

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION of Thomas J. Abrams, Jr. for the degree of Doctor of Education in Learning, Leadership, and Community presented on May 16, 2018.

Title: Invisible Ink: An Exploration of Students' Motivation to Write

Abstract Approved

Dr. Meg Petersen, PhD

Dissertation Committee Chair

This qualitative study investigates the motivation to write of four students in an upper middle class suburban community in the northeastern part of the United States. Utilizing a multiple case study approach, this current research focused on the interplay of the individual within the socio-cultural environment, using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems framework and Bourdieu's (1997) notion of habitus as analytical lenses. This study moved beyond a linear model of motivation to account for the complexities of interacting motivational processes and focused on student perspective, noticeably absent from the motivation research literature. Findings suggest that five factors contribute to a student's motivation to write. First, a student's habitus, and specifically its concordance or discordance within a certain context, profoundly affects his or her motivation to write. Second, motivation to write is informed by a student's identity within a certain context. Third, social and contextual supports can facilitate motivation to write, depending upon a student's identity and habitus. Fourth, a student's

perception of autonomy, informed by his or her habitus and identity and promoted by a feeling of agency, could motivate a student to write. Fifth, students could be motivated to write to explore the complex emotions encountered in the social world and across various contexts. Implications suggest that taking into account in-school writing experiences of high school students can inform educators about changes necessary to the design and implementation of writing instruction and assessment practices.

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Invisible Ink: An Exploration of Students' Motivation to Write

By

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I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of
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Thomas J. Abrams, Jr., Author

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Abstract

This qualitative study investigates the motivation to write of four students in an upper middle class suburban community in the northeastern part of the United States. Utilizing a multiple case study approach, this research focused on the individual within the socio-cultural environment, using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems framework and Bourdieu's (1997) notion of habitus as analytical lenses. This study moved beyond a linear model of motivation to account for the complexities of interacting motivational processes, and focused on student perspective, noticeably absent from the motivation research literature. Findings suggest that five factors contribute to a student's motivation to write. First, a student's habitus, and specifically its concordance or discordance within a certain context, profoundly affects his or her motivation to write. Second, motivation to write is informed by a student's identity within a certain context. Third, social and contextual supports can facilitate motivation to write, depending upon a student's identity and habitus. Fourth, a student's perception of autonomy, informed by his or her habitus and identity and promoted by a feeling of agency, could motivate a student to write. Fifth, students could be motivated to write to explore the complex emotions encountered in the social world and across various contexts. Implications suggest that taking into account in-school writing experiences of high school students can inform educators about changes necessary to the design and implementation of writing instruction and assessment practices.

Keywords: motivation, writing, ecological systems, habitus, identity, relationships, agency, autonomy, emotions

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

“Sing in me, Muse, and through me tell the story.”

—Homer, *The Odyssey*

Back in the 1950s, if one looked in the classified sections of the vogueish boys' magazines—*Boys' Life*, *Popular Electronics*, *Boys' Own*—one could buy invisible ink, a simple science trick that would allow one to write something, the letters quickly disappearing, resurrected by the application of another benign chemical pen. This metaphor, of invisible language made visible, will be the driving force of this study, as I seek to understand the invisible connections of a student's motivation to write, and seek to make the invisible, visible.

What motivates people? How do you motivate someone? How do you make sense of the complex contextual and psychological inputs that inform personal motivation? From these philosophical questions comes the purpose of this qualitative study: to describe, interpret, and understand a student's perspective on his or her motivation to write. This current research study adopts a socio-cultural framework, utilizing two theoretical lenses by which to interpret the data: Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and Bourdieu's (1997) notion of habitus. By understanding the perceptions of students within a system, and what students say exists within that system that motivates them to write, a teacher can begin to shape that system— curriculum, instruction, assessment, relational behaviors, and classroom environment—to get students motivated to write.

Defining Motivation

“Motivation” derives from the Latin word *movere*, meaning “to move” (Pintrich, 2003). While it might seem simple to define “motivation” etymologically, it is much more difficult to define operationally. One of the difficulties in defining motivation is that, in popular usage, *traits of* motivation, like engagement and interest, are used interchangeably with motivation itself (Christensen, Reschly, & Wylie, 2013). Dornyei and Ushioda (2011) stated, “While intuitively we may know what we mean by the term ‘motivation’, there seems little consensus on its conceptual range of reference” (p. 3). Motivation has been further defined as “interest and volition” (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991) and “the arousal, direction, and persistence of behavior” (Franken, 2002). In psychology, motivation is defined as an emotional state triggering cognitive and behavioral responses, rousing a person to action, pushing a person in a specific direction, or engaging a person in an activity (Ormrod, 2012). Motivation, as an internal state, is almost impossible to define in definitive terms. One can look at the manifestation of motivation through actions such as engagement, but to define it, the best approach is to look at how the individual describes it. For this study, then, I have decided to use a phenomenological approach and examine how students themselves define and describe motivation.

Significance of the Problem

Evidence gathered in nationwide surveys suggests the complicated nature of motivation in school, offering some troubling data that prompt many questions. Researchers conducting a 2006 nationwide survey of 81,499 high school students, called the High School Survey of Student Engagement (HSSE), found that “Two out of three

students are bored in high school at least every day” (Yazzie-Mintz & McCormick, 2007, p. 5). The survey assessed multiple motivational traits, and the results are disturbing: 75% reported the material uninteresting; 60% found no value in the academic content; and 61% claimed to dislike teachers (Yazzie-Mintz & McCormick, 2007). Other national polls reveal equally troubling data. Gallup, Inc. (2015) conducted a student poll of nearly 900,000 U.S. students from grades K-12, reporting a disturbing trend: In elementary school, 8 of 10 students report that they are motivated to learn; the number drops to 6 of 10 in middle school; and by high school, the number further declines to 4 of 10 (“Gallup, Inc.,” 2015). An unmotivated student may learn, but the learning may be distorted because of learning defenses put up by the student (Illeris, 2015). Another national poll focused on high school dropouts found that 69% felt schools failed to motivate them (Bridgeland, DiLulio, & Morrison, 2006). These data are suggestive of the complexity of motivation and prompt many questions. For example, 75% of students report material uninteresting, but does that mean they are unmotivated? What could trigger a student to become interested, and thereby motivated? Are they interested in one subject but not another? Or, to consider another issue: What is happening between elementary and high school? Is the change in motivation that occurs in these years indicative of biological development or systemic problems in education? It is this complexity of motivation as it manifests in high school students that this current research begins to address.

The complicated nature of motivation extends to writing, where a deteriorating attitude has been shown across all grades (Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2016). Oldfather and Shanahan (2007) stated that “writing motivation is often an issue in schooling (and perhaps for many outside school)” (p. 258). In a study on student interest,

defined as a cognitive and affective state linked to motivation, Lipstein and Renninger (2007) reported that only four out of 178 academically oriented 11- to 15-year-old students could be identified as having a well-developed individual interest in writing, defined as “enthusiastic” (p. 81) students who spent hours planning, writing, and revising writing, and who looked forward to constructive feedback from both teachers and peers. Many motivation researchers begin with the premise that students are unmotivated to write, calling it “a collective shortcoming” (Bruning & Horn, 2000, p. 26). Researchers have attributed this lack of motivation to many reasons, such as a lack of personal agency (Glasser, 1986); a climate of right answers (Duckworth, 1987); little choice in assignment (Paris & Turner, 1994); student isolation (Oldfather & Shanahan, 2007); emphasis on extrinsic rewards (Deci & Ryan, 2000); and limited response from teachers (Calkins, 1986) or peers (Oldfather & Dahl, 1994).

Such statistics and research on student motivation around in-school writing and writing instruction are disheartening. Writing is one of the main skills a person needs to proceed through education and most professions (Applebee & Langer, 2013; “Common Core State Standards,” 2010). Teachers at all levels, in all subjects, can use writing assignments and activities to enhance students’ learning, engagement, and attainment (Anderson, Anson, Gonyea, & Paine, 2015). Belief in the value of writing is evident in the emphasis the Common Core State Standards (2010) places on it. Writing is also a way to gain and demonstrate learning (MacArthur, Graham, & Fitzgerald, 2016). Beyond academics, many occupations, even those not requiring college degrees, require writing skills (Mikulecky, 1998). About half of private employers and 60% of government employers say writing skills impact promotion (National Commission on Writing, 2005)

and “poorly written applications are likely to doom candidates’ chances for employment” (National Commission on Writing, 2005, p. 4). Brandt (2005) has pointed out that in the new, knowledge-based economy, writing actually “fuel[s] a mass economy” (p. 167). Writing can also be worthwhile for personal or transcendent reasons: It has been used therapeutically (Brand & Graves, 1994; Gibb, 2015), to empower people (Guzzetti & Gamboa, 2004), as meditation (Gallehr, 1994), as social connection (Schultz, Hull, & Higgs, 2016), to develop identity (Park, 2013), as an outlet for creativity and imagination (Hull & Stornaiuolo, 2014), as a locus of personal agency (Iran-Nejad, Watts, Venugoplan, & Xu, 2007), and as a place of personal transformation (Hunt, 2013). Writing has even been shown to improve physical and mental health in some groups of people (Singer & Singer, 2008).

A lack of motivation to write may be one factor contributing to students’ poor progress in learning to write. Data from the National Center for Education Statistics (2012) reveal that less than one third of students in the United States have mastered grade-level writing. On the 2002 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), fully 77% of 12th grade students did not meet NAEP writing proficiency goals, and 70% of students in grades 4-12 were classified as low-achieving writers (Persky, Daane, & Jin, 2003). College instructors estimate that 50% of high school graduates are not prepared for college level writing (Achieve, Inc., 2005). Businesses spend \$3.1 billion annually on writing remediation to offset the poor writing skills of employees (National Commission on Writing, 2004). Poor writing of American students—whether in the classroom or in future professions—has even led to a spirited public debate, evidenced by the outcry over a recent *Atlantic* article titled “Why American Students Can’t Write” (Tyre, 2012). In a

2007 meta-analysis of writing instruction for adolescent writers, Graham and Perin wrote, “Too many youngsters do not learn to write well enough to meet the demands of school or the workplace” (p. 445). Lack of student motivation may explain this poor writing. This current research study investigates the link between writing and motivation and explores how students think about motivation and writing, providing insights that may be helpful in addressing the problem of student motivation to write.

Expanding the Definition of Writing

Although other researchers such as Pajares (1999), Graham and Harris (2005), Hidi (2006), and Boscolo and Gelati (2013) have contributed valuable insights to our understanding of writing and motivation’s role in that activity, one of the deficiencies in existing research on motivation to write is an emphasis on “motivational aspects of *academic* writing” (Hidi & Boscolo, 2006, p. 11; emphasis added). To take an ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) approach to writing motivation, the definition of writing must be expanded beyond the academic. To this end, I am using Bazerman’s (2016) definition of writing as “a social technology designed to communicate” (p. 11). I will call writing done supplementary to the traditional school day “*beyond-school writing*,” a phrase both temporal, suggesting the time of day writing is conducted, as well as metaphorical, suggesting the lifelong necessity to write. Schultz, Hull, and Higgs (2016) in a meta-analysis of writing research on after-school writing, noted that though the student writing was done beyond the traditional academic day, it still had an educational component. A traditional definition of writing, suggesting that writing occurs only in an academic setting, neglects areas that might affect a student’s motivation to write.

By maintaining a broad definition of writing, this research study aims to capture the tasks, behaviors, and environments both inside and outside of school that motivate a student to write. By expanding the definition of writing, I am also contributing to an understudied research area on motivation to write. Between 2000 and 2014, 56 studies were conducted by writing researchers on out-of-school literacy practices (Schultz, Hull, & Higgs, 2016). Most of these studies, diverse in nature—from literacy practices of taxi drivers in South Africa to basketball players in Chicago—have focused on the *digital turn* (Mills, 2010), whereby research on out-of-school literacy practices investigates writing associated with technology, like video games (Gee, 2003), digital storytelling (Hull & Katz, 2006), instant messaging (Lewis & Fabos, 2005), and online fan fiction (Black, 2009). But no studies have looked at a student’s motivational stance as affected by these media literacies. Perhaps it is because motivation is inherent in an activity that is freely chosen or perhaps it is because teaching doesn’t embrace such writing activities and genres. Bazerman (2016) made this point when he wrote, “As those who have studied writing assigned in school have noted, the range of writing activities is regularly narrower than needs be even for curricular purposes” (p. 17). Three studies that I know of have shown positive correlations between a student’s outside writing interest and academic motivation (Day, 2010; Ruble & Lysne, 2010; Sloan, 2015). This study addresses a significant gap in motivation to write research by investigating a student’s motivation to write both in school and beyond school, extending the contexts where writing occurs and motivation manifests.

Research Questions

Clearly, there are issues with student writing achievement that may be related to students' motivation to write. Understanding motivation from the student point of view may give us insights into how to address this problem. Accordingly, I have formulated the following questions to guide my investigation.

1. What do high school students say motivates them to write?
2. How do high school student perceptions of past writing experiences shape their view of their motivation to write?
3. How does a high school student's perception of teacher behaviors and/or classroom environment affect students' perception of their motivation to write?
4. What type of tasks do high school students say motivates them to write?
5. How does student perception of assessment of writing affect motivation to write?

It is important to make explicit a fundamental proposition that guides this study: Writing motivation is both a psychological and socio-cultural phenomenon. Many studies try to isolate one, or a few of those factors, and look at how they affect motivation. I believe this tendency to decontextualize factors presents an incomplete and misleading picture. This incomplete picture has led some researchers to call for a thoughtful integration of the many elements, both psychological and socio-cultural, that influence a student's motivation to write (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2011; Hidi & Boscolo, 2008; Wentzel & Miele, 2016). For example, how do we account for the relationship between contextual factors and individual factors that may motivate a student to write? In moving a student to write, how much weight do we assign the individual? Do we treat students as individuals

capable of controlling their own behaviors, or do we attribute their motivation to the social norms, values, and meanings that make up the socio-cultural context? This research attempts to complete the picture, and show the connections between the individual's motivational processes within the socio-cultural context.

Theoretical Framework

Motivation, as mentioned, is an individual phenomenon, best defined and described by the individual, as the individual constructs his or her reality within a certain environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Rather than investigate one or the other, in adopting Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, I will consider the developing person *and* the environment, as well as the "evolving interaction between the two" (p. 3).

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory posits the idea that human psychological development is based to a significant degree on the larger social and institutional context of individual activity. Important in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory is the notion that some of what affects a person's development is unknown to the person, existing in the "infinite tangles of past experiences and present circumstances" (1979, p. viii). To try to understand this "infinite tangle" within the ecological system I am looking to the work of Bourdieu (1997), who posited the notion of *habitus*, or the "habits of thought" (p. 7), dispositions, and acquired capital that result from a person's history and socio-cultural environment. It is my belief that applying these two theoretical frames will offer descriptive and explanatory power of a student's motivation to write. In the

following section, I outline an ecological system framework as it applies to adolescent students' perception of their motivation to write.

The individual. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes an ecological system as consisting of “a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls” (p. 3). The first level is the individual, which includes the individual's psychological processes, such as affect, cognition, and conation (See Figure 1.1).

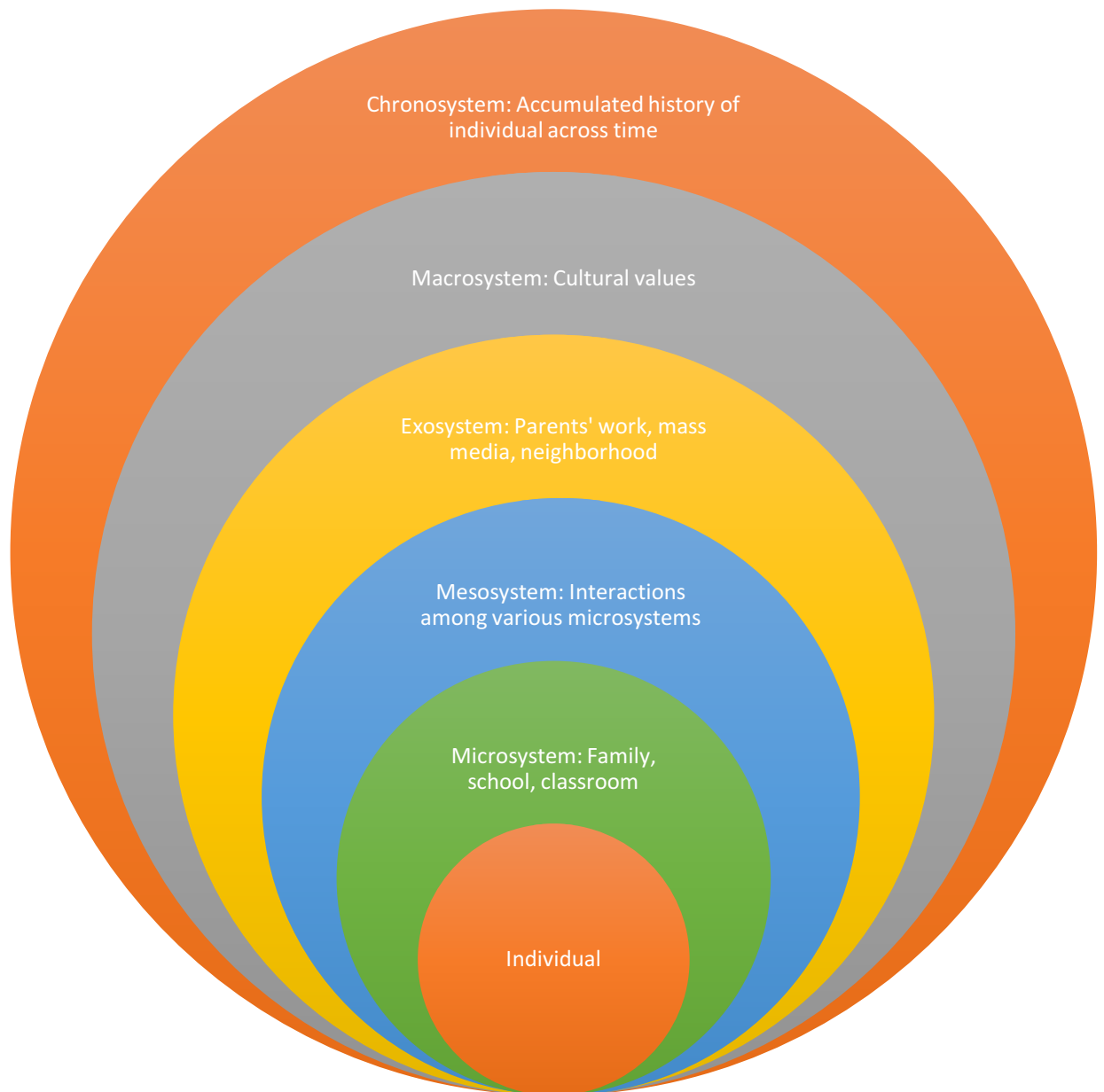


Figure 1.1. Symbolic representation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory. The small, inner circle represents the individual and each subsequent, larger circle expands the ecological system. Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1979).

There is ample psychological research investigating the individual level and its effect on a student's motivation in general and motivation to write in particular. Much of the previous research on writing motivation investigated a single significant factor that motivates students, which makes sense because "the study of motivation at school is rich in both theory and research" (Skinner, 2017, p. 145), leading to an expansive series of constructs (Skinner, 2017). In this way writing motivation research has focused on psychological variables that influence motivation, such as a student's feelings about his or her ability to complete a writing task (cf. Pajares & Johnson, 1994); feelings of autonomy and competence (cf. Deci & Ryan, 2000); interest (cf. Hidi, 2006); psychological regulation (cf. Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2016); or anxiety (cf. Daly & Miller, 1975). Researchers have also paid selective attention to different stages of motivation, such as the initial motivational impulse (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000), or focused on the effects of actions and experiences on motivation, such as learned helplessness (Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1993). The same holds true for researchers of writing motivation, who have adopted psychological constructs for their study of writing motivation, including Pajares, Johnson, and Usher (2007) on self-efficacy, Hidi (2006) on interest, Graham and Harris (2005) on self-regulation, or Daly and Miller (1975) on anxiety. From this perspective, a student's motivation to write can also be informed by the process of meaning making inherent in writing (Boals, 2012; Nelson & Calfee, 1998). These psychological studies have given us a varied and robust understanding of the

underlying psychological processes that motivate students in general, and motivate students to write in particular.

The microsystem. Many of these studies, in focusing on the individual, however, neglect the myriad socio-cultural factors that may promote or inhibit a student's motivation to write, a branch of research that represents the major approach to writing research in the past thirty years (Bazerman, 2016). To understand a student's motivation to write, one must consider both the individual psychology and the student's socio-cultural context, which brings us to the second level of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, called the *microsystem*, which is the immediate setting of the developing person—the home or the classroom, for example. This setting begins to consider the socio-cultural aspects as influential on the individual, and builds on the work of Vygotsky (1986). Vygotsky (1986) developed the notion that our framework for thinking was social in origin and internalized through cultural practice, as well as mediated by tools and signs. Vygotsky explored the notion of the *zone of proximal development (ZPD)*, in which a person learns through his or her interaction with a learned other. Vygotsky (1994) wrote, “The road from object to child and from child to object lies through another person” (p. 116). A “Vygotskian perspective requires seeing each act deeply in relation to the cultural and historical practices of which it is a part” (Smagorinsky, 2009, p. 90). The ZPD resembles a type of *cognitive apprenticeship* that motivates learners (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1988). In an ecological system, interactions in the ZPD between learner and teacher are overlaid with cultural demands and contradictions as well as embodied histories, especially salient in the institution of

schooling. All of these interactions and histories are inseparable yet tension-filled as they make up two aspects of the microsystem.

An environment, especially the social context, can influence learners, which can lead to motivated, engaged, and energized students. This notion, of social environments influencing learners, derives from the seminal work of Lave and Wenger (1991), who developed the notion of *situated learning*, in which social co-participation leads to learning. Inherent in Lave and Wenger's (1991) work is that situated learning motivates people. *Social cognitive theory*, a specific branch of psychology, explores the idea that a portion of an individual's knowledge acquisition can be directly related to observing others within the contexts of social interactions, experiences, and outside media influences, and eventually assuming control over one's own behavior (Ormrod, 2012). Social cognitive theory accepts the overlaps between individual psychology and the socio-cultural context.

Ideas such as learned others, situated learning, and social cognition reflect the direct and indirect influence of immediate environments—the microsystem—on the developing individual's motivation to write. Take, for example the finding that occasions for engaging in writing and a positive teacher attitude are powerful means for students to develop confidence as well as a sense of themselves as literate people engaged in a community of discourse (Mason & Boscolo, 2000). Important in this study is the dyadic interaction between student and teacher as promoting motivation to write. Moreover, classroom collaboration on writing creates a community of discourse, motivating students to write (Boscolo & Ascorti, 2004; Morrow, Sharkey, & Firestone 1993; Oldfather & Dahl, 1994). Here one can see the multiple connections between and among people in the

microsystem, as students interact with students, students with teachers, creating cultures where writing is valued, prompting the motivation to write. Hidi and Renninger's (2006) concept of situational interest is predicated on a microsystem environmental trigger, such as a photo a teacher presents, which motivates a student to write. These studies suggest that the microsystem is an important part of motivating students to write.

Investigating the microsystem requires a consideration of the patterns of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), all of which have been found to affect a student's motivation to write in complex ways. For example, the role of the teacher, as instructor and facilitator of the classroom environment, is "crucial in promoting motivation to write" (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013, p. 304). Boscolo and Gelati (2013) point to a teacher's choice of task, activities, and strategies as important factors in motivating students to write. Another important factor, Boscolo and Gelati (2013) wrote, is the way a teacher develops a student's attitude toward writing: "A student's beliefs influence their approach to writing, a teacher's beliefs about writing influence the ways in which he or she organizes the writing setting and instructional practices" (p. 305). Wentzel (2016) has written, "There is growing consensus that the nature and quality of children's relationships with their teachers play a critical and central role in motivating and engaging students to learn" (p. 211). Important here is the perception of the role played by students and teachers, and the way each experiences their role. Teachers, in many schools, are also the assessors of a student's writing. This role, as assessor, complicates both relationship and activity. For example, Sommers (1982) found that teacher comments often hijack a student's writing and could be rubber-stamped from student text to student text, not offering "the motive to

do something different in the next draft” (p. 149). Though important, there is a paucity of research that asks high school students for their perception of the writing environment—activities, roles, interpersonal relationships—and how that affects motivation to write (Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2016).

One way for writing teachers to motivate students, researchers found, is by considering the activity, one of the three aspects of the ecological system Bronfenbrenner (1979) pointed out as crucial in data analysis. A complex writing task, consisting of multiple paragraphs and written in collaboration over several days, proves to be more motivating than simpler ones, such as when a student constructs sentences alone (Miller, Adkins, & Hooper, 1993; Miller & Meece, 1999). Collaboration with peers and self-monitoring during difficult writing tasks proved more motivating than simple writing tasks completed alone (Miller & Meece, 1999). Personal choice and autonomy through workshop and project-based assignments have been shown to increase student motivation (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013; Bruning & Horn, 2000; Cleary, 1991; Elbow, 1981; Hiebert, 1994). Authentic writing tasks, those that involve students in immediate uses of literacy, for both enjoyment and communication—like a petition to a city council seeking more traffic lights near a school—have also been found to motivate students (Duke, Purcell-Gates, Hall, & Tower, 2006). A second example of authentic writing is writing which develops voice (Elbow, 1981) or *honored voice* (Oldfather, 1993), which make writing authentic and motivates students. A relatively new area of authentic writing occurs in *media literacy*, a set of skills and abilities in which aural, visual, and digital literacy overlap (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013). In immersing themselves in everyday literacy (e.g., Facebook, texting, blogging, Snapchat), students feel the authenticity of the writing, “the

very texts they interact with daily outside of school” (Karchmer-Klein, 2013, p. 310). Boscolo and Gelati (2013) point out that the proliferation of the Internet and media literacies, and the new possibilities these formats offer, may make school writing even less attractive. All of these studies consider the importance of the activity in motivating students to write, an important aspect of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological systems theory at the microsystemic level.

The chronosystem and mesosystem. A comprehensive investigation of overlapping microsystems would need to address the various environments a student has previously experienced as integral to their current developmental state and attitude. Bronfenbrenner (1979) wrote “The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings” (p. 21). Key in this definition is the word “progressive,” suggesting that early experiences with various environments influence an individual’s current perspective, what Bronfenbrenner (1994) later called the *chronosystem*, or the accumulated history of the individual. For example, adolescents relate current motivational levels of writing to germinal environments (Potter, McCormick, & Busching, 2001). Graves (2003) found that children want to write at the beginning of elementary school because of exposure to pre-conventional writing, such as drawing with details and playing with letters. Boscolo and Gelati (2013) stated “A child is often intrinsically motivated to write in early schooling, but unsuccessful writing experiences due to the increasing complexity of writing through the school grades may transform his or her original ‘will to write’” (p. 287). Cleary (1991) discovered that past writing experiences were “what has gone wrong” for high school writers (p. 2).

Though there exists a body of literature studying these early motivational experiences (Hidi & Boscolo, 2007; Pajares, 1994; Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2016), the research has focused on the elementary and middle school levels, neglecting what role this history plays in a high school student's motivation to write. Investigating the role of early experiences on current rates of writing motivation will also begin to address Bourdieu's (1997) notion of habitus. Consider the Graves (2003) study. A student's parents, based on their educational attainments or economic status—in Bourdieuan (1997) terms their economic and academic capital—may easily engage in pre-conventional writing with their child, having the time and skills to explore this type of nascent storytelling.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory requires looking beyond a single setting to multiple settings and studying the relations between them, moving into an investigation of the interactions between microsystems, what Bronfenbrenner (1979) called the *mesosystem*. An exploration of these interactions will help to explain how different writing situations, both in school and beyond school, motivate students to write. For example, moving from one social domain to another requires adjusting writing. Writers who work in different situations accommodate to each of them, as Luzon (2013) found when studying scientists who write public blogs to communicate with non-specialist readers. Finders (1996) reported that middle school girls experienced their private notebooks and journals as far more motivating and authentic than their classroom writing, even though the classroom assignments were developed to promote candor, reflection, and personal commitment. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) notion of mesosystems will help us appreciate that it is important to consider motivational exigencies from various contexts.

The exosystem and macrosystem. Bronfenbrenner (1979) described the *exosystem* as a setting that influences a developing person, but one which “he may never enter” (p. 7), such as his parents’ workplace or educational achievement. Writing, as a difficult cognitive activity, requires vast background knowledge (Zimmerman & Risemberg, 1997), which can be enhanced by such things as parental educational achievement. A student’s exosystemic influences—parents’ jobs, neighborhood—may provide that student with an advantage in background knowledge, and increases the likelihood that he or she will engage in writing as the student is not cognitively overwhelmed with the task.

The *macrosystem* was defined by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as the belief systems and ideologies underlying cultures, the “values generally held by members of the given culture” (p. 258). For example, the cultural values that shape education influence how writing is taught, what is assigned, and what is valued in assessing writing (Berlin, 1987). This outside influence, from the macrosystem, pushes certain writing conventions, methodologies, and philosophies upon students, which may affect their motivation to write, despite the fact that these macrosystem ideologies that drive writing assessment are often antithetical to other views on writing and writing instruction (Hillocks, 2002). Consider for a moment the assessing of writing, a macrosystemic pressure which filters down to the classroom teacher. Broad (2003), Huot (2002), and White (1994) have questioned assessment practices, pointing out the difficulty of obtaining objective opinions about something subjective. These researchers suggest that writing assessment is based on what an individual assessor values, which can vary from instructor to instructor. The National Council of the Teachers of English (2016) have enshrined this

belief in its “Beliefs about the teaching of writing” by stating, “Assessment of writing involves complex, informed, human judgment.” Subjectivity in assessing writing is based partly on macrosystemic influences as the teacher’s education, identity, experiences with writing, and value he or she places on writing are adopted through a lifetime of macrosystem cultural exchanges.

Bourdieu’s (1997) Concept of Symbolic Capital and Habitus

Bourdieu’s (1997) theories of habitus and symbolic capital become an important consideration at the mesosystemic and chronosystemic level of Brofenbrenner’s ecological system, as a student arrives at school with acquired dispositions and capital that may influence his or her motivation to write in certain contexts. Bourdieu (1977), in defining habitus, wrote that it is “a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions” (p. 83). Expanding on the notion of habitus, Bourdieu (1977) posited that individuals, through a lifetime, acquire certain levels of symbolic capital—economic, social, cultural—which affect how he or she interacts with the social world and which are the embodiment of habitus. The notions of habitus and symbolic capital can be seen in Hidi and Renninger’s (2006) notion of sustained individual interest, which they found could motivate a student to write. A sustained individual interest is a subject of engagement and characteristic of the person over a period of time (Lipstein & Renninger, 2007). If a student with a sustained individual interest, acquired over a lifetime outside of school, is given a choice to write about a subject, and the subject he or she chooses is based on a sustained individual interest and valued by the school, he or she will be motivated to write and successful (Lipstein & Renninger, 2007). Students, then,

who come to school with acquired interests that are valued by the school—or “capital” in Bourdieu’s (1977) terminology—are more likely to be motivated to write and succeed at school. This capital, importantly, is often unknown to the person, acquired as if through osmosis from the experiences the person has had. Heath’s (1983) study on literacy in three U.S. communities showed that literacy practices, first encountered at home and in the community, can resonate or conflict with school contexts. Though the Heath (1983) study dealt with literacies and not motivation, it does suggest the importance of a student’s habitus and symbolic capital as he or she approaches a new context, that of school, and the crossover of microsystems, the mesosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This current research, in looking at motivation to write as influenced by a student’s acquired habitus, is seeking to understand the role of habitus in motivating students to write across contexts as part of an ecological system.

The importance of habitus is further emphasized in the exosystem. Bourdieu’s (1997) concept of habitus includes such things as economic capital, which is related to parental occupation, and social capital, which may be a byproduct of a certain neighborhood. This accrued capital gives one, in Bourdieu’s (1997) words, “a sense of the game... which is practically never set out or imposed in an explicit way” (p. 11). For example, a community that can support such endeavors as writing for an audience of parents and families, that may offer internships in writing, that has the means to produce student writing in newspapers and on radio, has been shown to motivate students to write (Bazerman, 2016). A community and student with such attributes augments the capital a student has and demonstrates the importance of the ecological system on motivating students to write.

Ecological Systems, Habitus, and the Motivation to Write

Concepts of various ecological systems combined with habitus and the inherent symbolic capital provide leverage for thinking about a student's motivation to write. Some studies on writing motivation have suggested that this interplay functions among the larger nested ecological systems in which the individual resides. Mackiewicz and Thompson (2015) posited that writing conferences, a microsystem construct that involves interpersonal interactions, build motivational and psychological scaffolds. In a study on three different teacher response models of a sentence combining activity, Zimmerman and Kitsantas (2002) discovered that a teacher's response influences a student's sense of self-efficacy, demonstrating the importance of a microsystem relationship on individual psychology. Self-regulated strategy development incorporates social behaviors (Graham & Harris, 2016), which may be learned at many systemic levels. Ochse (1990) discovered that extrinsic motivation is linked to social recognition and praise. Oldfather and Dahl (1994) correlated intrinsic motivation to classroom culture and interpersonal relations. Theories of motivation have also recognized this complexity evident in various systemic influences and integrated multiple psychological and socio-cultural concepts, such as the theory of self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000), which incorporates autonomy, competence, and relatedness; or self-regulatory strategy development (Graham & Harris, 2005), which incorporates aspects of cognition, problem-solving, decision-making, environmental structuring, relatedness, and metacognition.

These studies and theories suggest that the motivation to write is both a psychological process and one that is mediated through the socio-cultural context, influenced by myriad ecological systems as well as Bourdieu's (1997) concept of habitus.

Motivation usually evolves gradually, through a complex mental process that involves planning and goal-setting, intent, task generation, implementation, control, and evaluation of outcome. This motivation occurs in a particular environment, in a particular context, and is informed by a person's particular past. Today, psychologists and writing motivation researchers investigate this as a complex phenomenon, informed by many elements, both personal and environmental (Baumeister, 2015; Bernard, 2006; Hidi & Boscolo, 2007; Ormrod, 2012). Baumeister (2015), in his presidential address to the Society for the Study of Motivation, lamented that "theories of motivation remain in specific domains and have little contact with one another" (p. 1). In concluding a 2007 survey of writing motivation research, Hidi and Boscolo (2007) wrote, "Regarding motivation, the most important finding that emerged from our analyses is that the critical motivational variables involved in writing may be more interrelated than previously recognized" (p. 154). Adopting Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Bourdieu (1997) as theoretical lenses will give explanatory power to this complex, multifaceted phenomenon.

Chapter II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this qualitative study is to uncover a student's motivational perspective in relation to writing, and to use an ecological system approach to describe influential factors including teacher, task, assessment, and early writing experiences. This literature review considers the individual psychological processes of writing motivation, but also considers the individual as part of various contexts because in an ecological system the focus is on "how the nature of psychological material changes as a function of a person's exposure and interaction with the environment" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 9). Because of the expansiveness of the theoretical framework of ecological systems—one must consider the individual, the microsystem, the macrosystem, the exosystem, and the chronosystem—this literature review is expansive, covering individual psychological processes like self-regulation while also considering socio-cultural factors such as the instructor. Though expansive, I continuously circle back to the concept of a student's motivation to write, so that though the focus may be on the instructor, I summarize the research that considers the instructor's effect on the individual student's writing motivation, focusing on the interplay between the individual and the environment. In many cases I briefly explain the history of a concept, such as the writing process, so some of the literature reviewed turns to seminal works.

This literature review is structured to align with this study's research questions, and thus will move from instructor to task to assessment to early writing experiences. I first present a brief overview of the concept—for example, instructor or task—and its relation to the motivation to write. Then I consider the history of the concept in the

writing research before finally turning to the concept as it has been investigated by writing motivation researchers.

Instructor

In their review of writing motivation literature, Boscolo and Gelati (2013) conclude that a teacher's beliefs about writing influence the way she teaches it, noting that the teacher is "crucial in promoting motivation to write" (p. 304). In this respect, if a teacher views writing as an individual skill, he or she will try to motivate students through assigning interesting topics (Lipstein & Renninger, 2007); whereas, if a teacher views motivation as an attitude to be developed, the assignment of writing will be a different one, promoting the communicative power of writing and the power of writing as meaning-making (Boals, 2012; Boscolo & Cisotto, 1997). Some of the key factors influencing a student's motivation to write are the pedagogical choices that a teacher makes and what activities he or she deems important, on both an individual level and as part of the wider cultural values, as the cultural values that shape education influence how writing is taught, what is assigned, and what is valued in assessing writing (Sperling & Freedman, 2001). Every classroom has its own identity, which can also foster or hinder students' identity development as writers (Ball & Ellis, 2008).

One of the important decisions an instructor makes is how to teach writing; for example whether to incorporate process writing or a writing workshop model in the classroom. I now turn to an overview of different modes of writing and consider their effect on the motivation to write.

Process Writing Instruction and the Motivation to Write

Since Emig's (1971) seminal publication on the writing process of 12th graders, researchers have investigated the process of writing. Writing process, where a student prewrites, writes, revises, and publishes (Hayes & Flower, 1980), includes several aspects of the socio-cultural context, such as an increased interaction with a learned other and the publication of a writing piece to a larger audience. Studies into the adoption of the writing process as an instructional technique have rarely focused on motivation, except when they discuss aspects of the process that seemed to cripple students' motivation, such as complexity of task (Kellogg, 1987) or the decline of motivation if the writing process was isolated in the English classroom (Boscolo & Mason, 2001). Even when adopting a recursive, process model of writing instruction (Flower & Hayes, 1981), the complex task of writing often inhibits the motivation of students, especially novice writers or secondary students dealing with the complex assignments required of the secondary classroom (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987; Graham & Harris, 2005). In a line of extended research on writing motivation, it was found that cognitive complexity can be overcome during the writing process by teachers using specific strategies, such as goal setting (Graham & Perin, 2007).

The original writing workshop model, as defined by Murray (1968), modeled writing instruction on the habits and dispositions of professional writers; this model constitutes a very different motivational stance than the assign and grade methodology that preceded it. By adopting the habits of professional writers, Murray (2004) was trying to promote a student writer's motivation through having the student identify as a writer. Nelson (2007) has contended that the trend in instruction that focuses on process writing can be attributed to teachers' desires to motivate students to write. Nelson (2007) defined

the process model of writing as prewriting, writing, revising, response, and eventual publication. Charlton (2015) looked at the effect of writer's workshop on writer's attitude, motivation, and self-efficacy in elementary-age children, defining writer's workshop as mini-lesson instruction, students writing with teacher conferences built in, and the publishing and/or sharing of student work with others. She concluded that the implementation of writer's workshop had a statistically significant effect on attitude, motivation, and self-efficacy. Despite this finding by Charlton (2015), "additional research is needed to assess possible motivational effects of process writing" (Graham & Sandmel, 2011, p. 403). Hillocks (1986), in a meta-analysis of writing process research, took the process model as the impetus for defining several modes of instruction: presentational, natural, environmental, and individualized. According to Hillocks (1986), the environmental mode showed the most statistical benefit. Despite these findings by Hillocks (1986), the presentational mode still dominates high school English classrooms (Bruning & Kauffman, 2017).

Presentational mode of writing instruction and the motivation to write. The presentational mode of writing instruction is characterized by the use of specific objectives, lecture, the study of models, specific assignments, and feedback from the teacher (Hillocks, 1986). The rigidity of this type of writing instruction, rather than on a process of writing as meaning-making, has been found to be de-motivating for students (Oldfather & Shanahan, 2007). Bruning and Kauffman (2017), in a review of the literature, discovered that much of contemporary writing instruction reflects this type of practice "under less than ideal conditions, with students grappling with poorly understood content, having few or no opportunities to revise, and receiving inadequate feedback" (p.

167). This type of writing instruction, where the student grapples with difficult material and works in isolation, can adversely affect writers' motivation (Zimmerman & Risemberg, 1997). Glasser (1986) found that a student would be unmotivated if the writing task assigned was not tailored to a student's individuality, if the instructional task was presentational in nature. If it was not tailored to a student's individuality, it may be compelled by the culture, perhaps as part of the established curriculum, which can be demotivating (Hillocks, 2002). The presentational mode of writing instruction is aligned with the first draft/only draft concept of writing instruction, which has been found to be demotivating to students, a "punitive force for students, faculty, and progressive forms of instruction" (Huot & O'Neill, 2009, p. 1). In presenting lectures on writing, presentational mode also decontextualizes writing, eliminating the social and rhetorical aspect of writing, which likewise has been found demotivating (MacLean, 1983; Romano, 1987).

Natural mode of writing instruction and the motivation to write. The natural mode of writing instruction is characterized by the use of general objectives, such as increased writing fluency; free-writing; writing for a peer audience; generally positive feedback from peers; opportunities to revise; high levels of student interaction; and teacher as facilitator (Hillocks, 1986). Classroom collaboration, such as that found in this mode of instruction, creates a community of discourse through which students can discover their identities as writers, and thus is motivating (Morrow & Sharkey, 1993; Park, 2013). Allowing students to freewrite, or to write in nontraditional ways, has been shown to increase intrinsic motivation (Ganske, 2017). One aspect of the natural mode of

instruction, the actual classroom environment, should be structured to promote motivation (Williams & Williams, 2011).

Environmental mode of writing instruction and the motivation to write. The environmental mode of writing instruction is characterized by the use of specific objectives; materials and problems selected to engage students with each other; and activities conducive to high levels of peer interaction, such as small-group, problem-centered discussions (Hillocks, 1986). In this type of instruction, students work on writing problems as a group before moving on to individual practice, with the teacher minimizing lectures and teacher-led discussion (Hillocks, 1986). Environmental mode of writing instruction also reflects the use of authentic writing tasks, which have been found to be motivating to students (Troia, Shankland, & Wolbers, 2012). Students are also more motivated by cooperative writing tasks because they can learn different strategies from each other (McCutchen, 1988).

Individualized mode of writing instruction and the motivation to write. The individualized mode of writing instruction focuses on helping students on an individual basis, offering instruction through tutorials, programmed materials, or a combination of the two (Hillocks, 1986). Studies that utilized this instructional framework trained eleventh- and twelfth-grade students to tutor sixth graders (Eagleton, 1974) or pre-tested students to identify weaknesses and offered remedial work and a post-test (Smith, 1974). In the Eagleton (1974) study, one can see the ecological system, as various microsystems influenced each other—in this case, eleventh- and twelfth-grade classrooms moving to sixth-grade classrooms to teach. Moreover, in utilizing this type of instructional structure, the student roles were changed for the eleventh and twelfth graders. Such role changes

and microsystemic influences—what Bronfenbrenner (1979) called ecological transactions—are at the heart of understanding ecological systems. By individualizing instruction and assessment, an instructor is recognizing the individual identity of students (Ball & Ellis, 2004) and promoting voice (Elbow, 2000), both of which are motivating to students.

Writing conferences and the motivation to write. Writing conferences are an important aspect of the process model of writing and occur during most of Hillocks's (1986) modes of instruction, albeit with different levels of student-teacher interaction. Writing conferences are “at the heart of teaching writing” (Calkins, 1986, p. 233), and involve a conference between teacher and student with three stages: research, decide, teach (Calkins, 1986). Bomer (2010), expanding on the work of Calkins, delineated writing conferences as a five-stage process: responding, naming, describing, listing, and teaching. By naming, a teacher would point out a student's writing strengths, which can build self-efficacy and promote the motivation to write (Usher & Pajares, 2009). These instructional conversations allow a teacher to utilize a repertoire of conversational strategies to build relationships and relatedness to motivate students to write (Goodbee, 2012). The use of writing workshop conferences as an instructional technique is predicated on motivating students to write by developing students who identify as writers (Taylor, 2017). In describing the importance of writing conferences, Calkins (1986) in her work of pedagogical theory *The Art of Teaching Writing*, used words like “empower” (p. 235) or “encourage” (p. 239) or “engage” (p. 237), three words that imply the building of self-efficacy and the future motivation of a student. One underlying goal of writing

conferences and writing workshop is to build motivational scaffolds for students to increase self-efficacy (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015).

Writing conferences have both verbal and nonverbal components that may affect a student's sense of relatedness, and consequently their motivation to write (Goodbee, 2012). This conference space is unique in that both parties may veer from focused instructional advisory talk to talk only tangentially related to writing, such as personal experiences, states of emotion, grand plans, or, even, the weather (Freedman & Sperling, 1985). In this way, writing conferences are a type of "structural apprenticeship which leads to the embodying of the structures of the world" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 89). Hoff (1994), using writing workshop conferences, found that this instruction helped students who lacked confidence in themselves as students become students who felt empowered through writing. Knoblauch and Brannon (2006) contend that writing conferences build motivation to write, sustaining writers through multiple revisions, by offering specific revision strategies as well as emotional support.

Writing conferences allow a teacher, during instruction, to set goals (sometimes with student input, sometimes teacher-directed), thereby affecting student motivation to write (Graham & Harris, 2009; Zimmerman & Risemberg, 1997). In both Black's (1998) and Consalvo's (2011) version of writing conferences, students and teachers arrive at a shared understanding of goals, creating more of a balance of power and allowing the student into the conversation, which has been shown to motivate students to write (Meece & Miller, 1999). However, students can be resistant to this advice and goal setting (Consalvo & Maloch, 2015). Some of this resistance could be because of the emotional components of writing conferences, and the "face threatening" that occurs (Shvidko,

2015, p. 7). Despite this resistance, writing conferences can also be a space for humanizing literacy practice, allowing for emancipatory knowledge and identity construction (Taylor, 2017). Berninger and Hidi (2007) discovered that writer's workshop, which utilizes conferences, could improve the self-efficacy, written composition skills, and feelings of hope for writers with dyslexia, suggesting the future motivation to write.

Promotion of Motivation to Write Through Relationships Formed During Instruction

During the instruction of writing, in whichever way an instructor has designed his or her class instruction, the instructor will form relationships with students. Ormrod (2012) has pointed out, "Research consistently indicates that the quality of student-teacher relationships is one of the most important factors—perhaps *the* most important factor—affecting students' emotional well-being, motivation, and learning during the school day" (p. 462). Bruning and Horn (2000) concluded that two of the most important ways to motivate students to write are to provide students with a supportive context for writing and to create a positive emotional environment. To motivate a student to write, a teacher must stress positive reinforcement (Hayes & Daiker, 1984). Other aspects of relationships, such as teacher warmth and interest (Skinner & Belmont, 1993) and trust, caring, and mutual concern (Wentzel, 1997) also motivate students to engage in writing tasks. Babcock, Manning, and Rogers (2012), in synthesizing writing center qualitative research, pointed to the relationships that formed between student and tutor as instrumental in motivating the student to write. In a qualitative study of writing tutors, Mackiewicz (2006) focused on *positive politeness* as a motivating factor in tutoring

sessions, finding that many tutor's comments were formulaic but the established rapport, the relatedness, between tutor and student mattered more than the comments. Mackiewicz and Thompson (2015), in synthesizing the research on motivational outcomes of writing centers, stated that six attributes connected to relationships could be used to motivate students to write: showing concern, praising, reinforcing student ownership, being optimistic, using humor, and giving sympathy or empathy. Martin and Mottet (2011), in studying writing conferences with a population of Latino/Latina students, discovered that non-verbal behaviors during writing conferences, when combined with direct instruction, could affect a student's motivation to write by enhancing the positive relationship between student and teacher. These studies, with their focus on politeness, empathy, and feelings of comfort, suggest the power of relations with other people as motivating a student to write, a factor that led Bronfenbrenner (1979) to propose a *curriculum of caring* (p. 53) because of its importance as part of the ecological system. Failure to build relationships can lead to unmotivated, disconnected, and alienated students, as well as impeded cognition (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005; Juvonen, 2006).

The Development of Self-Efficacy During Writing Instruction

Self-efficacy, first described by Bandura (1977), can be defined as “the conviction that one can execute the behavior required to produce the outcomes” (p. 193). Self-efficacy has been related, in a well-documented series of quantitative studies, to student motivation to write (Graham & Harris, 2005; Pajares & Johnson, 1994; Pajares, Miller, & Johnson, 1999; Pajares & Valiante, 1997, 1999, 2001; Rankin, Bruning, & Timme, 1994; Shell, Colvin, & Bruning, 1995; Shell, Murphy, & Bruning, 1989; Wachholz & Etheridge, 1996; Zimmerman & Bandura, 1994).

Self-efficacy is built through the interaction of two individuals, teacher and student. A student's sense of self-efficacy can be achieved and promoted through a teacher, by both vicarious experience, such as when a teacher models writing, or through social persuasion, such as when a teacher cultivates a student's beliefs in his or her writing (Pajares, Johnson, & Usher, 2007). For example, during a writing conference, an instructor can offer social persuasion, cultivating a student's belief in his or her writing, as Murray (2009) did. Murray (2009) emphasized the development of the student's other self, which would be the meta-cognitively aware student reader of the student's own paper. This awareness would be a state of self-efficacy, where a student feels confident, empowered, and autonomous, developing in a Vygostkyian way: The writer engages in teacher-student response to internalize the reader's voice, and is able to adopt a reader's perspective on his or her own work. Pajares, Johnson, and Usher (2007) argued that teachers need to maintain a high level of interaction with students and "interpersonal attention" (p. 116) to promote self-efficacy and the subsequent motivation to write. Perhaps it is as Bomer (1995) claimed: "Sometimes just a vote of confidence is all that's needed to keep a writer writing" (p. 37). One path to self-efficacy and the subsequent motivation to write is when an instructor promotes a student's interests, one aspect of how a student identifies (Hidi, Berndorff, & Ainley, 2002).

The Teaching of Self-Regulatory Skills and the Motivation to Write

Self-regulatory strategies are psychological traits that help motivate a person to complete a task, a process of setting goals and engaging in behaviors and processes that lead to goal attainment (Ormrod, 2012). Self-regulation can be "viewed as an active, constructive process through which learners set goals for their learning, and then work to

monitor, regulate, and control their cognition, motivation, and behavior in order to accomplish those goals” (Wolters & Taylor, 2013, p. 635). Self-regulation, and its effect on a student’s motivation, has been investigated in the writing classroom (Graham & Harris, 2005; Harris & Graham, 1992; Harris & Graham, 1996), particularly in relation to completing goals, the ultimate outcome of self-regulation (Zimmerman & Risemberg, 1997), and teacher behaviors that communicate self-regulation (Zimmerman, 2008).

Important in considering this area of literature is the interplay between the individual psychological processes and the socio-cultural environment. When Zimmerman and Kitsantas (1997) first conceived of self-regulation, they identified four levels of self-regulation: The first level was observing; the second level was emulating; the third level was self-control; and the fourth level was self-regulation. These first two levels are particularly relevant to the role of the teacher in promoting the motivation to write. When a teacher specifically models sentence-combining, he or she is demonstrating how to do something, tacitly showing a learner the skill and process (Hillocks, 1986), and prompting the motivation to write because of the learner’s belief that they can follow the model (Graham & Harris, 2000). Zimmerman and Kitsantas (2002) investigated the relationship between level one (modeling) and level two (emulation), aiming to demonstrate the dependence of these two levels, and discovered that modeling by an instructor and positive praise from both the instructor and other students resulted in increased feelings of self-satisfaction, interest, and self-efficacy, psychological benchmarks of motivation which have come from the socio-cultural environment.

In a meta-analysis of self-regulation and writing, Santangelo, Harris, and Graham (2016) found that goal setting “had a positive impact on students’ writing quality” (p. 189). In all but one of the 78 studies examined in the meta-analysis, the goals were established by the teacher. Graham and Harris (2005) developed a strategy of self-regulation specifically for writers, called Self-Regulated Strategy Development (SRSD), which was aimed at helping students become self-regulated and goal-oriented writers, under the assumption that a self-regulated writer was a motivated writer. Meta-analyses have shown that self-regulated learning strategies achieve significantly higher effect sizes than any other researched instructional approach to writing, improving writing skills as well as motivation (Graham, 2007).

Instructor as Promoter of Interest and the Motivation to Write

“Interest,” in common usage, means a person’s engagement in a topic and is sometimes described as characteristic of that person (Silvia, 2001; Valsiner, 1992), and as both a cognitive and affective motivational variable (Renninger, 2009). In analyzing the literature on interest, Lipstein and Renninger (2007) found that a teacher’s pedagogical choices—whether to utilize peer conferencing, having students choose assignments, or other choices—had a critical impact on students’ interest in writing. Boscolo, Del Favaro, and Berghetto (2007), using an intervention where writing was taught as an interesting activity and not as peripheral to situational interest or as an individual’s interest, asked students to complete one of three writing tasks (write a personal response, synthesize texts into an argument, or answer comprehension questions) based on assigned texts. Writing a personal view about a topic or answering comprehension questions decreased the student’s interest in the topic and writing a synthesis argument to promote interest

was “complicated” (p. 90). Interest was stoked only if the student liked writing to begin with (Boscolo, Del Favaro, & Berghetto, 2007), suggesting the lingering legacy of microsystems and the crossover of mesosystems. A student’s interest in writing may be because of previous teachers (McBee, 1994) or classrooms (DeFord, 1986) or because of a home environment (Anderson, 1994).

Interest may also be indicative of a student’s symbolic capital or habitus, as the student arrives to school with dispositions and capital (Bourdieu, 1997) or *funds of knowledge* (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), a stance that assumes that students are competent, have knowledge, and that their life experiences have given them that knowledge. An instructor that embraces that competency and knowledge is likely to engage his or her students.

Instructor as Promoter of Intrinsic Motivation

Intrinsic motivation is a desire within a person to do something for personal reasons, without external factors exerting influence; the task is worthwhile and enjoyable in and of itself (Ormrod, 2012). It has been further categorized as “the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenge, to extend and exercise one’s capacities, to explore and learn” (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 70). Researchers discovered that teachers could prompt intrinsic motivation through contextualization, personalization, and choice, resulting in deep engagement, vast learning, and perceptions of confidence (Cordova & Lepper, 1996). Oldfather and Dahl (1994), in a descriptive study, identified three domains that enhanced intrinsic learning: classroom culture, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. This “responsive environment” (Oldfather & Dahl, 1994, p. 154) was promoted by the teacher who constructed an environment supportive of students as agents in the social

construction of meaning. Boscolo, Gelati, and Galvan (2012), in a quasi-experimental design, discovered that an instructor who promoted writing as fun—using linguistic games and rules—increased a student’s liking of narrative writing and intrinsic motivation.

Instructor and the Motivation to Write

The instructor, tasked with passing down the cultural knowledge of writing, is integral in promoting the motivation to write (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013). A student may be motivated to write when an instructor selects a certain task (Duke, Purcell-Gates, Hall, & Tower, 2005) or pedagogical strategy (Zimmerman & Kitsantas, 2002). The motivation that occurs may come from targeting a student’s interest (Lipstein & Renninger, 2007) or funds of knowledge (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), or may be something more intangible, such as developing a student’s self-efficacy (Usher & Pajares, 2009) or ability to self-regulate (Graham & Harris, 2009). A teacher can also promote a student’s identity as a writer, thereby increasing motivation to write (Atwell, 1998). Finally, a teacher’s own beliefs about writing (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013) and their ability to promote relatedness through the classroom environment (Guay, Ratelle, & Chanal, 2008) and during writing conferences (Goodbee, 2012) can promote the motivation of write.

Task

All instructional modes require students to complete writing tasks; thus, tasks are instructionally important to understanding instruction, but are also important aspects of the ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Activities or tasks demonstrate not just the importance of a microsystem, as the teacher and school determine tasks, but also the tasks that a culture deems important, as the teacher and schools are part of a larger culture. For

example, a teacher who focuses on preparing a student for a state writing exam is communicating to students a different cultural value than a teacher who chooses to have students write poetry (Hillocks, 2002). Since writing is a complex task, a teacher must choose tasks, activities, and strategies carefully (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013). Prior (2006) has argued that the completion of a writing task becomes a cultural and historical artifact.

Authentic and Useful Tasks as Motivation to Write

In writing studies, “authentic” and “useful,” though different words, both imply the same things and are often used interchangeably. An “authentic” writing task is one that “replicates or reflects reading and writing activities that occur in the lives of people” outside of school (Duke, Purcell-Gates, Hall, & Tower, 2006, p. 345). “Usefulness” may be defined as practical and/or meaningful to a person, a psychological construct that Ormrod (2012) defined as something that can be intangible, such as the delight experienced when a student is in writing flow (Abbott, 2000), or something tangible, such as the ability to craft a business letter (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013). Writing’s usefulness has a long history in composition studies, going back to the classification of writing into informational uses and poetic uses (Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, & Rosen, 1975).

A student may be motivated to write because the student deems the task useful as part of integrating into society, such as the ability to write a congressional petition or a letter to an editor (Hiebert, 1994). In an experimental study, researchers found collaborative writing can also motivate students to write, as they see the usefulness of the communicative task and the joy of working as part of a team (Boscolo & Cisotto, 1997). In two other experimental studies, researchers found that if a student finds the skill of writing transferable to other disciplines, from the traditional English classroom to math or

history, for example, the student will see themselves as part of an academic community. This prompts the motivation to write because of writing's usefulness and applicability to other subjects, but it does not necessarily promote the liking of writing (Boscolo & Carotti, 2003; Boscolo & Mason, 2001). Here one sees the importance of what Bronfenbrenner (1979) called ecological transitions, as motivation is sparked by the crossing over and interplay of microsystems. If a student sees the potential for writing in his future profession, he will be motivated to learn because of its future usefulness (Brandt, 2015)—an example of the exosystem, as a student hasn't been a part of this system, yet the system is influencing him. Boscolo and Gelati (2013) stated that authentic writing tasks involve communication with others, stressing that authenticity is found when "we can share our writing with others and discuss and comment on it, as well as using it to communicate" (p. 289). Seeing a task this way, then, presupposes that authenticity resides in communication with another, through a tool, language.

An authentic task assignment would consider Hidi and Renninger's (2006) idea of individual interest, which would make the task authentic to a specific student. Interest, as Hidi and Renninger (2006) delineate it, may come from the environment in which a student was raised, and is subsequently motivating. For example, a student who attends concerts as a child may develop an interest in music, which may then motivate them to write a piece on music (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Several essays synthesizing the empirical research on interest have hypothesized that a student's interest in a topic could result in motivation to engage in writing tasks on that topic and hence produce better writing, defined as objectively assessed by a group of trained raters, (Hidi, 1990; Renninger, Hidi & Krapp, 1992; Schiefele, 1991). One experimentally-designed study

working off this hypothesis offered inconclusive findings, showing no correlation between either type of interest and objective quality, though combining individually interesting topics and themes (such as Space Travel and Survival) resulted in empirically longer written compositions, which suggests greater engagement and motivation (Hidi & McLaren, 1991). In the Hidi and McLaren study (1991) one can see the potential power of a student's symbolic capital and habitus: a student who arrives to school with knowledge of space travel and who has visited the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum may be at an advantage in writing because they have been exposed to this knowledge through their upbringing and potentially value it, though Hidi (1990) admits that there is not a lot of evidence as to how an individual develops that initial interest. Iran-Nejad, Watts, Venugopalan, and Xu (2007) discovered that the affective can make something useful, pointing out that a student's interest and surprise could make writing authentic and thus motivating.

Task as Meaning-Making

Other researchers have investigated the usefulness that students find when writing is personally meaningful, as an exploration of self and a way to make sense of new ideas (Newell, 2006) or as empowering (Henry, Castek, O'Byrne, & Zawilinski, 2012). Oldfather (1993), in a longitudinal qualitative study, discovered that a "broth of meaning" (p. 1) and cultural responsiveness, what she called "honored voice" (p. 1), are key instruments for making the task of writing personally useful, thereby motivating students to write. This development of honored voice came from a whole language classroom, where embedded literacy practices led to development of thought and development of agency, which lead students to self-discovery and eventually empowerment (Oldfather,

1993). Consistent with a whole language philosophy, an emphasis on students making meaning and a deep responsiveness to their work, as well as promoting a schoolwide culture of celebration of work—in this case reading and writing—instigated student motivation and the identification of students as writers. This celebration and mutual respect, predicated on “figuring things out” (p. 3) rather than right answers, led Oldfather to conclude that these factors promoted empowerment, identity, and individual usefulness, further enhancing student motivation. Honored voice happened through a cultural exchange, in which the students and the teachers of a classroom respected the writing of a student. In the Oldfather (1993) study one sees the importance of interpersonal relations on motivating a person to write, as motivation was predicated on the respect awarded by teachers and peers. Finally, Langer (2001) asserted that high-performing writing teachers engage students in deeper understanding and meaning-making activities.

Task as a Tool for Learning

At the high school level, motivation to write can be tied to a student’s understanding that the task assignment is a tool for learning (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013). Boscolo and Carotti (2003) conducted a one-year intervention study with ninth graders. One group used writing as a tool for understanding literary texts (the experimental group), the other used writing for traditional composition on various topics (the control group). The control group used writing for note taking, summarizing, or schematizing, whereas the experimental group used writing as a tool to understand. At the end of the year, both groups were asked questions about their experiences with writing, and the experimental group underlined the dual aspects of writing, that is writing as a duty and as

a source of interest. Boscolo and Carotti concluded that this dual understanding helped students see a writing task as a tool for learning, thus as motivating. Writing's role as a skill only relevant to English, where it is taught in the English classroom but not evident in other subject areas, has led some students to see it as worthless, leading to a lack of motivation (Boscolo & Carotti, 2003). In this case, the task is inauthentic because of its inability to move beyond a microsystem.

Some researchers have investigated Writing To Learn (WTL)—the practice of using writing to help students reason and learn about subjects such as science, history, and math—and its effect on a student's motivation to write, discovering that if students participate in WTL it changes their conceptions of writing (Levin & Wagner, 2006), whereas other studies have not found such results (Klein & Rose, 2010). WTL activities have affected students' beliefs about the usefulness of writing as well as their interest in specific topics (Boscolo, Ariasi, Del Favero, & Ballarin, 2011). Despite these inklings of the motivating power of WTL, this “area of research requires further investigation, both as a cause of WTL and as an effect” (Klein, Arcon, & Baker, 2016).

Task and the Motivation to Write

Choice of task is integral in promoting the motivation to write. By choosing authentic and useful tasks that offer social interaction, by promoting meaning-making through writing activities, and by emphasizing writing as a tool for learning, teachers can motivate students to write. Activities or tasks demonstrate not just the importance of a microsystem, as the teacher and school determine tasks, but also the tasks that a culture deems important, as the teacher and schools are part of a larger culture.

Assessment

Assessment is an important factor that affects a student's motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2016), and one which he or she cannot escape, as assessment is built into the fabric of school systems (Schunk & DiBenedetto, 2016). When a teacher offers feedback to a student, the student psychologically interprets that assessment (Dusel, 2006), leading to a psychological blueprint towards school (Ryan & Deci, 2016). Likewise, a peer's assessment of a student's work can also hinder or facilitate motivation in school (MacArthur, 2016). These assessments—whether teacher-directed or peer-directed—affect a student's motivational stance toward writing.

Teacher Feedback and the Motivation to Write

Formative assessment of writing, whether written or verbal, represents one type of teacher assessment that affects students' motivation. Formative assessment has been described as assessment that guides instruction (Popham, 2008). In a landmark study, Freedman (1987) surveyed 560 teachers nominated as successful writing teachers by National Writing Project site directors, surveyed selected students of those teachers, and completed ethnographies of two of the 9th grade teachers. Through consistent formative feedback, she discovered that successful teachers empower students, communicate high expectations, and provide help and support during the writing process. In many ways, this notion of formative feedback belongs in Vygotsky's ZPD, where a learned other offers needed support in a socially mediated activity, in this case writing. Interesting to note in this study, too, is the use of terms such as "empowerment" and "support," two words analogous to Ryan and Deci's (2012) self-determination theory, implying as they do autonomy and relatedness. Important in this study is the mesosystemic transfer of values, as a national organization trains teachers to instruct in individual schools.

Zimmerman and Kitsantas (2002), in an experimental design, studied how three different response models to a sentence-combining task affected writing self-efficacy as a response to social feedback. Social feedback, where the experimenter offered positive feedback to the students completing the writing task, assisted all groups in acquiring self-regulatory skills, which lead to greater self-efficacy. Williams and Takaku (2011) completed an eight-year longitudinal study of the effects of writing center visits on an undergraduate student's self-efficacy, finding that low self-efficacy led to increased visits to the writing center, with its subsequent social interaction with a writing center tutor, which led to better writing and academic grades. In the Williams and Takaku (2011) study, one sees the importance of a microsystem—the availability of a writing center—on a student's psychological self-efficacy.

Summative assessment, in the writing classroom, can take the form of a grade, usually A-F on a finished writing piece with no opportunity to revise, or a numerical grade accompanied by a rubric which isolates writing into qualities or traits. This may also be a long-term assignment, such as a writing portfolio with written reflections. Summative assessments are part of the cultural expectations of a school system, and a teacher's choice of what to grade may reflect larger cultural values. Hillocks (2002) criticized standardized writing tests, as the ideologies that drive testing of writing are often antithetical to other views on writing and writing instruction. For example, a portfolio is a much different assessment than a timed essay on a test and the instruction preceding these different assessments may also be quite different. Likewise, high stakes, end-of-year writing assessments take on a strongly controlling function, and rather than

promote the motivation to perform well, have an array of negative consequences and fail to produce meaningful improvements in achievement (Hout & Elliott, 2011)

Sommer's (1982) seminal work on teacher summative comments on essays had two findings: Teachers' comments could be rubber-stamped from student essay to student essay; and teachers' comments could divert a student's attention from revision of writing to what the teacher will comment on. Updating this work, Sommers (2006) concluded that effective feedback treats the writer as a fellow scholar, creates a partnership, and the student's receptiveness to feedback is as important as teacher feedback itself. In this way, Sommers wrote, "feedback plays an important social role...with a thoughtful reader the whole process is enriched, deepened, and inscribed in memory" (2006, p. 251). Here, Sommers emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relationships and roles of both student and teacher in the context of a classroom task and assessment of that task.

Thomas Gee (2006), in a quantitative study of teachers' summative comments effects on 11th grade students, found that a teacher's comments could destroy self-assurance and interest in writing and that students' attitudes toward writing and their self-concepts as capable writers are significantly affected by teachers' written comments. Gee (2006) wrote, "For these students, self-assurance and interest in writing have been killed...teachers can easily kill whatever it is that allows the student to believe in his ability to write" (p. 42). Gee's study, an experimental design, had instructors write negative comments, neutral comments, and positive comments on student papers, and he later measured the revision t-length units of sentences as indicative of improved writing, and followed it up with a questionnaire to gauge student attitude to writing. The results suggest that the teachers, as the gatekeepers of writing quality, significantly affected

student writing attitude. Dusel (2006) stated that a teacher's correction of a paper should "strengthen the pupil's motive or interest in writing" (p. 214). Dusel's words are telling, as they suggest that writing assessment should perpetuate motivation, downplaying a generalized notion of quality.

Researchers have discovered other assessment factors that might stunt a student's motivation, from a classroom atmosphere where the climate was about right answers and not deeper meaning making (Postman, 1996), to a focus on correctness (Hyland, 2003). Finally, "students who received feedback that was too discrepant often spoke of becoming less interested in writing" (Lipstein & Renninger, 2007, p. 136). A teacher's response to a student's written work and a teacher's establishing of a class atmosphere are integral in promoting the motivation to write.

Peer Feedback and the Motivation to Write

Peer response is an instructional activity in which students respond to one another's written work, either in dyads or larger groups (MacArthur, 2016), reflecting the social nature of this activity. Much of the literature on peer response reflects a desire to obtain information on writing improvement rather than how peer response influences motivation. Although this is the case, inferences about motivational outcomes can be made from several research studies on peer response. Elbow (1981) and Bruffee (1985) encouraged positive, supportive interaction among writing group members. Bruffee (1984a) suggested that establishing peer response groups in a classroom shifts the power structure from teacher to student. This shift changes the roles of students and teachers. Additionally, this power shift, Bruffee stated (1984a), results in more student autonomy. Furthermore, Argyle (1976) argued that because peers share a cognitive framework, they

can communicate with each other more effectively, which increases relatedness, confidence, and motivation. Peer response is an integral part of establishing a culture of literacy in a classroom, a key component of the writing workshop model (Atwell, 1998; Calkins, 1984). Underlying both Atwell's and Calkins's instructional strategy was a desire to motivate students to write. In fact, Calkins (1986) begins her book *The Art of Teaching Writing* with an inquiry into the causes of motivation—and lack of motivation—of student writers. Hoogeveen and van Gelderer (2013), in synthesizing the literature on peer response in the writing classroom, stated, “peer interaction provides writing in school with a realistic communicative context contributing to writing motivation and self-efficacy” (p. 477). Peer interaction, by promoting a culture of literacy, by offering positive support, and by shifting power from teacher to students, promotes the motivation to write.

Assessment, Extrinsic Motivation, and Writing Motivation

Extrinsic motivation, defined, is when external factors motivate a person to do something (Lepper & Greene, 2016) and “motivation resulting from factors external to the individual and unrelated to the task being performed” (Ormrod, 2012, p. G-4). A student may have many reasons to be extrinsically motivated, such as the desire for admission to a specific college or future job (Master, Cheryan, Meltzoff, 2016) or the approval of parents because of good grades (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Liwack, 2007). Cleary (1991), in her case study work of high school writers, found a dichotomy when she probed the motivations of high school students to write: Advanced writers could be extrinsically motivated by good grades or to please the teacher, where less-advanced writers procrastinated, needing the extrinsic motivation of a looming deadline. Deci and

Ryan (1991) found that extrinsic motivators—in this study’s case the extrinsic motivators *were* grades—could motivate high-performing students, but squelched the motivation of average or below-average students. Bourdieu’s (1997) concepts of symbolic capital and habitus are important considerations when it comes to grades, as grades would be valued differently by different people. For example, a student may grow up in a household where grades are valued, influencing how that child orients himself or herself to the microsystem of school (Kaplan & Patrick, 2016). In her theoretical work using first-person accounts, Amabile (1983) found that creative writers—those who wrote poetry and fiction—were intrinsically motivated, and when during the process they thought about extrinsically motivating factors such as publishing a best-selling novel, they became de-motivated. One sees in the Amabile (1983) and Deci and Ryan (1991) studies the influence of external, systemic factors in the individual psychology, where grades or perception of success, which come from others, affect the individual.

Grades and deadlines, however, were not the only extrinsic motivators. Social recognition, praise, and admiration may also be a factor in extrinsically motivating students in the classroom and to write (Gillen-O’Neel & Fuligni, 2013), especially if the teacher uses pedagogical techniques like sharing, reading aloud, or peer editing, which has been found to promote a student’s interests and autonomy, while also offering self-regulatory skills and an accessible learned other, all aspects that assist in motivating a student to write (Troia, 2013).

Assessment, Intrinsic Motivation, and Writing Motivation

One way, qualitative researchers discovered, to increase student intrinsic motivation to write is to help that student develop voice through the teacher’s responses

(Elbow, 2000) or “creating an honored voice” (Oldfather, 1993). Teachers and peers who respond positively to a writer’s voice increase that student’s intrinsic motivation to write (Hayes & Daiker, 1984). Schunk and Swartz (1993b), in an experimental study, found a significant positive effect on writing performance six weeks after the instructional intervention of feedback posing questions and, more importantly, found that the students receiving the intervention were less-focused on pleasing the teacher and more intrinsically motivated.

Flow, first described by Csikszentmihalyi (1975), is the prototype of intrinsically motivated, positive behavior: A person partakes in a challenging activity that initially matches his or her ability, which triggers a state where the mind slips into the activity and awareness of both the activity and the context outside the activity disappear (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). Writing and literacy researchers have investigated flow as a subset of intrinsic motivation, finding that if flow occurred, assessment mattered less (Abbott, 2000). Abbott (2000) described the flow experiences of a dozen fifth-grade writers in her case study work, finding that ownership of genre, style, and length, as well as the social context of the classroom, lead to the flow experiences, described by the students as “blinking out” and “having the touch” (p. 53). In the Abbott (2000) study, the students identified as writers.

Assessment, Self-regulation, and Writing Motivation

The promotion of self-regulated learning can lead students to a state of competency where self-assessment predominates, a teacher’s assessment loses relevancy, and the student is intrinsically motivated (Kitsantas & Cleary, 2016). If a teacher offers feedback that is both non-threatening and geared toward mastery, not performance, he or

she can promote self-regulated learning (Perry, Vandekamp, Mercer, & Nordby 2002). These teacher actions are predicated on the role that a teacher sees himself or herself playing in a classroom and as an evaluator, eventually relinquishing control to the student, as the final stage of self-regulated learning is when “the learner is able to use a particular strategy as planned and self-monitors the process” (Hidi & Boscolo, 2006, p. 151). By ceding control to the student, a teacher positions the student for the promotion of self-regulated learning while also relinquishing some of the power of being a classroom teacher, eventually allowing the student to self-assess his or her writing (Zimmerman & Kitsantas, 1999). At this level, the primary source of assessment and motivation is the learner’s satisfaction from awareness of matching or surpassing a model (Hidi & Boscolo, 2007).

Assessment, Self-efficacy, and Writing Motivation

Assessment of student writing has been shown to either promote or inhibit student self-efficacy, and therefore student motivation to write. Studies that try to directly link teacher assessment to self-efficacy present opposing findings. Straub (1997) found that teachers who responded with *feedback posing questions*, which contain interrogative formulations, inspired students to write through greater feelings of competence. Two studies conducted by the research team of Schunk and Swartz (1993a, 1993b) focused on progress feedback’s effect on self-efficacy. In one quantitative study (Schunk & Swartz, 1993a), students reported higher self-efficacy rates when receiving progress feedback on writing strategies. Stokking and Prins (2010), who used the Straub (1996, 1997) and Schunk and Swartz (1993a, 1993b) studies as foundations for their own study, focused on undergraduate students in the Netherlands, and countered all the positive findings,

discovering in their experimentally-designed study that teacher progress response, either through strategy instruction or using feedback posing questions, did not affect either mastery goal orientation or lead to higher student self-efficacy. Stokking and Prins (2010) found that teacher response could diminish a student's confidence and self-efficacy; when students were provided with strategies to improve their writing, the student took the strategies to be an "underestimation of their capacities...communicating low confidence in the student's writing skills" (p. 93). What mattered was how a student interpreted the feedback, the authors concluded.

Meier, McCarthy, and Schmeck (1984), in a quantitative study, found that self-efficacy beliefs predicted success on writing assessments more so than ACT entrance scores, and that cognitive and affective variables and outcome expectations are related to the amount and accuracy of self-efficacy beliefs. McCarthy, Meier, and Rinderer's (1985) study sought a connection between self-efficacy beliefs and actual writing performance, discovering that a curvilinear correlation existed, but that it was not statistically significant. Shell, Murphy, and Bruning (1989) found, contrary to McCarthy, Meier, and Rinderer's finding, that self-efficacy of writing ability correlated to better writing assessment scores. The measurement of self-efficacy and outcome, importantly, is measured by societal expectations of writing performance—the ACT or an essay exam. Many of the early studies completed on self-efficacy involved college undergraduates, looking at the predictive nature of self-efficacy beliefs (Meier, McCarthy, & Schmeck, 1984) or proposing a new model of self-evaluation based on self-efficacy beliefs (McCarthy, Meier, & Rinderer, 1985).

The relation between self-efficacy beliefs and writing performance has been tested in relation to gender, an important consideration of Bourdieu's (1997) symbolic capital, which posited that dispositions were aligned to societal expectation along gender lines. Girls reported greater self-efficacy beliefs with writing through middle school (Pajares & Valiante, 2001), while the opposite is true at the high school level, with boys reporting greater self-efficacy regarding writing (Pajares and Johnson, 1996). Important here is the contextual change of self-efficacy regarding writing as a student progresses through various contexts, from middle to high school. Perhaps the high school environment favors a masculine-centric structure. Despite these self-efficacy beliefs, girls generally score better on writing performance indexes and are rated as better writers by their teachers (Pajares, 2003). Lee (2013), in considering data from the National Assessment of Education Progress, discovered that female students with the most negative attitude toward writing outperformed boys with the most positive attitude. This dichotomy between boys' and girls' self-efficacy beliefs and performance in school writing suggests the importance of considering symbolic capital in analysis, as something has shifted the beliefs of students based on gender lines.

Relatedness During Assessment and Its Effect on a Student's Motivation to Write

Relatedness, as explored earlier, is a key concept of several motivational theories and deemed as motivating students (Ryan & Deci, 2016). A student writer feels a sense of relatedness to the person responding to and assessing his or her writing (Wentzel, 2016). Researchers found that students preferred dialogical feedback that builds positive student-teacher relationships (Consalvo, 2011) as opposed to a simple grade (Todd, Mills, Palard, & Khamcharoen, 2001). A complex interaction of pedagogical, textual, and

personal contexts had the potential to engage students in an authentic conversation about their writing, promoting intellectual relatedness (O'Neil & Fife, 2006). Interestingly, in this qualitative study, students' perceptions of how a teacher responded (e.g., "friendly") affected a student's desire to continue to write. The researchers concluded that personal interactions, a teacher's demeanor, and a student's comparison of the teacher and the teacher's comments to past teachers and teacher's comments, were significant. LaBrant (2006), in a pedagogical essay, suggested that a teacher's assessment of writing could "stimulate writing...or fear of writing" (p. 203) by promoting relatedness. Dusel (2006), in addressing the tricky situation where the relationship must be balanced with the correcting of errors, called for leaving grades off a paper until "the final reckoning" (p. 219) to preserve the teacher-student relationship. This, Dusel argues, will keep students from losing heart and quitting.

O'Neill and Fife (2006) called for more research into how teacher evaluation of student writing fostered or hindered relatedness, noting that in interviews students' first responses were not to the comments themselves, but rather to teacher demeanor and personal interaction during conferences. Though initially intending their research to focus on the written comments of teachers, O'Neill and Fife (2006) determined that they had missed an opportunity to explore "the multiplicity of factors that contribute to students' perceptions of teachers' comments" (p. 192). O'Neill and Fife (2006) called for research that "give[s] more attention to classroom contexts, teacher ethos, and student's previous experiences...to develop a more complex understanding of effective response methods" (p. 200). O'Neill and Fife's research suggests the ecological system that informs aspects of relatedness between teacher and student. A teacher's persona—developed through the

classroom ethos as well as the teacher student relatedness—influenced how a student reacted to a teacher’s response.

Anxiety and Assessment of Writing

Anxiety is a “feeling of uneasiness and apprehension about an event because you’re not sure what its outcome will be” (Ormrod, 2012, p. 401). Daly and Miller (1975) concluded that apprehensive students, partly worried about teacher judgment of their work, were unmotivated to write and would avoid situations where writing was asked of them. Here one can see the power of interpersonal relations, a key component of an ecological system, as a teacher’s perceived judgment affected the individual. Madigan, Linton, and Johnson (2009), in updating Daly and Miller’s work, discovered a paradox of writing apprehension: “Although persons who are writing apprehensive believe that they are poor writers, we find their actual work indistinguishable from work written by non-apprehensive writers” (Madigan, Linton, & Johnson, 2009, p. 306). Other research has found that students arrive to college with writing anxiety (Martinez, Kock, & Cass, 2011) and that the anxiety associated with writing assessment could be mediated by self-efficacy (Woodrow, 2011).

Assessment and the Motivation to Write

Assessment of student work, and a student’s perception of that assessment, are integral to the motivation to write. Teachers can develop and promote psychological concepts such as self-efficacy, self-regulation, relatedness, and intrinsic motivation during assessment. Likewise, teacher and peer feedback can promote the motivation to write.

Early Writing Experiences

A student, during his or her academic journey, develops a set of beliefs, many of which are implicit, about the functions and role of writing in school settings (Bruning & Horn, 2000). Student feelings of comfort with writing or dread about writing are shaped by previous experiences with writing, preparation, past assessments, and current skill (Wachholz & Etheridge, 1996). Graves (2003) argued that during early schooling—kindergarten through third grade—students want to write. “Unfortunately, during their school years the will to write in many cases decreases and even disappears” (Boscolo & Gelati, 2013, p. 285).

Adolescents are likely to be motivated to write, and persist in writing, when connections are made to knowledge they already possess (Dweck & Leggett, 1988). Gonzalez, Moll, and Amanti (2005) discovered that adolescents had rich funds of knowledge that could motivate them in school. Benton, Corkill, Sharp, Downey, and Khramtsova (1995) found that students with high topic knowledge and interest were more motivated to write and had essays with greater content-knowledge, were more logical, and were more well-organized. Teal and Martinez (1989) argued, “The reasons for children’s continuing motivation to write after discovering they can make marks on paper is that they see writing as a new way of achieving objectives previously achieved in other ways” (p. 183).

Pajares, Johnson, and Usher (2007) claimed that the writing workshop model, found predominately in middle school but less so in high schools, motivated students to write through the interpersonal bonds formed. This, these researchers suggested, may be why middle school is the critical juncture at which academic and writing motivation diminish.

Academic intrinsic motivation can be a powerful construct, which can be fostered in earlier grades to promote the motivation to write. In a longitudinal and cross-sectional study, Gottfried (1990) discovered that young children who performed academic activities for simple joy were later more motivated in any academic setting, regardless of the child's intelligence, achievement, or socioeconomic status. In removing socioeconomic status, Gottfried's (1990) study posits that a student's habitus could be moot if intrinsic motivation could be achieved.

Shell, Colvin, and Bruning (1995) found that self-efficacy could be charted as an age progression, with greater self-efficacy beliefs coming with age, a finding that supported Bandura's (1986) work that found high self-efficacy beliefs correlated to cognitive and emotional development. In an interesting contrast to the Shell, Colvin, and Bruning (1995) study, Pajares, Valiente, and Cheong (2007) found that students' self-efficacy beliefs in regards to writing diminished from elementary school to middle school to high school. "It may be that confidence in writing skills is not well-nurtured as students progress through school," they wrote (p. 156). They urge educators to consider past experiences of writers as integral to shaping their self-efficacy and motivation to write.

Rationale for This Study

Many research studies into the motivation to write adopt either a psychological framework, investigating such topics as self-efficacy or relatedness, or they adopt a socio-cultural framework, looking at such factors as the environment and culture that prompt a student's motivation to write. I believe this paints an incomplete picture of a student's motivation to write, so I have adopted an ecological systems framework to

discover the connections and interplay of psychological and socio-cultural factors, while also considering the symbolic capital that results from a student's historical experiences in various ecological systems. In this review of literature, I have noted the important crossover of psychological and socio-cultural factors that inform a student's motivation to write. For example, research on student motivation has shown that perceptions of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986), are influential on a person's motivation to learn, a concept amplified by Pajares's (1994, 1996, 1997, 1999) numerous studies on self-efficacy in the composition classroom, mainly of the elementary or middle school levels. Self-efficacy stands on a scaffold of the socio-cultural environment: The feeling of confidence comes partly from the interaction with and response of teachers and others. Using a strategy such as goal setting, one aspect of self-regulation theory, has been found successful in motivating students in general education classrooms and the composition classroom (Graham & Harris, 2005). Using a strategy is predicated on one person passing down that strategy. In other words, when a student understands and uses a strategy passed down from a teacher, the student is more motivated.

In addition, few of these studies have targeted high school students, a population noticeably absent from the research literature on student motivation to write. A 2016 meta-analysis of SRSD research, found that between 1963-2012, only 4 of 79 studies targeted a high school population (Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2016). Only a handful of the studies related to Ryan and Deci's (2012) work on self-determination has been completed in a high school classroom. Researchers have also investigated why students are unmotivated to write, finding that writing motivation is inhibited by the cognitive difficulty of the task, inauthentic assignments, the perceived value of the skill, and the

uninteresting way it is taught; many of these studies focused “on elementary and middle school students” (Hidi & Boscolo, 2007, p. 8).

Finally, individual perception is of utmost importance because motivation manifests itself differently in different individuals and across different ecological contexts. In fact, individual perception is at the heart of both Bourdieu’s and Bronfenbrenner’s work. Bronfenbrenner (1979) wrote: “the scientifically relevant features of any environment include not only its objective properties but also the way in which these properties are perceived by the persons in that environment” (p. 22). And Bourdieu (1977) called it “the truth of primary experience” (p. 3). To get at the truth of this experience one needs to talk to the high school students that experience it.

Chapter III: METHODOLOGY

In seeking to understand student motivation to write I employed a qualitative design (Patton, 2002) using a naturalistic approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2004). In collecting data to review and inform this qualitative study, I used a multiple case study design. Consistent with multiple case study design, which attunes the researcher to the nested nature of contexts in which cases reside (Stake, 2006), I (a) performed observations of focal students in and out of classroom contexts, (b) collected artifacts of student work, and (c) conducted interviews of these same selected students.

A study that utilizes an ecological systems perspective necessitates a qualitative study, as the individual's perception is integral to this framework. Reality is not as it exists "but as it appears in the mind of the person" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 23). Likewise, Bourdieu (1997) spoke of the "twofold truth" (p. 188), that of the objectivist vision, which he rejected, and the phenomenological experience, which he insisted was of utmost importance in an inquiry, getting at "the discovery of their truth" (p. 190). This naturalistic approach will help "to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2004, p. 2). A naturalistic approach, which favors "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 10), will allow me to make sense of a student's motivation to write, while also providing a prolonged immersion to understand

the phenomenon under investigation (Stake, 1995). Hidi and McLaren (1991) concluded that because motivation details qualitative changes in a student's desire to write, qualitative methodology, rather than quantitative measurements, are more suitable to this type of investigation. And Schultz (2008) has stated bluntly: "Many of the most significant advances in the writing field in recent years have come from qualitative studies" (p. 358). Investigating an individual phenomenon such as motivation from a student's perspective requires a qualitative study, as motivation will manifest differently for each individual student and the naturalistic approach utilizing case studies will allow me to immerse myself across contexts in understanding this phenomenon. This study will be completed at Mount Rural High School (all names of places and people are pseudonyms), a public high school located in a state in the northeast part of the United States. The setting of Mount Rural High School (MRHS) will be described in depth after I have considered the research design.

Research Design

Multiple Case Study

Motivation is a complex phenomenon with many individual characteristics (Ormrod, 2012). The case study "offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon" (Merriam, 2009, p. 50). For example, researchers have found that motivation is both a cognitive and emotional state, and no "single theory gives us a complete picture of human motivation" (Ormrod, 2012, p. 363). Emotions, by nature, are elusive, individual, and ephemeral (Brand, 1994). Trying to capture this unique, transitory state that motivates a student to write may seem like an exercise in futility,

unless framed by case study, where the individual's perceptions are validated and considered the truth, the who and the why of an individual's actions (Sacks, 1987). Case study, by its nature, is phenomenological, accepts the perceptions of the case study informant as valid, and seeks to uncover how the subject views the world. The aim of case study, according to Merriam (2009), is to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon, trying to understand the "complex units" and "multiple variables" (p. 50) that comprise it.

I chose a multiple case study as my research is driven by the understanding of a phenomenon, and not by the unusual, extreme, or critical situation typical of a single case study (Yin, 2014). Qualitative and case study experts define the phenomenon using different terms. Stake calls it a *quintain*, "an object or phenomenon or condition to be studied—a target, but not a bull's eye" (2006, p. 6). Stake writes, "Multicase research starts with the quintain" (2006, p. 6). My quintain is the phenomenon of writing motivation. Merriam (2009) called a phenomenon under study the *particularistic*, stating that a "special feature" of multiple case study research is its ability to illuminate this particularistic, or phenomenon (p. 43). Creswell (2007) called the phenomenon an *issue*. All four—Yin, Stake, Merriam, and Creswell—recommend multiple case study for understanding a phenomenon. In addition, I will be studying this phenomenon in different contexts. Using a multi-case format and including different contexts helps in the analysis of the phenomenon by confirming *replication logic* (Yin, 2014). If overlaps in the phenomenon occur between cases, any assertions made will have replication logic, enhancing the trustworthiness of the assertions, and making the conclusions "more compelling...and more robust" (Yin, 2014, p. 57).

Setting

A qualitative study takes place in a naturalistic setting (Creswell, 2009). Guba (1978) defined a naturalistic study as taking place in a real-world setting where whatever was being observed could take place naturally. As this study seeks the motivational perspectives of high school students, a naturalistic setting would be a high school. As I defined a high school student's writing as extending beyond school, I may also be detailing, and observing, other places where a high school student may write, such as an afterschool club, thereby extending the environment (Rhodes, 1997).

According to the state educational authority, MRHS has an enrollment of 792 students, 96% of whom graduate and 89% of whom attend college after graduation. This population of high school students is generally homogenous, with 92% of students at MRHS identifying as Caucasian, significantly different than the state high school average of 64% ("Public-Schools," 2016). Mount Rural is a small city of about 20,000 people, located 32 miles north of a major northeast city. The median household income for an individual was about \$80,000 and for a family of four, \$105,000. About 3% of the families and 5% of the population were under the national poverty line in 2010 ("Census," 2010). Free or reduced lunch is provided for 8.6% of students at MRHS, while the state average is about 38% ("Public Schools," 2016). MRHS is in the academic top 20% of districts in the state as measured by the state math and English Language Arts comprehensive exams, administered during sophomore year. Ninety-two percent of students in math and 95% of students in English placed proficient or better on this exam, while the state average is 73% on math and 86% on English Language Arts. Nineteen percent of students at MRHS will take at least one Advanced Placement class, greater

than the national average of 14%; and 85% of these students will receive a three or better on the AP exam (“Public Schools,” 2016). Nine percent of students at MRHS missed 15 or more days of school during an academic year (September-June), lower than the state average of 15% and the national average of 16% (“Public Schools,” 2016).

During the data gathering portion of this study, I was the English Department Chair and an English teacher at MRHS. Due to my position, the research settings were accessible. I also had permission from the district to conduct research at this site and Plymouth State University IRB approval (Appendix A). Permission to observe classrooms was verbally granted by the teachers. My role raises numerous ethical concerns, which I tried to mitigate throughout the study. Some factors that served to minimize conflict were the following. The role of department chair at MRHS has no supervisory or evaluative powers over teachers, functioning as curriculum advisors only. In fact, department chairs and teachers reside in the same union. This unique role, where I am colleague, not supervisor, helps to mitigate any power differential between myself and other teachers. To further explore this potential area of conflict, I interviewed the teachers involved in the study and I reflected on their responses and how they viewed our relationship. Finally, the position of department chairs has been eliminated from the leadership structure of MRHS, so beginning with the 2017-2018 school year, I was no longer in a leadership position. I was, however, still employed by the district in this capacity during the data collection portion of this study. I have tried to be aware of the complexity of my role as teacher, researcher, and colleague. Even still, there may have been some social power differential at play.

Participants

Sampling. To study this phenomenon, I chose four students as cases: two sophomores and two juniors. I adopted *purposive maximum variation sampling* in choosing students for my multiple case study (Patton, 1990). “Purposeful” was defined by Patton (1990) as a type of non-probabilistic sampling, logical for qualitative studies (Honigmann, 1982). Subjects are chosen for richness of information (Patton, 1990). Maximum variation sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) identifies and seeks out those who represent the widest possible range of the characteristic of interest for a study, in this case motivation. This type of sampling will get both information-rich cases as well as a wide spectrum. In selecting these students, I wanted individual cases to stand for experiences of motivation in this demographic of high school students (Merriam, 2009). Three criteria were used in choosing the four case study students:

1. The student must be either a sophomore or junior.
2. Two students will be accomplished academically and two students will be average academically, as defined by grade point average.
3. The student must have the time and willingness to be interviewed and observed as well as the ability to articulate the motivation to write.

MRHS, home to 792 students according to the state, offers a large pool of potential candidates for this multiple case study, a pool that decreases to 375 students once I applied the first criterion of either sophomore or junior student. In choosing sophomores, I was reaching out to a population of students that has had a year and a half to acclimate to a new environment. They have a circle of friends, relationships with teachers, a feel for the demands of high school academics. This same logic would extend to juniors, but also, junior year at MRHS, traditionally, is the academic year when

students begin to prepare for college or work; it is the year they take the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT); it is the year they are offered more choice in electives. Finally, I chose to eliminate senior year as a potential pool of case study subjects for two reasons. One, the reality is that seniors often, as Cleary (1991) wrote, “have one foot out the door” (p. 4), making working with them difficult. There was a second, more practical matter: At MRHS, seniors leave school in mid-May, eliminating over a month of available time to perform a case study with integrity.

My second criterion for choosing students from this population was a matter of academic achievement, which allowed for what Glaser and Strauss (1967) called maximum variation sampling. To choose my students purposefully (Patton, 1990) and to maximize what I could learn (Stake 1995), I chose my four students from MRHS along a spectrum of academic achievement. I chose one sophomore and one junior that, according to the current grade scale at MRHS, were accomplished academically, achieving mostly grades of A. MRHS, according to the student handbook *The Mount Rural Compass* (2016) has a standard A-F grade scale, where below a 65% is failing; 90% or better is in the A range (90-92, A-; 93-96, A; 97-100, A+). I also chose one sophomore and one junior that were academically average, in the C to B range. By choosing these four students in this way, I hoped to highlight the diversity of the academic spectrum.

My third criterion was more a matter of personality, choosing all four students for their willingness to participate and their ability to articulate. A willingness to participate was integral, as the process, for the student, could be time consuming and intrusive. As I was going to conduct in-depth interviews with the students chosen, there was an

important time element to consider. Furthermore, the student's ability to be able to articulate what motivates them to write gave me what Patton (1990) calls information-rich cases.

Permissions. To find student-participants for my research, I wrote a standard operating procedure approved by the Plymouth State Institutional Review Board (IRB). First, I presented my study to MRHS parents of sophomores and juniors, soliciting potential volunteers based on their parents' willingness to allow their student to participate. To avoid the conflict of interest of a teacher-student relationship, I chose students whom I was not currently teaching, had not taught in the past, or was not yet assigned to teach in the future. Based on this pool of candidates, I developed a list of students, which I then cross-referenced using available student transcript data to determine where the student's grades ranged. Once I narrowed down the candidate pool, I showed the list to the students' current English teacher and asked about those students' ability to articulate. Once I winnowed this list using those three criteria, I approached each student and said, "I am conducting a study of a student's motivation to write and your name came up as a potential candidate for this study. I am interested in knowing what motivates students to write. If you have the time I would love to interview you and observe some of the classes where you write." Once the student agreed, I asked parents to sign Parental Consent Forms (Appendix B) approved by the IRB, which also included a copy of the protocols and methodology of this study. I then asked students to sign Student Assent Forms (Appendix C), also approved by the Plymouth State University IRB. To protect the confidentiality of these students, all participants were given a pseudonym, agreed upon by the researcher and the participant, which did not reveal a legal name.

Data Sources

Observations. Because of the nature of the phenomenon as well as to complement the other types of data gathered for the multiple case study, I used observations. Observations allow the researcher to see the phenomenon of interest (Patton, 2002). While motivation cannot be observed, what can be observed is a multidimensional stream of behavior and the products of those behaviors (Atkinson & Birch, 1970). Observation, then, was especially important, as motivation, a triggered behavior, must be seen through observed “targeted behavioral domain[s]” (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 199). Through observation, I sought “relevant social or environmental conditions” (Yin, 2014, p. 113) that motivated a student to write. One of the advantages of direct observation is understanding the context in which phenomena happen (Patton, 1990), which will be especially important when studying motivation from an ecological systems perspective. In performing observations, I looked for what Stake (2010) called *interpretative data*, or data that seemed immediately useful, as well as *aggregative data*, or data that jumped out in comparing to other data.

My observational fieldwork lasted for a half-semester, approximately three months at the high school level, at which time I observed the four students writing a minimum of seven times, in English class as well as in study and Poetry Soup. These observations occurred between April and June. I chose these specific months for observation as students at MRHS were actively engaged in writing cumulative writing assessments. Sophomores were writing the Sophomore Exposition (Expo) (Appendix D), while juniors were writing the Junior Argumentative Research Paper (JARP) (Appendix E), offering ample opportunities to observe students writing. I took field notes of the four

case study students, writing observational data in a notebook. In addition, I developed an observational checklist (Appendix F), which adheres to the theoretical framework of ecological systems, to assist in recording my data with integrity from classroom to classroom and student to student. This observational checklist includes student name, class being observed, time of observation, and assignment student is working on. The observational checklist, developed as a three-column grid, includes a column for motivational behavior such as environmental structuring, a column to check if the observer witnesses the behavior, and a larger column for summary comments about that behavior. The motivational behavior column was developed using prior research on motivational behaviors, which identified systemic elements to look for. For instance, in observing students, I looked for *environmental structuring*, the reorganizing of an environment conducive to writing and individually experienced (Zimmerman & Kitsantas, 2007). This checklist also allowed me to set “analytic priorities” (Yin, 2014, p. 136).

Since my observations focused on a student’s motivation to write, my observations occurred when the student was writing in class. The site of this current study, MRHS, has adopted a process model of writing, adapted to fit the needs of Mount Rural students. This process model has been defined by these teachers as prewriting, writing, conferences, revision, and publication; it is recursive in nature, with all MRHS teachers utilizing ample computer technology to assist in formative assessment and instruction during the actual writing (D. Bazos, W. Jolie, M. Hunter, C. Joiner, K. D’Amelio, S. Garcia, M. Monte, personal communication, November 10, 2016).

Writing conferences. Various descriptions of writing conferences exist (Atwell, 1998; Black, 1998; Calkins, 1994). At MRHS, teachers have adopted a type of writing conference that blends a presentational and natural process, writing conferences, and writing workshop. A hybrid of many defined writing processes models, these writing conferences have three distinguishing characteristics: First, students have a means to write electronically—e.g., on a laptop, on a tablet, or on a phone. Second, teachers give immediate formative feedback that could be used to revise writing in the moment; for example, they may suggest moving a paragraph to make the writing piece more organized. Third, writing conferences, which occur between teacher and student during the writing, are a hybrid practice of instruction—as teachers teach writing in the moment, such as when they explain how to fix a run-on sentence—and assessment—giving grades based on number of words completed, time on task, or accomplishment of individual writing goals, for example.

Interviews. As Patton (1990) stated, not everything can be observed. Limiting observation is the fact that emotions, thoughts, and intentions, three important influences on motivation, cannot be observed (Patton, 1990). As I was seeking to understand a student’s perspective on motivation, a subjective state of both affect and cognition (Ormrod, 2012), as well as the previous experiences that shaped that student’s motivational perspective on writing, in-depth interviewing, “one of the most important sources of case study evidence” (Yin, 2014, p. 110), was necessary.

The interviews were structured, semi-structured, and unstructured in format, at various times (Merriam, 2009). I interviewed each student at least three times at a time of his or her convenience. The first interview was conducted prior to classroom observations

and took approximately one hour, using an established set of questions (Appendix G). Subsequent interviews occurred in two phases, after observations had begun, and were shorter in duration. The first phase began with follow-up questions prompted by the first interview. The second phase occurred as questions arose through my observations and during physical artifact review. All formal interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder. The interviews were transferred to a password-protected computer. Interviews were transcribed for accuracy.

My questioning frameworks (Abbott, 1996) included topics such as the following: getting to know you (e.g., interests, favorite thing in school); why do you choose or not choose to write (e.g., function of writing, concepts of authorship, writing history, feelings and emotions associated with writing); writing processes and strategies (e.g., environmental, sources of ideas, use of technology, process strategies, revision, publishing and sharing, school writing); productions of self-sponsored writing (e.g., genre and style, evaluating and valuing, publishing and saving, feelings and emotions); social contexts and environmental aspects; teacher behaviors; and assessment of writing. These questions, using the Abbott (1996) framework, were also informed by Cleary's (1991) interviewing questions on student motivation to write.

In developing the questions, I progressed from biographical information to questions that addressed writing and the motivation to write. Demographic information—gender identification, age, year in school—was important in helping me establish a diversity of student voices for my research (Merriam, 2009). Demographic information was also important in revealing key biographical information to assist in my interpretation using Bourdieu's (1997) notion of habitus. In uncovering such information

as parental occupation, I began to construct an understanding of the “symbolic goods” (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 193) a student had acquired. Once these questions were asked, I moved into questions specific to writing and motivation, beginning with a student’s early writing experiences and moving to the writing currently occurring in classes. I avoided jargon and wrote in language familiar to the subject (Merriam, 2009). For instance, in exploring students’ perspectives on what motivates them, I learned that they incorporate self-regulatory strategies. I did not expect a student to know that they use a self-regulatory strategy such as story grammar strategy (Santangelo, Harris, & Graham, 2008); however, when presented in a high school student’s language, a student may confirm that he or she does use it, or may add a twist on its use. For example, when I asked students if they set goals (a self-regulatory strategy) when they write, I simply said goals, and did not utilize the myriad types of goals found in the literature. Through this technique I “improve[d] the quality of data obtained during the interview” (Patton, 2002, p. 312).

It was also important that I leave room for flexibility and exploration, hence an emphasis on unstructured interviewing and the two-phase subsequent interviews. This emphasis on a less-structured format assumes that the individual defines the world in a unique way (Merriam, 2009). It also allows for questions to arise from observations and artifact review. This blended structure allowed me to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic (Merriam, 2009). Additional topics, unique to each student, manifested, and I explored those individually.

Challenges in the interviewing process have been identified by Mertens and Wilson (2012), including responding to unexpected participant behavior; dealing with the consequences of your own actions and subjectivities; phrasing and negotiating questions; and dealing with sensitive issues (p. 380).

To address the potential interviewing problem of question phrasing, I established a series of questions. For five years I was a newspaper reporter, honing my interviewing techniques through sheer experience. This also taught me how to use voice recorders, so that I did not fumble with the technology (Yin, 2014). I reflected upon my own subjectivities during and after the interviews. Finally, I practiced and video recorded myself using the interviewing questions to, as Merriam (2009) wrote, ruthlessly review and weed out poor questions and hone my interviewing presentation.

Data artifacts. To enhance findings from the observations and the interviews, I collected physical artifacts from the multiple case study students. These artifacts consisted of writing the students had done both for school and beyond school and allowed me to “develop a broader perspective...far beyond that which could be directly observed in the limited time” (Yin, 2014, p. 118). Additional data points added to the trustworthiness of the conclusions, and is one of the major strengths of multiple case study (Yin, 2014). By having this data triangulation (Patton, 2002) I developed *converging lines of inquiry* (Yin, 2014, p. 120) as well as divergences (Stake, 2006), making the case study findings more convincing, accurate, and rich.

I asked students to share their Freshman Writing Portfolio, a capstone assessment in which a student, who has been collecting and reflecting on his or her written work all year, organizes and revises his or her writing. I also asked for writing from sophomore

and junior year, including the many iterations (rough drafts) of Expo papers and JARPs. Additionally, I asked students to share as many selected works as they would like, both graded and ungraded, both from school contexts and beyond school contexts. I used three methods for collecting this data: Students shared their work via Google Drive and I printed it out; students had the physical artifact and allowed me to borrow it for an extended period; or I took a photo of the writing piece, emailed it to myself, and then printed it out. I kept artifacts in manila folders, each separated by assignment, in a black, locked, portable filing cabinet. Any original physical artifacts, such as the Freshmen Portfolio, were returned in September of 2017 when the student returned to school, though I retained photocopies of significant writing pieces. I used these writings to assist in interviewing, where I used specific works and teacher comments to refer to, and in the data analysis portion of this study, where I used the physical artifacts as part of data triangulation.

Data Collection

Timeline of study. Data collection occurred in four phases: recruitment, entry, data gathering, and closing. Table 3.1 outlines the four phases and the months and dates in which they occurred.

Table 3.1

Timeline of Study

Phase of Study	Timeframe	Action and Date
Phase One: Recruitment	April 2017	• Presentation of research study to parents for multiple case study

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection of Parental Consent Forms for multiple case study; collection of Student Assent Forms for multiple case study
Phase Two:	April 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbal consent to observe classrooms granted
Entry		
Phase	April-June 2017	<u>Observations</u>
Three:		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • April 24, 2017: Junior classroom
Data		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • April 25, 2017: Junior classroom
Gathering		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • April 26, 2017: Junior classroom • April 28, 2017: Junior classroom • May 2, 2017: Sophomore classroom • May 3, 2017: Poetry Soup • May 4, 2017: Sophomore classroom • May 5, 2017: Sophomore classroom • May 9, 2017: Sophomore classroom • May 11, 2017: Observation during study • May 17, 2017: Sophomore classroom • May 24, 2017: Poetry Soup • May 30, 2017: Junior classroom • May 31, 2017: Junior classroom • June 5, 2017: Observation during study • June 6, 2017: Sophomore classroom • June 7, 2017: Junior classroom

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- June 8, 2017: Junior classroom
 - June 8, 2017: Poetry Soup

Interviews

- May 3, 2017: Horatio Waters
- May 22, 2017: Horatio Waters
- June 5, 2017: Horatio Waters
- May 3, 2017: Isabella Winn
- May 18, 2017: Isabella Winn
- June 6, 2017: Isabella Winn
- May 5, 2017: David Garfield
- May 11, 2017: David Garfield
- June 8, 2017: David Garfield
- May 11, 2017: Penny Lane
- May 19, 2017: Penny Lane
- June 5, 2017: Penny Lane

Artifact Collection

- April 24, 2017-October, 2017

Phase Four:	June 2017-May	Data Analysis
Closing	2018	Presentation of findings to MRHS community

Data Analysis

Analysis for this research followed the traditional methods of qualitative research—prepare, organize, code, condense, represent (Creswell, 2007)—through

single-case and cross-case analysis, while also applying the analytic lenses of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Bourdieu (1997). I delineated this analysis in two phases. Phase One consisted of analyzing a student's motivation to write in single case. In Phase Two I analyzed across cases. This two-phase process allowed me to consider the elements of multiple ecological systems that motivate a student to write.

Phase One. Bronfenbrenner (1979) outlines a three-step process for analyzing from an ecological systems perspective: a) identifying elements of the system, b) analyzing the setting, and c) moving the analysis beyond the microsystem. The first stage of operationalizing a study is identifying the elements that influence the individual and the microsystem. These elements, identified by Bronfenbrenner, (1979) are the “activities, roles, and relations in which the person engages” (p. 11). It is important to define these three key terms. An activity is defined by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as “an ongoing behavior possessing a momentum of its own and perceived as having meaning or intent by the participants in the setting” (p. 45). For this study, the activity under investigation was writing, which I considered both in school settings and beyond school settings. Role, as defined by Bronfenbrenner, (1979) is “a set of behaviors and expectations associated with a position in society” (p. 25). In interviewing and observing students, I acquired an understanding of how they viewed their role in various contexts. This consideration of roles that occurred during interviews also allowed me to begin considering a student's habitus. For example, one student spoke about her feeling of intellectual inferiority in her English class, which allowed me to conclude that she felt a lack of agency. Finally, interpersonal structures are defined as relationships where one person in a setting pays attention to or participates in the activities of another and are

characterized by dyadic structures, reciprocity, a balance of power, and affective relations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). A dyadic relationship would be a two-person system; Bronfenbrenner (1979) also expanded these relationships to $N+2$, involving the individual and his or her interactions with groups larger than two—triads, tetrads, and larger interpersonal structures. Interviews and observations provided me with data to consider the interpersonal structures surrounding each student.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) further states that integral to this method is the way the individual experiences these activities, roles, and relations. This term “experiences” is used “to indicate that the scientifically relevant features of any environment include not only its objective properties but also the way in which these properties are perceived by the person in that environment” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 22). Bourdieu (1977) also spoke about the importance of these subjective experiences and called them “the truth of primary experience of the social world” (1977, p. 3). Thus, to begin to understand these elements, one needs to look at an individual’s perception of motivation to write, gathered through interviews and observations, and in light of constructs from the literature. For example, how an individual perceives her self-efficacy towards writing shapes her perception of a writing activity, which shapes her motivation to write as well as the role she plays in the classroom and the interpersonal relationship she has with the teacher during writing conferences. Numerous elements have been identified by researchers as influencing a student’s motivation to write, both psychological and socio-cultural. How an individual perceives these constructs will begin to help us understand a student’s perspective on his or her motivation to write, encompassing the first two systems in the

Bronfenbrenner model. In analyzing the data, I looked for student perceptions of these multiple elements.

To discover an individual's perception of the motivation to write, during Phase One I began with single case analysis, reviewing interviews, observations, and physical artifacts gathered, and looking for descriptions of how the individual experienced motivation to write through the activities, roles, and interpersonal structures of the classroom. Data analysis began during the transcription of the individual interviews. The transcription of the interviews required a close listening and rereading of the participant's answer—a one-hour interview took six hours to transcribe—at which time I began to develop codes, which I would write in the margin of the transcript (see Appendices H and I). I wrote memos regarding the codes to assist with analytic insights (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In writing the memos, I stepped back and wrote brief analytical thoughts, generally a few sentences to a paragraph, to flesh out concepts and patterns emerging from the data (see Appendices J and K). Once the transcription, codes, and initial memos were completed, I searched for emerging themes regarding individual perception of roles, relationships, and activities. Once again, I wrote memos on these emerging themes, supported with evidence from the codes and available data. In analyzing interviews, I paid attention to how participants talked about their experiences with these elements. For example, did a participant indicate that a specific writing activity motivated him or her to write? During this initial stage of interview analysis, I also delved into biographical information that would begin to form a view of an individual's acquired dispositions—his or her habitus. For example, I discovered that one of my student's parents was serially unemployed and divorced. It made me wonder how

this experience influenced this student's perception of MRHS and her educational experience. I wondered how this informed the way she experienced the world.

With my memos from interviews, I then turned to the observational field notes (see Appendix L). In reviewing observational field notes I sought out recurring patterns and recorded these patterns, which became codes (Merriam, 2009); I wrote these codes in the margin of the notebooks, which became my emerging themes. Additionally, I had the observational checklists, which I analyzed deductively, using the analytic priorities I had established in building the observational checklists (Yin, 2014). Merriam (2009) states that this movement between inductive and deductive logic is a hallmark of qualitative research. Using this data from the observational checklists and field notes, I could compare it with the emerging themes and codes from interviews, thereby confirming themes related to students' perception of their motivation to write, as well as how they viewed activities, roles, and interpersonal structures.

Artifacts, collected during and after observations, were analyzed in three ways during Phase One. First, I studied the finished writing product as indicative of an important activity in the writing classroom, deemed important by the teacher, and, during interviews, I asked the student for their perception of the writing activity. Second, in analyzing the physical artifact, I was looking for any indications of a student's habitus. For example, students often decorate their Freshman Writing Portfolio with family photographs. Sometimes, these photographs can reveal aspects of a student's habitus, such as vacations or service trips the student took. Finally, as a third step, I used my conclusions from analyzing the physical artifacts to confirm emerging themes from the analysis of interviews and observations, allowing for the final piece of data that would

triangulate any single-case assertions. For example, one of the case study students wrote a short story about a tree in a forest, isolated on the fringe of a grove and covered in graffiti scrawled by visitors. This writing activity was deemed important by the teacher, which helped me to understand the importance of creative writing in this classroom. In analyzing the piece, I concluded that the student was expressing her own feeling of isolation and “weirdness” at MRHS, which made sense, as the first thing she said in our interviews was that she felt like an outsider at MRHS because she wasn’t rich like other students.

Analysis of the interviews, observational data, and artifacts was also helped by follow-up interviews with students, in which I could utilize my codes and emerging themes to assist in developing follow-up questions. I viewed each student as a knowledgeable “other” to whom I could turn to for clarification, for elaboration, and for sense checking as I tried to piece together an understanding of his or her perspective on motivation to write. I reflected on each conversation: What personal issues were revealed by the student that influenced his or her motivation to write? What was the nature of his or her explanation? How was the student representing the social context and environment in which he or she was writing?

Phase Two. Once I had each individual case study database gathered, I cross-case analyzed, developing further codes, confirming themes, and connecting ideas (Maxwell, 2005), allowing for the triangulation across cases (Stake, 2006). This comparison across cases and systems during Phase Two provided a more compelling interpretation (Merriam, 2009). For example, all four case study students mentioned choice as important in motivating them to write. This led me to the assertion that choice was an

important element of a student's motivation to write. Significant during this time was the consideration of how a student perceived choice, as this perception helped to further delineate a student's habitus. For example, one student felt that choice was helpful in motivating her to write, but ultimately she could not motivate herself to do anything academically—including write—because of physical ailments, which limited her stamina and motivation. This cross-case analysis, using the developing themes, revealed strands that tied the cases together (Yin, 2014) and those that diverged (Stake, 2006); in doing this I hoped to confirm the findings (convergences) but also to showcase the individuality of each setting and student (divergences). Cross-case analysis also allowed for “the different ecological contexts from which research subjects come” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 39), the microsystem. For example, I analyzed how students experienced an English classroom by comparing one case study student, who came from a wealthy, two-parent household, with another case study student who came from a divorced family where the mother was unemployed. In this way, I considered both ecological systems and habitus.

Cross-case analysis during Phase Two also allowed me to analyze across settings, allowing for “a systematic contrast of two or more environmental systems” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 36). Cross-case analysis revealed the influences of other systems—the mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem—on a student's perception of his or her motivation to write. Through cross-case analysis I was able to compare and contrast a student's perception of various microsystems and draw conclusions based on his or her social background or acquired habitus. It was at this stage of analysis that Bourdieu's (1997) theory of habitus became integral, as student perception of activities, roles, and interpersonal structures were affected by the implied dispositions inherent in an

individual's background and subsequent acquisition of cultural, economic, and social capital. For example, did a student from a working-class background respond to an interpersonal relationship with a teacher differently than a student from an upper-class background? In what ways?

Cross-case analysis also allowed me to compare how two different students responded to different settings, what Bronfenbrenner (1979) called mesosystems, such as the localized event in Mount Rural known as Poetry Soup, a poetry open mic offered at a local book store. How did different students respond to this event, and did their perception of their roles or the way they responded interpersonally change? Did their acquired habitus affect this response? For example, one of my case study students stated that she felt uncomfortable when she first attended Poetry Soup because the students were different than she was, while the other two serial attendees felt comfortable in this atmosphere. In comparing the students' biographies, obtained during interviews, I drew conclusions about how class, gender, and history may have affected this feeling. This student also needed to stop attending Poetry Soup because the court mandated that she and her sisters have dinner with her dad on Wednesday nights, the traditional day of Poetry Soup. Here, in this example from the mesosystem, I could conclude that a student's family dynamic, which informs their habitus, could shift the motivation to write, as it kept this student from an activity she enjoyed and found motivating.

Limitations of the Study

Several limitations presented themselves in this study. Despite this, it is hoped that these qualitative findings will resonate with readers in an informative and helpful manner even when applied to other situations.

Limitations in methodology. There is a limit of transferability of findings.

MRHS is located in a middle-upper class community in the northeastern United States. This homogeneity also extends to the demographics of the school, as 92% of students identify as Caucasian.

Additionally, the four case study students all ended up being in honors English classes, though two of the four students did fall within the grade range of B when considering their overall academic achievement. This did not allow for as much of the purposeful maximum variation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2009) as intended. Initially, in setting out this study, I wanted as wide a range of students as possible; however, in presenting this to the Plymouth State Institutional Review Board, I was told that identifying students as academically failing would stigmatize them, so was denied access to these students.

Limitations in ecological systems theoretical framework. In observing the case study students, I had hoped to extend the observational environment to include other classrooms, therefore obtaining a more robust observation of the ecological systems. Despite asking all other teachers of these students for access to their classrooms during a writing assignment, none offered the opportunity, though three teachers did write back about their perception of the student's motivation to write. To mitigate this, I did observe all four case study students writing during a study as well as three of the four students at Poetry Soup.

In an ecological system, causality is questionable. "The unknowableness and interconnectedness of systems makes it much more difficult, if not impossible, to isolate independent variables that act in causal ways" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p.

232). Elements in ecological systems are interconnected, making it highly unlikely that a single cause will give rise to a complex event. Explanation is offered in terms of the system's behavior, not at the level of cause and effect of individual elements or collective variables.

Context is not separable from the system. The four case study students are located in a specific context, from the microsystem (individual psychology, classroom environment) to the macrosystem (MRHS, The City of Mount Rural, the United States).

Limitations in positionality. Finally, there were the limitations presented in my role as teacher and English department chair at MRHS. Though I interviewed both students and teachers on how this may have affected their actions or answers, there is still the possibility that these relationships affected both actions and answers. To mitigate this, I engaged in a constant state of self-reflection. There is also the consideration of an ecological system, as an ecological system, dependent on its initial conditions, includes the researcher. Byrne (2002) believed that it is impossible to truly study an ecological system because the researcher's presence changes the system.

Trustworthiness

Data was triangulated both within case studies and across case studies. Each case study utilized three data points: interviews, observations, and artifacts. Any assertions drawn within a case study were based on this careful triangulation. Across cases, if an assertion was made, it was supported by at least three of the case study students. This allowed for Yin's (2014) replication logic and converging lines. Any divergences (Stake, 2006) were pointed out as such, as diverging from findings in the other three case study students. At least three interviews were conducted for each case study student and

recorded on a digital recorder. All interviews were transcribed for exactitude of language. In follow-up interviews, if I had a question about a student's response, I asked them to clarify. Each case study student was observed at least seven times, both within English classes and at settings outside English class. Finally, this researcher sought out expert reviewers and peer reviewers.

Chapter IV: FINDINGS

In this section, I present my findings that center on the four focal students: Horatio Waters, Penny Lane, David Garfield, and Isabella “Bella” Winn. The findings are organized around the two phases of analysis described earlier. I begin with single-case analysis, focusing on Horatio, Penny, David, and Bella, and then continue the analysis by looking across cases. I will show how their habitus and symbolic capital did or did not mesh with the expectations of the school environment and how the fit between the student’s habitus and that of the school affected their motivation to write.

In my appraisal of Horatio, Penny, David, and Bella, several themes emerged. First, a student’s habitus, especially how it meshed with a specific context, was integral in motivating a student to write. Second, a student’s identity shifted as he or she moved across contexts, and the way a student identified in a certain context could motivate a student to write or hinder a student’s motivation to write. Third, relationships within and across contexts were powerful motivators. Fourth, a student’s feeling of autonomy, which occurred if they felt agency within a certain context, motivated that student to write. Fifth, if exploring the complex emotions a student encountered across contexts, he or she was motivated to write.

Because these findings suggest the power of habitus and identity, as I consider each student in turn, I will examine the student’s habitus and identity within various environments. As I consider habitus and identity, I will consider how these two concepts are affected by a student’s relationships and his or her feeling of autonomy within certain contexts. Using four case studies allowed for a consideration of how disparate individuals interacted within specific environments and allowed for deeper analysis of the motivation

to write within contexts. For example, both Horatio and Penny were in the same English class and regularly attended Poetry Soup, a monthly open mic featuring slam and traditional poets, sponsored by MRHS and taught by an English teacher. By observing both students in these places, by interviewing both students about these places, and by examining artifacts produced in these places, I enriched both my descriptions of the students and the analysis of habitus, identity, and relationships, as well as the subsequent feelings of autonomy. The same was true of David and Bella, who were in the same sophomore English class. It is my hope that these findings may contribute to an improved understanding of how students experience various contexts and how these experiences affect the motivation to write.

Single-Case Analysis: Horatio Waters

Horatio Waters felt a sense of agency at MRHS, which stemmed from the mesh between his acquired habitus and identity and the habitus and identity valued by MRHS. In considering Horatio, I will look at how his habitus and identity displayed itself across contexts and how relationships, roles, and activities within those contexts motivated him to write.

Horatio Waters's Habitus

Horatio Waters, 17, is a junior at MRHS. His father is the director of technology at a major northeastern university, his mother an optometrist; both jobs—high-paying, highly respected—give Horatio a measure of economic capital. His academic record is nearly unblemished, all As, with a single B+ first semester freshman year; despite this academic blip, Horatio still won an academic award in that class. He has taken predominately honors classes, except for electives that don't have honors levels at

MRHS. His electives have been Robotics, Nutrition, Aquaponics, Computer Aided Design, Musical Theater, Dance, and Improvisation. The eclectic nature of these electives hint at Horatio's stated future profession: an actor or an engineer (H. Waters, Interview, May 3, 2017). According to school attendance records, he is rarely absent, recording a single absence from September through May of the 2016-2017 school year. The measure of Horatio's academic achievement, level of class placement, and choice of electives, are evidence of his academic capital within MRHS, the result of considerable privilege, allowing him to easily assimilate into the milieu of the school.

When I met with Horatio's mother to discuss the study and protocols, she said, "He's happy to help you. He loves helping others" (A. Waters, personal communication, May 1, 2017). "Help" is a characteristic word for Horatio, and one of the main reasons he's motivated to write:

I help a lot of people with problems or whatever's going on in their life and try to be there for them whenever I can. I can compartmentalize really well unless it's a really close friend whose life is much ingrained with mine and so I write when that's not going well. I write a lot about that. (H. Waters, Interview, May 3, 2017)

When asked if he was motivated to write to work through his problems, he said adamantly no:

The things that are going on in my life that aren't my friends seem to me to be like normal things, like stress and homework and crazy situations...they're too cliché to write about, versus things that I observe other people going through or I'm trying to help someone go through something, there's no thick solution...I need to write about that. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

Horatio, in motivating himself to write by utilizing his friends, demonstrated the way he consistently used his relationships as motivation. Here, he also builds his social capital as he helps friends solve their problems.

Horatio's use of social capital to motivate himself to write is also evident in the microsystem of his English classroom. Horatio said he has consistently, "since as long as I can remember," had two problems which stopped his writing: his inability to think of the exact word he wants and his composition speed (Interview, May 3, 2017). When he's blocked on the word, he'll utilize his social capital by soliciting the teacher for help or by turning to a tablemate for help with the "right word." This use of friends extended beyond simple word choice help. At one point, Horatio read a sentence out loud to the entire table of six students and asked, "How's that sound?" (Field Notes, April 26, 2017). These incidents demonstrate how, in the context of the classroom, Horatio's relationships with others—both an outcome and a source of his social capital—provide him support, encouragement, and idea sharing.

This use of social capital was not unusual and extended to his relationships with teachers. In the microsystem of MRHS, he has strong relationships with his teachers, his freshman history teacher calling him "a star" (A. Good, personal communication, May 2, 2017), his dance and theatre teacher saying, "he's the best" (S. Will, personal communication, May 5, 2017). This data suggests the social capital Horatio has acquired at MRHS. Five of the seven times I observed Horatio writing, the teacher had arranged the desks in small groups of three to six students. Horatio sat with the same group of students, four or five female students. The only time he left his desk was to conference with the teacher, which was often. In my observations of Horatio's English class, which

had 23 students, Horatio was the student that most advocated for help: 20 writing conferences that lasted from one to six minutes.

One observed conference demonstrated how Horatio utilized his social capital to motivate himself to write. As Ms. Monte was walking by, she observed Horatio using the online thesaurus. She whispered to him:

Ms. Monte: “The thesaurus is both your friend and enemy.”

Horatio: “I’m looking for something scholarly to refer to ‘important’...something like that, I don’t even know what I’m trying to say.”

Ms. Monte: “Let me see the sentence...Representative...action-packed...Vin Diesel...*Fast and Furiouser*...there are lots of words. I would say highly acclaimed status.” (Field Notes, April 24, 2017)

In this short exchange, warning about the thesaurus, the teacher demonstrated the repetition of a classroom microsystem “rule” as well as a piece of writing advice. The rule emphasized a classroom expectation and clearly was an oft-repeated line in this microsystem. By whispering this advice, the teacher displayed a sense of intimacy. In running down a list of possible choices, the teacher demonstrated a strategy to get unblocked—brainstorming—and did it in a humorous way by interspersing possible choices and pop culture allusions. This personal interaction with the teacher highlighted the atmosphere: playful, yet focused. This context, in which Horatio had a high level of social capital, facilitated Horatio’s motivation to write.

The exchange cited above between Horatio and his teacher, which involved a comfortable, personal interaction, also reflected what Horatio referred to as *kind help*, an instructional method that involves social capital and that Horatio believed he need to be

able to write. Horatio's most vivid memory of early writing occurred in fifth grade, where he had a teacher that would "scold" him and "pull me aside" (Interview, May 3, 2017) to say he wasn't writing fast enough, a writing problem he still pointed to as his greatest weakness. "Many times, I took a long, I take a long time to write and she used to get mad at me for not writing quick enough," he said (Interview, May 3, 2017). To overcome this problem in fifth grade, he sought out the assistant teacher, who offered kind help. He said,

She seemed to understand that it took me longer, and I just needed, I needed kind help. So she would sit down with me while my main teacher had a whole classroom of students to work with and she was just sitting down with me and listening. She was attentive. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

In fifth grade, Horatio encountered an insensitive teacher, so he turned to his assistant teacher for kind help, demonstrating Horatio's use at an early age of social capital to facilitate his motivation to write.

One more way in which Horatio used his social capital to motivate himself to write had to do with his self-described need to shift between the logical mindset needed for his science and math classes and the creative mindset needed for English class. Once again, he used his social capital. He said,

I think about things very logically. Even like writing is an equation. There's a right way to do it, a right way to formulate it in the correct order and getting, like going to classes like a science class, it's a very logical class, that's how you think, versus like if I'm coming to Lit. This happened the other day. We had the AP Chemistry test that morning, and I'd been trying really hard to get into that logical

mindset for like three days, and then I had improv later that day, and I was trying really hard to get out of that mindset. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

To switch mindsets, he said,

I usually talk to other people. Because when I am in a logical mindset...it's kind of like looking straight forward and getting work done. Whereas when I am in a creative mindset I feel more social, so talking to people, that helps me get into that mindset. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

Horatio used his friends—both those in English class and elsewhere in school—to put himself into a writing mindset and motivate himself to write. This is an example of the lingering power of contexts, as it took Horatio time to transfer from one classroom to another, and the importance of Horatio's social capital in motivating him to write.

Horatio Water's Identity

When Horatio's identity meshed within a specific context, he was motivated to write. For example, humor was valued by Horatio's junior classroom teacher and meshed with Horatio's identity, motivating him to write. He identified as a comedian, exemplified by his passion for the student improv class and improv nights. In interviews, Horatio mentioned this English teacher's use of humor and laid-back attitude as establishing a comfortable classroom environment, which motivated him to write, an attribute also evident in his freshman teacher (Interviews, May 3, May 22, 2017). As this type of cultural capital was valued, Horatio felt comfortable and able to engage in writing. He said,

I remember I had Ms. Garcia freshman year and she was hilarious, and I think a good sense of humor encourages me to try a lot in class. So that was very

motivating, I guess, to have someone who could joke and not take things too seriously...Or often I throw in little jokes in my writing and she [Ms. Monte] always writes a little note in the side about that which just makes me laugh when I get it back. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

This back-and-forth response suggests the agency that Horatio feels in this classroom, partly because his symbolic capital is valued. Compare these two teachers to his sophomore year teacher, where Horatio felt unmotivated to write, saying that the teacher, Ms. Hunter, would, “give me a note [on an essay] that says ‘where is this’ and I would draw a little arrow to the next sentence and say, ‘it’s right here.’ I felt like my writing was just being breezed over” (Interview, May 22, 2017). He assumes his own authority here, not taking the teacher’s feedback as final.

Other contexts that meshed with his identity and offered relationships also motivated him to write. For example, Horatio regularly attended Poetry Soup. Horatio cited his friends, his ability to be open, and the relaxed atmosphere as motivating him to attend and write (Interview, May 3, 2017). Poetry Soup also provided him with cultural capital, as it increased his knowledge of a genre, poetry, valued at Mount Rural.

Horatio could also use his identity to motivate himself to write, as evident in his use of his identity to motivate himself to write to meet deadlines. Horatio, in describing his desire to turn an essay in on time, said that turning in something late was not who he was. He had an identity of himself, an image formed from his acquired symbolic capital. “I feel like...my writing is a reflection of me and so me writing what I’m writing about is like me” (Interview, May 3, 2017). For example, one weekend he wrote eight pages to complete his JARP. He said, “I just wrote all day Sunday... I had to get it done, I had to

get it done. Because of the deadline” (Interview, May 22, 2017). This, he said, was typical of writing assignments, where he waits until the night before an assignment is due even though he “doesn’t want to turn it in late,” and then he’ll have an “infinite space of time to write” (Interview, May 3, 2017). When prompted that he didn’t have to turn a writing piece in at all, Horatio said, “That’s not me as a student...that’s not me as a person. I don’t like turning in stuff that’s subpar” (Interview, May 3, 2017). This identification, he said, stems from parental models, where his grandmother told him stories about his dad staying up late to finish writing papers and even rewriting papers if he smudged the final word. Horatio also detailed his mother’s work ethic: “my mom would always be the last one going to bed and no matter what she would just have to get work done. It just had to be done” (Interview, May 3, 2017). Family stories such as these informed Horatio’s habitus, and may have also informed how he identified now as both person and student, creating within him an identity which could motivate him to write.

Horatio also identified as a creative person, and when offered a creative assignment felt a sense of agency and the motivation to write, allowing him to “incorporate myself into the writing” (Interview, May 3, 2017). After a unit utilizing Toni Morrison’s *Beloved* as a primary text, students were asked to research a person of interest and write a story. He chose Malala Yousafzai, author of the book *I Am Malala*, and the finished story, called “Shots Without Sound,” was “the writing assignment I spent the most [time] on that I’ve ever written” (Interview, May 3, 2017). So engaged was he by the writing that he broke one of his cardinal rules and asked for an extension, because “I told her I could turn in some words on the due date or I could turn in A PAPER in two days” (Interview, May 3, 2017). In this example and within this microsystem, Horatio felt

agency, and adjusted his identity, becoming a student who would turn in something late, and negating a previous claim he had made. He ultimately shared this piece with his parents, his grandparents, and a few friends. In sharing this piece, Horatio acknowledged the power and value of writing across contexts, as a school assignment was eventually shared with his family and friends.

Single-Case Analysis: Penny Lane

Penny Lane struggled to motivate herself to write as her identity and habitus did not mesh with those valued by MRHS. When they were valued—generally outside of school, in the context of Poetry Soup or in writing songs with her band—Penny easily motivated herself to write, demonstrating the power of context in motivating a student to write. As I consider Penny, I will show how the relationships, roles, and activities within certain contexts affected her motivation to write.

Penny Lane's Habitus

Penny Lane, 17, is a junior at MRHS. In her three years, she has taken 13 college prep classes, 10 honors classes, and one advanced placement class. According to her, she is currently struggling—two Ds, a C, and three Bs, though her three-year grade point average is a 3.265. Her parents divorced when she was six. Her dad is the self-employed owner of a landscaping company; her mom is currently unemployed, has been “for a while” (Interview, May 11, 2017), and when employed works as a tattoo artist or a waitress, sometimes both, at the same time. In the past, Penny has worked with her mom as a waitress. In contrast to many students at MRHS, Penny identifies as working-class, and lives in a downtown duplex, suggesting a lack of economic capital in comparison to the norm for MRHS. She has four sisters, ranging in age from 3 to 20. The 20-year-old

attends college, where she is studying “biochemistry, bio-engineering, something like that” (P. Lane, Interview, May 11, 2017). Penny’s family values school and education, though Penny struggled to translate this value into perceived success or motivation at MRHS. Penny said “I cry when I write. Like, I actually cry... Whenever I’m working on something for school” (Interview, May 11, 2017). She used words like “hate” and “sad” to describe her feelings for writing in the context of school, demonstrating the clash between her acquired habitus and the habitus of MRHS.

When I asked Penny to characterize her motivation to write from her earliest memory she rarely mentioned writing, instead characterizing the school year as good or bad based on her emotional states, aggregating these historical contexts. Her current year was “the worst year of my life” (Interview, May 11, 2017). Freshman year was no better: “I wouldn’t say I was in a bad place, but I wasn’t in the best place” (Interview, May 11, 2017). Middle school, she said, “was a bad place. That was when I went through a lot” (Interview, May 11, 2017). These developmental shifts may be reflected in her academic progression: In high school, she has repeatedly moved from college prep to honors classes and back to college prep. The way she frames these school experiences suggests her perceived lack of academic capital in Mount Rural, and show the lingering memory of the chronosystem.

Though Bourdieu (1977) considered physical capital the embodied state of cultural capital, Shilling (1991) has called for a broader understanding of physical capital as recognizing physical attributes—size, strength—as well as the body. Penny’s lack of physical capital profoundly affects her motivation to write. Penny is frequently absent, tardy, or dismissed from school, recording 60 absences, 68 tardies, and 33 dismissals in

high school. Eleven of those absences have occurred since late January 2017. This spike in absences—she only had two absences first semester and “was going good” (Interview, May 11, 2017)—she attributed to a medical condition which only recently surfaced. She said, “I get headaches....and they’re trying to figure that out. I’ve gone on a bunch of different medications, so I’ve missed a lot of school” (Interview, May 11, 2017). These headaches have severely limited her motivation “in general” and her motivation to write “in particular.” Another one of the doctor’s requirements was limited screen time, which severely inhibited her will to write, as her handwriting, she said, was terrible. Penny struggled with the needed physical capital to write. Consider the JARP, the writing of which she called “horrible” (Interview, May 19, 2017): To finish the JARP, she resorted to drinking energy drinks despite her distaste of them. With Penny unable to physically finish the JARP because of her headaches, Penny’s mom paid her sister Haley to type it. Here, both Penny and her mom have ameliorated her lack of physical capital. A lack of physical capital also extended to her self-described forgetfulness. One of the first things Penny said to me was, “I don’t know why you want to talk to me. I forget everything” (Interview, May 11, 2017). This attribution suggests Penny’s feeling of powerlessness and inferiority, as she feels that she doesn’t measure up to some standard of memory. The way Penny spoke about her memory, energy, and self-esteem also suggest that she may suffer from some form of mood-impacting medical condition that could possibly inhibit her motivation to write, at least for school-mandated topics and tasks.

A clash of habitus within a certain context as hindering the motivation to write. Often, Mount Rural’s clash with Penny’s habitus hindered her motivation to write. For example, Penny said she hated an essay she wrote on *Star Wars*. The assignment

stated, “**In a thesis-driven analytical essay**, explain how *Star Wars* can be viewed through a critical lens of your choice” (Artifact, final copy, “*Star Wars* Assignment,” emphasis in original). “The thing is,” she said, “I hate *Star Wars*,” calling the writing of this paper “a big huck” (Interview, May 19, 2017). For this essay, the teacher thought using a popular movie would motivate students to write (K. Monte, personal communication, March 2, 2018), but what the teacher perceived as important cultural capital clashed with the cultural capital that Penny had. By not offering choice, the teacher did not embrace Penny’s cultural capital, leading to a lack of the motivation to write. Moreover, Penny used a perceived lack of physical capital—her memory—to attribute for this lack of motivation, saying that she forgot to write the first draft (Interview, May 19, 2017).

Recently, Penny said “writing just makes me sad,” caring only that the writing gets done and gets a good grade (Interview, May 11, 2017). Penny understands the habitus and values of the school and her family, but could not find a way to fit in.

Consider the way she described her motivation to write:

You just do it...you just have to go for it...sometimes, well, I cry easily, so I cry when I write. I think it just might be a sense of being overwhelmed with writing. When it turns out really good, you can just hand it in. When it turns out really bad, you still just hand it in, but you feel bad. (Interview, May 11, 2017)

Or this description of her writing process:

It’ll be late, and I’m getting really really tired and I’m like just finish this, finish this, finish this paragraph. Like if you go on a run or something and you’re like,

okay, just a little bit further and then you make it that much further and you're like a little bit further. (Interview, May 11, 2017)

She also used the words “zombie state” to describe her process. In these descriptions, using words like “zombie” or “just finish,” one can see the difficulty that writing for school presents to Penny, partly because of the clash between her habitus and the school's.

Penny's feeling of being overwhelmed stems from a clash of values: She believes that writing is important to academic success, yet she doesn't feel the agency to do well. Even when choosing a topic of interest, one she had the cultural capital to engage in, as she did with the JARP, she was still unmotivated to write, saying, “I just didn't like it. I didn't like my topic as much as I thought I would. I don't know. I think I just lost all motivation this year for academic things” (Interview, May 11, 2017). Yet, Penny felt compelled to finish, to work through this self-described misery, as she had inculcated a certain set of beliefs from her family and school on the importance of school and grades. When pressed, she said, “Not that I don't care about grades, because I do try, I try really hard, I'm just not that good at school” (Interview, May 11, 2017). Here Penny equates herself as “not good” in the context of MRHS. A similar clash of values was evident in the disparity between the teacher's strategies for motivating students to write and Penny's use of them. When I asked Penny about her use of the goal setting sheets for the JARP, which Ms. Monte distributed before each writing session, Penny said, “What's that?” (Interview, May 11, 2017). The one strategy she was aware of using to motivate herself to write, was shutting down grammar. “I'll write not really good grammatically correct sentences and then kind of like just throwing down answers without having to explain or

worry” (Interview, May 11, 2017). Here, Penny knows she needs to ignore the contextual requirements of the classroom to finish her writing.

Penny Lane’s Identity

When Penny’s identity meshed with a certain context, she was motivated to write. Penny attributed some of her sophomore year academic and writing success to her teachers, especially her English teacher, who embraced Penny’s identity, leading Penny to a feeling of agency in this class because of the social capital she had acquired. Penny said, “I was able to make a strong, a stronger relationship with Ms. Jolie than I have with any other teacher so maybe that helped” (Interview, May 11, 2017). In a follow up interview, Penny referred back to this teacher, saying,

She’s definitely one of the nicest, sweetest, best teachers I’ve had in my life...

And she like—I don’t know the way she talks to students and the way she lets you know that she cares and wants you to succeed and puts the effort into letting you know. She—it sounds so corny, but not just believes in you. I feel like she tries to connect. (Interview, May 19, 2017)

The context of her sophomore English class and the relationship she had with that teacher motivated her to write. A key word here, also used in some form by two of the other students, is the word “care.” This suggests that a student can be motivated to write by a caring teacher.

Relationships with peers were also important. When I asked her for a piece of academic writing she was motivated to write, she said, beside her Expo essay, her *Night* essay, also completed sophomore year. In describing this motivation, she detailed her peer editing experience, and how the relationship in that context had motivated her to

write. Penny felt she possessed the social capital to engage and succeed in this writing assignment, so was motivated to write it.

Moreover, when Penny's identity as a musician was embraced by a certain context, she was motivated to write. Penny's motivation to write music, created on her own and mostly beyond school, rarely waned, demonstrating the power of identity mesh and symbolic capital within a context as motivating someone to write. When Penny spoke about music she became animated. She got out of her chair and her hands flew around as she said,

Well, I don't know if this is anything, but we have a writing assignment coming up about Transcendentalism and we asked, because the people in my band also have Ms. Monte, we're all in different classes but she said we could write a song together. (Interview, May 19, 2017)

Penny wrote songs often, at least one weekly but sometimes two or three a week, though many remained unfinished (Interview, May 11, 2017). The communal aspect of writing songs helps Penny to write too. This is how she describes it:

I just really love music. And it's cool to just, it's cool to create and hear something that you write and have it like that you can listen to it. I love going back and listening to songs the band writes together and it's just fun to get really excited about what you write and I think that motivates me the most. Like this weekend I was listening to some of our songs, specifically one that I kind of worked on a lot and I was like, wow, this is just like so good, and it inspired me and then right after listening to it I went to write another song. (Interview, May 11, 2017).

This assignment played to Penny's identity and she felt as if she had the symbolic capital to complete it successfully, which led to a feeling of agency and the motivation to write. In adapting the assignment yet still considering the required outcomes, the teacher had used "motivational scaffolding" (Thompson, 2009) and adjusted her practice. This identity mesh within a context was also evident at Poetry Soup. Though her initial impulse to attend was romantic, Poetry Soup offered four things contextually that helped Penny to stay and subsequently to write: fun, friends, a dynamic presenter, and a "good" teacher (Interview, May 11, 2017). These would be important considerations in this ecological context. Penny said,

Well, it was fun when I...the first couple of times I went it was very laidback and it was not like on TV where everybody's kind of being fake deep and life sucks and stuff. It was funny and there were some really good poems and—oh—Amore! He was the first poet that was there and I really liked him. He was really good and I made sure to go to Poetry Soup when he came again this year because he was pretty awesome. I like Ms. Bazos and she had my sister and I like some of the people that were there and some of my friends started to go and then this year the Libertys were going so that was fun, I like them. I wasn't friends with them, I didn't talk to them until this year. Well I didn't have any class [with them] and we have different friend groups but this year we were put in AP Bio together and it was actually a weird—not a weird, an unexpected group. (Interview, May 11, 2017)

Though Penny was a regular attendee, she recently stopped going for two reasons: She has a conflict with some of the people that regularly attended and her court-mandated

dinners with her dad fall on Wednesday night, the same night as Poetry Soup. Here one can see the powerful interplay of context and habitus. Penny appeared to be discouraged because of a change in relationship with others, as well as a conflict because of her family—the court-mandated dinners.

If Penny's identity clashed with a certain context, she was unmotivated to write. This clash often presented at the mesosystemic level, where her sister's academic success stifled Penny's ability to motivate herself to write for school. Penny's older sister, Haley, looms large over Penny, as Penny constantly tries to compete with Haley's academic achievements. Haley graduated from MRHS in 2015, and was a good student (D. Bazos, W. Jolie, personal communication, May 15, 2017) though "she was absent all the time because she had to take care of the other sisters" (W. Jolie, personal communication, May 15, 2017). This absenteeism, which also affected Penny, suggests how priorities shift because of a lack of economic capital. Penny identified as Haley's younger, less academically gifted sister. This ecological transfer (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), from the microsystem of home to the microsystem of school, severely hampered Penny's motivation to write.

Penny's motivation was not academically oriented, but relationship- and identity-driven. When she felt that an assignment meshed with her identity, as with the song she wrote, she easily motivated herself to write. Likewise, relationships motivated her, as she pointed out by speaking of her sophomore English teacher who, she said, cared.

Single-Case Analysis: David Garfield

David Garfield, who had a measure of capital and identity valued by MRHS, easily motivated himself to write for school. Moreover, his identification as both poet and

philosopher, motivated him to write across contexts, from Poetry Soup to his home. As I consider David, I will show how his habitus and identity, and their easy mesh within MRHS and outside of MRHS, motivate him to write.

David Garfield's Habitus

David Garfield is a 16-year old sophomore at MRHS. David's father is a manager for a major international company, with diverse holdings; his mother is a Mount Rural town administrator and sells real estate. According to school records, in his sophomore year David had a single absence and a 4.00 GPA. When offered, he has taken all honors courses. Academic successes such as these have led David to acquire ample academic capital. David is also a star athlete, one of the top cross-country runners in the state, and the sophomore class president. His class adviser was happy to have David as president because "he has the ability to get things done" (T. Glenn, personal communication, May 30, 2017). These accomplishments reflect David's cultural, social, and academic capital within MRHS. He is somewhat aware of his symbolic capital, saying, "I felt lucky to have grown up in Mount Rural" (Interview, May 5, 2017).

The easy mesh between David's habitus and that of MRHS is evidenced in his view on grades: David doesn't believe grades motivate him to write, a view discovered in freshman year, where "I felt like I would get the grade and didn't have to worry about that and so I could just focus on the quality of the writing" (Interview, May 5, 2017). David felt competent and confident in his writing, a view that may be justified by reading his academic transcript. Regarding writing grades, David said, "I usually know around what I'm gonna get. It's usually a teeny-bit better than what I think I should get but I never complain" (Interview, May 5, 2017). Moreover, David rarely consulted the

teacher's comments on drafts during revision of his essays, perhaps because, most of the time, there were few corrective comments written by his teacher on his composition drafts. On an early, full draft of his Expo paper, David had seven comments, excluding minor functional edits such as "insert comma" (Artifact, final copy, "David Garfield Draft Expo"). The comments tended to be questioning, such as "How does this compare worldwide?" Or "When do these traditions originate?" The teacher had also used 17 check marks to indicate a place where David had done something well. Analysis of comments suggest that David is treated as a peer or fellow scholar by his teacher. The teacher is not correcting, but rather reading for meaning. This completes a virtuous cycle where David is reinforced by the privilege he brings through further privilege of this kind of commentary, which was not offered to his classmate Bella. This data suggest that the mesh of David's habitus and the school's has made motivating himself to write easy in this context, as the habitus he brings is valued by the school's institutional culture, objectives, and routines, and upheld, wittingly or not, by the teachers.

David was also able to use his physical capital to motivate himself to write. David's ability to focus was extraordinary. During English classes, he would engage in writing within moments of logging on to a laptop, and stayed focused on the screen for the majority of the time, with only intermittent jokes shared with tablemates (Field Notes, May 2, 4, 5, 9, 17, 2017). He rarely moved from his seat while writing. He said,

I feel like I'm used to it [focusing] by now. It takes a little bit to actually get into it so I'll read what I've done like in a recent class or the other day and I'll start to remember what I need to do or what I was thinking at the time and I'll just get into it. (Interview, May 5, 2017)

David is able to use the context of school and the contextual support of classroom writing time to facilitate his motivation to write. Because he feels agency, as a result of his habitus, he easily engages in writing for school and stays focused.

David Garfield's Identity

David's identity, one that meshed with the expectations of Mount Rural, motivated him to write. David identified as a good student, one who wanted to say, "I liked being able to say I got good grades," even going back to elementary school when grades were standards-based (Interview, May 5, 2017). This identity, within certain contexts, motivated David to write. Despite not knowing what he wants to do in college or professionally, David is motivated to write, as "each paper has a small impact. I think about college or a profession, and I just want to be on a good road. I don't want to be screwed when I grow up, so I think about that" (Interview, May 5, 2017). David shows here an inkling of his acquired habitus: He equates academic success with professional and life success, which is exactly what the school promotes.

David's identity and its effect on his writing motivation extended to his belief in hard work. David, commenting on the philosophy of grading a writer based on growth, said he thought measuring growth of writing as not motivating, thinking that other students would sabotage themselves to get better grades.

I felt like I would work harder on the original paper than other people would and then there wouldn't be as much room for improvement. Someone [else] who did it the night before and there would be a whole list of changes and that would be my only concern that I would have with growth grading. (Interview, May 11, 2017)

Though his parents don't bother him about grades he wanted good grades to "show them that I was responsible" and for the feeling of "self-accomplishment" (Interview, May 11, 2017). David's perspective on grades is shaped by the feeling of agency he has because of his identity and the symbolic capital he acquired in his school progression: Confident in his abilities and skill, he has acquired the cultural capital to write well according to Mount Rural standards, and identifies as a good, hard-working student, so does not have to worry about grades.

The way David identified in certain contexts motivated him to write. When probed about how his teachers facilitated his motivation to write in class, he mentioned that his freshman and sophomore year teachers walked around "a little bit to make sure everyone is on task and to be there for you if you have a question, but they won't really instigate anything. And I, I like that and agree with that method" (Interview, May 5, 2017). But David rarely asked for help. This extends to peer or family help. When he was younger, his parents would help him with writing, "But I don't need that anymore" (Interview, May 5, 2017). This idea, of not needing help anymore, emphasizes David's strong sense of agency and autonomy. This belief in himself extended to his attendance at Poetry Soup and his writing of poetry, as he openly admitted his parents and many of his friends don't get this love of poetry.

David regularly attended Poetry Soup, which he said motivated him to write. David enjoyed writing poetry in this context as it offered a new way of seeing a traditionally dry academic subject. "I realized [at Poetry Soup] that poetry doesn't have to be...like a lot of the poetry we read in class," he said (Interview, May 5, 2017). Freshman and sophomore years at MRHS focus on traditional poets, most from before the 20th

century. David also liked the “animated” poets who don’t write “stereotypical poetry, like sitting down and reading something with metaphorical language that isn’t too instigating” (Interview, May 5, 2017). David, though he says he only writes poetry about “once every two weeks” (Interview, May 5, 2017), is immersed in the creative process of poetry. He stated that ideas for poems will come to him when running, in the shower, working on academic papers, or upon hearing others speak at Poetry Soup, and he’ll quickly write down a line or two, usually using the Notes App on his phone. “And that first time, where a thought pops into my head, I always get real excited to write about. Usually it’s just a line, but that will find its way into a poem” (Interview, May 5, 2017). He loved hearing friends read and “listening to other people’s poems and I’ll see something they did, and I’ll like it and I’ll think of some way to spin off of that” (Interview, May 5, 2017). In this way, the context of Poetry Soup and the relationships offered by that context motivated him to write.

David, through his identity as a poet, a liberal, and a philosopher, was motivated to write in certain contexts because they offered him the ability to make meaning and provided a feeling of agency. For example, David found the “violent buzz of poetry” helpful in dealing with emotional issues. “You can kind of talk about stuff that you might not be comfortable talking about in any other way” (Interview, May 5, 2017), like stress. When David felt stressed, he found himself writing to soothe himself:

If I’m having an issue where I’m not feeling too great I can always write about it...and even if it ends up not being the best poem it really helps me understand what I’m actually thinking and what needs to get done and what will help.
(Interview, May 5, 2017)

More important than stress, to David, is the existential loop he finds himself in and poetry's ability to pull him out of that loop. He said,

A lot of times, I feel like I'm just in a loop. And I'm, nothing I'm doing is important and I feel like I get stuck in that and I feel like in poetry I can get away from that loop. (Interview, May 5, 2017)

This loop theory would be repeated again by David, "this fear of being in a constant circle" (Interview, May 11, 2017). David felt empowered to write and would use writing for his own purposes, such as here, where he writes to help himself mitigate the feeling of boredom he experienced.

Writing also helped him with this loop when he found himself researching and writing about important topics to try to make meaning. David related a story about a running political debate at his lunch table. Twelve students sat at the table, all boys, three confirmed conservatives, "big time conservatives," one with the ability to draw on historical arguments from the Roman period to yesterday (Interview, May 5, 2017). David, on the other hand, "I'm more liberal, but besides like a moral argument I don't have any information. I'm empty-handed" (Interview, May 5, 2017). To combat this feeling, David chooses essay topics that will "arm him" in these intellectual lunch battles, knowing that in researching to write the paper, he will have acquired a bit of intellectual ammunition (Interview, May 5, 2017). David's quest for knowledge and his ability to use this to transform his relationships with his friends motivated him to write. Here one sees the power of context and relationships to motivate David to write, and the ecological transfers, as he would write and research in class to help him argue during lunch.

David, through a strong sense of agency because of the value of his habitus and identity at Mount Rural, found his own purposes for writing, whether to figure something out, free himself from his loops, or to arm himself for intellectual conversations with friends. He has envisioned a future that requires advanced education and understands that his writing—and the motivation that must precede it—is required.

Single-Case Analysis: Isabella Winn

Isabella “Bella” Winn struggled to motivate herself to write in the context of MRHS if her habitus and identity were not valued. When they were valued, either inside MRHS or outside MRHS, she would be motivated to write. In considering Bella’s motivation to write, I will show how the roles, relationships, and activities of various contexts affected her motivation to write.

Isabella “Bella” Winn’s Habitus

Isabella “Bella” Winn, 16, a sophomore at MRHS, identifies as both an artist and a history nerd (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella’s classes are generally in the college preparatory track; she has taken thirteen classes, two of which have been honors: sophomore history and literature. Her cumulative grade point average is 3.579. She struggles with writing assignments, for which she rarely gets over a 75 (Interview, May 3, 2017). According to school records, she was absent six times and dismissed or tardy 16 times from September to May, 2016-2017. Her mom and dad divorced when she was in second grade, and her dad currently lives three states away. Her dad “calls himself a business consultant,” her mom is a masseuse, and both have college degrees (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella is demographically atypical of students at MRHS, as she describes herself as being “not poor, but the kids I go to school with, I feel like there is an element

that they are more wealthy than I am” (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella lives in the third floor of a three-decker apartment building. This brief history of Bella hints at both her identity and her lack of economic capital. But it also suggests the strength of her cultural capital as a budding historian and artist, an important factor in motivating her to write.

When asked about her history with school, Bella systematically enumerated the grade she was in and whether or not she liked the teacher. She said, “Kindergarten was probably my roughest year...I had Mrs. Smith and just didn’t like her. I never wanted to do what she wanted to do.” First grade was better, and second grade, “Mrs. Burke I just loved her” (Interview, May 3, 2017). This teeter-totter of teachers, from good to bad, continued to the present. When Bella self-identified as a bad writer—“I suck at writing”—and I asked her how she formed that opinion, she quickly said, “My kindergarten teacher. My third grade teacher said it all the time, she hated my writing. My seventh grade teacher didn’t like my writing” (Interview, May 3, 2017). These early experiences shaped her view as a “sucky writer” to this day, a view she has of herself because “I overanalyze everything my teachers, my lit teachers especially, say because I’ve always heard lit teachers say ‘she needs to be more focused in her writing, she needs to be more specific, blah, blah, blah’” (Interview, May 3, 2017). Experiences like these have shaped her view on school, leading her to feel powerless, as she lacked the academic capital valued at Mount Rural. In contrast, David had the confidence in social standing with both teachers and peers to seek the help he needed. Bella, however, was withdrawn, having appeared to have internalized years of teachers’ criticism of her writing. At the time of the study, she was at the mercy of her teachers’ ability to connect with her.

This legacy of good and bad teachers has left Bella with an imbalanced portfolio of academic and social capital: If she likes a teacher, feels that they mesh, she feels she has agency and will be motivated to write within that context. When Bella feels as if she doesn't mesh with the teacher, she will turn to other contexts where she feels empowered through her social capital, such as her family, to provide help and motivation to write. For example, Bella was asked to write a paper for her sophomore English class on the novel *Heart of Darkness* (Conrad, 1990), a book that she was “super struggling” with. “I felt like I just got the surface of it and I never really do well if I just get the surface of it” (Interview, May 3, 2017). Into this struggle stepped her mother, a music turned English major in college.

My mom...she took it upon herself to read it and she, we, did it together, and she just kind of she didn't do it for me, but she helped me amplify my words into a thing that would make a cohesive piece. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

Bella's mom's role here suggests the importance of school to her family. Her mom often helped with these ecological transitions, as with her Sophomore Expo, where her mom helped her “amplify her words” (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella's mother would write extensive comments in the “comment” section of Google Docs. In one telling comment, her mother wrote, “From the article I emailed you? Possible direction for summation?” (Field Notes, May 9, 2017). This interaction offered Bella a specific strategy and suggested the type of cognitive apprenticeship (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1988) she shared with her mother.

This use of social capital within contexts to motivate herself to write extends to others beyond her mother. When she is unmotivated to write, when not offered choice, or

feeling self-critical, Bella's strategy to get over it is to find encouragement from others, usually a teacher or a friend, and often in different ecological contexts.

I think encouragement from others really helps in that regard because you know if there's just an overwhelming kind of...I don't know if there's an overwhelming amount of support you get it makes it easier to kind of believe in yourself more. I don't know if that gets rid of all the self-doubt, but it definitely contributes to just being able to get it done and plug through and keep going. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

Like the other case study students, Bella sought personal meaning in her writing, but for her the process of finding meaning seemed more relational. In Bourdieuan terms, she had leveraged her social capital to promote her motivation to write in the context of school.

Bella often lacked the academic capital valued by her sophomore English teacher, which hindered her motivation to write. For example, when the teacher presented students with goal sheets that asked for Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, and Timely goals (S.M.A.R.T.), a strategy that MRHS teachers were trained in, Bella's stated goals showed evidence of not understanding the five characteristics of a well-written S.M.A.R.T. goal. One example: "Get the rest of basic ideas and keep firing" (Artifact, final copy, "Winn S.M.A.R.T. Goal"). Within the context of a classroom she was not able to articulate a clear goal, and instead wrote "keep firing," as if effort and persistence alone would somehow, magically, transform her lack of understanding into capable practice. Despite her determination, it was evident that she was not sufficiently taught to understand the parameters of a S.M.A.R.T. goal. Bella also struggled to understand

teachers' comments of her writing. According to Bella, ever since she could remember, her teachers would simply write, "Be more specific" (Interview, May 18, 2017), without any one of them ever sufficiently teaching her what that actually meant within a given piece of writing. Bella struggled with this, saying: "I don't know how I can be more specific. And I think saying 'be more specific' is just another way of...I don't know...I feel like it means something else" (Interview, May 18, 2017). Bella here displayed her lack of cultural capital: She approaches the teacher's comments as if they were a foreign language. The end result was that her lack of academic capital served to marginalize her within the culture of MRHS and her writing classrooms. This lack of academic capital extended to her view on writing assessment, whether in conferences or as summative notes on a finished essay. Bella thinks that teacher comments hijack her paper, turning it into the teacher's voice and not hers. "I want to make it a Bella Winn paper...that my voice is big," she said (Interview, May 18, 2017). Bella, above all, sought approval from her writing teachers, yet still refused to sacrifice her own voice to gain that final approval and struggled to understand comments.

According to Bella, she rarely initiates meetings with teachers for clarification, saying, "I think about it and then I get kind of—it depends on the teacher" (Interview, May 3, 2017). Here, Bella's response suggests the power of social capital in facilitating her motivation to write. She only conferenced twice with the teacher in my observations. After one conference, I asked Bella what Ms. Hunter had said. "She really liked it a lot. I've been in a good mood since. She said this was really interesting, keep going where you are going" (Field Notes, June 6, 2017). In one interview she related how her progress

writing the EXPO related to finally winning approval from Ms. Hunter, revealing her lack of power because of her dependence on teacher approval.

I didn't get approval [from her] all year, and then just for that moment I had it. It was something that automatically shot me forward. And so I felt happy with it the entire time. There's been a lot less self-doubt because of that one thing. I don't know what that means. I'll be interested to see if I get something over a 75, finally, for once, on a paper in that class. (Interview, May 18, 2017)

Bella sought approval on her own terms: She wanted approval to be genuine, asking the teacher to “see her” in her artwork and writing, to recognize her cultural capital and her ability as a writer and artist. To sacrifice her identity to gain the teacher's approval is not something Bella was willing to do.

Isabella “Bella” Winn’s Identity

Identity, and the individual interest associated with it, promoted a feeling of agency and the subsequent motivation to write for Bella. Interest, which for Bella was tied to her identity, was integral in motivating her to write. “Having something that interests me is probably my biggest motivator,” she said (Interview, May 3, 2017). Two areas of special interest to Bella are art and Thomas Jefferson. When asked to select a writing piece where she felt extremely motivated, she recalled a piece that she wrote freshman year in an application for the College of William and Mary National Institute of American History and Democracy (NIAHD) pre-college summer program. The question asked applicants to explain the following: “A person in American history you would like to interview and why” (“William & Mary,” 2017). She chose Thomas Jefferson “automatically” and wrote the essay with the help of her freshman year English teacher

(Interview, May 3, 2017). Here, Bella's motivation to write was fostered by her identity and interest, as well as her reliance on her social capital—her freshman year English teacher—and her cultural capital, her knowledge of Thomas Jefferson. When not interested or not given choice, Bella said, "It's hard to say I get motivated. When I don't have a choice I just keep going, keep plugging forward. I don't know if that's just more of a philosophy for myself" (Interview, May 3, 2017). Outside the context of school, Bella is motivated to write because of her identity as an artist, and her artistic interest in comic books and cartoons. When it comes to ideas for comic books or short films she writes all the time. Outside of school, her identity as an artist is valued and supported by her family, which makes motivating herself to write in that context easy.

In the classroom, Bella identifies differently, as "weird" (Artifact, final copy, "Bella Description"), and it hinders her ability to write. Bella has a self-critical view, one that she attributes to her earlier school experiences and her own personality. Self-doubt and critical self-talk—a lack of self-efficacy and agency—will keep her from writing. The class milieu, she said, contributes to this, as she feels like she is "under a spotlight. I feel like I'm always performing. I have to be an honors student. You have to have an A in your honors class" (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella does not feel as if she fits into the role of an honors student. Her identity and habitus is not valued and she feels "judged" by her current teacher, which blocks her motivation to write. This judgment is perceived through the teacher's words and body language. Her teacher, Bella said, has a way of pronouncing the seemingly affirmative word "okay" so that it presents as critical. "I think her 'ohhhhkaaaay' is a little bit discouraging" (Interview, May 3, 2017). I witnessed this "okay" multiple times in observing the class writing with the teacher holding writing

conferences (Field Notes, May 4, 17, 2017). The “okay” lacks enthusiasm, more of a placeholder, where the teacher takes a moment to consider the constructive advice about to be offered. While perhaps intended to be positive, this type of behavior may be interpreted as sympathy following failure (Graham & Taylor, 2016). The view Bella has of her current English teacher keeps her from being completely motivated while writing in class.

This critical view of herself, reinforced both by years of lackluster teaching and her subsequent perception of the lack of and need for the approval of authority figures, is offset by her identity as an optimistic person, an identity formed outside of a school context, but utilized in school. Bella mentioned “plugging through” difficult writing tasks and “pushing forward no matter what” (Interview, May 3, 2017). This type of motivation seems forced, a substitute for intrinsic motivation. She’s managing her behavior, forcing herself to write, despite how she feels. When asked about the development of this identity, Bella told a story about her father.

My dad’s side of the family is known for having this weirdly strong sense of endurance and stamina, of constantly going, of just picking yourself back up and going. Something that my dad has always, always, always, always made sure that this was just something I knew: Just keep going, cause there’s always something that’s going to be beyond. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

Bella is conflicted: While her family values and supports education, Bella’s lack of symbolic capital in the context of school and an identity that is not always valued at school makes it difficult to continually motivate herself to write.

Bella identified as creative and pointed to this creativity as motivating her to write. Her favorite writing piece of her sophomore year was an assignment that gave students complete choice in subject and genre, but imposed a few parameters. This choice was important for Bella, and once she got writing, she was so caught up in the writing, she couldn't stop:

So I wrote this piece about a tree and living vicariously through this tree that was like in the middle of a valley...and there was this row of trees that were scared of her because she's a different color than the rest of them, they don't want to approach her because they're afraid of her that she's different, but all of the other people come along and view her because she has all of these carvings which gives her the different color. (Interview, May 3, 2017)

The piece, a slight 350 words, called "Analysis of a Sugar Maple," tells the story of an unnamed narrator talking to a lonely tree, isolated from other trees because of the tree's tattoos, carvings from the other people who have visited (Artifact, final copy, "Analysis of a Sugar Maple"). The other trees that surround the tattooed tree don't know how to treat her because of her "uniqueness." I couldn't help but think that this story related to Bella's self-identification as being "weird," which implied that she thinks of herself as an outcast, similar to the tree's depiction. This suggests the lack of symbolic capital and outsider identity Bella feels at MRHS.

Conclusion of Single-Case Analysis

Bella and Penny, whose habitus and identity did not mesh with the context of MRHS, needed to motivate themselves extrinsically for MRHS, and in describing their motivation to write for school used negative terms, both even expressing the fact that

they cried when writing for school. Penny used her sister's academic achievements as motivation to write, and when she struggled to motivate herself, would resort to stimulants. Emotional troubles associated with her private life as well as a series of physical ailments intruded upon her ability to motivate herself in school in general and to write in particular. Bella's emotional need manifested in her desire for validation from her teachers. She felt low self-worth in her honors classes, stating that she needed to perform in front of her peers, enacting a habitus foreign to her. Bella and Penny felt controlled by their environment and as if they were performing, leading to negative emotional responses and a lack of motivation to write, partly because their habitus and identities did not mesh with that of MRHS. As a result they resorted to extrinsic reasons to motivate themselves to write and described this motivation in negative terms.

The habitus of Bella and Penny stood in marked contrast to the habitus of David and Horatio. David and Horatio felt in control of the environment at MRHS and used writing for their own purposes, even when the task was externally imposed, as when a teacher assigned a writing task. David wrote to figure things out, whether those things were his emotions or his viewpoint on an issue such as women's rights. Horatio used his writing to solidify relationships, whether helping a friend solve a problem or strengthening the relationship he had with teachers through the back-and-forth of marginal comments and writing conferences. Both students, David and Horatio, could motivate themselves intrinsically because they felt in control, a byproduct of the easy mesh between their habitus and the habitus of MRHS.

Bella and Penny could be motivated to write in other contexts if their habitus and identity meshed with that of the context, as evidenced by Penny's song writing and

Bella's comic book brainstorming. While Bella and Penny struggled to write in the context of school, they engaged in writing in other contexts, whether in pursuit of their interests or as part of Poetry Soup. Likewise, David and Horatio could struggle to motivate themselves in a certain context. Horatio was motivated to write for grades during his sophomore year, as the relationship he had with his teacher was weaker. David, though he had "figured out" writing by eighth grade, was still unmotivated that year as the tasks did not "speak to" him.

Cross-Case Analysis

In looking across cases, several patterns emerged that suggest the power of context, symbolic capital, and identity in motivating a student to write. First, a student's habitus, and specifically its concordance or discordance within a certain context, profoundly affects his or her motivation to write. Second, motivation to write is informed by a student's identity within a certain context. Third, social and contextual supports can facilitate motivation to write, depending upon a student's identity and habitus. Fourth, a student's perception of autonomy, informed by his or her habitus and identity, promoted a feeling of agency and the motivation to write. And, fifth, students could be motivated to write to explore the complex emotions encountered in the social world and across various contexts. In the following section, I will consider each of these in turn.

Habitus and the Motivation to Write

Cross-case analysis revealed that a student's habitus, and specifically its concordance or discordance within a certain context, profoundly affects his or her motivation to write. Gender and class offered a starting point for considering the student's habitus and symbolic capital. Bella and Penny manifested a lack of valued

symbolic capital in the context of MRHS, an important pattern in considering their motivation to write. Because their habitus was discordant with the school's values, they found it difficult to motivate themselves to write in school. David and Horatio, both males and both upper middle class, manifested a different habitus, one more valued by the milieu of MRHS. In most instances, David and Horatio demonstrated a feeling of agency in how they approached writing and writing situations, prompting their motivation to write. It is as if they understand the hidden rules of the school. They mesh with its message, which mirrors the messages they receive at home. Understanding the history of these students, as represented in the acquired dispositions and the various kinds of symbolic capital they bring to these contexts, helps one understand the underlying motivation to write in this context.

Disparities in habitus from inception of this study. The disparity between the symbolic capital of the boys and girls was evident from the beginning, when I was soliciting students for this study. When I first presented the details of my proposed research to parents of sophomores and juniors, many reached out to me. My winnowing down, using the criteria of GPA and ability to articulate, brought me these four students. When I further reached out to parents about the study and IRB paperwork, Horatio's mother asked that we meet first and that we talk. This meeting lasted an hour. David's parents, while not requesting a meeting, established through numerous emails a set of parameters for David to take part in the study. He was busy, they said, with cross-country, violin lessons, schoolwork, and being class president, and didn't have a lot of time. They also asked for regular updates on the process and to read the finished dissertation (S. Garfield, personal communication, April 18, 2017). In contrast, Penny's

mother signed the IRB paperwork without any communication, Penny handing it to me one morning. Bella's mother did the same, sending me a short email that said Bella was thrilled to be in the study and was "shocked" that her English teacher said she was eloquent (P. Winn, personal communication, April 15, 2017). In comparing these two approaches to my research study, one can see that David and Horatio's parents entered the study with symbolic capital. They were familiar with this high level of research, understood the demands, and from the beginning advocated for their children. One can also see the priorities that David's parents placed on him. They demonstrated agency in this situation, the same type of agency I would see in the way Horatio and David approached writing.

Social capital and its effect on the motivation to write. Social capital is considered relational, a series of networks and relationships characterized by reciprocity, trust, and cooperation (Dekker & Uslander, 2001). Horatio and David were both characterized by teachers as stars and great students who could get things done. In observations, I wrote in my field notes about their attentiveness, focus, and politeness in interactions with teachers and other students (Field Notes, April 25, 26, May 4, 9, 2017). Horatio and David, in responding to teachers' comments whether in class or through written comments on papers, engaged with the teacher in discussions, evident in Horatio's back-and-forth with his teacher and the way David's teachers talked to him in comments, writing things such as "Why/how/where do these traditions originate?" (Artifact, final copy, "David Garfield Draft Expo"). They are in conversations, solidifying the social capital. David and Horatio also had the social capital of their friend networks, who happened to be in the same honors classes. David spoke of researching

and writing to allow himself entry into intellectual conversations with his friends.

Horatio's social capital in the classroom allowed him to easily shift between various tables of students in his classroom. According to school records, Horatio and David were rarely absent, a history that helps solidify teachers' perceptions of them as students dedicated to their schoolwork.

Bella and Penny both considered school, from their earliest memories, in terms of good and bad years. Bella spoke of horrible experiences with teachers, Penny spoke of horrible years of school. These schooling experiences, and the resultant lack of social capital in this context, formed part of their dispositions toward school. They did not have the social capital to move easily from teacher to teacher, getting what they wanted as David and Horatio could. When they felt connected to a teacher it was because they were on the same wavelength, as Bella said about her freshman year English teacher (Interview, May 3, 2017), or in commiseration, as Penny felt during her sophomore year English class, a rowdy class (Interview, May 11, 2017). Penny, in describing this class and this teacher, suggested she felt pity for the teacher as the teacher was so nice. What Penny and Bella both sought from these relationships was validation and support, and they depended on these relationships in a way the boys do not. They are framed by their teachers' opinions and feedback and relationships, whereas the boys can shrug off teachers who don't understand them. Bella actually used the word "validation" (Interview, May 3, 2017), while Penny said that her sophomore year English teacher was good because she "believes in you" (Interview, May 19, 2017). Bella also expressed a similar sentiment when she said that having a teacher believe in you motivates you to write (Interview, May 19, 2017). This lack of social capital for their respective school

years may be why neither Bella nor Penny reached out to the teacher for help. Bella said straightforwardly that she had no desire to find out what “be specific” meant because she was intimidated by the teacher (Interview, May 3, 2017). Neither student consulted with the teacher during writing conferences unless the teacher approached them, which rarely happened.

Economic capital and its effect on the motivation to write. Economic capital encompasses financial worth, but may also lead to the cultural capital associated with money, such as higher education (Bourdieu, 1984). Both David and Horatio came from upper middle class families. This accrual of economic capital facilitated their motivation to write. Neither David nor Horatio worked, but instead could pursue such extracurricular activities as violin (David) and theater (Horatio). Participation in these activities, facilitated by economic security, allowed David and Horatio to further increase their cultural capital, as David enhanced his musical knowledge and Horatio his theater knowledge, both of which may help them succeed in school. In contrast, one of the first things that Bella and Penny both said during interviews was that they felt like outsiders at Mount Rural because they didn’t have much money. Both Bella and Penny worked, requiring time commitments that limited their participation in other activities. Both girls lived with their mothers, and while both fathers were active in the girls’ lives, they both lived a distance away; Penny’s dad lived 40 miles away, Bella’s dad several states away. As a result of this, Bella and Penny lacked economic capital and felt like outsiders at Mount Rural, inhibiting their motivation to write.

Cultural capital and its effect on the motivation to write. Horatio and David had extensive cultural capital valued by MRHS and enhanced by their economic and

social capital. Take, for example, their attendance at Poetry Soup. Not having to work allowed them the freedom of Wednesday nights to indulge in Poetry Soup, earning both academic credit (which would allow them to take other elective courses) and cultural capital, as they were further exposed to an art form that could help them in an academic subject. Both male students had the ability to utilize class time and focus, partly because of their regular school attendance and because doing well in school was part of who they were. David and Horatio both expressed an awareness of this cultural capital. David spoke of the Mount Rural Bubble, a safe place of economic security and the resultant social and cultural capital (Interview, May 5, 2017). Horatio spoke of using writing to help friends, recognizing that his problems were cliché (Interview, May 3, 2017), indicating that he knew he was blessed to have the economic, social, and cultural capital he possessed.

Bella and Penny both valued school, as did their families, but Bella and Penny's cultural capital clashed with that valued by Mount Rural and as a result they never felt fully integrated into the school and motivated to write. Both Bella and Penny spoke of themselves using negative terms. Bella said she was filled with "self-doubt" and "critical self-talk" (Interview, May 3, 2017). Penny was quick to attribute to herself such attributes as "forgetful" and "indecisive" (Interview, May 11, 2017). Both identified as not good in school, thereby demonstrating that they weren't valued in that context. Bella called herself a "sucky writer" (Interview, May 3, 2017) while Penny said she was "not that good at school" (Interview, May 11, 2017). To combat these feelings and "collective history" (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 9), both students spoke of the ability to persevere and plug through school. This ability has positive outcomes, as the student completes a goal, but

comes with negative emotional overtones, such as spite or anger. Consider the girls' reasons for signing up for honors classes: Bella signed up for a chance to grow; Penny did better in non-honors classes, as indicated by her class grades, but still felt pushed to enroll in honors classes to compete with her sister Haley. Often, they felt overwhelmed by the work or the class, but persevered. This lack of cultural capital mesh could also be seen in more minute things. Penny "hated" Star Wars, and therefore hated the *Star Wars* writing assignment, an assignment predicated on knowledge of a cultural touchstone, particularly one that was valued by that teacher. Penny knew *Star Wars*, but she didn't value it as the teacher did, leading to the discordance between her cultural capital and the teacher's and the subsequent lack of motivation to write.

The mesh between habitus and the context of MRHS. David and Horatio have been empowered to be motivated to write and be successful at MRHS because of their symbolic capital and the mesh between their symbolic capital and the values of the school. One example of this is their control of deadlines. Though a deadline is imposed by an outside force, David and Horatio were able to take control of it. David began writing early so that he had control of his time and kept himself stress free. Horatio procrastinated, waiting until the day before an essay was due, allowing himself what he called "an infinite space of time" to work (Interview, May 3, 2017). The same agency was exhibited in how they treated teachers' responses to their writing. Horatio, through his writing, goaded his junior teacher into being attentive in her responses by his writing of sentences that suggested an ongoing conversation. His sophomore teacher, he felt, didn't pay attention to his writing and he dismissed her comments by saying that his paper contained what the teacher was criticizing, she just hadn't been paying close

enough attention (Interview, May 3, 2017). David controlled the way he used teacher's responses by essentially ignoring them, unless he felt the weight of the grade necessitated a rewrite. Both felt confident that their grades would be high, in the A range. Even during classroom interactions, when the feedback was verbal, David and Horatio controlled the situation. Horatio sought his teacher out often, the most of anyone in the class. David, on the other hand, stayed seated, and let the teacher come to him. A sense of agency was also evident in how they identified. Both David and Horatio spoke of being responsible students and wanting to do well as an expectation—unstated by both sets of parents, but felt by both students—of their family. David had risen to the point academically where he could use writing to figure out his belief system or to free himself from existential ennui or to develop voice. This suggests his control of writing situations. Horatio mentioned his two mindsets, logical and creative, and his ability to adopt the correct mindset for the specific writing project. These data suggest that David and Horatio, because of their store of economic, social, and cultural capital, easily motivate themselves and engage in writing. This habitus promotes the motivation to write, as the two students felt confident, almost entitled.

Bella and Penny, on the other hand, exhibited a different habitus, informed by their symbolic capital, which would influence their motivation to write. Bella and Penny lacked the capital to easily integrate into the norms of MRHS, leading to a lack of motivation to write because of a lack of agency. One of the first things Bella stated during her interview was that she felt different from other students at MRHS, stating that she wasn't necessarily poor, but wasn't rich either. Both of Bella's parents do have college degrees, but the separation of Bella from her dad, who lives several states away,

hindered her access to him, and Bella's mom is currently a masseuse. Penny's parents both have working-class jobs—landscaper and tattoo artist/waitress—and her mother was unemployed during this research process. Unlike the boys, both girls work: at the time of this research, Bella worked at an art gallery, and Penny worked with her mother as a waitress. Both families rented apartments in multi-family homes. This lack of economic capital may be why Bella, at the end of our first interview, said she was grateful to be at MRHS (Interview, May 3, 2017).

It is this lack of symbolic capital that leads both Penny and Bella to the negative emotions they associate with writing and a lack of agency and thus motivation to write in the context of MRHS. Both students mentioned that they cried during writing. This emotional output suggests fear, pain, perhaps even anger when they had to write. Neither student expected to receive good grades on their major writing assignments. It seemed to them as if grades were out of their control. Neither felt in control of deadlines, and Penny often missed her deadlines. When pressed against a deadline, Penny would stimulate herself by using energy drinks and invoking a “zombie state,” only desiring to finish. Bella used a gritty mentality, adopted from her mother's words and her father's stories, to get through the writing. In the same way, Penny mentioned “plugging through” her assignments simply to finish. “Just finishing” or “plugging through” suggests that Bella and Penny feel a lack of agency in writing situations, their motivation stemming from enduring something painful and not from a feeling of empowerment. When they could choose a topic, and choose a topic that interested them, they still felt the same lack of agency. Bella spoke of her teacher's comments as trying to hijack her own voice. Penny spoke of a generalized lack of academic motivation, which extended to writing. Even

when feeling agency in a class, as Penny felt sophomore year and Bella felt freshman year, the empowerment derived from relationships, and not academic success. Bella and Penny sought validation and approval from teachers. Penny mentioned volunteering to read her writing so that the teacher would like her; Bella sought validation from her sophomore teacher. A contrast is clear in the different mindsets adopted by Horatio and Bella: Horatio, as mentioned, felt he had both a creative and logical mindset, and could manipulate his mindset for a specific assignment or class; Bella, on the other hand, stated frankly that she wasn't a logical person and would attribute this lack of a logical side for not doing well on certain assignments. Horatio felt empowered; Bella did not.

However, outside of school, Penny and Bella were motivated to write when the writing meshed with their identity, suggesting that their identity did not fit into the school's culture and values. Penny and Bella both said that they were quite motivated to write outside of school if it was songwriting or graphic novel/comic book ideas, respectively. The only time Penny expressed excitement about a writing assignment was when the teacher allowed her to write a song. Bella spoke not of writing, but of her sophomore English teacher's display of her artwork as empowering. Bella and Penny, both female students from working-class homes, were alienated at MRHS, an alienation that has distanced them from the writing motivation characteristic of Horatio and David.

Motivation as Dependent on Identity Within Context

It also became clear during my analysis that motivation to write was informed by a student's identity within a certain context. Students experienced the motivation to write in various contexts, but were inhibited in other contexts. If a student felt that an assignment meshed with their identity they were motivated to write, but if an assignment

conflicted with their identity they would force themselves to write, ceding control because of the expectations of various ecological contexts. Important in this consideration is the power of symbolic capital to inform a student's identity.

Past writing experiences shape a school identity. All four case study students aggregated their past writing performances, giving them a current identification as a writer, suggesting the powerful legacy of microsystemic encounters across contexts and time periods, the chronosystem. Bella self-described as a “sucky” writer, citing past assessment of teachers. This identification led to a lack of control over her writing and purpose in school contexts. In seventh grade “something clicked” for David, giving him the self-efficacy he now experienced as a writer. David, knowing that he would get the grade, could control how he used writing. Horatio, while experiencing some negative history with writing, found himself able to separate himself from these negative experiences, constructing a broader view of himself, so when he wrote now he wrote to the best of his ability, not shirking because “that’s not who I am.” Penny, in speaking of her history with school, said she had good years and bad years. In the chronosystem of school experiences, David and Horatio had experienced past successes as writers, equating to ample academic capital, which translated into feelings of self-efficacy and control, informing their identities. Bella and Penny had more negative experiences in school contexts, identifying now as “sucky” and “not good at school,” respectively, and feeling, in the context, a loss of control.

Identity shifts across contexts, affecting the motivation to write. The way students identified in different contexts informed their perception of their motivation to write. For example, Penny couldn't shake the lingering influence of her sister Haley's

academic accomplishments. Here one sees the power of conflicting mesosystems: Penny developed an identity at home, an identity that trailed her to school. Penny felt paralyzed when she tried to write, believing that her writing, and the subsequent grades, would never equate to that of her sister's. David supplies another example of identity across mesosystems. David identified as a political liberal and was motivated to research and work through his ideas in writing to verbally spar with his classmates—many of whom David identified as conservatives. David enjoyed the emotional aspects of relating to his friends when, through his research for writing, he would be as well-equipped intellectually as they were, an example of the importance of peer-to-peer relationships and the resultant social capital on informing the motivation to write. Here, one also sees the influence of the macrosystem, the United States political environment, on David's motivation to research and eventually write. Horatio's creative mindset, evident in and enhanced by his acting, improv, and writing, was something he consciously sought to use to motivate himself to write, utilizing skills he believed he had from other contexts. Horatio utilized his relationships with peers outside of the classroom to change his perception of his mindset, to motivate himself to partake in an activity associated with another microsystem. Bella identified as an artist, lacking a logical side, a reason for doing poorly on writing assignments. Though valued in other classes, Bella's identity was not valued in the English classroom, so she could excuse her inability to do well, which she marked with grades.

Context develops identity and the motivation to write. Three of the four students identified as regular attendees to Poetry Soup, a context that would motivate them to write because the context—the teacher, the other students, the poets, the

atmosphere—embraced their identities. David and Horatio said they felt like they belonged. This sense of “belonging” is a source of motivation affected by identity that also promotes a sense of relatedness and intrinsic motivation (Master, Cheryan, & Meltzoff, 2016). Poetry Soup is part of a larger community context, as the monthly event is held in a local bookstore, and needs this community support, indicative of the larger cultural values shared by the community of Mount Rural, a city with two independent bookstores. All three students who attended Poetry Soup—Penny, Horatio, and David—spoke of themselves as attendees at Poetry Soup, which implied a set of cultural assumptions: They were literary, they were poets, they enjoyed poetry.

Identity of future selves and the motivation to write. All four case study students pointed to their future selves as motivating them to write. David, still vague about his future, just didn’t want to “screw it up” and saw each writing piece and his hard work as part of his success as a student (Interview, May 5, 2017). He also felt, he said, a responsibility to his parents, which gave purpose to his writing. Horatio, dedicated to becoming an actor, found writing a part of the creative process of acting, and even admitted that someday he wouldn’t mind writing a screenplay as “a fallback” (Interview, May 22, 2017). Penny, who saw a future as a musician, wanted to become competent at writing songs and felt a motivational exigency when allowed to write songs. Even Bella was prompted to write when she had comic book, cartoon, or movie ideas, hearkening to her future desired profession as a cartoonist. All students had identified as something and their projection of this identity into their futures motivated them to write. This gave meaning to their life, but also to their current academics, of which writing played a part. This was also a reward they saw for themselves in the future: a meaningful career, a

happy life. In these cases, the students felt empowered by their cultural capital, and the future context seemed possible because of this empowerment.

Interest as aspect of identity. Student interests influenced identity and motivated them to write across contexts, and oftentimes were first initiated in a certain context or activity. David had a fondness for writing about social justice issues, generally about individual freedoms, and felt purposeful when allowed to write about these issues, as he was trying to figure out what he believed (Artifacts, final copies, “David Garfield Capital Punishment,” “David Garfield Final Draft Expo”). This interest was prompted by activities presented at school and Poetry Soup. David also had an interest in poetry, and would write and watch poetry. Writing poetry gave purpose to his life, as he used it to get out of the “loops” he found himself in. Bella had two well-developed individual interests: art and history. Bella could use these interests to seek rewards, as she did when she drew artistic representations of book characters as part of a small writing project in English class, getting the reward of her teacher’s validation; or, as she did when she wrote about Thomas Jefferson for her NIHAD essay, the reward being her acceptance to the program. Penny’s musical interests triggered the only time she was truly motivated to write, when her band would write songs together or when given the option of writing songs for an academic assignment. Horatio’s interest in acting influenced his motivation to write. Given control of the topic choice for his JARP, he wrote about blacklisted actors. If an assignment meshed with a student’s interests, an aspect of their identity, they could motivate themselves to write.

Academic identity and the motivation to write. How students identified in school, and what identities were imposed on them by school, affected their motivation to

write. Bella, who had chosen to take sophomore literature honors based on her teacher's promotion from college prep, felt intimidated by the other class members. She spoke of listening to them in class discussions and feeling that she didn't measure up. She also spoke of being "under a spotlight. I feel like I'm always performing. I have to be an honors student. You have to have an A in your honors class" (Interview, May 3, 2017). In this context, Bella struggled. Here, one also sees the prompting of a decision based on a relationship and the subsequent aftereffects of that decision. Penny, while not stating that she felt uncomfortable in class, did better academically in college prep classes as indicated by an analysis of her grades. In contrast, David and Horatio, both also honors students, enjoyed the easy camaraderie they felt in class and both were A students. Horatio easily switched among various seats in class, engaging in conversations with many students in the class (Field Notes, April 24, 26, 28, 2017).

Identity-mesh in a school context. The more privileged students, David and Horatio, experienced an easy mesh between their identities and the demands of school writing. The less privileged students, Bella and Penny, needed to find that identity in alternative ways, as their backgrounds conflicted with the school habitus. Examples of this abound in the view of grades, use of deadlines, and feeling out of place in honors classes. In addition, even seemingly positive attributes took on a negative tone in a school context for Bella and Penny. Take, for example, Bella's identification as an optimist, which can be called a mood or positive affective state and can influence cognitive processes (Pekrun, 2016). Bella identified several times as being optimistic and having a gritty mindset, which helped her to stay motivated to complete writing assignments. Penny, while not using the same language as Bella, spoke about "plugging through"

writing, which suggests the same type of grittiness. Neither boy spoke of this type of behavior. Both Horatio and David spoke about getting writing done, but their descriptions were couched in positive tones. This suggests that the girls had embraced this idea of grittiness from elsewhere. Bella articulated that her grittiness was a manifestation of a familial value, learned from that microsystem and part of the habitus of her social class. Bella lacked control of the situation and merely tried to get through it. Though she identified this grittiness as associated with optimism, her optimism was not focused on the possibility of achieving a high grade, but rather that she would simply finish. David and Horatio, whose identities formed from the accumulation of positive emotional artifacts, found success in school, breeding further success and the motivation to write.

Identity and assessment. The assertion of the importance of identity and its role in the process of writing motivation was evident in student perception of assessments. Bella and Penny, who both identified as not good at school, formed this opinion in response to grades they had received throughout their years of school. Penny and Bella had complicated feelings about grades, suggesting a pattern of gender-based achievement at MRHS and the subsequent identity as a certain type of student. David, on the other hand, said he got the grade he expected and, on revisions, would follow the teacher's prescriptive advice, which was minimal. David's sense of self-efficacy was reinforced by positive responses to his paper, whereas Bella's was hindered, prompting her to say that she didn't even understand what some comments mean. Bella, though confused, would not seek out the teacher's clarification. The junior students, Horatio and Penny, also had a complicated view of teacher response. Horatio enjoyed the back-and-forth between the teacher's comments and his revisions, sometimes writing a response to the teacher's

comments even if she was not seeing it again. Many of these comments and back-and-forth had elements of humor, as well, promoting Horatio's identity. Horatio's relationship with his teacher, his social capital, allowed him to try to understand the teacher's critique and rewrite. Penny tried to develop her identity through grades, to climb out from under Haley's shadow, but often fell short. She didn't look at comments as helping her develop as a writer, but merely as a reinforcement of who she was as a student.

Social and Contextual Supports to Facilitate the Motivation to Write

Social and contextual supports can facilitate the motivation to write, depending upon a student's identity and habitus. Numerous social and contextual supports facilitated motivation to write for the case study students at MRHS. These social and contextual supports, however, were dependent on a student's identity and habitus.

Relationships with teachers as social support. One social support that students consistently relied upon was the relationships they had formed with teachers, both past and present. Three of the four case study students spoke about positive relationships with teachers as motivating them to write. This positivity was described with the following attributes: being on the same "wavelength," caring, or sharing humor. Horatio, in talking about his early experiences with writing teachers, called this "kind help," or referred to his relationship with his freshman and junior English teachers, specifically referencing the use of humor, as motivating him to write (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella felt so connected to her freshman English teacher—"we're on the same wavelength"—that, whenever she needed writing help, she would return to her (Interview, May 3, 2017). She also strove to build emotional bonds to facilitate her motivation to write. The first time she was told by her sophomore teacher that she was doing something right she was

“happy all day” (Interview, May 19, 2017). Penny, in describing two of her favorite writing pieces, spoke glowingly about the kindness and caring of her sophomore English teacher. She said, “I was able to make a strong, a stronger relationship with Ms. Jolie than I have with any other teacher so maybe that helped” (Interview, May 11, 2017).

Descriptions by students about their relationships with teachers suggest the power of relationships in motivating students to write.

Writing conferences as contextual and social support. Writing conferences were built into the format of each class. During writing conferences, teachers communicated writing advice and built relationships that facilitated writing. Students often didn’t have the strategies to figure something out in writing—how to start, the right word—and could become frustrated. Having a teacher to turn to allowed them to figure it out. In observations of these conferences, time and again a student would turn to the teacher for help. If a student was stuck on something, the writing teacher helped to solve the problem, prompting the re-engagement with the task, a manifestation of the motivation to write. Sometimes this strategy was a sentence starter, sometimes a push to write longer, sometimes help finding the right word, but each strategy kept the writer writing. In these cases, students were working within a zone of proximal development, easily able to reach out to a learned other. It was also during these conferences that teachers built relationships, such as when Horatio’s teacher made jokes, using this humor to connect to Horatio.

Teacher identity and the motivation to write. A teacher’s identity influenced class atmosphere and a student needed to adapt to that atmosphere to be motivated to write. Class atmosphere motivated students to write, although the findings were

complicated and motivation was predicated on a teacher's identity. Though the junior teacher's students seemed to have more fun, and they said they were motivated by her behaviors and the class atmosphere, in my observations the sophomore teacher's students stayed just as on-task, an outward sign of engagement, an action associated with motivation. To follow up on this line of inquiry, and trying to confirm Atwell's (1998) belief that if a teacher identifies as a writer they teach writing differently, I asked the teachers how they perceive themselves: "as a writer who teaches writing, or a lover of books who teaches writing?" The junior teacher quickly said, "Writer" (K. Monte, personal communication, June 6, 2017). The sophomore teacher said, "A lover of books" (M. Hunter, personal communication, June 6, 2017). Here is an example of co-adaptation, as the teachers adapted to a cultural and school expectation that "you will teach writing." In this case, one can also witness the interaction of the individual, microsystem, mesosystem, and macrosystem, as a teacher has taken on the duty of teaching a skill because of the cultural expectations that writing is important.

Atmosphere as contextual support to promote the motivation to write.

Having students writing together encouraged a "tribal" feeling (Cozolino, 2013, p. 239) within the class, in which a leader, in this case the teacher, directs energy and enthusiasm to a task. Such an atmosphere may promote positive moods, facilitating self and task (Pekrun, 2016). On one hand, Horatio and Penny pointed this out as facilitating their motivation to write. On the other hand, David was unaffected by the classroom atmosphere and Bella felt negatively toward the classroom environment, prompting her to suggest that she writes better at home. But the assertions of David and Bella were complicated. David was hyper-focused in class, supported by the teacher's classroom

demeanor, and Bella's word count produced at home and at school negated her proclamation that she worked better at home. Despite the two different class atmospheres, and the disparity in perception, all four students were motivated to write in class.

The atmosphere of Poetry Soup also offered a social and contextual support that motivated students to write. All three attendees were first motivated to attend because of another student—a friend suggesting they attend, or to follow up on a romantic crush. Poetry Soup offered a fun and accepting atmosphere, where students could vent their emotions in poetry, where “what happens in Poetry Soup stays in Poetry Soup,” as the supervising teacher told me (D. Bazos, personal communication, June 15, 2017). The relationships formed at Poetry Soup among the guest speakers, the teacher, and the other students, offered an environment of social acceptance. Both David and Penny attributed their subsequent attendance to first seeing a guest poet who inspired them. David said, “I didn't think poetry could be like that” (Interview, May 5, 2017). “Like that,” he said, was in contrast to the poets he read in school. Here one sees that an activity, the reading of poetry, can be motivating in another context, with a different person, or with another choice of poetic genre.

Family as support to promote the motivation to write. An important context that supported the motivation to write was family, whether the student came from an intact family or a divorced family, a working-class family or a middle-upper class family. The beliefs that families held about education could promote the motivation to write, helping to mitigate the lingering effects of a lack of cultural capital or the discordance between a student and the context of school. Bella's mom wrote with her, in a cognitive apprenticeship, and would also motivate Bella by telling her that they'd get through the

writing together. Bella also described her father's perseverance through difficulty as helping her persevere when writing became difficult. Penny's mom paid her older sister, Haley, to type out her JARP as Penny was unable to. Penny tried to adhere to a family legacy of academic successes. David spoke about his parental expectations, parents who "wanted him to do well in school...[and] I wanted to show them I was responsible" (Interview, May 5, 2017). Horatio's parents "expected" him to do well, even though they didn't push it. Some of Horatio's and David's expectations may be attributed to their parents' professional successes.

Social supports as context-dependent. Social supports were dependent on context. Both Penny and Bella spoke about the struggles they had to connect to teachers emotionally, which stifled their motivation to write. Penny spoke about reading her writing pieces to her seventh-grade class so the teacher would continue to like her. Bella needed the emotional support of teachers, their "validation" to write. Neither one of these ideas—of performing so that someone likes you and of validation—suggests a close emotional bond, but rather a struggle to find a place within a certain context. In contrast, when David and Horatio did not feel that they connected with a teacher, they attributed it to an intellectual misunderstanding and dismissed it. This suggests that David and Horatio have a feeling of agency across contexts, whereas Bella and Penny struggle to find agency, eliciting it through emotional bonds.

Perception of Agency, Autonomy, and the Motivation to Write

If a student felt autonomy, promoted by a feeling of agency, he or she would be motivated to write. Perception is the key here, as in many instances students didn't actually possess autonomy, as they were subject to the rules and stipulations of the

environment and the activity as well as the implications of their acquired habitus; however, when habitus and identity meshed with the context, students felt agency, which promoted autonomy and thus the motivation to write.

Student choice and motivation to write. Overwhelmingly, choice was an important factor in motivating students to write, whether the piece was academic (an essay) or creative (a poem, a short story, etc.). Autonomy also allowed students to reinforce an identity or indulge an interest, motivating them to write. However, choice was not unlimited, as school assignments came with parameters that students would have to adhere to. Tailoring assignments could promote a feeling of autonomy, which promoted agency and the motivation to write. When asked to recall a school-assigned writing piece they were most motivated to write, all four students detailed a piece in which they were given at least some choice of subject. The same was true of the major assessments, the Expo and JARP, where all students expressed a motivation to write because they could choose their topic—whether it was Penny’s Expo on cults, or Horatio’s JARP on the Hollywood blacklist. In only one case did the student suddenly lose the motivation to write something freely chosen; Penny attributed her general lack of motivation as hindering her ability to write the JARP, though when she first started she said that being able to choose the subject motivated her to write. Having choice of topic on both the JARP and Expo projects is an example of a localized interest process, as both assignments are specific to MRHS and part of the microsystem. In most of these cases, the ecological context is of utmost importance, as this context supported the student’s motivation by encouraging autonomy. The opposite, giving students no choice, could

hinder motivation to write. Without choice, students struggled to identify with an assignment, to feel in control and powerful, and to motivate themselves to write.

Student interest and motivation to write. Here, a distinction should be made between choice and interest. A student may feel agency because he or she is given a choice: An assignment is made but he or she is then free to choose the subject. Interest, on the other hand, is “a psychological state of engaging or the predisposition to reengage with particular classes of objects, events, or ideas over time” (Hidi & Renninger, 2006, p. 112). In the case of interest, a student’s agency promoted a feeling of autonomy and the motivation to write. Bella’s situational interest for Thomas Jefferson turned into a sustained individual interest, which in turn she used independently to motivate herself to write. Bella was also able to use her sustained individual interest in art to motivate her to write, as with her Expo topic. With David Garfield, the individual interest was more abstract, social justice. Penny, interested in music and songwriting, was easily motivated to write if allowed to pursue this interest, which meshed with her identity as a musician. Horatio chose his topics based on his interest, such as the JARP, an interest embedded in his identity as an actor. A student’s feeling of agency allowed him or her to select topics that meshed with interests and prior knowledge, promoting the motivation to write.

Meaning-making assignments, autonomy, and motivation to write. Autonomy has been defined as realizing authentic and direction-giving values, goals, and interests, or searching for meaning (Assor, 2013). If students perceived themselves as autonomous, they used writing as a meaning-making activity, empowering themselves and promoting the motivation to write. There was an interesting contrast in this quest for an inner compass between the girls and the boys in this study, hinting at the role that habitus plays

in promoting autonomy, agency, and the motivation to write. The girls in this study struggled for autonomy, which could cripple their motivation in school because they felt no agency, and they spoke of simply finishing writing. In contrast, David and Horatio could use writing to seek meaning—David using writing to figure out his “loops,” Horatio using writing to help friends with their emotional problems. Both boys felt personal agency and rarely struggled to motivate themselves to write.

Contextual constraints and their effect on autonomy, agency, and motivation to write. Grades and deadlines were two particular contextual constraints that revealed the complexity of a student’s perception of autonomy and agency, and its subsequent effect on motivation to write. Three of the four case study students—Horatio, Bella, Penny—mentioned grades as an important motivation to write, and even David allowed that the weight of the Expo paper prompted him to revise. Penny and Bella felt controlled by grades, happy to merely pass, whereas David and Horatio expected good grades. Penny said the first thing she did when getting a paper back was to “Look at the grade!” (Interview, May 19, 2017). All four students also included college in their future, leading to the conclusion that grades mattered to these students on a macro level as well, as students sought a future goal—college—that required good grades.

Deadlines were a contextual constraint that students could manipulate to manage their motivation. All four students identified a certain way in regards to deadlines: Three dubbed themselves procrastinators, one did the opposite. For Horatio, Bella, and Penny, this meant procrastinating until the assignment was due the following day. Using this allowed Horatio to find his “infinite space of time,” which helped him to focus and promoted his motivation to write. Bella and Penny would use this procrastination, and the

looming deadline, to force them to get what Anne Lamott (1994) called a “shitty first draft” (p. 21) done. In doing this, all three felt emotional satisfaction that something was done, but Horatio described the experience as if he controlled it. David also demonstrated the same type of agency as Horatio in regards to deadlines. To promote his sense of agency, he chose to write a draft immediately, allowing himself to control how his time was spent, which helped him eliminate the emotions like stress and anxiety associated with procrastination.

Students in this study would use deadlines to force themselves into the flow state, what I call *forced flow*. Flow, defined, is “the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 4), and is typically defined as a pleasurable experience. In this study, Bella and Penny invoked the flow state to finish an assignment and generally described it in negative terms. Penny called it a “zombie state.” Bella, likewise, described the flow state as “plugging through,” and when describing an academic piece for school utilized negative language. Both students’ physiology also suggested the negativity associated with this, with both saying that they cried before writing. Horatio and David also spoke about the flow state, but described it as enjoyable, demonstrating the power they possessed over their own experiences. A notable exception to these feelings associated with the flow state was in creative writing—all four students described the flow state as pleasurable when partaking in creative writing.

Emotions and the Motivation to Write

Students utilized a cultural tool—writing—to deal with the complex psychological and social world they inhabited. The complex emotions they encountered

occurred as part of the social and contextual landscape where they existed and the motivation to write was prompted by what I call an *emotional overflow*, which I define as when a student's emotions—both positive and negative—instigate the motivation to write.

Writing as an emotional outlet. Horatio, David, Bella, and Penny all said that sometimes, overflowing with emotion, they write—free verse poems to friends, poems about the rain, songs. This writing occurred outside of school, either at home, at Poetry Soup, or with bandmates. Horatio would try to help others' emotional states by writing about them, thereby solidifying his own relationships, resulting in positive emotions. Penny channeled her emotional state into her songs. Though the songs could often be dark, in writing the songs Penny felt connected to her bandmates. Bella, feeling emotional, would sit down and write poetry, usually about the rain (Interview, May 3, 2017). When David felt stressed from emotional issues, he found himself motivated to write to soothe himself, a way of using writing to promote positive emotions.

Three of the four case study students said that they wrote to relieve themselves of the feeling of boredom, whether generalized boredom (Bella and Horatio) or existential boredom (David). Boredom is contextual: Students felt bored when they had nothing to do in a specific context. Horatio said, "When I got home one day my laptop was sitting there and I had nothing else to do so I opened it and just started writing" (Interview, May 3, 2017). Bella, in one of the few times she was motivated to write, said "once in a blue moon" she would write if she felt bored (Interview, May 3, 2017). "Boredom," wrote Pekrun (2016) is a "deactivating emotion...typically characterized by physiological activation...[and] assumed to reduce both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation" (p. 130).

Contrary to this, three of the four case study students in this research found that boredom promoted the motivation to write.

Writing to combat the stress and anxiety of the school context. All four students mentioned stress and anxiety when they received a writing task, and would be motivated to write and finish to relieve this stress and anxiety. Consider how the girls treated a school writing assignment: Both girls said that when given a writing assignment for school that one of the first things they do is cry. This physiological response suggests the power that the school context, and the activity of writing associated with it, had over the girls. Penny, when describing her will to write academically, used emotional words like “sad” and “hate.” Bella and Penny felt completely out of control and wrote just to get it done. Horatio also procrastinated, but, in contrast to the girls, he procrastinated out of a feeling of agency. Horatio felt himself a good writer, and only needed to eliminate distractions to write well. Likewise David, who also controlled his use of deadlines, and did not procrastinate writing assignments because it added stress to his life.

Writing as exploration of self and others. Students were motivated to write if they could write empathetically, which occurred because of a specific context: an assignment for a class and the time in which to write. In writing empathetically, students could explore their own identities and habitus. For Horatio, it was trying to help his friends out by writing poetry or his “Shots Without Sound” story (Artifact, final copy, “Shots Without Sound”). Bella described, in writing “Analysis of a Sugar Maple,” how she felt like the tree, which had been anthropomorphized. In writing this paper, Bella detailed the outsider status of the tree, in a way exploring her own outsider status, a student who was “not as rich” as others and identified as “weird.” Penny’s

Transcendentalism song, the one she was very motivated to write, got into the skin of Christopher McCandless, the subject of Jon Krakauer's *Into the Wild* (1996), while explaining how McCandless's actions exemplified Transcendental beliefs. In these examples, when detailing the writing itself, students described a state of flow, which suggests that flow has empathic properties.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the five main findings regarding habitus and identity across contexts and their impact upon a student's motivation to write, specifically the recursive interactions among habitus, identity, agency, relationships, and emotions.

A student's habitus profoundly affected his or her motivation to write. David and Horatio, whose habitus meshed with that of MRHS, rarely struggled to write. This easy mesh between habitus left both boys with a feeling of agency in school and the resultant autonomy. If they struggled to write in school, they equated this struggle with a teacher's fault or assignments that didn't speak to them, and brushed it off. Penny and Bella, whose habitus conflicted with that of the school's, struggled to motivate themselves to write for school assignments, relying on strong relationships with teachers and friends to supply the motivation to write. Beyond school and in contexts that recognized their symbolic capital, Penny and Bella were motivated to write. It was in these contexts that they felt a sense of agency, positive emotions, and the will to write.

The way a student identified shifted across contexts, and could either facilitate or hinder a student's motivation to write. Penny offers a prime example. When her teacher, Ms. Monte, allowed Penny to write a song with her bandmates as an assessment, she was easily motivated to write for the school context despite her describing that year as one of

her worst and saying she was generally not motivated to do anything. Ms. Monte had recognized Penny's capital and identity, leading to a motivated writer. The same experience occurred with the other three students: If their identity was recognized in a certain context they were motivated to write. A student's identity in a certain context could also cripple his or her motivation to write, as occurred with Bella in her sophomore English class or when Horatio's sophomore English teacher didn't recognize his identity. When a context—the teacher, the other students, and the task—recognized a student's identity and supported that identity, the student felt a sense of agency and positive emotions, and was motivated to write.

Chapter V: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study identified five factors that motivated a student to write. First, a student's habitus, and specifically its concordance or discordance within a certain context, profoundly affects his or her motivation to write. Second, motivation to write is informed by a student's identity within a certain context. Third, social and contextual supports can facilitate motivation to write, depending upon a student's identity and habitus. Fourth, a student's perception of autonomy, informed by his or her habitus and identity and promoted by a feeling of agency, could motivate a student to write. Fifth, students could be motivated to write to explore the complex emotions encountered in the social world and across various contexts. These findings can help deepen our understanding of the writing experiences of high school students and can inform the design and implementation of writing instruction and assessment practices. These findings offer insight into the role of a student's past, particularly their acquired habitus and identity, on their motivation to write. Knowledge of a student's habitus and identity, as described here, may assist teachers in developing strategies to motivate a student to write.

Discussion

This investigation revealed several attributes across ecological contexts that motivated a student to write. In the following discussion, I consider the ecological context, habitus, identity, the power of relationships, meaning-making, and autonomy in promoting the motivation to write.

Ecological Context and Motivation to Write

Findings from this analysis suggest that the motivation to write is not static, but rather is fluid and dependent on ecological contexts. The fluidity of contextual motivation was based in part on how well a student's habitus meshed with that of the context's habitus. When a student's habitus did not mesh with that of the habitus of the context, the student's motivation was extrinsic, and was described as a negative emotional experience. When a student's habitus meshed with the context, the motivation to write was more intrinsic and described in positive emotional terms, leading to some initial understanding of how academic motivation is affected by emotions, an area where "evidence is still too scant to warrant firm conclusions" (Pekrun, 2016, p. 120).

Relationships, with both teachers and other students, were an important part of the ecological context that could motivate a student to write. If a student had a strong relationship with his or her teacher, characterized by trust, care, and support, the student could motivate himself or herself to write given any circumstances, partly because he or she knew that the characteristics of the relationship would allow for perceived poorer writing, deadline extensions, and risk support. Important in this consideration is how a cognitive assessment could be overcome by an emotional bond. For example, Penny and Bella both believed, based on past writing experiences, that they would receive Cs on writing assignments; this cognitive assessment did not seem to matter when they had strong relationships with their teachers, as Penny did sophomore year and Bella freshmen year. In describing these years, they related none of the negativity around writing that they associated with other school years.

These findings suggest that relatedness and some autonomy within a specific context can motivate a student to write. In some ways this supports Deci and Ryan's

(2000) concept of self-determination in emphasizing relatedness and autonomy as generating intrinsic motivation; however, it also suggests that a feeling of competence—a key component of the triadic self-determination—is not mandatory if the other two, relatedness and autonomy, are present.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) wrote, “The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives” (p. 21). Horatio, Penny, David, and Bella, in their progress through high school, demonstrated the importance of the ecological system on motivating someone to write. All four students possessed the motivation to write, but it was the ecological context that could manifest that motivation and the subsequent writing or could dampen the motivation and lead to frustration and poor performance.

The chronosystem had a lingering effect on a student’s motivation to write, particularly the way the student experienced school and family contexts as he or she progressed through life. All four case study students easily recalled their most memorable writing experiences from elementary school, middle school, and high school, and all four aggregated those experiences into a view they held of themselves as a writer, which affected their motivation to write. Horatio and David had experienced writing success in school, and as a junior and sophomore, respectively, felt motivated to write in a school context. Bella and Penny, on the other hand, had not experienced the school success of the boys, and when they detailed their chronology of school experiences spoke about the bad years. They felt, they said, like they didn’t fit in in school, a pervasive belief, extending from their family’s financial situation to the way they experienced the

classroom setting. Bella spoke about not fitting into her honors class, and junior year she returned to a college prep track. All four students used family experiences across contexts and time to motivate themselves to write, telling themselves motivating stories adopted from family legends or leaning on their family to help them to complete writing tasks.

The classroom microsystem could motivate a student to write, particularly if the student liked the teacher in the classroom and felt comfortable in relation to other students in that classroom. All four students detailed the behaviors of teachers they felt helped motivate them to write, speaking of the teacher's kindness, sense of humor, and understanding. The writing activities valued in the class could also motivate a student to write. Classrooms that offered defined assignments with broad choice were most motivating, as student's felt empowered. All four students spoke about their motivation to write the EXPO and the JARP, despite the difficulty of these assignments, because of choice.

Other contexts outside of school could motivate a student to write. These contexts were varied. Three of the four case study students attended Poetry Soup, and all three spoke of their motivation to write in that context. These three students spoke about the relationships with other students there, the teacher, and the guest poets as motivating them to write. All four students spoke about writing in their free time: Penny wrote songs, Bella jotted down ideas for comics, David and Horatio both wrote poetry. Penny and Bella, here, were motivated to write as they imagined their writing important for their dreams of their future selves (Master, Cheryan, & Meltzoff, 2016). David and Horatio, in writing poetry outside of school, used writing to explore their emotional lives: Horatio to help friends with problems, David as a means of escape from the loops he felt himself in.

All four students made meaning with their writing, and explored this meaning-making outside of school.

A context that embraced a student's identity could motivate that student to write. The most illustrative example of this idea could be seen in Penny's sudden attitude shift when Ms. Monte adjusted an assignment, which allowed for her to write a song with her band. Suddenly, Penny Lane's body language and facial expressions changed and she detailed her joy in writing that song for class.

Identity and Motivation to Write

The development, preservation, and quest for identity was a key component that stretched across all findings. Findings from this analysis suggest that both explicit and implicit identity is key to understanding a student's motivation to write. By the time they had arrived in high school all four students had formed explicit identities of themselves academically and personally, aggregating their past and projecting their future into *possible selves* (Markus & Nurius, 1986). David and Horatio incorporated their academic interests and successes on writing assessments and tasks into their identity, thereby allowing their motivation to flourish in the context of MRHS. When Bella and Penny did the same—as when Bella's sophomore teacher approved of her artwork or when Penny was allowed to write a song for an assessment—their motivation to write, too, could flourish, suggesting the power of this virtuous cycle.

Though this current study was not designed as a longitudinal study, in examining a student's history of motivation to write it does offer some suggestions for how a student's motivation shifts as he or she progresses through school. For example, identity developed throughout a student's progression through school is informed by what I call

emotional and cognitive artifacts. Students aggregated teacher responses to their writing—both informally in verbal feedback and more formally on assessments—in an emotional and cognitive way, developing their writing identity because of the past, leaving that lingering feeling of their writing experiences as well as a cognitive assessment of performance. In some cases, as with Bella and Penny, the school years were described as good or bad, experiences that shaped their current identity of themselves as students and writers. This identity was projected into the future, as each student had a life goal or future profession, and understood somewhat how writing could fit into that, which motivated them to write. For example, consider Penny’s writing of music, a tangible life goal aligned with her projected future profession, or David’s desire to just “not screw it [his future] up” (Interview, May 5, 2017). Important in this current study is the way that each student developed this conception of self in the specific milieu of Mount Rural. For example, three of the four students had projected selves as some type of artist (musician, actor, cartoonist), which influenced their motivation to write, suggesting the importance of the arts at Mount Rural. Understanding the past, present, and future selves of a student is integral to understanding what motivates that student to write.

In considering identity, one must also consider a student’s implicit identity and its effect on motivation, an area of scant academic research (Master, Cheryan, & Meltzoff, 2016). This current research tried to remedy this by using the theories of Bronfenbrenner and Bourdieu, as both ecological systems theory and habitus are predicated on the implicit, that which resides outside conscious awareness. Bronfenbrenner (1979), in detailing ecological systems, specifically states that some influences on an adolescent are

from ecological contexts unknown to that adolescent. And Bourdieu (1997) stated that a person's habitus "takes place insensibly...and imperceptibly...and passes for the most part unnoticed" (p. 11). David and Horatio, through their aggregate experiences—inside and outside of MRHS—felt empowered in school and used writing to make meaning, which suggests a higher purpose for writing. This current research suggests that this empowerment and higher purpose was in part due to their implicit identities. Penny and Bella, however, spoke about plugging through and struggling in school, detailing the various negative emotional experiences they had with school, expressed in such lines as Bella's "I suck at writing" (Interview, May 3, 2017) or Penny's "I'm not good at school" (Interview, May 11, 2017). This led them to treat in-school writing as an obstacle and not as meaning-making. Though Bella and Penny seemed aware of their identity as "bad at school," this judgment was made in part because of an identity they had internalized through years of negative encounters with schooling. Using Bronfenbrenner and Bourdieu as a theoretical framework allowed for a consideration of implicit identity and its role in the motivation to write, an area where there is little research, as "most of the research [on motivation and identity] focuses on explicit conceptions of the self" (Master, Cheryan, & Meltzoff, 2016, p. 313).

Meaning-Making and Motivation to Write

All four students were motivated to write in various contexts by writing that was characterized as meaning-making, suggesting the power of meaning-making as motivating a student to write (Oldfather, 1993) and confirming Langer's (2001) assertion that high-performing writing teachers engage students in deeper understandings and meaning-making activities. Students in this study described meaning-making differently,

as writing that helped them “figure it out,” as part of a sustained individual interest, as important for their futures, or to solidify relationships with others. In some ways this supports notions of writing motivation as the result of interest (Hidi, 2000), as part of a projected future identity (Oyserman & Desin, 2010), or as making meaning (Oldfather, 1993). This meaning-making could occur within the context of a classroom assignment, as with David and his capital punishment paper, but other times teachers needed to adjust instruction, task, and assessment to capitalize on meaning-making as motivating, as when Penny’s junior teacher allowed her to write a song as an assessment or Horatio’s teacher extended a deadline to allow him the time to continue to figure out his “Shots Without Sound” short story.

This current study also suggests that different contexts can provide meaning-making writing activities and promote the motivation to write. For example, Poetry Soup was utilized by three of the case study students as a place of identity formation, a place where they made meaning through their poetry, and a place that promoted a tribal feeling (Cozolino, 2013), which motivated the students to write. Additionally, this creation of a social group around writing confirms previous research that has suggested this as motivating (Wehmeyer, Shogren, Toste, & Mahal, 2017).

Writing as meaning-making supports the general view of social constructivists that the processes of classroom discourses are motivating in that they are processes of meaning-making (Hiebert, 1994; Nelson & Calfee, 1998). Findings from this current research suggest that meaning-making, which can occur in various contexts or through various tasks, motivates students to write. It also suggests that meaning-making can occur through an individual’s interest, as part of an identity, or in relation to other people.

Relationships and Motivation to Write

Analysis of this research's findings suggest that relationships matter in motivating students to write, confirming earlier studies (Becker & Luthar, 2002; Stipek, 2004), but extending the findings to the motivation to write. Important relationships were those that students had with teachers, peers, and family.

Students were motivated to write when teachers acted as instructional coaches, and students felt they could turn to them for what Horatio called "kind help." This idea of kindness and caring was also evident in the language of Penny and Bella, in speaking of their sophomore and freshmen year teachers respectively. Horatio, Penny, and Bella all spoke about the relationship they had with a teacher, characterized by emotional support, humor, and caring. These relationships allowed for talk and discussions outside of the range of academics (political jokes, tangential conversations, the class's overall behavior), which had the unintended consequence of promoting a student's academic and writing motivation through the increased bond between teacher and student. Having strong relationships with teachers, marked by caring and trust, could overcome the cognitive complexity of a writing task. If students felt cared for and trusted, they would take writing risks, unafraid of failing.

Likewise, connection to other students, whether in the classroom or in a different context such as Poetry Soup, prompted the motivation to write. Though some research has looked at motivation in relation to peer response to writing (Hoogeveen & van Gelderer, 2013) and a general sense of belonging as motivating (Ryan & Patrick, 2001), this current research suggests the importance of context in shaping these relationships and the subsequent motivation to write. For example, Bella and Penny both spoke about the

importance of their friendships in motivating them to write when they were in college prep classes, but the subsequent lack of motivation to write when they were placed in honors classes and outside their general friend network. Poetry Soup was a context that, through the relatedness found there, motivated all three regular attendees to write, even Penny, who admitted that at first she didn't think she would find a sense of relatedness, but did.

All four case study students had the support of family, which motivated them to write in various ways, whether through the extrinsic motivation Penny found or the cognitive apprenticeship offered by Bella's mom. All four families expected their children to do well in school, but David and Horatio had internalized that expectation and it had become part of their identity, which motivated them to write. Bella and Penny, while supported from home, felt an uneasiness in the context of MRHS, and utilized the support from home to motivate them to write, describing the school experience in negative terms. Numerous comprehensive reviews have detailed how parents' involvement in children's learning shape children's motivation (Grolnick, Friendly, & Bellas, 2009; Pomerantz, Kim, & Cheong, 2012). This current research extends this body of knowledge by suggesting the interplay between a family and home in supporting the motivation to write, through family narrative and its implied identity formation, through the development of a transferable mindset, or through a cognitive apprenticeship with a family member.

Agency, Autonomy, and the Motivation to Write

Though oftentimes the tasks and assessments within the context of the classroom had specific parameters, whenever a teacher could promote a sense of agency they also

promoted autonomy and the motivation to write. This supports earlier work that has shown similar results regarding teacher autonomous support related to students' motivation and engagement (Hardre & Reeve, 2003; Jang, Reeve, & Deci, 2010). This sense of autonomy was achieved when tasks were tailored to allow choice or took advantage of a student's interests and symbolic capital. For example, the two major writing assessments at Mount Rural, the Expo and the JARP, had multiple parameters, yet all four students felt motivated to write them because of the ability to choose a topic and, in many cases, pursue an individual interest. In addition, when students spoke about their most motivating piece of writing, they invariably spoke of an assignment in which they were offered choice, as with Horatio's short story, Bella's short story, Penny's song, and David's capital punishment paper. It should be noted that three of these were creative writing endeavors, suggesting the power of creative writing as motivating a student to write. Moreover, in describing the writing of these pieces, all students described the experience of "flow," which in descriptions mimics autonomous behavior. Finally, the motivation to write from a feeling of autonomy is oftentimes associated with a student's habitus, specifically the symbolic capital they possess. For example, Penny felt confident in her knowledge of the conventions of musical composition—she had the symbolic capital—and freely wrote music.

Implications

This study resulted in several implications, particularly those that might be useful for teaching and future research. Teachers need to pay attention to students, offer personalized teaching, and create the conditions (e.g. such as closely adhering to process

writing pedagogy including choice, time, and talk within a community of writers), in which students feel comfortable and can find motivation to write.

Implications for Teaching

Promoting motivation to write in students requires a personalized and local approach and learning and assessment strategies that can move easily between private and public domains, antithetical to the high stakes, state-mandated testing environment of many school systems. All four students in the study remembered practicing essays for the high stakes, standardized tests administered by the state; none spoke of these tests as motivating them—or even teaching them—to write. When asked to recall pieces that motivated them to write, students turned to creative pieces or pieces that allowed them to figure “it” out. This further suggests the power of meaning-making, creativity, and personalized approach in motivating students to write.

Use knowledge of students and personalized learning to improve motivation to write. Motivation to write fluctuates, across contexts, across days, and across years. If a teacher wants to motivate a student to write he or she must create the conditions which will allow for writing motivation. This must first begin with knowing the individual student, which would include the social and cultural context of their lives as well as valuing their homes and their communities. By understanding the student—their habitus, their identity, their culture, even their writing habits—a teacher can tailor both instruction and assessment to promote the motivation to write.

For example, consider Bella’s fluctuating motivation. Bella did not believe herself a good writer, and struggled to motivate herself to write a piece that she wasn’t interested in. Thus, student disengagement with what could be perceived as an uninteresting topic,

could be overcome in several ways. For instance, a teacher could offer choice in assignment topic. When choice was offered, Bella would embrace her interests and was motivated to write. Important here is the teacher valuing Bella's interests, embracing her strengths and cultural capital. If a teacher could not offer choice, he or she could still create favorable conditions for writing motivation, such as when Bella worked with her mother. By proceeding this way, the teacher would emphasize Bella's strengths; in this case, the social capital she has with her mother. While Bella was disengaged, Penny Lane struggled to motivate herself to write and manifested symptoms of depression, such as lack of energy, poor memory, poor school attendance, and self-esteem issues. She reported that she often cried when writing and felt a lack of agency in school. Penny's descriptions of her physical state were a very real element that affected her motivation in general and to write in particular. Teachers should be aware of signs of depression and adjust assignments and assessments accordingly to mitigate this overwhelming force in some students' lives. A teacher who knows his or her students well and can see warning signs such as those exhibited by Bella and Penny could facilitate greater meaningfulness in writing assignments, offer more choice, or find other ways of possibly helping to increase student motivation to write.

Findings suggest that if a teacher wants to motivate a student to write, especially a student who lacks the symbolic capital valued within a certain context, they can access that student's funds of knowledge (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). A funds of knowledge perspective states that "people are competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge" (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, pp. ix-x). By tapping into these funds of knowledge, teachers enhance a student's symbolic

capital and make the writing mesh with a student's identity, both of which lead to motivated writers. To do this, a teacher could tailor instruction and assessment to embrace a student's funds of knowledge. For example, consider Penny's writing of her Transcendentalism song: Penny's teacher, by being flexible in both instruction and assessment, embraced Penny's funds of knowledge and promoted her motivation to write. This was not easy for the teacher, as she needed to adjust her instruction considerably, allowing for students from various classes to work together, but by doing this she had facilitated Penny's motivation to write while at the same time offering Penny a feeling of agency. There was nothing inherently better about what Horatio and David brought to school. Bella and Penny brought many strengths as well. By using students' funds of knowledge, a teacher can recognize, value, and honor what the student brings with them to school. Instruction should consciously embrace varying backgrounds and welcome them, accomplished through the examples used, the assumptions made, the assignments given.

One of the stark contrasts in this study was the disparity between the ways the boys easily motivated themselves to write at MRHS and the way the girls struggled to motivate themselves at MRHS. This was a glaring contrast, suggesting the way the boys' gender and social class were valued at MRHS. In order to motivate a student to write, teachers must be aware of these gender and socio-economic contrasts and embrace the culture attributes of all genders, all classes. Bella and Penny had equally valuable cultural attributes—music, history, art—which weren't as valued as the boys' cultural attributes.

Understanding a student's identity was key to motivating that student to write across contexts, so it would stand to reason that teachers should get to know their

students. A teacher who understands a student's identity, who knows that student, could utilize this knowledge to motivate that student to write. One of the ways to understand a student's identity would be to interview the student, using either face-to-face interviews, which may be too time-consuming for a teacher with 110 or 120 students, or through available survey technology, like Google Sheets or Survey Monkey. This would give teachers a baseline writer's identity to tailor instruction and assessment accordingly. This might start with a question like, "Why write?" Each case study student in this study had a different reason for writing, and this would be a good starting point for understanding a student's motivation to write. Or, instead of a survey, a teacher could begin a school year with an essay that allows students to explain their history with writing and school. To further understand a student's writing identity, one must understand their history with writing, as a student's experiences with writing linger long in memory. Every student in this study easily remembered their experiences with writing, both good and bad.

Likewise, a teacher that understands a student's future identity and how writing could fit within that identity can utilize this knowledge to motivate a student to write. In an ecological system, teachers must bridge the gap between the inner mental world of the individual and the surrounding social environment, which may be bridged through a more comprehensive understanding of a student's identity as a writer. Consider the four case study students: David's self-efficacy for the task; Bella's feeling of inferiority in the honors class; Penny's physical problems inhibiting her work; Horatio's helpfulness. Understanding a student's identity is one way to bridge this gap.

Students used numerous techniques to stay engaged, offering insights into their own ways to focus and the subsequent motivation to write. Teachers who supported these

ways to focus could facilitate the motivation to write. For example, in this study, students used earbuds to listen to music; turned and talked to a tablemate for help figuring out a writing problem; and utilized communication through technology, such as Google Docs, with its ability to write marginal notes or work together (Field Notes, April 26, May 4, June 7, 2017). Likewise, technology, which is playing a larger and larger role in education, could facilitate engagement. Using the Notes App on an iPhone, making marginal comments through Google Docs, and being able to work on multiple paragraphs simply by scrolling through a paper kept students engaged in the writing task. If teachers allowed these strategies, they could facilitate a student's motivation to write.

Use elements of the ecological system to promote motivation to write.

Teachers who want to promote the motivation to write need to (1) utilize other contexts for writing, (2) offer autonomy support, and (3) embrace their relationships with students, three key elements of the ecological system.

Teachers at MRHS could not escape the power of grades and deadlines, with the implied punishment of poor grades, as motivating for students. Grades influenced all four case study students, suggesting the powerful cultural values around grades and grade-based achievement at MRHS. Grades, however, were problematic. Grades disempowered Penny and Bella while empowering the already privileged students Horatio and David. Researchers have shown that extrinsic motivation, such as grades, hinders student motivation in the long run (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Instead of a focus on grades, teachers should promote intrinsic motivation through other means, such as allowing for writing in other contexts. In this study, students pointed to Poetry Soup as a context that motivated them to write. The difficulty here is in bridging the gap between writing in one context

and writing in another. How does one instruct if one isn't even present? How does one assess an assignment that may not have been assigned by the teacher but promoted the objectives of the classroom?

Teachers can also promote intrinsic motivation by allowing for a feeling of agency and the subsequent feeling of autonomy. Students felt agency when assignments were tailored to offer choice or when a student felt a strong relationship with a teacher; this feeling of agency led students to feel as if they had power over their actions, and eventually they felt autonomous and motivated to write.

Finally, teachers need to develop relationships with students to facilitate the motivation to write. All four students attributed some of their motivation to write to the relationships with teachers.

Create opportunities for forced flow to promote motivation to write. Teachers can also, through task assignment and dedicated classroom time, promote what I called in Chapter Four forced flow, a state of both cognitive and emotional engagement linked to intrinsic motivation. Flow is typically defined as a sought after, enjoyable experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). In this research study, students were aware of the power of flow for motivating them to write, and described it in two ways: One, during creative writing; two, by being forced into it because of impending deadlines. If given creative writing, the students described flow as pleasurable. If forced into flow because of an impending deadline, students spoke negatively about getting into flow, but once they were writing or had completed the assignment, spoke about the experience positively. This suggests that teachers, by assigning creative writing, offering choice, implementing deadlines, and providing dedicated classroom time, can create the conditions that force

students into the state of intrinsic motivation known as flow. The more experiences that a student has with this state, the more exposure they have to the positive feeling of writing in flow, the more likely they are to see the intrinsic benefits of writing.

Schools need to look systemically at how they provide the conditions that promote motivation for all students and honor student strengths. David and Horatio's privileged backgrounds advantaged them at MRHS. The strengths of Bella and Penny were not so obvious to the school and teachers, but they were there nonetheless. Institutional barriers that restrict students from being motivated to write need to be removed. Eliminating credit for attendance at Poetry Soup, when some students are restricted from attending because they work or don't have transportation, may be a small step. Further steps could be the elimination of tracking into college prep and honors classes, and reimagining teaching and learning in these classes with differentiated instruction to access all students' strengths.

Implications for Future Research

Several areas of future research are suggested by the findings in this current research. In particular, more research is needed on the role of emotions in motivating a student to write, how focus functions in motivating a student to write, the complications of schooling and gender identity, how motivation to write functions across academic disciplines, and the motivation to write of struggling students.

The role of emotions in motivating a student to write. Emotions and their effect on the motivation to write were a powerful driving force in this study. One element explored in this research was the role of boredom in motivating a student to write. All four case study students said that they would write, unprompted, if feeling bored. Getting

bored by a subject was also a reason to be unmotivated to write. In what ways is boredom a motivator of writing or in what ways does it hinder a student's motivation to write? More research is needed here. Moreover, this ability to be bored may also be a side-effect of this population of students, middle-upper class, suggesting the need for research across demographics.

Episodes of emotional volatility, what I called emotional overflows in Chapter Four, also prompted students to write, whether it was their own emotions, as was the case with David, Penny, and Bella, or whether it was the emotions of a friend, as was the case with Horatio. More research is needed into the triggers of these emotions.

Focus as integral to the motivation to write. Every case study student had a different way to focus, a set of self-management strategies. More research is needed into how students focus their attention on completing a writing task, as focus is a sign of engagement which is a sign of motivation. Does focus always contain a physical component, such as earbuds, fingers, or isolation? Can focus become part of a repertoire of metacognitive strategies?

Gender identities and complications of schooling in general and writing in particular. There was one interesting paradox to these case studies regarding habitus. In considering the two honors classes observed, the number of female students vastly outweighed the number of male students. According to school records, the sophomore class, a class of 25 students, had 16 girls and 9 boys. The junior class, a class of 23 students, had 19 girls and 7 boys. Honors class placement at MRHS is predicated on two things: a grade of B+ or better in the previous class and a teacher's recommendation (Artifact, final copy, "Student Handbook"). This suggests an interesting paradox: Though

female students vastly outnumber male students, the female students of these case studies felt a lack of agency, self-efficacy, and control in the classes, while the opposite was true of the males. The preponderance of female students in an honors class suggests that they do well academically and have teachers' recommendations, yet the two female case studies I investigated exhibited a lack of agency. More research is needed looking into the roots of these feelings despite the apparent academic success.

Writing motivation across various academic disciplines. More research is needed on a student's motivation to write outside of an English classroom, exploring various levels of the ecological systems. A student may be motivated to write for science class, but completely unmotivated in English class. Is this motivation the effect of a teacher relationship? Of a student who identifies as a science/math kid and feels a sense of self-efficacy in these classrooms? Does the student see these classes as more relevant for their future? Much work is needed here, especially from an ecological systems framework, as environments are key components of shaping a person's motivation.

The motivation to write of struggling students. Research is needed on the motivation to write on students who are academically struggling. It's understood that identifying students as such may be stigmatizing, but if approached from a caring perspective, these students could offer some new knowledge in helping a population that, perhaps more than any other, may need the help.

Contribution to Literature

This research attempts to extend the work of the motivation to write literature undertaken by Hidi (2000) on interest, by Pajares (2003) on self-efficacy, by Boscolo & Gelati (2013) on writing to learn and instructional practices, by Graham and Harris

(2009) on self-regulation, and Deci and Ryan (2018) on self-determination. My hope is that by applying the theoretical lenses of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Bourdieu (1997), that this research offers a more robust view of the motivation to write as not context specific or as part of an individual's psychological process, but as an interplay of the individual within certain contexts. This research also suggests the power of a student's habitus in informing his or her motivation to write across contexts.

Conclusion

The understanding of motivation has been hindered by researchers applying a single perspective or paradigm in trying to understand motivation. Equate this to my metaphor of invisible ink. You've written a word in invisible ink and share it with a friend. She haphazardly applies the chemical pen that will reveal the hidden word. Two or three letters appear. They're nonsensical, a string of meaningless letters: M_ T_ V_ _I_ N. But, when she applies the chemical pen to the whole word, she sees the word and understands: motivation. And once the word is revealed, we ask her what it means to her. She can quantify this word, count its ten letters and detail where each letter falls in the alphabet. But this tells her very little. Meaning is what she's after. What does the word mean to her? How does she perceive the word? What connotations does the word invoke in her mind? Even when someone asks us to define a word, very few of us can recite verbatim the dictionary definition: We fumble a little, say "it's sort of like this other word," connect it to other words we are familiar with, until finally, we arrive at a mutual understanding. My hope is that this current research provided some insights, some mutual understanding, into the qualitative nature of high school students' motivation to write.

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Appendix A

Plymouth State University Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

April 15, 2017

Dear Mr. Abrams:

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Plymouth State University, your project entitled Invisible Ink: Revealing the Complex System that Motivates Students to Write has been granted approval for one year effective April 15, 2017.

If, during the course of your project you intend to make changes that may significantly affect the human subjects involved (particularly methodological changes), you must obtain IRB approval prior to implementing these changes. Any unanticipated problems related to your use of human subjects must be promptly reported to the IRB. The IRB may be contacted through Dr. Stephen Flynn, Chair of the IRB. This is required so that the IRB can update or revise protective measures for human subjects as may be necessary.

You are expected to maintain as an essential part of your project records, any records pertaining to the use of humans as subjects in your research. This includes any information or materials conveyed to and received from the subjects as well as any executed forms, data and analysis results. If this is a funded project (federal, state, private, other organization), you should be aware that these records are subject to inspection and review by authorized representatives of the University, State of New Hampshire, and/or the federal government.

Please note that IRB approval cannot exceed one year. If you expect your project to continue beyond this approval period, you must submit a request for continuance to the IRB for renewal of IRB approval. IRB approval must be obtained and maintained for the entire term of your project or award.

Please notify the IRB in writing when the project is completed. We may ask that you provide information regarding your experiences with human subjects and with the IRB review process. Upon notification we will close our files pertaining to your project. Any subsequent reactivation of the project will require a new IRB application. I have attached the Project Completion Form for your convenience.

Please do not hesitate to contact the IRB if you have any questions or require assistance. We will be happy to assist you in any way we can. Thank you for your cooperation and efforts throughout this review process. We wish you success in this endeavor.

Sincerely, Stephen V. Flynn, Chair

Institutional Review Board

Plymouth State University

Appendix B

Multiple Case Study Parental Consent Form

Date: 4.15.2017

Dear Parent,

I am the English Department Chair at MRHS and a doctoral student at Plymouth State University and I am conducting research to find out what motivates students to write. I am writing to invite your child to participate in this project as one of four students I plan to study in depth about the factors that contribute or hinder his or her motivation to write. If you allow your child to be part of this study, your child will assume a pseudonym to protect confidentiality. If you allow your child to participate in this study, your child will be observed 2-3 times writing in one of his or her classes and he or she will be interviewed at least three times by me. I will ask your child questions about his or her motivation to write.

The potential risks of your child participating in this study are minimal. Neither you nor your child will receive any compensation to participate in this research. Although your child is not expected to receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, the benefits of the knowledge gained are expected to be of use to teachers planning writing instruction.

Participation is strictly voluntary. If you refuse to allow your child to participate, neither you nor your child will experience any penalty or negative consequences. Your child may refuse to answer any question. If you allow your child to participate in this project and

your child wants to, and then either you change your mind or your child changes his or her mind, you may withdraw your child, or your child may withdraw, at any time during the study without penalty.

I seek to maintain the confidentiality of all data and records associated with your child's participation in this research. You should understand, however, there are rare instances when I am required to share personally-identifiable information (e.g., according to policy, contract, regulation). For example, in response to a complaint about the research, officials at the Plymouth State University, designees of the sponsor(s), and/or regulatory and oversight government agencies may access research data. You also should understand that I am required by law to report certain information to government and/or law enforcement officials (e.g., child abuse, threatened violence against self or others, communicable diseases). Further, any communication via the Internet poses minimal risk of a breach of confidentiality. I will keep data on a password protected computer; only I and my faculty advisor will have access to the data. All data, which includes video-recording and subsequent transcriptions of the video recording, will be kept on a password-protected computer. The results may be used in reports, presentations, and publications.

If you have any questions about this research project or would like more information before, during, or after the study, you may contact Tom Abrams at tjabrams@plymouth.edu. If you have questions about your child's rights as a research

subject, you may contact Dr. Stephen Flynn, the PSU IRB Chair at 603-535-3221 or svflynn@plymouth.edu to discuss them.

I have enclosed two copies of this letter. Please sign one indicating your choice and return in the enclosed envelope. The other copy is for your records. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Tom Abrams

English Department Chairperson

MRHS

Yes, I, _____ consent/allow my child _____ to participate in this research project.

No, I, _____ do not consent/allow my child _____ to participate in this research project.

Signature of Parent

Date

Appendix C

Multiple Case Study Student Assent Form

Application approval date: 4.15.2017

Study Title: Invisible Ink: Revealing the Complex System that Motivates Students to Write

1. What will happen to me in this study?

The purpose of this study is to try to understand a student's perspective on his or her motivation to write. You are being asked to be a participant in the study because you are a student at MRHS who is required to write as part of your classwork. You are being asked to be a participant in a multiple case study. You were chosen for your academic standing and your ability to speak about your motivation to write. Over the course of this semester, you will be observed 2-3 times writing in one of your classes. You will be videotaped during these observations. Throughout the semester you will be interviewed at least three times by the researcher. The researcher will ask you questions about your motivation to write. This research study will last for six months. As a student involved in the case study portion of this research study, you can expect to spend approximately three to five hours in interviews with the researcher. You also may be asked to communicate via email.

2. Can anything bad happen to me?

There are no risks associated with participation in this case study. Discomforts are limited to your own feelings about being interviewed, observed, and video-recorded. If you are uncomfortable at any time during the study, you should inform your parents.

3. Can anything good happen to me?

There may be no direct benefits of participating in this study; however, the knowledge received may be of value to teachers as they plan for and instruct their writing lessons.

4. Do I have other choices?

Your alternative to this study would be to not participate.

5. Will anyone know I am in the study?

You will choose a pseudonym to protect your anonymity. All documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential in accordance with all applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations. Data generated by the study may be reviewed by Plymouth State University's Institutional Review Board, which is the committee responsible for ensuring your welfare and rights as a research participant, to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with university regulations. If any presentations or publications result from this research, you will not be identified by name. The information collected during your participation in this study will be kept on a password protected computer. The only identifying features will be your year of school (i.e. freshman).

6. What happens if I get hurt?

You will not receive payment for being in this study. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. There will be no cost to you for participating in this research. Your parents have received information on what to do if you are injured during this study.

7. Who can I talk to about the study?

If you have any further questions about this study, you can contact Tom Abrams at tjabrams@plymouth.edu.

If you have questions about the study but want to talk to someone else who is not a part of the study, you can call the Plymouth State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (603)-535-3221.

8. What if I do not want to do this?

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits. You are free to withdraw or refuse consent, or to discontinue your participation in this study at any time without penalty or consequence.

SIGNATURE

If you agree to be in this study, please sign below.

Signature of Student

Date

Printed name of Student

Appendix D

MRHS Sophomore Exposition Assignment

NAME: _____

This assessment will give you the opportunity to successfully demonstrate your progress toward the mastery of expectations for student learning.

This final assessment for sophomore English and History classes is designed for you to demonstrate your academic skills and mastery of course concepts by researching and reporting on a sixteenth century to modern GLOBAL topic. This will count as your final exam grade in both English and History.

Throughout the year you have gained the skills necessary to complete this project. Both your English and History teachers will continue to assist you by providing a period of class time, especially in the initial stages, to work on your research; however, you must complete the bulk of this project on your time, so plan accordingly. Do not underestimate the time it will take you to complete all parts of this project! Remember to frequently review the grading rubric to assure that you complete all components and provide quality work. You will be provided with a resource packet which will contain the necessary sheets and examples mentioned in the following instructions.

IMPORTANT DATES:

- 1) INTRODUCTION IN HISTORY CLASS:

March 7 (Day 4); March 8 (Day 5)

2) INITIAL RESEARCH: **March 9, 10, 11, 18, 21**

3) STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: **March 29 (Day 4); March 30 (Day 5)**

Provide a separate copy to your English, and History Teachers.

4) **RESEARCH QUESTION:** **March 29 (Day 4); March 30 (Day 5)**

Provide a separate copy to your English, and History Teachers.

5) **OUTLINE and THESIS:** **April 26 (Day 5); April 27 (Day 6)**

Provide the Outline to your History Teacher. Provide a copy of the Thesis to your English teacher.

6) INITIAL WRITING SESSION: **May 2 (2)-May 6 (6)**

7) ANNOTATED TIMELINE: **May 5 (Day 5); May 6 (Day 6)**

Provide to your History Teacher

8) **FINAL PAPER:** **May 17 (Day 6); May 18 (Day 7)**

Provide to your English Teacher.

9) **BINDER:** **May 31 (Day 1); June 1 (Day 2)**

Provide to your History Teacher.

10) PRESENTATION PREP: **June 6 (Day 5)- June 10 (Day 2)**

11) **Your ORAL PRESENTATION will take place during FINALS WEEK (June 16, 17, 20, 21). You will receive your time and date by June 1. The presentation schedule will be posted outside of Room 302 and on the EXPO Moodle Page. Please see Mr. Hill with any schedule problems. Schedule changes will NOT be made for light and transient causes.**

THE EXPOSITION STEPS

This project is composed of three main components:

Research, Organization, and Presentation

PART A: RESEARCH

- 1) You will choose a SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO MODERN WORLD TOPIC to research. (Refer to the Topic Suggestion sheet.)
- 2) Utilizing proper research and note-taking techniques you will gather information. After initial research you must **write a Statement of Purpose**. Present a separate copy to your English teacher, and History teacher for topic approval. Use the Statement of Purpose Sheets provided.
- 3) Craft an overarching **Research Question** to guide your research and assist in the development of your thesis statement. Present a separate copy to your English teacher, and History teacher for question approval.

- 4) Once your research is complete **write a formal, detailed outline**. This should be typed and turned in to your History teacher

- 5) Once you have a focus for your topic you must **write a Thesis Statement**. . Present a copy to your English teacher for thesis statement approval. Use the Thesis Statement Sheets provided.

Remember that it is common for a researcher to slightly change the thesis as research proceeds.

- 6) Remember to **keep accurate track of resources** to create an accurate **Works Consulted Page** in proper MLA format. The Works Consulted Page is to include all the sources you reviewed. This is different from the **Works Cited Page** that you will attach to your thesis driven paper.

- 7) You will be scheduled for time in the Library for the initial research phase. Use this time wisely to gather information about your topic. You are expected to spend extensive time outside of class to work on the EXPO.

PART B: ORGANIZATION

Obtain a **1 inch binder including tabs** to hold the following components *in this order*:

- A) **Table of Contents** (to assure that you have all of the components)

B) **Statement of Purpose** (signed by both teachers, include all copies)

C) **Research Question** (signed by both teachers, include all copies)

D) **Formal Outline**

E) **Thesis Statement** (signed by your English teacher, include all copies)

F) **Works Consulted Page** in MLA Format.

F) A **Final Draft Thesis Driven Paper** with a **Works Cited Page** and all other drafts.

The written paper, excluding the Works Cited Page, must be 4-6 pages long. This will be turned in to your English teacher. Make a second copy of the paper for your EXPO binder.

G) An **ANNOTATED TIMELINE** illustrating the relationship of events relevant to your topic. This must be on a line with properly spaced intervals (decades, years, months or days). You must generate this outline by either neatly writing the information or using the computer. You may add a few visuals if appropriate. Feel free to have a longer foldout. *DO NOT CUT AND PASTE FROM THE INTERNET AND DO NOT SIMPLY PROVIDE A LIST.*

H) A **typed paragraph or two** analyzing the timeline.

What patterns can you discover, any cause and effect?

I) A **typed Reflective Essay** of at least a page or two. Include what you learned about the topic; what you learned about the process of completing a major project; what you might do differently next time and HOW you did on this project. We are looking for reflective thought not just a rehash of the process.

J) Any **additional information** such as graphs, photos, interviews, listings, etc. that you determined enhanced your understanding of the topic. Do not make this section very long.

You may be as creative as you wish on the front cover of the binder but be neat.

PART C: PRESENTATION

- 1) During Finals Week you will be assigned a ten minute time slot to make an oral presentation and answer questions utilizing Keynote, PowerPoint, or Prezi as a visual aid. Your required audience will be your English and History teachers, and two peers. You are strongly encouraged to invite a significant adult (parents, guardian, or other relative) for a bonus. Your presentation should last approximately 7 minutes to allow time for questions. **DO NOT GO OVER THE 7 MINUTES** or you will lose points.

Points to Consider:

- A) You should have roughly **10 – 15 slides**.
- B) The slides should enhance your oral presentation, not repeat your paper.
- C) Slides must be clear with limited use of long passages (the audience needs to listen to you, not read paragraphs.)
- D) Please ensure all graphics are attractive, appropriate, and support the theme/content of the presentation.
- E) You may use additional aids such as music, video clips, props, costumes, posters, etc.
- F) Invite **TWO** reliable friends to observe and assist you during the presentation. **THIS IS A REQUIREMENT.** Additionally, we encourage you to invite one significant adult for a bonus. You may have more people if you wish!
- G) **PRACTICE, PRACTICE, PRACTICE** before you present.

Appendix E

MRHS Junior Argumentative Research Paper Assignment

American History and American Literature**Junior Argumentative Research Paper - 2017*****Objective***

Students will demonstrate their understanding of content and skills developed this year in literature and history classes by writing a formal, argumentative research paper. Students will be expected to develop a research question, gather relevant resources, organize a clear position/argument (thesis), and synthesize the evidence in concise written format. This exercise will allow students the opportunity to demonstrate their proficiency in meeting MRHS's academic expectations for student learning.

Procedure

Students will write a formal, argumentative 7 – 10 page research paper that explores a topic that connects American literature and American history.

Topic Selection

1. Reflect upon the last three semesters of American Literature and American History and recall topics/events or authors/themes that are of **interest to you**. You probably will need to do a bit of preliminary research to narrow down your topic. You may choose from the American Revolution up to contemporary America (with certain limits).

2. Complete the topic selection sheet and have it signed by both your lit and history teachers. At this stage you will have a research question and some expected answers to that question.

Space for questions or additional comments from presentation:

Research

3. Sources
 - a. You must have a minimum of 6 separate sources (books, articles, poems, short stories, speeches, etc.). Some will be historical sources and some will be literary sources. Literature is defined as both literary fiction and literary non-fiction. For example, *The Great Gatsby* is fiction. *The Jungle* is literary non-fiction. Your teachers will help clarify your sources.
 - b. An article obtained online through a database such as Gale counts as one source. Lyrics to a single song, while very valuable to some topics, do not count as one source; a musician or song writers' catalogue would be the source. Similarly, a single poem may not count as one source.
 - c. You are encouraged to use primary sources in your research. The strongest papers will incorporate primary sources as evidence and for analysis.

- d. Honors students will be expected to read and incorporate one significant literary source that was not used in lit class, either as class content or outside reading choice. Confirm with your teacher ahead of time if you are unsure.
- e. Encyclopedias (print and digital) will not count as a research source unless it is a highly specialized one. *Encyclopedia Britannica* is an example of one to avoid. Check with one of your teachers for clarification.
- f. Avoid general web information sites. These include, but are not limited to: wikipedia.com, shmoop.com, findingdulcinea.com, infoplease.com, ask.com, about.com, wikianswers.com. If you are unsure, ask ahead of time. These will not be credited as a research source.

Space for questions or additional comments from presentation:

4. Organization of research

- a. You must organize and annotate your works cited using MLA 7 format. Do not provide the URL for web sources. (Your history teacher will review this procedure.)
- b. You must record notes from your sources as you research. (Your history teacher will review this procedure.)
- c. You must comment on or analyze the notes you record during your research. (Your history teacher will review this procedure.)

- d. Your history teacher will grade your annotated works cited and corresponding notes.
- e. You will develop a preliminary working thesis and submit that at this stage.

Space for questions or additional comments from presentation:

Planning to Write

- 5. Complete a formal outline of and annotated works cited for your research paper.
 - a. Your history teacher will review this procedure.
 - b. Your history teacher will grade your outline and annotated works cited.

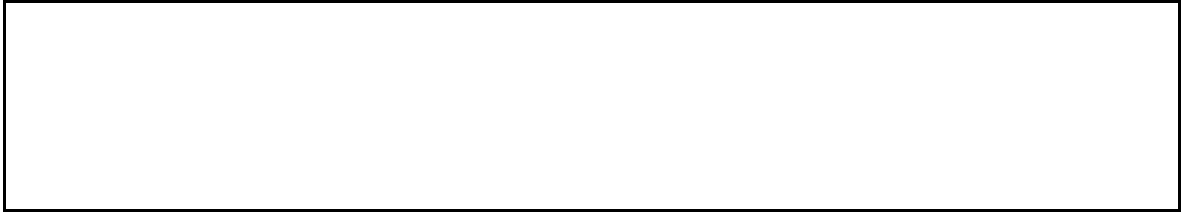
- 6. Write drafts.
 - a. Your lit teacher will review the draft-writing process.
 - b. At this point, your JARP should move from being oriented to research and organization to being more of your analysis and explanation.
 - c. You are required to write multiple rough drafts.
 - d. Your last rough draft will be peer edited.
 - i. Attach your annotated works cited to the draft for peer-editing.

Writing the Final Paper

- 7. Write a Final Revisable Paper.

- a. Your revisable paper is to be 7-10 pages and complete.
 - b. Use the following formatting for all submitted papers (your lit teacher will review these):
 - i. 12 point, Times New Roman font, regular
 - ii. double spacing
 - iii. numbered pages
 - iv. one-inch margins (top/bottom; left/right)
 - c. Attach your annotated works cited to this Final Revisable Paper.
 - d. Your English teacher will assess your Final Revisable Paper using the scoring rubric (this will be shared with students in advance).
- 8. Write a Final Paper.**
- a. Must be 7 – 10 pages.
 - b. Both your lit and history teachers will grade the Final Paper.
 - c. Your Final Paper must include the following in this order:
 - i. A title page properly formatted (your lit teacher will review this)
 - ii. The final paper
 - iii. Annotated works cited
 - iv. Final Revisable Paper with lit teacher comments and scoring rubric (given to your lit teacher only).

Space for questions or additional comments from presentation:



Grading

The Final Paper will count as 20% of your grade in both English and History.

Remember that you will also be graded throughout the process as you complete steps.

You will automatically lose a letter grade if you pass your paper in late.

Papers will not be accepted after the end of the school day on **Friday June 10.**

Extreme extenuating circumstances must be approved **prior** to due dates by both teachers **and** the English and History Department Chairs.

Due Dates

February 27-28	JARP introduced
March 1-3	Preliminary Topic Research in History
March 6-7	Topic Selection Sheet to both teachers
March 13-17, 20-21	Research in class in History and English
March 27-28	Research notes with MLA formatted sources to history teacher
April 10-11	Formal Outline & Annotated Works Cited to history teacher
April 24-28	Writing Sessions in English Classes
May 8-9	Final Revisable Paper due to lit teacher

June 1-2

Final Paper due to both teachers

Policies, Electronic Devices, and Google

You will have many resources at your disposal. You are **encouraged** to use the provided templates that will be found on Google Classroom and the High School Library website.

It is **strongly recommended** that you use Google Drive and your school account only, as you will have all your materials in one place and the Gale In Context databases link only to that account.

JARP resources are available by joining the “Junior Argumentative Research Paper 2017” class on Google Classroom. The code is: **88t4c1s0**

Remember to backup your work regardless if you are using your personal electronic device or a school computer, as lost document files **will not be an excuse** for late or un-submitted work. That is one of your primary responsibilities in this long-term assessment.

All students are expected to comply with the policies and protocols regarding plagiarism, electronic device usage, and other relevant sections in the student handbook.

Space for questions or additional comments from presentation:

Appendix F
Observational Checklist

Date of Observation: _____

Time of Observation: _____

Student Name: _____

Student Behavior	✓	Summary Comments by Observer
Evidence of environmental structuring (i.e. student arranges work space to facilitate writing)		
Student immediately engages in writing activity (begins work within five minutes of assignment/teacher prompt to begin)		
Evidence of preplanning/ goal setting		

<p>Teacher behaviors of caring</p>		
<p>Indicators of extrinsic motivation (i.e. grades emphasized, teacher-initiated rewards, word count, competitive challenges)</p>		
<p>Participation</p>		
<p>Student actively shares with other students (i.e. writing, writing techniques, problem solving, word choice help)</p>		
<p>Student responds to teacher feedback in positive manner</p>		

<p>Does not require prompting to start/continue writing</p>		
<p>Student researches for answers to writing questions or for evidence</p>		
<p>Student demonstrates positive behaviors for assisting with writing endurance</p>		
<p>Student demonstrates help seeking from either teacher or other students</p>		<p>Student: Teacher:</p>
<p>Achieves stated teacher objectives</p>		

Student can articulate the purpose for his or her writing		
Time on task		
Number of words written		

Appendix G

Interview Questions

Interview #1

Research Question #1: According to high school students' perspectives, how do past writing experiences shape writing motivation?

1. What has school been like for you?
2. What has writing been like for you from the time you first remember until the present?
 - a. What do you remember about writing before you began school?
How did you learn to write?
 - b. What was writing like for you in elementary school? In middle school? In high school?
 - c. Did your parents help you with writing? How was that? Who else has helped you with writing? (peers, siblings, grandparents, etc.)
 - d. When was the help useful? Was any of the help upsetting?
 - e. What kind of writing did you see you parents do? Your siblings?
 - f. Tell me about a time when you were really motivated to write.
 - g. Tell me about a time when you were really unmotivated to write.

Research Question #2: What do high school students say motivates them to write?

1. What are all the types of writing you do inside and outside of school?

2. Tell me about a typical day for you and how writing fits into that day.
3. How do you go about writing a paper for school from the time you get the assignment until you hand in the finished paper? Give as many details as possible. What is the process like? When is it difficult? When is it exciting?
4. Tell me about a hurdle which got in the way of achieving an ambitious writing goal. How did you go about overcoming it?
5. Tell me about a writing goal you achieved which at some points seemed hopeless? Why did you keep going on?
6. Tell me as many different stories as you can when you felt motivated to write.
7. I am going to tell you about some things that writers do to motivate themselves. Tell me if you do any of these and explain to me what it looks like to you.

Interview #2 (with physical artifacts to review)

Research Question #3: How does a high school student's perception of teacher behaviors and/or classroom environment motivate students to write?

1. Tell me about writing that you do at MRHS.
2. What is your teacher doing as you write?
3. How have you constructed your classroom environment to write? If I had a picture of you writing, what would it look like?
4. When you are asked to write in a classroom, where do you typically write?

5. Describe for me your teacher's actions when you are writing. What is he or she doing?

Post-conference/assignment interview questions

1. What grade did you receive on this writing assignment?
2. What grade did you expect to receive on this writing assignment? Why?
3. What was your favorite part?
4. What do you think were your greatest strengths on this assignment? What do you think were your greatest weaknesses on this assignment? What did you learn from this piece of writing?
5. How did your teacher help you plan for your next draft?
6. What surprised you in the process?
7. What did you learn from this writing piece about writing? How will you guide your future self?

Research Question #4: What types of tasks do high school students say motivates them to write?

1. Describe a writing project you were involved in that really excited you? How long did that feeling last? Can you describe the feeling?
2. Describe for me your feelings when a teacher assigns a writing task.
3. Tell me about a time when you willingly volunteered to write. Why were you so interested in this specific task?

4. Tell me about how you plan to write.
5. Would you regard yourself as a self-starter in writing? Can you give me a recent example where you displayed this quality?
6. Do you set goals as you write? If you do, give me an example of a way that you set goals during writing.
7. How do you respond to a writing task that you are interested in? How do you respond to a writing task that you are not interested in?
8. Describe what is going on in your head as you write. Describe how you talk to yourself.
9. What is it like when you lose your attention for a writing task? How do you refocus?

Extending the Interview

1. Define for me what you think makes a good writer. Rate yourself on a scale of 1-10, using your definition of a good writer as a 10.
2. How have you performed on writing tasks in the past? Tell me about the typical grade you get on a writing piece. Tell me about how you respond to grades on writing. Tell me about how you view grades on writing.

Appendix H

Interview Excerpt Bella Winn

Appendix H

Excerpt, interview—Bella Winn, May 3, 2017

Investigator: What has writing been like for you, from the earliest time you remember writing—you talked a little bit about kindergarten, first grade, learning how to write—what's writing been like for you?

Bella: First couple of years, writing was really difficult for me, and so was reading. My mom and I would always talk about it, “Bella, why don't you like reading?” I don't think I like to slow down for a long enough period to sit and try to come up with a story or read. I just never wanted to slow down. But my mom introduced comics into my life and that's when I started reading because all of a sudden there were pictures and there were awesome stories that I liked reading about so when I so writing...even in like 7th and 8th grade, it was always something that was difficult for me. I was never good with grammar. I still, I'm still working on it. It's difficult for me to write something that I...it's hard for me to say. I do significantly better on creative writing. If I could write about like fairy tales forever I would. Or if I could come up with...we actually, we had one project, prompt this year that was my favorite prompt ever. We were doing our Romanticism unit and it was like to go out into [nature preserve] and analyze like nature. So I was like awesome. So I wrote this piece about a tree and living vicariously through this tree that was like in the middle of this valley in [nature preserve] and she...it was really fun to write, my favorite piece and I did really well on it and I don't know why that is. I think it's because I'm more of a creative person than I am a logical person, per se, a left brain person, but it was super fun and I remember seriously enjoying that whole unit of Romanticism and drama and that's, that is what really inspires me when I write. But when it comes to analysis of a book, or like a five paragraph essay about, analysis of a book (funny voice), I seriously, it gets me so mad, because it's always a thing of be more specific, like blah blah blah, and there's something in my head that doesn't get how to be more specific. Or, I think if, how do I say it—not more specific but more in depth I have a hard time going in depth with something that already exists because I feel like it's already something people know about. It's already something that's been predetermined, but with a creative piece, I feel like there's always a chance to go deeper, always a chance to develop it more. And I think that's definitely what stumbles me up. So I'm definitely better at creative writing and that's always been consistent. I mean again I've always liked comic books more than I liked reading *Harry Potter* even. So I don't know I think that works is the answer, that sums it up.

Appendix I

Interview Excerpt David Garfield

Appendix I

Excerpt, interview—David Garfield, May 11, 2017

Investigator: My first question comes because of my observations of you. What I've noticed in class is that you have no problem getting focused quickly and staying focused for most of the 73 minutes. You might share a laugh or two with a seatmate but you're really focused. Can you describe for me how you get yourself into that focused place?

David: I just get on then, I feel like I'm used to it by now so I just get on the computer and log in. It takes a little bit to actually get into it so I'll read what I've done like in a recent class or the other day and I'll start to remember what I need to do or what I was thinking at the time and I'll just get into it.

Investigator: A lot of writers have described that, how they'll reread the work from the previous day and it'll get them in the mindset of writing to do it, so that's actually a fairly common motivational technique. When you were writing for the Expo, Ms. Hunter had you fill out goal sheets daily. Can you describe for me the usefulness of those?

David: They help in that they help me realize what I need to get done, but I usually set goals that are far too big so usually I don't get to them, but with the goal sheet it pushes me to not focus on just one thing and get my goal done fast. So if I say write two body paragraphs, I won't focus on one for an hour. It forces me to split up my time and it's more efficient.

Investigator: So when you say it forces you to split up your time, you'll jump to one paragraph if that's your goal.

David: Yeah, so one of the days my goal was to finish two body paragraphs and I was forty minutes in and wasn't done with the first but I thought I might as well stick to my goal and get more done of the second than just barely finish the first so I, even though it wasn't where I wanted it to be, I moved on to the second one because I wanted to rip on that one for a little while.

Appendix J

Analytic Memo Horatio Waters

Appendix J

Excerpt, analytic memo—Horatio Waters

If his motivation to write suddenly lags, Horatio usually relies on strategies with a social component to get him motivated again. Horatio said he has consistently had two problems which stopped his motivation to write: His inability to think of the exact word he wants, and his composition speed. Horatio explained that his motivation to write stopped when he could not recall a specific word, leading him to search for the right word. Has to get every word right, he said. When he's blocked on the word, he'll motivate himself by soliciting the teacher for help or turning to a table mate for help with the "right word." I observed this in class, when Horatio would temple his fingers beneath his chin or assume a "thinker" pose. Horatio would turn to his nearest tablemate and ask for help with a word. At one point, I observed Horatio read a sentence out loud to the entire table of six students and ask, "How's that sound?" This use of friends extended beyond simple word choice help too.

Appendix K

Analytic Memo Penny Lane

Appendix K

Excerpt, analytic memo—Penny Lane

Her motivation to write music never waned. Music, created on her own and mostly outside of class, motivated her to write. When Penny spoke about music, she became animated. After our second interview, when I had asked all my questions and was packing up, Penny got out of her chair and her hands flew around as she said, “Well, I don’t know if this is anything, but we have a writing assignment coming up about Transcendentalism and we asked, because the people in my band also have Ms. Monte, we’re all in different classes but she said we could write a song together.” This assignment played to all Penny’s motivational strengths: It was a genre she was interested in, she could collaborate with peers she liked, and the final product could be performed.

Appendix L

Field Notes Excerpt

Appendix L

Excerpt, field notes, April 26, 2017

Students working on JARP.

Teacher—"I like to be able to see computer screens when students are working."

Desks are arranged in groups of 4-5.

Environmental structuring

SMART goal sheets handed out, teacher describes them, emphasizing quality.

Use of goals

Penny is wearing a shirt that says "Miserable."

Lane's SMART goal: Finish first body paragraph.

Teacher moves around room, checking on students, conferencing with them.

Lane writes by hand, only kid in class doing so.

Waters's goal: 200 words by the end of the block.

Use of goals

Note to self: ask question about the goal setting sheet and arrangement of desks in interviews.

Waters approaches teacher, asks for advice, she says "Stretch this out a little bit." Waters nods and smiles.

Conferencing

Teacher cracks joke, "Death is an improvement."

Humor

Twenty minutes into class, four students complain about technology, as they were bumped off internet.

Teacher conferences with Horatio at his desk, says, "Don't get hung up on it."

Teacher cracks joke when students get chatty, "Make like Elvis, a little less conversation, a little more action."

Humor

Lane has written $\frac{3}{4}$ of handwritten page in 25 minutes.

Flow

Both Lane and Waters seem to be in the flow.

Learned other

Waters conferences with teacher, says, "Do I separate it into separate sentences?" Teacher says, "We'll say..." Waters interrupts, says, "Well I have one on this, one on the movie industry." Teacher takes computer from Waters, types a little bit, says, "And now you'll get more specific. Right now it's a little confusing...you can change words around later."

Planning/drafting

Waters is using his outline, checking off points as he goes; Lane doesn't have her outline.

Waters asked another question out of earshot.

Relationships

Lane, "I feel like I'm on a roll right now," to other student.

Relationships

Lane showed a paragraph to a friend at the table, says, "I feel like I need to strengthen this whole section to relate it back to my thesis. I feel like I do a good job of that in other sections."

Conferencing

Waters asked the teacher, "How do you know when paraphrasing starts?" Teacher goes over to desk, look at his outline, paraphrased for him.

Tribal feel

Teacher ends class by everyone clapping together.