teacher's script and added "their own cultural perspective, which is quite different from that of the teacher" (Gutiérrez et al., 1995, p.461). Building on Gutiérrez et al.'s (1995) work, I call these patterns found within students' behavior or talk *counterscripts*.

As discussed previously, the teachers believed strongly in teaching toward writing as it existed in the real world and did not wish to control or restrict students' practices as writers. However, perhaps because writing groups were a fairly new participation structure for both teachers, their instruction around and expectation of students' participation in writing groups was more monolithic and supported more performative practices than other aspects of their writing curriculum. For example, in Chapter 4 and 5 I allude to the teachers' flexibility in my discussion of how they curated classroom environment into a place where students would want to be; how minilessons were framed as invitations, and how students always had to make choices about the topics they would write about and frequently the genre. Writing groups, however, were more tightly organized around temporally bound space (Cooper, 1986; Gere, 1987) where students could share, listen, discuss and respond to each other as writers, and occurred at the same time for all students, no matter where they were in their writing process (Table 6.2). Within the space of school, this conceptualization made sense to them (and to myself and the other teachers in the study group). However, the notion of underlife problematizes this conceptualization, illuminating the ways we had in fact constructed and scripted the activity without interrogating historical relations of power, which may have restricted students' feelings of ownership in their writing groups.

The first inklings during data collection that led to this problematization can be found in my field notes after Victoria's first writing groups. Below is an excerpt from my reflection on this day:

There is resistance to talking about their writing, especially for the students who don't identify as writers or "good students". The difference between the 9th graders and 11th graders is stark. The cultural model of school, classroom work, teachers are relevant here. Victoria tells me that most of the middle schools are highly regimented and give little room for choice and talk, similar to a lot of the other classes students are in. The lack of structure in the groups I think is challenging for the students, because they aren't used to it. The newness of high school also seems to be at play here. The social relationships and the relationships the students have with the school are crucial dimensions to the classroom ecosystem.

After listening to the writing groups the major difficulty seems to be to help students get started talking about their writing. Most groups didn't even try to interact with their peers around their topics. For some reason they didn't see the value of this exercise. However, I'm also thinking about the success of Bobby, Jo and Chris's group, eventually moving over to Sandy and Marissa. This seems like a success, but their moving didn't result in any talk about writing. Instead it actually stopped all talk. However this move does show a sign of respect for Victoria, because it didn't seem like they were moving for themselves, as after they moved, no one talked. (Jan 26, 2018)

The "resistance" noted here I initially attributed to students' unfamiliarity with the freedom the teachers and I hoped to give students in their writing groups. However, *hope*

is different from enactment. Assuming a space for authentic talk could be transported into the restrictive environment of school, and, more specifically, from the teachers' one-to-one talk with students into their writing groups, hope was still an underestimation of the historical relations of power existent in schools. This "resistance" could also be read as a misreading of purpose, which translated into a mismatch between teachers' and students' expectations of how and what immediate and future goals for writing groups were (Dyson, 1990; Nickel et al., 2001).

Although both teachers drew on their out of school writing lives to argue for the value of writing groups, the fact that the teachers' writing groups existed outside of school makes them fundamentally different than the writing groups created in the class. Analysis of these "resistant" groups initially resulted in coding their writing group interactions as "productive" or "unproductive." However, a closer analysis of the work students did in these groups *and outside of these groups* broadened the temporal and spatial dimensions of what I understand as writing groups. To illustrate this phenomenon, I use a representative example from a writing group in Dana's 5th period class.

I first share a writing group interaction between four eleventh grade male students—Evan, Daron, Joel and Ray—and then share an excerpt from my field notes capturing their underlife, an interaction in an "unofficial writing group."

1 [to the recorder] Ms. Dana, I'm sorry, nobody did Evan: anything. 2 Daron: [to group] This is supposed to be 15 minutes? 3 Joel: 10 minutes. 4 Evan: We still have seven. 5 Ray: Oh okay, so we got another three.

6a 6b	Daron:	Okay, let me do this again, let me do this again. [Daron starts reading his from his paper]
7	Daron:	That was my thing, thank you.
8a 8b 8c 8d 8e	Joel:	Yeah. So (4). I'm going to say, we are doing our work, we just don't feel like talking. So that was me, Joel, Daron, Evan, Ray.

In this excerpt, Evan, Daron, Joel and Ray are acutely focused on time. Their talk primarily focused on filling up the time requirement for their writing group, and then Daron's reading of his piece. There is an underlying sense of futility about what they are being asked to do, that their "work" is separated from the writing group context. According to Joel (line 8), their *work* is writing, not talk, even though the purpose of the writing group is to privilege the talk writers do (and need to do) to support their writing life.

This tension is one the teachers and I frequently talked about: convincing students that talk in these groups *was* work. Dana spoke to this tension in an interview:

I feel like I always wanted something tangible to come out of like every class period. Even though logically I know that that's not always the most helpful thing. I think to me it was like I wanted those recordings I wanted, like I wanted for them to have to like think that something was like you don't like. I think I was afraid sometimes that they weren't viewing what we're doing as real work and so it's like I was constantly trying to prove it to them, 'Hey, this is real, this is real what you're doing. This is real, this is helpful.' (Interview, 6/10/18)

Unfortunately, in their efforts to convince students that the work they were doing was "real" and "helpful," the teachers added handouts (e.g., Writing Group Record mentioned on page 21) and emphasized grades, reverting back to school-based methods of assessment that detracted instead of added to the authenticity of their curriculum. The assessment measure that shaped interactions mentioned in the above transcript was a micro-recorder

that the teachers and I used for both research and accountability. Unfortunately, the recording devices, like the handouts, were not inconspicuous tools students could ignore, and in many ways acted as a constant reminder that, despite teachers' efforts to provide authentic writing opportunities for students to engage in, students were still in school, and their performance in writing groups would be evaluated based on how closely they complied with the teachers' expectations. Dana and I talked about the recordings as a way to show students that she valued the interactions taking place during their writing group meetings, but they also counterproductively may have fetishized the activity, paradoxically adding a "schoolishness" (Whitney, 2011) to the writing group that was contradictory to the teachers' humanizing pedagogy.

A critical analysis of this transcript illuminates the emergence of the students' counterscript: the students don't appropriate the teachers' listening or responding scripts, and instead directly address the invisible, yet visible, audience behind the recorder, their teacher, which effectively brought Dana into their group, disrupting the illusion that the writing group is a student-controlled space. Even though Dana's pedagogy (as was Victoria's) was based on an understanding that students' out of school literacies could and should inform their in school literacy practices, for many of her students, how they talked, read and composed out of school were divorced from how they thought about the literacy practices they engaged in in school, which in many ways we reinforced through our fetishization of the writing groups. The above interaction suggests these four boys don't see the purpose of sharing their ideas and writing in writing groups, but their actions *outside* of their writing group show an underlife of writers emerging. Outside of writing group meetings, these four boys, more than other students in Dana's classes, regularly passed their notebooks to each other to read, freestyle lyrics to each other, and collaboratively

write. Because I was not in the habit of recording students during their "independent writing time," this interaction is only recorded in my field notes.

Evan is lying on the floor...arms gesticulating in the air.

Ray gives Daron his notebook...

Ray is always writing. He told me that he started doing this around middle school. He definitely identifies as a writer. Ray writes a lot outside of class. He has a notebook that he carries around and takes with him, he is often asking his friends to read his work or they ask to read his work. He sees the writing that he does outside of school very much connected to the writing he does in school. [Kira's commentary: He is a lyricist.] He will often see things outside of school, use things outside of school as inspiration for what he writes in school. [Kira's commentary: Dana later told me that Ray doesn't see this as something that he will do after high school] (field notes,11/15/17) Students then move into writing. Joel stares at his notebook.

Daron asks Ray to read his notebook...[Kira's commentary: this happens every day] Daron is writing in Ray's notebook Ray asks Daron what they are doing. Daron says writing. Ray says, writing writing? After writing time Ray and Evan are on their phones Daron is writing in Ray's writer's notebook (field notes, 11/28/17)

Robert Brooke (1987) wrote in his book, *Underlife and Writing Instruction*, that the term underlife "refers to those behaviors which undercut the roles expected of participants in a situation" (p.142). Across these two interactions we see students disengage from talking about their writing during the "official" writing group activity, but enact a counterscript (through linguistic and paralinguistic signs) around their writing in other classroom spaces. These boys clearly saw writing as something that was both relational and social, however, when they engaged in this social practice, it needed to be on their own terms. Ray who had great confidence in his writing ability, and was positioned by his friends as a talented rapper, was eager to share his latest rhymes with friends, and Daron was eager to support and co-write with Ray. If we want students to situate themselves as writers we need to "be aware of how we position them and what we say, which over time creates identities that students adopt" (Rex & Schiller, 2009, p.21).

The emergence of this underlife suggests teachers need to be careful of tools and structures that turn an authentic practice into something done to comply with a teacher's demand. It is also possible that the teachers' minimal response to the evidence of resistance (i.e. audio recordings and teachers' observations of students) further exacerbated the students' interactions during writing group meetings. As mentioned in the above sections, the teachers' interactions with students during their writing groups varied, but overall their interactions maintained a hierarchical relationship between teacher and student. Additionally, the teachers did not listen to the audio recordings (with the exception of a few snippets I played for them), and, therefore, the message that students were sending to their teachers about the futility of this work was not received. The teachers assessed whether or not students submitted recordings, which my analysis of the students' recorded interactions suggested they were not aware of because of how frequently the students directly addressed their teachers in these recordings (audio recording, e.g., "Ms. Dana, I'm scared—the FBI is listening! (laughter)" (Emerson, 12/5/17); "Listen to our rap (students spit into recorder)" (Arlo, 2/9/18)). Due to the rapid pace of school and the enormous pressures teachers are under (Mulholland, McKinlay, & Sproule, 2013) it is understandable that the teachers did not find time to listen to recordings. Dana, Victoria and I thought that the recorders would serve as an accountability measure and that, in itself, would make the instructional practice meaningful. However, writers need more than to be held accountable; they need authentic input and feedback from their teachers and peers (Anson & Anson, 2017; Sperling, 1996). For Ray and Daron, once they moved out of the writing group space they were able to get the meaningful feedback they craved as writers, suggesting it wasn't the interaction with other writers they resisted, but the structure and control imbued in its curricular design. It is unfortunate that these realizations did not come until the reporting of this analysis, as I know that if Victoria and Dana knew how writing groups were becoming futile spaces for some students and that there were tools that were contributing to this futility, they would have more explicitly shifted how writing groups were taught to the whole class. However, by studying students' underlife we gain insight into the complexity of their identities and experiences as writers, which suggests a kind of reimagining of the writing group space that as Greene (1988) suggested "explores alternative possibilities" (p.99).

Writing Groups as Third Spaces

Across the previous two sections I discussed how many students reacted to writing groups as a school activity where transcendent or dominant scripts had to be enacted, and were therefore not necessarily spaces where students could be themselves. The purpose of evoking transcendent scripts was for students to maintain control over the conversation, which suggests an underlying fear around the consequences of off-task conversation. This fear caused students to perform identities and roles compliant with mainstream expectations and the official curriculum or resist the writing group space entirely and find alternative spaces to support their peers work as writers. In this section I present analysis of a third group of writing groups (n=56): writing groups where students and teachers' knowledge and practices as writers came together into a heteroglossic learning space. In these hybridized writing groups, students resisted the traditional "jobs" and "roles" imposed by traditional classroom discourses and teacher scripts that presume students don't

know how to talk to each other and enacted counterscripts, characterized by listening and sharing, gentle ribbing, inquiry and positioning of each other as experts, all practices students utilize to sustain their various social relationships. Through these discursive and embodied practices the writing group shifted from an "official school space" to a hybridized space where students' knowledge was privileged, and students formal and informal knowledge, practices and discourses could "intersect, creating the potential for authentic interaction and a shift in the social organization of learning and what counts as knowledge" (Gutiérrez, 2008, p.152). Additionally, for 100% of these groups, students' interactions affirmed what writing group researchers have written about for decades, the importance of "on and off-task conversation" (Gonzalez, 2000, p.58). This research speaks to the need for both on and off-task conversation, because it supports the development of "crucial trust among members" (Gonzalez, 2000, p.59), which is not an insignificant consideration, because issues of "face-saving and lack of trust" between peers have been shown to greatly diminish the benefits of peer review (Freedman, 1992; VanDeWeghe, 2004).

In my analysis of these writing groups it became clear that aligned with and reflected the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy, which pushed students to draw on their lived experiences, to reflect on their interests and practices, and understand that there was not one right way to be a writer. For example, in preparation for the students' second writing group (11/28/17) in their genre study of essays, Dana provided students with the following directions and questions to guide their talk:

How can we help each other explore and layer onto our topics? Ask at least one of the following questions to each group member about his/her topic:

- Where have you seen or heard something like this topic in your life?
- What memories do you have of this topic?

- What stories do other people tell of your topic?
- What is important to know about your topic? (field notes, 11/28/17)

Dana's directions positioned students as responsible to each other, inviting them to make decisions about how they can best support each other continue the process of "explor[ing] and layer[ing] onto [their] topics". They also are the enactment of the pedagogical goals the teachers developed while creating the writing group curriculum (see Figure 6.1, e.g. "building community of writers"; "giving students time to practice talking in community"). The language of the suggested questions emphasized students' lived experiences, their opinions and their individual purposes for writing. Furthermore, there were no "right answers" to these questions and encouraged students to tell stories about their topic, which shifted the "organization of learning and what counts as knowledge" (Gutiérrez, 2008, p.152). When students drew on their teachers' humanizing scripts, they enacted parallel counterscripts that disrupted traditional classroom discourses and broadened what even the teachers had envisioned possible in the writing groups. In this way writing groups became "jointly construct[ed] new sociocultural terrain in the classroom where both student and teacher actively resisted monologic transcendent script, but, more importantly, also created a meaningful context for learning" (1995, p.468).

To illustrate how students supported each other and developed as writers in these third space writing groups, I focus on one embedded case from Dana's fifth period class. I use interactions from Rita, Tali, Anita and Joel's writing group across one writing unit (a genre study of essays) to show how students used social practices of everyday activities affective language to build social relationships; an inquiry stance toward each other's work as writers; noticing and using their peers as experts—to support their work as writers. Across my discussion of this particular group's discourses and practices, my hope is that you get to know them, specifically as writers, and understand this case as an illustration of how writing groups can facilitate shifts in how students see themselves and develop as writers.

Affective language to build social relationships

As mentioned above, writing groups, at their best, were hybrid systems that brought together the social practices and discourses of students' everyday lives into a school space. One of the most commonly witnessed practices was humor, a practice that added a light-heartedness to the often serious topics students brought into their groups to discuss. Research on writing instruction in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts speaks to the importance of engaging students in meaningful projects (Dworin, 2006; Stewart, 2010). For Dana and Victoria this meant giving student free rein on what they wanted to write about, which created space for many of them to explore their lives within larger sociocultural narratives. This space resulted in writing about serious and emotional topics (e.g. broken families, school shootings, child abuse, incarceration of minors, etc.) that students found the courage to share in their groups, perhaps only because of their ability to laugh and joke with each other.

As you will see in the below transcript (writing group, 11/28/17), students talked about both personal and controversial topics, and used laughter and other affective cues to diminish the risk students might have felt while presenting an emotional issue. Unlike the performative interactions discussed above, the informality, hesitancy and emotive language illustrated in this interaction mimicked the kind of interactions one would see between friends outside of school. This first excerpt centers around Anita's topic and the second will focus on Rita's. The most salient motif across this first excerpt is Anita's use of like, which is underlined in the transcript to highlight its repeated use. (It is not meant to be read with emphasis unless paired with additional notations in transcript).

01	Anita:	<i>My</i> topic is, um, about lessons.
02a 02b		Not just lessons, but lessons that my grandpa have told me and that I learned from.
03		Like, let me explain that.
4a 4b 4c 4d 4e 4f 4g 4h 4i 4j 4k 4l 4m 4n		So, when I was little, you know mi grandparents were <u>like</u> : <i>Mija</i> , this and that is going to happen in the future and I want to let you know before you know, <u>like</u> my grandpa told me <u>like</u> sooner or later this is going to happen to you and I want you to handle it pretty good, and I thought about <u>like</u> , <u>like</u> , me getting heartbroken, him treating me wrong, and he told me that it was going to happen and that I need not, not really care that much but <u>like</u> =
5	Tali:	=not let it get to you
6a	Anita:	Yes, not let it get to you.
7		Like I'm gonna be the first person in my family to graduate.
8a 8b 8c 8d 8e 8f 8g 8h 8i		He told me, 'that my brother and sister, that if they don't graduate, I want <i>you</i> to graduate, because I can see you in the future.' I remember he was telling me that, and <u>like now I just like,</u> I kinda stress over school and get some bad grades on quizzes and it's [<u>like</u>
9	Tali:	[like

10a Anita: It's just<u>like</u>,

10b	I'm not ready,
10c	<u>like</u> I wasn't ready, okay.
10d	He told me it was going to be hard,
10e	but I didn't <u>like</u> know it would be this hard
	[The girls affectionately laugh at her because she keeps saying <u>like</u>]

11 Anita: *[laughing]* <u>LI::KE</u>! <u>Like</u> I keep saying <u>like</u>!

Across this interaction, Anita shares with Tali, Rita and Joel the pressure her grandfather has put upon her to be (potentially) the first person in her family to graduate from high school. Although the interaction begins with Anita describing her topic "lessons learned" (macrolines 1-4), it quickly segues into the retelling of intimate conversations she had with her grandfather across time. This short interaction is dominated by Anita's long turns, Tali's two interruptions the only exception. Tali's first interruption (line 5) reflexively positions her as an ally to Anita, an empathetic listener, and then Tali's second interruption (line 9) adds levity to Anita's narrative and sets the rest of the group up for an eruption of laughter after macroline 10.

Across Anita's five turns her unguarded discourse betrays her, giving her peers (i.e. her audience) a sense of who she is both inside and outside the writing group. As Anita laments over the pressure she feels from her grandfather, the emotional stakes of this confession are further accented by her repeated use of "like," which for Anita most likely functions as a linguistic filler, giving her time to cognitively and emotionally processes what she wants to say. The risk she takes by making visible the pressure she feels shifts the stakes of this writing group meeting. Although the topic discussed in the writing group was serious and somber, the students humorously react to Anita's use of "like," and Anita responds by laughing at herself, which allowed their group identity to more firmly develop. We see here that processing our ideas as writers is not just a cognitive activity, but one that

is full of emotions and feelings, and to support students who take risks in what they talk and write about, we need to recognize that and create spaces for laughter and joy.

Leander and Boldt (2012) said that "affective intensities and movement build relations among previously unconnected elements" (p.36). Building on this idea suggests that the students' eruption of laughter supported the emergence of connectedness between Anita's discourse, her identity as a writer and her peers. Writing researchers have suggested that students in writing groups need an environment that "feels safe and secure" that "promote feelings" of "shared involvement, and encourage a sense of community" (Gonzalez, 2000, p.59; Peterson, 2014). This was particularly important for students in Dana and Victoria's classes, because students were encouraged to pursue writing projects that meant something to them so that they could sustain interest over time. This often meant that the subjects of their pieces were tied to vulnerable topics and issues (e.g., "My favorite one was the abortion paper I did because I felt really good about it, I did a bunch of research, and when I shared it with people they understood where I was coming from because I came in both angles of the topic" (Interview, Tara, 12/15/17). For these reasons it was crucial in their writing groups that students could be comfortable and feel safe. As presented in the first section, most students did not come into the writing group space believing it could be space they could design and make their own, however it is something we can learn from groups like Tali's, where just space for laughter and "off-task" talk made for a powerful learning environment for Tali to explore her ideas. In the next section I discuss how students took an inquiry stance toward each other's work, demonstrating how writing groups evolve to support individual group member's work as writers.

Taking an inquiry stance toward each other's work

In four eleventh grade groups and three ninth grade groups students took an inquiry stance toward each other's work as writers. In Victoria's classes a specific minilesson (interviewing each other about their topics) led three groups to acquire an inquiry stance that they carried into subsequent writing group meetings. The common trend across these three groups was an authentic interest in each other's ideas shown through extended conversational turns and paralinguistic cues such as leaning in and laughter. For example, in one ninth grade writing group, Emmy, Ella and Jorge discussed Ami's writing about the topic of revenge (1/31/18). Ami explained to her group why she was writing about this topic: "revenge is like a hopeless childish thing to do because...because what is the whole point of doing it if you are going to hurt someone else?" Emmy and Ela quickly contributed thoughts to the topic, agreeing at first to Ami by saying, "Like you can't change the past so just keep moving" and then complicating the discussion by suggesting there could be a point to revenge since, "tv show novellas are all about revenge" (audio recording, 1/31/18). This first interaction spanned 5 minutes, 33 seconds before there was a break in their talk by Emmy who said, "I have to go to the bathroom" (audio recording, 1/31/18). At that moment, Ella leaned forward and said "I have more questions, this is so interesting!" (audio recording, 1/31/18). Across this writing group meeting they managed to have extended conversations (7-8 minutes) about the three girls' topics (Jorge took five conversational turns, the most he's ever contributed, but did not share what he is writing about), and at the end of their meeting they said, "Oh[↑], it's recording! Oh shit, I forgot about that" (audio recording, 1/31/18). Collectively the qualities of the students' discourse suggest a shift away from performing for school purposes and a shift toward a counterscript discourse creating a hybrid discursive space where students' knowledge is privileged and functioning to support their academic agendas.

The students' inquiry stance is suggestive of their teachers' caring pedagogies, and emphasis on authentic audiences, as the students adopted this stance in their writing group interactions, which pushed their peers to think about the reader. Simmons (2003) and Peterson (2014) in separate studies on middle and high school student peer response practices confirmed what Anson's earlier (1999) study also found, that students benefit from knowing how their writing effects their readers. Often, as shown below, the students in the writing group acted as the actual audience the writer was writing for, which forced them to visualize their readers, further clarifying what and why they were writing.

Returning to Tali's writing group, the transcript below comes from later in the same meeting. Rita is now sharing with her group that she is writing about breakups between family members. Rita at the time of this study lived in a group home with eight other foster kids. She was taken away from her mother's house in another state the year before, so exploring this topic with her writing group took on personal significance as well.

01a 01b 01c	RITA:	I'm doing breakups, but not with boyfriend-girlfriend breakups but with like family.
02a		Like, um,
02b		Siblings.
03a		How they fall apart,
03b		or your mom and dad,
03c		or even your parents,
03d		like if your parents get divorced,
03e		it doesn't break them up
03f		but it breaks the family up.
04a		The kids have to think about who they are going to spend thanksgiving with
04b		And then just,
04c		there's people who only focus on breakups
04d		with like significant others

04e 04f 04g		But there are breakups all over I mean, it is not just specifically one category of breakups
05	ANITA:	[Why this topic?]
06	TALI:	[Why did you specifically pick this topic?]
07a 07b	RITA:	Because Ms. Dana said something, and it brought up a memory that I had.
08a		She was talking about how breakups can mean more than just you know,
08b		significants (sic), and I was like,
08c		yeah that sort of makes sense
08d		and so I decided to do that.

After the first four macrolines Rita's discourse signaled that she was taking a risk in sharing this information. She contrasted a more ordinary kind of breakup (1b) that her peers were familiar with, with another kind of breakup (1c) the kind with a family, which at line 6b she stated she had some personal connection to. The length of this first turn, the nuance of the topic, betrayed the personal connection she had to this topic. Perhaps sensing her vulnerability, Anita and Tali responded to Rita from a place of inquiry (lines 5 and 6), pushing her to think more about why she selected this topic to write about. Their questions about intentionality are appropriated from Dana's minilesson, but their use and placement within the transcript show that they understand their job as a reader is to help their peer clarify her investment and interest in the topic. As this interaction continued, Anita, Joel and Tali continued to push Rita to think about her audience and purpose for writing.

9a 9b 9c	ANITA:	What do you wish to tell your readers about your topic Like us, when we read your thing.	
10a 10b	RITA:	Uh::, yeah, hopefully you understand	

10c		and don't judge me on it.		
11a	JOEL:	Do you think other people can relate to the topic?		
12a 12b 12c 12d	RITA:	Yes, probably not a lot of people, but (2) maybe.		
13a	JOEL:	Is your topic personal?		
14a	RITA:	Yes		
15a	ANITA:	Like, how personal on a scale of [spreads arms wide] one to ten?		
16a	RITA:	Um (3)		
17a	TALI:	Eleven?! [raises arms overhead]		
18a 18b 18c	RITA:	I don't want to get too much into it because I want you guys to read it before I tell you.		

Across macrolines 9 through 18 intimacy developed between each turn, and in this way Rita's sharing/inquiry counterscript tied the writer and reader together. The reader no longer existed in an opaque omnipresent form, but manifested itself in the form of Anita, Tali and Joel. Across this interaction and like others where students take up a sharing/inquiry script, students enact understandings of audience and writing process. The students were clearly thinking about audience and the purpose of Tali's piece (9b-c; 11a; 12a-d), and used that knowledge to help Tali think about the personal nature of her writing. Rita in the last macroline (18) indicated that this was a piece she would eventually share with them, and that publishing writing in their group (and class) was a predicted part of their writing process. Eventually she will share with her groupmates her narrative, which they will witness in an intimate and respectful manner, in a way that evokes the embodied

actions one may see when a group of close friends shares a story (field notes, 12/12/17). However, Rita's written narrative also evokes the traditions of school writing, as she uses conventions of traditional academic texts and relies on the editorial expertise of her peers and teacher. The text Rita both orally composed in front of her group, and the one she published at the end of the unit is at "once personal, socially mediated, and, hence, heteroglossic—situated both locally" (Gutiérrez, 2008, p.149) in the classroom and in Rita's life.

The inquiry stance that both Dana and Victoria's students took toward each other's work suggested a commitment to each other's growth as writers and allowed students to draw on their full range of linguistic and cultural forms of knowledge to disrupt the performative aspect of the group talk. For the ninth graders, who were mentioned at the beginning of this section, taking an inquiry stance toward each other's work as writers also supported the development of "social validation of themselves as writers within the classroom social network" (Peterson, 2003, p.267). It also provided them with an authentic audience for their work, which deepened their thinking around purpose and audience. Furthermore, the inquiry described in this section, guiding the students' interactions, is what supported students' counterscript. Unlike the previous section where students performed specific roles that had the effect of limiting students' interactions across multiple members, the students' affective discourse and inquiry into each other's' writing engaged all four members of the writing group. This finding confirms what other peer review scholarship has found: that peers provide writers with a visible audience that supports their ability to take responsibility for their ideas and which act as motivation to keep writing (Andrade et al., 2009; Peterson, 2014). In the next section I present data from the same eleventh grade writing group later in the year, to support the argument that the community and comfort developed in student writing groups was not a fleeting occurrence, but one that sustained students' lives as writers across the year.

Knowing what you need: Eliciting knowledge from "experts"

In the eleventh grade, across the five writing units, students developed confidence around what they knew and what they needed help with, and their discourse within writing groups became more specific around their knowledge and needs. In Dana's eleventh grade classes, through both *structured* class activities such as turn and talks, socratic seminars, existing literacy dives, and *unstructured* interactions that students find themselves in across the school and community spaces they inhabit, students got to know each other as subject matter experts. This meant knowing whom they should talk to if they want to know more about, for example animal rights (writing group, Rob) or who was really good with figurative language (writing group, Eli). Much of the expertise that was used in students' writing emerged out of their writing groups, because it was in this space where students discussed their constantly evolving writing projects at different points in the writing process.

In an interview Rita talked about how her writing group helped her write her essay on "Broken Homes". When I asked Rita about writing this piece with the support of her writing group she said,

This is the first group I ever really talked to about what I'm writing, so when we were in groups, their opinions and their questions, they really helped, especially in my essay because, Tali, over there, she was a big part of it. It was crazy, because when I was asking them questions, I don't know, it was just weird, because the stuff that she told me does seem like her. But um, yeah, they definitely helped me a lot and it made me look forward to working with them again in the future. (Dec 15, 2017)

The questions Rita refers to did not take place during their official writing group meetings, but instead took place during students' independent work time. This is important as both their teacher, Dana, and the students had to be flexible enough to let these interactions take place. Rita questioned ten students in her class about their experiences with "breakups," ultimately selecting three to use as examples in her essay. Figure 6.3 below are pages from her writer's notebook where she had recorded notes from her "interviews" and started to make sense of themes. Dana and I would often joke that she had two people conducting research in her classroom that semester: Rita and me.

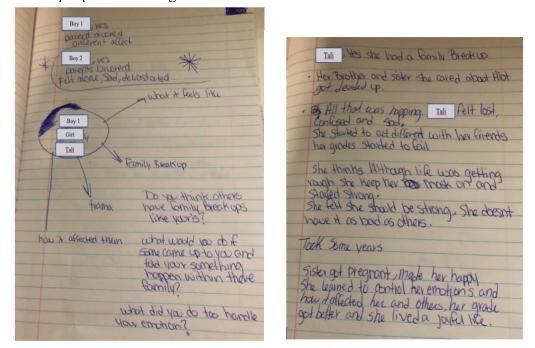


Figure 6.3: Rita's Notebook: (left) Mapping Interview; (right) Interview with Tali About Breakups

Rita's research was an example of a counterscript that pushed the boundaries of the writing group, disrupting Dana's original conceptualization of a writing group. Rita needed others to support her writing development, but couldn't be bound to the limited time

allotted to writing group meetings. Therefore, she figured out ways to elicit their knowledge and expertise during other class meetings. After the writing unit, Rita told me:

I think if you write too much, you start to get overwhelmed, and if you keep it all in your head, then your head gets overwhelmed. But being able to talk to other people around you, it kind of helps some of that pressure go away. Because if you think about something for too long, if it just kind of, it starts getting to you, but I mean telling somebody about it evens it out. (Interview, Dec 15, 2017)

Soon after this interview, Rita left South Cardinal to get her G.E.D. She said she wanted to go to college as soon as possible so that she could live on her own, and one more year in high school "just wasn't gonna happen" (field notes, 12/19/17). I share this because, soon after, her writing group changed and split into two different groups: Tali and Anita formed their own group and Joel joined another. In their new groups, Tali, Anita and Joel continued to enact practices of inquiry, and use the individuals in their writing group to support the development of their next writing projects. Below I provide an example of Tali and Anita's short interaction to illustrate the ways they continued to support each other:

Tali:	Wait, so wait, hold up hold up. I'm confused, is this about emotional abuse or drugs?
Anita:	Both, I don't know! I don't know::! I do not know. This is why I didn't want to talk about this talk about yours first. I don't know I don't know. I don't know about mine. I didn't understand what she was telling me either
Tali:	I'm trying to help you here.
Anita:	Well I don't understand what I'm writing, so how are you going to help me if I don't understand what I'm writing.
Tali:	Okay:: Well, what do <i>you</i> want to do? You don't understand what you are writing, but what do you want to do? What do you really <i>really</i> want to do?

Through Tali and Anita's actions we see how this writing group created a third space or "disruptive underlife" that "alter[ed] the [classroom] structure" (Goffman, 1973, p.199). Dana's vision for writing groups was enacted in Tali and Anita's struggle. Dana wanted her students to learn "how to be supportive of other writers" (Figure 6.1), which, by saying, "I'm trying to help you here," Tali indicates was her goal too. However, it wasn't only in Dana's vision and teaching of specific humanizing scripts that added to this heteroglossic learning space, but it was her flexibility and noticing of Tali and Anita's work as writers that allowed her original conceptualization of writing groups to shift.

At the beginning of the year, both Dana and I felt strongly that groups needed to be made up of at least three students. We wanted to differentiate between groups and partnerships, but over time that became negotiable, as we see in the example of Anita and Tali. Although Tali and Anita were still talking within the writing group time, they had isolated themselves from Joel and Maddie, other students they had worked with at different points during the year (field notes/audio recordings, 12/12/17; 2/5/18). My analysis does not suggest they did this out of defiance, but because their teacher's pedagogy supported their development as independent learners who were trusted to make decisions that would best support their growth as writers.

CONCLUSION

Across this chapter my analysis of students' participation and learning within writing groups portrays writing groups as sites for learning that are fraught with power differentials. In the first section I discussed how many students saw writing groups as just another place to perform the "rules of school." As McLaren (1994) reminds us, power and knowledge are ideological constructions often represented through the struggle between local and official knowledge. This struggle occurs across multiple layers of interactions,

from micro-interactions, like those we see between students in the writing groups and their struggle between invoking transcendent scripts or drawing on their knowledge of day to day social practices, to larger struggles between the teachers' desire to enact humanizing pedagogies in a school that reifies high stakes testing curriculum.

Across the next two sections the discussion of findings suggested that in light of the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy, which emphasized students' lived experiences, independence and agency, students disrupted the monolithic writing group structure and broadened what it means to support peers in a community of writers. For example, it was because of the way that Dana taught with care that Ray, Daron, Evan and Joel felt comfortable enough to tell Dana on the recorder that they just didn't feel like talking. It was because of her curriculum centered around investigating students' writing lives and learning as a social practice that in part, pushed this same group to reach out to each other and pass writer's notebooks during their independent writing block. It was also through her modeling of humanizing scripts and her implementation of the classroom space as space in which students were encouraged to be themselves, that students, within the writing group time made that learning space meaningful for them.

Students' agency and independence to act as writers in and outside of writing groups was also done despite certain contradictions in the teachers' design and enactment of the writing group curriculum. For example, my analysis showed how Victoria and Dana rarely responded differently to writing groups that emerged as third spaces than writing groups that were spaces of performance or underlife. The teachers did not do anything to disrupt the transcendent scripts enacted in students' performances that played by the "rules of school," nor did they celebrate the occasions when students positioned each other as subject matter excerpts or inquired into their peers' writing. Furthermore, although writing groups were intended to support students' identity and practices as writers within a caring

and supportive community, the physical space was controlled and mediated in many of the same ways as the larger school community that the teachers (and I) have critiqued. This suggests that a writing group outside of school cannot be considered an applicable model to use for students' writing groups in school, because they are in school which comes with historically instituted relations of power that cannot be ignored. These contradictions in the teachers' pedagogy remind us that the teachers are human beings who bring with them their own cultural understandings that inform their classroom scripts.

The findings discussed in this chapter remind us that "the challenge some [students] experience in learning conventional academic literacies may not necessarily be one of neurological, cognitive, or motivational deficit, but may be a matter of inappropriate teaching practices, ...or demotivating learning environments" (Kwok, Hull, & Moje, 2016, p.259). This is particularly important when we think about the students in this study who have been marginally positioned by society because their literacy practices fall outside what is "normative" (Street, 2009). I argue that, overall, Victoria and Dana's humanizing writing instruction showed students that their literacy practices could support their ability to make decisions about when, where and how they wanted to use their peers to support their work as writers, and showed students that they had the right to participate and redesign the writing group space to fit their and their groups' needs as writers and learners.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Implications

This study expands what it means to teach into and learn within secondary writing groups. It builds on existing conversations about peer feedback in English Language Arts (ELA) classrooms (DiPardo & Freedman, 1989; Kline, Letofsky, & Woodard, 2013; Simmons, 2003; Van DeWeghe, 2004; Yim, Warschauer, Zehng, & Lawrence, 2014), but harnesses sociocultural (Bruffee, 1986; Vygotsky, 1973), discourse (Bakhtin, 2010; Gutiérrez et al., 1995) and ecological, performance and third space (Barton, 2007; Goffman, 1973; Gutiérrez, 1995, 2008) perspectives of literacy development. The purpose of this study was to better understand how secondary ELA teachers supported students' participation and engagement in writing groups, but the findings that came out of this investigation have implications beyond the writing group participation structure. Through data collection, analysis and reporting, this qualitative study demonstrated how humanizing pedagogies (Huerta, 2011; Salazar, 2013) were enacted in writing classrooms to support students' productive engagement in their own and their peers' writing process. As such this study contributes to the literature on both writing instruction and humanizing pedagogy through its theorization of specific principles that comprise humanizing writing instruction. Analysis also illuminated how writing groups were learning spaces full of contradictions, which both restricted and enabled students to enact identities and practices that supported their development as writers. In the previous three chapters, I described these findings in depth, explicating how the teachers' practices, discourses and understandings about writing presented a noteworthy vision for a more humanizing approach to writing instruction, and how students drew on this instruction, as well as instruction from other educational spaces, in their writing groups. In this chapter, I revisit my research questions and findings from

chapters four, five, and six, discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this work, and provide recommendations for future research.

REVISITING RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FINDINGS

This dissertation was guided by the following research questions: 1) In classroom settings where teachers use a process approach to writing, what elements of humanizing instruction emerge? 2) How do teachers understand and teach about the role of response groups within their approach to writing instruction? 3) What knowledge, practices, tools and discourses do students learn in these classrooms and other educational spaces, and how do these shape their participation in writing groups?

In chapters four and five, I examined Victoria and Dana's instruction across four culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms (CLDCs). Looking closely, these teachers' work illuminated four principles—teaching with care; teaching with respect for students' time; teaching toward agency and independence; teaching toward response—central to their humanizing approach to writing instruction. Although presented across chapters four and five as four distinct principles, these principles are intertwined. For example, Dana's and Victoria's teaching with care combated the deficit and dehumanizing labels and narratives in school that communicate to students' time communicated that students are valuable and competent individuals who need protected time to develop meaningful learning projects (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valenzuela, 1999). Teaching toward independence and agency was undergirded by the teachers' drive to disrupt school-based writing practices that don't account for the vast array of languages and cultures that shape text design. Therefore, to teach toward independence and agency was a complicated process grounded in the teachers' abilities to advocate for what they understood as

supportive of students' needs as learners, writers and, most importantly, human beings. Finally, teaching through response presented an understanding of how writing is learned through meaningful feedback (Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Freedman & Sperling, 1985; Sperling, 1994). Collectively these four principles demonstrated how teaching students (especially those marginalized by society) was not just an intellectual commitment, but a moral, emotional and spiritual one as well (Salazar, 2013).

Overall, I found in Victoria and Dana's classrooms learning environments where students could prosper. This included structured and flexible spaces for students to interact and build discourse communities with their peers, while subverting the harmful hierarchies of power that marginalize youth. These classrooms, which had "features of the spaces in which [students] can thrive" (K. Bomer, 2010, p. x), taught students to advocate for their needs as writers, how to practice the "messiness" (Victoria, minilesson, 12/6/17) of writing, and how to reflect on who they are as learners and humans, all of which were countercultural practices in their school.

In chapter six I presented findings that illuminated how students' participation in writing groups was both a "performance of school" (Erickson, 1986; Goffman, 1973) and a space fraught with contradictions and power disparities. Some students only saw or were able to participate in writing groups as places to perform the "rules of school," which resulted in the appropriation of transcendent scripts that evoked traditional talk patterns, such as IRE/IRF (Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979). These scripts supported one-to-one conversations, but limited talk across multiple students. The purpose of evoking transcendent scripts was for students to maintain control over the conversation, which suggests an underlying fear around the consequences of off-task conversation. This fear caused students to perform identities and roles compliant with mainstream expectations

and the official curriculum or resist the writing group space entirely and find alternative spaces to support their peer's work as writers.

For other students writing groups emerged as a "disruptive underlife" (Goffman, 1973) or third space (Gutiérrez et al., 1995; Gutiérrez, 2008) where they could develop identities as writers, which included being responsible and accountable to others in the group through sharing and responding to work as both readers and writers. It was in these groups that the teachers' vision for writing groups was enacted. They wanted their students to learn "how to be supportive of other writers in a community of writers" (Figure 6.1). They also wanted to create a classroom space where "student had time to practice talking in community" (Figure 6.1). They enacted this vision by showing students that writing groups were spaces where they could practice the social practices of everyday activities— e.g. affective language to build social relationships; an inquiry stance toward each other's work as writers; noticing and using their peers as experts—to support their work as writers. Specific instructional practices included, modeling talk in minilessons, enacting appreciative and dialogic scripts during teacher-student writing conferences, and practicing flexibility and noticing and naming students' work as writers.

However, presenting talk as a tool and practice to support one's writing life was not easily digestible for all students. Students, when invited to talk at their tables or in writing groups, at times, resisted the invitation. Although the teachers saw the practice as a way for students to "be themselves" (Interviews, 5/31/18; 6/5/18) in a school space, the fact that the time and physical space were controlled by people and institutions of power complicated how the teachers' intentions were realized by their students. As a result, sometimes the time and space given to writing groups was not productive and they needed to move outside of that space for productive conversations with their peers to develop. In the next section I will discuss the theoretical significance and practical implications of these findings.

THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

There is a dearth of studies that center on how teachers enact humanizing practices and discourses within restrictive teaching contexts like South Cardinal High where standardized test scores are used to evaluate teacher and student performance, which is a common dilemma for teachers working in economically disadvantaged communities (McCarthey & Ro, 2011; McNeil & Valenzuela, 2000). Additionally, because much of the previous research on humanizing pedagogies has mostly lived within K-5 education (Fránquiz & Salazar, 2004; Huerta, 2011; Taylor, 2017), there is a need to theorize what humanizing approaches to writing instruction mean within the context of secondary schools, a need to which this study responds. In the paragraphs that follow I will discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this study, specifically as they relate to humanizing approaches to classroom writing instruction, which includes designing and curating spaces for students' work as writers with their peers.

Moving Toward a Theory of Humanizing Writing Pedagogy

The perspective central to Victoria and Dana's writing instruction was to treat students as humans who already are meaning-makers, designers, composers, and writers in the world (New London Group, 1996). This meant building writing instruction and curriculum from the ways writers read texts and write texts outside of school, which included, and was a focus of this dissertation, how classroom-based peer response/writing groups can be designed so that they contain features of writing groups outside of school. The findings in this dissertation have great significance to what we understand about humanizing pedagogies, because Victoria and Dana's writing pedagogy was enacted in a school that valued, above all else, test scores, compliant behavior, and controlled classrooms. Therefore, this study's significance lies in both this emergent theory of humanizing writing pedagogy, but also exists as an example of how teachers enact a humanizing approach to writing instruction *within* dehumanizing and inhospitable environment teaching contexts.

The approach to writing instruction theorized across chapters four and five and summarized above builds on writing research conducted in CLDCs (e.g., Haddix, 2012; Kennedy, 2006; Wissmann & Vasudevan, 2012). Not only is this approach applicable to CLDCs, but arguably presents an urgent need for teachers to apply these practices to contexts where often culturally and linguistically diverse students are seen through historically constructed deficit narratives. District-mandated curriculum and high stakes testing are most common in these contexts, but, as this study shows, teachers enacting humanizing pedagogies often understand the deficit narratives imbued in these systemic approaches to assimilation, which are encouraged through this institutionally condoned instruction and curriculum (Salazar, 2013; Huerta, 2011; Zisselberger, 2016). Theoretically, the findings in this dissertation suggest that writing instruction (especially in the context of culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms) necessitates:

- a learning context that is warm and inviting, and attends to students' physical, emotional and intellectual needs as learners and writers.
- asset-based perspectives of students.
- an understanding that students' time needs to be respected and work toward larger goals that are meaningful to them (e.g. the larger goal of daily writing practice or the larger goal of a publishable piece).

- learning one's (the teacher's) individualized writing process and modeling that for students, and, through this modeling, teaching strategies that are applicable in and outside of school.
- responding to students' writing at all stages of process as both teachers and readers.
- creating spaces for students to write within communities of other writers, and teaching them how to rely on each other as resources.

Across the following paragraphs, I will discuss each of these ideas and discuss their theoretical significance.

Aligned with existing research on pedagogies of care (Noddings, 2005), asset-based pedagogies (Lee, 2007; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992), culturally sustaining (Paris, 2012) and culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1994), this study shows that students need to feel like they belong in schools, and one way that teachers do this is by showing students they care for them, both intellectually and emotionally (Valenzuela, 1999). This notion is not ancillary to a writer's development, but foundational to it (Everett, 2016; Haddix & Mardhani-Bayne, 2016; Kinloch & Burkhard, 2016). Although "care" may only seem, at best, an accessory to writing theories, I argue it is inextricably tied to writing, because it is through care that students' lived experiences and identities, which constitute writing, thrive (Burgess & Ivanič, 2010). Therefore, understanding the practices and discourses that make up a learning context that is warm and inviting, and attends to students physical, emotional and intellectual needs as learners and writers is crucial to understanding how students learn and develop within writing classrooms.

The teachers' asset-based perspectives (Lee, 2007; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) also supported the development of caring relationships between teacher and student, and showed students that who they were outside of school had a place *and* was necessary to their success in the classroom. From previous research on humanizing

pedagogies, we know that students need opportunities to see themselves in school, which will ideally help them resist the "double selves" (Du Bois, 1903) Students of Color often feel (Reyes, 2007; Salazar, 2010). Their double selves, or warring identities, bring together students' desire to maintain their cultural heritage, while not being denied opportunities to see their heritage in the space of school (Du Bois, 1903). Utilizing asset-based perspectives in a writing classroom teaches students that not only does their physical body have a space in the classroom, but their development as writers is dependent on how they use their existing lived experiences and literacies. This communicates, amongst other things, there is not only one right way to be a writer.

A third contribution stems from how both Victoria and Dana harnessed class time to support students' engagement in meaningful writing class curriculum. Unlike the results of large scale empirical writing studies that show the majority of students' writing in school is limited to school-based writing genres such as the five paragraph essay (Hillocks, 2006), Dana and Victoria used class time to push students to make decisions about what they wanted to write about, how they wanted to write, and to whom they would write for. Within short 50 minute class periods, this decision-making process was challenging work and a result of their high expectations—a key component of humanizing pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1994). This finding was crucial, because students, especially those who have been marginalized by school, deserve to engage in learning that respects their efforts to attend school. Often teachers take for granted that for some students, even showing up is a challenge, and if students are showing up, they deserve to engage in curriculum and instruction that is challenging, motivating and inspiring (Ball, 2006; Jocson & Cooks, 2010; Nelson, 2010; Piazza & Duncan, 2012). When teachers provide challenging and meaningful curriculum, students will engage. For instance, both Dana and Victoria's students' engagement in their writing groups was in part due to the fact that they were writing about topics they cared about and were motivated to share. Additionally, it is important to remember for classroom practice that writing groups do not exist in isolation from other contextual variables, and that meaningful writing projects—e.g., giving students opportunities to publish for both their writing groups and other authentic audiences—are crucial motivating factors for all writers (R. Bomer, 2011).

Connected to how teachers use class time in meaningful ways is a need for teachers to be transparent about the purpose of their curriculum. From other studies, we know that how teachers express and convey meaning is tied to what students will learn from the activity (Fisher, Kouyoumdjian, Roy, Talavera-Bustillos, & Willard, 2016). Although we know that writing needs to be taught as a complex set of semiotic practices (New London Group, 1996), students whose identities are tied to deficit narratives rarely have opportunities to learn in classrooms where their teachers are interrogating the question: "what counts as writing for people who read and write?" (Blommaert, 2008, p.5). Using these questions to guide their teaching, Victoria and Dana drew heavily on their outside of school lives as writers, trying to practice what they preached; however, their practices existed outside of school, where their writing practices and identities for the most part aligned within mainstream expectations for writing. This congruency, however, did not exist for most of their students. Unlike the white middle class backgrounds of both teachers, most of South Cardinal's students' social, cultural, and economic circumstances diverged from dominant culture. Therefore, despite the honesty and transparency the teachers' brought in their pedagogy, students may still have not been able to see themselves in the lessons. This suggests that a writing group outside of school cannot, without some nuance, be considered an applicable model to use for students' writing groups in school. The historically instituted relations of power within a school cannot be ignored, and although they don't and should not prevent humanizing pedagogies from taking place, the tensions

and contradictions that come with bringing out of school literacy practices into school spaces need to be acknowledged and brought into conversations with students.

Additionally, findings from this study affirm what many other studies of response have found, that, perhaps, the most important facet of writing instruction that exists is how teachers and peers respond to student writing. In this study, I defined response similarly to Freedman's (1987) study of response, which includes teacher and peer written as well as oral response to both final products and drafts in progress, *and* the thinking that goes into writing prior to and during the writing process. In Hillock's (2006) review of Freedman's study he suggested that the latter is perhaps the most important kind of response. My study reaffirms the need for students to receive response from their peers and teachers at multiple points during the writing process. Every student that I interviewed talked about wanting feedback from their teachers and appreciating the additional "reader" perspective offered by their peers, confirming what writing assessment scholarship has often concluded: that while there are high degrees of variability in how response is taken up by teachers and students, the one constant is that writers *want* and *need* response (Anson, 1989).

As discussed in Chapter 2, because much of the existing literature on peer response/peer feedback in school-based groupings focused on text-based responses (Dipardo & Freedman, 1989; Kline et al., 2013), most often in the form of vague, general praise and sentence-level corrections (Kline et al., 2013; Yim et al., 2014), little was known about school-based writing groups designed for the purpose of building communities and lives as writers. In alignment with what Dana and Victoria already understood about writing instruction—that it needed to involve the creation of meaningful texts, supportive and engaging learning environments and should build on students' existing literacy practices (R. Bomer, 2011; Kwok et al., 2016)—writing groups in their classrooms were designed and enacted around the ways they understood writers' work with others in out-

of-school settings. Therefore, in the subsequent paragraphs I discuss writing groups as spaces for students to thrive as writers and suggest the findings argue for a redesigning of writing groups as communities that focus on identity cultivation, flexibility and meaningful practices.

The practices and identities students enacted as writers in their writing groups were in part fostered by the teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy, which suggests activities and participation structure need to align with teachers' larger epistemological perspectives. As discussed in Chapter 4, meaningfulness and purpose of school-based curriculum for adolescent learners is particularly important, especially for those who have been "disenfranchised from formal schooling" (Kwok et al., 2016, p.260). Dana's and Victoria's efforts to teach toward independence set a humanizing context for writing groups to flourish, which was critical to the participation structure's success. Analysis of students' practices as writers suggests that writing groups were spaces where social relationships emerged and supported the development of mutual trust amongst group members, a necessary element when sharing/responding to writing (Gonzalez, 2000). As community was built within the groups, students began to share their ideas, see each other's strengths and areas of expertise as writers. In the ninth grade the most notable related finding was how these writing groups were spaces where lasting friendships developed. Unlike other peer feedback research in which "findings that show the social connection and support students provide to each other" (Marsh, 2018, p.154) are positioned as ancillary to the focus of the study, this finding was consistent with the teachers' expressed pedagogical goals for implementing writing groups (see Figure 6.1).

This study is not claiming that students don't routinely find or make both physical and imagined spaces (e.g., in Chapter 6 these student-created spaces were called their *underlife*) where they can feel like they belong, but is suggesting often those spaces are in

spite of school and in spite of their teachers. However, in Victoria and Dana's classes we saw ways that these teachers intentionally curated their instruction for the purpose of repositioning students as learners/writers and creating opportunities for them to build social membership. For example, many of the students in Victoria's classes identified as second-language learners, had school identities wrapped up in a district label of English language learners even if it was not a label they still carried. The lingering effects of this identity label have deleterious effects on students' identities (Ortmeier-Hooper, 2010), which can be mollified by teachers (Harklau, 2000) and their understandings of the academic discipline (Hyland, 2012) if these understandings recognize students' multilingualism as a resource and not a hindrance. The teachers' humanizing writing pedagogy did just this and it was through their teaching with care, with respect for time, toward independence, and through response that students were positioned to take ownership of the writing group space, which repositioned them as learners and writers, rather than labels assigned to them by institutions who know them by their demographic data or test scores.

Unfortunately I cannot claim that all students came to see themselves as writers in Victoria and Dana's classes. For these students, the teachers overall humanizing approach to education did show them that they were wanted and needed in academic spaces, but this did not necessarily translate into their writing practice in schools (which doesn't mean they didn't have a writing practice outside of school, but that was beyond the scope of this dissertation). Although this distinction is important, what seems to matter most when working with students who carry deficit labels, is the repositioning of them as individuals who can thrive and achieve academic success. This repositioning, as we see in this study, is complementary to a humanizing approach to writing instruction and specifically, social spaces where students can develop communities with peers in school.

Research on peer response has shown time and time again that instruction is needed to support students' successful participation in groups (Beth Kelly, 2015; Mclver & Wolf, 1999; Meier, 2001; Nystrand, 1999; Nystrand & Brandt, 1989; Spear, 1988). What this study suggests is that students are drawing from both their classroom instruction and other educational spaces they've learned in. Although the students who reaped the most benefits from this participation structure generally had positive experiences in school and complied with the temporal and spatial boundaries of the writing groups, much can be learned by examining those students who don't so readily see themselves in school.

Through my analysis of these students I learned that students were resisting practices and discourses that they saw as working against their opportunities to learn. This intimates that teaching to support students' participation in writing groups includes teaching to support students' development of a critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Although, Victoria and Dana rarely responded differently to writing groups that emerged as third spaces than writing groups that were spaces of performance or underlife, this could have been a space to engage students in critical conversations around in school and out of school discourse practices and how that is shaping their talk in writing groups. This also suggests that in order for writing groups to develop in ways that support students' independence and agency as writers, teachers need to explicitly disrupt traditional classroom discourses that restrict authentic conversations.

As demonstrated in this study, although the predominant mode of instruction in South Cardinal High suggests that teachers need to "monitor and control students, assign tasks to them, and ensure that they have accomplished work" (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, p.86), Dana and Victoria's instruction disrupted those traditional notions by building writing communities where students were empowered and given space to "hang out" and "mess around," (Ito et al., 2008, p.2). For adolescents who have not always been successful in mainstream education, talk is one important way for students to motivate and express themselves (Hicks, 2004; Holland & Leander, 2004; Mishler, 2004). Dana and Victoria empowered students by emphasizing choice across the reading and writing curriculum, as well as intentionally holding students accountable for their peer-to-peer interactions as curriculum (e.g. selfassessment practices; writing group audio recordings). By emphasizing talk to peers as a critical part of their writing curriculum, they taught students that what it means to be a writer involves working within a community of writers. What is perhaps this study's greatest contribution is the importance we see of teaching into and supporting students' development of communicative competencies in support of their writing lives. Teaching writing in such a way prepares students for lives as literate people who use and make texts, who will at times need to reach out to others for support, guidance and community.

IMPLICATIONS

In this section I will discuss implications for classroom practice and teacher education, and end with directions for future research and concluding thoughts.

Implications for Classroom Practice

As stated in Chapter 1, writing instruction since the era of No Child Left Behind remains highly structured and standardized (Tatum, 2008), suffering from monolithic assessments, test-based writing prompts and minimal dialogic feedback from teachers (Anson, 1987; Freedman & Sperling, 1987; Sommers, 1982). These practices tend to position students, especially nondominant students, as deficient, with little relevant knowledge or skills (Freire & Macedo, 1997; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995). Findings from this study advocate for instructional practices that disrupt these deficit-oriented practices, even when teachers are working within highly structured, standardized environments. Teachers who embrace humanizing pedagogies understand that culturally and linguistically diverse students' struggle often comes from incongruencies between language, learning and behavioral practices in school and home, and that teachers need to work from appreciative perspectives to combat the ways that school discourses are often privileged by society (Salazar, 2013; Huerta, 2011). Implications from this study for enacting humanizing writing pedagogy are as follows:

Teachers may:

- enact caring practices through planned and unplanned classroom activities and interactions, and across a variety of in and outside of classroom spaces, while also understanding that students need to be asked how they understand and want to receive care.
- design the physical learning environment to accommodate collaboration, physical and emotional comfort and reflect the philosophical commitments of the students and teachers.
- design writing projects around genres, purposes and practices that exist outside of school, because work in school is more meaningful when it is applicable to students' out of school lives (Gay, 2002; Ladson Billings, 1994).
- use time in class for students to practice writing on a daily basis, because that is how teachers can best support students during their individualized writing process (R. Bomer, 2011).
- take time to have both informal and formal conversations with students about their lives and their writing, because it is through talk that teachers get to know their students as people (Connors & Lunsford, 1993; Ferris, 2014; Freedman & Sperling, 1987; Sommers, 1982; Sommers, 2012; Zellermayer, 1989).

- create structured, but flexible spaces for students to share their ideas and writing with peers, and respond to each other as readers (Gere, 1987; Graham & Perin, 2007; Tang & Tithecott, 1999). This means anticipating the unfamiliarity some students will feel to meeting in writing groups, and providing some structure initially to support their work in these spaces. It also means observing and responding to students' interactions in writing groups and recognizing when the structure is not working.
- provide opportunities for students to reflect and self-assess their progress, goals and work around supporting their peers as writers. Students often have answers to teachers' most challenging problems of practice, and appreciate opportunities to provide feedback and "redesign" the classroom space so that it serves both teachers and students' needs as learners, writers and human beings.

Implications for Teacher Education and Professional Development

Although focused on classroom practice, this dissertation also has implications for teacher education, specifically around supporting preservice and inservice teachers' growth as writers, practices to support the humanization of their students and finding support from like-minded colleagues.

This study confirms what researchers like Anne Ruggles Gere (1987) and Anne Whitney (2011) and institutions like the National Writers Project have previously reported about the need for teachers of writing to have a daily writing practice of their own (Cremin & Baker, 2010; Whitney, 2009). Because Dana and Victoria both tried to write outside of school, they were also able to make visible their thinking as writers, which in many ways is what made both teachers examples of teaching writing and not just assigning writing. Many preservice teachers have not experienced anything other than assigning writing in

schools (Hall, 2016; Street, 2003); therefore, it is important that teacher educators model their writing practice in their teacher education classes (e.g., Araujo, Szabo, Raine, & Wickstrom, 2014; Batchelor, 2014; Kaufman, 2009; Morgan, 2010). Additionally, teacher educators need to support preservice teachers' reflection on their writing lessons and assignments, including asking them to reflect on if/how/when they apply what they are teaching to their own writing lives.

This study focused on two teachers who through enacting various practices and discourses routinely showed respect for students humanity, which raises the question, how do we support teachers' development and engagement in humanizing practices during teacher education? For both teachers their humanization of students was grounded in recognizing their students as humans who were always in process of becoming, and also modeling for students that they were unfinished as well. This suggests the efficacy of supporting preservice teachers' development of an inquiry stance toward their students, and providing them with opportunities to wonder about and see the complexity and richness of their students' lives in and outside of the classroom. For example, in my own teacher education courses I ask students to write a case study of a student, which gives them an opportunity to observe, interview and really get to know a student across the multiple communities they learn and live in. I have found from this assignment preservice teachers developed an understanding of their case study student as a multifaceted complex human being, which helped them resist the dehumanizing/deficit narratives that followed many of their secondary students. When we provide space for students to do this in teacher education, we foster this inquiry stance in their practices during inservice teaching.

Finally, although not extensively talked about in this study, important background context to the teachers' work was the community of like-minded educators they met with each month. For teachers, like Dana and Victoria, who are designing and enacting new curriculum and instruction, it is helpful to have colleagues to talk to who are simultaneously going through this process. Additionally, the presence of like-minded, asset-based perspectives regarding students and learning was helpful to the teachers. For the teachers in the study group in which Dana and Victoria participated, their outside of school teacher community was the only place where they could interact with teachers who didn't carry deficit perspectives of students. Although this is not new information, implications from this study show how important it is for teachers who are working in Title 1/high-stakes testing environments to routinely meet with colleagues who work not only to resist dehumanizing discourses of their students, but also to find the joy in them. School communities are fraught with deficit ideologies and teachers need support from colleagues to resist that. If that support is not present deficit perspectives can become normalized.

Directions for Future Research

This study illuminated knowledge, practices, and discourses that advocate a more humanizing approach to writing instruction, which included the mediating role of talk throughout the writing process, and efficacy of studying the role of contexts and power when working with culturally and linguistically diverse youth. However, this study was only based on four secondary classes and, therefore, further studies are needed to explore, complicate and evaluate what humanizing writing instruction is possible in schools like South Cardinal with high populations of nondominant youth. In particular I see a need for studies of humanizing approaches to writing instruction enacted by Teachers of Color. This research could possibly build on the emergent principles I've identified within my theorization of humanizing writing pedagogy and study how they can be complicated by teachers' racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This is especially important because, despite Victoria and Dana' efforts, most of their students could not see themselves in their teacher, which we know from previous research is a critical component of Students of Color's success in school (Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016).

Additionally, more ethnographic peer response/writing group studies in diverse contexts, specifically in underperforming schools, are needed. This study attempted to bring an outside of school writing group structure into a classroom setting, and affirmed that spaces where students can build communities as writers, share and respond to each other's work at all points of the writing process are valuable. Although other studies have approached peer response and collaborations from similar new literacy traditions, this scholarship continues to focus on either elective classes or high performing schools (Marsh, 2018; Schunn, Godley, & DeMartino, 2016). Although these studies are valuable to the field of composition and English education, it is worth exploring how these empowering and humanizing instructional approaches and perspectives can be applied to contexts that serve a larger population of students that are more racially, culturally and linguistically diverse. I envision humanizing research approaches, such as youth participatory designs being particularly transformative to this body of research, where both the inquiry into this student-centered participation structure and students as researchers and designers are epistemologically complementary notions.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

On September 19, 2018 one of Dana's students, Emerson, emailed her, subject line: "im a senior now yay!!!" Amongst other pleasantries shared in this email, Emerson requested copies of their writing group's audio recordings and provided "a lil update on everyone." The "everyone" included herself and the three other students in her writing group. She shared both academic and personal anecdotes, noting that Ely "got kicked out of school dont know why but he was doing good showing up everyday" and Elle was

"doing good in her classes and really trying to graduate i had her for two classes and she is working so hard" (email correspondence). When I read this email it suggested two things: 1) the lingering social relationships that have continued between members of this writing group, and 2) the lingering effects of Dana's humanizing writing pedagogy on students' lives in and outside of school. Paulo Freire (1970) said that a humanizing pedagogy is when "the method of instruction ceases to be an instrument by which teachers can manipulate the students, because it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves" (p. 513). This email proposed there was something meaningful in those writing group recordings, something perhaps tied to the students' consciousness that Emerson wanted to revisit, something that might be found in the list of topics and storylines that emerged from their interactions across the year. I was the only person who listened to every writing group recording, and I could listen to them again, looking for the interaction that turned Emerson on but my gut tells me it won't be there. I think the meaning found in these recordings is more ephemeral and less tangible. I never got to ask Emerson about this, but I am compelled to say these tapes reminded her of a time when she and her friends felt like they belonged. For high school students like Emerson, Ely and Elle, students who have carried "struggling labels" their entire lives, this email suggests they felt seen by their teacher and that they found a place in school where they could belong, and this is what made the writing groups a humanizing space.

What I hope this dissertation does is present a very possible, data-driven vision for a more humanizing approach to writing instruction. This vision is one that undergoes constant revision and one that, at its best, will resist being taken up and statically applied to other educational contexts. From the teachers I worked with I found that to humanize students meant to continually humanize oneself, and required teachers to recursively think about their work and interpret what was happening in their classrooms and schools. Dana and Victoria and the many other teachers I had the privilege of working with took seriously the influence they have on students' learning and life chances, and were deeply committed to supporting their students living meaningful and agentive lives as individuals who make things in the world. By letting me join their classrooms for a year I discovered how teaching into talk could support students' reflections, awareness of their identities as writers, and development as writers, as well as other aspects of their literate lives.

Day 1	1PM-2PM	2PM-3PM	3PM-4PM	Looking
				forward
Objectives: Teachers will reflect on their motivations for implementing PRGs in their classroom. We will come to some collective understandings around what research tells us about PRGs.	 ✓ Overview of schedule for the inquiry group. Creating a digital collaborative space. ✓ Overview study/pass out consent forms. ✓ Explain the revision process of the curriculum we make. <i>Individual goals:</i> ✓ Why do you want to implement PRGs in our classrooms? ✓ How do we imagine they will support our students? 	Grab coffee & snacks. ✓ Read PRG articles. Reading: Chapter 7 & 9 from Spear, K. (1993). Peer response groups in action: Writing together in secondary schools. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.	Thinking Wall: In 2s/3s brainstorm: Big ideas*- What do we want to remember from these pieces? What do we still have questions about? Group: Large understanding goals for PRGs Individual: Reflection on learning.	Next meeting: Aug 19, 1- 4PM Goals: Map out your writing units What kind of curriculum do we want to make?

Appendix A: Designing Curriculum Sample Schedule (Day 1)

Appendix B: Interview Protocols

TEACHER INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Beginning of Year

Teacher identity and beliefs around literacy instruction and student learning.

- Could you talk to me a little about your biographical and educational background? Where are you from? Where did you go to college? Why did you decide to go to grad school?
- 2. Why did you want to work with that population?
- **3.** Please describe how you see your role as a teacher in your classroom? What do you see as your main responsibilities?
- 4. How do you go about building relationships with students? What is easy? What is challenging about this?
- 5. How would you describe your approach to writing instruction? Talk about this without jargon
- **6.** I notice that you ask your students to frequently talk things out at their tables (this could be about instructions you are giving or an idea you are asking them to ponder, or a process question).
- 7. What goals do you have for yourself as a teacher of writing?
- 8. What goals do you have for your students?
- 9. As learners?
- 10. As writers?
- 11. How do your students' identities factor into your teaching?
- 12. Do you see your instruction and curriculum as contributing to their developing identities? How so?

Writing conferences and peer response groups

- As you know, I am interested in writing conferences and peer response groups. I know that you already do writing conferences in your classroom. Could you talk a little bit about why you do writing conferences? What are the challenges in doing writing conferences?
- 2. Are there other forms of response that you give to your students and their writing?
- 3. What role do you think response plays in students' writing development?
- 4. Have there been particular books, authors, professional literature that have informed how you think about response? If so, which ones?
- 5. So now that you have just finished your first writing unit, what are you thinking about in terms of peer response groups? How do you imagine implementing them? What do you want students to get out of these groups/what experience do you want them to have had during writing unit 2?
- 6. Has the way you have thought about conferring and peer response groups changed over time? If so, how?

Inquiry groups

- 1. So I know that you have been in other study groups, and I'm curious to know what motivates your continued participation in these groups?
- 2. How are you feeling about our study group so far? Do you feel like it is worth your time? Why? How so? What are you learning? Are there any tensions? If so, could you talk a little more about them?

Misc. South Cardinal questions from the last few weeks:

- Could you talk to me a little bit about school policies? There seem to be a lot of them and there seems to be inconsistency across the ninth grade and rest of the schools...which "rules" are optional and which do you have to follow?
- 2. I've noticed that a lot of kids continue to disengage in the lesson during class. What do you think about this? Why do you think they do this?
- 3. So this is your third/forth year at South Cardinal. What are some of the things that have gotten easier over the years?
- 4. Since the school year started I've noticed that you are always reflecting on your practice and even making adjustments between classes. Are there any changes in practice, intent, routines, beliefs, etc. that you have made over the last two months that you can name? Can you talk about these changes and why you made them and what has happened since?
- 5. Do you have anything to add?

End of Year

- 1. What has it been like to have a researcher in your classroom this year? What has been hard? Easy?
- 2. I want to go back into history a bit and I'm wondering what lingering ideas, practices have you kept with you from your grad school experience?
- 3. What does it mean to be a workshop teacher?
- 4. One thing that I have always appreciated and loved about you is that you are unfailingly reflective. On occasion I have watched you and your PLC come together and plan and reflect on class. Can you talk to me a little bit

more about the "invisible practices I might not see"? i.e. What is your daily planning process? What do you think about as you plan for the next day?

- 5. Through our exploration of writing instruction and writing groups, what have you learned about yourself as a teacher of writing?
- 6. Something that has come out of my preliminary analysis (mostly looking at interview data) is the importance of feedback, appreciation and relationships. (explain these things) Is this surprising to you? Are these things you think about? What makes this hard?
- 7. What do you think your students have learned about themselves as writers from writing groups?
- 8. What are some things you have tried with writing groups that have gone well?
- 9. What are some things that haven't gone as well?
- 10. How did you end up grading their writing groups? How are you thinking about assessment and writing groups? Is that a piece of this you think I need to think more about?

Teacher communities/study groups

- 1. What activities/experiences were the most valuable?
- How does it feel to have teachers who are from other schools in this group?
 Do you think it would be helpful to have some teachers from your school in the mix?
- 3. What about the benefits/drawbacks to working with teachers who work with different populations?

4. This is one kind of PD. What other sorts of PD have you had that are beneficial? What sorts of professional learning do you think teachers should be required to do? What sorts of PD should be made available to teachers, but voluntary?

Other misc. questions

5. Your future plans –What questions are you taking with you as you think about the next few years? What are you looking forward to next year? What are you worried about?

STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Focus Group Interviews: (Fall semester) (30 minutes)

- I'm interested in understanding how you think about the conversations you have with your teacher and peers about your writing. Before I ask about these conversations, could you each tell me a little bit about you as a writer. Do you enjoy writing? Why or why not?
- 2. Can you talk to me a little bit about your experience in English class?
- 3. How does this class compare to other classes you've been in.
- 4. What kinds of things do you write?
- 5. Where do you typically do your writing? What spaces?
- 6. What and/or who helps you with your writing?
- 7. Does your group support your writing process? If so, how?
- 8. How do you stay on task in these groups? Is there a leader? A time keeper?
- 9. Are there specific changes in your writing that you made as a result of the people in this group?

10. What did you learn about how to work in a writing group from your teacher's instruction?

Individual Interviews (Spring semester)

- 1. What kinds of things do you like to write? Do you feel like you get to do this kind of writing in school?
- 2. What kind of writing have you done in Mrs. Stump's class? Did you have a favorite piece that you wrote?
- 3. Can you talk to me a little about how you "practice" writing in class?
- 4. Do you have a favorite class activity related to writing that you have done?
- 5. Least favorite?
- 6. In the perfect world, how do you want your teacher to support you as a writing, and your writing?
- 7. What kind of feedback would you like to get?
- 8. What do you think you have learned about writing?
- 9. What have you learned about who you are as a writer?
- 10. What class activities did you find most beneficial?
- 11. How do you feel about your writing group? How have your group members supported you?
- 12. Can you describe the experience of your writing group? What did it feel like?
- 13. How could we make the experience even better?
- 14. What do you want to learn more about/develop as before you enter 10th grade?
- 15. Is there anything else you'd like to add/ is there anything else you'd like teachers to know about teaching writing?

Appendix C: List of Student Artifacts (organized by case)

Dana's Classroom (English 3/11th grade): Student Artifacts

Date	Name of Artifact	
Writing Cycle #1:	Open Genre	
9/20	Topic statements: Ss write on post-its what they think their topics will be	
9/22	Writing group recordings (only 2 groups)	
9/22	Reflection on Writing Group #1	
10/5	Self-assessment	
Book clubs		
10/3	Reflection on talk	
10/27	Book club audio recordings	
10/27	Book club agenda (made by students)	
Writing Cycle #2: Essay		
11/28	Writing group recordings (only 2 groups)	
11/28	Writing group reflection and topic selection	
12/5	Writing group recordings (only 2 groups)	
12/12	Writing group recordings (only 2 groups)	
12/13	Essay draft	
12/13	Essay Self-Assessment and Reflection	
Language Inquiry	Unit	
1/10	Language reflection	
1/11	Leo, Michelle, Cristal notebook entries on noticings about lang.	
1/12	Socratic seminar prep questions	
1/22	Research ideas/group talk (audio recordings)	
1/23	Madison's research notebooks; student talk (audio recordings)	
1/24	Small group conv. about their research plan	
2/5	Post HS plans – quick write	
	Op-Ed Social Issues	
3/22	Socratic seminar	
3/27	Editorial flood reflection	
4/2	Writing group recordings	
4/9	Writing group recordings	
4/12	Topic proposals and research	
4/19	Writing group recordings	
4/19	Op-Ed RD and planning (handwritten)	
4/23	RD - typed	
4/24	RD w/comments from writing group	
4/24	Writing group log	
4/26	Final draft	
4/26	Google Form Reflection	
Writing Cycle #4: Poetry		
5/8	Poetry pre-assessment	
5/17	Writing group recordings	
5/17	Poetry planning/WG question form	
5/18	RD poems	
5/23	Writing group recordings	

5/25	Poetry readings (audio)	
5/25	FD Poems	
5/25	Google form reflection	
Miscellaneous artifacts		
2/16	TELPAS writing sample	
4/9	STARR retester data	
Whole year	Writers' notebooks (n=18)	

Victoria's Classroom (English 1/9th grade): Student Artifacts

Date	Name of Artifact	
Writing Cycle #1: Open Genre		
10/5	Final drafts	
10/10	Unit reflection	
Writing Cycle #2:	Feature Article	
1/25	Writing group partner request	
1/26	Writing group recordings	
1/26	Writing group reflection	
1/31	Writing group recordings	
1/31	Writing group reflection	
2/2	Drafting (handwritten)	
2/2	Writing group recordings	
2/9	RD w/google doc comments (in writing group)	
2/14	Pictures from publication	
2/14	FA Google Form reflection	
Writing Cycle #3:	Poetry	
2/22	Black out poems	
2/28	RD poems	
3/1	Writing group recordings	
3/7	FD Poems	
3/7	Poetry Google Form Reflection	
Writing Cycle #4: Memoir		
5/17	Topic proposals	
5/17	Writing group recordings	
5/22	RD memoir	
5/23	RD memoir with google doc comments	
5/24	FD memoir	
5/24	Memoir reflection Google Form	
Miscellaneous artifacts		
	Mock STARR writing sample	
	English 1 Fall semester reflection	

Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

(Conventions adapted from Jefferson (2004))

[italics]	description of non-verbal activity or other vocalisms
=	latching
(#)	number of seconds of silence
	prolonged sound
[The starting points of overlapping speech
!	Excited speech
	underline Emphasized or stressed speech

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