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Ruth A. Wiebe Berry

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of the requirements for

the Ph.D. degree in Special Education

Carol Sue Englert
Major professor

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LEARNING TO WRITE AND WRITING TO LEARN: A STUDY OF AFFORDANCE, PARTICIPATION, AND APPROPRIATION IN ELEMENTARY INCLUSION CLASSROOMS

by

Ruth A. Wiebe Berry

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Counseling, Educational Psychology, and Special Education

2001

ABSTRACT

LEARNING TO WRITE AND WRITING TO LEARN:
A STUDY OF AFFORDANCE, PARTICIPATION, AND APPROPRIATION
IN ELEMENTARY INCLUSION CLASSROOMS

By

Ruth A. Wiebe Berry

Despite assumptions of academic and social benefit for students with learning disabilities, what is not widely understood about inclusion classrooms is the nature and extent of variation in providing disabled students with access to the general education curriculum. A deeper understanding of what such "access" means and its relation to teachers' epistemological assumptions is critical to the improvement of instruction in inclusive contexts. This interpretive study examined teacher beliefs, classroom features, interpersonal interactions, and lesson discourse in order to understand what learning opportunities were afforded for students with disabilities in the research sites, how students participated in those opportunities, and what they appropriated as learning. Writing instruction was selected as a research focus because it permits teachers to utilize a range of instructional responses in meeting the diverse needs of students, responses which may reflect teachers' theories about teaching, learning, literacy, and disability.

Participants included students and teachers in two urban elementary multi-age inclusion classrooms. Videotaped observations and field notes recorded classroom lessons, and interviews were conducted with teachers and target students. Supplementary sources of data included student writing samples and measures, the Slosson Oral Reading Test, school record data, and a teacher temperament questionnaire. Data were transcribed and coded using constant comparison.

Results revealed that, although teachers in both classrooms calibrated instruction for individual learners, particular patterns of teacher discourse and social interaction were associated with the types of learning opportunities to which students had access. In one

classroom, characterized by a highly structured focus on individual learners, teachers controlled the discourse, thus limiting opportunities for student decision-making and problem-solving. In the second classroom, characterized by themes of community and shared authority, teachers constructed discursive learning spaces to promote interactive exploration and active student involvement in learning. Implications suggest that teachers should implement a range of interactional opportunities in order to accommodate varying goals and purposes for learning, rather than rely on customary or narrowly-applied configurations. Additionally, teachers must balance attention to individual educational requirements with classroom community building in order to accommodate diverse learners as well as meet changing societal views about educational access.

WIEBE BE

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RUTH A. WIEBE BERRY
2001

" The best success takes the most risk." -- Author unknown

This work is dedicated to classroom teachers everywhere who, to achieve success with all students, are willing to be risk takers.

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Surely I will never

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Someone once said that we are often so caught up in reaching our destination that we forget to appreciate the goodness of the people we meet along the way. I have been blessed by the goodness of many special people.

First, I wish to express sincere appreciation and thanks to my dissertation director, my mentor and guide, Dr. Carol Sue Englert, for her constant and enthusiastic encouragement, for providing me with multiple opportunities to learn, and for supporting me in countless other ways. Thank you also to members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Troy Mariage, Dr. P. David Pearson, and Dr. Jenny Denyer. Special thanks to Dr. Englert and Dr. Mariage for insisting on high standards and for shepherding me through the shaping and writing of this dissertation during one hectic spring and summer.

My deepest gratitude to the teachers and children who shared their classrooms and lessons with me. This work could not have been done without the generosity of these extraordinary teachers who care so passionately about all the children they serve.

I also wish to acknowledge the support of the Michigan State University's Distinguished Fellowship and the MSU/Spencer Research Training Grant Fellowship programs in providing the financial resources that meant freedom to engage in full-time study and research.

Finally, I am grateful to those who shared this journey with me--students who were fellow travellers, faculty who provided models of academic competency, friends who cared about my well-being. Most of all, I thank my family, especially my wonderful daughter, Jordan, whose proud confidence in her mom's ability to do it was a continual inspiration. To my extraordinary husband, Paul: Your vision became my vision, and your presence and personal sacrifice throughout the often arduous and exhausting journey made this milestone possible. I will never be able to repay or even fathom the extent of the debt I owe you.

Not everyone realizes a dream. I am truly fortunate.

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TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

003	Indicates line number.
/	Short pause (each / equals 1 second)
//	Longer pause (2 seconds)
CAPS	Marks very emphatic stress
?	Marks the asking of question or a questioning tone
,	Indicates normal pause in speech
.	Marks the end of a sentence.
!	Marks a very expressive question or comment
[brackets]	Used to comment on pitch, amplitude, quality of speech; or to indicate material inserted into a quotation
italics	Indicates actions accompanying talk
(parentheses)	Used to indicate actions such as paralinguistic cues within a speaking turn (e.g., nods, pointing, demonstrating)
[inaudible]	Indicates that speech was not transcribable due to poor quality of recording or presence of other speech
BOLD	Convention to draw reader's attention to specific features of transcript
Underline	Convention used to draw reader's attention to specific features of transcript, usually at a level larger than the word, including phrase or sentence(s).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> The word "interaction"...expresses [one of the] chief principles for interpreting an experience in its educational function and force...The immediate and direct concern of an educator is...with the situations in which interaction takes place. (Dewey, 1963, p. 43)

In the current debate over inclusion, several factors have been considered, but one that is recently beginning to be investigated in a systematic way is how patterns of engagement, discourse, and interaction support or limit access to opportunities for learning in inclusive classroom environments. Educators often assume that students with disabilities who are placed in "inclusion classrooms" are provided with meaningful learning experiences. However, it is possible that contexts whose surface features may appear to be inclusive may inadvertently function as yet another segregated environment (Haas, 1998), because characteristics of opportunities for engagement and ongoing discursive interactions fail to provide access to the general education curriculum for students with learning disabilities.

What is needed is a view of classroom life that looks beyond features of curriculum, instruction, and assessment. This study focused on both academic content and classroom interactions, the "ways in which the various actors play out their parts" (Erickson & Shultz, 1992, p. 473), two areas often held analytically separate by researchers, to provide an understanding of classroom experiences. Against the background of the classrooms' contextual features, the study examined interactions between and among teachers and students to determine how social norms and classroom practices afforded learning opportunities for students with disabilities, how students participated in these opportunities, and what they appropriated as learning.

Three Lines of Research Informing the Study

In this study I examined classroom features, interpersonal interactions, and discourse to understand the instructional contexts constructed by teachers, and how different

instructional contexts resulted in differential participation opportunities and appropriation of knowledge. Several important lines of recent research have begun to focus on the lived experiences of students in the classroom. In one line of research, researchers interested in defining and specifying social theories of learning have favored theories of learning and instruction that acknowledge the agency of the student in his or her own learning. In their seminal research, Lave and Wenger (Lave, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) explored the notion of learning by apprenticeship. They described the activity of the apprentice as "legitimate peripheral participation," a way of learning by involvement and participation. Consequently, learning is not exclusively an individual process; if it were, low achievers would be blamed for their condition (as traditionally they often are). Working from a similar theoretical stance, Rogoff (1993, 1995) defined learning as "participatory appropriation" and changes in development and learning as the "transformation of participation" demonstrated by changing roles in activity. Thus, learning occurs through participation in social processes rather than only in private and solo activity.

A second line of research focused on discourse and social interaction as the medium of learning, identity, and positioning. In this line of investigation, what was examined were patterns of discourse and interaction that have meaning in local contexts, such as classrooms. Lemke (1990), working in the tradition of social semiotics, identified patterns of interactions that constitute characteristic and predictable forms of discourse, such as science discourse, which he called "activity types." O'Connor and Michaels (1993) located patterns of interactions that they called "participant structures" in classroom events, noting how participant structures enable participants to orient themselves socially and linguistically to one another and to the activity. Cazden's (1988) study of classroom discourse sought to understand what counts as knowledge and what occurs as learning, and how the resulting patterns of discourse affect the equality or inequality of students' educational opportunities. Harré and Langenhove (1999), focusing on how discursive practice defines the rights and duties of speakers and hearers, suggested, in their positioning theory, that changes in

discursive practices affect perceptions of personal worth. Fairclough (1989) contributed to this line of research by using critical linguistics to understand the processes by which language functions in maintaining and changing power relations in society.

A third line of research focused specifically on patterns of classroom life and effective classroom instruction. Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993) drew on cognitive anthropology to examine how teachers establish classroom literacy communities and to describe what counts as literate actions in those classrooms. Englert, Tarrant, and Mariage (1992) looked at effective teaching practices and classroom interactions from the view of social constructivism, extending the process-product research on effective teaching to include instruction that provided meaningful activities in a social community emphasizing dialogue to scaffold learning. Also working from a social constructivist view, Gutierrez and colleague (1995; Gutierrez & Stone, 1997) examined communities of learners to understand how the social organization of instruction in these classrooms organized productive learning opportunities that allowed learners to draw on the intellectual resources of both the individual and the group.

Specific to each of these lines of research is a focus on understanding students' school experiences by looking at patterns of classroom life and, specifically, the discursive interactions between and among participants in the classrooms. This study extends the knowledge on classroom interaction and "what occurs as learning" (Cazden, 1988, p. 3) by studying two inclusion classrooms comprised of general education and special education students whose teachers held distinctly different theories and beliefs about the instruction of students with learning disabilities. Looking at students at the periphery of general education brings into sharper relief the classroom discourse, resources, and interactions and their consequences for students whose presence in the classroom tends to problematize common assumptions of teaching and learning.

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Theoretical Framework and Nature of the Study

Theoretical Assumptions of the Study

This study took the view of sociocultural theory, which assumes social origins of knowledge and learning and focuses primary attention on the need for educators to build on the cultural and sociolinguistic knowledge of learners. These assumptions are elaborated in Chapter 2. From a sociocultural perspective, learning is both individual and social, that is, located in the relations between people and in the various conversations of which they are a part (McDermott, 1993; Slee, 1997). Manset and Semmel (1997) argue that it is in the interaction between person and environment that a synergism occurs; the combination of person and environment is more than the sum of the parts. This study sought evidence, in classroom talk and interactions, of how unique classroom features afforded differential opportunities for participation which resulted in differential appropriation of knowledge.

In the past 10 to 15 years theorists and researchers who have been interested in the nature of learning in classrooms have increasingly focused on the nature of interactions among and between the individuals who inhabit the classroom. In addition there has been a small number of insistent voices questioning the "pathognomonic" assumptions (a disability is inherent in the individual student) (Jordan, Lindsay, & Stanovich, 1997) that seem resilient in our system of education. These voices argue that individual failures are the failures of schools to educate all children. Coupling these two lines of interest, this study sought to examine instructional practices in order to determine how classroom interactions define the learning of students with disabilities in classrooms where access to the general education curriculum, rather than assigned disability status, defines learning experiences.

Research Questions

Three research questions guided the study. The first question,"What learning opportunities are afforded for students with disabilities in these classrooms?" sought to make visible the resources provided by the classroom activity and instruction for students' learning. I defined affordances as features of the classroom that exist previous to and

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outside of the students (i.e., attitudes, teaching techniques, curriculum materials) as well as features of daily life in classrooms (i.e., grouping patterns, interpersonal interactions).

The second question, "What is the nature of students' participation and engagement in classroom activities and with teachers and students, and with what consequences?" examined student engagement as well as the teacher-student and student-student interactions, activities, and social processes that make up students' educational experiences.

The third question, "What is appropriated by students for their learning, and how is it appropriated?" sought to understand what students take from their school experiences as learning. A difficulty of identifying what is afforded, the nature of participation, and what is appropriated is that evidence of these constructs may overlap. For instance, the co-created language and culture of the classroom may serve as an affordance (or a constraint) for students' learning and, in addition, may describe processes by which students come to appropriate common knowledge for their own purposes. However, I attempted to define and address the constructs separately in order to ensure that each received appropriate attention in turn while backgrounding the other two. Problems such as this are more typical of interpretive than empirical research, and their consideration may result in deeper understandings of complex social processes.

Selection of Research Method and Site

The nature of the research questions guiding this study required that data collection and methods of analysis follow an interpretive tradition that relies on observation of interactions transpiring in naturally occurring contexts. Accordingly, ethnographic techniques were used to identify and describe interactions between teachers and students in the classroom, to understand what counts for knowledge and learning, and to determine consequences of membership in the classrooms for students with learning problems.

The study, which followed several larger studies, specifically the Early Literacy Project (Englert, Rozendal, & Mariage, 1994) and the Literacy Environments for Accelerated Progress (LEAP) Project (Englert, 1998), was situated in observations of

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writing instruction and writing activities in two elementary inclusion classrooms. Writing instruction was selected as a focus of this research because it affords the teacher the opportunity to utilize a wide range of instructional responses in meeting the diverse needs of students, responses which may be reflective of the teacher's beliefs about teaching, learning, literacy, and disability.

The study took place in a mid-sized urban district composed of approximately 46% Caucasian, 33% African American, 12% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 1% American Indian students, more than half of whom received free or reduced lunches. These demographics were reflected in the research school sites. Teacher participants included two full-time collaborative teaching teams each consisting of regular education and special education teachers working in a multi-age, multi-ability inclusion classroom. These teaching teams were selected for their contrasting views on the remediation of learning disabilities. One team espoused the view that effective instruction for all students, whether or not they are identified as disabled, is geared to students' individual learning needs. Their approach emphasized individual treatments in private settings. The teachers in this classroom attended explicitly to each child's unique learning and social needs through the provision of appropriate individual learning materials and method. The other team believed that the most promising approach to teaching students with mild disabilities involved immersion in a general education environment modified to provide entry points for all students into the literate discourse of the classroom, and which provided responsive teaching to all students to appropriately meet individual learning needs. These two classroom environments framed the investigation of how classroom discourse and interactions affect the learning of students with learning disabilities in inclusion classrooms.

Organization of Chapters

In Chapter 2, the Literature Review, I situate the study relative to the work of other researchers and research paradigms.

In Chapter 3, Methodology, I describe and discuss the research methods, site,

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Chapters 4 and 5

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participants, and techniques of data collection and analysis.

Chapters 4 and 5, Results #1 and #2 respectively, consider the nature of writing instruction in the two research sites, the Ellison Team Room and the Watkins inclusion classroom. In these chapters, I describe unique affordances to be found in each classroom that support learning to write, the nature of students' participation in instructional activities associated with learning to write, and what students come to appropriate from their classroom experiences for their own writing.

In Chapter 6, Discussion, I compare and contrast the two classrooms, identifying themes and lessons learned.

Chapter 7, Implications, suggests practical applications of lessons learned, as well as implications for researchers, limitations, and future directions for investigation.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Increasingly, schools across the country have initiated inclusive models of educational service delivery despite controversies between the inclusion movement's strong supporters and their equally vocal opponents (Lipsky & Gartner, 1996; D'Alonzo, Giordano, & Cross, 1995; Dorn, Fuchs, & Fuchs, 1996; Fuchs & Fuchs, 1994; Kauffman, & Hallahan, 1997). Impetus for inclusion also stems from the Individuals with Disability Education Act (IDEA). Indeed, the IDEA Amendments of 1997 have strengthened the case in favor of the implementation of inclusionary policies and establishment of inclusive educational contexts for students in special education (Boundy, 1998).

In keeping with the movement toward inclusive education, many educators have shifted their inclusion agenda from "first-generation" to "second-generation" issues (Lipsky & Gartner, 1998). First-generation issues tend to focus on whether to do inclusion and the fitting of special education students for mainstreaming. Second-generation issues address how to implement inclusion and focus on empowering all students. There is every indication that this trend will continue for the foreseeable future.

This study focused on a second-generation inclusion issue, that of effective literacy instruction in inclusion classrooms. The study gave particular attention to the nature of and relationships between affordances and participation in two elementary inclusion classrooms.

Sociocultural Views of Knowledge, Learning, and Disability

In this study of writing instruction for students with learning disabilities in inclusive settings, I took the perspective of sociocultural theory, particularly a social constructivist perspective on learning and teaching. Sociocultural theory posits that human action is situated in cultural, historical, and institutional settings (Poplin & Phillips, 1993; Wertsch, 1991). Thus sociocultural theorists view knowledge as a cultural phenomenon and learning

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Knowledge as a Cultural Phenomenon

Sociocultural theory views knowledge as constructed by the both the individual and the social community. According to Raphael and Hiebert (1996), a social constructivist view of knowledge is based on three assumptions. First, teachers and learners construct knowledge through language. Thus, language and literacy are the foundations of students' intellectual and social development. It is through language that individuals create understandings together. Second, literacy (i.e., reading and writing) reflects "higher mental processes" (Vygotsky, 1978) learned through their meaningful use across multiple contexts within and beyond the classroom. Higher psychological processes are those learned through social interaction, and might include metacognitive knowledge about text and intentional strategies for learning from text. According to Vygotsky, all higher psychological processes originate in social interaction. Third, learning is facilitated through interactions among learners and more knowledgeable members of the social and cultural communities within and beyond the classroom. Such knowledgeable others include teachers, of course, but may also include peers, children of different ages and abilities, and other adults.

Learning as Social Activity

From a sociocultural perspective, learning is situated, that is, connected to a community of people who associate with each other over time around a common set of interests, goals, and activities. Gutierrez (1995) connected individual and cultural or community knowledge when she suggested that "the ways in which individuals interact and use discourse represent the individuals' instantiation and reinterpretation of culture" (p. 24). In the classroom, teachers and learners construct knowledge together (Palincsar, 1998; Poplin, 1988; Raphael & Hiebert, 1996). To do so, teachers and learners talk and interact;

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thus, language and social interactions are the foundations of students' intellectual and social development. Children learn by participating in the communicative practices of the cultural community represented by the classroom. Learning thus arises within both the individual and the social community.

Literacy as Discourse Competence

Gutierrez (1995) suggested that two views of learning language or literacy are found in schools: literacy as the acquisition of procedural knowledge (forms of linguistic knowledge and behaviors needed to display right answers) and literacy as acquisition of discourse competence (includes socialization to academic discourse and membership in a particular community). Historically and at present, students in many classrooms have been and are recipients of incoming knowledge that is broken down and sequenced in logical order for learning. Students are expected to acquire fundamental skills in preparation for learning advanced cognitive skills (Brown et al., 1993; Rojewski & Schell, 1994). The traditional model of literacy instruction in self-contained or resource environments, influenced by medical models of learning disability which focus interventions on the individual, typically entails the splitting of reading and writing skills into subskills, in which students are individually drilled (Allington, 1995). Gutierrez (1995) affirmed that special education classrooms are often characterized by teacher-centered activities that represent knowledge as segmented into well-defined skills. Sindelar (1995) noted that traditionally, special education teachers are specialists in the diagnosis of weaknesses and application of remedial strategies to individual learning problems.

A contrasting view of learning literacy has been developed by researchers invoking the "community of learners" metaphor. Englert and Mariage (1996) list three attributes of "communities of learners" classrooms. First, students are engaged in conversations with teachers and peers about oral and written texts. Second, teachers apprentice students into the cognitive processes that support literacy. Third, teachers employ participation structures that involve students in literate practice, and allow for the gradual transfer from teacher to

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student of the responsibility of directing their own cognitive activity. In this study, literacy is viewed as encompassing far more than procedural knowledge or the individual development of skills in reading and writing processes. Rather, this study defines literacy as "ways of making meaning with and around text" (Michaels & O'Connor, 1990, p. 11) and draws on the work of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1992) in viewing literacy as a social accomplishment of a group. In this view, teachers and students construct, through communicative processes, the norms, expectations, roles, and relationships that define what counts as literacy and literate action in the local events of classroom life: "Rather than seeing in students' actions indications of ability, what we actually see is a patterned way of acting or communicating that students have learned from the opportunities afforded them in this and other classrooms" (Santa Barbara Classroom Group, 1992, p. 145).

Disability as Culturally Constructed

According to sociocultural theory, disability must be considered as emerging from the nexus of individual traits and social environments. Vygotsky, the founder of sociocultural theory (Torres-Velásquez, 1999), distinguished between impairment as a biological phenomenon and disability as a sociocultural phenomenon (Vygotsky, 1993). Similarly, a social theory of disability, which has been the core theory in United Kingdom disability studies (Marks, 1999), also differentiates between "impairment" and "disability." Impairments, in this view, may or may not result in disability (Marks). Disability occurs when society defines a group of individuals as being abnormal and excludes them in some way from general society. To use a personal example, my myopic eyesight requires correction (a biological impairment); however, myopia is not defined by our society as a disability, and I am not excluded from full participation in general society because of the condition. Thus, from a social constructivist perspective, characteristics of person and environment may interact to construct a learning disability, and it further follows that it is in the interaction between person and environment that a learning disability may be

ameliorated. Ergo, failures to learn are not entirely individual failures but involve complex institutional and contextual dynamics involving relationships between people, the conversations of which they are a part, and the communities of practice to which they belong (Forman & McCormick, 1995; Gee, 1992; McDermott, 1993; Vygotsky, 1978).

Theories of Affordance, Participation, and Appropriation

This study examined affordance, participation, and appropriation in two elementary inclusion classrooms, and the possible relationships between what was afforded in particular classrooms and the nature of the participation of students in classroom activities. This section provides theoretical background for use of these constructs. It should be noted that, although I consider all three to be critical elements in student learning, this study primarily investigated evidence of affordance and participation in the two classroom sites.

Affordances

In studies of effective educational practice, researchers must take into account the opportunities that are afforded to students in any given situation. In this section I first define the construct of affordance, its situated nature, and its importance for students with learning disabilities. I then discuss domains of affordance that pertain to this study, specifically, teacher beliefs, community, and discourse.

Definition. Affordance, according to Webster, means "to make available." I considered using the term "opportunity to learn" in the manner of Brock (1997), who rejected notions of time on task as major indicators of opportunity to learn in favor of functionalist views that seek to understand what constitutes a learning opportunity for a particular child; however, redefining the "opportunity to learn" construct was outside the purpose of this study. Brown et al. (1993) used the metaphor of "seeding the environment" with ideas and concepts. I also considered the use of the term "curriculum" to describe what I consider to be affordances; however, curriculum is often taken to refer primarily to the content of instruction (cf. Udvari-Solner & Thousand, 1996). Gehrke, Knapp, and Sirotnik (1992) acknowledged what they call an "array of definitions for curriculum" (p.

52), and advised that attempts to understand curriculum require examinations of "intended goals and objectives; breadth, depth, and organization of content and subject matter; instructional strategies; learning activities; use of human and material resources; use of time and space; grouping patterns; and assessment of learning" (p. 53). These are all necessary for a definition of "affordance," but not sufficient.

A broader view of affordances might be found in what Tierney and Rogers (1989) termed the "social fabric" of the classroom. A group's social fabric is comprised of social rules and norms, which include audience and authority (in classrooms, whether these are exclusively the teachers' or shared among all classroom members), independence and flexibility of strategy use (whether students can make meaning in creating their own texts, and can monitor their own progress), and the nature of the demands of academic tasks. Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1995) members might define social fabric as consisting of actions and interactions, norms and expectations, and roles and relationships that are negotiated among group members. Specific features that may be examined to gain an understanding of the social fabric include (a) conditions including place, time, participants, and artifacts; (b) particular activities, sequences and subactivities; (c) meanings found in speech, writing, words, and other symbolic systems; and (d) norms, expectations, roles, relationships, beliefs, and other sociocultural knowledge about sign systems, activity, and the material world (Gee & Green, 1998). These elements encompass and broaden the definition of curriculum as described above.

Hence, in this study, affordances are broadly and inclusively defined as what is available to be encountered in any situation. In classrooms affordances include (a) teachers' goals, objectives, and beliefs; (b) instructional content, organization, and strategies; (c) learning tasks, material and semiotic resources, and assessments; (d) use of time, space, and grouping patterns; and (e) all possible combinations of individual and interpersonal activities, interactions, expectations, and social norms and relationships in the classroom. In fact, one might argue that there is nothing to be found in classrooms that does not in

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The situated nature of affordances. If affordances are defined as having the potential to shape learning, and all classrooms are different in some way, then what is learned is necessarily different in different classrooms; that is, learning is context dependent, or situated (Brown et al, 1993; Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Englert and Palincsar (1991) suggested that literacy development must be understood in the context in which it occurs. In fact, differences in context may account for differences in language acquisition and development, thus moving us away from deficit-model explanations for learning disabilities.

Contexts may not only differ between classrooms but may also differ within classrooms. Lave and Wenger (1991) distinguished between a teaching curriculum and a learning curriculum. A teaching curriculum involves the teacher's intention, perspective, and selection of what the learner should attend to. A learning curriculum, on the other hand, is considered from the learner's viewpoint and is limited by learner intention and what he or she selects, values, or notices in the environment to be learned. The learner's activity is always situated in the learning curriculum. To the extent that there is overlap between the two curricula, students may learn what the teacher intends to be learned. In our terms, the teaching curriculum may contribute affordances for the learning curriculum, but the learner always appropriates from the learning curriculum, which may or may not include the affordances contributed by the teacher.

When literacy is seen as resulting from situated relationships, it becomes clear that the range of situations or opportunities students have to engage in literate actions can limit or expand students' literacy learning. Therefore, in order to understand how students develop literate actions from participation in schooling, we need to identify and describe the range of opportunities available to students. Taking a close look at the range of opportunities students have in inclusion classrooms, and how students construct their learning within that

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Importance of contextual issues for students with disabilities. Because learning is context specific, and because special educators consider context when making placement decisions regarding educational programming for students with learning disabilities, they should attend to contextual details beyond whether or not a particular context is labeled "inclusive." Vygotsky considered context to be critical for students with special educational needs (Vygotsky, 1993). Recognizing how disability can come to be socially constructed (Forman & McCormick, 1995), Vygotsky distinguished between primary (organic) and secondary (social) deficits, suggesting that atypical learners may be as much disabled by their social interactional circumstances as they are by their organic deficits (Gindis, 1995).

Other theorists also recognized the consequences of acting in particular contexts. Coupland & Nussbaum (1993) acknowledged the dynamic interaction between the individual psyche and the external world in that meaning and identities "are shaped only in relation to the contexts onto which they are projected and through the interpretive responses of others" (p. 1) for "not only do we constitute (make) and reconstitute (remake) our own social worlds, but we are also ourselves made and remade by them in the process" (Shotter, 1993, p. 11). Giddens (1990) distinguished between capability and knowledgeability. Although a person could have acted otherwise (capability), he or she might not have had the knowledge to do so; however, with a different process of structuration (how the context came to be constructed as it was), the person might have acted differently.

Two distinct camps within the special education community have staked out opposing views regarding context for educational interventions. One side of the debate, well represented by Kauffman (1993), takes the position that the important consideration in reforming special education (which usually means combining special education and general education in some way) is to maintain a focus on the unique learning needs of students with disabilities, wherever they are placed. Those who advocate this position support the notion

of the continuum of services, that is, a range of possible educational placements, varying from least to most restrictive, for students with disabilities. The other side of the debate, equally well represented by Lipsky and Gartner (1996), insists that providing all students with a very good general education, making general education look more like special education, meets the educational needs of all students, abled and disabled alike. This group advocates the placement of all students with disabilities in general education environments. Since special education and regular education typically operate within different paradigms (Meredith & Underwood, 1995), inclusionary models are likely to entail both affordances and constraints for students with special needs. Suggested benefits of inclusion involve elimination of labeling (Shinsky, 1993) and the consolidation of what is often a fragmented program of remediation (Allington & Shake, 1986). Cautions include the neglect of unique learning needs (Bryan, Bay, and Donahue, 1988) and the lack of necessary support services (Stoler, 1992).

Differential access to literate practice. Although all classrooms can be characterized as discourse communities, it should be apparent that living in particular classrooms leads to differential ways of being teacher or student, and differential options in learning (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1995).

In summary, if participation in different instructional contexts results in different learning for their members, then schooling may be viewed as a process that expands or limits students' opportunities for learning (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). However, merely looking at curriculum (defined as content) will not tell us everything about students' learning in particular contexts. Because classrooms are collectives or communities in which a group of people construct common knowledge, language, and patterned ways of engaging with each other over time, and because living in particular classrooms leads to particular ways of being a student or a teacher, to the construction of particular types of knowledge, and to particular types of access to schooled knowledge, we can gain information about how and why different instructional contexts

mediate between elementary school students with mild disabilities and their literacy learning when we discover and make visible the social and academic dimensions for participating and learning within particular contexts (Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon,1995).

Teacher beliefs. Teachers bring particular epistemological beliefs and theories to bear on their teaching practice (Pajares, 1992; Vaughn & Schumm, 1996). They have particular objectives in mind when they plan curriculum and identify resources from which they draw to construct their curriculum. They establish particular interactional patterns in the classroom and expect students to conform to codes of classroom behavior and rules related to learning particular content (Kachur & Prendergast, 1995; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991). For most teachers, these premises are formed early, remain highly durable, and acquire emotional dimensions (Pajares, 1992). Teachers in inclusion classrooms also operate from personally held "orienting premises" (Vaughn & Schumm, 1996).

Seminal research conducted by Brophy and Good (1974) demonstrated that teacher expectations exert an important influence on students' achievement. Teacher expectations and classroom instruction are based, consciously or unconsciously, on underlying philosophical premises. Although teachers' beliefs and theories impact students' educational experiences (Beach, 1994; Brantlinger, 1996; Brownell & Pajares, 1999; Pajares, 1992; Soodak, Podell, & Lehman, 1998; Stanovich & Jordan, 1998), information about the theoretical orientations of the teacher(s) are not generally included in descriptions of classrooms participating in research studies.

In this study, teachers' theoretical orientation to instruction and learning was key to their selection as participants in the study, as well as to the analysis of writing instruction and students' experiences in the classroom. Teachers holding two different and distinct philosophies of teaching and learning were invited to participate in the study. The teaching team in the first of the two research classrooms premised instructional practice on a philosophy of the individual development of skills in reading and writing processes. The teaching team in the second research classroom exhibited a strongly articulated philosophy

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of literacy as the social accomplishment of a group (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). In both classrooms clear evidence was found of the connection between teachers' "orienting premises" and instructional activities, and by extension, what was available for students to learn.

Community. Affordances in classrooms also include forms of community and culturally-based Discourses. People in classrooms share common knowledge and patterned ways of interacting. The notion of sharing is consonant with classrooms being described as communities: communities of practice, communities of learners, cultural communities, or literacy communities (Brown et al, 1993; Englert & Mariage, 1996; Gutierrez & Stone, 1997; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1994; Wenger, 1998). In fact, members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1995) characterize all classrooms as being "a form of community" (p. 63), forms which may be explicated and differentiated by identifying the types of norms, rules, contents, scripts, relationships, interactions, and identities associated with a particular community form.

Wenger (1998), for example, defined communities of practice as characterized by mutual engagement (doing things together), joint enterprise (shared goals and objectives), and shared repertoire (common artifacts, discourse, actions, history). However, a community of practice is not necessarily homogeneous--tensions and conflicts may exist within such communities, and these are also forms of participation. Winkelmann (1991), sensitive to possible interpretations of communities as homogeneous entities, preferred the term "collectivity" to "community," arguing that "community" implies a monolithic interpretation of the classroom, with the teacher's beliefs and theories firmly at the center. In her view, such a community has the potential to marginalize individuals who fail to conform with the monolithic interpretation. Collectivity, on the other hand, begins with diversity. The role of the teacher in a collectivity is to harness the energy of diversity in the interests of the voiceless and disempowered. A collective has the potential to engender genuine solidarity as members struggle from the bottom up to define themselves

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A number of researchers who invoke a "community of learners" metaphor (Englert, Raphael, & Mariage, 1994; Gutierrez & Stone, 1997; Rogoff, 1994) view teaching and learning as allowing for multiple forms of participation and requiring multiple forms of scaffolding. Types of participation include a range of active roles in the learning process for both more mature and less mature members. As fellow participants, all community members can make significant contributions to the emerging understandings constructed by the group in spite of having unequal knowledge about the topic under study, because all knowledge is equally valued. Additionally, all members have opportunities to direct and assist as well as to receive assistance. Even though there may be an asymmetry of roles, these vary from one situation to another as various participants take the lead at various times (Rogoff) in shifting dyadic, small group, or large group arrangements, rather than a single adult-in-charge-of-whole-group model. Multiple forms of assistance from teachers and peers, as well as multiple opportunities for and forms of participation offer a range of educational opportunities that has obvious advantages for students with learning disabilities, who, in traditional special education classrooms, may invariably be seen as needy and requiring of predominantly basic skill instruction. Thus, resources of both individual students and the larger community are used as members coparticipate and jointly construct new ways of knowing and doing (Gutierrez & Stone).

Discourse. If learning is differentially accomplished in particular contexts, we must ask, What is being learned? Rather than learning content or skills, Gee (1992) suggested that learning involves larger entities called "Discourses." He defined a Discourse as involving

> ways of talking, acting, interacting, valuing, and believing, as well as the spaces and material "props" the group uses to carry out its social practices. Discourses integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body position, and clothes. Discourses are always ways of displaying (through words, actions, values, and beliefs) membership in a particular social group or social network. (p. 107)

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Discourses define ways of speaking and acting, for the individual is not the inventor of a Discourse, but "the meeting point of many, sometimes conflicting, socially and historically defined discourses" (Gee, 1989, p. 3). A Discourse is a kind of identity kit, made up of ways of saying, writing, doing, being, valuing, and believing. Discourses are acquired within a larger community. For example, Primary Discourses are learned in the home while Secondary Discourses are attached to institutions or groups that one might encounter later. Gutierrez (1995) conceived of language learning as gaining competence in a Discourse, rather than merely gaining reading and writing skills.

Gee (1992) further suggested that Discourses are acquired by enculturation into social practices through an apprenticeship process. Through participation, children learn how to be a club member, a party attender, or a student. Brown et al. (1993) noted that the concept of apprenticeship is often applied to the development of an association with disciplinary communities, such as mathematicians or historians. They, however, posit a type of apprenticeship akin to Gee's, which they call "thinking apprenticeships." These include learning the ways of knowing, cultural practices, discourse patterns, and belief systems of disciplinary communities.

In addition to defining <u>what</u> is being learned, discourse also defines <u>how</u> it is learned. Discourse (small d) defined as talk may also provide affordances for students in the interactions in and purposes for students' learning experiences (Burbules, 1993; Mariage, 1996). Cazden (1988) described how teachers' discourse may offer students a scaffold, a visible and audible support that can be gradually withdrawn as the novice takes over responsibility for the task. Teachers' talk may also offer reconceptualization opportunities, helping students see phenomena in a new way. Students' discourse, particularly with peers, may be exploratory (Barnes, 1993), acting as a catalyst in enhancing cognitive reorganization, and preparing students for the future, as they work together in teams, much as adults do in committees.

Applebee's (1996) notion of "traditions" and "conversations" is analogous to Gee's

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(1992) Discourses (big D) and discourse (small d). Within a "tradition," according to Applebee, are "domains for conversation." "Domains" are defined as "selections of topics or issues out of a larger tradition, and as a set are overlapping and multiple rather than taxonomic" (p. 37). "Conversations" then take place within "domains" and are "the primary means of teaching and learning" (p. 37). "Conversations" can be many activities, but must be essentially dialogic: "a pedagogy that supports students' entry into meaningful traditions of conversation is of necessity dialogic" (p. 62). Thus in this study, "discourse in the classroom" refers to both how things are done in a particular classroom (the tradition) and the linguistic patterns that typify classroom instruction and interaction.

Participation

A second domain of interest in this research is the participation of students with disabilities in curricular activities. The notion of participation suggests a subject-world relationship (Tucker, in Lave, 1996). Vygotsky addressed the subject-world relation by suggesting, in his "general genetic law of cultural development," that every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and, later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological)" (p. 57). Rogoff (1995) also addressed this relationship when she contrasted two prevailing conceptions of learning and development, transmission and acquisition, with a third, participation. The transmission model of learning, according to Rogoff, involves action on the part of the world as knowledge is transmitted from the outside world to the brain. I suggest that this model might characterize direct instruction methods of instruction. The acquisition model of learning involves action on the part of the individual as the brain seeks out knowledge. The discovery learning model might be described in this way. Both are essentially one-sided models, in that either the world or the individual is active, and that knowledge is some thing that can be possessed and transferred. When learning is seen as the transmission or acquisition of an object, questions about learning and development coalesce around issues of where information is stored and

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Rogoff's (1995) third conception of learning and development, that of participation, posited that both world and individual are active and interact with each other. As individuals participate in sociocultural activities, their participation is transformed (Lave & Wenger, 1991). To understand development, then, researchers need to describe the activities in which people participate, how, and with whom, and how individuals move from one type of participation to another. Consonant with the notion that knowledge is not a transferrable object, Lave and Wenger suggested that the goal of participation is not the acquisition of a skill but the attainment of full membership in a community.

Apprenticeship. Rogoff (1993) suggested that learning as participation involves community activity and employed the metaphor of apprenticeship for describing this activity. For Rogoff, the term "apprenticeship" emphasized agentive aspects of the learner's activity in arranging one's own learning opportunities. Lave (1996) took the notion of agency further in defining learning as the pursuit of "identity-making life projects" (p. 157), an enterprise which only sometimes coincides with teaching and instruction. "Life projects" are both activity and goal of members of communities of practice, intimately connected to the social surround, since "crafting identities is a social process" (p. 157). Thus, teaching is subsumed into the life projects of all students, and the result of instruction depends on its role in students' identity-making activities.

Other researchers also draw on the apprenticeship metaphor for talking about learning and teaching. Rojewski and Schell (1994) used the apprenticeship metaphor to develop a cognitive apprenticeship model of instruction for students with special needs. According to their model, instruction involves content, methods, sequence, and sociology (their way of talking about social interactions). These uses of the metaphor are helpful in prescribing effective instructional practices for use in classrooms.

Focusing on learning situations occurring outside of formal schooling, Lave and Wenger (1991) used the apprenticeship metaphor to describe how individuals learn, rather

than to prescribe how children should learn. For them, apprenticeship is learning by being in communities of practice (Lave, 1996). All learners, including children in school, must participate in a practice if they are to learn it. Since individuals do not participate in activities alone, such participation involves active involvement with others in culturally organized activity with a goal for development of the less experienced participants (Gutierrez, 1995; Rogoff, 1993, 1995). Further, learners learn by doing, with a view to becoming members of the community. In participation, learners acquire knowledge and skills, but the telos is becoming active participants in the cultural activities of the community, rather than the acquisition or reproduction of knowledge. Thus, the important thing is access to practice, rather than access to content in isolation from practice. In order to learn, newcomers must not be sequestered, as they often are in resource rooms, from opportunities to absorb the culture of practice and to participate in the manner of full participants. At first, access for newcomers may be limited to peripheral ideas or forms of participation, but even limited forms of participation, termed by Lave and Wenger (1991) as "legitimate peripheral participation," belong to the learning process. The advantage of participating even peripherally involves opportunities to "develop a view of what the whole enterprise is about, and what there is to be learned" (p. 93).

Participation structures. In classrooms, students need to know how to manage academic task structures for effective participation in classroom lessons and activities. Erickson (1996) suggested that all academic tasks consist of two structural components: social participation structure (SPTS) and subject matter task structure (SMTS). Subject matter task structures involve task sequence, levels of difficulty, closed- or open-ended knowledge framing, and skill required to complete the task. By definition, students with learning disabilities have difficulty with subject matter. Social participation structures, on the other hand, involve functional relationships such as "seeking help, giving help, taking turns at talk in a classroom conversation, doing work individually, doing work collectively, joking, and taking a break" (p. 96). While subject matter task structures are apparent in

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classrooms, social participation structures are often invisible. Teachers often assume students' knowledge and skill in negotiating the social context, and they rarely teach students explicit social skills needed for the accomplishment of academic tasks, particularly those requiring peer interaction and/or collaboration.

Students' social skills are often implicated in teachers' decisions about referring a student for evaluation for disability status. Thus, attending to social participation structures within classrooms may reduce the appearance of disability. Erickson (1996) suggested that through altering the social participation structure, teachers may "widen the range of ways in which differing students can engage the same subject matter" (p. 99). For example, polychronic organization of activity--more than one activity taking place at a time--may make a student with a learning disability less visible. Polychronic organization of activity includes allowing students to do more than one thing at a time (e.g., talk while working), having different students engage in different tasks at the same time (e.g., reading, math, science), integrating subject areas, and promoting cooperative work. Understanding how the teachers in this study addressed the social participation aspect of academic tasks is critical to understanding the inclusive nature of each classroom.

Positioning. Apprenticeship relationships in the classroom may involve opportunities for students to step into positions of power and authority. Traditionally, students with learning disabilities are seen as needy, rather than as capable of occupying positions of influence. However, it is possible for these students to step into leadership positions when contexts allow social opportunities for repositionings associated with an "enabled" rather than "disabled" learning status (Berry, 1998; Englert, Berry, & Dunsmore, 2001). Harré and Langenhove (1999) define a position as:

> a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties, and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster. (p. 1)

Persons may be positioned by others or oneself; however, positioning others always

entails a self positioning as well, and vice versa (Harré & Langenhove, 1999). In addition, positioning may be intentional or may be tacit and unconsciously reflect the local moral order. Even persons with good intentions may position themselves and others with unintended results. Individuals vary in their mastery of positioning techniques, in their willingness or intention to position or be positioned, and in their power to achieve positioning. Such positionings are intimately connected with the construction of personal identity. However, we will only understand outcomes such as these when we as researchers are willing to delve deeply into classroom environments and seek evidence of the social consequences of teachers' instructional theories and practices. To do so

> the question we must ask is not which interactional routines and strategies are correlated with successful language acquisition. Rather, we must first ask what meaning routines and strategies have in the local culture and how they enable learners to construct positive identities and relations and manage competing agendas" (Willett, 1995, p. 499).

Discursive practices for participation. Rogoff (1995) suggested that activity and communication are key to participation. In the same vein, Wenger (1998) suggested that participation involves action and connection, connoting both personal and social aspects. To participate is to be involved in a process that engages individuals' "bodies, minds, emotions, and social relations" (p. 56). I have suggested that Discourses (big D) serve as resources, or affordances, for learning in classrooms. Discourse (small d) is the medium for learning. Discourse patterns and styles in classroom talk may be at once both constitutive and indicative of the types of teaching and learning that occur in classrooms. As constitutive, discourse allows the creation of knowledge, the appropriation of the ways-of-speaking and ways-of-knowing congruent with that knowledge, and the granting of social identities that together define the classroom context (Hicks, 1995; Michaels & O'Connor, 1990). As indicator, classroom discursive practices can tell us about the "real" learning that goes on in classrooms. For instance, inquiry learning may not occur in classrooms where teachers and students communicate largely in ways reflective of direct instruction, and where the teacher and the classroom texts are considered to hold the key to

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knowledge in the form of the "right" answer, regardless of the curriculum materials used (Hicks; Mehan, 1979).

Burbules (1993) described four types of dialogue used in teaching: conversation, inquiry, debate, and instruction. Dialogues whose purposes are conversation and debate are divergent, that is, open-ended and exploratory, while dialogues for inquiry and instruction are convergent, indicating a focus on answering questions and coming to conclusions. Thus, a high level of conversation and debate in a classroom may indicate a "community of learners" (Dudley-Marling & Stires, 1992; Gutierrez & Stone, 1997; Rogoff, 1994) wherein individuals have opportunities to speak and have a voice in their activities, where students are trusted to make choices and expected to take responsibility for learning, and where teachers and students collaborate with each other in sharing information and resources. Conversely, a high level of inquiry and instruction may denote predetermined activity in a structured curriculum that determines the skills and experiences students receive. Teachers plan and teach for, rather than with, students, who are thrust in the passive role of receiving the teacher's instruction.

For Vygotsky (1943/1986) discourse was essential for the development of the mental functioning involved in schooling. He theorized that tools such as discourse shape the ways in which humans interact with the physical and social world (Wertsch, 1989). Extending this line of thinking into interactional contexts, Bakhtin emphasized the dialogic nature of language (Wertsch). He conceived of any utterance, that is, a unit of speech communication, as a link in the chain of speech communication which both responds to previous utterances and anticipates the responses of succeeding ones. Therefore, in looking at how children construct their learning over time, linking communication in the moment with prior communicative events can inform us about how learning takes place, about opportunities to learn, and about whether and how children make use of those opportunities.

For students with disabilities, the issue of participation is critical and has been much

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investigated. Early research examining the engagement of students with disabilities in inclusion classrooms found that mainstreamed students were less involved in academic and social exchanges than were their general education counterparts (Alves & Gottlieb, 1986), and that students with learning difficulties in inclusion classrooms spent less time on task and more time being distracted when compared with their general education classmates (Buckland & Croll, 1987). These findings were later corroborated by McIntosh, Vaughn, Schumm, Haager, and Lee (1993), who found that students with learning disabilities were involved in fewer student-student interactions than general education students, and that students with LD participated less in whole-group instruction. They speculated that low participation rates might result from the passive learning styles of students with learning disabilities and the limited instructional adaptations made by teachers.

Additional work by Cancelli, Friedman, Harris, & Yoshida (1993) found that type of engaged behavior that was predictive of achievement differed according to type of participant structure for students with learning disabilities. When students were involved in teacher-directed instruction, reading silently and listening academically were highly predictive of success. When students were involved in independent seatwork, talking appropriately and looking academically were highly related to achievement. Clearly, when community membership and opportunities for learning are defined, at least in part, by degree of participation, it becomes a critical issue for students with learning disabilities who are often less involved in classroom social interactions than are their general education peers.

A final word on affordance and participation must address the possibility of overlap between these two constructs. In a sense, the distinction between affordance and participation is forced when applied to interactions and events. While the study, for analytical purposes, sought to define affordances as what is available to be encountered and participation as action and interaction, it can be strongly argued that because aspects of participation are different in different classrooms, participation also affects what is available

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Appropriation

A third focus of this investigation involved a focus on student outcomes. In examinations of effective teaching and classroom interactions, researchers and educators must include student learning as one criterion for the evaluation of effective practice (Greenwood & Maheady, 1997).

Rogoff's (1995) notion of appropriation involved individual change which resulted in individuals "handl(ing) other situations in accord with development in previous situations" (p. 132). She preferred the term "appropriation" to "transfer," a more widely used construct, because appropriation rejects the idea of taking some thing across a boundary from external to internal. Rather, appropriation refers to "taking for one's own use," and implies action in the world in a participatory sense, rather than action which takes something from the world. Brown et al. (1993) used the term "appropriation" in the sense of individual "harvesting" from the seeds that have been planted by teachers and other learners. No one can predict what will be "harvested" and in what ways; these differ for each individual. For Lave and Wenger (1991), change involved moving toward the center of practice from its periphery, not toward acquiring the skills of a master, but acquiring the identity of a master, in other words, with a view to becoming full community members. Lave (1996) did not use the term "appropriation," but wrote similarly about the "taking up" of classroom activities by learners into their "life projects." The result of learning is not the acquisition of some thing, but changes in actions and identity. All of these notions imply action on the part of the learner that is agentive and purposeful, and reject notions that teaching and instruction can "force" learning. The best that a teacher may do is skillfully plan the fertile conditions that make it possible for learners to appropriate what is useful to them (Brown et al.).

In summary, learning is accomplished socially. Hicks (1994) offered a useful metaphor when she posited that the individual child's discourse and learning is somewhat

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of a "boundary phenomenon" in that the individual child neither appropriates cultural discourses verbatim nor works within a social vacuum. Learning and development are facilitated through interactions among learners and more knowledgeable members of the social and cultural communities within and beyond the classroom. Through participation in the community, students also learn how to be members of the community.

Dimensions of Social and Academic Activity

What are possible dimensions of social and academic activity found in classrooms that might inform us about students' differential participation and learning in inclusion and resource classrooms? Particular to the classrooms involved in the study, the following five dimensions describe variations in the construction of instructional contexts, roles, and discourse practices.

Transmission/Acquisition Versus Participation

Rogoff (1994, 1995) suggested that views of development and models of instruction fall into three categories: transmission (adult-run instruction), acquisition (children-run instruction), and participation. None of these models are, in her view, inherently good or bad, but they do involve different relations of the learner to subject matter and to the community. Transmission/acquisition models suggest that where information is stored and how it is retrieved and generalized across situations are important issues. Participation models view as important the kinds, nature, and purposes of activities, their current, historical, and prospective relationships, and how people's role in them transform.

Control Versus Collaboration

In the area of learning disabilities, educators often believe that teaching is most effective when it is tightly controlled in order to address specific individual deficits. To control the content, the context must be reduced (Poplin, 1988). Learning is segmented in parts which are studied out of context in order to reduce variability in the learning task. This leaves the student predominantly passive.

In collaborative teaching and learning environments, however, the teacher does not

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always assume expertise and authority about the topic under inquiry or control every aspect of a learning activity. Rather, the adult's stance is one of "contingent responsiveness" (Wells & Chang-Wells, 1992, p. 97). In taking such a stance the teacher first listens to discover the child's topic and purpose, and then makes a contribution that will enable the child to extend and develop it. As the child comes to a shared understanding of the task with the adult, and through a process of negotiation and gradual, responsive transfer of control of the task from the teacher to the student, she is able to solve the task independently. Illustrating "contingent responsiveness," teachers in one inclusion classroom helped students develop the structure of a science report using students' ideas. Subsequently students wrote individual reports based on the cooperatively constructed structure (Englert & Mariage, 1996). A second example illustrates shared expertise and authority. A mathematics teacher established a norm that helping one's peers to learn was not a marginal activity, but a central element of students' roles in that classroom (Yackel, Cobb, Wood, Wheatley, & Merkel, 1990). Thus, in collaborative environments, a range of educational opportunities is possible for both individuals and groups. This range of possibilities is of particular import to teachers in heterogeneous classrooms who are attempting to accommodate students with special learning needs (Gutierrez & Stone, 1997).

Unidirectional Versus Reciprocal Instruction

Conventional teaching of students with learning disabilities is typically unidirectional, in that the teacher knows what is to be learned, delivers the knowledge, and expects the student to learn it (Poplin, 1988). Not only is the direction of instruction one way, but the teacher is the ultimate authority over what will be taught and learned. Reciprocal relationships among classroom participants, on the other hand, assume a shared responsibility for learning, with multiple forms of assistance available for learning. Students have access to the various social roles, discourse practices, and forms of knowledge necessary for full participation in learning events. Regular opportunities are provided for participation in a variety of roles, situations, and activities. Gutierrez and

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Stone (1997) described a student with a learning disability, who, through the support of reciprocal relationships experienced in a peer discussion group, developed his participation in the group from nonverbal observer to expert discussion leader. In a classroom that values distributed teaching and learning, occasions are provided for participants to take on more complex roles in the performance of tasks as they develop new skills.

Discourse Patterns

Social interactions are structured by discourse patterns, including participant frameworks, that get constructed as members interact with one another and over time (O'Connor & Michaels, 1996). The construct of participant frameworks describes the construction and assumption of particular patterns of roles and responsibilities. A common participant framework found in schools is the recitation format where the teacher who talks, decides who else talks, asks the questions, evaluates the answers and clearly manages the conversation (Edwards & Westgate, 1987). This discursive pattern is the ubiquitous I-R-E pattern: teacher initiation of an exchange, student response, teacher evaluation of response (Mehan, 1979). In an I-R-E pattern, the roles of teacher and student are unequal. The teacher casts students in the role of learners, unknowing and unable to evaluate their own responses, while the teacher is the authority and arbiter of what counts as knowledge. This particular recitation format could be thought of as belonging to a type of classroom interaction identified as "procedural engagement" (Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991, p. 259), where students and teacher display typical school behavior but do not engage in depth with subject matter.

Nystrand and Gamoran (1991) contrast "procedural engagement" with an alternate recitation format which they call "substantive engagement." This format is characterized by open-ended questions, teacher uptake, and high level teacher evaluation which incorporates students' responses into the conversation so that the responses modify the conversation. In other alternative participant frameworks which are more conversational, students may talk to one another in a conversation-like dialogue (Goatley, 1995; McMahon & Raphael, 1997;

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Raphael, 1994). Such dialogues may involve two or more participants, a developmental and continuous sequence of ideas, an exploratory spirit, and an attitude of reciprocity that involves a sharing of interest, respect, and concern (Burbules, 1993). Students may also act as leaders in ways teachers often reserve for themselves by determining topics of conversation and positioning themselves as more knowledgeable members or "experts" of unique topical content (Mariage, 1996). Thus, classroom conversations establish definitions of literacy and determine who has authority to interpret and decide meaning (Stock & Robinson, 1990; Tierney & Rogers, 1989).

Skills Versus Holistic Models of Instruction

As noted above, conventional approaches to teaching students with learning disabilities have implemented models which emphasize individual treatments in private settings, with teachers attending explicitly to each child's unique learning and social needs through the provision of appropriate individual learning materials and methods. An example of such an individualized program is the Adaptive Learning Environments Model (ALEM; Hallahan, Keller, McKinney, Lloyd, & Bryan, 1988; Laboratory for Student Success, 2001). ALEM was designed to accommodate the instructional and special service needs of all students, both disabled and nondisabled, in general education class settings. The ALEM model includes two curricular components. First, each student is provided with a highly structured prescriptive learning component designed to teach basic skills in academic subject areas. Second, an exploratory component allows students to develop social and personal skills through group work and creative tasks. Based on diagnostic tests and each student's individual rate of progress, teachers assign students to various levels of both types of tasks.

In contrast, Englert (1992) described holistic approaches to classroom instruction which view human learning as a complex whole that cannot be broken into its parts. Holistic instructional models involve students in complex problem-solving experiences with life-related goals that cross modalities and subject matter divisions. Such experiences

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are connected with the learner's present knowledge and evolve out of interactions with trusted individuals as well as out of individual interests and development. Features of holistic approaches include instruction that focuses on constructivist characteristics of the teaching and learning experience: the whole of the learned experience, the interaction of old and new experience, people as active learners, the fusing of function and meaning, learning that proceeds from whole to part and views errors as critical for learning, the trusting relationship between teacher and student, and the importance of building on present knowledge and interest. Holistic approaches to literacy instruction allow students to experience reading and writing activities in all their complexity, with appropriate scaffolding.

Selected Reviews of Studies of Literacy Instruction for Students with Special Learning Needs in Inclusive Classrooms

Recently, researchers concerned about students with special educational needs have begun to step away from conducting investigations that focus on individual students and have begun to include in their consideration the wider social context in which students learn. In order to do so, these researchers have taken into account the various social relations and interactional routines that help to shape academic tasks required of students and their participation in them. In so doing, what has been made apparent are the connections that exist between academic learning and the local classroom culture. Two research programs have specifically examined social interactions and discourse related to the literacy learning of students with learning disabilities in inclusion classrooms, and a third has investigated the literacy learning of second language students. The three lines of research I will briefly describe include the work of Englert and colleagues in developing the idea of literacy apprenticeships, the work of members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group who see classroom cultures as constructed by the members involved, and Gutierrez's research examining the differential effects of context on students' learning experiences.

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The Work of Englert and Colleagues

Englert et al.'s work in the area of integrated literacy instruction has been seminal (Englert, Rozendal, Mariage, 1994; Englert, Raphael, Mariage, 1994; Englert & Mariage, 1996; Englert & Rozendal, 1996; Englert et al., 1993). A line of research begun in special education classrooms as the Early Literacy Project (ELP) and continued in inclusion classrooms as the Literacy Environments for Accelerated Progress (LEAP) project (Englert, Berry, & Dunsmore, 1998), focused on effective literacy activities and their implementation by experienced teachers whose curriculum planning and classroom instruction was based on four essential conditions for classroom learning: (a) interpersonal discourse, (b) responsive instruction, (c) holistic activities, and (d) the support of the learning community. Teachers in the project shared a belief that all children, as active learners, continually engage in reconstructing and interpreting their own experiences (Englert et al.; Englert & Mariage; Englert, Raphael, & Mariage; Englert, Rozendal, & Mariage). Englert and colleagues found that teachers' daily use of literacy activities such as choral reading, partner reading and writing, Sharing Chair, Morning News, journal writing, and thematic units resulted in accelerated progress for their students with learning disabilities (Englert et al.). Moreover, they found that students who were in classrooms for multiple years with teachers who had implemented these activities for multiple years made the most gains in reading achievement.

Teachers in the projects implemented an apprenticeship model of learning and instruction which was directed toward accelerating the reading and writing performance of all students, but especially students with mild disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities, emotional impairments, cognitive impairments) in literacy-rich inclusion contexts. In the research classrooms, teachers encouraged students to be thinkers and involved students in the whole problem-solving enterprise. Emphases were placed on apprenticing students into the literacy discourses by modeling the language and tools of readers and writers, and by creating collaborative sites that aligned students with each other and with the content of the

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academic work while simultaneously socializing students into particular ways of speaking, thinking, and acting (the socio-mental practices) valued in the discourse community.

The distinguishing instructional feature of this body of work involved an intention that special education students fully participate in the literate practices of the community for the purpose of gaining cognitive access to the content of the curriculum. Consistent with apprenticeship models of learning, the project teachers emphasized that students with learning challenges should be given access to as well as be involved in complex literacy processes from the beginning of the year, as well as the beginning of the process, while being supported in the areas in which they needed assistance. By changing the nature of the participation frameworks used in the classrooms, teachers sought to position all students as active players, encouraging them to direct and manage their own learning.

For example, in one classroom, students collectively assisted a peer, Shay, in composing text for a personal narrative (Englert & Mariage, 1996). The teacher's role was to orchestrate the discourse by managing both the social participation of the students and the academic content of the lesson (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). In the following excerpts, the teacher first questions Shay in order to clarify his response to James's question, then frames the task as a problem-solving activity.

T: OK, James, what was your question [for Shay] about the race?
James: Does he jump [the motorbike] over the ramps?
Shay: You have to stand on the pegs. That's what you put your feet on.
T: On the bike?
Shay: Yes. That's what you put your feet on. You got to jump over the ramps...with your feet on them.
T: So how could we write that? If we just write "stand on the pegs," would our readers know what we mean? If we read it in a week do you think we will know what we mean? How can we write it in a complete sentence and a complete thought? Barb?
Barb: He stands up on his bike.

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T: You know what I think...When you say, "He stands up," I picture him standing on the ground. Should we make that more clear about where he stands?
Charles: He stands on the pegs...
T: He stands on the pegs...

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T: Let's see what we wrote so far. You know, I see a mistake I made a mistake at the beginning. Does anyone see my mistake?...When we are starting to write what do we need to do to the first word?

Ss: Put a capital!

James: You forgot to indent.

T: I am going to use this arrow to remind me to indent when I copy it over.

As the teacher skillfully guided the group's thinking, she modeled question-asking and sense-making as well as the conventions of writing. She thought aloud and modeled fix-it strategies. She also positioned herself as a learner, emphasizing the distributed nature of knowledge and expertise in the classroom as students corrected her. The nature of the discourse as conversational (Burbules, 1993) rather than initiation-response-evaluation (Mehan, 1979) afforded students opportunities to co-construct text, positioning them as active participants rather than passive recipients in the construction of their own knowledge. As apprentices in the literacy discourse of this classroom, each student was able to participate in the whole enterprise (Lave & Wenger, 1991), performing parts of the task according to the expertise each possessed.

This study of affordance and participation extended these examinations of what was afforded by teachers' skillful support and scaffolding for student learning by situating the investigation in two classrooms with differentiated affordances. The resulting contrasts provide additional evidence for the connection between affordances and participation.

Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group

In their multiple studies of student learning, researchers in the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (see, for example, Lin, 1994; Putney et al., 2000; Tuyay, Floriani, Yeager, Dixon, & Green, 1995; Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1995; Yeager, Floriani, & Green, 1998) did not specifically target students with disabilities, although many of their studies are located in diverse classrooms. These researchers posited that classrooms are cultures in which members construct patterned ways of acting, interacting,

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perceiving, and interpreting everyday life. Thus, all learning is situated in a context and has a history that helps researchers understand how a member functions and learns in the local culture. Their fine-grained examinations of social interactions in classrooms illustrate how individuals co-construct the cultures in which they live and learn, and how the cultures help to shape the learning of the individual and the collective. For example, in one study (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1995) the Island Project provided an example of prototypical classroom interaction and also became for the class an intertextual link (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993), a "metaphor for understanding other academic tasks" (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, p. 72). In one of my research classrooms, Morning Message served similar purposes of both revealing practice and serving as prototype for other learning tasks.

An early study (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992) included analyses of teachers' talk and student actions that defined a range of appropriate actions for students and showed how teachers and students constructed guidelines within which to work. During the transition from an interview task to a discussion task, Susan, one of two teachers in the class, told the students,

> We have some questions that you want to talk about since you did such a good job yesterday talking in your groups and Mrs. Mattern and I are only going to be the question askers and we're going to be the recorders. We're going to put your answer on the board. If there's a discrepancy between what the different groups have to report, then you will probably want to question each other. (p. 124)

An analysis of these comments showed how the teacher signalled that this was a class where students had questions they wanted to talk about, students talked in groups, there were two teachers, teachers asked questions and acted as recorders, there might be discrepancies in group reports, and groups might question the interpretation of other groups. These guidelines for student and teacher interactions served as affordances for interactions around academic tasks.

This analysis of teacher talk was followed by a second analysis of student actions by group along with teacher response. Students in one group identified five characters in the

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required reading; however, this enumeration was immediately challenged by another group, which argued that there were only two characters. A third group supported the first group's interpretation. As groups reported, the teachers invited responses from other groups, thus inviting groups to take positions that aligned with or opposed other groups' responses. Teachers also asked groups to provide reasons for their responses. From these actions and interaction, researchers were able to uncover and understand a model of literacy and of social interaction that characterized learning in this classroom.

A later study (Putney et al., 2000) similarly drew on multiple sources of data to explore both collective and individual development. Using transcripts of recorded teacher talk and student-teacher dialogue as well as student-written text, researchers illustrated how collective and individual actions were interdependent and mutually contingent. In the study, Jerod's interactions with the teacher and his several written artifacts indicated how he was able to construct his understanding of "point of view," and how his text was related historically to previous classroom lessons and discussions. My study sought to extend the understanding of the co-construction of classroom cultures by further illuminating connections between affordances and participation for individuals-within-the-collective in inclusion classrooms.

Gutierrez' Line of Research

In her study of process writing in general education classrooms, Gutierrez (1994) found that patterns of social action, discourse, and activity were fixed in "scripts" which defined the rules and rights of participation, whose knowledge was privileged, and the amount and type of access to classroom practices. A teacher using a recitation script, for example, controlled the discourse and interactions in the classroom, limiting students' opportunities for interacting with, and thus participating in, the discourse practices they were expected to learn. Recitation teachers tended to prefer one "correct" writing procedure or answer. On the other hand, teachers using a responsive/collaborative script preferred a more dynamic and interactive pattern of social interactions. Students of these teachers had

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multiple opportunities for engaging others in discourse and even shaping the official activity. In these classrooms production of text was negotiated by and among students and between students and teacher.

In a later study, Gutierrez and Stone (1997) examined how students in an inclusive classroom, and particularly Billy, a student with learning disabilities, appropriated literacy knowledge. They showed how Billy's participation in Book Club changed over time. At the beginning of the six-week cycle of instruction examined, Billy participated in his group primarily through eye gaze, body position, and smiles. As he expanded his repertoire of participation, he used humor to build on patterns established by group members. In the following transcript segment taken about halfway through the study, group members are deciding who should play what roles in a TV game show format they will use to represent their view of a book they had read. Note Billy's involvement in the conversation.

Thomas: Dustin will be Abraham Lincoln.
Claudia: Yeah, Abraham Lincoln.
Thomas: Or George Washington.
Dustin: I'm not dead.
Claudia: Clinton.
Thomas: Yeah, Clinton.
Billy: I'll be- I'll be Chelsea Clinton. Psych [a term that means he is not to be taken seriously].

Billy's humor serves as an acceptable means of entry into the dialogue, and as an eventual resource for problem-solving. Finally, near the end of the six-week period, Billy displayed confidence and an expert role in the group as he attempted to interpret the group's text.

Thomas: And you get the meaning to the Blubber, but this one I you don't really get the meaning.
Anna: This one I didn't really get the meaning.
Billy: I do.
Dustin: Um it's like there's not really a meaning because she writes different things in every chapter. Like different days.
Billy: There is a meaning. He keeps the dog.
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Billy: The friendship, how they managed to get joint custody and then how they managed to become friends again after they after one kept the dog. One

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Gutierrez and Stone (1997) found that this movement from a peripheral to a more central participatory role was possible in a classroom which was organized as a "community of learners," in other words, where the social organization of learning minimized differences among classroom members and made it possible for each member's resources to contribute to the individual and group expertise, rather than tracking, fragmenting, or differentiating instruction for students with unique learning needs. Thus, affordances and participation are shaped and reshaped as community members interact.

All of these lines of research looked beyond the individual as unit of analysis to take into consideration aspects of the context within which students work and teachers teach. Taken together, this body of research focused on micro-aspects of classroom life, including teacher-student discourse in the classroom, teacher-student and student-student interactions, and teacher talk in a variety of educational contexts. This study extended these earlier investigations by deliberately contrasting two educational environments in order to make visible that which could be taken as definitive of effective inclusion classrooms. Bissex (1996) noted that researchers can see only what is visible in a classroom; consequently, different themes might be visible in different classrooms. Studying two sites helps us see that

> despite surface level similarities, educational contexts for literacy learning are strongly differentiated in ways that prepare some students for full and active participation in the economic, cultural, and educational life of mainstream society while other students are prepared for more limited participation or silenced and marginalized. (Bloome & Green, 1992, p. 50)

Like Mariage's teacher (1996), the teachers in this study were highly effective in their classrooms even though they held distinctly different theoretical orientations to teaching and learning. Studying two models of inclusive environments helps to prevent us from becoming comfortable with one effective model and problematizes notions of the delivery of special education services to students with special educational needs.

This study does not propose that findings from either research site are generalizable to

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all similar classrooms, but sought rather to understand how contrasting models of classroom culture might play out in real lived experience in the messy day-to-day life of classrooms. It is important to understand how contextual and interactional factors in classrooms influence and are influenced by both teachers and students. For special educators, it is important to understand how individual students with special learning needs fare in general education contexts. Gutierrez (1994) noted that

> by examining the contexts of classroom life, researchers have observed that particular kinds of repertoires for action, interaction, and language are established in classrooms; these analyses of classroom life have described the consequences for students who live in classrooms where particular repertoires of language use and action are constructed. (p. 338)

Such understandings may increase our awareness that inclusive instruction extends beyond the modification of curriculum materials to include the dispositions and interactions that influence instruction and classroom life. Exploring the whole environment, while creating a potentially much messier investigation, provides significantly richer and more complex ways of understanding student learning.

Purpose of the Study

Framing this study is the assumption that social interactions engender learning and that individual change must be viewed in context. Therefore, what is needed to understand the literacy learning of students with learning disabilities in inclusive settings are studies which look closely at not whether but how classroom affordances and individual participation differs in classrooms where teachers hold different orienting premises. These examinations must also take into account the different participant structures found in the classrooms. They must determine with what and in what ways do students with learning disabilities, students who are typically passive learners with respect to talk and interaction, engage themselves within various participant structures and with what outcomes. Only through such investigations will we as educators come to understand the full implications of the inclusive educational practices called for by the IDEA and inclusion advocates.

This study addressed questions about writing instruction for students with learning

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and other mild disabilities in inclusion classrooms. Writing rather than reading was selected as a focus for this study for several reasons. Research on writing instruction for emerging writers can make use of artifacts that make visible writing skill and strategy competencies and difficulties of the author as well as reflect teachers' beliefs about teaching, learning, literacy, and disability. Reading instruction may be less reflective of teachers' beliefs about learning, instruction, and disability if reading instruction is more standardized.

Two classroom contexts were selected in order to consider features of classrooms at two levels: (a) the level of task and activity (where visible features of the classroom indicate the type and range of affordances for learning), and (b) the level of talk and interaction (where social interactions indicate extent of participation in the literacy activities of the community and appropriation of literate practice).

For each classroom context I asked, "What learning opportunities were afforded for students with disabilities in this classroom?" This led to examinations of teacher attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors regarding disability and writing instruction, as well as curriculum materials, instructional strategies, and other unique contextual features of the classrooms.

For each classroom I also asked, "What was the nature of students' participation and engagement in classroom activities and with teachers and students, and with what consequences?" This led to consideration of individual student engagement in whole group, small group, and individual activities and how these interactions positioned students relative to teachers and peers.

Finally, for each classroom I asked, "What was appropriated by students for their learning, and how was it appropriated?" This question focused on students and student learning, rather than on instruction and led to examinations of oral and written texts.

This study was not designed to validate a list of effective teaching practices, but rather to promote an understanding of how contexts and relationships come to be constructed along the dimensions described above. This is important because, over time, the ways in which literate practices are negotiated and validated affect what is accepted as appropriate

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norms for interaction and interpretation in classrooms. When learning is seen as resulting from situated relationships, it becomes clear that the range of situations or opportunities students have to engage in can limit or expand students' learning. Therefore, in order to understand how students learn from participation in schooling, we need to identify and describe the range of opportunities available to students.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Seeing past happening,
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In this haiku, Judith Gouwens (in Janesick, 2000) artfully described the work of the ethnographer. Ethnographers spend a great deal of time familiarizing themselves with what is going on with their informants, tendering interpretations based on their observations, and then systematizing their interpretations in order to explain what is going on (Geertz, 1973). Ethnographers look for meaning by attempting to enter into the perspective of the participants (Janesick). Thus, ethnography is particularly well suited for examining the experiences of children with disabilities in inclusion classrooms. Empirical methods may address the "how much" and "to what extent" questions, but qualitative methods such as ethnography seek to illuminate the "how" and the "why" individuals behave as they do in particular contexts.

Design of the Study

The study sought to investigate how affordances and patterns of interactions between students and teachers in inclusion classrooms constructed their instructional environments. Data included classroom observations, student records, writing measures, transcriptions made from audiotaped interviews and videotaped classroom events, and samples of students' written expression. Working from the perspective of social anthropology (Miles & Huberman, 1994), I focused on discursive and interactional patterns found in classrooms, seeking to understand their development and structure. At issue was the nature and delivery of inclusive instruction for students with learning disabilities in general education classrooms. By looking at two qualitatively different classrooms, I sought to show how attributes of effective instruction for the target population are exhibited in what are in some ways, very dissimilar contexts.

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Qualitative design characteristics (Janesick, 2000) of the study address focus, goal, researcher activity, and findings. The study focused on relationships among and between students and teachers in the local classroom culture by attending to the personal and immediate nature of interpersonal interactions. The goal of the study involved understanding particular social settings, rather than making predictions or generalizations about what was seen. Researcher activity included contact and participation in the setting over time and an similarly large amount of time spent in analysis, beginning with early data collection. Findings entailed a narrative of what occurred in the two classrooms with respect to classroom features and teacher and student interactions.

Rationale for Selection of Writing Focus

The examination of social interactions was situated in an investigation of instruction and participation of students with learning disabilities in writing lessons and other literacy activities. I selected writing instruction as a focus of this research for four reasons. First, writing results in an artifact that can make visible writing skill and strategy competencies and difficulties of the author. Second, the entire instructional process, including feedback, is more transparent. Third, in these classrooms, micro-aspects of writing instruction were teacher-created, rather than district mandated, and potentially reflected teachers' beliefs about teaching, learning, literacy, and disability. With this focus, I was likely to see events wherein teachers had opportunities to use a wide range of instructional responses to the emergent and undeveloped performance levels of students with disabilities, and to make consequential distinctions between disabled and nondisabled students, if they wished to do so. Fourth, based on prior knowledge of the two classrooms and the teachers' instructional characteristics and preferences, I regarded writing instruction and related activities to be representative samples of classroom practices that characterized teaching and learning in these classrooms.

Three research questions guided the study. The first question sought to describe critical components of the instructional environment: What learning opportunities were afforded

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for students with disabilities in this classroom? The second question sought to examine students' agentive actions, what and how they took from their environment: What was the nature of students' participation and engagement in classroom activities and with teachers and students, and with what consequences? The third question focused on understanding student learning: What was appropriated by students for their learning, and how was it appropriated?

Unit of Analysis and Personal Perspective

The primary unit of analysis in the study was the situation (Gee & Green, 1998), dimensions of which included material, activity, semiotic, and sociocultural aspects. Situations examined included whole group, small group, and individual participant structures (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) related to writing events. Most were single events; however, one instructional sequence took place over a span of several days. By selecting a situation as the unit of analysis, I was able to "capture developmental patterns in real-life settings, where they are embedded in complex contexts" (Nicolopoulou & Cole, 1993, p. 294).

In this study, I took an interpretive perspective consonant with social constructivist thought. Theorists in this tradition caution researchers against believing they can set aside their biases in order to attain an objective understanding of participants' views and motivations (Schwandt, 2000). Consequently, what follows is a personal account of my interest in the research topic. My interest in effective inclusion contexts grew out of my twelve years of public school teaching in special education. My undergraduate education took place in the era of strong categorical differentiation and individual prescriptive interventions. Dissatisfied with these approaches, I became interested during graduate school in sociocultural theory and social constructivist approaches to the remediation of learning difficulties. Also, because the 1997 amendments to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (Boundy, 1998) emphasized the access of students with disabilities to general education contexts and curricula, I wanted to be assured of the

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efficacy of inclusion models for the education of students with mild disabilities. As a graduate research assistant, I became involved with several inclusion classrooms whose teachers seemed to be highly effective in both their implementation of inclusive practices and in student achievement. However, teachers in one of the classrooms seemed to have an orientation to teaching dissonant with my own views on the social origins and distributed nature of knowledge. In undertaking this study, I sought to understand how teachers representing very different epistemological orientations could construct environments where disability was not a basis for differentiation of instruction, that is, where learning disabilities disappeared into the general diversity of the classroom, and yet where students with disabilities were successful learners and valued members of the classroom community.

Several qualifications help illuminate the focus of the study. First, this study follows several larger studies, specifically, the Early Literacy Project and the Literacy Environments for Accelerated Progress (LEAP) Project. Both of these previous projects assumed a social constructivist perspective of teaching which emphasized meaningful instructional activities occurring in a social community that uses dialogue and curriculum integration to scaffold learning (Englert, Rozendal, & Mariage, 1994) and examined how such a perspective might alter the social context of literacy learning for primary-grade special education students. As a graduate student, I was involved with the LEAP project for several years and developed an understanding and appreciation of both the theoretical basis and the efficacy of the approaches used by project teachers for teaching students with a wide range of performance levels.

Second, this study was a descriptive rather than an intervention study. At the outset I made three researcher decisions to guide my observations and analysis of inclusive contexts: (a) to study classrooms taught by exemplary teachers, (b) to select classrooms that seemed to illustrate two distinctly different approaches to inclusion, and (c) to center my attention on writing instruction.

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The Setting and Participants

The setting and participants were carefully selected in order to address cross-site variables that illumined my consideration of affordance, participation, and appropriation. In this section I describe the two classroom settings, the teaching teams, and the student participants.

Description of Setting

The study took place in a mid-sized urban school district in the upper Midwest that served more than 18,000 students in grades kindergarten-12 and adult education. The K-12 student body district-wide was approximately 46% Caucasian, 33% African American, 12% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 1% American Indian. In the year prior to the study, 52.6% of students received free or reduced lunches. Local concern about the quality of the education provided by the district was based on low district performance in the state assessment program. For example, in the previous year, only 53.2% of district fourth graders received satisfactory scores on the state assessments for math and 40.6% of fourth graders received satisfactory scores in reading. The school board goal for the entire district was to have 66% of all tested students receive satisfactory scores in math and reading.

Two teams of collaborating teachers, consisting of one or two full-time general education teacher(s) and one full-time special education teacher, agreed to participate in the study. Team members included Angie Blackburn and Rhonda Grant at Watkins Elementary School, and Darlene Weston, Monica Baez, and Bruce Thompson at Ellison Elementary School (participants and schools have been provided with pseudonyms). All of the teachers were considered to be effective, exemplary teachers based on self-reports regarding student learning, reports of parent opinion, informal reports from other researchers, and research findings related to the research projects cited above.

Rationale for Site Selection

Several considerations guided the selection of the two classrooms which were matched except for one critical dimension. Both served primary level students general and special

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education students, kindergarten through third or fourth grade, marking them as multi-age, multi-ability, multi-grade classroom configurations accommodating a widely diverse range of student learning characteristics. Both teaching teams were committed to the concept of full inclusion for students with mild cognitive disabilities.

Both classrooms represented exemplary teaching. The teachers in the Ellison Team Room had a reputation in the district for being innovative and effective. They had presented their instructional practice at numerous local in-service meetings and seminars and at state conventions. Pictures and descriptions of the classroom and its "Under the Sea" thematic unit, with its elaborate ocean-related, student-constructed artifacts, had been featured in the local newspaper. Additionally, according to the teachers, each year all of their students achieved at least one month growth per month of school, and some achieved up to two years growth in a year. The teachers also related accounts of parents who requested enrollment of their children in the Team Room.

The teachers in the inclusion classroom at Watkins also represented exemplary teaching. Both qualitative and quantitative data from the Early Literacy and LEAP Projects suggested that Angie, whose association with the projects covered some seven years, was an exemplary teacher. Both standard and informal reading/writing assessment measures suggested that her students were consistently among the highest gainers among all project teachers (Englert, et al., 1993; Englert, Raphael, & Mariage, 1994). Additional evidence of her exemplary standing came from her presentations at state conferences. Rhonda, Angie's teaching partner, had been associated with the LEAP Project only a short time, so she was less experienced with the instructional principles and activities associated with the project; however, both teachers held similar beliefs regarding the empowerment of all students in the classroom. Similar to the Team Room at Ellison, parents requested enrollment in the inclusion classroom for their children.

I had prior associations with both classrooms. My association with the Ellison classroom was a one-year research assistantship involving pre- and post-testing all students

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and observing and videotaping in the classroom on two occasions. My research activities at Watkins covered two years and included data collection, preparation of field notes, and participation in collaborative teacher-researcher meetings. Consequently, I had knowledge of the teachers and teaching methods in both classrooms prior to the study.

The one critical difference in the two classrooms regarded teachers' beliefs and theories on learning and instruction, on which the two teaching teams differed widely. The different orientations to teaching and learning were striking in the teacher interviews conducted at the beginning of the school year, and it was this initial interview that provided a framework or prospectus for further observation and analysis.

Teacher's beliefs: A prospectus for instruction and research. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1996) defines "prospectus" as "a document describing the chief features of something, such as...an educational program." Thus, the teachers' beliefs, as derived from the initial interviews, served as material and culturally patterned resources for teachers' planning and implementation of classroom instruction. As such, the interview transcripts described teacher's views of their writing curriculum and the features of what they felt comprised good writing instruction. However, at another level, the initial interviews provided an orientation for my observations of writing instruction and activities in these classrooms. The words "prospectus" and "prospect" come from the same Latin term for "distant view"; thus, the beliefs provided an orientation, hypothesis, or standard against which to evaluate what I saw in the classrooms. I could evaluate whether my observations seem to match the prospectus or challenge it in some way.

Important for this study of affordance, participation, and appropriation was the notion that socially meaningful actions have the potential to recreate or change basic patterns of society (Fairclough, 1989; Lemke, 1990). In both classrooms societal perceptions of ability and disability were challenged, because, prominent in the teacher's beliefs about disability and education was the notion that, in their classrooms, disability categories notwithstanding, there were no students with disabilities, only students. However, despite

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The Team Room: A focus on skills. Teachers in the Team Room at Ellison held a skills-oriented view of classroom instruction. Their instructional goals were stated in terms of clearly specified competencies. Students accumulated discrete skills until they were deemed "ready" to participate in more complex activities (Englert & Palincsar, 1991). For these teachers, instruction involved the identification of components of skills, task analysis, and practice to form new associations and habits.

Gutierrez (1995) typified this view of language development as primarily the acquisition of the forms of linguistic knowledge and behaviors needed to display right answers. For these teachers, the complex processes of language acquisition were best taught by moving from part to whole (Au & Carroll, 1996). Failures to learn accrued to the individual student and his or her innate ability to learn the required processes and skills (Poplin, 1988).

Furthermore, the Team Room teachers held the view that effective instruction for all students, whether or not they are identified as disabled, emphasized individual treatments in private settings for the purpose of meeting individual learning needs. The teachers attended explicitly to each child's unique learning and social needs through the assessment and identification of individual deficiencies and the provision of appropriate individual learning materials and methods.

The inclusion classroom: A focus on interpersonal transaction. Teachers in the inclusion classroom at Watkins held orienting premises consonant with what some researchers have called "communities of learners" (Gutierrez & Stone, 1997; Rogoff, 1994). The teachers believed that the most promising approach to teaching students with mild disabilities involves an apprenticeship model of teaching and learning in a community of learners. In such communities, literacy is learned through a transactional process in which a child becomes a competent member of society by learning how to use the language

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and discourse of a particular community. Consequently, participation in a community is a necessary condition for learning to read and write. Within learning communities, students are viewed as informants and experts, share power and decision-making, share literacy with other members, and publish ideas and strategies (Englert, Raphael, & Mariage, 1994; Gutierrez, 1995). In this classroom, instruction in writing involved the orchestration of sometimes collaborative, sometimes individual, activity with an intent to teach processes and involve all students in social and cognitive tasks.

Watkins teachers perceived the purpose of interpersonal transactions as empowering students for success in school and in their future lives beyond schooling. Students were immersed in shared activities with opportunities to participate as befitted their individual skill levels, and teachers provided support within students' zones of proximal development so that all students could be successful. All students had opportunities in interpersonally interactive contexts to receive support from both peers and teachers so that their learning needs could be appropriately met. Hence, all students were viewed as "readers" and "writers." Students' participation in literacy activities involving real audiences and purposes was calculated to be empowering both in the present classroom and as preparation for future life.

Selection of Target Students

Although observations and videotapes captured activities involving all students, four target students, two from each classroom, were selected to provide a closer look at how individual students with learning disabilities participated in the academic and social events and activities of the classrooms. Acting with teachers' input, I selected veteran and novice students with learning disabilities, matching students on sex, ethnicity, grade assigned, year in the classroom, other services, socioeconomic status (as represented by free/reduced meal status), and academic performance on the Slosson Oral Reading Test (SORT) (Slosson, 1963) (see Table 1). A target student from each classroom was female, a veteran in the classroom, and a third grader reading at the first grade level. The other target student

was male, a no

Table 1

Target Students

Name School	S
Lanie (Ellison)	
Richard (Ellison)	
Marta (Watkins)	
Dustin (Watkins)	

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was male, a novice, African American, and a second grader reading at a very low level.

Table 1

Target Students: Demographic Information

Name /School	Sex	Ethnicity	Grade	Year in classroom	Other services	F/R meals	Pre/post SORT, gain score
Lanie (Ellison)	F	Hispanic	3	3		Yes	1.2, 1.8 0.6 gain
Richard (Ellison)	M	African-American	2	2		Yes	0.4, 1.3 0.9 gain
Marta (Watkins)	F	Caucasian	3	3	Speech /language	Yes	1.8, 2.4 0.6 gain
Dustin (Watkins)	M	African-American	2	1		Yes	0.2, 0.2 0.0 gain

Description of the Two Research Sites

The following descriptions of the two research sites describe school and classroom context as well as teacher and student characteristics. Demographic data for these two schools were drawn from their respective "School Success Cards" prepared by district officials and released in March of the study year.

All students in the two classrooms who were identified as special education students met state and local guidelines for learning disabilities (LD), emotionally impaired (EI), educable mentally impaired (EMI), or physical or other health impaired (POHI) placement as determined by a district multidisciplinary evaluation team. Ancillary services received by students in the two classrooms included speech and language, school social work/counseling, occupational therapy, adaptive physical education, and occupational therapy.

Site One: The Team Room at Ellison Elementary School

Ellison School, with grades 1 through 5, had 285 students enrolled at the end of the school year prior to the study. Racial and ethnic composition of Ellison's student body was 61% African-American, 22% Caucasian, 13% Hispanic, 4% Asian, and 1% Native

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American. Located in an economically depressed area, 71% of Ellison's students were on free or reduced federally funded breakfast and lunch programs, higher than the district average. Thirteen percent of Ellison's enrollment was special education students. In the study year, 19% of Ellison students who took the state assessment tests received satisfactory scores in reading, 51% of students who were tested received satisfactory scores in math, and 10.5% and 34% received proficient scores in science and writing, respectively. The school board criterion score for all tests was 66%.

Built of brick and stucco 40 years ago, Ellison was a single-story structure constructed in the shape of a "O" with 23 classrooms surrounding a small interior courtyard containing play equipment suitable for pre-schoolers. Making maximum use of space, the gym doubled as a cafeteria, and the library doubled as the media center. Outside, a large playground flanked the school.

The majority of the school staff at Ellison was Caucasian and female. A large number of teachers were new in their first or second year of teaching. Ellison's principal was an African American female; however, during the first semester she was on leave. In her place, a lead teacher, a Caucasian female from another building, served as substitute principal. This circumstance was a significant source of stress for teachers in the Team Room, due to the substitute principal's oft and clearly stated disagreement with the instructional model and teaching practices used by teachers in the Team Room. They felt forced to be defensive about their program, even to the extent of appealing to the district special education director for advice and support. This difficult situation did not alter instruction in the Team Room, but the teachers cited their resulting stress level as a reason for lower-than-expected student progress during the year.

Classroom context. Darlene Weston and Monica Baez began their collaboration eight years ago, and have taught as a team for five of those years. Bruce, who had had his own kindergarten classroom the previous year, joined the team this year, but decided to return to kindergarten teaching the following year, to be replaced by another teacher in the building.

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The Team Room was located in a large, shared classroom space. Bruce's affiliation with the Team Room staff added a third classroom to the existing two. The three classrooms were adjacent and separated by movable walls, which were always open. A visitor entering from one end of the classroom might have an initial impression of an enormous space unusual for a schoolroom. Student desks were grouped at one end of the space, and the other end contained tables used for project activity work and a space for large group meetings and plays. The middle space accommodated study carrels for learning centers, several computers, and the classroom library.

All of the students spent their day in this inclusion classroom, with students being pulled out for speech, counseling, or similar ancillary services. Academic instruction was provided in whole group formats, homogeneous small groups based on performance level, or individually, depending on the subject and the purpose of the lesson.

The teachers were uniquely responsive to the learning and social needs of all students in their classroom. At the beginning of the year, they spent extensive time testing students to identify exact performance levels, particularly with respect to reading levels and encoding skills related to phonics skills. All students' learning needs were addressed chiefly through individual learning centers and learning packets, rather than in and through the general social milieu and interactions among students and teachers.

Teacher participants. Both Darlene and Monica had nine years of teaching experience, Darlene in general education and Monica in special education. Their co-teaching partnership was five years old at the time of the study, and this year they extended their collaboration to include a third teacher. Darlene, with two psychology degrees, was working on her master's in education. Her teaching experience included nine years of teaching, all in first grade or this multi-age room. Monica, with a bachelor's degree in special education (EMI) was working on her master's in learning disabilities. She had nine years of teaching experience, all at Ellison, including four years in a pull-out basic special education classroom and five years in the Team Room. Bruce, with a bachelor's degree in

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Table 2

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Student participants. At the beginning of the study year, 38 students were enrolled in the Team Room, representing a range of ethnicities, disabilities, and grade levels (see Table 2). Fifteen were new students in this multi-age, multi-grade classroom.

Table 2

Classroom Demographics in the Ellison Team Room

Gender	Eth-nicity[a]	Grade	Disability[b]	F/R lunch[c]	ELL[d]	Year in class-room	Fall SORT (GE)[e] Gain scores
23 M 15 F 38 total	AA - 16 C - 6 H - 7 Other - 9	1 - 3	LD - 8 EI - 2 POHI - 1	38	2	New - 16 Vets - 22	Range: 0.0-3.0 Mean: 1.0 Median: 0.4 1.0 all-class gain 0.6 sped gain

[a]AA = African American, C = Caucasian, H = Hispanic, Other: Asian, Bi-racial
[b]LD = Learning Disability, EI = Emotionally Impaired, POHI = Physically and Other Health Impaired
[c]Free/reduced lunch support
[d]English language learner
[e]Grade equivalent

Site Two: The Inclusion Classroom at Watkins Elementary School

Watkins School, having an end-of-previous-year enrollment of 392 students, reflected the population of many urban schools with a wide range of ethnic and economic diversity. Students came from the surrounding neighborhood, and a large number were bussed in from low-income neighborhoods in a nearby section of town. The student body comprised 40% Caucasian, 29% African-American, 22% Hispanic, and 8% Asian, and 1% Native American students. Most of the school staff at Watkins, including the principal were Caucasian females. Watkins reflected the district socioeconomic profile with 57% of its students on free or reduced federally funded breakfast and lunch programs. Twelve percent of Watkins' enrollment was special education students. In the study year, 41.5% of Watkins students who took the state assessment tests received satisfactory scores in reading, and 33% received proficient scores in science, far below the school board criterion

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score of 66%. However, 71% of tested students received satisfactory scores in math, and 81% received proficient scores in writing, well above the criterion score of 66%.

Watkins School was backed by a large playground and surrounded by attractive homes with nicely kept lawns. Home owners included a mix of older people and young professional families. Nestled on the far east of the city, it was widely recognized among realtors and locals that the neighborhood surrounding Watkins was one of the more desirable city neighborhoods in which to live.

Built of light-colored brick 34 years ago, the single-story building with its 20 classrooms formed the shape of a "U." Though the gym doubled as a cafeteria, there was a spacious library with brand-new library furniture and a sprawling playground with playground equipment purchased several years ago by the PTA.

Classroom context. Angie Blackburn and Rhonda Grant established their inclusion classroom two years ago when they decided to merge their classes--a resource room (kindergarten, first, and second grade) and a regular education classroom (second and third grade combination). For the first year of partnership, their assigned classrooms were separated by a long walk down two hallways, limiting use of the space for instructional purposes. However, the next year they were pleased to acquire a classroom space similar to Darlene and Monica's, consisting of adjacent classrooms separated by a folding wall which they never closed. They had arranged their room so that student desks were grouped on one side of the double classroom. The other side of the classroom accommodated a kidney-shaped table which was used for small group work, several project tables, an open carpeted area for large group gatherings, and a computer lab. The computer lab, consisting of about a dozen computers and several printers, sizeable for a school in this district, was furnished by a current technology project sponsored by the university. This large space was conducive to multiple configurations of student and teacher activity and interaction. Unfortunately, this arrangement did not continue during the study year, due to other classroom needs in the building, and, reflective of the marginal institutional support

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afforded these teachers, their respective classrooms happened to be located as far apart in the building as they could possibly be, even further apart than they were during the first year of the partnership.

Rhonda's room, the larger of the two because of her larger class load (the general education second and third graders), was the de facto home room where the school day began and ended. Each student was assigned a desk. Desks were grouped into heterogeneous "tables" of four or five students. Prominent on the walls in Rhonda's room were both teacher-made and student-made instructional materials related to thematic units and other curricular emphases dealt with during the year.

Angie's room was used for small group work during reading and math. Occasionally, but not often, the entire class located there during Writing Workshop. Students sat at tables in Angie's room, rather than at individual desks. Kidney-shaped tables were used in both rooms for teachers working with small groups. Angie's room also had a sofa inviting students to read individually or with a partner or to collaborate on a piece of writing. Adjacent and connected to Angie's room was a smaller room used for storage, occasional craft activities, and the Literature Response center. Teachers' desks in both rooms were used mostly for storing teaching materials, grade books, lesson plan books, student notes, and the like, as teachers rarely spent time there during the day.

All of Angie's and Rhonda's students spent most of their day in this inclusion arrangement. Students were pulled out only for ancillary services such as speech, occupational therapy, or social work consultation. Configurations for academic instruction included whole group, small group and individual instruction. Some small groups were heterogeneous and temporary; others tended to be longer-lasting and based on performance level. Group membership was flexible in that Angie and Rhonda moved individual students from group to group as students' needs and performance levels changed.

Angie and Rhonda's classroom was characterized by a high degree of discursive interaction among and between teachers and students. All students participated in shared

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writing activities that allowed for multiple levels of involvement. Unique learning needs were provided for by matching student activity to appropriate levels of the shared activities.

Teacher participants. Angie, with a master's degree in special education, had 27 years of teaching experience: 19 years in special education resource rooms, 4 years in regular education, plus additional experience in preschool and doing substitute teaching. She had taught at Watkins Elementary School for 19 years.

Rhonda, with degrees in physical education and elementary education, had 16 years of teaching experience in regular education elementary classrooms. She had experienced varied teaching responsibilities throughout her professional career, including special education assistant, Chapter I assistant, and general education classroom teacher. Angie and Rhonda were highly appreciative of the benefits of the collaboration for themselves and also for their students. As were Darlene, Monica, and Bruce at Ellison, Angie and Rhonda were highly committed, concerned, and compassionate teachers.

Student participants. At the beginning of the study year, 29 students were members of this classroom, including a range of ethnicities and disabilities (see Table 3).

Table 3

Classroom Demographics in the Watkins Inclusion Classroom

Gender	Ethnicity[a]	Grade	Disability[b]	F/R lunch[c]	ELL[d]	Year in classroom	Fall SORT (GE)[e] Gain scores
18 M 11 F 29	AA - 8 C - 14 H - 5 Other - 2	1 - 4	LD - 9 EI - 3	19	4	New - 15 Vets - 14	Range: 0.2-11.5 Mean: 2.9 Median: 1.9 0.7 all-class gain 0.5 sped gain

[a]AA = African American, C = Caucasian, H = Hispanic, Other: Vietnamese, Hmong
[b]LD = Learning Disability, EI = Emotionally Impaired
[c]Free/reduced lunch support
[d]English language learner
[e]Grade equivalent

Fifteen students were new this year in this multi-age, multi-grade classroom. As noted

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earlier, students in this class were from working middle class, working low-income and non-working low-income homes.

Data Collection

Research activities and data collection occurred over a nine-month period from September to June. In order to examine the primary research questions that guided this study, an over-time perspective was necessary (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This prolonged engagement allowed observations of writing instruction and activities at several points in time and in multiple iterations.

Sources of Data by Research Question and Site

To provide a valid understanding of teaching and learning in these two classrooms, several types of data were sought. Data sources included (a) observations and field notes, (b) video/audiotapes and transcripts, (c) teacher and student artifacts, (d) semi-structured teacher and student interviews, (e) student achievement measures, (f) teacher measures of target student social characteristics, and (g) school record data (see Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4

Data Sources By Research Question

Question	Data Sources
Question #1: What learning opportunities were afforded for students with disabilities in this classroom?	1. General classroom observations (videotaped) 2. Observations of writing lessons (videotaped) 3. Teacher interviews 4. Student interviews
Question #2: What was the nature of students' participation and engagement in classroom activities and with teachers and students, and with what consequences?	1. General classroom observations (videotaped) 2. Observations of writing activities (videotaped) 3. Student interviews 4. Teacher interviews 5. Teacher Temperament Questionnaire 6. Writing samples other than tests
Question #3: What was appropriated by students for their learning, and how was it appropriated?	1. Observations of writing lessons (videotaped) 2. Tests: SORT, writing tests (Expert, Personal Narrative) 3. Teacher interviews 4. Student interviews 5. Writing samples

Table 5

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Table 5

Type of Data Collected by Site

Data	Classroom	
	Ellison	Watkins
Pretests	SORT, spelling, writing measures	SORT, writing measures
Post-tests	SORT, writing measures	SORT, writing measures
School record data	Yes	Yes
Teacher-completed questionnaires	Writing Strategy Interview, Teacher Temperament Questionnaire	Writing Strategy Interview, Teacher Temperament Questionnaire
Student interviews	Writing Strategy Interview with target students, plus 2 other LD and 2 regular education students	Writing Strategy Interview with target students, plus 2 other LD and 2 regular education students
Teacher interviews	Initial, 2 interim, exit	Initial, exit
Writing samples	Theme journals, Theme writing, group writing tests	Writers Workshop notebooks, misc. center writing samples, group writing tests, response journals, Reading Notebooks, theme notebooks
Classroom videotapes	Initial three-day "sweeps" of all classroom activities. Targeted observations: 3 large group writing, 3 literacy centers (reading, phonics, seat work, computer, listening, activity, plus introduction to board work), 1 journal, 1 shared reading	Initial three-day "sweeps" of all classroom activities. Targeted observations: 3 Morning Message (2 teacher-led, 1 student-led), 5 journal writing, 3 Reading Centers, 2 Reader Response, 9 Writing Workshop, 1 handwriting/poetry
Total observation time in each classroom	4 full days 2 half days (a.m.)	5 full days 3 half days (a.m.) 7 additional hours on 6 different days

Description of Types of Data

In this section I describe in detail the various types of data which informed my research questions.

Observation and field notes. The researcher/observer must decide the researcher role he or she will use. One of the researcher roles described by Angrosino and Mays de Pérez (2000) was the observer-as-participant role. In this role, the researcher may interact

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casually with participants, but not cross the line into friendship. This was the relationship I endeavored to assume, although I suspect that the teachers in the study will protest out of kindness that, indeed, a friendship was established.

Once the researcher has identified a preferred role relative to study participants, the type of observation must be decided upon. Angrosino and Mays de Pérez (2000) described possible types of observation, including focused and selective, open ended or confined to checklists. Focused observations often begin with interviews which provide information the researcher can use to guide subsequent observations. Focused observations concentrate on well-defined group activity, such as classroom instruction. Selective observations allow the researcher to concentrate on observing selected attributes of different types of activities (e.g., How is instructing this lesson different from instructing that lesson?).

My observations combined focused and selective open-ended observations. I began data collection by interviewing the teachers in each classroom. These interviews were transcribed and searched for themes that shaped subsequent data collection and analysis. Selected observations were made with particular attention to peer interactions. For instance, if I saw what appeared to be peer interpersonal interaction around an academic task, I focused my camera and recording equipment on that interaction.

Following the acquisition of informed consent and assent from students and their parents, and the collection of pretest data and interviews, but prior to the identification of target students, I conducted a three-day baseline observation of all classroom academic activity, including writing instruction and writing activities. The purpose of this observation was to obtain qualitative baseline data regarding general classroom environment, writing instruction and practice, individual student behavior and actions, and teacher-student interactions early in the process of co-constructing what counts as writing knowledge and practice in that particular classroom. Additional observations were made during the remainder of the year. The additional hours accumulated at Watkins were focused on observing the persuasive writing sequence, which occurred over a period of

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The effect of the presence of the camera in the classroom cannot be ignored. While in the classroom, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible with my video camera and lap top computer. I hoped that students would become accustomed to the presence of this equipment and ignore it if I left it there long enough. Sometimes students tended to ignore the camera if I removed my physical presence from the camera location. In those cases, I took up a location distant from the camera, as if paying it no attention at all. However, it was impossible to eliminate from all observational activity the distraction of being filmed. Some students tended to act out for the benefit of the camera. This was true for Richard particularly, one of the target students. With some students I found that threatening to stop my videotaping of their activity was enough to cause them to return to their task. Occasionally I stopped videotaping when students were too distracted to continue with their ordinary activity. Interestingly, the teachers were also highly aware of activity that was being videotaped and would sometimes comment on what might have been caught on tape, particularly if there was a problematic situation or they thought they were having a "bad day." In both classrooms, teachers used the presence of the camera as a threat to encourage improvement in behavior, commenting that the camera had caught students' bad behavior and that the teachers might show the videotape to the student's parent or care giver. (To my knowledge, they never did.)

Field notes were recorded on a lap top computer during the classroom activity. This was a much less obtrusive activity than videotaping, although students were intrigued by the small computer and often asked what I was doing and whether there were "games" on it. After I constructed a field notes template, it was easy to open a new document whenever an activity changed. Field notes consisted of a running record of activity (see Figure 1).

Additional items observed included physical arrangement of the room (seating, furniture, bulletin boards, etc.), materials, students' and teachers' physical presence, target students present or absent, and daily schedule. Categories specific to writing activities

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Figure 1. Examp

Example 1: Literacy Centers

Time	Description
1120	Ss scatter to various centers. The computer people meet at the carpet and Mr. T calls the names and assigns computers. Listening center people have donned headphones and are following directions. Mrs. B is meeting with 2 students: Jordan and ? in a reading group.
1124	Ms. B begins with sound cards. They make the motions that accompany the sounds.
	Carrie comes up to show me her paper. I ask her to read the sentence: Make five purple cans. She needs help with the first word, but can read the rest. I ask her what she is supposed to do next. She would rather ask about the camera.
1129	Ss at MB's reading table were given a choice of sand trays or journals next. They choose journals. They are writing sounds and words in their journals.
	Some students are sitting at desks doing board work. DW has a small, 2-student group at her reading table. Mr. T is circulating, keeping an eye on the center people. The students at the back of the room are continuing craft work associated with units. Tracey is coloring the water around [state] on Jon's map of [state]. Several Ss are coloring designs on brown paper "ponchos" at the back of the room, and several are putting glue and glitter on the various parts of their construction paper "sombreros" which will later be assembled.

Example 2: Large Group Lesson (Octopus Report)

Time	Description
	DW: Mr. T is holding some fish, or you may get a sea otter. You can get 5 stars on it by the end of the day. I won't tell you why. We'll watch to see who is doing some good thinking. DW: Look up here. These all belong to one family, all the things on here, which we talked about on the tape this week. M, what do you think these are? SM [inaudible]
915	DW: What is this all about? M: Octopus. T: Octopus. Yep. M: Octopus is eating a shark. T: Yeah, an octopus is eating a shark. That's one thing. Thank you, M. Somebody else. C, what else besides octopus are on here? S: Squid. T: Squid. Octopus. These are giant octopus. This was the blue-ringed octopus that you don't want to mess with. It's poisonous.
916	DW: here's a squid, and these things I only mention, this and this and this are called cuttlefish, and they are in the family too. Ss comment [inaudible] T: Have a seat and raise your hand. That's the underside, you can see the suckers and the arms of that giant octopus. Now we are gonna talk about (writes "octopus" on the board). Pause for classroom management.

Figure 1. Examples of field notes.

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included the nature of the assignment, rules or guidelines for completing the assignment, participant configurations (who worked with whom), and teacher-student or student-student conversation. Following each day of observation, I examined field notes for coherence and completeness, adding names of students, checking spelling, and generally tidying up the format for later use.

Videotapes and transcripts. Videotapes and their resulting transcripts were the primary data source for the analyses. Field notes constituted a catalogue of each videotape, noting participants, the nature of the activity, and as much of the talk as I could capture.

Some of the tapes, or sections of tapes, were selected for complete transcriptions. Criteria for selection of videotape for transcription included type and representativeness of activity, as well as criteria for matching with similar activity in both classrooms for the purpose of making direct comparisons.

Student and teacher artifacts. I collected samples of target students' writing across time and across genres. This included writing activities designed specifically for the development of writing skills, as well as other classroom writing and the group writing tests given at the beginning and end of the study. From these artifacts I was able to examine the complexity and quality of children's writing, and how and whether children appropriated elements of teachers' instruction into their learning. Spelling, math writing, phonics work sheets, and the like were not collected.

Teacher artifacts collected included lesson plan formats and, in the case of the Ellison Team Room, a detailed plan, contained in a two-inch three-ring binder, describing their total curriculum.

Semi-structured teacher interviews. Two formal interviews (see Appendices) were audiotaped and transcribed. The initial interview was conducted just prior to the beginning of data collection. This interview covered the following topics: (a) teaching background, (b) the nature of the writing instruction used in the classroom, (c) beliefs about special needs students, and (d) beliefs about inclusion. The final interview was conducted at the

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end of the school year. Topics included (a) evaluation of the effectiveness of the writing program this year, (b) successes, disappointments, and challenges experienced during the year, (c) new insights developed during the year, and (d) focused discussion of the writing progress of targeted students. The interviews were semi-structured, using a protocol that also allowed for additional questions, clarifications, and extensions to move beyond the protocol. The interviews were conducted in the classrooms after school and took from one to two hours each.

The initial and exit interviews were critical to understanding teachers' underlying beliefs about teaching, learning, and disability. Themes which surfaced during the analysis of these interviews served to guide subsequent observations and analyses of classroom activities and interactions.

Semi-structured interviews with the students. One semi-structured student interview (see Appendices) was given early in the study and transcribed for all target students. This interview focused on student perceptions of strategies, actions, and competencies related to writing. Topics included actions and strategies prior to and during writing activities, and editing strategies. The interview took approximately 15 minutes. Interview data from students, an often-used method for gauging motivation, have not been shown to be useful with young children for understanding personal experiences, because self-report measures tend to prompt generalized responses rather than focusing on actual events, resulting in problems of specificity, reliability, and developmental appropriateness (Turner, 1995). However, I found the data useful for corroboration of data from teacher reports and videotaped observations.

Student achievement measures. Achievement measures included two genré-specific (report writing and personal narrative) pre- and post-test writing measures to note student skills in written composition. These large group tests were administered by the teachers to the entire class at one time. Additionally, because writing skills are closely associated with reading skills, a sight word test, the Slosson Oral Reading Test (SORT), was administered

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individually to all students by the researcher to identify approximate reading levels at the beginning and conclusion of the study. Test results were folded into the data used to construct a class profile of literacy skills, against which target students were placed in the context of their classroom environment, as well as for the evaluation of the development of writing skills of target students over the course of the study.

Teacher measures. Teachers completed two reports of student behavior for each target student. The first was a Writing Strategy Interview (see Appendices) which was intended to capture teachers' ratings of students' efficiency and flexibility in strategic learning and their use of self-monitoring strategies. The second was an adaptation of the short form of the Teacher Temperament Questionnaire (Keogh, Pullis, & Cadwell, 1982) (see Appendices), which asked teachers to rate students on the basis of three constellations of factors: persistence/distractibility/activity, adaptability/approach-withdrawal/mood, and reactivity. These data were used to develop understandings of target students' behavior.

School record data. School record data for all students was furnished by teachers and included name, birth date, grade level placement, ethnicity, sex, years retained, socioeconomic status, and, for students with identified disabilities, type of disability, ancillary services, and test scores (both intelligence and achievement measures) (see above). These data provided systematic participant descriptors allowing the reader to assess generalizability of the results of the study and to strengthen external validity.

Identification of students by school record data only often masks important characteristics of students with disabilities. However, this triangulated participant description--teacher evaluation of writing behavior and overall temperament, self-assessment data from the Writing Strategy Interview, and school record data--enabled a more detailed characterization of target students than is often provided in research reports.

Data Analysis

An analytical problem facing the observer of human activity is how to parse the observations one makes, whether recorded by field notes or videotape. In making

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observations, the researcher can take in a stupendous amount of data, and the decision on what to attend to is of critical importance. In this study, I wanted to understand how students with disabilities dealt with the cognitive and social opportunities afforded them in these two classrooms and also the nature of their membership in the social community. Since context was of critical importance due to the two very different environments examined in the study, I chose the individual-in-social as the unit of analysis (Trent, Artiles, & Englert, 1998).

The MASS system developed by Gee and Green (1998) suggested useful categories for the close examination of classroom activity. The MASS acronym evokes four connected aspects of a "situation," the key unit of analysis. The Material aspect describes the conditions of the situation, including place, time, participants, artifacts. The Activity aspect describes a particular activity and its sequences and subactivities. The Semiotic aspect refers to meanings found in speech, writing, words, and other symbolic systems. The Sociocultural aspect includes the norms, expectations, roles, relationships, beliefs, and other sociocultural knowledge about sign systems, activity, and the material world. Gee and Green note that these four aspects are inextricably connected and cannot be separated. However, for the purposes of analysis, a researcher may foreground one aspect while backgrounding others.

Data Analysis Procedures

Analysis procedures varied depending upon the phase of the analysis (e.g., initial, middle, end), the level of analysis (e.g., patterns or themes in field notes vs. microanalysis of transcript data), the nature of the data source (e.g., interview, artifacts, transcripts), and the particular research question being foregrounded (teacher beliefs, teacher-student interactions).

Analysis of quantitative data. Mean SORT scores were aggregated for the classroom as a whole, as well as partialled out according to disabled/nondisabled. These data were used to interpret other data sources (i.e., formal and informal assessment measures) and to give

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insight into what students brought to their writing experiences. Information from school records, teacher measures, and student self-reports of their learning characteristics (Writing Strategy Interview) were used to construct descriptions of student competencies and characteristics. These data were also used to discover patterns and characteristics of teacher- and student-behavior that were potentially important for understanding the social interactions that occurred in the two classrooms.

Analysis of qualitative data. Analysis of qualitative data was ongoing during data collection and continued after completion of the field work. Patterned, with modifications, after a study investigating the connections between literacy and play (Rowe, 1998), it occurred in three phases.

Phase 1 began during the data collection process and involved in-process initial coding of field note data to identify episodes of writing instruction and writing activity. Results suggested particular foci for future observations.

Phase 1 also included transcription and close examination of the initial teacher interviews for themes that may characterize writing instruction and classroom social structures and interactions. To do so, a word count was made of possibly important or recurring words to obtain a sense of what teachers talked about. For example, words such as "community" or "individual" were counted. Word counts do not take context into consideration but are useful for identifying important constructs and to provide data for comparisons across groups (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Results of the word count indicated several themes that bore upon subsequent observations and ongoing analyses of classroom interactions.

Phase 2 also began during data collection and involved rereading of field notes to identify comparison instructional events in each classrooms. These were selected by participant structure: whole group, small group, individual. The selected field notes were transcribed. Subsequent observations focused on target students working within the identified participant structures.

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Phase 3 data analysis took place after data collection was complete and varied by data. For test data, individual and group mean SORT-R scores were analyzed according to class, general or special education, and number of years in the classroom. Writing measures were scored by a graduate student with whom I had worked in a group to score similar writing measures on previous occasions. Satisfactory interrater reliability had been established at that time, and not reestablished for this study. Writing measure outcomes reported included holistic scores which reflected overall quality of the piece; trait scores which reported genre-specific traits; voice scores which reflected evidence of personal affect; writing conventions scores which showed use of spelling strategies, capitalization, punctuation, and editing; and word counts. Transcripts were searched for types of student engagement during writing activities.

Transcripts were read and reread to examine interactions related to the writing event, and the consequences of those interactions. These rereadings focused on how participants were discursively positioned in the activity by one another's talk. In order to evaluate teacher discourse, teacher utterances were extracted from the selected transcripts. Questions were separated from statements. All utterances were sorted, counted, and arranged in a typology of teacher talk. Capabilities of a computer word processing program were used to make word counts. Total counts of all teacher and student words were obtained. Word counts were reported as percentages of talk. In addition to word counts, teacher utterances were sorted into questions and statements and further coded as to type of question or type of statement.

In order to evaluate student behavior, I first coded events by participant structure (whole group, small group, individual work) and then coded behavior within the participant structure to identify types of behaviors for target students involved in these structures. Two broad categories of behavior emerged from the initial coding: engaged or disengaged. Further coding refined these categories into several additional categories. Overt behavior denoted visible activity requiring low inference interpretation, such as raising

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one's hand or speaking when called upon. Covert behavior denoted activity, such as thinking or deciding, that demanded high inference interpretation on the part of the observer, such as, for example, gaze directed at the teacher during a teacher-led lesson. Self-initiated and other-initiated refer to the location of the prompt initiating the behavior, whether the student self-prompted or whether the teacher, or another student, prompted the engagement. Thus, there were eight possible combinations of overt/covert, self-initiated/other-initiated engagement/disengagement.

Further examination of transcripts revealed that five of these possibilities--overt self-initiated, overt other-initiated, covert self-initiated, covert other-initiated, and all types of disengaged behavior--were the most useful for describing student task engagement (see Table 6).

Table 6

States of Task Engagement

State of engagement	Example
Overt self-initiated	Student actively engaged in task activity without teacher or other reminder or prompt.
Overt other-initiated	Teacher calls on student directly. Student responds overtly.
Covert self-initiated	Student oriented toward lesson activity without prompting, as in watching.
Covert other-initiated	Student's attention has wandered and teacher reminds student to attend to lesson. Student resumes watching.
Disengaged	Student may be overtly disengaged (talking to another student, playing with a toy) or covertly disengaged (looking around the room rather than attending to the task).

Establishment of Confidence

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested a number of data-collection and analysis techniques to establish confidence in the credibility of qualitative studies. Among those are several which apply to this study: (a) prolonged engagement (nine months), (b) triangulation of sources (e.g., teachers, students, researcher, writing samples), and (c) triangulation of methods (e.g., videotapes, interviews, test measures).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS #1: THE ELLISON SCHOOL TEAM ROOM

To begin the close examination of writing instruction and activities at the two research sites, I begin with the Team Room at Ellison Elementary School. Here Darlene Weston and Monica Baez had taught together for many years, recently expanding their collaboration to include a third teacher, who this year was Bruce Thompson. At any point during the year there were about 38 students in the triple classroom, 11 of which were identified as special education students. Six of these were identified as students with learning disabilities.

Target Students: Lanie and Richard

In the fall of the year, I, with Darlene's and Monica's assistance, selected several students on which to focus classroom observations. Lanie and Richard were students with learning disabilities who are referenced throughout the chapter to help identify and interpret possible connections between curriculum and students' experiences of the curriculum.

Lanie: A third-year veteran. Lanie was a Hispanic female third grader in her third year in the Team Room. With her dark hair and warm, shy smile, Lanie seemed very comfortable in this classroom. With what I observed to be well-developed work habits that kept her on task despite the noise and activity surrounding her, she easily and responsibly navigated the variety of contexts and assignments that she met in the classroom daily and always seemed to know what to do in terms of task participation structure (Erickson, 1996). Darlene and Monica evaluated her as having low levels of distractibility, withdrawal, and reactivity to adverse situations on a teacher-report measure of student temperament (Keogh, Pullis, & Cadwell, 1982). They also reported that Lanie knew what to do when writing, that she used organizational sheets to plan her writing, that she could listen to her own text for sense-making when a teacher read it to her, and that she took her work home and received help from her mother. Lanie described for me, during a fall interview about writing, the type of support for her academic work she received from

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home. She said that her mother "keeps a drawer of me and my sister's of classroom stuff, and she'll save our work. And that's, when we want to see how much work we did, what a great job we did, we just go and look in it."

The following year Lanie was scheduled to leave the Team Room to join a regular fourth grade class, because there was no "team room" for upper elementary students. At the end of the study year, this imminent move was on her mind. She referred to it occasionally in a regretful manner, and Darlene and Monica felt that it was a factor in her frequent absences. Darlene and Monica also regretted that Lanie would no longer have access to programs of the type of instruction they had worked so hard to develop and felt were successful with special education and other at-risk students. One of their goals was to help establish a similar classroom in their school at the upper elementary level, and, indeed, it looked at the beginning of the year as if this might come to pass. However, for a number of reasons, that project failed, which was a great disappointment for Darlene and Monica. Indeed, for the inclusion teachers at both Ellison and Watkins, a difficult dilemma was attached to the realization that after their students leave their classroom, they will likely be enrolled in more traditional classroom configurations without the benefit of a strong inclusion program.

Lanie's SORT-R (Slosson, 1963) grade equivalent score showed a gain of 0.6, from 1.2 to 1.8, well below her grade placement of 3.9 at the end of the school year and below the average gain for the whole class, which was 1.0 grade levels. Her two-year gain score over the past two years was 1.3 grade levels (scores for her first year in the classroom were unavailable).

Richard: A relative novice. Richard was an African American male second grader beginning his second year in the Team Room at the onset of the study. Tall and slender, he also navigated the varied daily activities with knowledgeable confidence. On the teacher-report measure for temperament, Darlene and Monica noted tendencies toward distractibility and unadaptability with high reactivity to adverse situations. Observed evidence to

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corroborate the teacher's report of distractibility included being distracted by the camera and the area microphone, at times making it difficult for me to videotape his activity and talk. However, when engaged in computer activities or in the listening and phonics centers, where there was less possibility for interpersonal interaction, he was observed to attend closely to the task. Regarding his writing behavior, teachers reported that last year he had seldom completed a writing assignment, and that most papers had ended up in the wastebasket. This year, however, he seemed to have acquired a more developed sense of how to write, although he was less independent than Lanie at writing conventional text. He regularly completed writing assignments both with and without teacher assistance, although his writing style was very patterned, and he seemed more interested in getting done than he was in producing what Team Room teachers referred to as "quality" work.

Richard's grade equivalent scores on the SORT-R test for the school year showed a gain of an entire year, from 0.4 to 1.3. His two-year gain was 1.2, showing his progress for the previous year to be relatively low, with an increase from 0.1 to 0.3 grade level.

Structure of the Chapter

In Chapters Four and Five, I focus my attention on three areas of interest and activity: (a) the unique affordances found in each classroom that support learning to write, (b) the nature of students' participation in instructional activities associated with learning to write, and (c) what students come to appropriate from their classroom experiences for their own writing. In Chapter Six, I compare and contrast findings from the two classrooms, identifying themes related specifically to affordance, participation, and appropriation and generally to effective instruction in inclusion classrooms.

In this chapter I examine writing instruction and related activities surrounding two writing activities in the Team Room at Ellison School: "board work"and "process writing." Board work and process writing were selected to represent writing instruction in the Team Room for three reasons. First, these two activities constituted most of the writing done in the classroom. There were other opportunities for writing, as in the phonics center and

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journal writing; however, the chief writing events were board work and process writing. Second, board work and process writing were representative of the types of text required of students in the Team Room. Third, these two types of writing illustrated the teachers' orientations to writing and writing instruction and their general epistemological beliefs.

The first three sections of the chapter deal with affordances available in the Ellison Team Room. The first section considers the Ellison teachers' theories and beliefs about writing instruction and literacy in general. The second and third sections provide a close examination of board work and process writing lessons by looking at conditions, instructional and learning activities, learning tasks, and material and semiotic resources.

In the fourth section of the chapter I discuss participation and the social fabric of the classroom relative to students with learning disabilities. I offer data regarding task engagement and social relationships from videotaped and in-class observations of student activity. I also include interview data from students and teachers. Student interview data and student writing samples provide limited information about what the target students had appropriated from instruction and learning activities for their own use when writing. Taken together, the examination of writing instruction and activities constitutes a telling case that I argue illustrates a "railway system" model of classroom instruction and interaction.

Teacher Beliefs About Writing and Instruction

There are at least two clearly linked levels of affordance in any classroom. One has to do with what a casual observer might notice taking place in the classroom (e.g., activities, participants, materials, grouping patterns). The other is less visible and has to do with teachers' goals, objectives, and beliefs (Gehrke, Knapp, & Sirotnik, 1992).

The Systematic Nature of the Curriculum

The beliefs about writing instruction held by the Team Room teachers, Darlene, Monica, and Bruce, involved what they called the "systematic sequential development of phonics skills," which they believed to be foundational for the development of literacy. A word count analysis (Ryan & Bernard, 2000) of their initial interview found a pattern of

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words and phrases that illustrated this stated belief in system and sequence. They talked about how they "analyze" and "break down the skills" into "steps." Their talk evoked a cognitive schema (Greeno, Collins, & Resnick, 1996) when they spoke about "where we need to fit this" in the "structure,""sequence," or "organization" of their literacy instruction. To begin working with students, they looked for an "entry/starting" point that indicated the current state of skill development for the individual student. Entry skills evaluated included decoding/encoding skills, language structures, and writing conventions (rather than purpose, voice, word usage, and editing/revising skills which were attended to later on in the student's writing development) (Rhodes & Dudley-Marling, 1988). From that point, they worked very "specifically," figuring out "how to go about working with each student," "pinpointing" deficits, explaining how "we can spot" or "fine tune" what is needed and then "gear" instruction accordingly. They emphasized how the continuous awareness of "this/that/some point" in the student's progress was critical for individualizing literacy and writing instruction (Kauffman, Gerber, & Semmel, 1988). Their philosophy was summarized by Darlene:

> We don't believe that [have kids write and it will come]. And we don't believe that with reading either...Certain skills have to be taught. We believe in teaching skills so that children understand and can articulate what they're doing. And therefore, if they can articulate and understand what they're doing, they can repeat it. (interview)

When they talked about learning to write, Darlene's and Monica's goals for their students were that they be able to get something down on paper, to "write it down," "get it on paper." However, they also recognized and welcomed opportunities for authentic writing when such naturally arose. On one occasion several class members had made a mess in the lunch room during the noon lunch period. Darlene and Monica asked all of the students to write letters of apology on behalf of their peers, using the situation to teach letter writing structure. At the end of the year, students drew on this knowledge when they were asked to write letters of thanks to a classroom benefactor who had endowed the classroom with geckos and lizards.

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The Team Room teachers did not simply pick their curriculum out of a book. Darlene and Monica invented and developed their writing program, which was incorporated into their reading and phonics curriculum. To do so, they gathered ideas from their own experience and previous teaching, workshops, published resources, and expert advice to construct what they called a "systematic approach with our reading and phonics program." Their writing curriculum consisted of teaching sequences, student assignments, and related printed materials such as graphic organizers. Characteristic of their curriculum was that it was "task analyzed. And I think we've really broken it down, and we've made it very sequential" (teacher interview).

"Interwoven-ness" of the Curriculum

Darlene and Monica thought it was important for each curricular goal to be addressed through multiple learning activities. Their curricular design was such that what was taught and learned in one area correlated with instruction and learning activity in another area. For example, they matched board work with phonics center lessons. Skills that were introduced or expanded during board work were further supported in the phonics center. Additionally, components of board work and phonics lessons were referred to during shared reading and writing time, so that students learned basic reading and writing skills "not only at just at the writing time...so it's...all interwoven" (interview). Darlene and Monica also used writing to support cognitive learning. During a unit involving map study, the teachers realized that students' spatial and relational understandings of their physical position in the world were not yet well developed. Students' writing assignments--in this case, helping author and illustrate a classroom Big Book about their classroom's position relative to the school, the school's position relative to the town, and so on to the universe--augmented hands-on activities to help them gain these understandings. Darlene explained:

> This [concept of where they are actually on a map] is a concept we have a very difficult time with the kids understanding, so as we keep working with more hands-on kind of things and those kinds of writing experiences, we're hoping that they grasp where actually we fit in this scheme of things, of this is our city versus our state versus our county, that kind of stuff. (interview)

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Board Work: Learning the Components of Written Language

Board work lessons began in whole group activity (described below) and were completed individually during seat work center. Board work lessons were written on chalk boards (thus the term "board work") which were placed on the periphery of the desk area.

General Features of Board Work

This section considers objectives for board work, features of board work tasks, and student grouping for board work assignments.

Objectives for board work. Board work was a vehicle for the instruction of phonic, grammatical (grammar, sentence structure), comprehension (vocabulary), and conventional (spelling, punctuation) written language skills. It was a central, daily component of the writing program in the Team Room. The teachers considered board work to be fundamental to their literacy program, including writing. Thus, board work and the phonics center, where additional phonics skills practice was provided, were major vehicles for the delivery and practice of reading, phonics, and writing instruction. The teachers described the foundational status of board work as follows.

> We go through a systematic approach with our reading and phonics program, which is incorporated into [board work]... we're always working, always working on something in the systematic sequential development of phonics skills. ...That's why we have such a high success rate with some of our kids" (teacher interview).

It was also central to their individualized approach to literacy instruction for all students in their classroom: "...[The board work is] specific to whatever their needs are. So they have a specific place they have to direct their attention to when they're doing the board work" (teacher interview).

Board work tasks. Board work was designed to accomplish many different instructional tasks. Components of board work included grammar, sentence structure, spelling, developmental vocabulary, punctuation, word families, and the structural analysis of words. Students might be learning number words, color words, comprehension, and sentence composition. Each new assignment was similar to the previous assignment in both

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subject matter and participation task structures (Erickson, 1996); thus, new daily assignments seemed more like review work than new learning. For example, a group learning the "at" word family on Monday (e.g., rat, pat, mat) might learn the "an" family on Tuesday (e.g., ran, pan, man). The following typical board work assignment provided practice in two skills: (a) the recognition of the "ch" digraph, and (b) writing experience dealing with extended text.

Finish.
1. The baby chick _____.
2. Her chin _____.
3. They will chop _____.
4. She will check _____.

As our submarine dove deeper under the sea a mysterious hole opened up and we disappeared.

Students were to complete the sentences by writing the complete sentence on a sheet of paper while working individually at their desks. The coherence of their sentences would indicate the correctness of their decoding and comprehension of the incomplete sentence. The sentence at the end was related to the current classroom theme, Under the Sea, and served as a prompt for writing extended text.

This was an example of a board work lesson for lower performing students.

1. three red balloons
2. four green fish
3. six orange cats
4. one purple hat
5. five black hats

To complete this lesson, students copied each phrase and drew a picture to illustrate it. The task was designed to strengthen recognition and comprehension of number and color words. The nouns were previously-learned sight words following familiar phonic patterns.

Grouping for board work. Board work assignments were designed for homogeneous groups of students. There were as many different board work assignments as there were groups. Groups were designated by color and were flexible. For instance, the orange

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group was divided at one point during the year into "orange" and "orange plus" to more effectively address the increased differentiation of individual needs of students in the group. The teachers formed six groups in September, but by October had increased the number to eight, each group involved with a different level of phonic skill as determined by the teachers.

The Public and Private Phases of Board Work

Board work can be considered to have two phases: public and private. This section describes and illustrates these two aspects of board work.

Board work: The public phase. New board work was introduced at the beginning of the day in a public context. One of the teachers walked from board to board, explaining each assignment in turn and interacting with the appropriate group for which the exercise was designed. During this series of interactions, other students in the class were, at the least, expected to sit quietly, and at the most, to attend to all of the board work explanations. In this representative example of such an introduction, Darlene called on the previous learning of students in a more advanced group as she introduced the new board work to a group learning compound words for the first time (T is teacher, in this case, Darlene):

T: Okay. I have got something on this board work, some kind of special word. Does anybody in [the] purple [group] know what in the world these things are? What are they called? Adelyn, do you think you remember from last year?
A: I heard about it.
T: Heard about it. That's what I thought. You heard about it. All right, Donny, you think you remember?
D: Compound words
T: Did you just say that, Adelyn? Very good.

Darlene often introduced board work assignments by extending an appeal to prior knowledge: "Does anybody in purple know what in the world these things are?" In this exchange, Darlene positioned students in the purple group as relative experts in compound words. Since this group had learned about compound words the previous year, Darlene related the new lesson to their prior experience. The task for the group learning compound

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words was to copy each compound word and then write the two words that made it up.

Once students had defined compound words, the focus of the lesson, they figured out how to fold a paper to make columns in which they were to write the words. Darlene then led them verbally through each item of the lesson.

T: Right. You've got two small words put together to make a completely new word. For instance, what is that first word up there? ...
T: Then what do we have next? Loren.
Loren: Mailbox.
T: Mailbox. What are two small words in mailbox, Loren?
L: Mail and box.
T: Mail and box. How about this word, Lanie? [Lanie has raised her hand.]
Lanie: Popcorn.
T: Popcorn. What are the two small words?
L: Pop.
T: Pop
L: Corn
T: And corn. Clyde, find one you know. Raise your hand when you're ready. Who knows this one?
S: [inaudible]
T: Houseboat. What are the two small words?
S: House. Boat.
T: House and boat.

This pattern continued until all of the compound words had been read and segmented Darlene then moved on to the next board. Before the students began the individual writing phase of board work, they had already worked the assignment with the teacher's assistance. The verbal performance was a resource which supported their later completion of the board work task.

Teacher talk during public board work. Darlene's task, during board work, was to verbally shepherd students through each assignment. To help understand the nature of the public lessons in which students participated, I extracted teacher's utterances from the full transcripts, sorted them according to content and function, and calculated percentages based on word counts. For this analysis, two board work lesson episodes involving target students Lanie and Richard were examined.

Darlene's talk during the public phase of the two board work lessons examined here was composed of questions, statements addressing literacy content, statements pertaining

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to task structure, and statements providing evaluation, imagery, and filler (see Table 7).

Table 7

Types and Percentages of Teacher's Talk During Public Board Work

Type of talk	Percentage of talk
Questions	36%
Literacy content	13%
Task structure	27%
Evaluation, imagery, filler	14%
Other	10%

Based on transcript word counts, 60% of the words in the transcript are the teacher's, reflecting the norm for classroom talk (Edwards, 1987). Thirty-six percent of her talk was comprised of questions, almost half of which were known-answer questions designed to lead students through the lesson efficiently: "How about this word?" "What are the two small words?" "Who knows this one?" "What are the two small words?" "What about this one?" "What are the two small words?" Other questions enhanced learning (Burbules, 1993) by focusing students' attention on salient characteristics of the lesson ("What's different about these words...?"), setting a purpose ("Guess what new thing is going on?"), and activating prior knowledge ("Do you remember from last year?"). Her questions also sought to transfer responsibility for the task to students (Graham & Harris, 1994) ("Which one do you want to read?") and invited problem-solving (King-Sears, 1997) ("Can you figure out one of these...?"). Thus, through Darlene's strategic use of questioning, she involved students in the lesson and briskly led them through it. However, her questions tended to prompt declarative knowledge (i.e., "Do you know?" rather than procedural knowledge (i.e., "How do you know?") which might have provided opportunities for students to articulate their rationales and for teachers to get a better sense of the thinking that lay behind the responses (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992).

Reflecting that board work assignments seemed review-like, rather than focusing on

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the presentation of new knowledge, only 13% of Darlene's talk in the two lessons was related to literacy content with comments such as these:

> They are called blends.
> ...You're never going to find a vowel in a blend. It has a vowel, but not as part of the blend....
> They have two consonants that make a sound put together.
> You've got two small words put together to make a completely new word.
> We've got a "sl" in a word, we've got a "gl" in a word, we've got a" c"l in a word.

Because part of Darlene's task was to clarify the task, 27% of her talk was related to task structure, either directing the public task or preparing students for the later private task. Comments related to the direction of the public task included:

> Now the last step.
> Now, [sentence] number 2. I am looking for some other people who are in orange plus.
> You can choose any sentence you want.
> We have two left, number 2 and number 4.
> Look at these words that are underlined.
> Find one you know. Raise your hand when you're ready.

Comments related to the eventual performance of the private task included:

> This is how you are going to set your paper up.
> That's what you should have on your paper.
> Yes, you do need to draw a picture of it.
> You have to write each of these words separately. You might have to go on the back.

Darlene's remaining talk (14%) included evaluation in I-R-E sequences ("Very good!" "Excellent." "Right."), humor and vivid imagery (Tannen, 1989) ("I hit the jackpot when I called on Richard." "I have...some kind of special word."), and repetitions and comments that could be considered filler ("Mailbox," "Popcorn," "House and boat," "Heard about it. That's what I thought. You heard about it.").

Taken together, Darlene's teacher talk during board work reflected its purpose: to focus on the component parts of language, providing the students with discrete phonics and decoding skills. Involving the students in the task meant obtaining and holding their attention until they had provided correct responses or the teacher was confident that they could do so later. The task required little negotiation of meaning. Knowledge pre-existed the task; little new was created nor did it need to be. The students' task was to attend to the

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Board work: The private phase. The second phase of board work occurred during assigned seat work time as students worked individually at their desks. Students were expected to rely upon their memory of the earlier introduction of the board work task as they consulted the still-posted assignment to complete the writing task. Reliance on memory might have been problematic for students with learning disabilities for whom short term memory skills are weaker (O'Shaughnessy & Swanson, 1998); however, it seems likely that assignments were so similar in procedure and content from one day to another that new memory requirements were actually quite small. Students could request teacher assistance, but there was little evidence that they did or needed to. This was fortunate, because the teachers were generally occupied with a reading group or at the activity center. Students seemed to know what to do once the teacher had explained each assignment and checked for understanding at the start of the day. When students completed their board work assignments, they placed them in their folders, which were collected by the teachers later in the day.

Textual features of private board work writing. Board work assignments were generally at the word or sentence level, and Darlene's reference to board work as "words" ("What's going on with your words?") underscores the emphasis at the word level. However, for groups considered ready to write extended text, board work tasks also required students to compose text at the paragraph or story level. For example, in the board work example above, students used the sentence at the end of the assignment ("As our submarine dove deeper under the sea a mysterious hole opened up and we disappeared.") as a story starter. As might be expected, this was an appropriate story starter for the current thematic unit, "Under the Sea."

Since assignment of extended writing was based on "readiness" for such work (not on disability status), and since Lanie's literacy development was more advanced than

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Richard's, Lanie received opportunities to write extended text during board work lessons, while Richard did not. However, with reference to the curricular structure of this classroom and the on-going evaluation of students' performance levels, this was a temporary condition. When Richard is deemed "ready" to write extended text, he will receive longer writing assignments.

Analysis of Board Work by Phase

The two phases of board work were differentiated by material, activity, semiotic, and sociocultural aspects (Gee & Green, 1998). One of the board work phases was public, and the other was private.

Board work as public activity. Materially, the public phase of board work entailed the chalk board representation of the lesson and a predictably patterned verbal exchange between teacher and students. Students interacted primarily with the teacher and rarely with each other. The nature of the activity was to establish cognitive knowledge regarding phonic elements for reading and writing and about the task requirements for the private phase of the activity. Semiotically, the teacher-student dialogue mediating students' initial engagement with the task was characteristically I-R-E (Mehan, 1979), an appropriate interactional structure for a task where there is only one right answer (Cazden, 1988). Sociocultural considerations include the roles and obligations which guide participation and activity of group members. In this activity, the teacher role included directing the attention of the students to the appropriate text and guiding students through the lesson. The teachers acted in a dominant role as they determined the nature of the assignments and guided students through the lesson. Student activity included attending to the verbal exchanges and responding as required. Student participation in public board work transformed incrementally; as students successfully performed the public task of response, they learned how to become better students and to become increasingly adept at being a student in this particular classroom.

Although students interacted primarily with the teacher, the stratified nature of the

board work curriculum provided opportunities for students to position themselves relative to one another, if they chose to do so. Individual skills of class members were in the public space whether a student said anything or not, because everyone observed the board work of everyone else. Although no data reflected students' performance of such evaluations, it must be acknowledged that the nature of the curriculum and its method of presentation allowed these opportunities.

Board work as private activity. The private phase of board work was intertextually connected to the public phase through the chalkboard text and the students' recollection of the oral text. Materially, the private phase included little interpersonal interaction. The nature of the activity was to independently apply cognitive knowledge in order to complete a pencil-and-paper task. As students privately completed their individual assignments, they assumed by default a dominant role in the activity as their attention was directed to the task of completing the assignment, while the teachers' attention was engaged elsewhere. However, teachers maintained a "semiotic presence" (Almasi, Russell, Guthrie, & Anderson, 1998) in the text on the chalk boards and possibly in students' recollections of the oral text. This was an important resource, since the task was to reproduce the text with expansions (e.g., a drawing, filled in blanks, extended text built upon the writing prompt).

In addition to teacher talk and board text, students' prior knowledge of the academic task structure (Erickson, 1996) also served as a useful resource for task activity. Because the writing curriculum was systematically constructed, tasks were not completely new each day, but carried intertextual connections with earlier tasks. Recall that in the above board work the teacher noted students' previous experience with "blends." Furthermore, the task was also linked to previous social participation structures (Erickson). Thus, the students' familiarity with the academic task structure (Erickson) for board work was a useful resource from which they could draw to complete the task independently. Such visible scaffolding of students' participation is critical for students with learning disabilities, who may not by themselves make these useful connections.

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What was available to be appropriated in board work were particular forms of cognitive and procedural knowledge that allowed students to complete their learning tasks. The small bits of incremental knowledge were specific, manageable, and embedded within familiar task structures. Appropriation, then, meant metaphorically turning a page, a small but real advance in linear fashion toward a particular learning goal.

Norms and expectations for student behavior were similar in both the public and private phases of the activity. Students were expected to sit quietly and direct their attention to the task without interacting with other students. They were allowed to request assistance from teachers and even from other students. Such interaction with other students was sometimes allowed, but seldom encouraged. Peer interactions, when they occurred, were isolated and sporadic, as when two students were sitting together quietly and seemed to be working. In this particular situation, Darlene checked with Monica to make sure that this arrangement was "working," that they were getting their work done. Opportunities were not planned for students to collaborate on board work. Occasionally students consulted one another while doing their board work tasks, but such consultations tended to center on conventions, rather than on content. As Lanie said, "...She knows if she needs help [for spelling], just ask me."

Board work was similar to the traditional phonics work sheet; however, in this classroom, the value added was the public performance associated with each verbal work sheet. Because of the wide range of phonic skill levels represented among the students and the teachers' commitment to meeting the individual needs of each student, board work allowed Darlene, Monica, and Bruce to provide specific treatments for small groups of students. However, providing for this individualization in the public space of board work instruction afforded opportunities for students to "jump" their individual ZPD bandwidths (Brown & Reeve, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978). Rather than operate solely in the cognitive space deemed appropriate by their teachers, students could listen in on the lessons of other students, much like the one-room schoolhouses of the past. In fact, teachers required

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students to attend to the board work of all students. In so doing, students might acquire advance knowledge of upcoming phonics skills, equipping themselves, in effect, with prior knowledge upon which they will be able to draw once they themselves "officially" arrive at the more advanced level. Without the public broadcast of these lessons, students might not have the opportunity to take a look ahead, the visual and verbal equivalent of paging ahead through the text, and appropriate other phonics skills for themselves ahead of schedule.

The Phonics Center: An Extension of Board Work

To fully understand writing instruction in the Team Room, it is necessary to include in the description of writing instruction the private activity of the phonics center. In the Team Room, students' literacy activity, including board work, was structured around what the teachers called "centers." The phonics center was one of six centers, the others being the listening center, the activity center, computers, reading groups, and seat work. The listening center involved using headphones and sets of books to listen to teacher-recorded trade books related to the current theme, such as Mexico, Under the Sea, or China. The activity center involved the construction of craft projects related to the current theme, and was a site where teachers encouraged creativity of artistic expression. Computers offered supplementary practice for reading, writing, and math instruction. Reading groups met with teachers for the purpose of small group reading instruction. Seat work consisted mostly of board work and sometimes process writing. The management of center activity involved one teacher circulating to supervise activity in all centers except reading groups, which met with the other two teachers. The color-coded groups described above comprised center groups. Six center periods of about 25 minutes each allowed all students to rotate to all six centers every day. Center activity usually comprised all morning activity after opening exercises.

Although the phonics center was not considered by the teachers to be a writing task, it was foundational for all reading and writing instruction, for it was here that students were provided with individualized opportunities for reinforcing decoding and encoding skills.

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The phonics center, in fact, served as a de facto extension of the board work assignments. It also provided a way for teachers to effectively manage seat work (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992).

The phonics center was located on two round tables, each topped by an arrangement of wooden dividers that sectioned each table into four private study carrels. The dividers reinforced the rule that students were to do their work there privately, without distractions from or distracting other students. Several tape recorders with multiple headphone jacks, and attendant headphones, were available to deliver simultaneously one, two, or three different teacher-recorded audiotaped lessons to groups of one, two, three, or more students at the center. Center materials included an audiotaped text and either manipulative or pencil-and-paper tasks.

In the transcript segment below, Sonja, a student with learning disabilities, worked with a phonics center assignment. As the teacher-on-tape introduced the lesson to Sonja and other members of her group, who were listening with headphones, Sonja picked up each of her small pictures and said the name of the picture, emphasizing the initial sound for each picture while she waited for the next part of the lesson. Then the instructional section of the lesson began.

Teacher: (on tape) Leaf. Leaves. Find the picture with two leaves on it. Pick it up. The beginning sound is /l/-/l/-leaves. The beginning sound is /l/, so you need to put the leaves on the correct letter. Okay now I want you to find rabbit. Rabbit. Pick it up.
Students chant to themselves: Rabbit, rabbit, rabbit.

Teacher: Find the picture of the rabbit. Rabbit. First sound /r/. Rabbit. Put it on the correct spot. Now find the picture of the 2. The picture of the 2. Pick it up.
Sonja is distracted by the camera. She is acting for, singing to the camera, but turns back to her work to find the next picture, which is the 2.

Sonja: (to next student) What did she say?
Someone is moving the divider.

Sonja: Stop it! Who's moving it?

Teacher: Now the picture of the fish. Fish. ...Put it on the correct [inaudible]. Pause.
Sonja is distracted now, talking about dolphins.
Sonja finds the next picture. She notices that the next student has placed all of the pictures on the cards without listening to the tape.

Sonja: (to neighbor) You got them all right?
Sonja does the same thing, says the picture, emphasizes the sound, and places the picture on the correct letter.

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Sonja's subject matter task was to attend to the taped script and produce the required responses indicated by the teacher-on-tape. She did well at that task. Her social participation task was to individually, without interpersonal interaction, follow the taped directions for placing picture tiles. Finding unfilled spaces in the lesson time frame (where the teacher paused in her taped talk), Sonja appropriately acted to practice the phonic skill (e.g., where she chanted "rabbit, rabbit"). However, the lesson ends on an interesting note that can be interpreted either as an instance of expansive learning (Broström, 1999) or as an instance of the construction of a counterscript (Gutierrez & Rymes, 1995). When Sonja noticed that another student had not maintained the scripted pace of the lesson but rather had "gone ahead" to place all of her pictures on the correct letters before the taped teacher directions to do so, Sonja did the same. As an instance of expansive learning, Sonja's placing of the markers ahead of the prompts indicated her readiness to progress beyond the requirements of the current task by implementing for herself a more rapid lesson pace requiring less response time. As an instance of counterscript, it was evident that the students had invented their own strategies to deal with the lesson. This was a "mild" counterscript, however, since both the learning objective and the process remained unchanged; only the roles changed as students took over the executive function to implement a faster lesson pace. Instead of the teacher-student interaction framework, the lesson became a private lesson, completed as if it were unsupervised seat work.

The social conditions of the phonics lesson required that Sonja interact with the "semiotic presence" (Almasi, Russell, Guthrie, & Anderson, 1998) of the teacher. Dialogue may be asynchronic (Bakhtin, 1986), and in this case it was, as the teacher's portion of the dialogue was created (on tape) much earlier than the students' (live) portion. However, students' interaction with the taped text certainly provided a good facsimile of verbal synchronic interaction. Because students' social interactions were bounded at the phonics center, less attention to the maintenance of social identities was needed, potentially

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While the phonics center as activity appeared to be quite different from board work, it was, in fact, an extension of board work. Although it took place in a different part of the room (i.e., at tables-with-dividers) and employed different mediating artifacts (i.e., headphones, audiotape, manipulatives), the two tasks had similar objectives. The chief objective of both board work and phonics center work was to gain and strengthen phonic skills.

Learning to Put It All Together: Process Writing

Process writing included the public and private construction of both expository and narrative texts. The Ellison teachers introduced process writing, specifically expository writing, early in the year. The "process" of teaching process writing began with prewriting activities such as brainstorming. To support prewriting activities, the teachers used graphic organizers that illustrated topic/main idea (expository writing) and story structure (narrative). The next step was drafting. Subskills related to drafting included staying on topic, sequence, transitions, interesting sentences, endings, and structure (beginning-middle-ending). Drafting was followed by revising, editing, and publishing. Teachers were involved in all steps, although they encouraged higher performing students to take over editing responsibilities.

General Features of Process Writing

This section considers objectives and procedures for process writing.

Objectives for process writing. Process writing, styled after the writing approach by that name (Calkins, 1986), was a site for wedding phonic, syntactic, and semantic skills. It was linked to thematic instruction. For instance, the "Under the Sea" theme resulted in a number of reports on sea animals, such as octopi and sharks. Thus, expository writing was a way for students to display their knowledge of the science curriculum. However, there were other objectives for using expository writing. The Ellison teachers used expository writing to introduce the concept of textual organization. Expository writing was also

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intended for practice of writing conventions. Consequently, the intended results of instruction in expository writing included skilled knowledge regarding the material production of written texts as well as metaknowledge that all written texts needed to be organized in specific and appropriate ways (Halliday & Martin, 1993).

Procedures of process writing. As noted above, steps of the process writing sequence included pre-writing, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing. For Darlene and Monica, each step included subprocesses. For example, the subprocesses included "brainstorming" in the pre-writing phase; and "big ideas" in the drafting phase, which the teachers defined as "how we learn to stay on a topic, how we divide the big ideas into sentences, so the big idea turns into being the topic sentence" (interview). In addition, the drafting phase included determining or selecting genre, which they referred to as "story structure." Types of story structure included expository, giving directions, story comparison, and sequence. Teachers assisted students in the revising and editing of their written products, "working with the student, talking about it, so it's more teacher-student conferencing. It's basically editing with the teacher and going back and then rewriting" (teacher interview). Students published their work by recopying the edited draft and posting the final copy on the walls in the hallway outside the classroom, often accompanied by a picture or other attractive art project.

When Monica and Darlene talked about process writing, they not only referred to the various stages of the writing process, but also to the instructional moves, or processes, required to teach each stage and genré, the process of learning the processes. Thus, in process writing, they "start working with the process of learning to brainstorm," the "process of journal writing" and so forth, "all way down the line as we work through each of these processes."

Although board work may or may not have been thematic, process writing was almost always related to themes. Some of the themes studied during the year included "Mexico," "Under the Sea," and "China." In fact, the theme served to link a number of classroom

activities to support process writing. These activities were variously asynchronous or synchronous. For example, cognitive resources later drawn on for process writing were provided asynchronously through the listening center, where students listened to theme-related trade books recorded on audiotapes by the teachers and completed theme-related hands-on activities such as map work, graphing, classifying/sorting, data analysis, drawing, and comparing/contrasting cultures. Providing standardized cognitive and cultural resources for students was the first of two major sociocultural functions of the listening center. In fact, the teachers provided all thematic input so that there would be standardization of knowledge. Teacher provision of input alleviated the need for students to seek out their own resources, which the teachers considered to be limited. Darlene addressed this topic during the initial teacher interview.

> They haven't had the experience to, you know, you can't read about oceans if you have no clue, or never have heard about it. You don't, it doesn't make sense when you're reading it, you know, so, or have never been to a zoo...We're talking about kids that were have never been out of this neighborhood. And that's phenomenal, you know, in terms of experience. You're talking about some really severe environmental deprivation here. You got to cover a lot of territory in terms of giving them experience so they can understand (interview).

A second important sociocultural function of the listening center was to include all students in the acquisition of common understandings. Listening center activities were the same for all students; these activities were not differentiated by group. In this classroom, where individualization of curriculum required independent and private academic activity to meet individual learning needs, the teachers felt that listening center activities, which the teachers considered to be "whole group," were important for including students with disabilities. As the teachers explained, "everybody participates, everybody's getting the thematic information" (interview). In this case, participation meant everyone doing the same activity and receiving the same input, although the participation and activity were asynchronous. However, having thusly acquired an enhanced fund of information and experience to compensate for limited prior knowledge, all students, including students with learning disabilities, were now positioned with similar cognitive resources on a level

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playing field, making possible the type of group recitation examined below in the lesson referred to as the "octopus report."

Cognitive resources were also provided synchronically by having the whole class watch theme-related videotapes and listen to teachers read theme-related books. These activities provided teachers with opportunities to interpret and elaborate on thematic material at the time the class viewed the videotape or listened to the reading.

In addition to the activities mentioned above, elaborate crafts activities were associated with these units, maintaining high motivation and interest in the science and social studies learning associated with the themes. Darlene, Monica, and Bruce specialized in the construction of life-sized papiér-maché structures: trees, alligators, jellyfish, and even a baby whale. Students painted and decorated these artifacts, which decorated the activity area of the classroom and were used in dramatic productions performed for other classes in the building and other schools in the district. In this way, students shared the results of their work with other members of the school community, who provided an authentic audience for students' products.

Writing skills addressed within the framework of process writing focused on meaning making and included sequencing, transitions, composing interesting sentences, and organization (beginning [front], middle, end [back]). Staying on topic was of critical importance for Darlene and Monica: "The first really main thing we work on is keeping them on topic. And we use expository writing to start with that, because it's a lot easier."

Darlene, Monica, and Bruce believed that learning these various writing "processes" and skills was important for their students, but they understood that students' use of formal nomenclature (e.g., "topic sentence" instead of "big idea") may not come until later: "We don't necessarily get to that kind of vocabulary by the end of second grade.... They're doing it, but not necessarily with all of the vocabulary" (interview). The object was for students to understand and use the processes even if they did not yet use technical writing vocabulary to talk about their writing skills.

Process Writing as a Public Event: Individual and Joint Tasks

Similar to board work, process writing also entailed both public and private writing events. As a public writing event, process writing took two forms. One form, which I consider to be an individual task at the point of actual text construction, involved the public introduction of a writing assignment, often a theme report, to be completed later during seat work time. Texts constructed during the public event ranged in completeness from structural prompts only (cognitive maps, suggested key words, topic sentences) to entire texts (a thank-you letter), depending on the developing expertise of the students as a whole. These public texts served as cognitive supports (Englert, Berry, & Dunsmore, 2001) for students as they constructed individual texts later. The chief task of the public event involved establishing the academic task structures (Erickson, 1996). An example of this form of public process writing is given below as the "octopus report."

A second form of public process writing, which I consider to be joint activity at the point of text construction, involved the teacher and students in the public co-construction of narrative text. In this form, an entire and complete text was constructed during the public lesson; the text was not a model for later task completion. An example of this form of public process writing is described below as the "dragon story." The next sections describe these two types of public process writing.

Public process writing as an individual task: The octopus report. The task for this particular lesson event related to the current theme about oceans, "Under the Sea," was to write a report about octopi. The lesson can be analyzed in three phases. In the first phase, which I call "gathering cognitive and cultural resources," Darlene and the students recalled information about octopi. This was the longest phase, continuing for about 25 minutes. In the second phase, which I call "organizing scientific concepts" and which lasted about 17 minutes, the task shifted from recalling information to organizing it. The third phase, which I call "technical support," continued for about six minutes and focused on the technical aspects of organizing the report structure.

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In the following transcript segment from the "gathering resources" phase, Darlene introduced the assignment. Previous to this occasion, students had learned thematic information about sea creatures in the listening center and through other activities such as viewing videotapes and listening to teachers read books related to the ocean theme. Today Darlene first directed students' attention to a poster of the octopus family, and then asked them to recall what they had learned about octopi, while Monica positioned herself to record students' contributions on a chalk board.

Darlene: We are going to be talking about this [poster]. Two days ago we talked about the jellyfish, and we made a web. Right now, I want you to tell me everything you know about an octopus. ...What do you know about an octopus? Donny, tell me the first thing you know about them.

After referring to what had transpired two days ago, perhaps an indirect way of indicating an objective of the current lesson (making a web), Darlene began to ask for information. As students offered recalled information learned through the listening center, Darlene commented on their ideas, explaining and adding information, and occasionally asking questions to clarify or test students' knowledge (Cazden, 1988; Nystrand, 1995). What follows is an extended transcript segment representative of this part of the lesson, which continued for 25 minutes.

Donny: There's suckers on 'em.
T: There are suckers they have suckers on them. Anybody know how many suckers there are on each arm? There are a lot. And somebody, some scientist, counted these. And it's the same on every octopus.
D: 4300 on each arm.
T: No, not 4300, that would really be a lot.
S: 240
T: You are right. 240 of those suckers on each of these arms.
S: That's a lot.
T: That would be a lot. Who else knows something about an octopus? Maddy?
Maddy: Some octopuses change their color when they're around, their color, they go, they change, they, their color
T: That's right, when they're around a certain color they change to that color. That's right.
M: They blend so you can't see.
T: They blend into their surroundings; what's that called?
M: Camouflage.
T: Right. Good. Who else knows something about an octopus?
* * *
Juwan: When a octopus lay their eggs, they're going to die.

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T: That is true too, when an octopus lay its eggs, that's the end of their life, they're going to die. Clyde, I hope you're hearing all this. Okay. There's something interesting about their eggs too. Helen.

Helen: When lays eggs they put eggs on top of a foam like little strings, they put them all together.

T: Right. This is really strange, Mrs. Baez. When they lay their eggs, they for instance, they might have they might live in a cave. Here is the opening of a cave (*drawing on the board*). When the octopus lays its eggs, Helen was telling me, they have a string and they have all these eggs on the string, and they're all hanging in front of their cave on this string. That is very interesting too.

Jerry: [inaudible]

T: Jerry is right. That's another thing. An octopus will stay there until all those eggs hatch out and protect all those eggs. That's another they do, they protect those eggs. Then, that's the end of their life. That's right, they have done what they came to do, and now they're gonna die.

Darlene's pattern seemed to be to recognize, evaluate, and accept students' ideas and then offer elaborations and extensions. Donny recalled that octopi have suckers on their arms, and Darlene extended the ideas by recalling the number and who counted them. Maddy said octopi change color, and Darlene elaborated by explaining when they change color and asking for a scientific term to identify color change. Juwan raised the topic of laying eggs, which was greatly elaborated upon, even including a diagram. In this way Darlene drew out students' previously acquired knowledge to establish a collective fund of knowledge that would serve as a resource for each student. However, she checked the veracity of their ideas by commenting "You are right," "That's right," Right. Good." "That is true," "Jerry is right." In this classroom, gathering resources involved recall of known facts judged for "rightness." The purpose of this knowledge-gathering was twofold: to check on the accuracy of previous learning and to generate a knowledge bank of facts related to octopi. It is likely that without this public knowledge-gathering activity, a number of student, including students with learning disabilities, would not have known what they know. In other words, understanding the extent of one's own knowledge and being able to formally organize it is a complex task. By first making available multiple resources for learning information, and then by assembling and visually representing a corpus of knowledge about octopi, the teachers supported students' access to subject matter

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knowledge necessary for constructing a report about octopi.

At several points in the recitation, Darlene made personal connections with the topic by recounting experiences with her marine zoologist daughter.

D: ...You know my daughter is a marine zoologist. And she goes in the ocean and learns all about animals. And she
S: And then you thought
T: Shh, shh. She was in a kayak. I was in the front and she was in the back. And she was out with her paddle, and...

Whereupon followed a story that included an octopus. By the end of the first phase of the lesson, Monica had recorded this list of information about octopi on the chalk board.

have suckers (240 on each arm)
can change color-camouflage
has a beak inside mouth
one kind can kill
when angry they turn dark red
head shaped like a bag
can live in boats, caves, tin cans
then they lay eggs, they will die soon
lay egg string hanging in cave-octopus will protect eggs
no bones-can squeeze into small spaces
spit ink at enemies-makes a cloud
use jets to move-takes in water through jets-move fast
have two hearts
can regenerate arms
can open a jar
they eat fish, crab, shrimp, abalone
get food out of shell by using a rock or their beak or wait for it to open and put a pebble in

At this point, Darlene moved into the second phase of the lesson, the "organization" phase. The teachers handed out copies of what they called a "brainstorming sheet" (similar in appearance to a concept map). The brainstorming sheet had a light bulb surrounded by five cloud shapes (see Figure 2). As Monica drew a large facsimile of the work sheet on a chalk board, Darlene asked students to identify what she called the "big ideas"that could be used to structure the text students would eventually write. Brainstorming, in this case, meant asking students to think of a "big idea" to organize the known information just

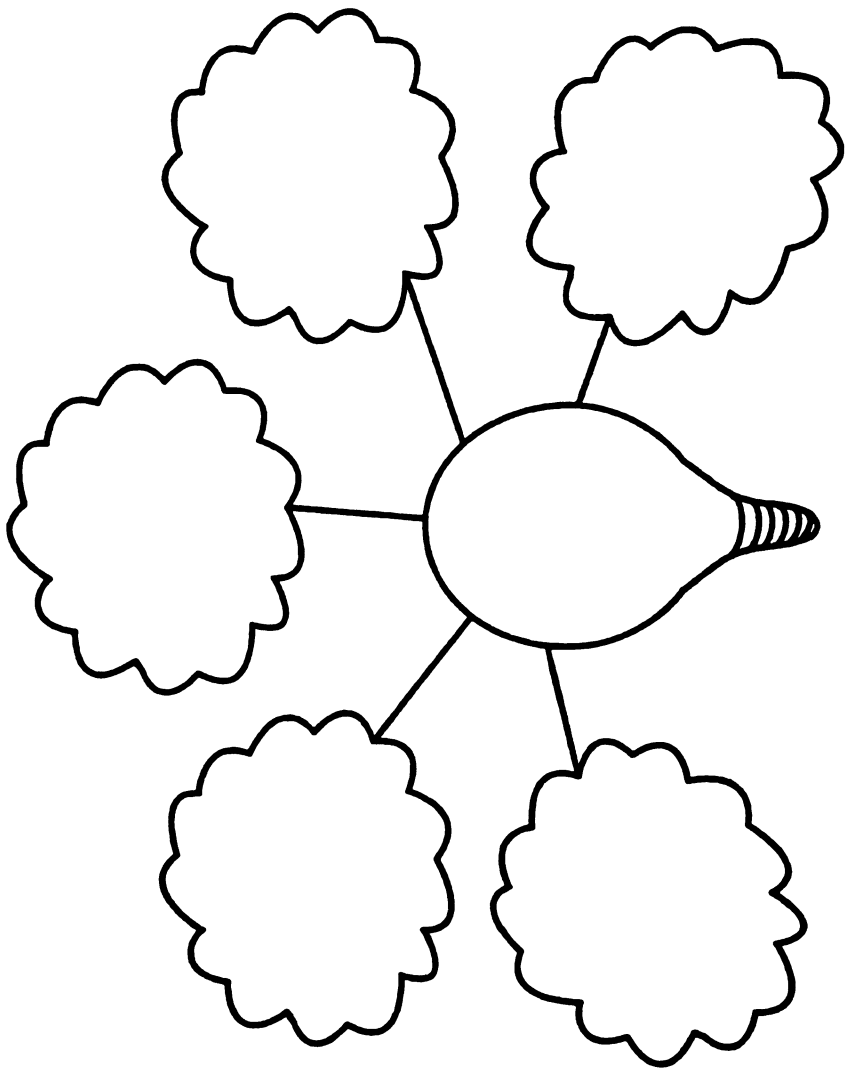

Figure 2. Lightbulb brainstorming sheet.

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could be used to structure the students' reports.

T: Now the other day with jellyfish we talked about the big ideas. We have a lot of ideas up here, but we can put them together in groups.
S: That's what we did yesterday.
T: That's what we did with the jellyfish a couple of days ago. Now, we're going to do this again. I need to have someone to tell me what one of these big ideas is. How can we put some of this stuff together in one big group?...Alan, can you tell me what one of these big groups is?
Alan: Where they live.
T: Where they live. Mrs. Baez is gonna draw, that's one of the big ideas....I'm going to call on you to tell me where they live. You better be ready. We talked about where they live. And where do they live. Josh?
Josh: In a cave.
T: In a cave. Myra, what's another place where an octopus might live?
Myra: Rocks.
T: In a rock. Loren, where's another place an octopus might live? We got a lot of ideas up there. In caves. Where's another place?

Darlene referred to a previous lesson where "big ideas" had been generated and called for similar big ideas for octopi. She referenced the list on the board rather than rereading it, by saying, "We have a lot of ideas up here." After several chalk board ideas had been grouped for the category of "where they live," Darlene's attention turned to the material object, the brainstorming work sheet, upon which each student would record the big ideas generated by the group.

T: You need to look at your paper now. There's a light bulb here. That's what we are talking about. Yes, Alan remembered how to do this all on his own. In this write "octopus." That's right. So the first graders, and those who haven't been in our room before, they are just going to be learning about it right now. How to fill out our brainstorming sheet. Look up here. In your light bulb you are gonna write octopus....Now. What you're gonna do next is in one of these little clouds right down here, right here, look at me, on this side (*points out the cloud to the left of the lightbulb*) you're going to write, "where they live." That's one of the big ideas we're talking about, where they live.

At this point, Darlene, Monica, and Bruce moved about the classroom, pointing out the appropriate places on individual students' brainstorming sheets where students needed to write the words "octopus" and "where they live." When all was in order, Darlene asked students to list places where octopi live. As students responded in turn, Monica recorded their ideas on the chalk board under the "where they live" cloud shape she had drawn. Doing so served three functions: (a) to make visible the structure required for scientific text

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construction involving superordinate concepts and subordinate details, (b) to demonstrate how the resources of the first list could be drawn on to construct the web, and (c) to visibly link the first list to the emerging web.

Next, Darlene followed the same pattern to elicit other "big ideas" with accompanying details: What they do. What they look like. What they eat. Predators. Students had some difficulty with the category, "What they do." Perhaps this was a difficult category conceptually. Categories of information such as where they live, their appearance, what they eat, and predators could be represented with concrete symbols: cave, eight arms, fish, sharks. Representing attributes of octopi as things they "do," was a bit more ambiguous.

T: All right. Who can tell me another big idea... Jon?
Jon: They move fast.
T: Okay, they move fast. What could we call that big idea? They move fast, and what else do they do that's special about them? What is the thing we could call that big idea? Stan?
S: [inaudible]
T: Okay, who else has got an idea? What do we call something that says they move fast, maybe the camouflage, I don't know, what can we call this idea?
Trish: [inaudible]
T: "What they do." Trish said we could call it "what they do." All right now, "what they do" you need to write next. That's number 2.

Darlene prompted students by suggesting several details: "they move fast," something "special about them," and "maybe the camouflage." Trish provided the category Darlene was seeking, perhaps recalling the jellyfish lesson.

Details for the fifth category, predators, had not been suggested during the "gathering information" phase of the lesson, which Darlene noted by saying, "That's not something we talked about." However, since it was suggested and seemed appropriate for the topic, Monica wrote "predators" on the fifth cloud while Darlene elicited suggestions of possible predators.

To identify the "big idea" categories, several students drew on prior procedural knowledge by recalling categories used previously. Subsequent reports made use of similar categories. Categories for "What they eat," "What they do," and "What they look like" all appeared in reports on sharks, sea otters, and pandas (for a spring theme on China).

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"Predators" and "Where they live" appeared only in the shark report. New categories appearing in later reports included "How they catch food," "How they eat," "Enemies," and "Body parts."

In the center of Monica's representation of the brainstorming sheet on the board, she wrote the word "octopus" and in the cloud shapes she entered the big ideas: "Where they live," "What they eat," and so on. For three of the categories, she also recorded details under the cloud shape. For instance, in the "where they live" category, she recorded "rocks, caves, tin cans, sunken ships" under the cloud shape that contained the phrase, "Where they live." Darlene and Monica clarified what students were supposed to do with this information.

Darlene: That's number one (*writes a number 1 on the cloud on the board*). All right. Now we talked about where they live. Rocks, caves, what else did they say, sunken ships, tin cans. You're not gonna write that part down. You're not going to write where they live on your paper.
S: Why?
Monica: You're just writing these words, "where they live." You're not writing this part (*points to "rocks, caves," etc.*) You're just writing the big idea.

Darlene instructed students to copy only the topic (octopus) and the big ideas from the chalk board to their brainstorming sheet (in the exact order indicated). However, they were not to copy to their brainstorming sheets the supporting details as Monica had listed them on the chalk board brainstorming map. This was to encourage students to find their own ideas, perhaps by using other ideas from the first list that had not been listed on the chalk board brainstorming map. The list of details was intended as a model, not definitive of the only correct responses. However, the texts students subsequently produced generally reflected the ideas Monica had recorded under the cloud shapes, and in the order in which she had recorded them. The teachers may have wished for students to be independent in selection of supporting details, but most used Monica's model as an exact template for the conceptual development of their paper.

In the third phase of the lesson, the "technical support" phase, Darlene announced the assignment: "The first thing you're going to be writing about is where they live." Then she

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provided a model for their work by giving a non-exemplar, addressing her utterances to Monica as she presented a talk-aloud to make visible her thoughts and plans for a fictitious paper:

> Darlene: I'm going to start out, Mrs. Baez, with 'where they live.' And here I go. On my board work paper (*the regular, blank sheet of paper on which the report will be written*), I'm going to be writing this report: 'rocks, caves, tin cans, sunken ships.'

Darlene's tone of voice and demeanor signaled that there was a problem that needed to be identified with this plan. Maddy correctly identified the problem: "You didn't write your sentences." Darlene affirmed the correct response offered by the student.

> T: A sentence! Oh! When I write a report
> Maddy: You write a sentence.
> T: Well, how could I start? What could my first sentence be?
> Student: Octopuses live in rocks.
> T: Octopus live in rocks...To write your report it has to be in sentences. This is not a list. This is not a group of phrases. These have to be sentences. All right. Now. For your work, that is all you're going to work on today for seat work.

Darlene concluded the public phase of this process writing lesson by emphasizing correct report structure and seat work task. To carry out the private phase of the lesson, students were to consult the list on the board to find appropriate details to include in their report. Thus, the task for the students included selecting details from the class list and transforming them into sentences for use in their extended text, without first adding details in list fashion to their individual brainstorming sheets. Interestingly, inspection of completed students reports indicated that, although all the words and phrases on the chalk board were to be transformed into complete sentences, the "big idea" phrases generally were left as phrases. Thus, Lanie's first paragraph (with spelling corrected) reads: "Where they live. They live in rocks and under dark places. They live in caves in the ocean. They make them small tin cans. They live in sunken ships because it is dark." As with board work, the individual activity of report construction was to be done privately, without consultation with peers (see further descriptions of writing samples below).

Much of the lesson performed in public provided opportunities for the knowledge of

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one to become the knowledge of all. The material artifact (Gee & Green, 1998) most conspicuous in this lesson, the individual brainstorming sheet, served as a mediating artifact for transforming the knowledge of all into an individual product. The power of the first list and the concept maps, which is what the brainstorming sheets were, lay in their potential to (a) make visible the mental functions of selecting, classifying, and expanding ideas, thus reducing the cognitive load implicit in selecting and transforming words and phrases into complete sentences; and (b) make visible the infrastructure of the report (Halliday & Martin, 1993).

Related to the use of the concept map is the use and naming of structural elements in scientific writing (Halliday & Martin, 1993). The structure of writing is generally invisible to students and requires techniques, such as the use of webs, to make it visible. When Monica and Darlene named the "big idea," they facilitated this visibility. This language then became part of the common discourse in the classroom (Edwards & Mercer, 1987), and a resource for understanding the construction of future reports.

What distinguished process writing from board work in the Team Room were links to other classroom activities, as well as the goals and mediating texts supporting students' task accomplishment. The teachers designed process writing instruction to link, or, in their term, to be "interwoven," with other classroom events. Knowledge gained in the listening center and through class viewing of videotapes and teacher readings of theme-related trade books was reflected in the texts students composed, as well as in thematic craft projects and dramatic presentations. In their turn, craft projects and dramatic presentations contributed to process writing by providing motivation and interest in the thematic material.

While goals for board work involved attention to phonic elements in text, attention to meaning making elements was crucial for process writing. Even students who dictated text were expected to attend to sense-making. Darlene described Sonja's writing progress in terms of text organization.

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> ideas at the beginning of the year, and now she can flow through a story. I mean, her dragon story that she dictated was unbelievable in terms of where she started. You know, "A dragon is crying in a cave because someone took his candy. Win Lee wanted to see who was crying. He wanted to help the dragon." Before she would dictate to me, and it would just be all over the park. Nothing made any sense..., So that was a big change. (spring interview)

Textual features of process writing included sentences with, if possible, correct spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Perfect spelling and other writing conventions were not emphasized for the drafting phase, but the final published copy was expected to be as nearly perfect as possible, including neat handwriting. This emphasis on a neat and correct product for public view was termed "quality work." Students were expected to produce their best "quality work." Slovenliness or an outcome that was below standard for a particular student was not tolerated, and students were expected to redo the work, if necessary, to produce "quality work." Lanie furnished her understanding of "quality work."

RB: Do you ever read your paper, ask someone else to read your story?
L: Yeah, ask Mrs. Weston. Mrs. Baez, I mean.
RB: Mrs. Baez? And then what does she do?
L: She sometimes, if she don't like it, she said, "Why can't you do better?" I say, "I don't know."...Then she says, see if I have a word wrong, and I know it, I was rus, rus, rus
RB: Rushing.
L: Yes, and um she said, "Why were you rushing?" And I said, "I don't know. I just want to get done."
* * *
RB: (*Looking at Lanie's crossings out*). Do you call it a "sloppy copy"? It's not like the one you hang out on the wall outside.
Y: Hm-hmh. That's a quality work.

Quality work, to Lanie, was text with no "wrong" words, neatly written to meet the standards for work that could hang outside in the hallway for public display.

During board work lessons, learning was mediated by teacher talk and chalk board text. Process writing lessons, particularly those requiring expository text, utilized another type of mediator, a graphic organizer related to the text organization. For the octopus lesson, and subsequent reports on sharks, pandas, and China, the organizer was of the type described above, spider-like images that depicted the central topic and main ideas. For

a report on the life cycle of silkworms (related to the China theme), a circular graphic was employed (see Figure 3). The teacher, Monica, posted the graphic, which had large blank rectangles to be filled in with the names of the stages of a silkworm, during the public preparation for the assignment, on the chalk board. She quizzed students about the stages of the life of a silkworm, drawing on prior knowledge derived from listening center materials and, in this case, from students who had been class members the previous year and who recalled a similar life cycle. Richard engaged with the task structure during this lesson when he sought clarification of the content of the diagram. Speaking out of turn, as did many other students during this lesson, he wanted to know about the format of the diagram. Several times he asked about the model. "Write it in the box? What, the first one?" "Write that? Write it on number what? Number four? Write it on number three?" "Do we have to write silkworm?" His questions seem to imply a strong concern that he do the task correctly. At one point he left his desk to get closer to the board in order to correctly copy the information.

Access to mediating artifacts, the words and phrases on the chalk boards, in these public process writing lessons, as it also was during public board work lessons, was similar for all students. Students were not required to negotiate physical access to these texts. Because the public texts were created for the purpose of later guidance during private work, the texts remained in public view for later consultation by individual students completing their assignments. However, it was possible that students differentially benefitted from the presence of the texts. For instance, use of the texts depended on students' far-point copying skills. Visually, students were at a distance from the text, and the task of continually focusing and refocusing from one text to the other was difficult. Some students no doubt found this more difficult than others.

Teacher talk during public process writing in the octopus report. In the public phase of report writing during the "octopus report" lesson, Darlene assumed the authoritative role (Nystrand, 1995) as she shaped the lesson. In the first phase of the lesson, where students

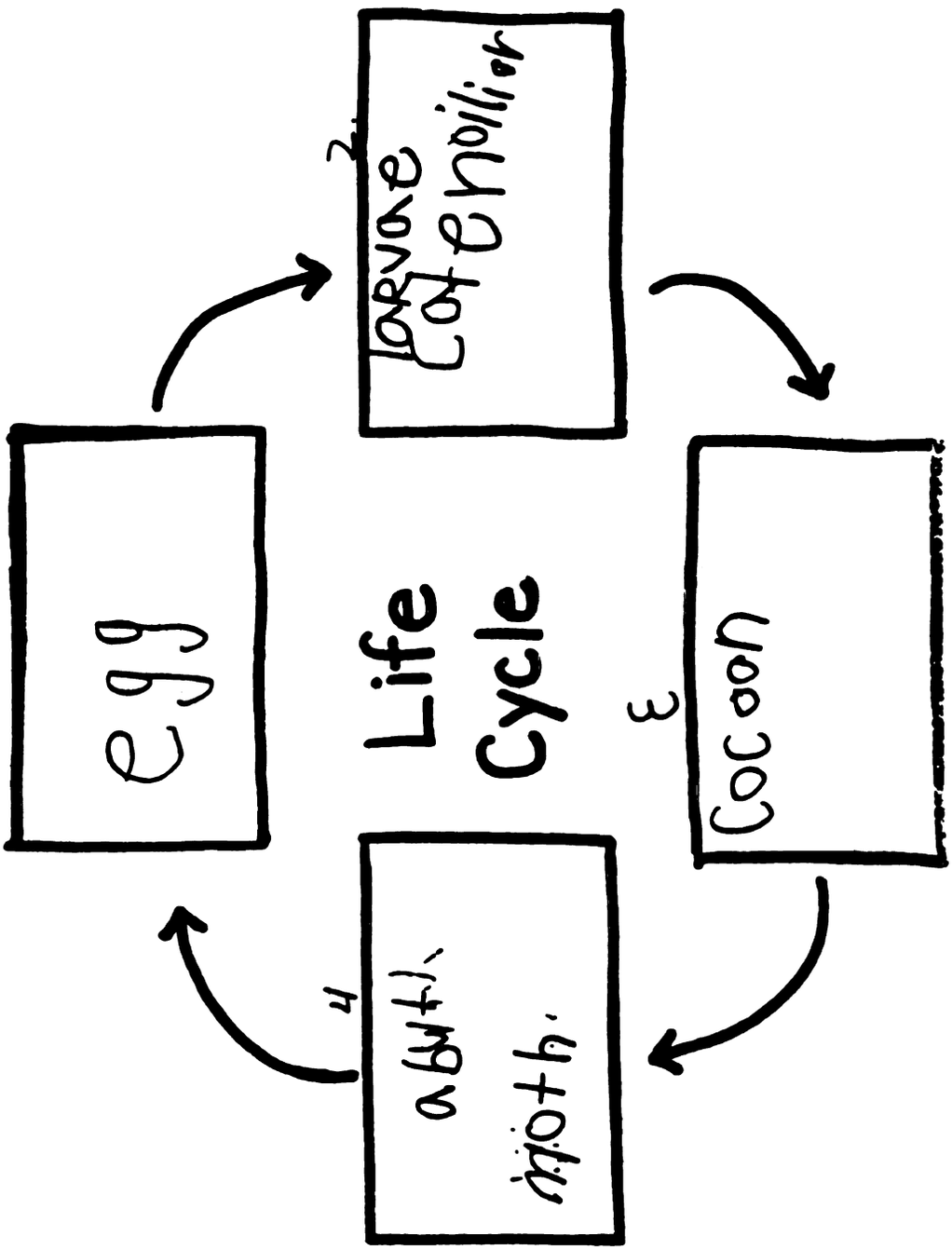


Figure 3. Graphic for silkworm lesson.

recall information about octopi, 60% of the teacher talk was teacher-contributed information, either elaborating on student information or adding additional information. Nineteen percent of teacher talk involved asking questions, 66% of which were recall questions. Fifteen percent of teacher talk consisted of restating students' contributions verbatim and evaluating students' responses (i.e., the E part of the I-R-E). Six percent of teacher talk entailed other or uncoded utterances.

During the second and third phases, what might be considered the problem-solving phases of the lesson where students brainstormed "big ideas," and were instructed in how to use the amassed information to construct their reports, most of the teacher talk was focused on guiding students to figure out the "big ideas." Darlene guided the conversation by restating information, adding information, and guiding the activity. Her task seemed to be to elicit and confirm known information. Nineteen percent of the teacher's talk consisted of guiding students' cognitive processes by asking questions such as, "How can we put some of this stuff together in one big group?" or "What could we call that big idea?" Eighty-one percent of the teacher's talk entailed explaining and directing the task. Representative explanatory and directive statements included the following:

- You need to look at your paper now. There's a light bulb here. That's what we are talking about. ...In this write "octopus." That's right.
- In your light bulb you are gonna write "octopus." Here it is, right there. You need to keep your paper out. Oh good, I see some very good listeners here. Now.
- What you're gonna do next is in one of these little clouds right down here, right here, look at me, on this side (*points out the cloud to the left of the light bulb*), you're going to write, "where they live." That's one of the big ideas we're talking about, where they live. Over here. Where they live. Over here. Where they live. That's gonna be number one.
- That's number one. All right. Now we talked about where they live. Rocks, caves, what else did they say, sunken ships, tin cans. You're not gonna write that part down. You're not going to write where they live on your paper.
- You're just writing these words, where they live. You're not writing this part. You're just writing the big idea.
- All right now, what they do you need to write next. That's number 2. Write it right next to it.
- Predators. Write about each of these things. Everything you know about it. Everything you know about where they live.

The students' task was to be on call for the elicitation ("You better be ready"),

listening for information ("I see some very good listeners here"), and following directions ("You need to look at your paper now," "You're going to write...," "You're not going to write...," "You're going to write...," "It has to be in this order," "You need to write everything you know").

Public process writing as joint activity: The dragon story. Occasionally extended text was jointly and publicly constructed by students and teachers during a whole group lesson. I illustrate this type of activity by describing the construction of a script for a shadow puppet play to be later performed for other students. Darlene wanted the script to be a student product, so she conducted several large-group sessions in which students suggested ideas for the puppet show story while she wove these together into a coherent narrative. As Darlene gathered ideas from the students and fashioned them into a story, Bruce wrote the emerging script on large sheets of chart paper. If changes to the script were made during the lesson, he reflected these in his written text by crossing out the rejected text and writing in new text.

The protagonist in the play was a Chinese emperor, and the plot emerged as text construction progressed. Darlene and the students had begun to compose the script prior to the episode examined in the study, so the she began the new lesson by rereading the text composed in the previous session. This was made more complex by another teacher task--integrating two texts. The main text had been previously constructed by Darlene and the whole group, and, in addition, "dialogue" (direct quotations) had been constructed by the green group in one of their small group reading lessons. Consequently, in her rereading of previously composed text, Darlene departed from the script recorded on large chart paper to read the added text from a paper she held in her hand. The locations of the additional text were marked on the chart paper text by asterisks. Later, when the teachers recopied the script for the selected narrators of the puppet show to read, they would insert the new text in the appropriate places. But for now, Darlene simply read the parts of the text in the correct sequence.

These data comprise a 21-minute segment of the script-writing activity. The activity can be segmented into three major sections. The first section, approximately three minutes, is spent reviewing the story to the point where new text may be added. The second section includes major text construction dealing with rescuing the emperor from a dangerous situation. This part of the lesson has four subsections: (a) priming the class for the next idea, (b) the bargain, (c) the vote, and (d) the rescue. The third section deals with the transition to the next topic, the Great Wall.

Section one: Priming the class. To begin the lesson, review prior work, and get students into a composing frame of mind, Darlene reread the previously constructed text and stated the goals for the day: to add the dialogue written by the green group and to continue the story. In this segment, Darlene first read the main text from large chart paper posted at the front of the classroom, adding additional text (the added dialogue) as appropriate as she read from sheets of paper she held in her hand.

> T: Green group has added some dialogue, what people are saying in this story. Okay,...This is how you guys started it. And I'll see if I can get this correct where [green group] changed it. (*Begins to read from the large chart paper.*) One day a long time ago there lived an emperor in China. He was not happy. His lucky cricket came up missing. The emperor's son had bumped the cage, knocked it over, and the cricket escaped. (*Reading the added dialogue from the papers in her hand.*) "Somebody knocked the cage over and my lucky cricket escaped. What am I going to do?" The son says, "Oh, father, it was only an accident." The servants come and say, "Emperor, we are so sorry we couldn't find it. But we'll keep looking." Now this is what green group wrote for dialogue. Now, this part then they took out. We're going to X that out. Then the emperor says, "Fetch the magical dragon, Ling-Ling. He will help me find my cricket. Without my cricket, nothing good will ever happen." But before the emperor had even spoken these words, bad things began to happen. Now we're going to that idea up there. The palace doors were left open and in crept a Siberian tiger, etc. And that's where we stopped with this part.

Adding spoken dialogue to the text was a useful literacy learning task, although participation in the task was spread unevenly since green group had direct experience with the actual construction of the dialogues, while the rest of the students participated by observation. Darlene said little about the added dialogue, except to note that it was being added to the story.

Section two: Rescuing the Emperor: Part A: Getting the first sentence. After rereading the narrative text with added dialogue, Darlene requested input from the students for the further development of the story line. As the students offered their ideas, Bruce (the third teacher in the classroom) acted as scribe and wrote the text on the large chart paper, following Darlene's lead.

T: Tell me, the emperor's last words were this, "Magical Ling-Ling, please come and help me." Now what is going to happen? The Siberian tiger is there. The emperor is frozen in his spot. He is shocked. He is calling for Ling-Ling to come. He has a magical helper, a magical dragon named Ling-Ling. Raise your hand if you have an idea of what could happen next.
S: Ling-Ling [inaudible]
T: Ling-Ling hasn't showed up yet...Okay, what's happening next? Danny.
D: [inaudible]
T: All right, think about it. Here's what was last said. "The emperor was frozen in his spot. He was shocked. The tiger was walking toward the emperor. "Oh, no, Magical Ling-Ling. Please come and help me!" What next? Jay.
J: Then he came.
T: Who came?
J: Ling-Ling.
T: So what kind of a sentence can I have that says that he came?
J: Welcome, I'm here to help you.

A student attempted to suggest an action on Ling-Ling's part, but Darlene said, "Ling-Ling hasn't showed up yet," meaning that Ling-Ling cannot act here because he is not present. Thus, the sequence and coherence of the story were preserved. Immediately, another student made a suggestion. What the student said was inaudible on the videotape, but it was inappropriate, because Darlene responded by reparaphrasing the story in order to clarify the situation and make it possible for students to add ideas that made sense. Darlene did not say, "No, that won't work." In each case she either gave a reason ("Ling-Ling hasn't showed up yet") or redirected the conversation ("All right, think about it. Here's what was last said.").

Jay's contribution also required modification. Although he offered an idea that might work in the story, Darlene had to work with Jay to clarify his intent and provide meaning. Jay said, "Then he came," but the identity of "he" was unclear. Once that was clarified, Darlene asked for a complete sentence ("What kind of a sentence" meant, in this case,

"Make it into a sentence for me"). She might have expected Jay to say something like, "In came Ling-Ling." However, Jay gave words to Ling-Ling when he said, "Welcome, I'm here to help you." Now, it's strange that someone who was just arriving in the home of another individual would bid his host "Welcome," but Darlene did not address that breach of social custom. Instead, she added text to make the story coherent so that the plot line would be ready for Ling-Ling's "welcome" utterance. She did this by having the dragon fly in through the window. This idea had not been suggested by a student. Darlene simplified the task of coherence by adding this detail herself.

Even though the text was displayed on large chart paper for all to see, Darlene's strategy was to repeat and paraphrase the narrative. Hearing the story was a scaffold for students who might have had difficulty reading it, which included much of the class. These students were more likely to successfully compose a story orally than to either read or write one. Darlene wanted the students to listen to the text and think of ideas that made logical sense in the flow of the ideas. However, she discarded the first two student-contributed ideas. Both student voices were largely inaudible on the videotape, but we can infer what might have happened from Darlene's comments. She discarded the first idea, which apparently involved Ling-Ling, because he had not yet appeared. She also discarded the second idea, appealing to students to "think about it," and the repeated the story line for a third time, ending with, "Magical Ling-Ling, please come and help me!" Darlene worked with Jay's "Then he came" until she had a useable idea. Then, repeating her formulaic query, "What next?" she invited more student ideas.

Section two: Part B: The bargain. Now that the narrative ideas had begun to flow, one of the students, Donny, helped the story take an interesting twist that required resolution before the Emperor could finally be rescued.

T: So. Ling-Ling is a fire-breathing dragon. He flies in through the window. So. In flies Ling-Ling and Jay says, "Welcome, I'm here to help you." What can happen next? In flies Ling-Ling. He says, "Welcome, I'm here to help you. What next, Mike?...He's saying, "Help me." The emperor is saying again, "Help me!" What's going to happen next?

Donny: [inaudible]
T: Oh, Ling-Ling's got some ideas here. According to Donny, he says, "Oh, I'll help you, but first you have to give me 10 gold coins. And not only will I help you with the tiger, but I'll get your cricket back." Hm. All right, *Students talking over one another.*
S: He's quite the guy.
T: So, he is quite the guy. Apparently he's got some other things in mind. (*Pause for class management.*) So, Ling-Ling has said, "Sure, I'll help you. Give me 10 gold coins, and I'll even throw in the cricket. So what's gonna happen next?

Here, Donny suggested that the dragon will strike a deal with the emperor. Darlene liked the idea of a deal and included it in the main script. In the following three minutes, Donny continued to add ideas, introducing Ling-Ling's faithful companion and son, Ching-Ching. Darlene repeated the most recent part of the story, ending with the interrogative formula.

T: So, he said not only, "Here's the deal, Emperor, I can help you, but you got to give me 10 gold coins. I'll find the cricket, and I'll bring along my faithful companion." I like that phrase, put "faithful companion" in there (*this last to Bruce, the scribe*), "I'll throw in my faith companion, and he will help us out in all of our ordeals." All right, what's happening next?

At this point, students wanted to add more conditions to the bargain and more characters to the story. To these suggestions Darlene said, "No, let's stop the deal here now...There's been enough talk. We've got to get out of this," and "We're not going to add another character right now." As chief director of text composition, Darlene decided what ideas to add and when to move on to the next event in the narrative.

Section II: Part C: The vote. At this point in the story the dragon had made an offer which the Emperor had not yet accepted. Darlene decided to have the students determine the Emperor's response.

T: Is the emperor going to accept this deal, first of all. Raise your hand. Is the emperor going to say, "Sure, anything you want. I'm in big trouble here." Or is he going to say, "Sorry. You're asking too much." ...Let's vote on it, yes or no....Head down, eyes closed. If you think the emperor should accept this deal and get rid of this tiger right now, raise your hand...Okay, hands down. If you think he should say, "No, I'll figure it out myself," raise your hand....If you think he should say, "No, make me a better deal," raise your hand. You can only vote once.

Students had three choices. Darlene counted the hands and determined that the

Emperor would say, "Yes" to the terms of the "deal." Now they were ready to proceed with the rescue.

Section two: Part D: The rescue. Darlene asked students what the Emperor would say to accept the deal, and again, Donny made a suggestion which Darlene checked with other students.

T: Okay. Donny said, "I don't have those gold coins right now, but I will get them for you very quickly." Helen, what do you think the Emperor is going to say?...Jenny says, "Yes, I will get those gold coins. Morton, what do you say? (*Break for classroom management.*)
T: The emperor says, "Yes, I'll get you those gold coins. You'll have to wait a few minutes though until I get free from the situation," something like that....Now. He'll get the gold coins in a minute. What is the dragon going to do? How is the dragon going to help him out?...
S: The emperor says, "I don't have the gold coins."
T: We're already past that. He's going to get the coins for him later. How is the dragon going to help him out? You have an idea?
S: [inaudible]
T: Okay we're going to go with that....The emperor is shaking in his boots. He's agreed to the deal. He'll get the money later. The tiger is creeping up, ready to pounce, the dragon flies down, or no, uses his magic powers, sorry, uses his magic powers. The tiger, just imagine this, close your eyes. The tiger is floating up in the air. Then Ling-Ling stops his magic powers and sets the tiger back down. The tiger runs out as fast as he can back to his home.

In this way, Darlene was offered an idea that she decided to "go with," and described the Emperor's rescue, working students' ideas in with her own prose to fashion a resolution to this part of the narrative. When a student interrupted the coherence and sequence of the story, Darlene cautioned, "We're already past that." There would be no going back once she had determined what the text would say.

Section three: The Great Wall. At this point students were becoming restless, and Darlene began a game. To be called on, they had to be very still, and move a designated body part to be called on—to blink, raise their feet two inches from the ground, or raise their arm, and so on. She observed aloud that she needed a transition into the next part of the story. As the students waited for her next question, she consulted with Bruce and then worked out the transition herself.

T: We had the tiger here. Was that the only issue we had in the story? What was the Great Wall thing?

Bruce: The Great Wall [inaudible]
T: Oh, yeah.
Bruce: The Great Wall is crumbling and
T: Oh, yeah, the Great Wall is crumbling. Oh, yeah. ...The part that we had next, was, listen carefully. We've got we have to have a sentence that will get us into the next part. The next part says (*reading*), "The emperor felt the earth move under his feet. He hobbles outside," because he's in such a state because of that tiger episode, "He hobbles outside and looks toward the Great Wall and notices that pieces were falling off. It was crumbling." Now. We've got rid of the tiger. I guess we could just move right to "He feels the earth moving." I could use that next part. "The emperor feels the earth rumbling below his feet and he hobbles out." What would he say? He is standing there. (*to Bruce*) You could just write that on here. Number three by this....He feels the earth move. He has just had a very traumatic, meaning very upsetting, horrible experience with the tiger. He is shaky. He might think that the earth moving under his feet is just him shaking so bad because he's scared. I don't know. And, okay, what is he going to say now?...What is he going to say now? He's just feeling this earth shake.

The students had begun work on the next part of the story about the Great Wall in a previous lesson. At first Darlene wanted a sentence to get them into the next part of the story; however, after rereading the text already begun, she decided that such a sentence might be unnecessary. Once that was decided, she launched into her pattern: rereading the text ("The emperor feels the earth rumbling below his feet, and he hobbles out"), paraphrasing and interpreting the story ("He has just had a very traumatic, meaning very upsetting, horrible experience with the tiger. He is shaky. He might think that the earth moving under his feet is just him shaking so bad because he's scared"), asking the question that moves the story along ("What...now?"), and reparaphrasing ("He's just feeling this earth shake").

The lesson continued in this manner for another ten minutes while students became more and more restless. Consequently, Darlene's verbal messages increasingly focused on maintaining classroom order. Dividing this segment of videotape into three equal parts of approximately seven minutes each, the percentage of Darlene's task-related talk diminished from 79% of all words in the first third of the lesson to only 57% of all talk in the last third of the lesson, while the portion of her management talk grew from 21% to 43% of all talk.

Darlene's tasks seemed to be to restate and clarify students' ideas, decide which would

be included in the emerging story line, and paraphrase for understanding. The purpose of her restatements and clarifications was to manage the coherence of the narrative. As text construction proceeded, Darlene's pattern was to prompt students by rereading or paraphrasing the story immediately before the point of new addition to the narrative, then call on students by saying, "What's happening next?" She repeated this strategy until she had an idea, which she restated to fit the unfolding text, then again repeated the sequence. The written text posted on the board seemed to serve as a prompt used by Darlene to keep track of the unfolding story, rather than as authoritative text, as a record of what Darlene constructed from the students' ideas, and as the eventual script practiced and read by students for the shadow puppet play. Students did not have to reread the text themselves. In fact, Darlene herself did not always reread the text, often paraphrasing it with embellishments (see Figure 4).

There was a large difference between the oral text and the written text. Both were fluid and open to interpretation; however, the oral text was much more embellished and detailed. Darlene added ideas as she went, in order to clarify, to motivate, and to interpret. Darlene provided connection with the emerging narrative by her repetitions and paraphrasings. Because Darlene repeatedly reread or paraphrased the text, she afforded access to the text that did not burden students with excessive memory requirements. Hearing the text repeatedly enabled students to monitor the emerging story for continuity. Darlene allowed students' familiarity with their language to support the text construction, because what came next had to make sense in the narrative. Additionally, through retention of executive control over which ideas went into the story, she modeled sense-making and sequencing, two skills most children in this classroom struggled with. As Monica explained, "They just get totally off the wall, not making sense kind of thing, and so it's hard to get them to be creative but still make sense and follow the sequence of events that makes sense" (interview).

Written text (editing in original)	Spoken text
One day a long time ago, there lived an emperor in China. He was not happy. ~~right now~~. His lucky cricket came up missing. The emperor son had bumped the cage, knocked it over, and the cricket escaped,* [1] had his servants The emperor ~~went to~~ search for his cricket. But they couldn't find it.* ~~Every time he thought of his lucky cricket he got sadder and sadder.~~	One day a long time ago there lived an emperor in China. He was not happy. His lucky cricket came up missing. The emperor's son had bumped the cage, knocked it over, and the cricket escaped. 'Somebody knocked the cage over and my lucky cricket escaped. What am I going to do?' The son says, 'Oh, father, it was only an accident.' Then the emperor had his servants search for his cricket. But they couldn't find it." Now the servants come and say, 'Emperor, we are so sorry we couldn't find it. But we'll keep looking.' Then the emperor says, 'Fetch the magical dragon, Ling-Ling. Maybe he can help me find my cricket. Without my cricket, nothing good will ever happen.' But before the emperor had even spoken these words, bad things started to happen.
Bad things started to happen to the emperor since the cricket escaped. One day the palace doors were left open and a siberian tiger creeped silently in to the palace. The emperor was sleeping in his bed. He growled at the emperor and bit him. The tiger got scared and snuck off into the night. That morning the emperor heard a bell signal from the tower.	The palace doors suddenly opened and in crept a Siberian tiger. The emperor was frozen in his spot. He was shocked. The tiger walks in toward the emperor.
"Welcome, I'm here to help you!" said Ling-Ling. "Help me!" said the emperor. "You have to give me 10 gold coins. Then I can get rid of the tiger and bring back the cricket. I'll faithful companion even bring my ~~son~~ Ching-Ching to help!"	'Oh, no, magical Ling-Ling, help me.' OR 'Oh, no, magical Ling-Ling, please come and help me.' OR The emperor was frozen in his spot. He was shocked. The tiger was walking toward the emperor. 'Oh, no, magical Ling-Ling. Please come and help me!' In flies Ling-Ling. He says, 'Welcome, I'm here to help you.' Ling-Ling says, 'Oh, I'll help you, but first you have to give me 10 gold coins. And not only will I help you with the tiger, but I'll get your cricket back.' OR 'Sure I'll help you. Give me 10 gold coins and I'll even throw in the cricket.' OR So he said not only, 'Here's the deal, Emperor, I can help you but you got to give me 10 gold coins. I'll find the cricket and I'll bring along my faithful companion,... I'll throw in my faithful companion and he will help us out in all of our ordeals.'

Figure 4. Congruence between written and spoken text.

However, in so doing, Darlene may have missed opportunities for students to practice their reading skills and to understand the connection between reading and writing. Had Darlene required students to read and reread the written text, they would have had additional reading practice. They also would have exercised the connection between reading and writing. They would have come to understand writing as a tool intended to facilitate text construction and communication.

In this episode, Darlene established the framework of the narrative and the task, and invited students to suggest ideas for the development of the plot. She controlled the executive functions relative to the activity. She was the decision maker and problem solver. She was the sole arbiter of acceptable material and how it would be used in the narrative. Her stance was, "Give me your ideas. I will decide which to use. I will interpret them as I see fit." She managed text construction by selecting speakers and deciding which ideas went into the story. She viewed this as a way to encourage students' creative thinking and writing. While students could manage well-structured texts (recall the octopus report) creative expression was a more difficult challenge. At the end of the year, Monica reflected on this challenge:

> They have such a hard time being creative. If they are creative, they just get totally off the wall, not making sense kind of thing, and so it's hard to get them to be creative but still make sense and follow the sequence of events that makes sense rather than just getting totally wild" (interview).

The dragon story was an opportunity for students to think creatively within limits. Darlene kept the students apprised about what needed to come next by repeating what had just been said and asking for the next idea. Each "What's going to happen next?" question was preceded by an account of the story line to that point. Consequently, students were not required to attend closely to the sequence or coherence of the emerging text. In this way, the teacher did the intellectual work of coherence. This might be an important scaffold for students who typically have difficulty with coherence issues in both narrative and expository writing (Englert & Raphael, 1988). However, students might decide that

composing text simply means writing the next sentence.

What was available to be learned involved primarily lower level thinking. Students observed the teacher's demonstration of expertise as she modeled sense making and sequencing. By reducing memory requirements, she enabled students to monitor the emerging story for continuity. Her "What next?" questions focused on the forward movement of the story line, preventing students from becoming mired in details and losing sight of the story direction. All of these moves resulted in skilled direction of group effort by retaining authority and responsibility for both the group process and the product.

Darlene's method of conducting lessons virtually removed the necessity of making adaptations for students with learning disabilities. Her ongoing verbal rehearsal of the emerging narrative made it possible for all students to follow the action. Her reshaping of students' ideas to fit the story relieved them of the burden of coherence. Darlene carried the responsibility for higher level thinking. She clarified students' responses when unclear. She added material to make transitions work. All of the students were required to make the same contribution, that is, to suggest an idea for the story. Sometimes they were required to put their idea into a complete sentence. After that, Darlene was responsible for coherence and sequence. Together, the students' contributions of creative story ideas and the teacher's provision of coherence resulted in an engaging and effective narrative.

Teacher talk during public process writing in the dragon story. The transcript segment selected for this broad analysis of teacher talk included about half of the entire transcript for this episode. The remainder of the lesson was similar in character. In this lesson, Darlene's talk accounted for about 60% of the total talk (see Table 8).

Fourteen percent of Darlene's words were contained in questions. Of her questions, one-third were variations on the question, "What's next?" The query, "What's next?" focused on the forward movement of the story line, preventing students from becoming mired in details and losing sight of the story direction. Other questions sought to clarify and develop the ideas that students offered. On these occasions, the nature of the

Table 8

Types and Percentages of Teacher's Task-related Talk During the Dragon Story

Type of talk	Percentage of talk
Questions	14%
Reading, rereading, or paraphrasing	45%
Repeating/extending students' statements	15%
Attending to the written text	10%
Talk managing "the vote"	9%
Prompting student responses	5%
Executive decision making	5%

conversation was more like problem solving. She asked students what the emperor was going to say in a particular situation, or what the dragon was going to do.

> What is the emperor going to say about accepting this deal?
> Okay, what's the emperor going to say to accept it?
> So, what kind of a sentence can I have that says that he came?
> How is he gonna say this? What will he say?
> And, okay, what is he going to say now?
> What would he say, he is standing there.
> What is the dragon going to do? How is the dragon going to help him out?

Darlene spent a large amount of time, 45% of her task-related talk, in reading, rereading or paraphrasing the story. With Darlene constantly rereading or repeatedly paraphrasing the gist of the story, students could participate in the story construction with a clear sense of what had gone on before.

When Darlene's "What's next?" questions are added to her reading, rereading, and paraphrasing of the story, 51% of her talk involved repeating the story and asking, "What's next?" These two moves served as prompts and supports for students' responses. Even though the text was posted on large chart paper in full view of all students, most would have found the reading and rereading of it during the course of the lesson tremendously difficult because of low levels of decoding skills.

Statements that repeated or extended students' ideas included the following examples:

Jay says, "Welcome, I'm here to help you."

Another dragon. Oh, my gosh, we have another character.
Oh, my, another part of the bargain. He'll even throw in two crickets.
Jenny says, "Yes, I will get those told coins."

Statements attending to the written text included:

Now, this part then they took out. We're going to X that out.
Now we're going to that idea up there.
And that's where we stopped with this part.
You could just write that on here. Number three by this.
We have to have a sentence that will get us into the next part.

Darlene's attention to the written text was more for her own orientation than a necessary component of students' learning. Her comments almost seemed as if she were talking to herself. Sometimes she was addressing Bruce, the teacher who acted as scribe.

Nine percent of her task talk was related to managing "the vote." This vote was taken to decide whether the emperor would accept the dragon's deal. Darlene established the form of the vote and conducted it:

Let's vote on it, yes or no.
Raise your hand if the emperor is going to say, "Sure...."
Okay, hands down....You can only vote once.

Some statements functioned to prompt students to respond:

One thought is, the dragon breathes out fire.
Now, we've got that dragon out of here.
All right, think about it. Here's what was last said.

Almost 5% of Darlene's talk was related to her own decision making. The following comments illustrate her executive role.

Now let's get on with it here.
Let's stop the deal here now.
There's been enough talk. We've got to get out of this.
We're not going to add another character right now.
We're already past that.
We're not at that point yet.
We're going to go with that.

Darlene was firmly in charge of the lesson as she solicited students ideas about the plot. She protected the coherence of the story while asking for and incorporating students' ideas into the text. As a writing lesson, the teacher was doing the writing while students were adding meaningful text. The teacher's questions, and particularly the student voting,

provided an opportunity for students to provide input into the story and feel that they had ownership of the developing script.

The nature of the social interaction patterns in classrooms can make a substantial difference in the classroom experiences of students, including those with learning disabilities. The dilemma teachers such as Darlene might face in planning interactional opportunities in the classroom is how much scaffolding to provide for students while still allowing maximum opportunity for student choice and control in the instructional activity. Collaborative and interactive activity structures have the potential to empower students and teachers as co-participants in the instructional event by positioning students in roles typically associated with teachers (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992). Sharing teacher prerogatives (e.g., calling on students and challenging teacher or student responses) with students can be a very powerful teaching technique. However, a teacher may have difficulty in understanding the value of such interaction if she views herself as the primary source of scaffolding for lower performing students. Feeling responsible for her students' academic progress, a teacher may value professional and expert support of students' learning, rather than risk loss of individual support by allowing increased student participation.

Process Writing as a Private Event: Expository and Narrative Writing

In the private phase of process writing, students wrote individual expository reports, as in the octopus report episode. They also wrote individual narratives. One individual narrative was a dragon story, but a different dragon story than described above. In this section focusing on individual activity, I discuss a teacher intervention called "guided writing," Lanie's and Richard's individual octopus reports, and individual dragon stories.

Guided writing. Following the public introduction of writing assignments such as the octopus report, students individually constructed texts following the model and the instructions provided by the teacher. Using what they called "guided writing" (interview), Darlene and Monica provided private one-on-one teacher-child interaction to support the

private phase of process writing. Darlene described the teacher role in guided writing: "While they're doing the process writing, we're walking around guiding them" (teacher interview). As students engaged in private writing tasks, a teacher often paused at a student's desk to check on his or her progress and offer guidance:

> We're talking to the child [one on one] as they are writing, and we are guiding in terms of "What sound do you hear here?" "What do you want to say?" "How are you going to put that down on paper?"...So in terms of concepts of print, sounds and symbols, punctuation, directionality, and parts of the writing process, we can guide them through it, one on one....working with that child individually. (interview).

In the following example, Richard sought Monica's guidance as he worked on a thank-you note to the provider of the classroom geckos. First, Monica read the last sentence Richard wrote. Then she offered questions to stimulate his thinking, and verified that his ideas were in complete sentences.

Monica: "The geckos are nice." What do you think about them other than that?
Richard: They don't bite.
Monica: They don't bite. That's a good sentence to say.

Richard continued to write, and then intercepted Monica again as she walked past.

R: I got, "They can not bite."
M: Awesome. Now, the geckos are, did you do that magic E by yourself?
R nods: Yeah.
M: Very good! Very good! "The geckos are fun." What's fun about them? What do you like to do with them?
R: Play with them.
M: Okay. I like to play with them.

Included in Monica's guidance was recognition and support of Richard's use of a phonic element he had learned, the "magic e" (silent e) rule. She used questioning to help Richard think about additional text he could add to develop his ideas about the geckos being "nice" and "fun." When he suggested an idea, her prosody as she repeated his utterance indicated that this was a usable sentence, "They don't bite." She also modeled how to expand a phrase to become a complete sentence, "I like to play with them." Monica's expansion of Richard's ideas enabled him to construct coherent text which addressed the authentic purpose of writing a thank-you letter to a classroom benefactor.

It was through this individual guidance that process writing was differentiated

according to individual student needs. Whereas all students were expected to complete board work assignments as given (and which were differentiated based on level of student skill), students advanced to process and journal writing when their basic writing skills (e.g., encoding, matching sounds and symbols, spelling a number of sight words) were deemed sufficient to support writing extended text (Davis, Clarke, & Rhodes, 1994). Darlene and Monica felt that students should be able to encode words before being asked to write extended expository or narrative text. In the interim, students considered to be unready for process writing could dictate their text to teachers, which they later recopied. Thus, "guided writing" included providing advice and assistance for most students and taking dictation for some students.

Private process writing: Lanie's octopus report. Recall that this was Lanie's third year in the Team Room, and she had no doubt written a number of thematic reports during her tenure there. The web for her octopus report was drawn to specifications: topic in light bulb, "big ideas" in clouds and numbered. The only departure from the formula was when she recorded the big ideas from right to left on the page, instead of left to right, as Darlene had modeled (see Figure 5). Her report was titled, dated, and she listed herself as the author: "All About Octopuses by Lanie 11-99" (see Figure 6). Teacher support was evident in the category labels written in a teacher hand: "Where They Live," What They Do," and so on. Lanie then added the details in each category, and each group of category label and details was separated from the others by several blank lines. Conceptually, her selection of details for each category was appropriate. Monica's chalk board categories with accompanying details no doubt informed selection of supporting details for three of Lanie's categories; however, she had to construct details on her own for two of the categories, and this was appropriately done, inviting the conclusion that she did indeed think in categories. Lanie used both conventional and invented spellings, and most of her invented spellings were decodable. She used lower case except for appropriate capitalization, and punctuation

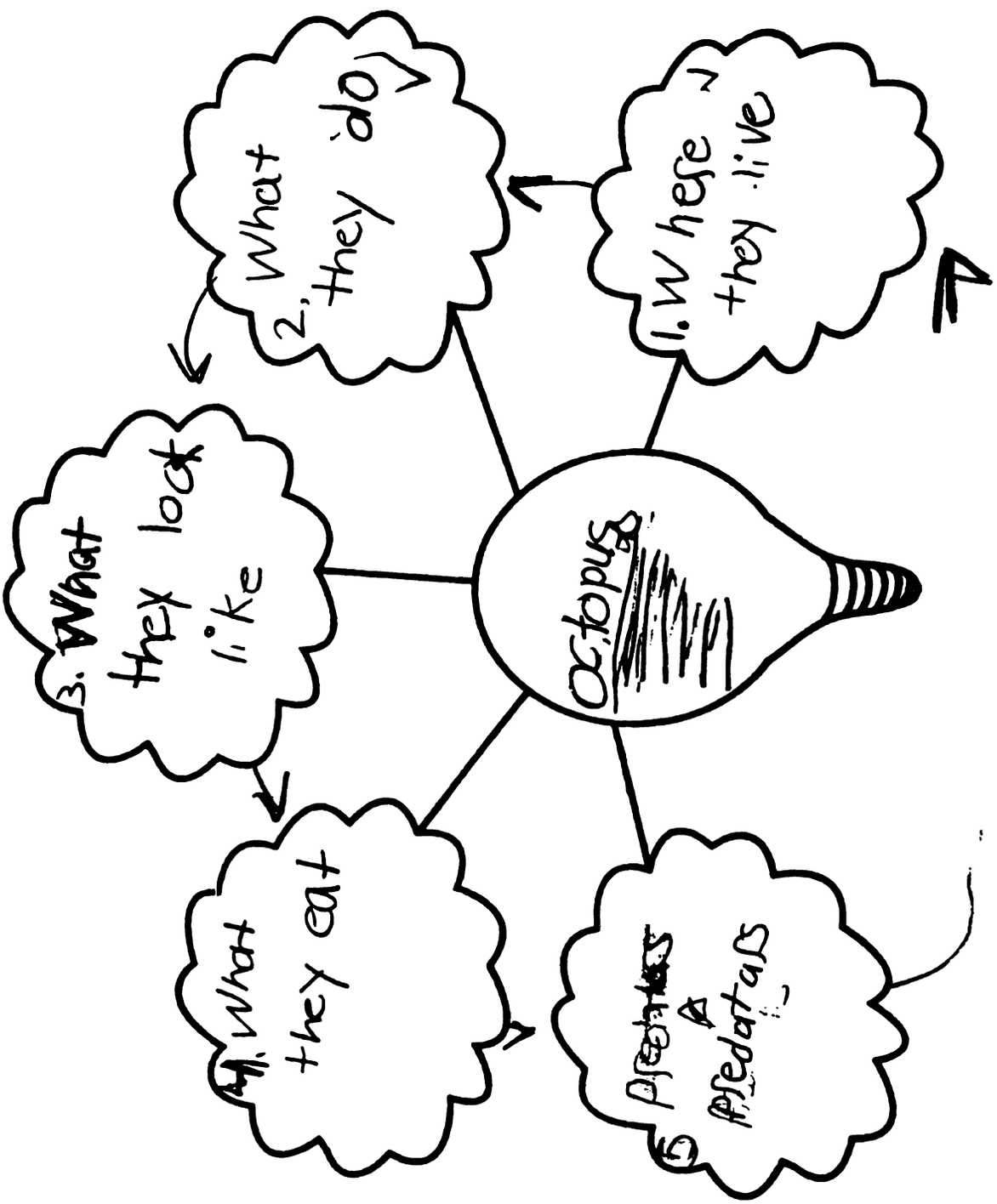
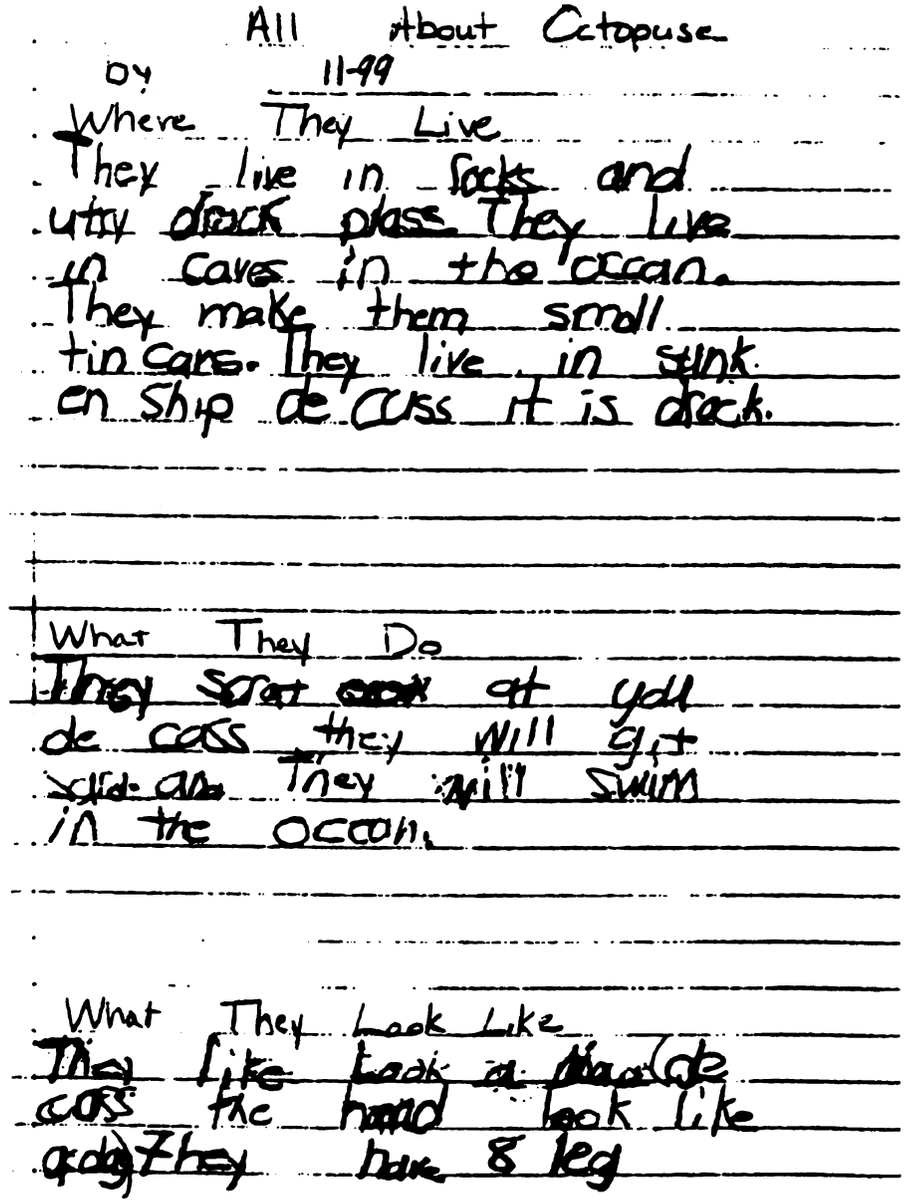


Figure 5. Lanie's web for the octopus report.


All about Octopuse

by 11-99

Where They Live

They live in Socks and
utty dock glass They live
in caves in the ocean.
They make them small
tin cans. They live in sink
en Ship de coss it is dock.

What They Do

They scat ~~eat~~ at yall
de coss they will git
~~yall~~ and They will swim
in the ocean.

What They Look Like

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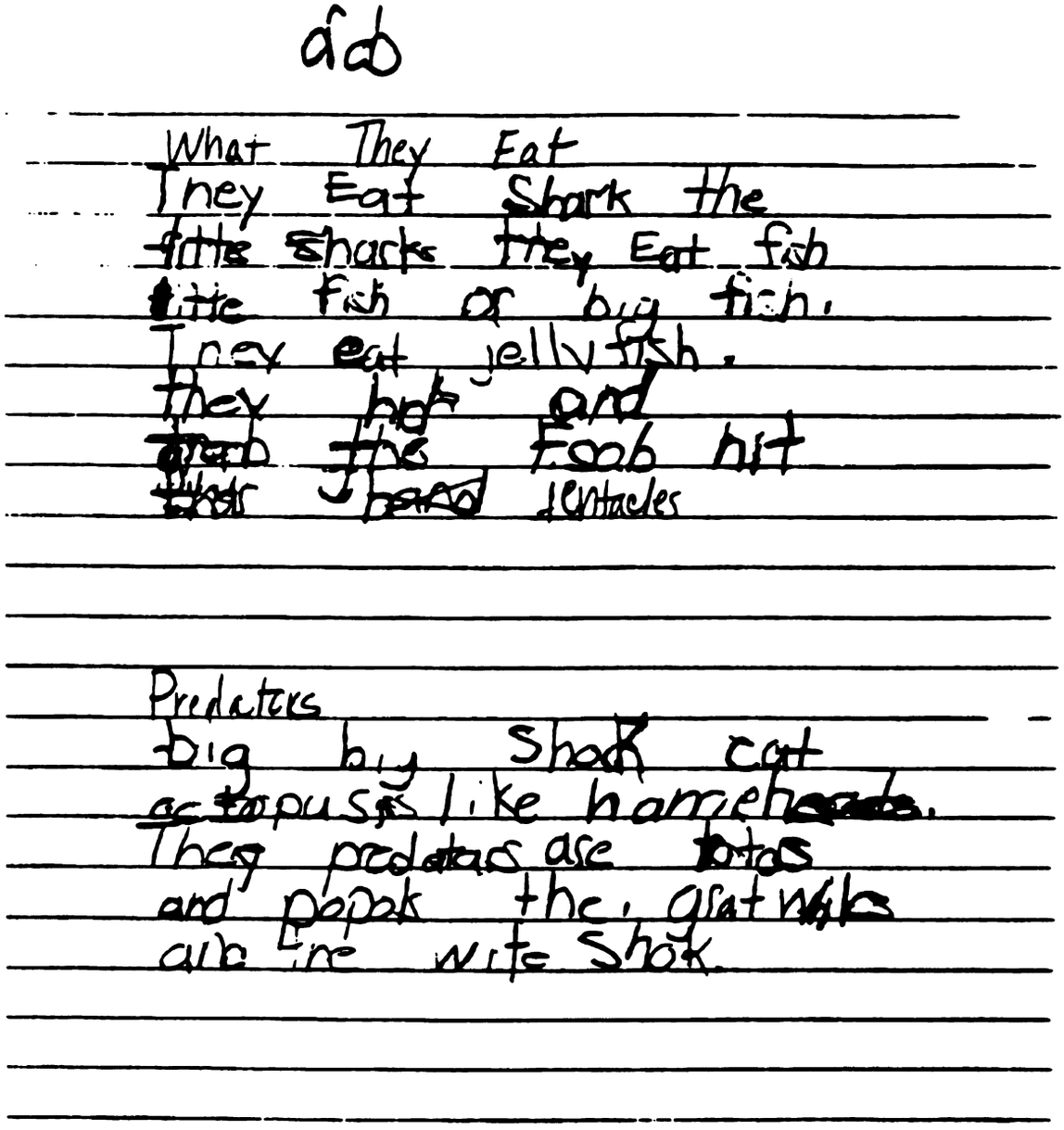
coss the hand look like
~~dog~~ They have 8 leg

Figure 6. Lanie's octopus report.



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included the use of periods at the ends of sentences. She used complete sentences.

Lanie seemed open to revising her writing. I noticed where she had crossed out something she had written in her "Under the Sea" journal, and I asked her about that.

RB: I'm interested in this crossing out here. Why did you cross those out?
L: I don't want to use my eraser. I need to use it for my
RB: Okay, but why did you change your mind?
L: Because I thought more other ones.

A few minutes later in the interview she spoke again about revising her writing. I asked her whether she read it over again after she was done to see whether it made sense.

RB: Okay, when you're all done writing...do you read it over to yourself to see if it makes sense?
Y: Hm-hmh. That's why, that's why I cross it out, because I didn't really like it.
RB: Uh-huh. Right. So you kind of read as you go along. You don't wait until you're all done, right?
Y: See, like how I get two rows [lines] done, then I just keep reading them.

Actually, her revision process was strategic, if unique. She reread every two lines to check whether she wanted to keep the text or revise it. I also asked her what she put in the beginning, middle, and ending of a story.

RB: Okay. So what kind of things do you put in the beginning?
L: Capital.
RB: Capital? Okay. How about in the middle?
L: (*4-second pause*)
RB: What kind of things do you put in the middle of your paper?
L: If you put a period, we just do capital again.

Of course, too much can be made of one interview; however, it seemed that Lanie's focus was on writing conventions. I asked her whether she liked to write.

Y: Yeah.
RB: Yeah? Why?
Y: Because I like to learn harder words. And I like reading. That's why every single two things [lines] I start reading it.
* * *
RB: What's your favorite kind of writing?
Y: Quality.

By the end of the year, Lanie could write legibly with correct use of many writing conventions, but she often "rushed" (student interview) in her drafting, producing a sloppy paper that was sometimes incoherent and difficult to read. Monica described how she

encouraged Lanie to use the skills she had acquired.

> So I'm always going back and saying, "Don't bring it to me until I can read it," and then she can do it. ...When I start reading her writing out loud, she can say, "Oh, that doesn't make sense." So I just hand it back to her and say, "Okay, now make it make sense." (spring teacher interview)

One might surmise that Lanie's writing skills were advanced enough to allow her to enjoy writing. She also seemed to have made the reading-writing connection; she enjoyed rereading her text and did so with the purpose of revising if necessary. One has the picture of an emergent writer busily crafting her text, using "harder words" and revising to include "other ones" with the goal of producing "quality" writing. Do we detect an inclination toward form rather than function? With Lanie, that question is difficult to answer. In her writing tests (discussed below) she displayed skill in organizing her thoughts. She also wrote narratives rich with voice and detail. From where was she appropriating these skills, when formal writing instruction seemed to focus on correct form?

Private process writing: Richard's octopus report. Until this year, Richard had not done much writing. Last year he tore up and discarded most of his writing attempts before completion. However, this year he wrote an entire octopus report. His web followed the specified format, and he, unlike Lanie, had accurately recorded the "big ideas" from left to right. Like Lanie, he needed the teacher to write category labels on his report for each chunk of information (see Figure 7). He then filled in the details, using complete, albeit short, sentences for most of the report. He did not capitalize the beginnings of his sentences or punctuate them. His spelling was mostly conventional. Conceptually the categories were discrete, except for one instance where the color of octopi was described in the "What they do" chunk.

Richard's notion of beginning writing was to start on the top line, as he indicated during his writing interview in December.

> RB: Okay. I want to talk about when you write a little bit, Richard. When you have to write something for school, do you know where to start? Or do you have to ask somebody?
> R: You start on the top line.

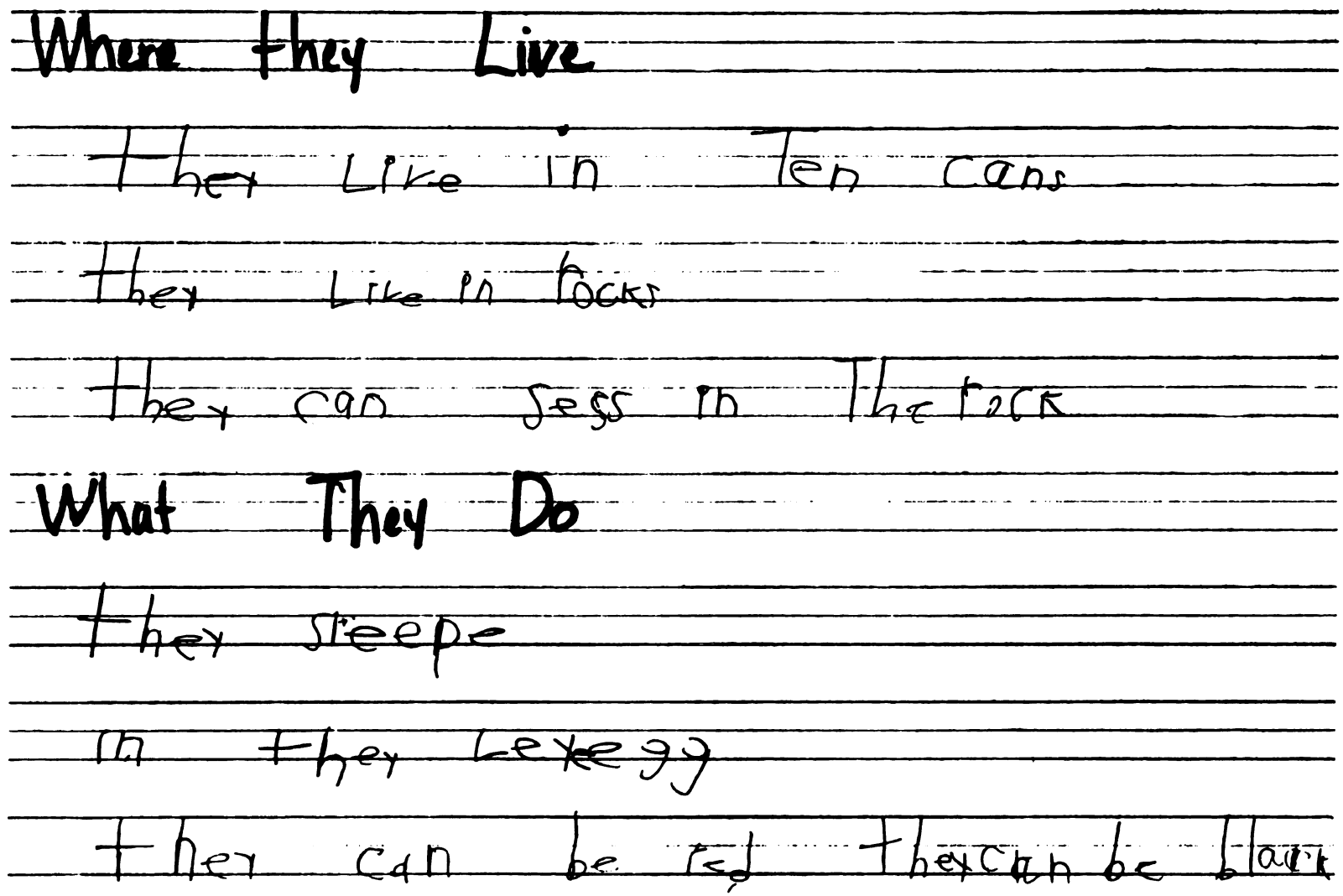
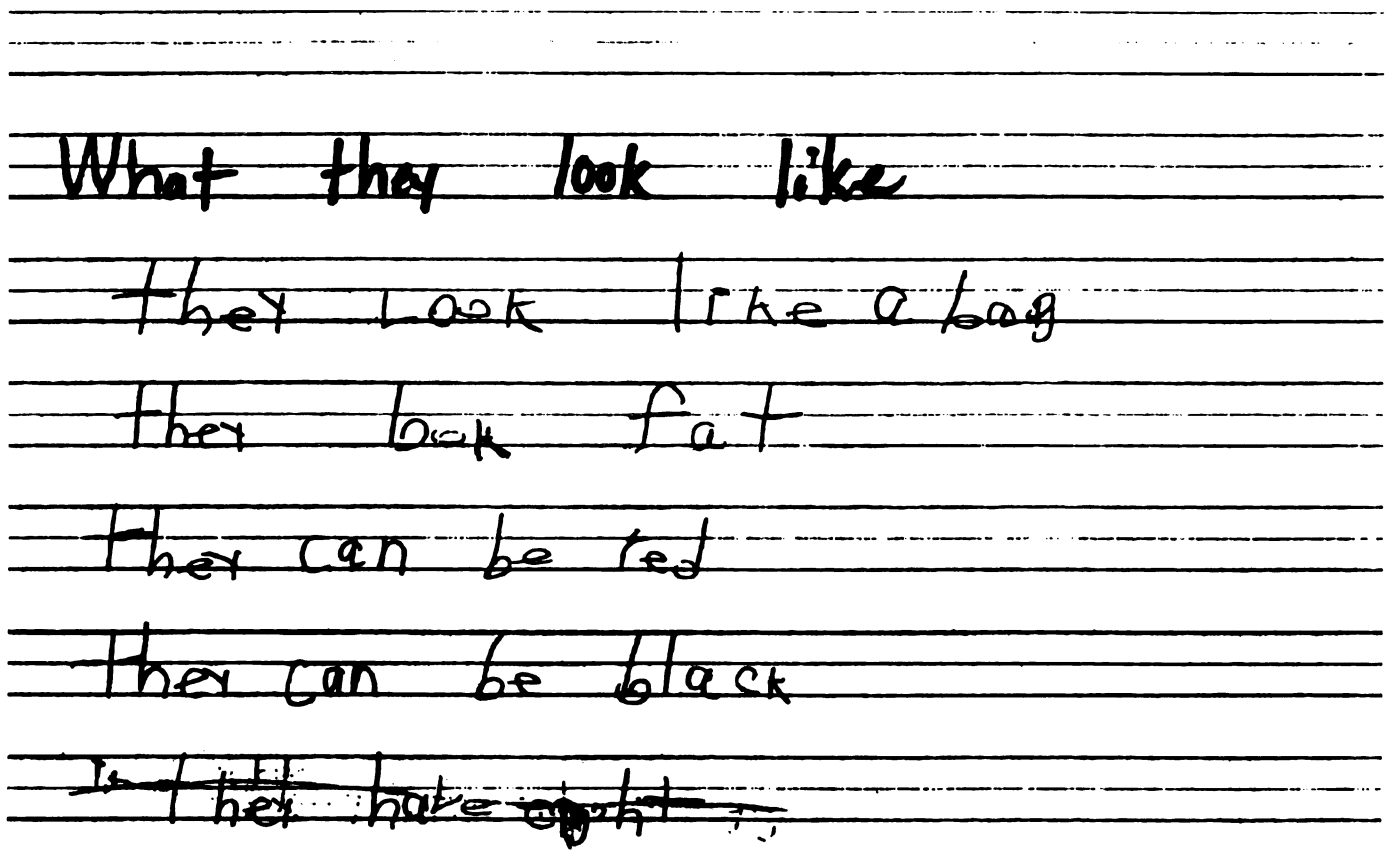


Figure 7. Richard's octopus report.



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RB: You start on the top line? And then what?
R: You write.

Starting on the top line seemed more related to form than function, procedural rather than strategic. However, he did talk about his approach to spelling.

R: I try the best I can.
RB: ...How do you do that?
R: Write. Write them. Sound it out.
RB: Do you ever ask a teacher how to spell a word, or a friend?
R: Sometimes a teacher.
RB: Sometimes the teacher? Not your friend?
R: No.
RB: Why not?
R: He['s] a first grader.
RB: Oh. How about a different friend?
R: Sometimes. Sometimes I ask him how to spell a word.

Richard had a two-stage spelling process: first sound it out, then ask a friend, making certain that it was the right friend. However, starting on the top line and asking friends for help with spelling were the only strategies Richard mentioned. Usually he just wrote.

RB: Okay. Do you ever think about who you're writing to when you're writing? ...Or do you just write?
R: I just write.
* * *
RB: No? Like are there certain things you like to put in the beginning, or do you just write?
R: I just write.

Richard's mantra, or perhaps mine, was "just write." I asked Richard whether he liked to write. He said he did not.

RB: Do you like to write? Do you, or no?
R: (*first nods, then shakes head*)
RB: Why not?
R: (*shrugs*)
RB: Is it hard?
R: (*nods*)
RB: What's the hardest thing about writing?
R: It's just hard. The words is hard to write.

Similar to Lanie, Richard's idea of writing focused on form: starting on the top line, asking for help with spelling, and writing words. However, it may have been that the interview focused his attention on components of writing, rather than asking him, or any of the other students interviewed, to consider reasons for writing or why writing might be

important to them, or asking for open-ended descriptions of their writing activity or products.

Private process writing: Individual dragon stories. Not all private process writing was expository. In the spring of the year, for example, students wrote dragon stories as part of their China theme activities. They enjoyed writing the dragon stories. Richard spent a lot of time on his story; indeed, he worked on it when he should have been doing other tasks. The dragon stories written by the students began with a teacher prompt: "One gray misty morning Wen-Lee heard terrible sobs coming from a dark cave." Richard continued the story, but became entangled in the narrative (corrected for spelling):

> The dragon got mad at the kids. When the dragon got mad at the kids, the kids ran out. When the kids ran out the cave, the dragon got mad and mad at the kids and the kids were scared of the dragon.

At that point, a teacher rescued the mired story by allowing Richard to dictate the remainder, and no doubt also by providing help in thinking through and stating his ideas. Recall that during the public dragon story composing event Darlene provided forward momentum for the emerging story by her frequent repetition of the most recently composed text and her formulaic question, "What next?" We can speculate that without these prompts, Richard was unable to provide a direction for his story and became trapped in circular thinking.

Although private process writing, and most other academic work, was intended to be accomplished individually, students occasionally initiated spontaneous ad hoc collaborations. For instance, students had opportunities during the activity center to talk with one another. While not specifically directed toward the accomplishment of a joint task, these exchanges often involved exploration and opportunities to instruct and be instructed around topics of mutual interest. In the following segment, Richard and Carl colored their dragon outlines in the activity center as they talked about rainbows, a topic precipitated by their coloring patterns.

R: Carl, you coloring yours all red?

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C: Yeah.
R: I'm coloring mine all this color.
C: All yellow?
R: Yeah. Red your favorite color?
C: All the colors. Why?
R: Pink too?
C: Yeah.
R: That's a girl color.
C: (*sounding irritated*) I don't care.
R: The rainbow look better than markers.
C: That's all the colors. Well, not all the colors. Not gold and black. Rainbows don't have black.
R: That's only when it rain, a rainbow come up.
C: Yeah, when it's sunny, when it's raining.
R: Yeah, when it's kind of dry outside.
C: No, when it's the sun's out and when it's raining, the rainbows come out. Because rainbows are clean in the rain, but you can't see it, but when the sun is out with the rain, you can see the rainbows in rain.

Richard noticed that Carl was coloring his dragon all different colors. What Richard meant when he said, "The rainbow look better than markers," is unclear. He might have meant that rainbow colors were better than a single color for the task they were doing, although this interpretation seems unlikely, since he was coloring his all "this color" (yellow, note his difficulty in finding the precise word). An alternative interpretation might be that he was referring to a real rainbow, meaning that a real rainbow looks better than a rainbow produced with colored markers, a possibly derogatory comment about Carl's coloring. Carl introduced a scientific consideration of rainbows, commenting on the colors of rainbows. Richard stated his understanding of what caused rainbows to occur, "That's only when it rain, a rainbow come up," which was corrected by Carl, "When the sun is out with the rain, you can see the rainbows in rain." This type of peer talk can provide opportunities for children to develop their linguistic skills by providing opportunities for them to try out language and stretch their linguistic resources as others listen and respond to their efforts.

Analysis of Process Writing

Compared with board work, process writing was a much more complex task requiring repeated trips through the process writing landscape (Spiro, Coulson, Feltovich, &

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Anderson, 1988). Although the teachers conceptualized process writing as a sequence of steps, writing extended text was a processual sequence rather than a skill sequence, which characterized their board work curriculum. Thus, each process writing assignment immersed students in a complex process of finding and organizing information before representing their knowledge by constructing a coherent written representation of their knowledge.

The public phase of the octopus report provided students with access to standardized background knowledge required for writing the report. By using a public forum for establishing common cultural knowledge relative to a particular topic, teachers positioned students as peer collaborators in a common enterprise, that of composing a text. In this part of the activity, the teacher's role was to enhance and expand students' contributions. Although the teacher-student interaction appeared somewhat recitation-like, the information set elicited by the teacher was not totally fixed. The teacher established a pattern of following students' leads by asking an open-ended question, "What do you know about...?" Thus, students selected subtopics for teacher enhancement. It was not the teacher's role to suggest, "What did you learn about where octopi live?" Similarly, students inductively selected superordinate topics for organizing the written report. Drawing on two types of understanding (Bloom & Krathwohl, 1956) to accumulate and differentiate knowledge, students were supported by their teachers in this complex enterprise of re-representing associative knowledge as conceptual knowledge (Vygotsky, 1934/1986). In addition to teacher enhancement of students' ideas, teacher supports included material resources in the form of lists of ideas and the cognitive organizer ("brainstorming sheet"). By using a stylized system for each new writing assignment, teachers sought to make visible the process for writing extended text. Components of the system and the language by which they were identified provided common meanings affording understanding of and access to the writing process. When Darlene said in the lesson, "That's what we did with the jellyfish a couple of days ago. Now, we're going to do this again," she both invoked

and acknowledged a common discourse that made visible the process of expository text construction.

The private phase of the octopus report project provided students with opportunities to receive individualized teacher assistance as students struggled to compose coherent text that conformed to the developing collective understanding of expository text structure. Within the framework of shared understandings of content and process, teachers supported each student's learning at a level appropriate for that student. Thus, each student was publicly involved in the same "task," that is, writing an octopus report. However, each student was individually and privately supported as needed in the completion of the task. For each student, then, the task was inclusive in that it was both identical to (i.e., writing the report) and different from (i.e., each student's level of writing skill) that of every other student. In this highly individualized classroom, common tasks served to provide for students a sense of community and connection.

In each of these phases, the teacher maintained an authoritative, but not authoritarian, role (Baumrind, 1991). Students' ideas and contributions shaped the discourse within the larger teacher-established frameworks. The teachers provided frameworks for writing experiences and then supported students as they endeavored to complete writing tasks according to the frameworks.

Journal writing: An Unguided, Private/Public Process Writing Task

I include the activity of journal writing as a conceptual footnote to the discussion of process writing in the Team Room. Journal writing, although engaged in less frequently than board work or process writing, was an activity that potentially allowed greater student autonomy in topic selection and execution of task. During journal writing students were

> not guided...The children are totally independent during journal writing time...They may use pictures, developmental spelling, or published spelling...We don't spell things. We don't do any kind of interaction with ...journal writing, except we'll give them the topic" (interview).

The "journal" referred to the specific notebook in which the students did their writing,

not to a particular text genré. There were several purposes for journal writing. One was to provide a site for the practice of writing genrés that might not be dealt with elsewhere in the curriculum, such as personal experience and reflection, free writing, literature response, correspondence, and learning journal. In free writing, students chose their own topics to write about. Correspondence was written communication between student and teacher, where the teacher responded to what the student wrote. Learning journal was also an opportunity to solidify and assess what students had learned from their listening center and other classroom activities about the current thematic topic. For example, one learning journal assignment was, "Write everything you know about starfish, and what do they look like. We aren't going to talk about it; just write in your journal. In the starfish family are the sea urchins, sea cucumbers, sand dollars, and starfish" (field notes).

In addition to its private aspect, journal writing also had a public component. At the close of journal writing activity, several students were selected to read their text to the class. Sharing their writing with the whole group was a desired and motivating activity for most students. The student stood in front of the class and read from his or her journal. Class members' role was that of appreciative audience; they were not required to offer feedback or critique. Thus, journal writing provided peers with opportunities to serve as face-to-face audiences for one another's writing. The teachers viewed this part of the writing process as supportive of individual self-esteem, noting that students were "feeling so good about it, and wanting to share and show it" (interview).

Participation: Task Engagement and Social Interaction in Public and Private Tasks

Classrooms are both academic and social spaces, and learning tasks have both academic and social elements (Erickson, 1996). Therefore, social participation is linked to academic progress, and both are critical for students' academic success. Because students with learning disabilities have been shown to be passive learners (McIntosh, Vaughn, Schumm, Haager, & Lee, 1993; Vaughn & Schumm, 1996), it is important to understand whether and how their task engagement can be maintained and social interaction

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encouraged in general education classrooms. This section will address task engagement and social interaction.

As we have seen, writing lessons in the Team Room entailed public and private contexts. Therefore, to understand task engagement, I needed to understand the nature of student involvement in public and private work opportunities in the Ellison Team Room. Since public instructional events involved the entire classroom community, examination of task engagement in public forums meant looking at whole-class instruction and activity structures. This examination seemed important for three reasons: first, whole class instruction allowed teachers to convey expectations and provide guidance for later individual, private work; second, writing activities, such as co-construction of text, occasionally took place within a whole class participant structure; and third, whole class lessons illustrate a participation structure typically found in general education classrooms, and we need to know how students with disabilities fare in this format.

Similarly, individual, private work periods occupied a large amount of time in this classroom; therefore, affordances and appropriatory behaviors of special education students in this participant structure should also be understood. Discovering what were the roles and expectations related to student activity and how special education students chose to participate in public and private participant structures was key to understanding task engagement for these students.

Task Engagement in Public and Private Tasks

In this section I define task engagement and discuss types of task engagement during public and private writing tasks.

Task engagement defined. Orth and Martin (1994) defined task orientation as a combination of activity (motoric vigor of the child), distractibility (extent to which attention and behavior can be diverted), and persistence (length of attention span and tendency to continue a task despite obstacles). Observation of videotapes indicated that Richard and Lanie were often oriented to the task at hand. However, we need to know more than

whether or not they were on task. We need to know the circumstances and features of engagement. For this reason, students' behavior was coded according to five inductively-generated categories of behavior: overt self-initiated (visibly engaged without external prompt), overt other initiated (visibly engaged with external prompt), covert self-initiated (apparently oriented toward activity without external prompt, as in watching), covert other-initiated (apparently oriented toward activity with external prompt), and non-engagement (overtly or covertly disengaged). The following sections examine Richard's and Lanie's task behavior according to these five categories of task engagement.

Task engagement during public lessons. Public lessons in the Team Room were typically defined by a whole class participant structure. During a public board work lesson, Richard overtly (visibly by hand raising, speaking, moving toward the board) engaged in self-initiated (volunteer) behavior as he responded to teacher questions regarding consonant-l blends. Below are the sentences on the orange-plus (Richard's group) board, followed by a transcript of a segment of lesson talk.

Board work sentences:

You do not want to slip on glass. They slid down the hill on the sled. The class will clap for the dancers. They like to go to the Boys and Girls Club.

In the segment of lesson talk, Darlene addressed her initial questions to Richard's group as a whole. Richard responded by raising his hand.

Darlene: All right, we're going to orange plus. Orange plus, guess what, new thing going on? What is it?
Richard raises his hand.
Monica: Richard knows.
D: Richard, do you really know? Richard, look at these words that are underlined...What's going on with those words? What's different about those words than you've seen before on your board work? ////////
Richard looks and thinks. Darlene walks over close to him and stands next to his desk. He is looking at the board.
D: What's different about them?...Can you point to what's different that you've never seen before?/ Yes or no.
R: [inaudible]
T: Oh, yes, he got it. Come up and tell me. Or point to it. "Cl" is one thing different. "Gl." Where is that "gl"? I don't even see it. Where is it?

Richard comes to the board and points out the blends.

D: Oh, yeah. "Gl." What else is different up there?
R: "Sl."
D: Oh, my gosh, he's found another one. "Sl." Look at the sentence. Where else? I hit the jackpot when I called on Richard. He's spotting them all.

Darlene initially framed the task as a visual discrimination task: "What's different...than you've seen before?" Richard responded, but Darlene seemed skeptical: "Richard, do you really know?" Although he volunteered to find the blends, he seemed hesitant once called upon. Darlene, however, provided wait time for him to respond, although her "yes or no" seemed to signal an intention to move on soon. Darlene allowed for a choice of response types; Richard could either tell where he found the blends or point to their location. Darlene evaluated Richard's response by playfully complimenting his achievement: "I hit the jackpot when I called on Richard. He's spotting them all."

Identifying the blends was the first part of the public task. The second part was to read each sentence. Again Richard volunteered.

T: All right. We got blends up here. Richard spotted them. They have two consonants that make a sound put together. We find out there's no vowels in that blend. Now the last step. Who can read the sentences?
Richard raises his hand.
T: Richard, you're just really going to town. You really want to read after all that work? Which one do you want to read?
R: Number one.
T: Number one? Go ahead.

Before moving on to the second part of the lesson Darlene offered a definition of "blend" that defined and corroborated what the students had been looking for. Again, Richard volunteered, perhaps feeling confident about his performance on the first part of the task. He slowly read the words of the sentence as Darlene pointed to each word with her long pointer: "You do not want to slip on glass." He hesitated on the word "slip," and several students began to help him decode the word. However, Darlene apparently trusted that he could do this independently.

D: Let him figure it out.
R: Slip.
D: Slip.
R: On glass.

D: Very good, Richard.

Richard, who volunteered, did well in this public event. He responded correctly to the teacher's questions. Craig, a general education student in Richard's group who did not volunteer but was called on by the teacher, did less well, having difficulty reading some of the words in the sentence he chose: "The class will clap for the dancers." He had difficulty with "class," "clap," and "dancers." To assist him, Darlene guided his word decoding and had a student demonstrate the word "dancers" by dancing.

This recitation structure provided a public venue for knowledge display and status acquisition if students were successful. Conversely, incorrect responses might risk calling attention to a knowledge deficit and appearance of failure. Although the teachers assured me that all students, including the special education students themselves, were unaware that some class members were special education students, one might wonder about the effect of public success or failure on any student. Although Craig was supported by the teacher-student interaction, and seemed in no way embarrassed or uncomfortable after failing to independently decode all of the words, such a public forum submitted him to the possibility of failure and humiliation.

Richard was not always this actively engaged in public, whole group lessons. During the public, group construction of the dragon story script, for example, he read a book at his desk rather than participate in the interactions. The teacher seemed to ignore this behavior. However, access to public activity did not seem to be a barrier for him. He assertively initiated engagement when he was interested, or when it was necessary for him to acquire information or demonstrate expertise. In the silkworm lesson interaction described above, he acted to gain and clarify procedural knowledge about the graphic organizer. In the board work lesson, he acted to demonstrate his knowledge of content being addressed in the board work task. McIntosh, Vaughn, Schumm, Haager, and Lee (1993) suggested that one reason students are not engaged in whole group situations might be the existence of a large cognitive gap. Perhaps in this classroom, where many students were low academic

performers, there was little or no gap between teacher expectations for cognitive performance and social interaction and what students with learning disabilities could do. Perhaps this type of cognitively and socially unambiguous and predictable format (I answer the teacher's question) was well suited for this particular group of students, and serves as an example of finely tuned adaptive instruction (Jordan, Lindsay & Stanovich, 1997).

Lanie was seldom overtly engaged during public lessons; however, as was Richard, she seemed to feel comfortable participating in these lessons when necessary. During the octopus report lesson, Lanie volunteered a response to Darlene's general question about what octopi have: "They have eyes." In the board work lesson, at the point where Darlene instructed students on how to fold a paper into four columns, Lanie volunteered her idea.

T: Lanie's got an idea.
L pretends to fold a paper.
L: You fold it four times [inaudible]
T: That's true. You only have to fold it twice though. You fold it in half, then you fold it in half again. You open it up, and voila, like magic, you got four columns.

Three speaking turns later Lanie volunteered to read the word "popcorn" and the two words that make up the compound word. Lanie's participation during public lessons, although quantitatively minimal, seemed qualitatively appropriate.

Task engagement during private work. Private work in the Team Room was typically defined by individual participant structures. While overt (visible) engagement in whole class activities by the target students often involved providing direct answers to teacher's queries, overt engagement in private, individual activities was more difficult to detect. Since private, individual activities are by definition not shared with others, the lack of overt interaction makes evaluation of engagement during private work situations more complex. Generally, if a student seemed to be attending to task without interference, I assumed that the student was engaged.

Richard seemed to be a such a student. When involved in private computer activity or the listening center, for example, he seemed quite focused, according to the following field notes taken on site during the activity:

> Richard is at a computer. He is tipping his chair back on the rear legs while he is working. He looks at his neighbor's computer from time to time but seems fully focused on his own computer.
>
> Computer: Reading a book for Accelerated Reader. ...Reads the book and takes the [on-screen] test independently with no reminder for good behavior...Gets another book.
>
> Richard is at the listening center with headphones on and is attending to the open book in front of him. He smoothes the page and stands the book up. He looks around briefly at a loud student voice, but gets right back to his book.

Richard's task engagement during the private work that characterized center time was typical for most students in the classroom. However, he was occasionally disengaged. He was sometimes distracted by the presence of the camera, at which time he would clown for the camera instead of working on his assignment, or he would visit with peers, rather than working at the computer or completing writing assignments at his seat.

Lanie generally maintained engagement despite distractions during private work. Again, these observations from field notes written on site during the activities indicated persistent engagement with private tasks.

> Lanie at listening center. Turning head to indicate following along in book...Gets right back to her task after interruption...
>
> Board work: Students moving around and being noisy, but although Lanie looks up from time to time, she does not speak and gets back to work...Points out camera to another student but gets back to work. Focusing very intently on her writing, which is producing a constant stream of writing; the words are "flowing," so to speak...another student speaks to her, but she doesn't stop writing right away.

Lanie's strategies for maintaining task engagement during private work included self-talk (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990). During the silkworm report writing assignment, she was recorded as saying, "The first step. The first step the first step the first step is."

However, Lanie was occasionally disengaged during private work. Some of these instances occurred during phonics center activities, but this was usually while waiting for the next taped response prompt. Once in awhile she distracted herself or some external distraction caused her to lose her place in the exercise, causing her to enlist the help of a nearby center participant to get back on track. During private board work tasks (writing at

her desk), she was occasionally briefly distracted by the camera, by something in her desk, or by a conversation with another student.

While motivation to maintain engagement with public tasks depended on the student and, when necessary, was prompted by the teacher, motivation to remain engaged in private tasks, particularly those with material results, was often maintained by the task itself. Once students had learned procedures and expectations related to center activity, the tasks and materials themselves seemed to encourage engagement--audiotapes provided structure and momentum, and computer and craft activities provided their own intrinsic interest. The center tasks which students had the most difficulty completing were, as might be expected, the writing (i.e., board work) tasks. Although for some students, the existence of the task was motivation enough (Ames, 1992), for others, additional incentives and consequences encouraged engagement. For instance, recess was a privilege connected with task completion, in that uncompleted tasks were to be taken as homework or completed at recess. Whatever it was that motivated Lanie and Richard to engage in private tasks, they both seemed to complete their tasks in timely fashion.

Social Interaction in Public and Private Tasks

In this section I discuss social interactions during public and private tasks. I conclude the examination of participation in the Team Room by describing and commenting on social interaction in the phonics center.

Social interactions during public tasks. During public lessons in the Team Room, the direction of interaction was generally from teacher to student. The teachers engaged in numerous I-R-E sequences during introductions of writing assignments. While this interactional pattern may in some classrooms have the effect of limiting student participation in classroom discussion, because of the multi-level, multi-age composition of this classroom, these interactions provided a sort of old-fashioned-one-room-school opportunity for "rookies" to learn from "veterans" (Weade, 1992). As Darlene put it, "A lot of times when we get like with this group here, they've heard it already from a previous

group, so they can move right into blends really easily, because they've already heard about blends." Introductions to board work tasks thus served three functions regarding the cognitive content of the lesson: (a) reinforce previous learning, (b) prepare students for the immediate task, and (c) expose students to the cognitive content of future lessons.

Social interactions during private work. Social interactions for academic purposes did not occur during private work. However, students occasionally created momentary ad hoc associations as they completed otherwise private tasks. The teachers allowed these interactions if they seemed to focus on academic content and foster task completion. In the following example of such an association, Richard and Maddy, another special education student, checked with each other regarding task structure during a phonics center activity.

R: (*Leaning over to Maddy*) I'm doing the other side now.
Maddy: We have to do this side. Did you notice that?
R: Maddy, you have to circle the picture that match the word.
M: Let me see what you're doing. You don't know how to do it. You're supposed to [inaudible], you dummy.

Lanie also occasionally participated in momentary ad hoc associations of the type described above. In the following example, for which I do not have the texts constructed by the students, Lanie and Morris, another special education student, were sitting next to each other at a table while working individually on their silkworm reports. Lanie had been receiving help from Monica, but Monica had left. Morris offered to help.

Lanie: Where's Mrs. Baez?
Morris: What do you need help with?
L: The second story [paragraph]. The second thing. I don't know about.
M: Oooh. Okay. (*Reads from Lanie's paper*). The first step is, that's a A?
L: The first step is the adult have a egg.
M: Erase the egg.
L: Why?
M: Erase the period. Don't erase the egg. (*She erases*). Just say, then they make a cocoon.

Lanie wanted help with her second paragraph, which was to describe the larval stage of a silkworm's life. Morris instructed Lanie to erase the period after her first sentence and add more text, which he suggested ("then they make a cocoon."). However, this type of assistance was risky. Morris may have been generous with his assistance, but he was

combining the wrong steps and giving Lanie the wrong information. The four stages of the life of a silkworm as laid out by Monica were: egg, larvae, cocoon, adult moth. Morris leaped from stage one to stage three in the sentence he suggested to Lanie.

As they continued to work side by side on their individual reports, Morris observed that his report was shorter than Lanie's.

M: ...You're taking long. I'm doing it small.
L: You're doing like half of it like that. I'm doing the whole paragraph.
M: That's not whole.
Y: If you can't make a big word fit in here, don't make it squeeze it.

Their talk about "doing it small" and "half of it" requires interpretation. Monica had instructed the students to use the names of the four stages to construct complete sentences about each stage and then to add details to the report. Morris was constructing a report that would have four sentences, one for each stage, but lack supporting details. Lanie's report would be longer, because she was adding information to each chunk of text describing a stage in the life cycle of the silkworm. Although she responded to Morris's observation, her response did not result in an altered report structure for Morris. Morris's performance was not Lanie's responsibility. The norms in this classroom required expertise to be directed toward individual work rather than shared between and among peers. Lanie's offering of a rule for conventional writing, "If you can't make a big word fit in here, don't make it squeeze it," was also a declaration of knowledge in the sense of, "This is what I do," rather than sharing a useful writing strategy, "This is what you should do."

In the episode described above, Lanie and Morris interacted around their texts. They consulted and advised one another. In the teacher's absence and because of their close proximity, Lanie and Morris turned to one another for help. However, it is likely that neither had the tools, expertise, or motivation to truly help the other. Lanie apparently had a better grasp of the task and its requirements, but she directed her comments toward explaining her own work, rather than assisting Morris in his. Morris, new to the classroom, seemed inclined to offer advice, but he had only a limited grasp of the task and

its requirements.

Thus, there were occasions when students were allowed to interact around an academic task. At other times, however, teachers overtly discouraged students from assisting each other by invoking the task norm of the classroom, individual work. On one occasion when two students were interacting, the teacher called out from across the room, "Leave her alone. She needs to do it herself."

Social interaction in the phonics center. Our consideration of interaction in the Team Room cannot be complete without considering the interactive components of an activity where one would least expect to find social contact, the phonics center. Recall that the phonics center was a study carrel-like arrangement where students wore headsets for the purpose of listening to audiotaped phonics lessons. The physical arrangement of the center, with its wood dividers and head sets, appeared to discourage social contact. However, two types of social contact were observed. One was planned by the teachers; the other was arranged by students using the unique features of the audio lessons themselves.

The phonics center lessons provided an opportunity for students to interact with the teacher as a "semiotic presence" (Almasi, Anderson, Russell, & Guthrie, 1998). The teacher's talk on the tapes had an informal and face-to-face quality. On tape, teachers instructed students to work hard and do well, and said they would check with them later in the morning.

> We are going to be making words and practicing words with these sounds. And I'm going to take a peek and see how well you are doing with this. I think you're going to do a terrific job! (phonics audiotape)

On the audiotapes, teachers occasionally referred to previous classroom incidents and sometimes even chatted about personal events.

> So, we were on our way to our cottage, and we had to stop at a store where we usually stop to get some groceries for our cottage, and they had tapes there, and I bought some. Came to the cottage, took a nap, made these sticks, went for a boat ride, now I'm sitting on the floor by Comet [dog]. Comet wants to go for a w-a-l-k. I can't say the word because he'll get up and start bugging me. So he's going to have to wait for that. At the end I'll say that message to him and see what he does. And you can see what he does and I'll tell you. Now, we're working on homonyms again. Homonyms

are words that have the same sound, they sound the same but have different meanings and spellings (phonics audiotape).

Sometimes students responded to the teacher's comments, rendering their relationship with the "semiotic presence" of the teacher even more face-to-face-like. In the following segment of transcribed videotape, Lanie and Ann were completing a phonics assignment. They occasionally interacted by smiling at each other, usually between responses to taped prompts. On tape, Monica commented:

Monica: Number three. The word thirty. I am thirty years old.
Ann: She is?
Monica: I really am. Thirty.
The girls are surprised. They look at each other and laugh.

The appropriateness of Ann's real-time comment took the girls by surprise. Lanie and Ann often responded verbally to the audiotaped comments during these lessons, but rarely did their response result in a coherent, if asynchronous, conversation with the teacher-on-tape.

Lanie also engaged in self talk during the taped phonics lessons. On the occasion recorded in the following segment, she repeated part of the taped lesson about contractions:

Teacher: Next we have "will not."
L: "Will not."
T: Find "will not." Put a 2 in "will not." Remember what the contraction for "will not" is?
L: "Won't."
* * *
T: Next, "we'll."
L: "We'll?" "We will."

We noted above the textual features of board work. Textual features of phonics center assignments were focused at the individual word or sound level, where students were required to, for instance, indicate the correct sound-symbol match by writing letters or words or by not writing at all, as when placing pictures or markers appropriately. Textual features of taped lessons also included the lesson pace (Dudley-Marling, 1998), which was relaxed to accommodate variable student responses rates. I observed students' appropriate or inappropriate behavior during pauses between task elements or losing their "place" in the

lesson after being distracted by classroom activity, but I never observed a student who could not keep up with the pace of the lesson.

Writing Achievement: What Do Students Appropriate?

As a general measure of literacy skill, Lanie's and Richard's spring SORT-R scores (Slosson, 1963) suggested that Lanie worked at a 1.8 grade level and Richard at a 1.3 grade level, both well below their grade placements of 3.9 and 2.9, respectively. Examination of pretest and posttest writing measures corroborated this prediction. However, such writing tests provide a far-point measure of writing skill transfer, because the measures are decontextualized from classroom writing activity. Two writing measures, representing two distinct writing genres, were administered: expert (expository text) and personal narrative.

Lanie's Writing Achievement

Lanie, at the beginning of the year, wrote 96 and 79 words on the expert and personal narrative tests, respectively (see Figures 8 and 9). In both measures she spelled about two-thirds of her words conventionally. Examination of other writing conventions revealed inconsistent use of ending punctuation and capital letters, although words were written appropriately in the lower case. She exhibited the use of voice (defined as attention to audience and communication of personality through dialogue, humor, and personal opinion) in both genres. In the expert paper, she exhibited voice through the use of the first person and personal opinion ("I know I will get grounded like 2 days"). Her personal narrative was rich with voice: the event was "fun," she talks about her favorite rides, and addresses her audience when she says, "I will tell you..."

Posttests in the two genres, with 76 and 75 words respectively (see Figures 10 and 11), showed in increase in the number of words spelled conventionally. The ratio of invented to conventional spelling changed from winter to spring from 7:10 and 7:9 to 4:11 on both writing measures. Capitalization after the first word remained inconsistent, as did punctuation, except that she placed a period at the end of the story and the expert piece used

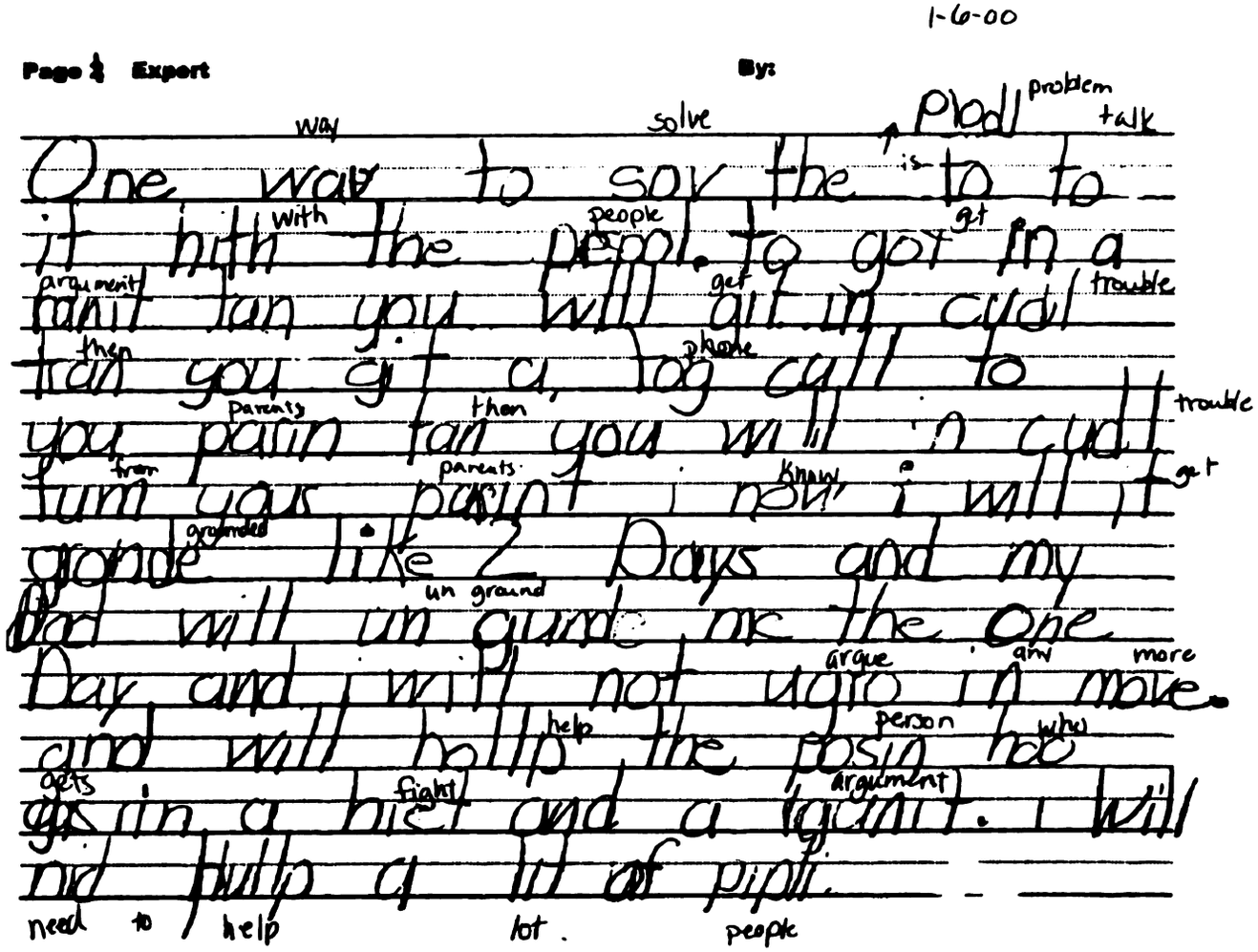
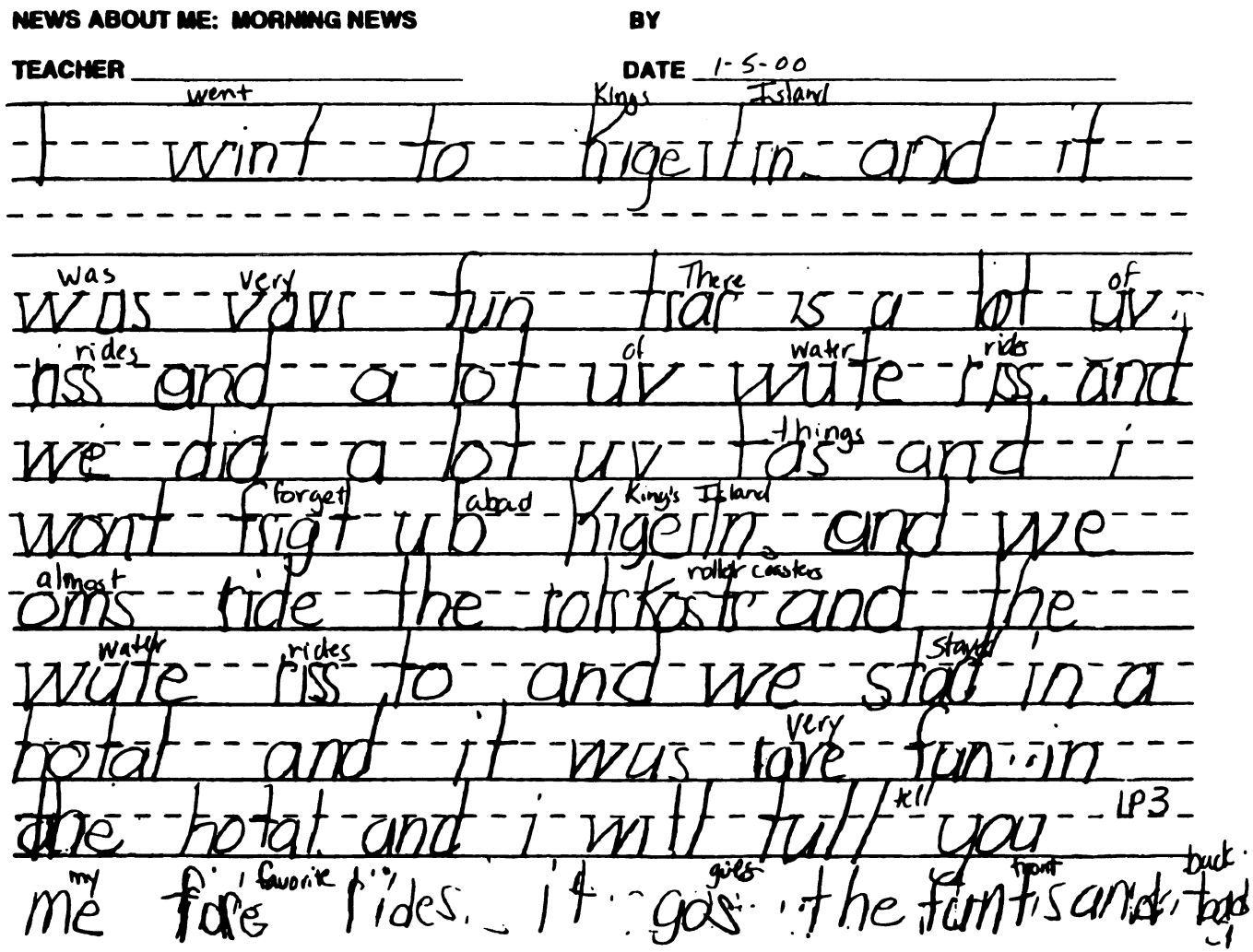


Figure 8. Lanie's expert pretest.


NEWS ABOUT ME: MORNING NEWS BY

TEACHER _____ DATE 1-5-00

went Kings Island
I wint to kigelin and it
was very There of
was vavr fun trar is a lot uv
rides of water ride
rss and a lot uv wute rss and
we did a lot uv tas things and i
wont trigt ub forget abaut Kings Island kigelin and we
almost roller coasters
oms tide the rolrkste and the
water rides stayd
wute rss to and we stad in a
very
hotal and it wus tave fun in
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the hotal and i will tull you
my favorite gies front back
me fde fides. it gos the funtis and tad

Figure 9. Lanie's personal narrative pretest.

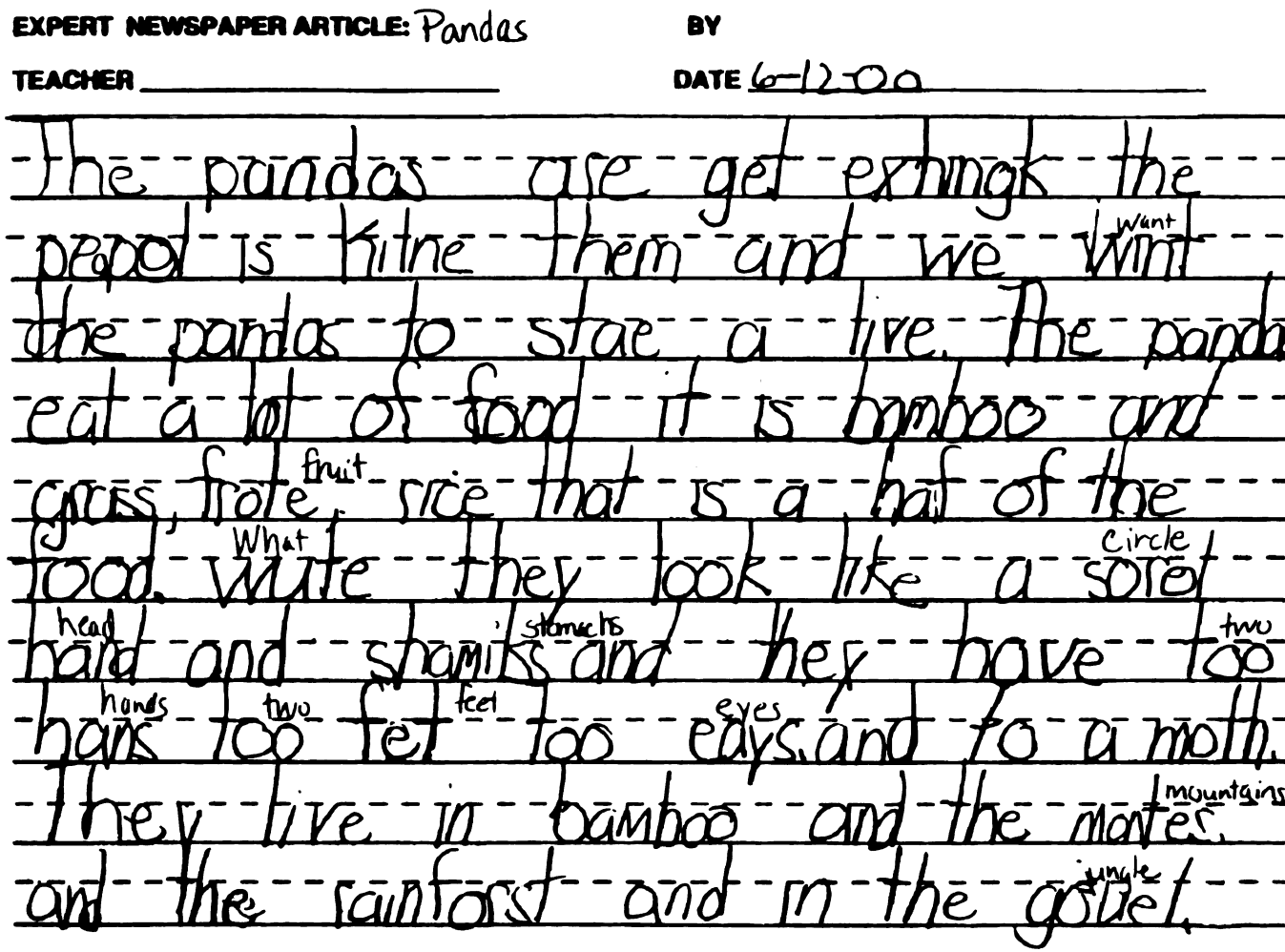


Figure 10. Lanie's expert posttest.

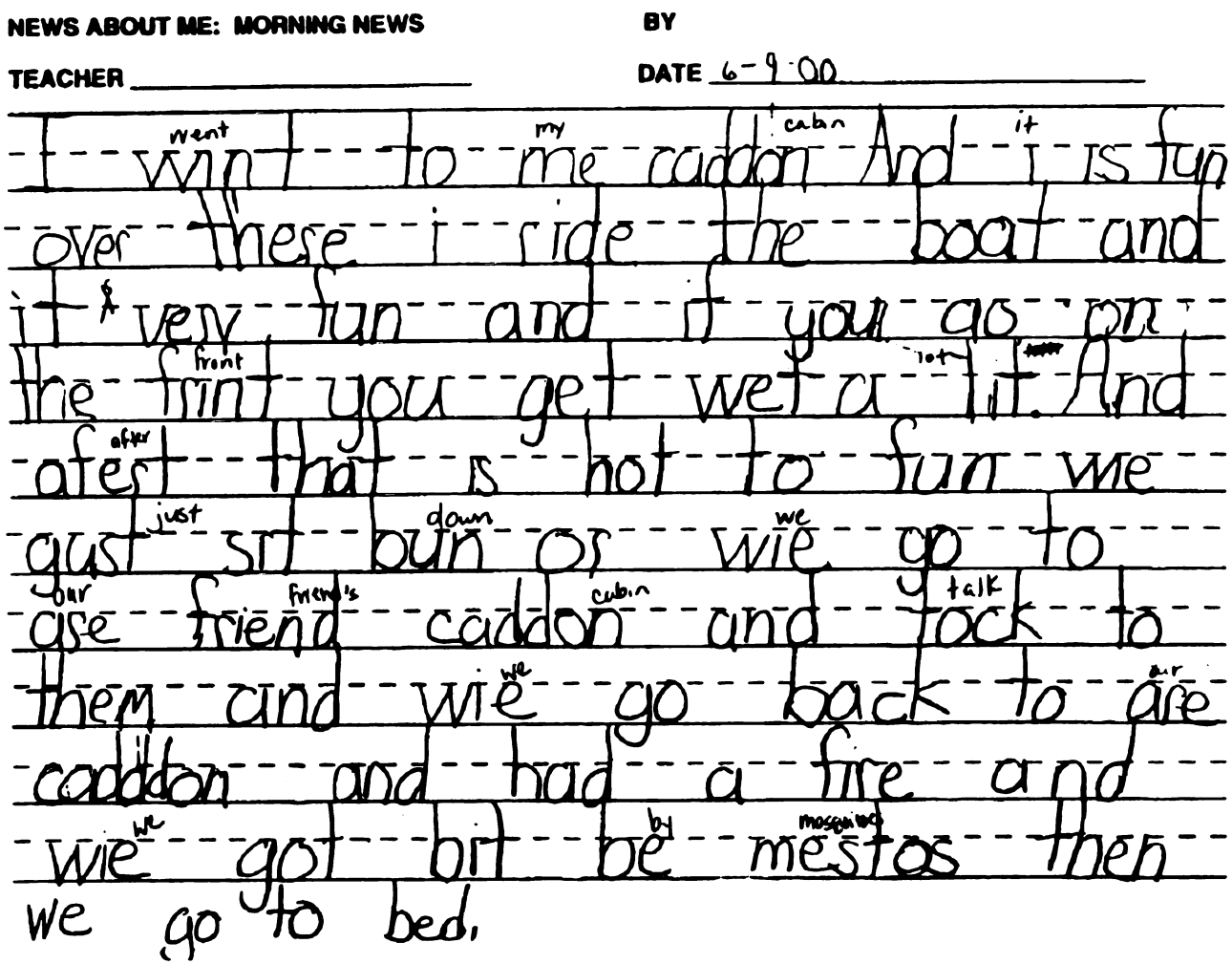


Figure 11. Lanie's personal narrative posttest.

commas in a list. Voice was omitted in expert piece, but was used in the personal narrative when she opined that elements of her trip were "fun," "very fun," or "not too fun." She also used a rather ambiguous "you," which may or may not have addressed an audience. No attempts to edit, other than erasures, were evident in any of the writing measures.

Regarding genre characteristics, all of Lanie's writing measures can be viewed as characteristic of the specific genre. That is, Lanie assumed an expert stance in the expert measures and a narrative stance in the narrative measures. The topic of Lanie's expert pretest was extremely unclear; however, her use of the third person "you," as in "[if] you get in a argument, then you will get in trouble, then you get a phone call to your parents" provided evidence of an expert stance. However, this stance seems to shift near the end of the paper as the third person gives way to first person, and the topic seems to take on a more narrative tone.

Lanie's experience writing expository reports about animals was evident in her posttest, which mirrored those reports. Although she did not introduce her topic, pandas, the intention was clear, and she related four categories to the topic. Three of her categories were used multiple times in writing assignments throughout the year: what they eat, what they look like, where they live; however, one was particular to the topic of pandas, their endangered status. Two of the topics were introduced with a topic sentence or its equivalent: "The pandas eat a lot of food," and "What they look like." Breadth and depth of knowledge on the topic were indicated by Lanie's selection of four categories, a large number for this level of writing, and by her development of each of the topics. For this type of expository writing which might be compared to encyclopedia text, lack of voice might not be considered a shortcoming, and, indeed, there was no evidence of voice in the piece. Overall, as a genre piece her expert posttest is a solid example of expository writing.

Lanie's personal narratives were also within the genre. Topics were introduced; however, settings (who, when, where) were vaguely described. In her pretest she was descriptive rather than chronological in recounting her experience; that is, sentences could

be interchanged without affecting the sense of the piece. She also included little detail. However, her selection of topic and use of voice clearly identify this piece as a personal narrative. The description of setting contained in her posttest was also unclear; however, temporality was much more evident in her use of sequence words such as "after that" and "then," and in her chronological arrangement of events. Her use of detail also increased, as she described a boat ride wherein "if you go on the front you get wet a lot," and later on "we had a fire and we got bit my mosquitoes." With her use of voice, the paper rated high as an emergent personal narrative.

Richard's Writing Achievement

Richard's pretests contain 44 and 39 words on the expert and personal narrative tests, respectively (see Figures 12 and 13). He spelled one quarter and one third, respectively, of the words conventionally. He used no punctuation on either pretest, and mixed his cases. The personal narrative piece began with a capital letter D on Dog, but in the story all "Dogs" begin with a capital D, only a smaller capital D. Both papers exhibited some use of voice, chiefly in his use of "fun" and "nice," as in "cars/dogs is fun," "cars is very nice," and "some dogs is nice. some dogs is mean."

Richard's posttests in both genres, with 38 and 92 words respectively (see Figures 14 and 15), held the same pattern for spelling. He used no punctuation in the expert piece but did place periods after about half of the sentences in the personal narrative. Some use of mixed case was still evident, but otherwise there was consistent lack of capitalization.However, he did capitalize "I" correctly and consistently in the personal narrative piece. As did Lanie, Richard used no voice in the expert posttest. However, he exhibited a high level of voice in his posttest personal narrative, when he described aspects of New Jersey as "fun," "nice," "the best," "so pretty," and "beautiful." Neither piece addressed an audience.

Richard, according to his teachers, was a "pattern writer," and this writing strategy was evident in his writing measures. In the expert posttest, for instance, every sentence but

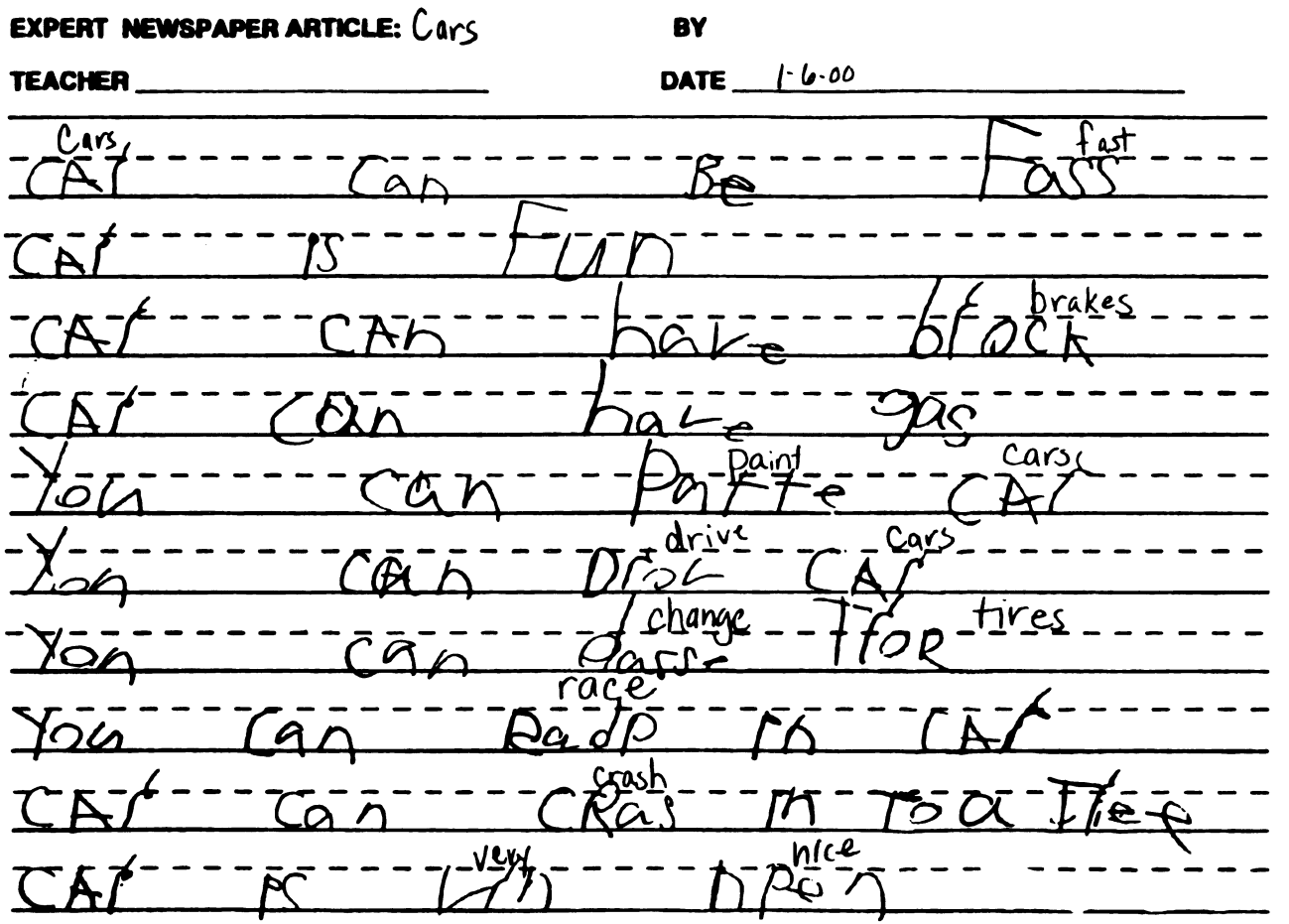


Figure 12. Richard's expert pretest.

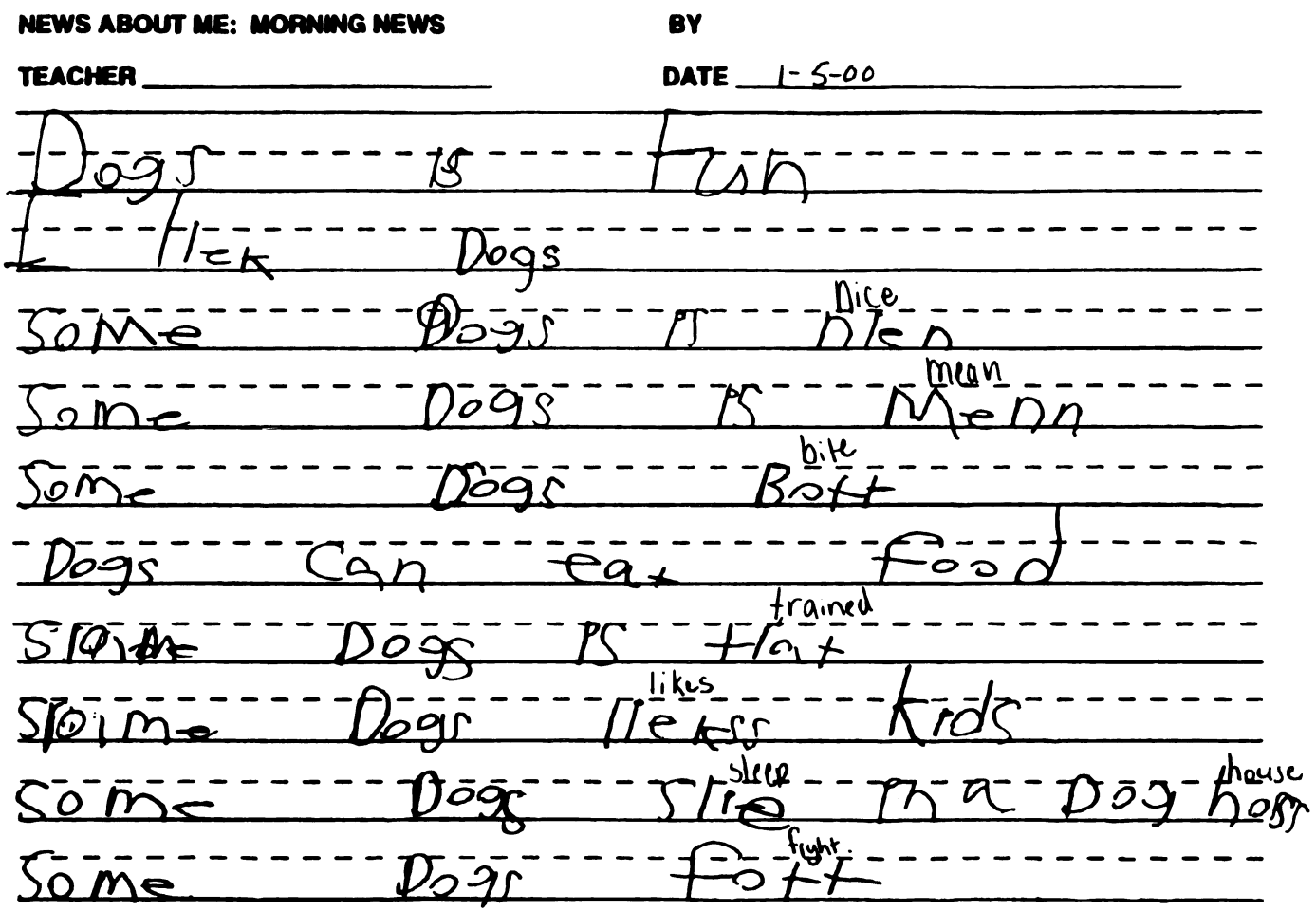
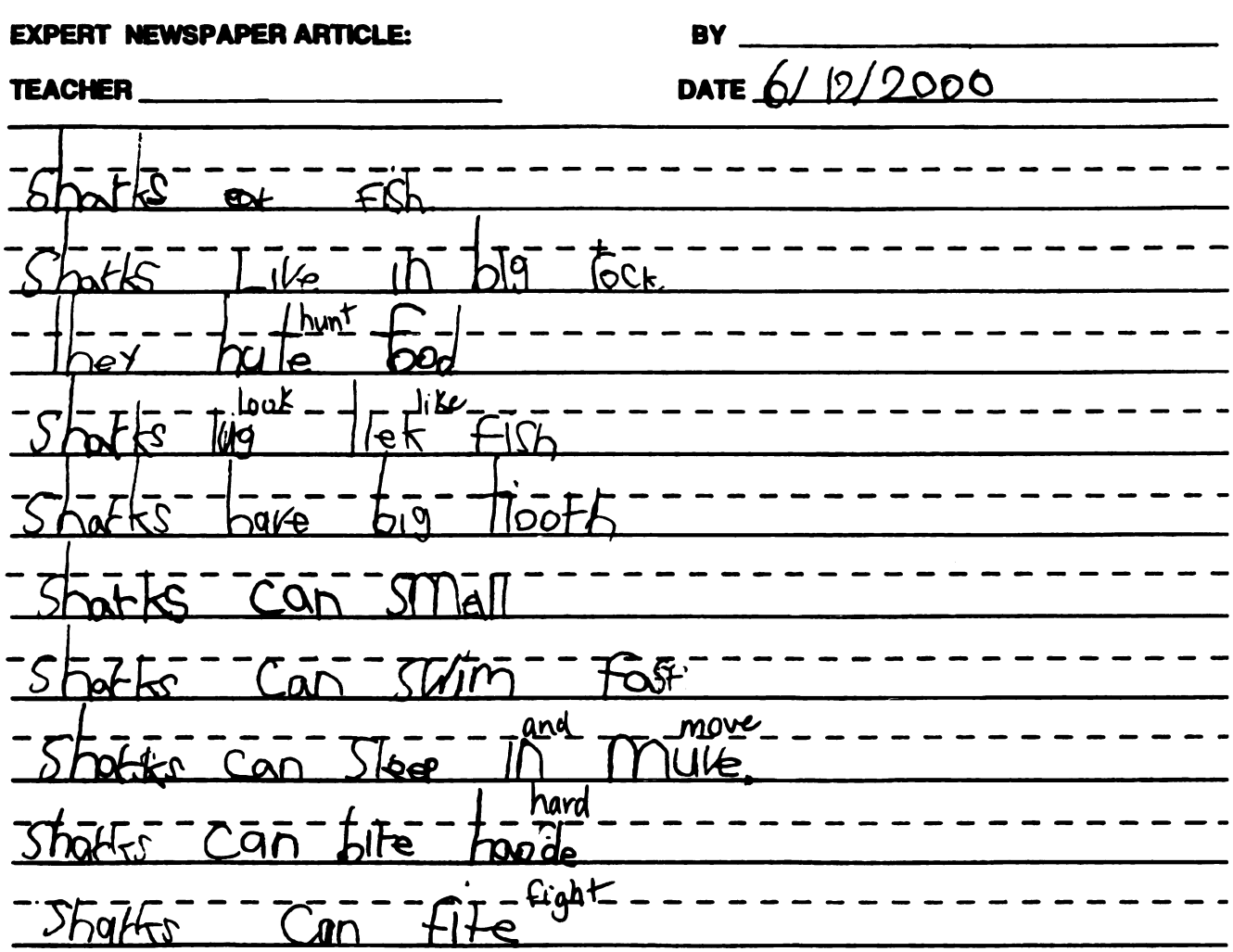


Figure 13. Richard's personal narrative pretest.


EXPERT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE: BY

TEACHER DATE 6/12/2000

Sharks eat fish.

Sharks Like in big [rock].

[They] hate [hunt] food

Sharks [look] big [like] fish

Sharks have big [tooth]

Sharks can small

Sharks can swim fast.

Sharks can sleep [and] in [move] mule.

Sharks can bite [hard] [hoode]

Sharks can fite [fight]

Figure 14. Richard's expert posttest.

Page 2 News About Me: Morning News **By:**

6-9-00

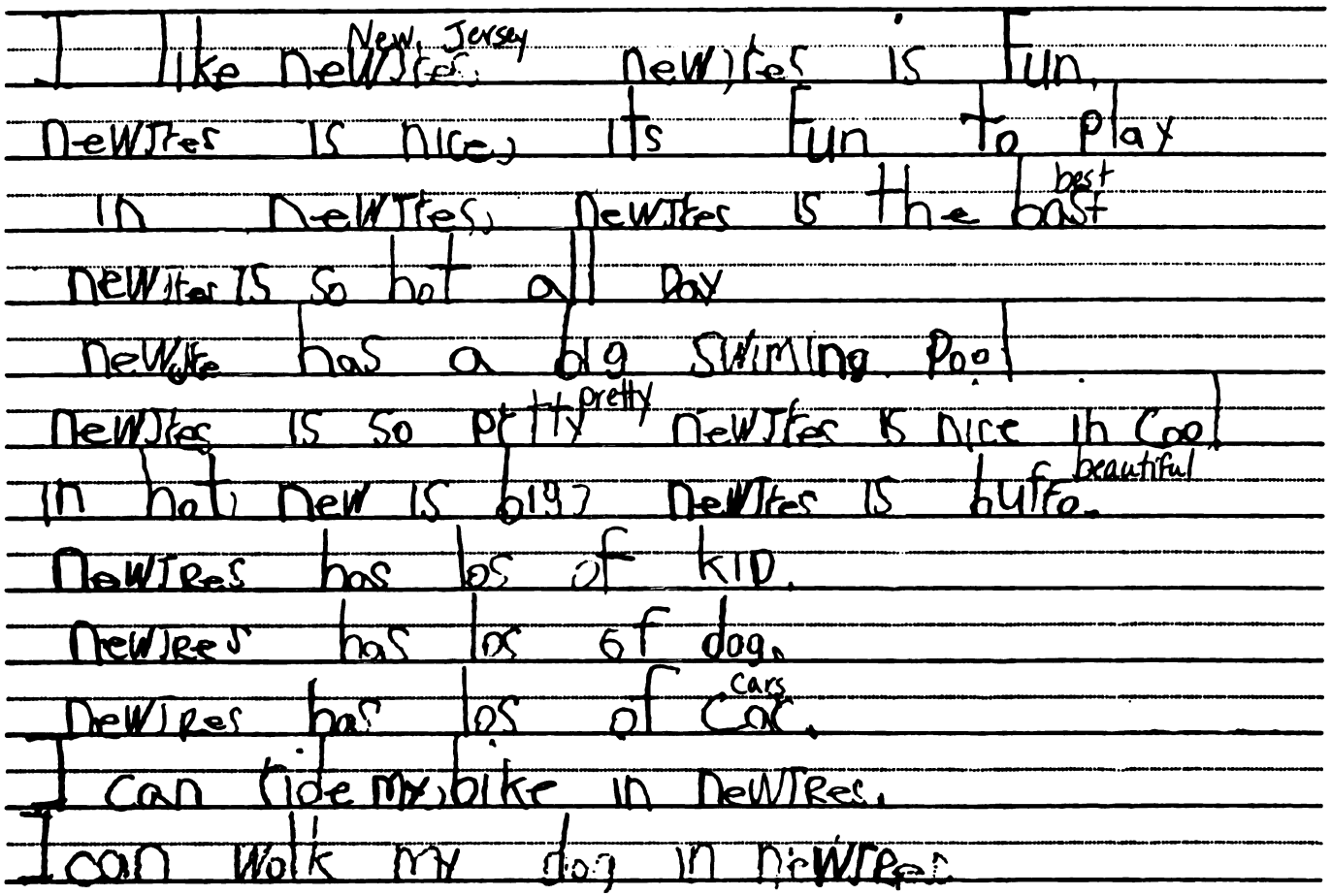


Figure 15. Richard's personal narrative posttest.

one began with the word "sharks." He was also patterned in the expert stance he assumed in all of the pieces. Every piece was descriptive, describing cars, dogs, sharks, or New Jersey. He did, however, exhibit progress in organization of expository writing. In his pretest, the details he selected were largely associative, and categories are difficult to determine. With some imagination, one might find two categories: what cars have and what can be done with them. In the posttest, four categories could be determined (eating, where sharks live, what they look like, and what they can do), and at least three of the categories were developed in some depth. However, as with Lanie's papers, the topic was implied rather than introduced, and individual categories were also not introduced.

Richard's personal narrative pretest is not a narrative, and the posttest was similar in its patterned construction; however, the posttest did have a sense of personal experience that was missing from the pretest. This was evident in the use of opinion and in the details Richard included, for instance, riding his bike and walking his dog in New Jersey.

In both Lanie's and Richard's writing, it was evident that instruction in organizing expository text had shaped their writing practice.

Railway System: A Metaphor for the Team Room

It is axiomatic that no two classrooms are similar in every way. The two inclusion classrooms examined in this study had significant differences. What was unique in the Team Room were strong teacher-student linkages. This began with the establishment of a strong trust bond between the teachers and each student, allowing teachers to know each child personally and select the best curriculum and learning activities and opportunities for that particular child. The systematically sequenced curriculum allowed the teachers to ensure that no part of the knowledge domain would be inadvertently overlooked and that each student would engage in learning activities at the level appropriate for that student. No child was asked to do something he or she might be unready or unprepared to undertake. In this classroom there was a sense of careful and caring cultivation of each student's individual abilities and talents in a systematic, loving, and respectful manner.

What was afforded at Ellison was a very thorough and carefully sequenced skills curriculum. Students were placed on the skills "train" at the appropriate station. Staying on the line and traveling through successive station, the same sequence for everyone, guaranteed their safe arrival at the final destination. Perhaps some trains traveled faster or slower than others, but everyone eventually arrived.

In communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), individuals are apprenticed into the local practices needed for successful membership. What constituted "expert" knowledge required for participation in this classroom community? Expert knowledge included specific social participation task structures. The chief social participation structures in this classroom supported student responsibility for managing their own movements and tasks once the appropriate sequences and procedures were practiced and learned at the beginning of the year. Team Room veterans had this knowledge and seemed puzzled at the beginning of the year by the inability of new students to navigate classroom procedures: "And the second and third graders...are going, what is wrong...why can't they do this?" (interview).

During public lessons, veterans were expected to attend to the activity and respond appropriately to teacher prompts. During private lessons, veterans were expected to maintain task orientation and to act on their knowledge of procedures. Rookies, on the other hand, required much prompting by the teachers. A veteran, then, as a valued member of the community, moved independently in specified and expected paths without requiring a great deal of teacher input. Because each moved independently within his or her own curricular orbit, only momentarily intersecting academically with peers, students could not be differentially positioned within the classroom. All students, veterans and rookies alike, had equal access to literate practice, because each had similar orbits through the six centers, and each was provided with just the nutrient each needed at the moment to grow in cognitive knowledge.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS #2: THE WATKINS INCLUSION CLASSROOM

I turn now to the examination of writing instruction and the participation of students with learning disabilities in the inclusion classroom at Watkins Elementary School. Recall that Angie Blackburn and Rhonda Grant were in the third year of a full-time teaching collaboration. At any point during the study year they had 25 to 27 students, approximately 12 of which were students identified as special education students, nine being identified with learning disabilities.

Target Students: Marta and Dustin

In the fall of the year, I, together with Angie and Rhonda, selected Marta and Dustin, both students with learning disabilities, as target students to follow more closely in my research activities. Both Marta and Dustin are referenced throughout the chapter to illustrate the experience of students with learning disabilities in this inclusion classroom.

Marta: A third-year veteran. Marta was a female, Caucasian third grader who was in this classroom for her third year, making her a veteran of routines and instruction typical for this classroom. Next year as a fourth grader, she will have the option of continuing in the classroom, because Rhonda and Angie will exchange their "two/three split" and "lower el(ementary)" resource combination for a fourth grade and "upper el" resource room combination. With light-colored hair, slight build, and pixie face, she seemed, in my observations, to be a quiet, reserved individual. According to Angie and Rhonda, she scored in the average range, although tending to be withdrawn, on a teacher-report measure of student temperament (Keogh, Pullis, & Cadwell, 1982). Her teachers also reported that she was very familiar with the Writing Workshop process of draft, peer conference, teacher conference, revise/edit, and publication.

Marta's SORT-R (Slosson, 1963) scores increased from 1.8 grade equivalent in October to 2.4 in May, resulting in a gain score of 0.6 grade level over the year. Her three-

year gain score was 2.2 grade levels. Typical for students with learning disabilities in the Learning Environments for Accelerated Progress (LEAP) Project classrooms, her first year gain was minimal, 0.4 (Englert & Mariage, 1996). It was during her second year in the LEAP inclusion classroom that she made a significant academic gain of 1.4 grade level equivalent on the SORT-R.

Dustin: A novice. Dustin was a male, African American second grader in this classroom for the first time. Slender and animated, he seemed to enjoy social interactions with peers. Scores on the teacher-report measure for student temperament showed that he tended toward distractibility. Additionally, according to Angie and Rhonda, he was relatively approachable and adaptable, with low reactivity to adverse situations. Regarding his writing behavior, Angie and Rhonda said that he needed a great deal of prodding, and neither reread for meaning nor edited his work. They reported that neither Marta nor Dustin seemed to exhibit a sense of audience or attention to organization in their writing.

Dustin exhibited no gain on the SORT-R during the study year, scoring 0.2 grade equivalent on both pretest and posttest. Noting the pattern of academic gains referenced above for students in the LEAP project, it will be interesting to follow his progress the following year, if he remains in this inclusion classroom for a second year.

Structure of the Chapter

In this chapter I examine classroom instruction and interactions to describe affordances, participation, and appropriation related to writing instruction and opportunities for writing in the Watkins inclusion classroom. I specifically focus on Morning Message and Writing Workshop. While board work and process writing seemed to typify the writing curriculum in the Team Room at Ellison School, Morning Message and Writing Workshop did the same for the inclusion classroom at Watkins. Morning Message, a public task, set the social participation and task structure (Erickson, 1996) norms for writing in this classroom, and Writing Workshop, generally a private or small group task, was a site for additional writing experiences.

The chapter is organized in five sections. The first four sections deal with affordances available in the Watkins inclusion classroom. Section one focuses on the teachers' theories and beliefs about writing and instruction, connecting their views of writing and writing instruction with their views regarding the classroom as a community of learners. Evidence found in journal writing activities to support this link is included. Sections two, three, and four examine three writing activities: Morning Message and two types of Writing Workshop: "regular" Writing Workshop, and the persuasive writing episode. These activities are described with specific consideration of instructional and learning tasks and activities, and material and semiotic resources.

The fifth section of the chapter addresses the participation in these activities of students with learning disabilities. I examine the academic and social engagement of students with learning disabilities in these activities, focusing on the types of mediating influences that are afforded to students by their membership in this community, and what is appropriated by the students as they participate in the writing activities. Taken together, these data constitute a telling case illustrative of a "community of learners" model of classroom interaction.

Teacher Beliefs About Writing and Instruction

Writing as Authentic Communication

In describing Angie and Rhonda's beliefs about writing, I use two activities--journals and mailboxes--to illustrate how their beliefs about instruction were related to their ideas about classroom community. Angie and Rhonda believed that people have authentic reasons for and intrinsic needs to communicate (Silliman & Wilkinson, 1994), and that such authentic communication was critical for students' motivation to write. As they noted, "I think that really gives them the motivation to improve their writing, ...they want to be able to communicate" (interview). Underlying all writing activities was an understanding of writing as "authentic communication" where individuals have a "reason" or "need to write" rather than just writing to complete an assigned academic task. Rhonda observed that when he was in school,

> [writing] was supposed to be "the task." And you complete the task, you meet the goal, and you're done with your writing. [If] you've written this kind [genré], you've written this kind, you've written this kind,...then you must be fluent writers. Whereas now, I think Angie and I both see it as, can we have them want to sit down with a pencil and paper and communicate with someone and be effective in that communication. (interview)

Rhonda's observation implied that communication required attention to audience, and that becoming proficient in writing multiple genrés was necessary but not sufficient to fulfill the communicative aspects of written texts. Their views are aligned with those of researchers who suggest texts must be communicated to have meaning and take shape through interaction with an audience (Rhodes & Dudley-Marling, 1988).

Journal Communication

Writing for authentic reasons and audiences was the practice in the inclusion classroom at Watkins School. Although concern for authentic communication underlay all writing activities, including Writing Workshop, two specific activities, response journals and mailboxes, provided very immediate opportunities for authentic communication. Response journals were "little notebooks where they write to us. They write to a teacher and that teacher writes back" (teacher interview). Immediately in the morning, while waiting for the daily activities to begin, students retrieved their journals--small (3" X 5") spiral notebooks--and responded to what the teacher had written in response to their previous entry. For Angie and Rhonda, response journals were particularly illustrative of their belief that writing should be a form of "authentic communication" and that such authentic communication was characterized by dialogue and reciprocity.

> This is truly communication, because I'm going to ask them questions, and if they don't answer my questions, I'm going to write again, "You didn't answer that question," or I'm going to go and talk to them, "Did you read this?"...So it's back and forth. (interview)

In addition, journal writing was motivating. Angie and Rhonda noted that students nt to be able to fill that page up, and they want to be able to communicate" (interview). For Marta, journal writing was patterned writing activity. Her strategy was to answer uestions posed by the teacher or intern with whom she was in written dialogue every

day. Typical journal entries showed Marta responding to the teacher or intern question without extending the interchange. Following are entries for two consecutive days.

Intern: Dear Marta, What did you do this weekend? I went to a basketball and volleyball game at MSU. Ms. Donley
Marta: I stayed home for the weekend.
* * *
Intern: Dear Marta, What did you do at home? What do you like to do when you get home from school? Ms. Donley
Marta: I playd my game. I dot no [don't know]. I go to my ants hows [aunt's house].

However, something interesting happened when the intern stopped asking questions. Here are several more consecutive entries.

Intern: Dear Marta, I will be gone today and tomorrow. I will be in Great River. I will be learning new things. Ms. Donley
Marta: What new things are you learning about.
* * *
Intern: Dear Marta, Great River was fun. It was a big city. I learned about school things. Ms. Donley
Marta: What school things did you learned about.
* * *
Intern: Dear Marta, I learned about what things will be like next year when I teach by myself. It was fun! Ms. Donley
Marta: I went [want] to see what things that will be like next year.
* * *
Intern: Dear Marta, I probably won't be at this school next year. I don't know where I will be teaching. Ms. Donley
Marta: You miet [might] go to a divrt [different] school and teach kides [kids].
* * *
Intern: Dear Marta, Yes, but not until next year. You will probably get new teachers next year. Ms. Donley
Marta: I no [know] what teacher I am going to have Ms. Blackburn and Miss Grant.

When the teacher intern stopped asking questions, Marta participated in the dialogue in more equitable way, initiating and asking questions in the manner heretofore modeled by e teacher. However, two days later the intern resumed asking questions and Marta sumed answering them.

Intern: Dear Marta, Did you have a good weekend? Ms. Donley
Marta: Yes, I had a good weekend. I played with my friends.

Here we note a chain of responses with each journal entry building on the previous y in the manner of a dialogue (Burbules, 1993). Later in the year Angie corresponded

with Marta. Angie followed the intern's pattern of asking questions, with predictable responses from Marta. However, one day Angie departed from the pattern, and Marta noticed.

Angie: Dear Marta, We sold lots of stuff at the garage sale on Saturday....Mrs. Blackburn
Marta: What stuff did you sale [sell] at the garage sale.
* * *
Angie: Dear Marta, We sold a bike and a bunch of books and toys. We sold a kids basketball hoop and a snow blower and some clothes. We even sold some of the pots we painted last year. Mrs. Blackburn
Marta: Thar [there] is no qashtin [question] Mrs. Blackburn.

Marta could not find the question she was looking for, and she did not respond to Angie's message. The following day Angie forgot to take the journal home to write her response, and the day after that she again picked up the pattern of asking questions for Marta to answer. The intern and Angie did not intend to vary their responses strategically; it just happened. However, Marta's response, "There is no question," makes this change in dialogue pattern visible, where it might have gone unnoticed.

In her journal entries, Marta recorded the date, wrote neatly, and spelled most of her words conventionally. Where she used invented spellings, the inventions seemed to be logical and relatively easy to decipher. Marta also used the intern's or teacher's text as a spelling resource; where Marta repeated the teacher's words in her response, they were correctly spelled. However, despite daily teacher modeling of salutation and signature (i.e., "Dear Marta,...Ms. Blackburn"), Marta never incorporated those particular letter-writing conventions into her responses.

For Dustin, journal writing seemed to be an activity to dispatch as quickly and with as few words as possible.

Intern: Dear Dustin, Was your mom glad that you got an A+ on your spelling test? Did you see a movie? Ms. Donley
Dustin: Yes.
* * *
Intern: Dear Dustin, Do you like to swim? I do. I like to swim when it's warm out. Ms. Donley
Dustin: Yes I bo [do]

While Marta's entries almost always made sense as responses to the teacher's entries, Dustin's often did not.

Intern: Dear Dustin, What did you do this weekend? I watched the basketball game. Ms. Donley
Dustin: I hav a tow. Dog Do you? [I have two dogs. Do you?]

When Dustin responded similarly to Angie, she assumed that he had not read her entries and responded in her journal entry, "What did you write? I don't think you are reading what I write. Please come and talk to me about this."

Much of the time Dustin's writing was difficult to read because his invented spellings were more difficult to decipher than were Marta's. Both the intern and teacher commented on this when they wrote, "Dear Dustin, I can't read what you are writing. Have someone read it! Mrs. Grant," and "Dear Dustin, I'm not sure what you wrote...Ms. Donley." However, enough can be read to note that Dustin seemed to have an emerging understanding of the dialogic nature of the journal activity. He often wrote a comment followed by a question: "noic wov tv. Wot or you do Won [?? watch TV. What are you doing?]," "Yes I fun DiD you [Yes, I had fun. Did you?]." Like Marta, Dustin seemed to appropriate correct spelling from the teacher's entry.

Dustin: ...Don Jack hov tadpoes...[Does Jack have tadpoles?]
Angie: Dear Dustin, Do you have tadpoles?...Jack does not have any tadpoles. We don't have any pets right now. Mrs. Blackburn
Dustin: I have tadpoles and Dog Do you

From the teacher's text, Dustin appropriated conventional spellings for "have" and tadpoles." He ended his journal entry with his almost formulaic, "Do you?"

Toward the end of the year Angie and Rhonda's goal for the students' journal writing as to fill a page in the small note pad. They suggested this to the whole class, and also ividually to students who needed to be prompted: "Dear Dustin, Now I get to write to ! I hope you will write a lot...Ms. Donley." Dustin never did fill the page.

Marta and Dustin represent different levels of participation in a writing activity. Marta, nore experienced student with higher literacy skills, was able to produce relatively

conventional text that fulfilled the dialogic requirements of the activity. Angie and Rhonda report that she also wrote notes to teachers through the mailboxes. It seems likely, that given Marta's verbal reticence, both journal writing and mailboxes (see below) provided opportunities for social interactions that were difficult to maintain verbally. Through the writing option, Marta had opportunities to socialize and communicate with others in the classroom, as well as to practice her writing skills (Graves, 1991). Marta wrote to communicate, at least in her journal writing and mailboxes. Dustin, a student with fewer developed writing skills, had not yet appropriated the teachers' goals for journal writing. However, the activity provided teachers with opportunities to push his writing by encouraging him to write more, to make his messages readable, and to respond to their communications. Although gains seemed difficult to note, by the end of the year Dustin had developed the strategy of copying the teacher's spelling for use in his own text. Angie and Rhonda thought this use of the teacher's text as a resource to be a positive strategy, "It's a repetition that he can find right here within the writing."

Mailbox Communication

Another "authentic communication" writing activity was mailboxes. Mailboxes was an opportunity for students to communicate in writing with other students or with teachers. Small pigeonholes at the back of the room were labeled with students' names. A student could write a note to another student or a teacher and place the note in that student's, or teacher's, pigeonhole, where it would be retrieved, read, and possibly responded to. The teachers described the opportunity in this way: "If a child has a specific question, they want to talk to a specific teacher, at any time they can put a note in there, or to someone else ...they write to each other all the time" (interview).

Over time, students came to understand the necessity for dialogue implied by the nailboxes. Angie related an incident where a student "wrote me a note saying 'I haven't ;otten any mail yet.' So I wrote, 'Did you write to anybody?'...I was encouraging him, ou gotta write to some people, then maybe they'll write back" (interview). Angie's

comment also underscored her expectation of student agency in the interaction. What made the interaction work was the student's action to initiate the dialogue.

Comments from teacher interviews underscored that, in this classroom, response journals and mailboxes strengthened group cohesion by mediating relationships with peers ("We had this influx of lots of new students with this core group of old kids, and they immediately were talking back and forth") and teachers ("I'm talking about what I'm doing over the weekend and what my son does, my husband went fishing, or whatever, and they're telling me what their dad [did]"). For Marta, a special education student, mailboxes afforded a kind of voice when verbal expression was difficult or inappropriate. In fact, one day her written voice got her into trouble when she was caught writing to one of the teachers instead of completing her assigned work.

Rhonda and Angie's attention to both individual progress and social engagement during writing activities typified their general instructional orientation. They saw the primary purpose of learning to write as based in community. Thus, writing was communication. In their classroom, writing instruction, and all classroom activity, was based on a belief in the value of social cohesion and mutual responsibility. As they noted in an interview, "Definitely, everything we do is building community." One community-building ingredient was communication, and writing was key to communicating with other individuals in the community. They hoped students would "want to sit down with a pencil and paper and communicate with someone and be effective in that communication" (interview).

Morning Message: A Template for Classroom Writing and Conversation

We turn now to the examination of a pivotal literacy activity in the Watkins inclusion classroom, Morning Message. Because Morning Message, as practiced by these and other teachers in the Learning Environments for Accelerated Progress (LEAP) Project, has been extensively researched (Mariage, 1996), I provide only a brief description of the activity here. Morning Message was a whole-group activity of the type which Vaughn and Schumm (1996) might term a "multilevel instructional activity." Students dictated text while

a teacher recorded the oral text verbatim (i.e., replete with grammatical errors), and omitting the conventions that transform oral text into written text (i.e., capitalization, punctuation). A student was selected to assume the role of "author" of the text, which was often in the narrative genré. The author was responsible for composing text, for calling on any and all other members of the class (who constituted the immediate audience, as opposed to the eventual audience--the parents--who saw the text in final draft form as printed in the class newsletter) for content and editorial suggestions, and making decisions regarding topic and supporting text, as well as settling any controversies which might arise regarding interpretation or what text to include. The teacher's activity was to record the emerging narrative on chart paper large enough for all to see, make revisions as suggested by the author and/or the audience, submit all appropriate decisions to the authority of the author, and provide appropriate prompts for audience and author. Often the demands of producing actual text are so great for students with language learning disabilities that they cannot attend to all of the requirements for writing text at once (Englert, Berry, & Dunsmore, 2001). However, when someone else writes the text and assumes the responsibilities of getting the text down on paper, students can shift their attention to other elements of text production. In addition, observation of text composition activity occurring in whole group activity provides opportunities for lower performing students to learn composition skills. As the author and audience composed the narrative and suggest editing/writing conventions and corrections, the teacher exploited opportunities for introducing new skills, maintaining a careful balance between allowing student authority over the text and directing learning, as well as carefully scaffolding children who might have difficulty with normal classroom social interactions (Cooper & Valli, 1996).

Significance of Morning Message

Morning Message was included in this investigation of writing instruction because its practices provided a model for other writing and collaborative classroom activities. Morning Message was a literacy activity with a long history in this classroom community,

and a large influence in current literacy activities (Mariage, 1996). Angie and Rhonda considered Morning Message to be foundational for other writing activities for two reasons. First, it was a site where many writing dispositions, skills, and conventions were first introduced and later reviewed. As such, it provided a standard by which other text construction was measured. Skills first encountered in a Morning Message activity could be appropriated for later use during independent text construction in some other activity.

Second, social norms established for Morning Message reflected the social behaviors and interactions between teachers and students that Angie and Rhonda hoped would characterize their classroom. The teacher role during Morning Message involved enabling students to be autonomous in the activity as much as possible by "pull[ing] yourself back from that situation...allowing the children to take over...that's the hard thing to do" (teacher interview from previous year).

The influence of these goals and expectations was illustrated by Rhonda during a writing activity described later in this chapter, the persuasive essay episode of Writing Workshop. At one point she commented to the class,"I'm kind of helping you out here, because of time, a little more than I would normally do." By making this comment, Rhonda publicly noted that her explicit guidance of text construction in that particular writing episode was contrary to norms established during Morning Message which required the teacher to act more as traffic cop directing verbal traffic than as architect of the written text.

In addition to encouraging shared responsibility for instructional processes and outcomes, social norms included participation in the classroom community in other ways. Morning Message often served as an entry point into the literacy discourse of the classroom for students who were low performers. All students were encouraged to participate at whatever level was appropriate for their skills. For example, students with low writing or reading skills might be able to join in with, or even request, a rereading of the text, an action in which everyone could participate as the teacher pointed to each word while she and the students reread the text. Another typical contribution of low performing students

was to suggest a period at the end of a sentence. Students with more developed skills might address more complex issues, such as coherence, even to the point of moving text from one location to another. Rhonda described participation through finding entry points into the discourse of Morning Message.

> And even Morning Message the other day, we tried a little new thing where we said, we're going to see if everyone can participate today...(Ned) made sure everyone in his group got their hand up. Of course, he's telling them what to say and what to correct, but still,...at least the participation part was there, and that they saw, "Oh, I can say something and the teacher's going to make a correction," even though, you know, it was told for them to say. Still, it was the feeling of, "I have the power to do that if I participate." That was neat to see happen. (interview)

Thus, participation was expected, whether or not the contribution was one's own. Another social practice established during Morning Message allowed students final authority over the construction and editing of the text of the message. With the teacher's duties being chiefly that of scribe, students had a large space in which to operate, selecting content and then editing it for conventions and sense. In this way students were empowered as decision makers whose contributions shaped both the oral discussion and the written text (Nystrand, 1995).

The discussion below of a Morning Message observed in April of the study year refers to two task structures (Erickson, 1996)--subject matter task structure (SMTS) and social participation task structure (SPTS)--to illustrate opportunities for learning to write afforded by the Morning Message activity. Subject matter task structure included attention to sense making and use of writing conventions and will be addressed in this section of the chapter. Social participation will be addressed in the final section of the chapter.

Morning Message: Learning the Dispositions, Skills, and Conventions of Writing

In this section I describe how students were guided to think about two facets of writing: ense making critical for audience understanding and appropriate use of writing onventions.

Attention to sense making. Authors must ensure that their text makes sense to a reader audience; however, students with learning disabilities often have difficulty with this in

their written work (Vaughn, Bos, & Schumm, 2000). In this Morning Message episode, strategies related to sense making included selection of genré, clarification of meaning, rereading to see whether it makes sense, and decisions about what fits best.

Kevin, a general education student, was the author for this Morning Message, and he selected his upcoming soccer game as the topic. Now, selection of topic does not predetermine selection of genré, and selection of genré in this particular event was more controversial than one might suppose. Since Angie and Rhonda were trying to integrate a wider variety of genrés into their writing program, they defined the selection of genrés students could use in both Morning Message and Writing Workshop. Morning Message was typically a personal narrative, but at this point late in the school year students were also allowed to choose realistic fiction. This was a popular choice, at least for several of the boys, but the risk was that their stories would overbalance realism with fiction. In the following segment, Kevin exercised his author's prerogative to select the genré of the message.

Paul: You could put something that could be realistic fiction. You could put "Kevin went to his soccer game last night at 6:30 and and when he kicked the ball it was stuck to the ground and you could put and then he kicked it really hard and it opened up and a bunch of elephants and alligators came out and [inaudible]."

T: Maybe before he answers that, it might be good for Kevin to decide what genré this is going to be.

* * *

K: Realistic fiction.

T: This is going to be realistic fiction [writes realistic fiction on the board], and since we've discussed this several times, you need to remember that that word [points to the word, realistic] is there. Realistic. So we're going to avoid elephants and alligators and things. So realistic fiction. This is about a soccer game...Is it realistic to have elephants and whatever else inside a soccer ball?

K: Somebody could have buried them with lots of food and water and then they could still be alive and they could come out of the ground.

T: Yeah, I'm going to make a teacher decision here, and I'm going to tell you this as much as you might want to argue this, elephants and things could not be buried under the ground for a thousand years with water and stuff and then come out when you dig it up, so that would not be realistic. We have to become more realistic to have realistic fiction, and save that for the fantasy world.

Angie was the scribe and teacher-in-charge, and no surprise to her ("since we've discussed this several times"), Paul and Kevin suggested a fantastical story that went

beyond the bounds for realistic fiction. Angie's response,"I'm going to make a teacher decision here," both signaled her intention to be directive and denoted her departure from established norms for teacher behavior that required teachers to comment rather than make decisions. As it turned out, the message ultimately became more of a personal narrative than an example of realistic fiction.

Angie's comment, "It might be good for Kevin to decide what genré this is," reinforced Kevin as leader and chief meaning-maker for this lesson. In this classroom, students were often positioned in roles requiring them to make decisions about the lesson for the entire class. Typically considered to be a teacher prerogative, placing students in authoritative positions was intentional on the part of these teachers. This expectation of autonomy afforded students in this classroom the notion that authority and privilege were not unique to teachers, and that authority could be shared among all community members.

Relative to sense making, authors need to check for coherence, and several times during the episode Angie encouraged students to attend to coherence. She interpreted Kevin's action at a decision-making point: "Okay, I hope you are listening to what he is trying to decide. He wants to put, 'Kevin is good at defense,' and he's trying to decide where it fits best in what we wrote." She modeled checking for sense-making when a student questioned the text: "Let's check it. ...That's a good habit to get into, to check things." She implied attention to sense making as an appropriate final step in composition: "Okay. We're starting to run out of time, so we've really got to start looking at whether this makes good sense and it's good writing."

Coherence was also at issue as students struggled with when to use Kevin's name and when to use the referent pronoun, him. Personal narratives typically use the pronoun "I" as a subject; however, the students had learned that the reader might not know who "I" was. Accordingly, in Morning Messages all first person referents were changed to the name of the author. Thus, a sentence offered by the author, "I played in a soccer game," became, when written and edited, "Kevin played in a soccer game." This was one of the routine

editorial changes even lower performing students learned to make. However, the students had also learned that overuse of the author's name became redundant. Consequently, the class had developed over time a rule that the proper name and the referent pronoun should be alternated. On this occasion, the rule was invoked more than once.

S: Put he instead of Kevin.
T: He. Because we alternate them, don't we? If they both start with Kevin, then it's kind of boring. So we alternate. Very good.

S: Kevin has to be a he.
T: (*Checking*) Oh, yeah, we alternate. Kevin he Kevin he.

Kevin wants to work with the Kevin he Kevin he sequence.
T: I'm really confused.
T works with Kevin to clarify.

The first time the question about the noun-pronoun sequence arose, Angie noted aloud the reason why "we" need to alternate the noun and the pronoun: "If they [the two sentences in question] both start with 'Kevin,' then it's kind of boring." Stating the rule aloud was a scaffolding move that provided students with task directive language which might facilitate a shift from comprehender to producer (Biemiller & Meichenbaum, 1998). The second time a student invoked the rule, Angie stated it in an abbreviated form: "We alternate." After that, the text became so complex with changes and editing that invocations of the rule necessitated rereading to note the pattern so that the appropriate sequencing could be applied.

Angie's comment, "I'm really confused," reinforced the notion of distributed expertise in the classroom. In this classroom, teachers, as well as students, could be puzzled participants who lacked understanding. Here the teacher worked with a student, not with the object of obtaining clarification for the student, but rather for the teacher, turning the customary teacher-student relationship on its metaphorical head. This role exchange afforded students the premise that knowledge was distributed among all members of a collective rather than residing exclusively with the teachers, a corollary of which was the notion that students, as well as teachers, could be positioned as informants and experts in

enhancing understanding (Gutierrez & Stone, 1997).

Writing conventions. Morning Message provided a format for composition skills and writing conventions. Composition skills addressed in this Morning Message included adding a conclusion sentence, writing concise text, and using interesting words, as well as spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. In the following transcribed segment, Angie noted a possible conclusion sentence.

T: Doesn't it sound like a good conclusion sentence,"He had a fun time." Put that at the end? So let's take this whole sentence.

With Kevin's approval, she moved the sentence to the end. In the next section, Angie suggested that students need to attend to overused words.

T: There are two words that are overused in here.
S: At.
T: Well, I was thinking that the word "fun" and the word "good" are two words we overuse. Can we think of another word to use instead of "fun" to make it more interesting?
S suggests "great." Angie makes the change.
T: And what about "good"? We use "good" way too much when we write, so we're always trying to think of more interesting words.
S suggests "wonderful."
T: Kevin is wonderful at defense in soccer.
T consults with Kevin and makes the change.
S suggests "skillful."
T: This is what I want you to be sure and do when you write. Read over what you write, and look for words that maybe get used too much, and try and find words that are more interesting or more give you a better picture.

After Angie directed students' attention to the problem of overused words, they thought of several words to take the place of "good." Again, Angie helped student to think metacognitively in modeling task directive language: "Look for words that get used too much and try and find words that are more interesting."

In the next segment of transcript, Paul, a student in the "audience," struggled with coherence and sentence fluency as he tried to edit the topic sentence.

Paul: Also the first one [sentence] is sort of long and confusing. (*T and Paul reread the first sentence: "Kevin already has his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30."*)
T: Well, that's the one that Kevin really liked, and then we took this "soccer" out.
P: It puts in too much information in the beginning.
T: Well...
P: Telling specifically that with doing that it makes it too long.

T: What do you think, Kevin?
Kevin wants to leave it.
T: Okay. ...One of the rules that they try and teach you when you have a writing class is that you should try to shorten your writing and make it more concise, so it's up to Kevin, but...I don't think "Kevin already has his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30," I'm not sure that's too long, too much information, but Kevin, I'm going to let you make the final decision, because that's kind of a judgement call.

Angie thought the sentence could be left as it was ("I'm not sure that's too long, too much information"), but she stated a possible reason for Paul's request to shorten it: "One of the rules that they try and teach you when you have a writing class is that you should try to shorten your writing and make it more concise." She left the decision to Kevin ("That's kind of a judgement call"), who decided to leave the sentence the way it was, possibly due to the preference Angie had verbalized.

This exchange among Paul, Kevin, and Angie illustrated the interactional norms and assumptions of this classroom which afforded students opportunities for stepping into authoritative and consequential positions often reserved by teachers for themselves. In this exchange, Angie emphasized the nature of the knowledge and the premises upon which the knowledge was based, rather than on one correct interpretation (hers). By so doing, she was able to remove herself as final authority and to represent knowledge as contestable and open to varying interpretations guided by acknowledged rules of composition ("One of the rules that they try and teach you when you have a writing class..."). A corollary to the "knowledge is contestable" postulate was "anyone can contest it." Thus, the teacher-student-knowledge relationship was experienced as indeterminate, in that knowledge was contestable rather than determined, and could be contested by both student and teacher, rather than defined by the teacher for student consumption. Students were afforded opportunities for active participation in the representation of knowledge.

Students were expected and encouraged to recognize the need for and correct use of unctuation in the text they were jointly constructing. Additionally, when students added nctuation to the text, the teacher routinely queried the participant about the reason for its

use.

Qi: Apostrophe.
T: Why?

Students came to anticipate the teacher's "why?" Later, when Diane suggested another exclamation mark, she added, without prompting, a reason for its appropriateness, "Since he was excited." Students' anticipation of the need to provide a reasoned explanation demonstrated their appropriation of a discourse move defining this type of classroom interaction, as well as demonstrated the distributed nature of knowledge in the classroom: students as well as teachers could provide reasoned explanations for writing conventions.

Morning Message also provided an opportunity to address grammatical issues. Bethany suggested a text change from present to past tense. In this case, the teacher supported Bethany's suggestion by explaining the reason for the change in tense.

Bethany: He HAD a soccer game.
T: Oh, very good. That's the tense. We said "Kevin already had," meaning it's already past, so we call it past tense. Then we can't say "he has," because that's present. We have to change it to "he had." It has to stay the same all the way through.

Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization were also addressed during Morning Message lessons. In the next segment, a student noted that the word, "Tuesday," required capitalization. Angie responded with a formulaic, "Why?"

C: Tuesday needs to be capitalized.
T: Because?
C: It's a
T: It's a
C: Proper noun.
T: Good. It's a proper noun.

Angie and Rhonda felt that students learned best when students verbalized and explained reasons for writing conventions. Public explanations also provided opportunities for other students to gain this knowledge as well. In addition to enabling students, questioning them was a way for teachers to check on their understanding and knowledge. The following segment of the Morning Message lesson illustrates a punctuation ment, and also demonstrates how new students enter into the discourse and how lower

performing students were afforded opportunities for participation. Marta, a student with learning disabilities, was the recorder during this lesson. Her job was to put a check next to students' names on a list as they spoke during the lesson. At one point, Kevin, acting on the agency allowed the author of Morning Message, asked Marta to read the names of students whose names had not yet been checked off, because Angie was urging him to call on students who had not yet been called upon. This episode began when Angie prompted the class to ask the question words they had learned to use.

T: There are question words that I was hoping to hear, and I've heard some. What are our question words? Just call them out.
Ss call out randomly: who, what, where, when, why, how.
T writes these on the board.
T: If you're stuck and you can't think of something to ask, you can use one of those questions words to ask some questions.
K: You could call off the names.
Marta, with the help of Kevin and Angie, reads the names of students who have not yet participated.
Marta: Milo [a new student] is not here.
Angie: Yes, he is. He's very quiet over here. He hasn't raised his hand yet, but I'm sure he will. Okay, we're waiting for questions, suggestions, comments. If there's someone [who is raising their hand] who hasn't been called on, you need to call on them.
Kevin: Mark?
Mark: Where did you go and play soccer?
Kevin: At Grandview. We could write that. "Kevin has a soccer game at Grandview."
T gives Mark a thumbs up, then writes Kevin's sentence on the paper.
T writing: "Kevin has a soccer game at Grandview."
K: Milo.
M: It needs a period.
T: Very good. Another period.

In this segment, Angie created discursive spaces which later became occupied by students with special learning needs. At the beginning of this segment, Angie asked students to list the "question words" typically used by the class to generate information for a narrative. A short time later, Mark, a special education student, used one of the question words, "where," to ask a question that generated important information regarding the setting of the narrative. Milo, the new student, had at this point in the lesson not yet participated, but Angie created a potential discursive space for him to do so when she stated her expectation that he would soon. Only three turns later Milo, having been positioned by

Angie as a potential participant in the discussion, entered the discourse with his contribution of "It needs a period." In so doing, Milo appropriated a discourse move used earlier in the lesson by another student. In this way, Milo's participation in the discourse began to be transformed from a participation of observation to a more active role in the conversation, simultaneously transforming the discourse as his contribution was necessary to the correct editing of the written text.

Morning Message was also a venue for teaching parts of speech. In the following excerpt, extending a sentence with the conjunction "and" provided Angie with the opportunity to note the use and terminology for the conjunction.

T: What do we call words that we use to connect sentences? What do we call those words that connect different parts of a sentence?
She looks in a handy grammar guide for the information.
Tim: Conjunctions.
T: Very good. I had to look it up because I wasn't sure. This is why we ordered this little thing because there's lots of times we don't know the answer and the answers are in here. Conjunctions. "A conjunction is a word that connects or joins words, phrases, or clauses." There's different kinds. There's" and," "or," "because," "since," "until.

Each time an element of grammar was dealt with, Angie added it a list on the chalkboard next to the Morning Message text. At the conclusion of the lesson, the list included: "proper noun," "apostrophe", "possessive," "past tense," and "conjunctions." Each of these had come up during the lesson, and each time Angie asked students to name the element before recording it on the chalk board. In this way she provided precise terminology to identify elements of written expression. Knowing the terminology enhanced students' membership in the literacy community of this classroom.

Angie's Role: Teacher as Conduit

We have seen how Angie used her teacher role to make visible for students elements of ritten language that came up during the lesson. She did not plan to teach these particular ements in this particular lesson; rather, she used her knowledge of language and mposition to highlight and name practices the students used. Transcribed talk rounding these actions may make it appear that Angie was quite directive during this

Morning Message. The following conversation from the same Morning Message is included to illustrate how Angie assumed the role of conduit, a role she occupied for most of the lesson, allowing students to construct and shape the text through her. I have divided this part of the Morning Message into six chunks, each chunk differentiated by an issue or activity with which the teachers and students are dealing. All six chunks were sequential in time, each followed immediately by the next chunk. For example, the first chunk, which ends, "Kevin, you gotta call on some new people, because all these new people want to participate," was followed by Kevin calling on Jack, "Jack." My division of the text at that point was for analytical purposes.

The written text as it stood at the onset of this part of the conversation was, "Kevin is going to a soccer game tonight at 6:30."

Chunk #1: Making the event past tense

Transcript	Interpretation
T: Did you want to go with Paul's first idea that this is a game that's already happened?	Angie prompts Kevin to respond to Paul's suggestion.
K: Well, yeah, because we're gonna [inaudible] this [inaudible] weekend	Kevin suggests a change.
T: So you want to change this to say this has already happened. What do we need to change in here so it says that this has already happened, not it's going to.	Angie revoices and confirms Kevin's decision. She prompts the editing change.
K: It already has happened.	
T: You want to leave his here? "Kevin already had his soccer game."	T writes "Kevin already had." She checks with Kevin for the correct wording.
K: How about Tuesday night.	Kevin adds a word to describe the setting.
T: Okay. Tuesday. "Tuesday night at 6:30." Look around, Kevin, you gotta call on some new people, because all these new people want to participate.	Angie makes the change, then prompts Kevin to call on more people.

Paul had suggested that the subject should be a soccer game that had already been held. Recall that this is realistic fiction; thus, fact need not match reality exactly. Angie asked

Kevin what he wanted to do. In this way she supported Kevin's authorial prerogative to control the content of the text. She also created an opportunity for peer alignment or opposition (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) when she asked Kevin, "Did you want to go with Paul's first idea...," thus recognizing both speakers as capable of taking positions. Kevin decided to accept Paul's suggestion, whereupon Angie, as scribe, substituted "already had his" for "is going to a" and "Tuesday night" for "tonight" in the sentence. As she did so, she made her thoughts public,"What we need to do..." By thinking aloud, Angie provided resources for students to draw on when editing text. The text was then, "Kevin already had his soccer game Tuesday night at 6:30." Angie's role in this exchange was to prompt Kevin to respond to Paul, revoice for clarity, pose the problem ("we need to change it in here"), and to make the changes suggested by Kevin in the material text. She also projected her social goal for the students, participation, onto them, making it their social goal, "All these new people want to participate."

In the next segment, Jack added a needed period, and Diane attempted to clarify the sentence.

Chunks #2 and #3: Punctuation, clarification

Transcript	Interpretation
Kevin: Jack.	Kevin calls on a student.
J: Period after 6:30.	Jack suggests a period.
T: Why?	Angie probes for understanding, and adds the period.
J: Because it's the end of a sentence.	
K: Diane.	Kevin calls on a student.
D: It says already his game on Tuesday, but he said already.	Diane works with sense making.
T: What would you do? Read it to us.	Angie calls for a rereading, a familiar move.
D: Kevin already had his soccer game Tuesday night at 6:30. But it should be [inaudible]	Diane rereads and suggests a change.

Chunks #2 and #3 cont'd.

Transcript	Interpretation
T: Ohhh.	
K: Yeah, but it's at night.	Kevin responds.
D: 6:30 [inaudible]	
T: So are you referring to a game that was, already happened last Tuesday?	Angie clarifies with the author.
K: Yeah.	
T: [to Diane] Does that make that more clear? Good question, Diane.	Angie confirms the clarification with the questioner.
T whispers to Kevin: You gotta call on someone [inaudible].	

This interaction around text construction involved Diane's struggle with the production of a clear sentence, which involved changing the tense from present to past. Angie seemed to be confused about Diane's question, and to clarify the situation, she turned it back to Diane, "What would you do?" Kevin and Diane interacted, Angie revoiced, and checked for clarification. At no point did Angie either suggest a solution or veto someone else's suggestion. Her role was the conduit. To employ another metaphor, she handled challenges and suggestions by positioning herself as a billboard: "Okay, here's what's on the table. The matter is open for discussion." Again, knowledge was contestable by any member of the group.

In the next section, Arnold continued to work with the same sentence.

Chunk #4: Adding more clarification

Transcript	Interpretation
K: Arnold.	Kevin calls on a student.
A: Instead of just being a plain Tuesday, they might think it's like today or something, then it should say um last it should be Kevin had already gone Kevin already had his soccer game.	Arnold addresses audience sense.
Danny: Last Tuesday.	Danny suggests appropriate wording.

Chunk #4 cont'd.

Transcript	Interpretation
Arnold: Last Tuesday night at 6:30.	Arnold incorporates Danny's suggestion into his own.

Arnold suggested more clarification by adding a word, "last," to the text. The text was now, "Kevin already had his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30." Angie's move here was to add the word to the sentence. This was the topic sentence that was retained in the final version of the message. Note that this was an unsupported conversation among students; there was no teacher prompt. The students were in control of the conversation, acting agentively to construct text, select speakers, share new ideas, and appropriate one another's suggestions.

The next segment is procedural rather than topical. Jessie, a low performing student, called for a rereading of the text.

Chunk #5: Rereading the text

Transcript	Interpretation
T: Make sure you call on everybody. Lots of people that [inaudible]	Angie prompts Kevin to call on someone.
K: Jessie.	
J: Because	Jessie seems at a loss for words.
T: Because	Angie prompts Jessie.
T and Ss read the first sentence: Kevin already had his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30.	Angie and students reread.
T: Call on new people. Quickly.	Angie again prompts Kevin.

The only evaluation of Jessie's suggestion offered by the teacher was one of the highest forms of evaluation, that is, accepting her suggestion and acting on it (Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991). In this way, Angie positioned Jessie as influential in the community, because, in this instance, what she said was acted upon. While Jessie did not contribute to the content of the sentence, her suggestion was valuable in invoking the procedural rules of

this particular task.

To illustrate the distribution of expertise in this lesson, it should be pointed out that neither Jack nor Jessie were students with special needs. The reader might have assumed that they were, because their contributions to the conversation during this section of the lesson consisted of adding a period and calling for a rereading of the text, both moves often used by lower performing students. Thus, it can be assumed that specific discourse moves, although often used by lower performing students, were not reserved exclusively for them. In other words, student participation in the conversation was not "tracked" by type of contribution encouraged or allowed.

In addition to the previous exchange, there were several points in the Morning Message lesson where negotiation of meaning with respect to the construction of the topic sentence might have concluded; however, students continued to challenge the text and offer suggestions.

Chunk #6: More clarification of meaning.

Transcript	Interpretation
Kevin: Ryan?	Kevin calls on Ryan.
Ryan: Um, last Tuesday night isn't going to make sense because it's [parent newsletter] gonna come out this Friday, so if it's last Tuesday, it would be last last Tuesday, so it wouldn't be this game tonight, it would be last week Tuesday.	Ryan continues to address audience sense.
T: But there's something up here that clarifies that. Do you see what's up here that would clarify that for the reader?	Angie uses the text as resource to clarify.
R: No.	
K: [inaudible]	
T: And the date. So they know we're writing it today, and they're gonna know it was the last Tuesday.	
R: Yeah but we, my idea is you could put Kevin had because already had his soccer game sounds like you're just saying Kevin already had a soccer game and [inaudible], I know you didn't put that, but it should be "Kevin had a soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30."	Ryan makes a suggestion.

Chunk #6 cont'd.	
T looks at Kevin.	
K: Leave it.	Kevin decides to leave it as it is.
T: Leave it? Okay, but that's good. [To Marta] Did you get Ryan down?	

The discussion of the topic sentence might have ended with the rereading, but Ryan wanted one more opportunity to deal with the meaning. He took the point of view of the distant audience, the parents who would be reading this account in the class newsletter, trying to anticipate what sense they might make of the time frame. He suggested a good sentence, "Kevin had a soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30." Angie might have accepted this as improved text; however, with a glance she turned the decision back to Kevin, who decided to keep the sentence as it was. Angie attempted to deal with Ryan's question by referring him to the text. By so doing, she might have closed the issue, but in this classroom, teachers did not always have the last word, and so Ryan continued to pursue his idea. Kevin, as official author, had the last word.

One more adjustment needed to be made to the topic sentence.

Chunk #7: Finishing the sentence by adding a capital letter.

Transcript	Interpretation
K: Cassie?	
C: Tuesday needs to be capitalized.	Suggests a capital letter.
T: Because?	Angie probes for understanding and to make this thinking visible for all.
C: It's a	
T: It's	
C: Proper noun.	Grammar item.
T: Good. It's a proper noun.	

With the addition of a capital letter to the word "Tuesday," the topic sentence finally came to resolution. Angie functioned here in her role of literacy broker by asking Cassie to

state the reason for the capital letter, thus making visible to all this particular writing convention. To make it even more visible, she added "proper noun" to the list of grammar elements she recorded on the chalkboard as they arose during the lesson. Why had Angie not capitalized "Tuesday" at first? First, when the teachers recorded students' talk, they wrote it without adding writing conventions. Second, teachers trusted students to identify when conventions were required. Had Cassie not suggested capitalizing "Tuesday," Angie might have provided a direct prompt before the end of the entire lesson, but she did not rush to do so. When Cassie suggested the change, Angie's prompt of "because" allowed Cassie to take the teacher role in explaining the reason for the change, and also provided an opportunity for other students to access Cassie's thinking as to why the capital letter was needed.

Teacher Talk in the Morning Message Lesson

In this Morning Message episode, Angie spoke often, but only about 50% of the total talk during the lesson was teacher talk, a low percentage for the average classroom (Edwards & Mercer, 1987). In fact, the actual percentage might be a bit lower, because several student utterances were inaudible on the videotape and so were not counted. Angie's utterances were sorted into categories and percentages of words belonging to the various categories were computed (see Table 9).

Table 9

Types and Percentages of Teacher's Talk During Morning Message

Type of talk	Percentage of talk
Questions	19%
Literacy content	38%
Morning Message procedure	35%
Other	4%

Quickly glanced over, much of the dialogue in the transcript might appear to consist of the triadic I-R-E sequence (Mehan, 1979). Indeed, 19% of Angie's talk was contained in questions. However, 61% of her questions were turning back moves, referring an issue

back to students for problem solving and decision making. Typical of such questions were: "What do you want?" "What do you want to say?" What would you do?" "Suggestion?" "You want me to write that?" "You want me to put that in there?" In this way, Angie used questions to transfer control of the conversation to students.

Over 70% of her talk addressed literacy content and Morning Message task structure. Literacy elements dealt with included genré, tense, proper nouns, punctuation, possessives, sense making, spelling, conjunctions, concise writing, and word choice. Morning Message task structure included rereading, using the "W" question words, alternating proper names and referent pronouns, and suggesting changes to the text. Almost all of these elements received extra focus through Angie's comments, either by asking students why they suggested a period or capital letter, or by providing the information herself, as in "That's the tense...It's already past, so we call it past tense." In this way, Angie embedded a large amount of grammar and other writing skills instruction in the context of constructing a realistic fiction.

Often this embedding of writing instruction provided immediate results later in the same lesson. At one point when the audience contribution and questions slowed down, Angie reminded students of "our" question words (implying joint ownership, prior knowledge, and use of the practice) and suggested that students could use the question words to think of additional questions to ask the author of the Morning Message. Five speaking turns later, Mark, a special education student, used a question word to ask a question, "Where did you go and play soccer?" In another example, after the "Kevin-he-Kevin-he" question arose the first time, students focused attention on this issue several additional times during the lesson. For instance, Dustin, a special education target student, called for a check on this sequence. Had Angie not made these practices visible and available for anyone to appropriate, Mark and Dustin might have had limited access to this writing activity. Angie and Rhonda had not planned these experiences for the two boys and might not have predicted that these would be the skills the boys would deal with on that day, but because

of the wide bandwidth (Brown & Reeve, 1987) of opportunity available in this lesson, these students, and all of the students, were able to select items from the "menu" of skills, experimenting with and appropriating new skills. This was one way in which they might push their own ZPD.

Thus, the function of Angie's talk during the lesson was to align students with the literacy content of the lesson and with each other as collaborators in text construction, as well as to position students as authoritative decision makers with respect to the text constructed. Several metaphors describe her role in the lesson. As conduit, she redistributed students' ideas for others to consider. As billboard, she noted what was "on the table" and available for comment. As literacy broker, she negotiated links between students' prior literacy knowledge and their new learning. In this way, her discourse moves supported the goal of empowering students to become independent learners. For Angie and Rhonda, this meant that students should gain literacy content and metacognitive skills related to writing and collaborative interaction necessary for community membership, both in the local classroom community and in their future lives.

Writing Workshop: Building Formal Writing Skills

Writing Workshop was a site for a variety of types of writing experiences, of which process writing (Calkins, 1986) was one. During the Writing Workshop time slot, students also did theme writing (connected with science and social studies curriculum) and other genré writing such as character study, poetry, realistic fiction, critiques, tall tales, explanation, persuasive essay, and report writing. Study of these particular genrés was required by the new state curriculum standards and benchmarks, illustrating how teachers' autonomy is always delimited by larger systems. However, Angie and Rhonda also believed in the importance of skilled writing in a variety of genrés. Thus, writing assignments in Writing Workshop were divided over the course of the year between focusing on the structure and characteristics of these genrés and more open-ended "traditional Writing Workshop where they make their own choices" (teacher interview).

Teacher and Student Roles in Writing Workshop

Typical of the nature of teacher-student relationships in this classroom, Angie and Rhonda shared responsibility for writing instruction with their students. Although the sequence of writing activity generally followed a plan-write-revise-edit-publish pattern, they emphasized that Writing Workshop rules were decided by students rather than teachers. To develop the rules which guided their writing, students and teachers brainstormed about

> what should we be doing, what would make good quality text, what should we do when we are editing....A lot of the stuff we do, we try and make sure the class is making this decision, that this would make quality writing. (interview)

Angie and Rhonda understood their role in the Writing Workshop as one of responding individually to and pushing the development of each child, whether or not the child was identified as having a disability. At any one time, different children might be working on different writing skills, such as self-editing, story structure, writing conventions, or text organization (beginning, middle, end). Each child was held to his or her own individual trajectory of improvement. Not only were there no universal academic objectives in Writing Workshop, the diversity of developmental trajectories due to the wide range of ages present in the community was enormous (Cooper & Valli, 1996).

The on-going and on-line assessment of the progress of so many students was complex. Angie and Rhonda found that knowing at any moment the exact point of development for each student, deciding where to push students for their further development, and having a sense of the scope and sequence of possible writing knowledge in order to make on-the-spot decisions was an enormous task. They wistfully imagined a material support to mediate this task:

> A single sheet for this level and this level, some kind of idea where they're at and to know what are we working on, where are we going with them, because I think it's really hard sometimes to come up with what's going on right there on the moment. ... If I knew what I really needed, instead of saying, "What are you working on today? How's it going?" I could say, "We haven't talked about this" (interview).

Student roles in Writing Workshop varied. Students were allowed to seek support from

and encouraged to share expertise with other students in ad hoc tutor-tutee configurations: "They can talk to others. With a multi-age room, they're all mixed up together, and they can talk. We encourage them. ...They can get help with [spelling] in their group" (interview). Students were also encouraged to establish collaborative writing relationships for the purpose of co-authoring texts. Angie and Rhonda encouraged students to experiment with both individual and collaborative writing.

Socially, Angie and Rhonda saw Writing Workshop as a site for building community. They noticed that when students worked together, good things happened:

> It kind of happened by accident in Writing Workshop that we noticed that children that would never play together, that would probably hardly ever speak to each other, suddenly were choosing each other to write together. Very strange partnerships. ...Now [that] we've seen it happen, it's a goal...to encourage that kind of thing to happen again, to choose different people at different times to work with. (interview)

This chapter illustrates two types of Writing Workshop: the "regular" (teachers's term, transcript) process writing approach where students choose their own topics, and prescribed writing activity focusing on various genrés, such as the persuasive essay episode described below.

"Regular" Writing Workshop

"Regular" Writing workshop provided the foundation for all other Writing Workshop activities. It was the default structure for Writing Workshop in the absence of special writing emphases. In this section I describe regular Writing Workshop practice in general and specifically as illustrated by Marta's participation.

General description of regular Writing Workshop. Angie and Rhonda typically began "regular" Writing Workshop sessions by reviewing Writing Workshop guidelines.

T: We're going to do "regular" Writing Workshop.
Ss cheer.
T: We only did this once last week.
Ss begin to be noisy as they get into their desks to find their notebooks.
T: Wait. What's the first thing you do, Ned?
Ned: [inaudible]
T: You reread what you wrote last time. Then what do you do?
Diane: [inaudible]
T: Write the date where you're going to start this time. You have to make a

decision, don't you? Paul, what do you need to decide?
Paul: Whether you want to finish or [inaudible]
T: Okay, keep working on another story or start a new one. What are our boundaries right now? Diane?
Diane: Realistic fiction.
T: Realistic fiction or you can still do n, nar, (*Rhonda provides a prompt*)
Ss: Narrative.
T: Narrative. That means you're writing about something that happened to you, about yourself, from your point of view. Realistic fiction means you can go out there and do a little making up, but it has to be able to really happen. Okay, go ahead and get started. Reread. Make that decision. Get the date on there and go.

Students cheered, indicating their appreciation of and preference for the freedom of choice reflected in the guidelines for the session. Students could decide which of three courses to take: (a) finishing the current story, (b) keep working on it, or (c) starting a new story. If they elected to start a new story, the choices were narrative (old, familiar genré) or realistic fiction (new genré).

The sequence of activity and rules that governed "regular" Writing Workshop generally followed those commonly associated with process writing programs (Calkins, 1986): draft, peer conference, teacher conference, revise, and publish. Students were expected to make decisions about where they were in the process, and this autonomy was underscored by the teacher when she said,"Hold up your hand if you need a peer conference or peer editing. Look at your story. If it's not done, finish it. If it's done, have a peer conference." In addition to decisions about process, the teachers also encouraged all students to make decisions about skills to work on. A teacher pressed André, a student with learning disabilities, to reflect on his personal writing needs by asking him, "Are you working on any skill today? Particular skills? What are you trying real hard to work on? Using the lines of the paper, maybe? Good printing? Capitals and periods?" Other students such as Arnold, a general education student, were expected to make decisions about pacing: "Four pages, okay. Could you finish up tomorrow then, would that be a good plan? What do you think?" This is not to suggest that particular writing skills were reserved for certain levels of students, but that the teachers calibrated their support to match the particular individual needs of each student they worked with, and that the nature of participation was

predominantly student defined rather than teacher defined.

Students had several options for structuring relationships around writing text. They could participate in short ad hoc consultations to, for instance, spell a word. The class rules for spelling during most kinds of writing activities included three options: (a) try to spell it yourself (invented spelling was encouraged), or (b) ask someone at your table, before (c) asking a teacher. Students could also choose whether to write independently or to collaborate with a partner over multiple writing sessions. Although they encouraged collaboration, Angie and Rhonda admitted at the end of the year that they had been able to structure fewer opportunities for collaboration into the Writing Workshop format than they would have liked. They cited lack of space as the major reason for why students did not often collaborate this year. Recall that, although they had two classrooms, the classrooms were physically located far apart in the school building. Collaborative writing requires space for students to get together and talk, perhaps finding a space on the floor to sit with their partner and their writing materials. Angie and Rhonda's choices were to split the class (and the teachers), which was a threat to the collaborative teaching model they used, or to keep everyone in one classroom, which was a threat to student collaboration due to lack of space in which students could work. Thus, they made an effort to accommodate students who requested to partner write within the constraints of their situation, but did not require collaborations.

Marta's participation in regular Writing Workshop. To illustrate how regular Writing Workshop typically worked for students with learning disabilities, I offer the example of Marta. During regular Writing Workshop, students wrote their stories in spiral notebooks, their primary Writing Workshop materials. Marta's September entries included a book summary and some jokes. Beginning in October, however, she tended to write personal narratives. These might be about going places--to her dad's house, to a carnival, to her friend's house, or to an amusement park--or about her dog or her cat. In the following example written in April, Marta wrote about going to a different school next school year.

The text of her story, written entirely during one Writing Workshop session, was: When I git in fourth grad, I will be going to cold creek School. Cold creek is a doys and grols club too. The ead. (When I get in fourth grade, I will be going to Cold Creek School. Cold Creek is a boys and girl club, too. The end.) This was accompanied by a picture at the bottom of the page depicting herself and a friend at Cold Creek School. This was one of her shorter stories, the others being two or three times longer and generally unillustrated. I chose to focus on the "Cold Creek School" writing episode because of the videotaped peer interactions associated with it.

Marta's activity during this episode was coded as occurring in several phases. The first phase was getting to work. For Marta, this took some time, as she was involved with cleaning out a small pencil sharpener. Based on other observations of Marta's activity during Writing Workshop, delaying the beginning of writing was typical for Marta.

The second type was Marta's independent writing. Marta kept her independent writing private, rather than sharing her progress or her thoughts. She was approached several times by a teacher or teacher intern who attempted to initiate a conversation with Marta concerning her writing, but with little success.

T: Can you think of something to write?
M: [no response]
* * * *
TI: I see you're just getting started here. What are your ideas?
M: Don't know. How do you spell "fourth"?
TI: F - o - u - r. That spells "four," and then "the" at the end. (*Looks over Marta's shoulder at her writing.*) Sounds like it might be real. Writing what you think will happen in the fourth grade?
M: In fourth grade, I'll be at Cold Creek.
TI: You'll be at Cold Creek! Really! Do you think you might be moving schools?
M: (*nods and resumes writing*)

Marta apparently had her chosen topic in mind, but was not generous in sharing it with teachers. She also did not readily share her thoughts and intentions with peers. Although she allowed herself to be drawn at several points into conversations around a story which Jenny, another low performing student was writing, Marta did not volunteer to share information about her own story, nor did Jenny inquire about Marta's story. Still, although

Marta seemed to maintain a sense of reserve, her journal did allow her to share her possible worlds. Although Marta was private, her text offered a portal into her private thoughts. Marta appeared to protect her text from what she might have construed as meddling. She protected her time and attention by not responding to initiations from teachers or peers, and, once when Jenny persisted, by saying, "No, I'm trying to write." Marta's protective behaviors can be viewed as agentive action. Marta displayed reserve and a sense of private space and activity, even distancing herself by saying, "No, I'm trying to write."

A third phase in this writing episode entailed Marta's involvement with Jenny's story. Jenny initiated all of the girls' conversations. The exchanges focused on two areas: meaning and spelling. Jenny's story was about the Easter bunny and a dog. The two girls talked about whether there really was an Easter bunny and how many there were. During the lesson, Jenny also requested spelling assistance for "Easter bunny," "dog," and "tomorrow" which Marta attempted to provide. Her spelling strategies included conventional spelling (dog, bunny), invented spelling (e-s-t for Easter), and using alternate words (substituting "day" for "tomorrow"). Marta seemed to accept being called upon as a resource for Jenny, and twice walked over to Jenny's desk to either tell her how to spell a word or to write it for her.

It is evident that Marta both saw herself and was positioned by others as "expert" in this writing activity, someone able to tutor other students. Marta was able to step into this role because she had had modeled, and was able to appropriate, several years of specifically and reiterated modeling and instruction in the social participation structures of classroom lessons. Because of her low reading skill, Marta, in a more traditional classroom, might not have had the opportunity to demonstrate her literacy skills through a type of peer coaching. A different teacher might have decided that she lacked readiness for peer coaching due to her low performance levels in reading and writing. However, in this classroom, where teachers responded to students' individual needs and strengths, found entry points for all students into the literate discourse as practiced in this classroom, and offered the necessary

scaffolds to accomplish assignments, Marta was afforded the opportunity to fulfill an important function in the community of learners.

This episode illustrated both a type of writing instruction--"regular" Writing Workshop--and a level of activity--individual and private. In the Watkins classroom, students were afforded choices with respect to their private work. In the above episode, Marta could choose to collaborate with a peer, to consult with a peer, or to write privately. She determined her own level of participation, and her decision was respected.

I turn now to another type of writing instruction, genré writing, which took place during Writing Workshop lessons.

Writing Workshop: General Description of the Persuasive Essay Episode

The sequence to be examined here focused on the development of the "persuasive writing" genré, a skill required by the new state model for literacy instruction. Recall that in all writing activities, Angie and Rhonda sought authentic reasons and audiences for writing. Persuasive writing was no different. Rhonda, the general education teacher in this collaboration and who directed this particular Writing Workshop sequence, had a ready-made subject to motivate exploration of the persuasive genré: the acquisition of school soccer goals at Watkins. Watkins School had no soccer goals on its playing field. Playing without soccer goals created obvious difficulties, among which were the disputes arising over whether or not a goal had been scored. A committee of teachers and parents had been active for some time in the expectation of convincing the school board to approve their request for school soccer goals, and students in the class were highly interested in this topic. Rhonda told them she was considering sending their final essays to the school board in support of soccer goals.

Also motivating instruction in the persuasive essay genré was a state requirement relating to writing instruction and social studies. The state model suggested a four-component structure for persuasive essays: (a) a statement of the author's clear position (Clear Position, referred to in abbreviated form as CP), (b) reference to data supporting the

author's position (Data Given, or DG), (c) use of prior knowledge to support the author's view (Prior Social Studies Knowledge, or PSSK), and (d) reference to democratic values in support of one's position (Core Democratic Value, or CDV). Rhonda's plan was to require students' essays to be comprised of four paragraphs, with each component represented in a paragraph. Each paragraph required a topic sentence and supporting details, a structure with which the students were by now familiar.

Rhonda planned a sequence of instruction aligning with the expository writing model Angie had developed through many years of teaching special education students. The prototypical expository sequence began with teacher modeling and whole class composition of a report. During this first part of the sequence, the teacher provided a large amount of input, think-aloud, and guidance as she modeled and composed written text with the group. The second part of the sequence involved small group collaboration for writing text. In small groups, students were supported with opportunities to draw upon the shared knowledge and expertise of peers as well as teachers, before being required to produce text independently. Rhonda made this progression explicit when she said to the class:

> We are going to work in small groups so that gets everybody a little more active...We want to get to that point of writing your own, but I think it's too big a jump to go from whole group to individual (transcript).

On another day during the persuasive writing sequence she again referenced this sequence as she reminded students to attend to the lesson: "You're all going to have to do this by yourself soon. This is your practice with the whole group time." Thus, the third part of the prototypical sequence required students to independently write their own individual texts. However, the sequence was not completed, because time ran out at the end of the school year, preventing students from writing individual persuasive essays.

Rhonda introduced the persuasive writing episode by involving students in her explanation of the genré and what they would be doing.

R: This morning we are going on a journey of writing that will cause someone else to change their thinking or so we can do something we want. What do we call that type of writing?

Ned: Persuading
R: Persuading. I'm sure you all have done something like this...You really want some new roller blades. You want something new that you think you need, but your parents don't agree. So you are going to beg and cry and plead?
Ss: Yes. (*Nod.*)
R: Oh, that doesn't work at my house.

In this way, Rhonda first identified a situation likely experienced by every student that would be appropriate for using persuasion and then employed a nonexemplar to clarify what persuading did not involve, specifically, begging, crying, and pleading. Ryan offered an example of persuading activity, based on his personal experience,.

Ryan: Also persuading them you could say all my friends have new roller blades and they're going to make fun of me and laugh at me if I don't have them.
T: I don't know if that would carry weight. We will learn the best way to persuade them. So I think you've got the idea of persuading down.

Rhonda confirmed Ryan's example of persuasion, noting also that they will learn other, better ways of persuading. She also involved students in the selection of the practice issue by making a connection with class involvement in a virtual computer journey through Africa, located at a site, Globalearn (2000), which periodically updated the exploring team's progress through Africa.

T: What did you vote on today on Globalearn?
S: Wearing uniforms to school.
T: That was the issue...We are going to take the issue of wearing uniforms to school.

Because persuasive writing involved the learning of new concepts and writing skills, Rhonda provided opportunities for students' active involvement in her presentation, connecting with their prior knowledge and personal experience, both inside and out of the classroom.

After the issue had been identified, Rhonda helped the students think about their audience and the type of evidence they might use to support their position.

T: I want you to think, whose opinion, if in our school the grown-ups started to think about wearing uniforms in [our town], who would we write to?
Paul: The people to are making us wear uniforms.
S: The governor.
T: The governor is in charge of the whole state.
S: The mayor.
T: You're closer. Is he is charge of just the schools? He's in charge of other things

too.
S: The...school district guy.
T: Dr. Hayden now, Dr. Binns soon. Also the school board. They and Dr. Hayden are the ones with the power.
* * *
T: Who do we want to ask?
Ss: Students, parents, teachers, school staff.

Persuasive writing requires an audience, in other words, someone to persuade. Again, Rhonda structured her instruction as a problem-solving task: to whom should we write and why. When she could, she connected the learning task to a real world situation, in fact, one that her students might someday have to address in the world that "isn't me me me, it's the world out there" (teacher interview).

On the second day of the sequence, and still with the whole class, Rhonda introduced the four-point persuasive essay text structure. Following the four-point model, Rhonda guided the class to construct possible topic sentences for what would eventually become the four paragraphs of the essay. The four topic sentences they constructed, corresponding to the four components of the essay, were "I don't think we should wear school uniforms" (clear position); "Most students, parents, teachers, and other staff don't want uniforms" (data given); "My friend goes to a school where they wear uniforms, and he doesn't like it" (prior social studies knowledge); and "Our core democratic value of diversity would be violated if we had to wear uniforms" (core democratic value).

The third and fourth days were devoted to whole class composition of the four paragraphs with an output of two paragraphs per day. Rhonda guided the class's work. Examples of the discursive interactions which produced these paragraphs and accompanying analyses appear below. On day five, she introduced the topic for the second phase of the writing sequence, the small group writing assignment--persuading the school board to install soccer goals at the school. On this day, the participant framework changed from whole-class instruction to small-group collaboration. Because the class, functioning as a committee of the whole for four days, had composed a four-paragraph essay on the topic of school uniforms, Rhonda felt they were ready to assume more of the self-

regulatory functions related to the writing task (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992). Groups were based largely on existing table group configurations, which were heterogeneous in terms of male/female, special/general education, age, and grade. On this day, each groups's task was to collaboratively compose four topic sentences, one for each paragraph in the essay structure, and then proceed to write the text for the first full paragraph, the Clear Position. On succeeding days, the groups continued their work on their soccer goal essays, writing one paragraph each day.

The data examined here comprise an 18-minute segment of videotape made on the third day of the persuasive writing unit. The task for the 18 minutes was the collaborative construction of the first paragraph of the essay, the paragraph which dealt with a statement of clear position. The result of the 18 minutes of collaboration was four supporting sentences added to the previously constructed topic sentence. Together, the previously constructed topic sentence and the additional supporting sentences comprised the completed paragraph. Analysis of small group interaction is included in the next section.

Writing Workshop: Practicing the Dispositions, Skills, and Conventions of Writing

Using our knowledge of this class's history of and experience with whole group text construction, let us now consider whole class text composition during the persuasive writing episode. Whereas during Morning Message the teachers attended to text structure, writing conventions, and sense making, during the persuasive writing sequence, writing conventions dropped out for reasons we shall note later, and the emphasis was on text structure and sense making.

Text structure. As with Morning Message, the teacher addressed issues of text structure. Some of the structural issues directly addressed the requirements of the four-point structure for persuasive essays. Rhonda reviewed the four points with the students before every writing session.

T: Here's your challenge. If you're writing a persuasive article or paper, what are the four things you need?

In addition to the four-point structure, other structural considerations referenced the community's historical knowledge of, for example, paragraph structure. In the following segment, Rhonda referred to topic sentences and to the number of detail sentences required for a complete paragraph.

T: Let's read our topic sentence for clear position.
Ss: (*Reading in unison.*) I don't think we should wear school uniforms.
T: We need to add at least how many more sentences to have this be a complete paragraph? Show me with fingers.
Ss raise two and three fingers.
T: I will accept either two or three because a paragraph has to have three sentences. We have one; we need two more. Three would be great.

Sense making. As with Morning Message, much of the dialogue surrounding text construction dealt with coherence and sense making. This dialogue took the form of negotiation, rather than the I-R-E pattern that often typifies the participation structures of whole class lessons (Cazden, 1988). Although Rhonda, as teacher, held the felt-tip marker, the symbol of power over the final text, she maintained a careful balance between explicitly guiding students' actions during text construction, on the one hand, and, on the other, sharing decision-making power with them.

In the following analysis, sense-making is a dominant goal and activity in the negotiations that result in the eventual paragraph. Text construction proceeded sentence by sentence. Production of the first three supporting sentences was relatively uncomplicated. The fourth supporting sentence, however, required more complex negotiation before it was accepted.

Constructing the First Supporting Sentence. In the following segment, Rhonda and the students began to construct the second sentence for the Clear Position paragraph of the practice essay on school uniforms. The previously-constructed topic (first) sentence was: "I don't think we should wear school uniforms." However, prior to composing the next sentence, Rhonda took a detour to gather resources through brainstorming. In the following segment, Rhonda asked for a sentence, thought aloud about the requirements of the sentence, and conducted a brief brainstorming activity. Final versions of the sentences

eventually written into the text are indicated by bolding in this and the following transcript segments.

T: This is where we need to be careful. We want to give some reasons without taking stuff away from our following paragraphs. We want to make sure it's going to fit in here best. What could our next sentence be? Can anyone think of a next sentence? "I don't think we should wear school uniforms." Do we want to include data here? No. Do we want to use all of our pre-social studies knowledge? No, we could be a little vague. Here. We're going to have to use some prior knowledge here. Do we want to state our core democratic value here? Probably not. What can we do? Paul? Have you got an idea?

Paul: I have an idea for a reason. You could put something like a lot of people wouldn't want, I don't want them because I should have to wash my uniforms on the weekend and I might not have enough time.

T: Any reasons that could come up here? Let's just brainstorm for awhile. Let's put a few ideas up here. Having to wash them. What are some other reasons why we don't want to wear school uniforms?

Cassie: They also be white and they get dirty.

T begins a list.

Kiley: They cost money.

T: (*adding to the list*) Okay, they cost money. Okay. I'll put a dollar sign up here to remind us about the money thing.

S: You might have to iron them.

T: Oh, you might have to iron them. That would be [inaudible]. Okay, wash, we'll just add "and iron." That's a good one. I hadn't thought of that one.

T adds "and iron" to "wash."

Mark: You have to buy another one if you get a hole in it.

T: Okay, You would have to keep replacing.

Mark: And you have to buy the same ones every single time.

T: Yup. So it would be what? If you're doing the same thing every single time, what starts happening? You get // bored, right? So they'd be boring?

Mark: Yeah.

T writes.

T: Okay, let's take those ideas that we have and start putting them into sentences. Those are all good ones.

Rhonda first modeled a thinking process and a planning strategy students could use when planning the requirements of the paragraph. She asked patterned questions that eliminated other possible purposes: "Do we want data here? No. Do we want to use...? No. Do we want to state...? Probably not."

Next, she initiated a brief brainstorming activity to gather more resources for the paragraph. Students suggested six ideas to shape the content of the paragraph, in the following order: "wash," "get dirty," cost (which Rhonda represented with a dollar sign), "iron" (which Rhonda added to "wash" as in "wash and iron"), "keep replacing," and

"boring." These six ideas provided the conceptual resources for the paragraph Rhonda and the students worked to construct. Rhonda did not have a predetermined idea of the content of this paragraph, and it was likely that she was as in need of resources as the students might have been. However, once the ideas had been offered and listed, they became the criteria for the content of the paragraph. Students referenced them, and Rhonda guided students to include them in the paragraph.

After the short brainstorm, Kevin suggested a sentence quite similar to Paul's; however, Cassie repeated Mark's earlier suggestion, which was taken up by Rhonda.

Kevin: You could write wash and iron and plus you have to dry them....
T: ...Okay, I need a sentence. That was a good idea to add another idea.
Cassie: You would have to keep buying [inaudible]
T: You would have to keep buying the same uniforms? "I don't think we should wear school uniforms." Should we start out, now when we are doing, should we write, just start and say, we would have to buy, we would have to, can you guys see that back there?
T writes.
T: To keep. How did you say it, Cassie? Buying...Would have to keep buying the same clothing. Okay, that leads into another thing that we brainstormed, I think, though, see how that might lead in?
T: Let's reread this real quick. Everyone sit up straight and tall. Up, up... Here we go.
T and Ss reread: **I don't think we should wear school uniforms. You would have to keep buying the same clothes**.

Cassie repeated Mark's earlier idea about buying the "same uniforms." At this point there were three ideas on the table: Paul's, Kevin's, and Cassie's. Rhonda took up and considered Mark's/Cassie's idea, which was related to cost or money, in the following sequence. First, she repeated what Cassie suggested. Then she repeated the topic sentence. Her next utterance was a think-aloud, a model of the type of thinking an author might use during the drafting phase, as she tried first one idea and then another, with several false starts and unfinished thoughts. Finally, she began to turn the students' thought into a written sentence, again consulting Cassie for appropriate wording. At this point, Rhonda anticipated the content of the next sentence, although this can only be noted in hindsight. As she spoke the phrase, "the same clothing," she likely thought of the brainstormed concept, "boring," which the next sentence addressed.

Rhonda's final action in this portion of the lesson was to engage all students in a rereading of the text constructed at this point. Choral rereading provided lower-performing students with an opportunity for voice-print matching in the context of supportive group activity. The interactions portrayed in this part of the lesson present a clear demonstration of joint problem solving in the work of text construction. Rhonda managed the social participation structure; however, her role in the subject matter task was much less managerial and closer to one of being a co-participant in the activity. Together, Paul, Cassie, and Rhonda co-constructed a useable supporting sentence.

Constructing the second and third supporting sentences. Construction of the second and third supporting sentences of the paragraph was fairly straightforward, in that Rhonda and students turned several of the brainstormed ideas into complete sentences without extensive negotiation. In the following segment, Rhonda used, with little modification, students' suggestions for the next two sentences.

T: What's the next sentence that comes to your mind? I need some help from you.
Tara: [inaudible]
T: Okay, you want that one next, though? That's a good one. Can you hold on to it, though? I'm kind of not doing what I usually do, write it right up here, to save time on the editing process here. Andre, what do you think? You buy the same clothes
A: [inaudible]
S: [inaudible]
T: Okay, to wear the same clothes every day. Boring.
T writes: ***You would have to wear the same clothes every day and that would be boring.***
T: You might even want to do a little editing on that one. Okay, I'll go back to Tara right now. What did you say?
Tara: You would have to get up early in the morning to iron your clothes.
T: **You would have to get up early in the morning to iron your clothes**.
T writes this sentence.
T: Okay, we're working pretty good. We've just about got this one finished, I think. We've got the boring part and the ironing part.

Rhonda's final utterance provides insight into her strategy for this part of the paragraph. Using ideas from the brainstormed list—"boring" and "ironing"—she invited students to offer suggestions for complete sentences. Tara repeated the idea, ironing, she had contributed to the brainstormed list, but Rhonda decided to hold that in abeyance for a

moment. Perhaps she had decided to use the "boring" idea. Here we note that, although Rhonda did not have a predetermined plan for the content of this paragraph, she revealed evidence of her plans for an emerging structure based on the brainstormed ideas contributed by the students. Accordingly, Rhonda responded to Andre's raised hand, prompting him with the idea she had in mind, "You buy the same clothes." Andre and an unidentified student modified Rhonda's idea to suggest the sentence that Rhonda wrote: "You would have to wear the same clothes every day and that would be boring."

At that point, Rhonda returned to Tara's idea. Rhonda imported her restated sentence without modification into the text. She remarked on their progress metacognitively, "We're working pretty good," and noted specific content, "We've got the 'boring' part and the 'ironing' part." Ideas left unaddressed on the brainstormed list were cost and "get dirty." These were the prompts Rhonda used to begin consideration of a final sentence for the paragraph.

Constructing the fourth supporting sentence. Whereas construction of the first three supporting sentences required rather uncomplicated collaboration to compose text, construction of the final sentence of the paragraph proved to be much more complex. A word count of the dialogue engaged in during the construction of the first three supporting sentences indicates that Rhonda and the students used a total of 630 teacher and student words to construct the three sentences. By contrast, negotiations related to the fourth supporting sentence alone required 957 words before the sentence was finalized. What happened to account for this complexity? What were teacher and student roles in the verbal interactions?

To structure the discursive activity surrounding the construction of the final sentence in the paragraph, this piece of discourse can be parsed into four sections. Each of the first three sections ends with a possible stopping point; however, something happens to extend the discussion. At the first possible stopping point, Rhonda wrote a sentence on the board. When we consider the pattern of dialogue used in the construction of the prior sentences,

we can speculate that she considered the sentence and the paragraph completed. However, a student suggested an editing move to shorten the sentence, providing a second possible stopping point. This was followed by additional attempts to modify and shorten the sentence, a third possible end point of the discussion. However, just as she was about to do this, another idea intervened to take the discussion in yet another direction.

Writing the sentence concluded with the first site for potential resolution of the paragraph. Rhonda began with an invitation for a new sentence as she referenced the brainstormed list: "We want to add any of these?" She called on Marta, a special education student, who had her hand up, but when called upon, seemed inarticulate.

T: We want to add any of these? We don't have to use them all. It's just our brainstorm. Marta?////
T: You want a sentence about clothes getting dirty and or how much they cost? What were you thinking? Do you want to make a sentence about getting dirty? Okay. We may be able to put these two together. And we may need to add this one on in here somewhere. Marta, do you have a sentence about them getting dirty? What is it?
T: Someone help Marta? Marta, choose somebody to help you in your sentence about getting dirty. Do not choose someone who's bugging you. /// Hurry.
Marta: Dustin.

Marta's act of hand raising signaled her understanding of the social participation structure of this lesson. However, when called upon, she had difficulty in providing a response. Rhonda allowed her to select another student to answer for her, participation by proxy. In the following segment, Dustin, another student with a learning disability, participated in the lesson.

Dustin: Eating lunch.
T: How's that gonna? Is eating lunch a whole sentence?
D: No.
T: No. Can you make that into a whole sentence?
D: Eating lunch.
T: Tell me what would happen. Food would
D: Eating lunch. At lunchtime
T: At lunchtime, food might
D: Drop
T: Drop on your
D: Uniform.
T: Uniform. And then you would have to what?
D: Clean it.
T: Wash them.

T writes this on the board: ***At lunchtime, food might dirty your uniform and you would have to wash it.***

Dustin's idea may have been appropriate for this sentence, but he had difficulty expressing it. "Eating lunch" required elaboration and a connection to the "get dirty" idea on the table. Rhonda worked with him, providing scaffolding that supported his contribution to the paragraph. The resulting sentence had internal coherence and made sense in the paragraph. At this point, the paragraph might have been complete; however, in this classroom, such determination was not entirely the prerogative of the teacher.

Shortening the sentence provided a second point of possible resolution. At this point Paul suggested a revision of Dustin's sentence that would be more succinct, succinctness being a motive that Rhonda had suggested as appropriate writing behavior. Rhonda then placed Paul's suggestion "on the table," as it were, for class consideration.

T: Paul? Your hand was up before? It went down? Go ahead, if you want to make any adjustments?
Paul: [inaudible]
T: Paul, just a second. Over on this side of the room I'm hearing voices. Go ahead, Paul.
P: I have an idea for a sentence. When you get dirty you have to wash it, which would be a lot shorter. [inaudible]
T: Okay, they would, you get dirty and you have to wash it. Do you want to change it, class? Thumbs up if you want to change the dirty one. Remember how we talked about making it shorter, making our writing shorter, using less words but still having a paragraph? If you're not sure, fine. Thumbs up for 'Yeah, let's change it.' Thumbs down for 'No.'

Condensing the sentence might have been an appropriate solution at this point, but again, resolution was avoided. Rhonda again turned the decision and the composing activity back to the students.

A second try at shortening the sentence might have brought resolution, but did not. Failing to sense a class consensus, Rhonda opened the process to Ned. Ned offered an alternative to Paul's suggestion, and Rhonda made Ned's suggestion available to the class for consideration.

Ned: I want to change it, but not his sentence.
T: Not his way... Okay, I don't see too many thumbs up, so let's listen to Ned's way.

Ned: Um, you could put you would have to keep buying new uniforms and they would get dirty so you would have to wash them over and over again. So use all three of them.
T: Well, you've got up here the keep buying thing already.
N: Then you could take away the money one.
T: Okay, keep buying would go with the money one. Is it okay if we vote on this? Trey has an idea.
Trey: I would use the money one.
T: How would you use it?
Trey: Um, pants would cost $20 or so.
T: Well, yeah, We don't want to get too specific on how much, because we're not sure. We would have to keep buying the same clothes and
Trey: It would be way too much money.
T: And it would be way too much money. We could add that one right there. Okay. *T starts to write.*
T: What's a shorter way to say it would be way too much money? It would//
Ss: Cost a lot.
T: Cost a lot. Okay, we got that one in there.
T: Okay, let's go back to the bottom. Everybody sit up straight and tall and read this sentence. Let's see if we can make it shorter.

Ned offered a way to include several of the brainstormed suggestions in one sentence, and convinced Rhonda that this strategy might work. As Rhonda worked with students' ideas, she acted as billboard, publicizing current ideas for consideration. As she did so, she acknowledged authorship: "Ned's way." By the time she said, "Ned's way," there were several "ways" up for consideration: Dustin's way ("At lunchtime food might drop on your uniform and then you would have to wash them,") Paul's way ("When you get dirty you have to wash it,") and Ned's way ("You would have to keep buying new uniforms, and they would get dirty, so you would have to wash them over and over again"). By using this move, Rhonda positioned students as decision makers and problem solvers (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993). However, none of these ideas resolved the sentence, and Rhonda brought the group back to consideration of how to shorten the final sentence, "Let's see if we can make it shorter."

Monitoring the sentence for sense-making, rather than merely shortening it, finally brought resolution. Rhonda noted a sense-making problem with Dustin's sentence and challenged him to clarify his idea.

T: I hate to tell you this, but how is that different from wearing your own clothes? You might do that with your own clothes. Dustin, you might spill

food on that shirt today. Wouldn't you wash it? Well, what's the difference between that and a uniform? Somehow we gotta make it be different.

Dustin: The buttons might fall off when you're washing your clothes.

T: Hm?

D: The buttons might come off.

T: Oh, you'll have to wash them too often? Oh, now that's another and if things start falling off and if they wear out? There's something we didn't think about.

D: That could go with the buying one.

T: Could go with buying one up there too, couldn't it. Good thinking. Cassie, What's your idea?

Cassie: You could say you could get hot in the summertime, wearing pants.

T: You know what, that one might come under this one. If you get too hot. You know if you have to wear sleeves and stuff in the summertime, you gonna get hot. Hang onto that thought.

Cassie: Why can't they just wear regular clothes, why do they have to be at private school?

T: Well, our issue is, we're pretending that [our town] schools are thinking about having all the [school] kids wear uniforms. And what would we want to say about that to someone. How would we persuade someone to agree with the stand we're taking. Our stand is no. But we have to persuade someone. And Dustin, but not just Dustin, everyone, if you're writing things that could still be the same as regular clothes, that's not gonna persuade anybody. But he added a thought, Dustin said they might wear out quicker. Now there's a thought. Uniforms might wear out quicker. Maybe we should add that at the bottom. At lunch food might dirty your uniform and you would have to wash it more often, and then they might wear out. How about that? Patrick?

Paul: You should put, you might have to wash it a lot, period. Then your uniforms might wear out.

T looks at paragraph and thinks (15-second pause).

T: All right. (*Writes on board*) and they might wear out. We're gonna come back to this stuff. All right, we're done with this one for now.

Rhonda's question called for critical thinking. Again, Rhonda worked with Dustin's suggestion to make it fit into the paragraph in a manner coherent with the persuasive genré. Losing buttons in the wash was not clearly a problem with uniforms, but Rhonda supported Dustin's participation in the class activity by making the connection explicit: "Oh, you'll have to wash them too often? ...and if they wear out?" Rhonda's moves in working with multiple authors demonstrated that, although she had a sense of how the paragraph, and the entire essay, might be constructed with genré-specific features, she did not have a preconceived idea of the content to be included. As students shared their ideas, Rhonda put them all on the table.

In all negotiations, Rhonda stayed very close to students' own words and the already recorded text. She seldom paraphrased already composed text. If Darlene's repeated

question during whole group text construction was, "What's next?", Rhonda's was, "Do we/you want to...(include, use, state, add, change, make, vote, put)?" In this way, decision-making remained with the students. Similar to Morning Message text, this text was highly contestable, open to interrogation from both teacher and students, whose collaborative efforts were required for its construction.

Teacher Talk in the Persuasive Writing Lesson

In the lesson examined, Rhonda spoke 1047 total words, for an average of 58 words per minute. Her task talk made up 94% of her total words. Task talk consisted of questions and statements that functioned to lead and direct the lesson (see Table 10).

Table 10

Types and Percentages of Teacher's Talk During the Persuasive Writing Segments

Type of talk	Percentage of talk
Questions	35%
Using and encouraging strategic thinking	28%
Clarifying or repeating student ideas	13%
Using and encouraging problem solving	13%
Thinking aloud	13%
Review	8%

Thirty-five percent of her task talk words were contained in questions. Almost half, 46%, of her questions were used to clarify the topic immediately under consideration or to scaffold students' responses.

How did you say it, Cassie?
You would have to keep buying the same uniforms?
See how that might lead in?
Oh, you'll have to wash them too often?
Marta, do you have a sentence about them getting dirty?
Is "eating lunch" a whole sentence?

Thirty-one percent of her questions turned the problem-solving activity back to students or calling upon or returning to students to pick up earlier suggestions.

Andre, what do you think?
Cassie, what's your idea?
Do you want to change it, class?

We want to add any of these?
What's the difference between that and a uniform?

Rhonda also used "What's next?" in 15% of her questioning.

What could our next sentence be?
Can anyone think of a next sentence?
What can we do?
What's the next sentence that comes to you mind?

A small number of words, 8%, were used to review possible content for the paragraph under construction:

Do we want to include data here?
Do we want to state our core democratic value here?

Rhonda's questions consumed 35% of her task talk, but in this lesson the dialogue took the form of negotiation rather than repeating the I-R-E pattern so often typifying participation structures in whole class lessons (Cazden, 1988). While this traditional pattern of teacher-student exchange occasionally appeared, it did not dominate teacher-student interactions. Although Rhonda, as teacher, held the felt-tip marker, the symbol of power over the final text, she maintained a careful balance between explicitly guiding students' actions during text construction, on the one hand, and, on the other, sharing decision-making power with them.

Almost half of Rhonda's statements, 41%, used or encouraged strategic thinking and problem solving. These are examples of these statements:

This is where we need to be careful....We want to make sure it's going to fit in here best....We're going to have to use some prior knowledge here.
Let's just brainstorm for awhile.
Let's take those ideas that we have and start putting them into sentences.
I need some help from you.
There's something we didn't think about.
You know what, that one might come under this one.

Rhonda also made her thinking visible in her think-alouds, which were sometimes rather rough.

Should we start out, now when we are doing, should we write, just start and say, we would have to buy.
Okay, that leads into another thing that we brainstormed, I think, though.
I'm kind of not doing what I usually do, write it right up here, to save time on the

editing process here.
Okay, we're working pretty good....We've got the boring part and the ironing part.

Too much teacher talk can be detrimental to classroom dialogue if it functions to close down conversations (Burbules, 1993). Clearly, Rhonda's talk served to extend, rather than resolve, questions and issues, thus including the students as colleagues in the activity. Through her talk, students were invited to enter the conversation and provided with a verbalized model of mental processes involved in text construction. They observed cognitive processes necessary for text construction ("Are we using our data here and really getting details? That's what you need to do"), and they also observed that the process can sometimes be rough ("Should we start out, now when we are doing, should we write, just start and say, we would have to buy, we would have to"). The opportunity was afforded them to learn that, by working together and drawing on common knowledge, the task can be accomplished.

Standardized Practice for Group Text Construction: Traces of Morning Message

Morning Message provided a standard of practice that was acknowledged both in practice and in omission during the persuasive writing episode. First, typical Morning Message practice involved error finding and editing for mechanical errors. Here, Ned invokes this practice during the persuasive writing episode.

Ned: It should be "and it costs a lot."
T: "Costs a lot." I have to put the "s" up there.
Ned: There's still some more corrections.
T: I know, but we're not going to do that right now.

When Ned said, "There's still some more corrections," he invoked text construction norms from Morning Message. During Morning Message, students were expected to search for textual errors, whether the errors involved grammatical constructions, conventions of writing, or other issues. Students seemed to view error finding as a challenge or even a game, and Ned expected to engage in the practice now. Rhonda's response, "I know, but we're not going to do that right now," acknowledged both the prevailing norms and the departure from the norms. Teachers embedded instruction in

writing conventions such as spelling, capitalization, and punctuation within the activity of joint construction of Morning Message text. However, Rhonda's instruction relative to the persuasive essay activity did not focus on the technical and conventional attributes of written text. Rather, as I illustrated above, Rhonda focused her instruction on the structure and coherence of the text.

A second major influence of the Morning Message text construction process had to do with student autonomy. During Morning Message, students, specifically the author of the moment, retained decision-making authority over the content of the text, as has been demonstrated above. However, in the persuasive writing sequence, Rhonda, because of time constraints, diverged from standard practice by interjecting herself into text negotiations in order to accelerate text construction. Rhonda twice referenced the Morning Message standard by noting departures from it.

T: Okay, you want that one next, though? That's a good one. Can you hold on to it, though? I'm kind of not doing what I usually do, write it right up here, to save time on the editing process here.

* * *

T: Not so much a freedom as a fundamental belief. Shall we put that, that's a fundamental belief? Not so much a freedom./// Now I'm kind of helping you out here because of time a little more than I would normally do, but it's always good to go back to your chart, to use some of the big words up there, fundamental belief will hit somebody right where they should start thinking about it.

By saying, "I'm kind of not doing what I usually do," and "I'm kind of helping you out here because of time a little more than I would normally do," Rhonda noted that she as the teacher was taking a different stance relative to the composing process than students might normally expect from their experiences in Morning Message activities. It was true that she used a familiar process, group text construction, to accomplish her object of acquainting students with a new genré of writing. However, as she noted, time constraints (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1995) prevented her from full compliance with established classroom norms. In addition, she may have felt that a more direct type of instruction might be more appropriate than an exploratory process at this time. Had students had multiple

opportunities to collaboratively construct persuasive text, Rhonda might have, over time, gradually withdrawn this level of direction and support, turning over the cognitive functions to students as they exhibited increased expertise in the genré.

Summary of Writing Activity in the Watkins Inclusion Classroom

In this section I consider features of student-produced texts related to both Morning Message and Writing Workshop. I then comment on other writing activities in this classroom.

Features of texts. Both Morning Message and Writing Workshop involved writing extended texts (Graham & Harris, 1994). In fact, students did no writing at the sound, letter, word, or sentence level, except for phonics work during reading groups led by the teachers. All other writing assignments (i.e., journals, report writing, Writing Workshop, and recess writing assignments) were at the message level. Related to writing extended text is writing sustained text (Raphael & Hiebert, 1996), where students are involved with the same text over a long period of time. In this classroom, students in Writing Workshop might work on a piece over many days or even weeks.

Both Morning Message and Writing Workshop involved writing expository and narrative text. Although teachers frequently consider narratives a more appropriate genré for very young students (Scott, 1994), Angie and Rhonda intentionally varied the genré for all students, including their special education first graders. Thus, all students received multiple opportunities to explore writing different types of texts.

Furthermore, all students were expected to write. No students dictated their texts to teachers. All written texts produced were considered to be drafts rather than final versions. That is, students could use invented spelling, editor's marks, and other strategies (e.g., arrows) to compose and to provide coherence for themselves and their readers. "Sloppy copies" were celebrated as documents that showed, by the appearance of editor's marks, arrows, cross outs, and so forth, evidence of the writer's thoughtful composition of and reflection on text. Angie and Rhonda emphasized the creativity and substance of the

product rather than its physical appearance. Students and teachers often used computers to publish their writing; students were rarely required to recopy text by hand.

Other writing activities. For Angie and Rhonda, writing mediated all academic activities. Writing activities undertaken for the purpose of learning academic subjects included reading centers, literature response, reading journals, math journals, and theme writing. When they talked about academic goals for writing, Angie and Rhonda talked about immediate, within-the-classroom results: "We take kids where we get them, and we try to give them a whole year's learning. No matter where they came to us, they learn a whole year." They also talked about long-term, outside-the-classroom results:

> Thinking about how you learn...(is) all part of becoming independent,...being able to analyze what you need to do to become independent,...what works for you. Where do you see yourself in a few years?...Where do you see yourself being in the world? (interview)

Still other writing activities promoted the enrichment of all students, both general education and special education. For example, an enrichment opportunity called Eight's Great, based on the multiple intelligences construct (Gardner, 1983), provided instruction in areas and topics of individual student strengths and interests and was occasionally offered during theme time in the afternoon. In another writing activity, one of the student teachers in the classroom developed and taught a poetry unit during the Morning Message time slot. Thus, formal writing instruction was often augmented by additional lessons and activities which provided opportunities for further writing and literacy learning. Indeed, the Watkins teachers claimed that writing mediated every aspect of students' academic life: "That's a lot of writing, because whatever they're task is, they have to write about it."

Participation: Task Engagement and Social Interaction in Public and Private Tasks

Recall that Angie and Rhonda placed high priority on the development of community. If there was one expectation the teachers had of all children in this classroom, it was to participate in all activities. They also expected students to help each other to be able to do this. In this part of the chapter I take note of the engagement and social interaction

opportunities afforded to students with learning disabilities during large and small group writing activities and during independent writing.

Engaged and Disengaged Behavior

In Chapter Four, task engagement was defined as a combination of three traits: activity (motoric vigor of the child), distractibility (extent to which attention and behavior can be diverted), and persistence (length of attention span and tendency to continue a task despite obstacles) (Orth and Martin, 1994). Examination and coding of transcripts suggested five types of engaged or disengaged behavior: overt self-initiated behavior, overt other-initiated behavior, covert self-initiated behavior, covert other-initiated behavior, and all disengaged behavior. Note that in this study I distinguish between task engagement and social interaction, although some task engagement behaviors include interaction with other individuals.

Seeking to establish a sense of the range and type of task engagement of students with learning disabilities, I typified rather than counted task engagement behaviors that seemed to represent the type and level of engagement of Marta and Dustin, two students with learning disabilities. In this part of the chapter I describe task engagement types and levels in public, small group, and independent task structures. Following this discussion, I elaborate on engagement episodes that include social interaction.

Task engagement during public lessons: Marta. This section examines engaged and disengaged behavior during whole group text composition in Morning Message and Writing Workshop. Examination of videotapes of Marta and Dustin showed limited engaged behavior during both Morning Message and Writing Workshop episodes. For all students, appropriate overt engagement behaviors for whole group text construction in both Morning Message and Writing Workshop included raising one's hand, speaking when called upon, and rereading the text with the whole group. Appropriate covert engagement included attending to speakers and generally appearing to follow the lesson. During the Morning Message episode examined in this chapter, Marta, rather than being expected to

participate in the text construction, had a special task, checking names. However, to illustrate that Marta on occasion did indeed engage directly with Morning Message text construction, I offer a segment of another Morning Message. On this occasion, Marta raised her hand to volunteer a sentence which was accepted into the text.

Angie prompts Tenishea, the author, to call on Marta.
Marta: Tenishea is going to open presents.
Angie: (*to Tenishea*) Do you like that?
Tenishea: Yeah.

Tenishea's approving response to Angie's "Do you like that?" meant that the sentence would be included in the text of the message. For Marta, who was often reticent to speak in whole group lessons, being able to draw on cultural knowledge to fluently suggest a sentence without further prompting, and then having it accepted as part of the emerging text, marked her as a contributing member of this community of practice on a par with other contributing members.

During the Writing Workshop episodes involving persuasive writing, Marta overtly engaged with the activity by raising her hand during whole group text composition on three different days. On one of the three occasions she lowered her hand immediately and was not called on. However, on the other two occasions she was called upon. In the exchange recorded below, Rhonda and students had just completed a sentence in the clear position paragraph. Rhonda asked the class what they wanted to add next.

T: Okay, we're working pretty good. We've just about got this one finished, I think. We've got the boring part and the ironing part.
T: We want to add any of these? (*Rhonda gestures toward the brainstormed list of items that could be used in developing the paragraph.*) We don't have to use them all. It's just our brainstorm. Marta?

Marta had her hand up, but when called on, can't seem to think of anything to say.

T: You want a sentence about clothes getting dirty and or how much they cost? What were you thinking? Do you want to make a sentence about getting dirty? (*Marta nods.*) Okay. We may be able to put these two together. And we may need to add this one on in here somewhere. Marta, do you have a sentence about them getting dirty? (*Marta nods.*) What is it?///
T: Someone help Marta? Marta, choose somebody to help you in your sentence about getting dirty. Do not choose someone who's bugging you. /// Hurry.
Marta: Dustin.

This time, Marta apparently did not have a sentence ready at hand, or could not produce one fluently. Despite her raised hand, Marta failed to respond verbally when called upon. She simply sat and looked at Rhonda. Perhaps she had lost the thread of conversation, or perhaps she had not realized the complexity of the response required. Rhonda attempted to simplify the task by prompting possible appropriate responses, "You want a sentence about clothes getting dirty and or how much they cost?" Rhonda's second prompt, "Do you want to make a sentence about getting dirty?" elicited a nod. Whether or not that was Marta's initial intention, she acquiesced with Rhonda's suggestion. Although Marta's initial act of hand raising seemed to suggest that she had an idea for the paragraph and a sentence to embody the idea, she did not produce it. At that point, Rhonda invoked the class "helping" norm and asked Marta to nominate someone to "help," which, in fact, meant suggesting a sentence. Marta chose Dustin, who was sitting across the room. The focus of action then switched to Rhonda and Dustin. Marta had participated in the class activity by designating a proxy, surely an method of participation found in few classrooms.

In the following exchange, which occurred another day, Rhonda was reviewing with the whole class the names of the four components of the persuasive essay structure they were learning. By now the terms identifying the four paragraphs were familiar enough so that many students had memorized some or all of them, including Marta.

T: (*to entire class*)...Raise your hand if you think you can tell me at least one of those things I'm talking about.
Students raise hands.
T: Put your hand up if you think you can do two. Marta, what was your one?
Marta doesn't respond.
T: Which one of these things that we have to have?
Marta: Data given.
T: Data given. There's one, good for Marta.

Again, Marta did not immediately respond when called upon, and, again, Rhonda provided a prompt. This time Marta responded appropriately. Two things may be noted about Rhonda's instructional behavior in these two situations. First, she gave multiple prompts. When Marta did not respond to the first prompt, Rhonda offered a second. When

Marta responded to the second prompt, "Do you want to make a sentence about getting dirty?" with only a nod, Rhonda continued to prompt until Marta's contribution-by-proxy was established. Second, Rhonda offered the possibility of differential responses and response mechanisms which enabled the participation of students at different performance levels. In the first example above, Marta had two options: responding herself or selecting someone who would do this for her. In the second example, Rhonda, who had asked who could remember "one of those things," then two, continued the recitation by asking who could remember three of the "things" and then all four. Marta was able to fulfill the teacher's first request, being able to remember "one of those things." Thus, the participation of students like Marta who might only be able to recall one of the paragraph labels was as legitimate as that of students who might be able to recall all four terms.

Task engagement during public lessons: Dustin. During the Morning Message episode above, Dustin engaged in the activity three times by employing participation moves frequently used in Morning Message lessons. Twice he called for a rereading of the text, and once he challenged the use of the "name-he-name-he" pattern. In each of the two transcribed segments which follow, Dustin had raised his hand, and Kevin, in his author's role, had called on him. Dustin asked that the class read over the text. Each time the teacher responded affirmatively.

T: Okay, let's read it over quick. Ready?
All: (*Reading from the chart paper*) Kevin already had his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30. He has a soccer game at Grandview.
* * *
Dustin: Read it all over.
T: Okay, let's go. Everyone sit up straight and tall and read.
All: (*Reading*) Kevin already had his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30. He had a soccer game at Grandview Middle School. Kevin's team won. He had a fun time.

The rereading was intended to be metacognitive in that rereading was a way to monitor the meaning of the emerging text. Rereadings were frequently done in order to accommodate low readers and to be able to hear the text, which provided a different way to determine meaning than visual scanning. Thus, Dustin's move was appropriate, because

calling for rereading was always appropriate (unless immediately following a previous rereading). It was legitimate participation because it was part of the social participation task structure for this activity.

Calling for examination of the "name, pronoun, name, pronoun" pattern provided evidence of Dustin's attention to the activity. This occurred following another student's request for a rereading, which begins the next segment.

All: (*Reading*) Kevin already had his soccer game last Tuesday night at 6:30. He had a soccer game at Gardner Middle School. Kevin's team won and he had a fun time. Kevin is good at defense in soccer.
Dustin: Kevin should be "he."
T: Let's check it. We alternate, right? Kevin, he, Kevin, he, Kevin. Nope, but that was really good, because you're trying to follow this. That's a good habit to get into, to check things.

What Dustin was likely attending to was the first word in each sentence, which followed this pattern: Kevin...He...Kevin...Kevin. Dustin may have thought that the final "Kevin" in this sequence should be the pronoun "he." Angie, in checking the "name, pronoun, name, pronoun" sequence, correctly included in the sequence the "he" in the third sentence, which Dustin may have overlooked or not understood as belonging in the sequence. Nevertheless, Dustin's challenge was acknowledged as legitimate, and the appropriate procedure for checking was initiated. However, the text required no change. Angie acknowledged the value of Dustin's self-initiated bid to participate. She standardized the choice Dustin had made, "That's a good habit to get into, to check things." Dustin's move was legitimate, both as a discourse move in this activity ("We alternate, right?") and as a way-of-acting for writers ("...to check things").

Both of these discourse moves were appropriate for the activity. Two interpretations of these moves may be made. The first is that Dustin was closely following the text construction, needing to have the text reread for his own benefit and determining that an error in the "name-he-name-he" pattern required correction. A second interpretation is that Dustin did not have a sense of the requirements of the construction of this particular text and was arbitrarily imitating discourse moves he had seen others make. If the second

interpretation correctly represents Dustin's intent, and I'm not suggesting that it does, what would be the value of this type of participation? There are two possible benefits. First, the moves were legitimate for this activity. Calling for rereading and challenging the "name-he-name-he" pattern legitimized Dustin's participation. Whether or not Dustin needed the rereading, it had been several minutes since the previous rereading, and someone would likely benefit from it. Whether or not the "name-he-name-he" pattern was correct, it was appropriate to check its use. In making these moves, Dustin demonstrated for himself and for his peers his valued membership in the learning community. Second, Angie, to encourage Dustin's participation, treated the moves as if they were necessary. The goal for Angie and Rhonda was the participation of all students in classroom activity. The structure of the activity was sufficiently loose that the placement of these moves within the total activity sequence was flexible. Either of the moves might have been made at other points and been equally as useful. Therefore, these discourse moves could be legitimized for the purpose of encouraging participation as well as text construction. Acting out a legitimate discursive sequence, needed or not, was useful for encouraging participation in the activity.

During the persuasive writing sequence, there was no evidence of Dustin's self-initiated involvement during whole class activities. However, he did participate actively when prompted by the teacher (other-initiation). Several times Rhonda said his name, not requesting a response, but to call his attention to the lesson: "Dustin, what do you do when you start a paragraph? Everybody, say it." The question was, in fact, addressed to the entire class. Rhonda did not expect Dustin to respond, because she did not wait for him to act. There was no pause before she added, "Everybody, say it." Or another time, "I saw a lot of no indenting. You're going to remember this time, right, Dustin?" Dustin had been sitting bent over so that his head was down near his knees. Rhonda's intention was not to elicit a response, but to call him to attention, a typical teacher move. In this way Dustin was called from his disengaged state - whispering to Mark, looking at a book in his lap, talking to Diane, wiggling, whispering to another student about her sunburned face, tapping his

desk, burping, and yawning - to attention to the whole group activity.

Covert engagement in both lessons was difficult to determine, but it was assumed that if students oriented their bodies and/or eyes to the teacher and the general give-and-take of the dialogue, they were engaged as an active if silent participant in the lesson. Using body/eye orientation as an indicator, I observed both Dustin and Marta covertly engaged at times during whole group lessons. On one occasion during the persuasive writing sequence, Marta seemed to follow the text on the large chart paper as the teacher and students reread it. Although her lips were not moving, her eyes seemed to follow the text as it was read.

Disengaged behavior during public lessons: Marta. Instances of Marta's and Dustin's disengaged behavior during whole group activities were also recorded. Typical of these was Marta's playing with something at her desk, whereupon Rhonda called on her: "Marta, stop," "Marta, please stop doing that with your shoe." Other disengaged behaviors included laying her head on her desk, prompting the teacher to remonstrate, "Marta, I hope you're taking part in the classroom here," or orienting her body away from the teacher, to which Rhonda responded severally, "Marta, turn yourself this way so I know you're watching." "Marta, look up here." "Marta, you need to pay attention this way." During this orientation away from the activity Marta might be observed looking around the room.

Disengaged behavior during public lessons: Dustin. Dustin's disengaged behavior during whole group activities was similar to Marta's. During the Morning Message episode, he was oriented away from the teacher, causing her to prompt: "Dustin, face this way. Don't turn around again." Several other times Angie incorporated his name into her instruction, not to call upon him, but to re-engage his attention, as when she addressed the whole group with an explanation: "We said, 'Kevin already had,' meaning it's already past, so we call it, Dustin, past tense." Other disengaged behavior during whole group lessons included being distracted by the microphone on his desk or looking inside his desk, giggling with a peer, whispering to tablemates, watching other students rather than

orienting eyes and body to teacher and text, putting his head on his desk, burping, and yawning.

Task engagement during private work: Marta. Many researchers investigating process-product connections suggest that, given optimum conditions, students may be more highly engaged during individual seat work than during large group lessons (Good & Brophy, 1978). Based on classroom observations and work products during individual writing session of Writing Workshop, Marta exhibited high continuity and consistency of task-relevant behavior, including writing, editing, illustrating, and asking for spelling assistance. Her work products were often completed, having filled the page and, occasionally, including an illustration.

Marta wrote a number of stories in her Writing Workshop notebook. Each story, as per Writing Workshop guidelines quoted above, included the date, and, in the beginning, her name. A number of stories included titles. Most stories were personal experience stories, completed in one writing session. Topics included her pets, excursions (carnival, sleepover, camping, an amusement park), next year in fourth grade, and playing with friends. Stories never ran over a page in length, and most skipped lines "to get to the bottom of the page" (interview with Marta). Indeed, in the writing interview in the fall of the year, Marta talked about her writing strategies.

RB: What do you do first?
M: I just start out "I."
RB: You just start out? Okay. You start out "I," and then what?
M: And I just write.
RB: Do you plan your ideas on paper, or do you plan them in your head, or do you just start writing?
M: I just write.
RB: You just write?
M: Until I get all the way to the bottom.

In fact, Marta mentioned writing "all the way to the bottom" three times in the interview. She also emphasized that she writes "real" stories.

M: I just write about stuff I know...This is a real story...I have a real dog.
R: You have a real dog. So you write real things.

Marta's "real" stories were, as she said, "about stuff" she knew. These were mostly descriptive depictions, although one story was a chronological accounting of an event. This was a typical "real" story:

> I will go capin in 2 wecs with my mom and my sister and me. We are going to Being my Bike too. We are going to go fishing with my dad. We Will go Bike riding with my dad. The End. (I will go camping in two weeks with my mom and my sister and me. We are going to bring my bike too. We are going to go fishing with my dad. We will go bike riding with my dad. The end.)

Marta's disengaged behavior during individual writing included talking with other students about topics other than writing, messing with articles such as pencil sharpeners, or doodling.

Task engagement during private work: Dustin. Dustin's task orientation during individual writing tasks was much more disengaged than engaged and more disengaged than Marta's behavior. The only individual writing activity he seemed to enjoy was keyboarding his text into the computer.

Disengaged behavior included off-topic conversations or giggling with tablemates, chewing on paper, tapping with his pencil, doodling on the back of his Writing Workshop notebook, being distracted by the microphone, or looking out the window. On one occasion, while he was gazing out the window instead of writing, Rhonda approached him to suggest that he write something new (an author's choice). A few minutes later, a paraprofessional suggested that he write about Christmas, assumably a motivating topic. However, Dustin responded to neither suggestion, and continued to look around the room. Frequent teacher prompts to encourage Dustin to write included comments similar to, "Are you supposed to be writing?" or "Dustin, you can get going on yours."

Where Marta had developed some writing procedures and wrote about familiar topics (animals and excursions), Dustin's writing methods seemed to be limited to techniques for "How to Begin." This is how he described "How to Begin" in an interview.

RB: So what do you do first?
D: Make a title.
RB: Make a title?

D: Then write our name, write the date. And then just start writing. (Fall interview)

In actual fact, only a few of Dustin's stories had titles and many stories were undated. His writing process did not include writing to the bottom of the page. In fact, his longest story was about a half page in length. Sometimes he produced completed stories; however, more often he was not engaged in writing during Writing Workshop, and his stories often reflected his disengaged behavior in their few words and incomplete texts. It is understandable that his writing strategies seemed to focus on the problem of spelling. He used a great deal of invented spelling, but his inventions were less decipherable than Marta's.

RB: ... Do you ever read it to the teacher?
D: Umm. My response journal I read it to the teacher.
RB: Yeah?
D: Sometimes when I get big words. I get stuck and I say, "I don't know those words," and I read it to the teacher, and I find the word out.
RB: Ohhh, okay. So when you're all done writing, what do you do with your paper or your story?
D: [inaudible] then I get other student that could take my paper, then teacher's conference, I mean student conference, then teacher conference. Then I'm all done. Then they ask, can I read it? And I always say , "No."

Dustin seemed to understand the process writing sequence used in his classroom, but his final comment underscored the difficulties he had with reading: "[The teachers] ask, can I read it [to the class during Author's Chair]? And I always say, 'No.'" (December interview).

Roles and Relationships During Whole Group Instruction

Task engagement can overlap with social interaction when the task is collaborative; however, in this section I will focus specifically on the roles and relationships that occurred between teacher and students and between students during whole class text construction in Morning Message and Writing Workshop.

Teacher roles: Supporting and repairing student participation. The challenges of whole group instruction entailed maintaining attention to the task, including following the give and take of the dialogue, and participating appropriately. Fortunately for students who had

difficulties with these challenges, the teachers deployed two scaffolding strategies: (a) supporting student-initiated bids to enter the conversation, and (b) repairing inappropriate participation moves (Cooper & Valli, 1996).

Although Dustin's nomination by Marta to add a sentence to the persuasive paragraph text was not self-initiated on his part, he was able to make a valued contribution to the lesson with Rhonda's on-line and carefully calibrated assistance.

D: Eating lunch.
T: How's that gonna? Is eating lunch a whole sentence?
D: No.
T: No. Can you make that into a whole sentence?
D: Eating lunch.
T: Tell me what would happen. Food would
D: Eating lunch. At lunchtime
T: At lunchtime, food might
D: Drop
T: Drop on your
D: Uniform.
T: Uniform. And then you would have to what?
D: Clean it.
T: Wash them.
T writes on the board: At lunchtime, food might drop on your uniform, and then you would have to wash them.

First, Rhonda asked for a whole sentence, but Dustin's response, "eating lunch," was not a whole sentence. She provided further support, "Tell me what would happen" and then, by repeating his words and rewording when necessary, provided a framework on which Dustin could hang the parts of the sentence. With Rhonda's cloze-type verbal prompting, Dustin was able to compose a sentence to build the continuing dialogue (Nystrand, 1995).

Angie and Rhonda often repaired student participation efforts. One repair occurred during the above-referenced Morning Message lesson where Dustin had suggested that there should be a "he" instead of "Kevin." Although Dustin's challenge was appropriate, it was also unnecessary, because the text was correct as written. However, Angie repaired his participation in a manner that did several things. It modeled appropriate checking behavior ("Let's check it. We alternate, right? Kevin, he, Kevin, he, Kevin"), interpreted

Dustin's behavior with respect to individual learning need ("You're trying to follow this," something Dustin needed to work on), emphasized good writing behavior ("That's a good habit to get into, to check things."), and employed an "encouraging" strategy to validate Dustin's participation (Vaughn, Bos, & Schumm, 2000).

Another repair involving Dustin occurred during the persuasive writing episode. Rhonda was seeking reasons why school uniforms might be undesirable, and Dustin suggested that food might get spilled on the uniforms during lunch. Rhonda countered that the same thing could happen with ordinary clothes, that somehow they had to make uniforms be different in a way that was disadvantageous. Dustin thought that the buttons might fall off when the uniforms were washed. This idea still did not accomplish the task Rhonda has in mind for this part of the text, but she worked with Dustin's idea.

T: Dustin, you might spill food on that shirt today. Wouldn't you wash it? Well, what's the difference between that and a uniform? Somehow we gotta make it be different.
D: The buttons might fall off when you're washing your clothes.
T: Hm?
D: The buttons might come off.
T: Oh, you'll have to wash them too often? Oh, now that's another, and if things start falling off and if they wear out? There's something we didn't think about.
D: That could go with the buying one.
T: Could go with buying one up there too, couldn't it. Good thinking.

Rhonda repaired Dustin's comment so that it made sense in the context. By so doing, she reduced the risk for students with learning disabilities to enter the conversation.

These examples illustrate teacher-student interactions during whole group lessons. Both Angie and Rhonda expected and encouraged such participation. Rhonda stated her expectations as she prepared students for one of the persuasive writing lessons.

R: Okay, desk tops cleared off. Eyes up here. Feet on the floor. Sitting up. Your best participating position.

Student roles: Helping and problem solving. What was interesting about this classroom was that student participation in whole group participation structures was not limited to speaking and listening, as the traditional I-R-E interaction (Cazden, 1988) might suggest. A particularly interesting method of oral participation evokes Bakhtin's (1986) notion of

"heteroglossia,"or speaking with multiple voices. Students in the inclusion classroom literally spoke through their peers. This was called "helping." In the following excerpt from the persuasive text composing activity referenced in this chapter, Qi, an English language learner, had raised her hand to respond to the teacher's question, but needed some help. The following sequence begins with Rhonda offering a prompt to help Qi.

T: ...What's the other part we're going to use for our reasoning, in writing our persuasive article?
Cassie whispers to Qi.
Qi: Core democratic values.
T: Okay, a little help from a friend.

Rhonda acknowledged the "little help" from Cassie without additional comment, thus accepting the interaction. In another classroom, Cassie's action might have been considered a pre-empting of Qi's bid to speak. However, in this context, Qi might not have attempted a response in the first place without the security of this safety net.

In the following segments, the helping continued. Mark (a student with learning disabilities), Sherrie (an average-performing student), and Kenton (a low-performing general education student) were helped.

T: And our last thing we would put in our paper would be?
Mark has raised his hand, but hesitates. Ned and Kevin both whisper: Core democratic values.
Mark: Core democratic values.
T: Core democratic values. Everybody tell me the initials.
Group: CDV.

Ned's assistance enabled Mark to contribute to the activity, and Rhonda incorporated Mark's contribution into her review sequence just as if he had said the answer without help. The same type of "helping" occurred in the next two segments.

T: ...Sherrie, the first one.
Sherrie hesitates. Student whispers to Sherrie: Clear position.
Sherrie: Clear position?
* * *
T: ...Number 3... Kenton?
Danny leans over and whispers to Kenton: Prior social studies knowledge.
T: Well, part of me says I don't mind the help because that's the community thing. What is it, Kenton?
K: Prior social studies knowledge.

Such ad hoc sharing of response opportunity (what in another classroom might be called "sharing of answers" and, as such, a form of cheating) was common in the Watkins inclusion classroom and not surprising in light of the community metaphor appropriated by the teachers. However, Rhonda did, on one occasion, acknowledge this unusual practice when she said, "Well, part of me says I don't mind the help because that's the community thing." This statement implied an uneasiness about her own view of this "helping" behavior. When the "helping" occurred again, Rhonda provided both a boundary on "helping" and an explanation of its purpose.

T: Okay. I saw a lot of helping going on, and sometimes, if we don't want that help, teachers should remember to say, "Okay, I'm going to ask a question and you can't help." Other than that, I think if people are helping each other, that's a good thing to do. In fact, as far as social studies goes, that's about what we all want you to start doing and do all the rest of your life, is to help people, so why should we tell you not to help people now. Just doesn't make sense to me. So thank you for all that help from everyone.

Rhonda clarified when "helping" may be appropriate and when not. According to her explanation, "helping" would not be appropriate if the teachers had requested no helping. However, there is an interesting subtext in Rhonda's comments. Her remarks reflect both her personal belief about community ("We all want you...all the rest of your life...to help people") and her awareness of societal conventions regarding what constitutes cheating ("Why should we tell you not to help people now. Just doesn't make sense to me"). Thus Rhonda's comments indicate her awareness of alternate interpretations of their classroom practice of "helping" and a sense of unease that her own interpretation of "helping" might be construed as something else by others.

Where the above incidences of ad hoc helping were allowed, another kind of helping was more formally established in classroom practice. In this type of helping, students could call on someone else to speak for them. Marta did this (the incident is described above) during the whole class session, as she had done earlier in the year in other contexts. As Marta sat without speaking, Rhonda went into repair mode.

T: You want a sentence about clothes getting dirty and or how much they cost?

What were you thinking? Do you want to make a sentence about getting dirty? Okay. We may be able to put these two together. And we may need to add this one on in here somewhere. Marta, do you have a sentence about them getting dirty? What is it?////

T: Someone help Marta? Marta, choose somebody to help you in your sentence about getting dirty...

Marta: Dustin.

Rhonda's verbal prompt, "What were you thinking?" was not an accusation, but a probe into Marta's thinking. Not knowing what Marta's thoughts were, Rhonda suggested several ideas that would fit into the paragraph being constructed. All Marta was required to do was use one of the ideas. Rhonda would see to the coherence and appropriateness of the response by fashioning Marta's idea into a usable statement. However, Marta remained silent, so Rhonda suggested that she call on someone to help her, an involvement move common in this classroom.

As observer, I sensed that Rhonda was at times unsure herself of how to construct the text. Her uncertainty showed in her false starts and appeals to students to repeat their ideas. This willingness to risk an unauthoritative role (i.e., not having all the answers) and to model writing dilemmas in the text construction process was a clear demonstration that decision making, was open to all, teacher and students alike. Even though Rhonda was the scribe, students seemed to understand their latitude to contribute to and shape the text. The teacher-student relationships during text construction were characterized by reciprocity and the idea of distributed knowledge (Brown et al., 1993). Rhonda's visible struggle with the text reflected her belief that it was okay to be vulnerable. In their classroom world, no individual, including teachers, held all of the expertise. Everyone had areas of strength and weakness. Roles of expert and novice could be interchangeable. Responsibility for text construction was distributed among all community members, along with the accompanying right to challenge the ideas and suggestions of others, including the teacher.

Social Interaction During Small Group Work

Because the nature of the tasks undertaken by small groups was collaborative, in this section I consider roles and interpersonal relationships during small group work. The

whole class text construction phase of the persuasive writing sequence was also of a collaborative nature, but it was different than small group collaboration because any particular student was less "on-call" during the whole-group activity, and interactions were subject to teacher supervision. Because 25 students had to take turns speaking, much of the participation during whole class lessons was necessarily observation rather than speaking. Small group activity, on the other hand, was more dense in the sense that frequency of participation was much greater. Additionally, interactions necessarily were less teacher-regulated, because the teacher could not supervise all groups at once.

Several models for small group collaboration have been researched and developed. Cooperative learning models (Johnson & Johnson, 1999) encourage the assignment of various roles for the group members: encourager, materials getter, timer, writer, and so on. Although small group work was common in this classroom, it was generally implemented on an ad hoc basis. Specific social norms for the organization of small group work, such as those associated with the cooperative learning model, were not well-established, although general principles of social interaction were publicly recognized, such as not teasing or yelling. Thus, students were largely on their own during the persuasive writing sequence to develop relationships within their groups that the teachers hoped would allow their work to continue and to involve everyone in the group.

Marta: In search of a role. Small group participation structures offered new challenges for Marta. If the challenge during whole class instruction was to remain oriented and attentive to instruction, the challenge for Marta during small group collaboration was to find a role in the group activity. Five students made up Marta's group, four boys and Marta. Two students, Danny and Arnold, were excellent writers. Marta and Cory were special education students, and Kenton was a low functioning general education student. Their assignment was to develop and write a persuasive essay on the topic of soccer goals at the school. The five students were expected to jointly compose a single text. This task included taking turns doing the writing. At the beginning of the first small group session related to

persuasive writing, it was evident that Marta desired an opportunity to write and foresaw that she might not receive one. She unhappily pointed her pencil at Danny and Arnold as she spoke.

Marta: Just you write. All [inaudible].
Danny: That's because we know how to spell better.
Arnold: I know how to spell better.
Marta: Why are you taking over the paper?
Danny: We spell gooder. We spell better.

Marta's "Just you write" was not a request or a command. She was in effect saying, "You are the only ones who get to write." Although Marta wanted to have a turn at writing, she was excluded from the role of writer because she was positioned by Danny, who, with Arnold, assumed leadership roles in the group, as not having adequate spelling skills for the task. Marta seemed to equate writing with a leadership role as she observed that Danny and Arnold were "taking over" the paper. Marta apparently believed that possession of the paper defined, for the moment, who was the leader in the group.

During the writing session, the matter of who got to write came up again. This time Marta was not seeking to write, but she unveiled the inequities in the group by naming the students who did not have opportunities to write and challenged the two boys who she claimed denied them this opportunity..

Arnold: You two [Cory and Kenton], you guys barely even get any chances to write.
Marta: You two [Danny and Arnold] don't let 'em.
Arnold: They don't ask for it.
Danny: And then you have to cry, and you'll say we get to write all the time.

It was unclear why Arnold mentioned only Cory and Kenton as not having chances to write, when it seemed painfully obvious to the observer that Marta also was denied the opportunity to be the writer. Because of my familiarity and history with this classroom and Marta, I knew she had writing skills. Later in the persuasive writing sequence, after both Arnold and Danny had had turns to write, Kenton took a turn as scribe. In the social hierarchy of the group, Kenton was likely the third in line, after Arnold and Danny and above Marta and Cory, the least skilled writers in the group. One might assume that this

hierarchy was established because the task called for a written product, and there were only two accomplished writers in the group, and wonder whether judgements of worth would have been differently decided had the task required some other skill, such as singing, for instance.

At one point Kenton, the third-in-line scribe, needed to know how to spell the word "because." Marta immediately offered her help, pointing to the Word Wall, a list of words high on the wall: "It's up there! B-e-c-a-u-s-e." Marta's writing strategies included finding and using environmental resources to support her writing. Danny, however, again thwarted her attempt to play a contributing role in the group, when he accused, "See, you're like, oh, argh, she's diggin' up her nose again!"

Still Marta assumed responsibility for monitoring the activities of group members and challenging them: "You're not supposed to write on paper on your desk." "You guys ain't working." She attempted to remain connected with the group activity even if participation meant only keeping track of the progress of the text by looking at the text or at the group's web. Throughout the several sessions of text composition, when she was assured no further active role in either writing or spelling, she continued to exhibit a sense of ownership for the group's product. When Danny and Arnold disagreed over the wording of a sentence Danny was writing, they began to struggle over who had the paper. Marta responded by threatening that if they did not stop their struggle, she would intervene: "You guys rip the paper, I'm going to rip your butts...You guys are crunching it up...You're ripping the paper...See, they were crumpling up the paper. They were going to rip it." The last two utterances, beginning with "See..." were addressed to a teacher who had approached.

Overall, in this particular series of text composing events, although Marta exhibited a strong sense of ownership over the task and sought to remain engaged with the activity, she was pushed aside. She attempted to engage in the activity by actually writing text or by offering spelling assistance. Marta recognized these opportunities for engagement, and

attempted to exploit them for herself, but was prevented from doing so to her satisfaction. Marta's challenge of the inequities in the group may have come from a strong sense, internalized from her long history with Angie and Marta, that everyone can participate. It can be argued, however, that some of Marta's difficulties may have stemmed from her presence as the only female in a group of males. Gender has the potential to position group members, enabling some and silencing others (Evans, 1997).

We may assume that task engagement is related to academic learning. Social interactions involved in the same task can lead to another goal for students with learning disabilities in inclusion classrooms: "blending." Blending could be another word for inclusion. However, because the term "inclusion" may have different meanings (Keefe, 1998), I propose defining blending as a classroom condition wherein special education students are undifferentiated in every way on the basis of their disability classification. Differentiation may occur based on other criteria that are applied to all group members without destroying the blended status of special education students. The slogan, "different, but not disabled," illustrates what I believe to be a blended condition. Blending must include both academic and social aspects.

Putting students together in small groups without direct and explicit instruction on how the group is to interact does not always lead to blending. Although a casual observer might have concluded that all students in the classroom were engaged and interactive, and would undoubtedly been unable to identify which students were special education students, a closer look at these interactions provides indications that while the classroom looks "blended," one must also consider whether blending has actually occurred for the student in this particular time and this particular place.

As we have seen, Marta had difficulty with blending into the small group, primarily due to her marginalization by another member of the group, Danny. Danny's goal seemed to be to exclude Marta from making a meaningful contribution to the group. He used knowledge of Marta's academic weaknesses to position her in a "one down" position

(Tannen, 1986). When Kenton asked Arnold how to spell a word, Marta entered the conversation by seeking to align herself against Kenton, another struggling writer.

Marta to Danny: (*Derisively*) He [Kenton] doesn't know how to spell it!
Danny: He can spell better than you. He's in a bigger spelling group.
Kenton to Marta: Yeah, and you're [inaudible] in second.
Marta: No, I ain't.
Danny: Yes, you are.
Marta: Shut up.

Danny, however, persisted in placing Marta in a one down position. This was followed by more discussion about who was in which reading group. To prove that Marta was a poor speller, Danny and Arnold rapidly fired some words at her which she could not spell. Rather than fight back, Marta put her head down on her arms on her desk. This exchange ended Marta's attempts to assume a key role in the construction of the text.

Danny even used Angie and Rhonda's classroom language to insure Marta's low position in the group.

Danny: Marta, it's your time to participate.
Marta I am.
Danny: No, you're not...Now participate! Especially you, Marta...Just saying you're participating and then not participating.

Angie and Rhonda frequently talked to the students about participation. Danny appropriated this language to use against Marta. Danny's statement, "Marta, it's your time to participate," was not an invitation. In fact, at that moment, Kenton was writing with Arnold's assistance for spelling, so that both the writing and spelling functions were being fulfilled. Aside from writing and assisting the writer, there were no opportunities for participation other than waiting and watching the writer. Danny's provocation was just that.

In fact, Danny seemed to take delight in excluding Marta from the activity, even using teacher language to make his pronouncements authoritative. Commenting on this interaction, Angie later said that Danny, in his first year with the class, had not yet learned the community ethos, in fact, was a sort of failure in that respect. Marta eventually dealt with her exclusion by disengaging herself from the activity. She played with several small erasers while three of the boys did the writing, and chatted about lunch and other topics.

Marta saw herself as part of the activity and the community, but was denied the opportunity for active participation in the actual work of the group. To her credit, she never left the group physically or socially. She stayed with the group, apparently continuing to see herself as a member of the collaboration. This, according to Angie, was a sign of growth and positive development for Marta, who in earlier years might have withdrawn in tears.

Dustin: Making it mine. Dustin's group exhibited a set of dynamics that were also difficult for members to deal with. This group had a natural leader in the person of Ryan, an extremely outspoken and bright student who sometimes found it difficult to share decision-making responsibilities with others in the group. Dustin's group was composed of four boys and, after the second small group session, two girls. Dustin and Andre were special education students, Qi was a second language student, and Della was an average-performing general education student. During the first session, Ryan took the lead in composing the topic sentences dealing with the quest for soccer goals. Dustin and the others did not object to his taking the lead in this way.

After the topic sentences had been composed, the writing role passed to Qi, as per the class norm of taking turns. Ryan, however, continued to guide and monitor the construction of text, as well as oversee turn taking. After being cautioned by the teacher to "make sure Andre and Dustin are contributing," Ryan addressed Andre, "Andre, it's your turn to come up with a sentence." However, Ryan did not stop there; he also suggested what Andre might say for his turn.

Ryan: Like a reason we should get soccer goals, like without soccer goals people cheat, like that.
Andre: People cheat because um
Ryan: They say they get goals when they really don't. Write that down. Good idea.
Andre: That was my idea.
Qi to Ryan: Actually, that was your idea.

Ryan asked Andre to take a turn, but retained tight control over the content of the suggestion, even complimenting himself on his own good idea: "Good idea." Next, Dustin claimed a turn for contributing a sentence he had in mind. Ryan, however, insisted that

they all should contribute to the sentence.

Dustin: Now it's my turn. We should have soccer goals, because every time we make a goal
Ryan: No, no, it's all of us. Because every time we make a goal the other team says we didn't?
Dustin: No, I know mine. Because every time we make a goal the ball rolls and rolls and rolls and nobody will [inaudible] and rolls and rolls and then it goes in the street.
Ryan: When we kick the ball write when we kick the ball the ball goes really far and it takes a long time to get it.

Dustin understood that when it was his turn to compose a sentence, he could use his own idea. Ryan's insistence that "No, no, it's all of us" who get to decide the content of a sentence, was a bit self serving, since he had brooked no interference with the topic sentences he had just composed. However, Dustin asserted his right to contribute his own idea ("No, I know mine"). A sort of functional compromise was reached between these competing bids for the right of decision making when Dustin allowed his idea to be restated by Ryan, who improved the sentence while retaining Dustin's ideas. Thus, the sentence reflected the input of both boys. Despite what seemed an auspicious beginning, Dustin spent the rest of the session overtly disengaged. He whispered to Ricky about what the microphone can hear. He and Andre talked while Ricky wrote. He told Andre and another student about a butterfly he caught. He made a game of pronouncing Andre's name.

Ryan was not adept at involving his peers in the activity in collaborative ways. The structure of the activity did not lend itself to continuous involvement, as only one out of four group members could write at one time. There might have been opportunities for collaboration on spelling issues, but Ryan was not a person who required such assistance. Negotiation of text, in this group, usually meant that Ryan sought support for his idea, rather than seeking ideas from other group members, as in the following exchange

Ryan: Watkins should have soccer goals because it will make soccer more fun.
No response, so he writes the sentence. Then he suggests a second sentence.
Ryan: How about, we should get soccer goals because more people wanted them?
Dustin: Yeah.
Ryan writes. He suggests a third sentence.

Ryan: How about we say that our friend went to school with soccer goals, and it was real fun?
Dustin: I don't care, Ryan.
Andre: Yeah.
Ryan to Qi: You want to?
Qi shrugs.
Ryan: Okay.
He writes the sentence.

With Ryan's strong leadership, engagement opportunities were limited, other than taking a turn at writing. Insisting on his right to write or to compose text, in this situation, required Dustin to display a large amount of energy, initiative, and risk-taking. Dustin did challenge Ryan, but most of the time it was just easier to let Ryan take the lead.

Dustin's chance to take the lead by assuming the writing task came several days later when the group met again to work on their essay. Ryan, feeling he was being "picked on," had left the group and not returned. The writing task fell to Dustin.

Dustin, however, was not the leader Ryan had been. He was an individual who enjoyed the social opportunities provided by small group interaction, whether the interaction was around text or entered into for other reasons. Dustin aroused a heightened degree of social interaction within the framework of the academic task by playfully engaging with other members of the group. The task was to write the PSSK (prior social studies knowledge) paragraph. Dustin wrote the sentence,"Qi has soccer goals." Qi protested: "That ain't true!" Now the game was on. It was a contest between Dustin's playful invention of "fact" and Qi's insistence on fidelity to reality. Dustin revised the sentence to read, "Qi has a soccer goal at home," and then, "Qi has two soccer goals at home." This increasing license with factual information stopped the task in progress; Qi felt misrepresented and could not let this rest. Dustin enjoyed these types of language games, and he enjoyed the social interchange this disagreement created, resulting in much off-task behavior of the group. It took the teacher's direct and concrete intervention, including actually writing some of the text, to finally get the group back on task.

This episode was complex. At least three factors were at play in the interactional

sequences involving Dustin and his peers. First, the teacher expected students to use personal experiences of selves or friends as prior social studies knowledge. An example might be, "My friend's school has soccer goals, so they don't have to argue about whether a goal was made or not." Thus, in a sense, Dustin was following the preferred model by citing a friend's situation. Whether or not it was true was not a representation issue for Dustin, who did not care whether it was true; rather, it was a social interaction issue, a way to provoke response. Second, this exercise was, in truth, a combination of reality and realistic fiction. Teachers and students really did want and need soccer goals at Watkins, and some students knew other students whose schools had soccer goals; however, Rhonda and the class invented the survey data they cited, because they did not have time to go through the whole process of writing, doing, and analyzing a survey. Rhonda's object for the lesson was to focus on the writing genré. Thus, Dustin's making up a story about Qi might have worked for the immediate purposes of learning the persuasive genré, or of rapidly completing the task, if Qi had agreed to go along with the scheme. Dustin's awareness of the looser fidelity required of the text was evident in his statement, "It's make believe...We ain't sending it to the governor or not...We're not sending it to the school board." Third, Dustin was often playful with his peers, enjoying a playful and friendly tease. Thus, this can also be seen as a teasing episode. At any rate, Rhonda eventually came over and canceled the "Qi has soccer goals" idea, substituting other text.

Dustin's role as temporary group leader involved writing the group-composed text. It also included monitoring the progress of the task, as indicated by his comments of, "What else?" and "See, we done." Later in this session, when Rhonda asked all of the groups about their progress, Dustin urged his group in another scheme, without success, to say that they were finished with their paragraph when he and they knew that they were not.

As temporary person-in-charge by virtue of being the writer, Dustin fulfilled some of the academic requirements of the task before them by writing text and monitoring the group's progress. He also attended to the social possibilities of the situation, employing

academic means to initiate social interactions (i.e., using invented information to arouse and engage Qi in personal interaction). He also participated in non-academic reasons for social interaction by holding a brief conversation with Qi and Della about bangs, hair, and teachers' ages.

Although small group collaborative structures seemed problematical for Marta and Dustin on one level, there were some positive aspects of these associations. First, the small group participant structure afforded social opportunities unavailable in the Ellison classroom. Both risks and rewards were attached to this structure, and we have noted the risks. However, when the collaborations were successful, the potential for rewards, in terms of making valued contributions and being accepted as group member, were large. Second, the small group collaborations indicated a direction on the road toward community. Closer attention to task instructions, student preparation, and the nature of the teacher role may have moderated adverse outcomes (Cohen, 1994). Angie and Rhonda commented, in their final teacher interview, about the restraining effect of too little classroom space on these kinds of collaborative opportunities. They had not been able to include as many of these experiences in their instructional activities this year.

Interactions with artifacts. The mediating artifacts and their influence on the academic and social interactions of the persuasive writing episode differed with the various participation structures. Several issues pertain here. First, different participation structures differentially influenced students' access to the artifact. During whole class lessons, the artifact (i.e., the jointly-composed text posted on large chart paper or the chalkboard) was ostensibly available to all. However, some students might be more able than others to work and interact with text within that participation structure. For example, when students were involved in the co-construction of text under the direction of the teacher, the mediating talk tended to be very rapid and tightly linked to previous utterances and topical threads. Therefore, making a coherent contribution to the dialogue required close attention to the progress of the conversation. However, Rhonda mitigated possible difficulties by asking

the class to reread the text with her. For Marta and Dustin, the rereadings of the text provided access to the text and to the interactions occurring during the construction of that text.

Access issues might also be critical during small group collaborations. In this participation structure, low performing students, such as Marta and Dustin, might have difficulty accessing the material artifact, the group-constructed text, because one or two of the higher performing members of the group assumed authoritative roles that determined possession and control of both the artifact and the rules surrounding its construction. Marta desired access to the text. She wanted to have a turn to write, which was denied her. Marta was in a particularly difficult situation, because even her attempts just to look at the text were made difficult.

Marta: I was just trying to look at the paper.
Danny: You think messing with that is trying to look at the paper?

Danny was devastatingly thorough in his ongoing refusal to allow Marta status in the group. He even used community norms as weapons against her involvement: "You should be participating."

Social interaction and access to text during individual work: Marta and Dustin. An important object of instruction in this classroom was that students should be able to accomplish tasks independently. Whole class lessons and modeling and small group collaborations were considered to be scaffolds toward this goal. Evaluating levels of social interaction during individual work was difficult without the verbal interaction that often offers a window for seeing what the individual is attending to and understanding the nature of his or her interaction.

Although students were expected, during individual writing task, to produce their own product, peer interactions were allowed and encouraged. Thus, ad hoc associations were entered into, usually with peers close by, such as at the same table, and lasted for a short time, usually until support was no longer needed for the problem or situation encountered.

These ad hoc associations represented another type of subject relationship as the participants used each other's resources to mediate their task. One such ad hoc association was the one described above, where Jenny and Marta engaged in several exchanges over Jenny's Easter bunny story.

Dustin entered into these ad hoc associations less often; in fact, I have no videotaped examples of his doing so. He seemed eager to write what he knew and be finished; crafting extended text into a meaningful text was not a goal for Dustin. He just wanted to be done. He still had not received the meta-message of the lesson. Dustin's example illustrates the necessity of longitudinal studies of individual development. This was his first year in this community of learners. If his academic progress followed the pattern of other students with learning disabilities in this classroom, his second year would show significant academic gains.

Students' access to material text during the individual writing episodes of Writing Workshop lessons could occur at any moment, because students working individually were in control of their text. In these contexts, students were not required to negotiate with their peers for the right to control the content, the process of text construction, or the material artifact itself. In fact, students might even retain control despite teachers' requested access, as in the following episode involving Marta during an earlier free-choice Writing Workshop. Rhonda stopped by Marta's desk to check on what she was writing and asked, "Can you think of something to write?" Marta, however, made no reply, and Rhonda left. As soon as she was gone, Marta, subvocalizing the while, wrote the word "I" and continued to write and say the words as she wrote. In charge of her text, she had shielded it even from the teacher.

Writing Achievement: Marta

As a general and gross measure of literacy skill, Marta's and Dustin's SORT-R scores indicated that we might expect Marta to be working at an approximate second grade level and Dustin at a pre-primer level. Indeed, examination of their writing conventions as

exhibited in writing samples and the pretest and posttest writing measures administered might corroborate this prediction. Writing measures provided a far point measure of writing skill transfer, because the measures were decontextualized from current writing activity. Two writing measures were administered as pretests and posttests representing two distinct genrés: expert (expository text) and personal narrative. Marta at the beginning of the year, in the expert and personal narrative measures, wrote 63 and 50 words respectively (see Figures 16 and 17). She spelled approximately two-thirds of the words correctly in both measures. Examination of other writing conventions reveals little use of punctuation, probably due to run-on sentences; however, most sentences begin with capitals letters and most of the words are written in the lower case. In the pretests, Marta numbered the lines in both written texts. Little use of voice (defined as attention to audience and communication of personality through dialogue, humor, and personal opinion) is apparent in either genré.

Posttests in the two genrés, with 80 and 49 words respectively (see Figures 18 and 19), show an increase in the ratio of invented to conventional spelling (1:7 and 1:5, respectively). She did not number the lines. Her use of conventions was at approximately the same level as the pretests. The use of voice was more apparent in the posttests. Marta exhibited voice by saying that something is "fun," that her dog is "nice to people," and commenting that "I always am in first place" in the game she played on the computer.

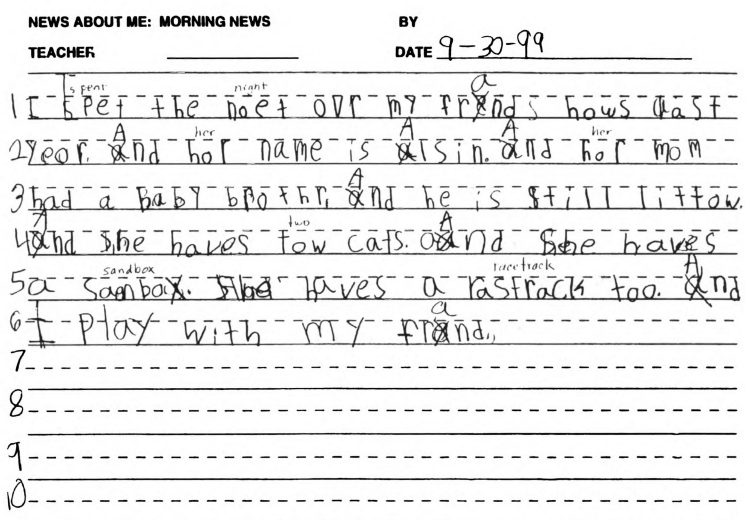
Evidence of editing in Marta's writing, both writing samples and writing measures, demonstrates inconsistent attempts to edit. Some of the editing evident in Marta's work, according to Angie and Rhonda, was peer editing. Interestingly, the personal narrative pretest showed multiple instances of editing that involved changing the spelling of "frend" to "frand," and changing lower case "and" at the beginning of sentences to upper case. On several occasions in her classroom writing she used an arrow to indicate indentation at the beginning of a story; however, this practice was inconsistent and not used in the writing measures. The arrow reflected an editing move often modeled during Morning Message. Use of the arrow first appeared in Marta's Writing Workshop notebook in November, on a

EXPERT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE: BY

TEACHER DATE 10-11-99

I have a wach dog if
So wolf Brags in the hows
she with Barks and wacs my
mom and dad at noon in the
morneing and thay will still
stay a wack and wack up
me fur scool and whin I come
home she is sow hape whin
I come from scool and I play
wif my dog wif hair Ball in the
hows.

Figure 16. Marta's expert pretest.


NEWS ABOUT ME: MORNING NEWS BY

TEACHER DATE 9-30-99

I spent the night at my friend's house last year. And her name is Alsin. And her mom had a baby brother. And he is still little. And she haves tow cats. And she haves two sandbox. She haves a racetrack too. And I play with my friend.

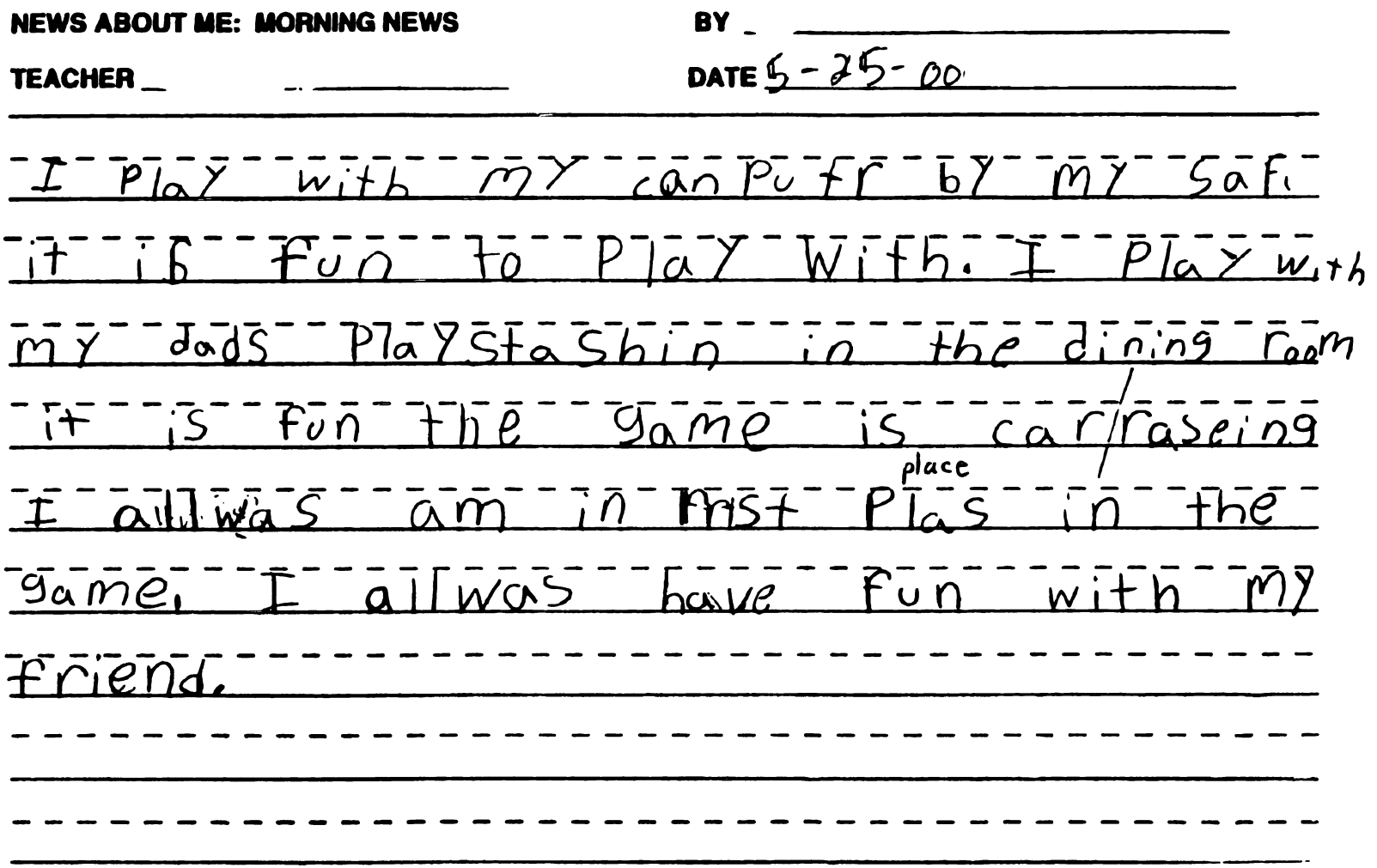
Figure 17. Maria's personal narrative pretest.

EXPERT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE: **BY** _____

TEACHER _____ **DATE** 5-22-00

I have a dog to teach my dog for a walk I feed my dog it is fun my dogs name is bear I tach my dog to the bathroom owt side and tot him on his chan sometimes we call bear wubby he is nies to people he is fun to play with he has toy to play with he has a ball a socks a shirt that is ript and he has a show to play with too

Figure 18. Marta's expert posttest.



NEWS ABOUT ME: MORNING NEWS BY _____

TEACHER _____ DATE 5-25-00

I play with my canputr by my Safi
it is fun to play with. I play with
my dads playstashin in the dining room
it is fun the game is car/rasing
I allwas am in frist (place) plas in the
game. I allwas have fun with my
friend.

Figure 19. Marta's personal narrative posttest.

story which was peer edited. It may be that Marta appropriated the arrow strategy from either or both Morning Message or peer use of the arrow.

Regarding genré characteristics, the expository pretest was not in the expert genré, because it was an account of her dog and how he wakes her parents in the middle of the night with his barking. In the posttest text Marta began to develop an expert stance. The text was again about a dog; however, a trace of expository genré can be detected in her account of how she must feed the dog, take it to the bathroom, put it on a chain, and of the toys the dog has. Although it was a first person text, this list of responsibilities might provide content for a piece with a more expository stance.

Marta matched personal narrative genré relatively well. This may have reflected her general choice of personal narrative genré during Writing Workshop lessons that provided choice. However, her narrative style was quite descriptive, and did not include chronological accounts of events. Indeed, in all of her "regular" Writing Workshop texts and these two writing measures, only one text related an event in chronological order. That text described an event where, when she saw a rabbit jumping, she became frightened, ran into the house, and looked out the window to discover that the rabbit had gone.

Overall, Marta wrote meaningful text in individual tasks. Her handwriting was clear and her invented spelling was decipherable. She showed emergent signs of editing and attention to capitalization and punctuation. She seemed to be discovering the dialogicality of text and its usefulness for communication. Because of the instrumentation used in this study, we cannot say for certain what Marta appropriated from the rich literacy environment in which she was immersed, and environment that provided both verbal and written resources. We may surmise that she was strategic in her spelling (use of the Word Wall and invented spelling) and in her accomplishment of writing tasks (put the date, write to the bottom of the page, answer the teacher's questions). An evaluation of Marta's writing behavior that would capture her thought processes by recording verbal interactions or self-talk would provide a richer and more complex picture of what she was able to appropriate

from the writing instruction provided for her. Such data would also assist in developing our understanding of possible connections between instruction and achievement for students with learning disabilities. Marta as a participant in the study might have been a less-than-ideal choice for providing such data, because she did not talk much and was not involved in partner writing which might have engendered interactions revealing her thought processes.

Writing Achievement: Dustin

Dustin tended to write what he knew over and over again with as few words as possible. His expert and personal narrative pretests contained 11 and 26 words, respectively (See Figures 20 and 21). He spelled about two-thirds of the words conventionally; however, his choice of words included many basic sight words that he knew how to spell: my, dog, and, he, can, I, the. Use of mixed cases is evident, and little or no use of punctuation. Dustin exhibited little use of voice; the only voice he gained was by using the first person in both pieces.

Posttests in the two genrés, with 48 and 53 words respectively (see Figures 22 and 23), show a large increase in fluency and a slight increase in the use of conventional spelling. Indeed, one would not expect such fluency from Dustin based on his scant texts in both writing samples and response journal entries throughout the year. Use of writing conventions (capitalization and punctuation) remained at approximately the same level. However, his use of voice was remarkably higher in the posttests. In each posttest, he addressed his audience through the use of questions ("Do you like soccer?") or direct appeals ("Guess how they make balloons"). He also used opinion and implied "you," as in, "Do you pick up the ball." The only use of editing was the use of an arrow to indicate indentation in the personal narrative posttest.

Dustin was able to match the genré quite well in both expert and personal narrative in three of the writing measures. In his expert posttest, he assumed an expert stance as he described rules and conventions with respect to playing soccer. In his personal narrative

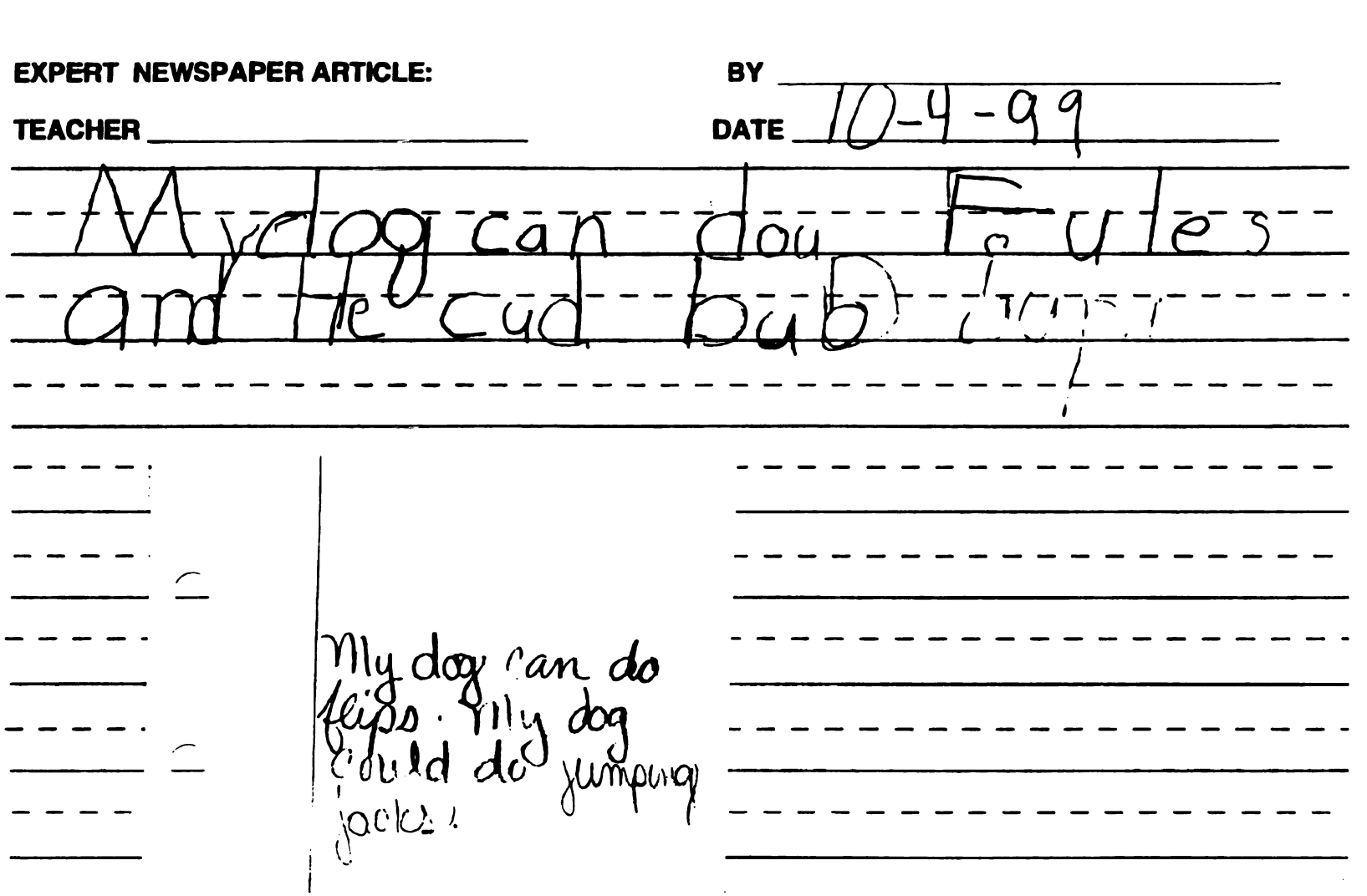


Figure 20. Dustin's expert pretest.

Figure 21. Dustin's personal narrative pretest.

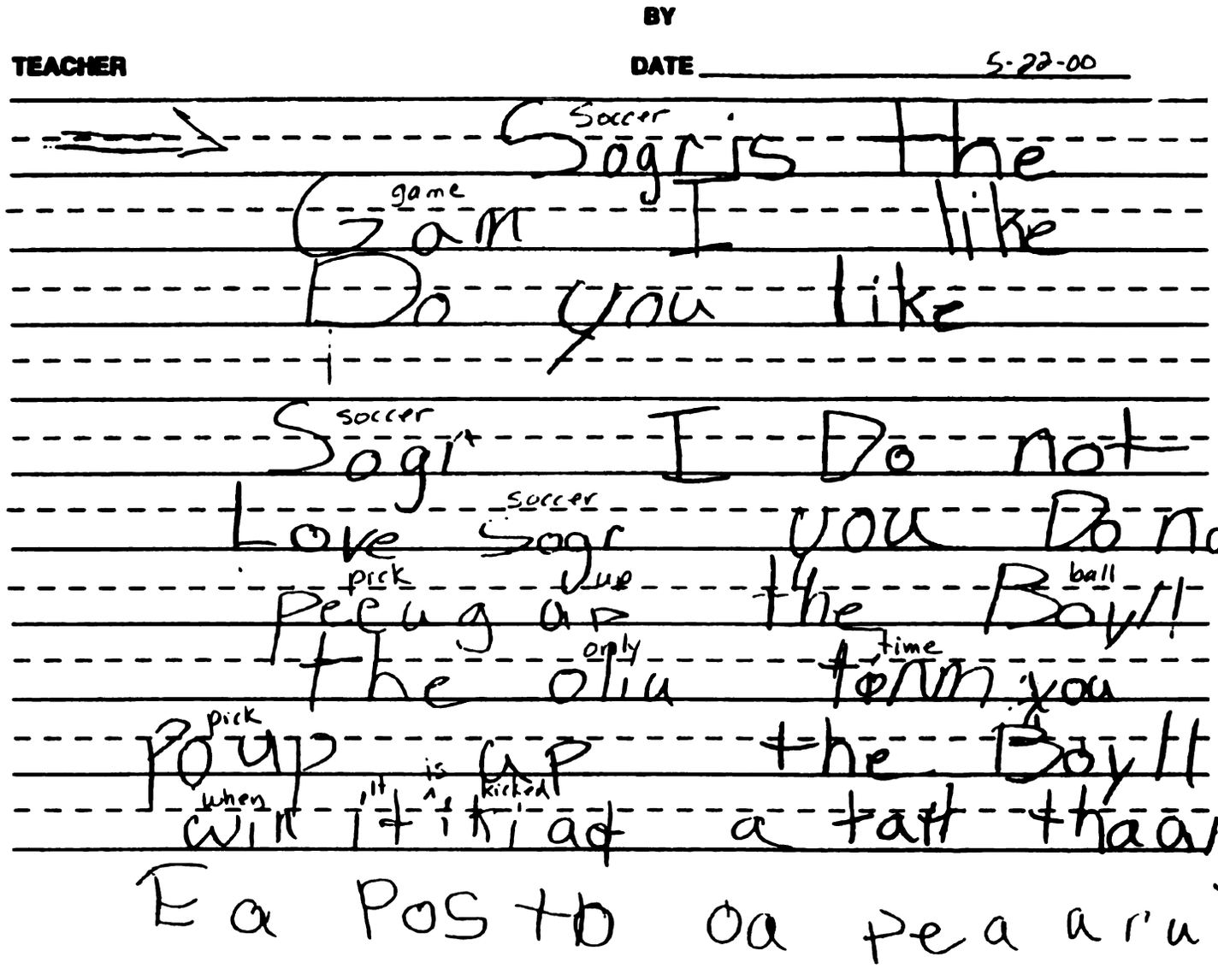


Figure 22. Dustin's expert posttest.

Figure 22 (cont'd).

PAGE 2: NEWSPAPER ARTICLE **BY**

DATE _____

Do not pic up the
Boyll (ball) and ronu (run)
and Som (sometime) tin (pass) pa s it
to Gau (your) / Famd (teammate)

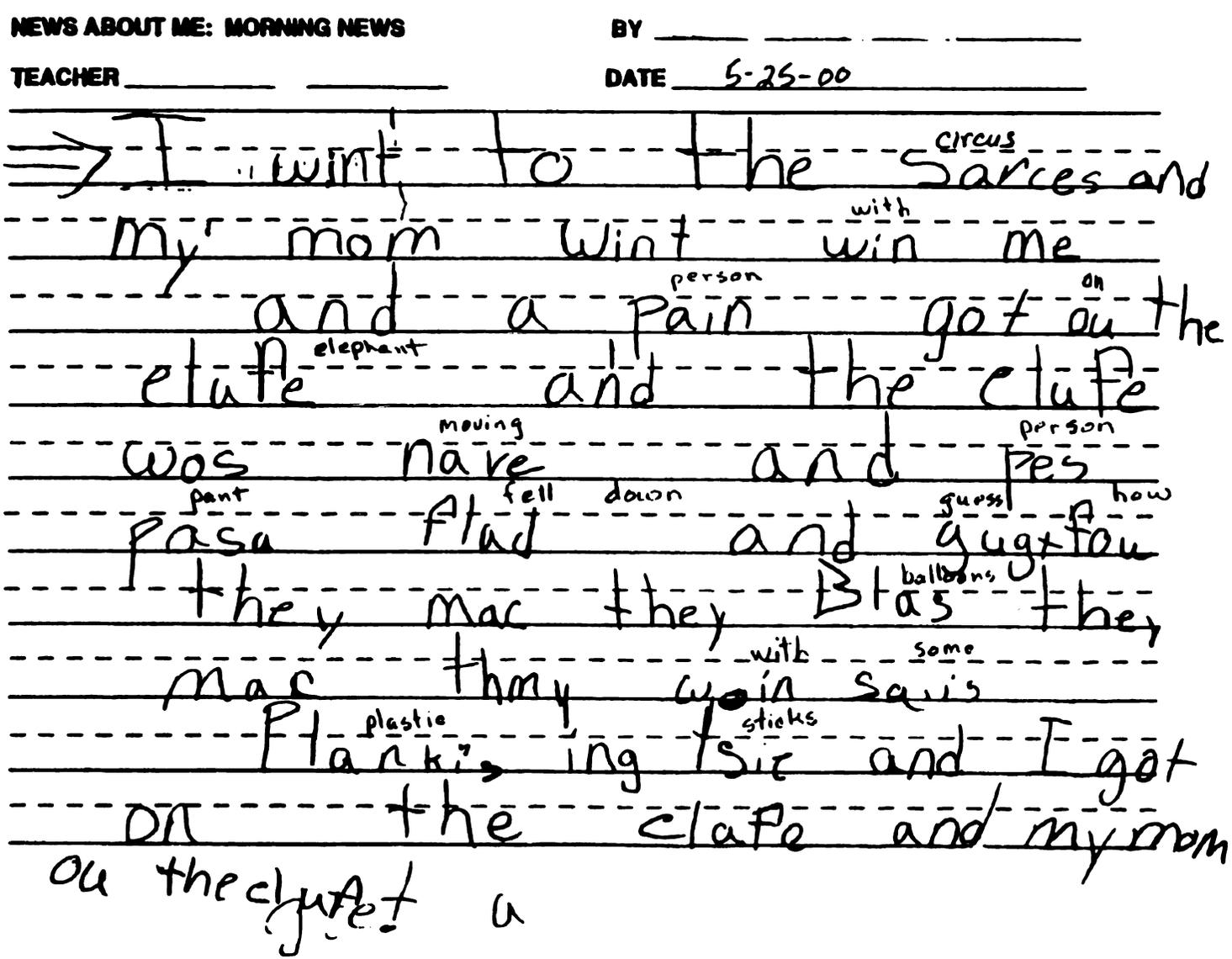


Figure 23. Dustin's personal narrative posttest.

tests, he selected appropriate content (i.e., personal experiences). The story of his dog biting his finger was recounted in accurate chronological order, although with little detail. The circus story was more descriptive than the dog bite story, but did include embedded temporality in the section about the person who got on the elephant and then his pants fell down. In fact, both of the posttest pieces, with their respective expert and narrative stances, respective assumption of authority and embedded temporality, and attention to audience in both, provide excellent examples of emergent genré writing.

Overall, Dustin presented the image of a developing writer whose skills were at times unevenly applied to his work, but who was not afraid to experiment with and appropriate practices and behaviors he observed. Fortunately for Dustin, he was not judged unready to write by his teachers because of his unclear handwriting and ambiguous spelling, but had many opportunities to write extended text. It appeared that, in his scanty texts, he had not yet developed the comfort with writing that his teachers no doubt hoped he would eventually achieve. However, he seemed to possess a developing sense of genré (response-question pattern in response journals, authoritative stance for expository, and use of temporality in narrative). As with Marta, improved instrumentation and appropriate research activities might provide a richer picture of his use of cognitive and material resources in his writing.

In this classroom, where teachers encourage the holistic development of writers, that is, where teachers attend to progress and development of writing skills beyond the evaluation of spelling and other writing conventions, we see young writers who experiment with writing practice, who make use of the many resources around them, and who are developing personal writing strategies that transfer to other writing activities.

Writing in a Community of Learners

Students in this classroom learned writing behaviors that reflected their membership in a community of learners. First, writers who are members of a community of learners make decisions about topic, pace, and stage of writing. When writers write in the real world,

they choose their topics. At Watkins, students chose their journal writing topics. Angie described one student who illustrated what they were looking for in this activity: "With the response journal,...he wants to tell Mrs. Grant what's going on. He gets all excited when he writes to her, and he wrote, look at today's, he showed it to me, he was real excited." In addition to journal writing, students chose topics for their Writing Workshop texts, for Morning Message texts, and for literature response assignments.

In addition to making topical decisions, effective writers make decisions about pace and phase of writing. In choosing topics to write about and performing the writing process, both Angie and Rhonda encouraged students toward the goal of independence. They stated,

> I want them to be more independent. I want them to read more independently, write more independently, work more independently, work in groups. 'Cause that really is the ultimate goal. We talk about empowering students. We want to empower them. And that's really what it is, we want them to be able to do the kinds of things that we ask them to do, independently, and do their very best and continue to feel success. (interview)

Marta and Dustin both made many decisions about their individual writing. Although they had not yet developed all of the resources that competent writers have at their disposal when they make decisions, their immersion in the writing practice of this classroom, where they observed multiple cases of text construction, allowed them to develop the strategies and skills required for independent practice.

Second, writers in a community of learners solve their writing problems either individually or by calling upon the expertise of others. Angie and Rhonda encouraged problem solving when they turned Writing Workshop rule making over to the students. In this classroom, Writing Workshop is

> not teacher-led... Our rules and steps in Writing Workshop are what the students in the class generate as a whole. So we sit and we brainstorm, what should we be doing, what would make good quality text, what should we do when we are editing. ... Our goal is to revisit it every month or so, so they can add and subtract. A lot of the stuff we do, we try and make sure the class is making this decision, that this would make quality writing. (interview)

Angie and Rhonda also encouraged problem solving among peers: "If it's bothering them that they might not be able to spell a word, they can get help with that in their group.

That's one of the major supports." A common problem for special education students particularly was spelling the words they were trying to write. In the episode above, Marta was called upon to help Jenny, another special education student, to spell several words.

Third, a good writer spends a lot of time writing. In the Watkins inclusion classroom, writing was involved in almost all academic activities. During reading instruction, students were involved in writing activities related to books and literature. Social studies and science involved writing, and even math required math journal writing, although Angie and Rhonda said they wanted to expand their math journal writing in the future.

Fourth, a good writer is skilled in multiple genrés. Students were expected, not only to be able to write in one context, but to transfer to and use their skills in multiple contexts. Thus, they "wrote across the curriculum" and in many genrés, for example, character study, webbing, poetry, and realistic fiction.

Fifth, a good writer is a part of a community of writers. The inclusion classroom at Watkins included students from the first through fourth grades. Teachers saw this wide range of ages and performance levels as a resource for student learning. Veteran students, who had been in the class during previous years, were called "experts" and were enlisted to help new students accomplish learning tasks through the use of problem solving and multiple resources. For example, Angie stated her expectation that students would handle difficulties with a math assignment by consulting a peer "expert": "Raise your hand if you think you need help, and I'll try to find you an expert" (transcript, Oct. 11).

Veteran students even assumed teaching responsibilities with the teachers. Early in the year several veteran students, who were familiar with how the teachers had taught poetry the previous year, not only suggested several poems to learn but also conducted the lesson. Angie described how Bailey, a special education student, in the role of teacher, choreographed and directed a class reading of a poem she brought for sharing.

> The kids are doing poetry this year, once a week. I mean, kids are doing poetry...They're teaching a lesson... Today Bailey brought this one in from a book she had at home...She said, "Okay, now, this group, you're gonna do this, read this

section, and this group, you're gonna read this section." She leads them. (interview)

Members of the writing community may be called upon to assist in problem solving, as in the Marta and Jenny spelling episode, or provide response to and critique of one another's work. Formal occasions for seeking critical response included peer conferences and teacher conferences during the writing process, and Author's Chair for disseminating one's work. Students found such opportunities, Author's Chair in particular, to be motivational for their writing. The teachers noted the motivational aspects of sharing: "It's a motivator...They want to be able to share." Informal occasions for seeking response to one's work included ad hoc interactions during the course of any writing session: "They can talk to others. With a multi-age room, they're all mixed up together, and they can talk. We encourage them... In Writing Workshop they talk."

Not only was community membership a resource for emerging writers, but students in this classroom were expected to assume responsibilities accruing to community members.

> Children that are capable understand pretty quickly that they are expected to help others. That's part of being in this community. Not only do you not make fun or anything else. That, you know, and we do have children come up. Somebody came up to me, I think somebody came up to me today, said to me, "Can I read alone, I'd rather read alone." I said, "No, some people can't read this. That's part of our job in this community is to help other people." (interview)

At Watkins, the community of learners supported struggling writers such as Marta and Dustin. However, membership alone in a community of learners does not guarantee success at every moment. As in any community, members struggle with real issues of power, authority, access, and participation. How the conflicts are managed and with what consequences for students with learning disabilities are the issues at hand.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION: COMMON THREADS ACROSS CONTEXTS AND PRACTICES

This study explored broad questions regarding affordances (i.e., the resources and opportunities available to students with learning disabilities as they learned and practiced writing skills), participation (i.e., how students were involved in classroom activities), and appropriation (i.e., what students learned and were able to do). Resources, opportunities, involvement, and outcomes help define a student's classroom experience and what is learned.

The major theme of this study dealt with relationships between affordances, participation, and appropriation. When we as educators hope that what we teach will be learned by students, we are often thinking about our planned curriculum. However, students also learn the social and cultural Discourses (Gee, 1992) of our classrooms evidenced in our epistemic stances towards teaching, which, in turn, influence what we teach and the way we teach it. Therefore, to construct as complete as possible a picture of students' learning, research in classrooms must consider affordance, participation, and appropriation at many different levels, including the official level, the teacher planning level, the instructional level, and the classroom culture and counter-culture levels (Richardson & Anders, 1998; Doyle, 1992; Gerhke, Sirotnik, & Knapp, 1992; Gutierrez, 1995).

It should be clear by now that, while these two instructional contexts differed in interesting and important ways regarding affordances and forms of participation, teachers' practices exhibited common features, specifically, carefully calibrated attention to individual learning needs, that caused these classrooms to be good learning places for students with special needs. In the following sections, writing instruction in the two classrooms is summarized and compared by examining what was afforded, how students participated, and what students appropriated. I highlight themes related specifically to the constructs of

affordance, participation, and appropriation and generally to effective instruction in inclusion classrooms.

Writing Instruction: What Was Afforded

Learning may vary according to the type of curricula and instructional activity afforded in a particular classroom. Consider the nature of opportunity to learn as addressed by Brock (1997), who argued that, while early understandings of opportunity to learn involved time--the amount of time available for teaching and learning and the actual time that students spend on academic tasks--researchers must also ask, "What counts as an opportunity for this particular child in this specific context?" As we have seen, opportunities for learning in the two research classrooms were very different. In this study, I employed two lenses to investigate the nature of writing activity in classrooms and what opportunities for learning were afforded to students. The first lens was a wide lens focusing on opportunities to write and general classroom organization. The second lens took a finer-grained look at the social structure of writing lesson events. The section on affordance concludes with an examination of attention to individual learning needs in the two classrooms and a comment on curriculum design.

Writing Opportunities and Classroom Organization

In examining writing instruction and activity, it is important to understand what was afforded through daily and over-time opportunities for writing, as well as general patterns of organization of classroom activity that frame students' activities and interactions. The discussion of opportunities for writing addresses content of writing activity, purposes for writing, and features of texts. This will be followed in this section by an examination of general classroom organization.

Content of writing activity. Students in both classrooms had a wide range of opportunities for writing. At Ellison School, writing opportunities included board work, phonics work sheets, reading lessons (at least for higher performing students), journals, and theme writing. Four of these activities--board work, reading lessons, journals, and

theme writing--provided opportunities for writing extended text. It is interesting to note that two of the extended writing activities--board work and reading lessons--involved writing activities for higher performing students only. Lower performing students were considered to be unready for writing extended text, and they were allowed to dictate their stories to the teachers. With their low encoding skills, writing stories was too "frustrating" for them.

> It'll be oral. As they tell, we'll write the paper, but they're going to sit there and tell it to us and we're going to write it down for them. And that's their first step. So we don't even attempt this with them because it's too frustrating. They just cannot handle it right now. And we didn't learn that until maybe two or three years ago. We expected everybody to do it...they've only got, what, about twelve sounds under control, and it's just too frustrating for them (teacher interview, Ellison Team Room).

At Watkins School writing opportunities included journal writing, writing at reading centers, recess writing (disciplinary writing), theme writing, and Writing Workshop. Three of these activities--journals, theme writing, and Writing Workshop--provided opportunities for writing extended text. However, and in contrast to Ellison, all students were expected to write extended text for stories and in their response journals. About one of the academically lowest performing students, the teachers said, "If Roger writes a couple of words [in his response journal], three words, I'm happy with three...he's being successful for where he's at. And he's feeling that success" (teacher interview). These teachers believed that the accomplishment of writing provided successful experiences for students.

Purposes for writing. At Ellison, writing was often done for exhibition or to complete assignments. Lanie's remark, "When it's for parents, our last parent meeting, they show everything what we do," indicated her awareness of exhibition. A general education student in the Ellison Team Room explained why he wrote: "I just try to write stuff like they tell me. That's all. You gotta write it." Ellison teachers saw the purpose of students' writing instruction as being able to get something on paper. For them, the achievement of written text was the prime reason for learning to write. For students, the cognitive and social requirements related to writing were fairly straightforward. Expectations were quite clear with few decision points as long as students complied with the specific structure suggested

by the teachers. For students with learning disabilities who might have attentional or interpersonal difficulties, clear expectations might be a protective barrier providing a manageable working space.

At Watkins, writing was often problem solving and intended for communication with an audience. Reasons for communication might include resolving recess problems or writing to the school board. The persuasive writing activity illustrated writing that involved a highly structured text. However, within the activity were provided ample opportunities for problem solving in situated contexts as students strove to identify and express ideas that would address the goal for the writing, which was to persuade the school board to install soccer goals at the school. The Watkins teachers felt that the purpose for writing instruction was to enable students to communicate for authentic reasons, and that such authentic communication was critical for student motivation to write. Writing was not an endpoint but a tool to accomplish social goals. For students, expectations were no less clear than at Ellison, but at Watkins task structures included multiple decision points. Additionally, the need to negotiate meaning making and turn taking required students to attend to identity building and relational tasks, with attendant risks rife with opportunities for public and painful failure. The other side of the negotiation coin was that students who successfully navigated this dangerous territory were rewarded by their functional inclusion in the task and in peer interactions.

Features of texts. At Ellison texts were comprised of word and phrase-length answers and were expected to represent "quality work" (Lanie's student interview). Quality work meant neat handwriting, best individual effort, and correct answers. This explicit attention to form was important for students who typically have difficulty learning by observation without direct instruction.

At Watkins, almost all writing was considered to be at the draft level. That is, students could use invented spelling, editor's marks, and other ways to provide coherence for the reader (e.g., arrows). Teachers celebrated "sloppy copies" as documents that showed, in

their use of editor's marks, arrows, cross outs, and other editing devices, evidence of the writer's thoughtful reflection and composition of text. Some of these editing moves showed up in Marta's and Dustin's writing, particularly the use of an arrow to indicate paragraph indentation. Teachers emphasized creativity and the substance of the product rather than its physical appearance. Teachers or students published their stories by typing them at the computer; students were rarely required to recopy text by hand.

General organization of activity. Erickson (1996) suggested that organization of activity in the classroom can contribute to the assimilation of students with disabilities into classroom activity. Classrooms where all students are expected to do the same thing at the same time (e.g., math problems in a text book) display a monochronic organization of activity, which tends to make visible students who are engaged in different activity (e.g., using manipulatives to help solve problems in a task that is pencil-and-paper work for all other students). Polychronic activity, on the other hand, where students are engaged in different activities at the same time, functions to conceal differences in levels and quality of student performance in the classroom, helping students with learning disabilities to better blend with other students.

Polychronic organization seemed to characterize the general organization of activity in both classrooms. At Ellison, center time, which accounted for most of the time between 9:00 a.m. and 12:30 p.m., organized student activity around six different tasks, with participation changes every 30 minutes or so. Casual observers would see a buzz of activity, rendering it virtually impossible for them to identify students who might have learning disabilities. Everyone was busy and took a turn at each of the six centers.

At Watkins, similar activity occurred during reading instruction. Some children participated in reading lessons organized in heterogeneous groups, while others completed work at various academic centers. The students at the centers rotated on the sound of a timer. Writing Workshop was also a polychronic activity in the sense that students were engaged in various phases of the writing process at the same time. Some might be drafting,

some editing, or some involved in processing their stories on the computer for publication.

Sometimes organization of activity was monochronic in both classrooms, usually during whole-group lessons. Some lessons tended to be recitations or discussions. In these lessons, the teachers carried the responsibility for supporting students' participation and helping them blend. Appropriate behavior for both of these participant frameworks included observation, a low-risk activity appropriate for both special education and general education students. Active participation in these lessons was usually voluntary, and in both classrooms teachers provided calibrated scaffolding for lower-performing students who volunteered to participate. Scaffolding might be offered in the form of revoicing (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993), as demonstrated by this exchange in the Ellison classroom where Maddy, a special education student, volunteered information about an octopus.

Maddy: Some octopuses change their color when they're around their color they go they change they their color.
T: That's right, when they're around a certain color, they change to that color. That's right.

As Maddy struggled to put her idea into words, Darlene offered a coherent revoicing of her thought. In this way, Maddy was assisted to participate in the whole group lesson with a valuable contribution to the knowledge collection activity.

At Watkins, monochronic activities such as journal writing or math group lessons were arranged in such a way that supports or scaffolds (e.g., procedures for asking peers how to spell a word, using math manipulatives) were not based on a special education-general education distinction. In the whole group structure, peers as well as teachers were called on to assist the participation of students who risked volunteering.

At Watkins, Morning Message, a whole group activity, might be considered to be monochronic in that everyone was engaged in the same activity at the same time. However, it might also be considered to be polychronic in the sense that there were different levels and opportunities for involvement. For instance, some students were involved in evaluating and adjusting coherence, a complex meaning-making activity, while others addressed end-

of-sentence punctuation. Both elements of text, meaning, and conventions, are critical in written expression; therefore, both types of contributions were important to the construction of complete and correct text.

Structure of Writing Lessons

We turn now to a closer look at the structure of writing lessons, focusing on the types of activity structures (Gallimore & Tharp, 1990) found in the Ellison Team Room and the Watkins inclusion classroom. Students in both classrooms participated in different activity structures or participation frameworks (O'Connor & Michaels, 1993) ranging from "solitary" to "collective." A participation framework describes (1) the ways that speech event participants are aligned with or against each other, and (2) the ways they are positioned relative to topics and even specific utterances (i.e., participants talking to one another and about one another). Participant frameworks are different from participant structures, which denote the rights and responsibilities in classroom activities purposefully set up by the teacher--small groups, large-group discussion, lecture--and they are also different from speech activities (Gumperz, 1986), which are defined as conventional levels of activity ("classroom discussion," "complaining," "making a speech").

A common participant framework found in schools is represented by the teacher who talks, decides who else talks, asks the questions, evaluates the answers and clearly manages the conversation (Mehan, 1979). This pattern is the I-R-E (or F) pattern: teacher initiation of an exchange, student response, teacher evaluation or feedback. In an I-R-E (or F) pattern, the roles of teacher and student are unequal. The teacher casts students in the role of learners, who are considered to be unknowing and unable to evaluate their own responses, while the teacher is the authority and arbiter of what counts as knowledge. This is not bad in and of itself, but if we believe that meaning is constructed discursively, then using participant structures that rely on inquiry and instruction without opportunities for conversation and debate (Burbules, 1993) severely limits learning opportunities for students. Thus, altering the participant framework might not only position students in

active, rather than passive, roles relative to teachers, but prompt teachers to find ways to position all students, including frequently marginalized special education students, in active roles relative to other students.

To understand the types of participant structures and frameworks that might be available in these two classrooms, I drew on my own teaching experience, classroom observations, and other resources to construct types of classroom interaction. Four types of participant structures seemed to include most academic activities. Calling the four possible configurations "learning spaces," I defined and illustrated the: (1) standard learning space, (2) guided learning space, (3) collaborative learning space, and (4) autonomous learning space (see Figure 24).

Learning Space	Standard Learning Space	Guided Learning Space	Collaborative Learning Space	Autonomous Learning Space
Action	Teacher explains how to write text **T** ⇩ **S**	Teacher/student write text together **T** ⇧⇩ **S**	Student writes text with peer **S ⇦⇨ S**	Student writes text independently **S**

Figure 24. Learning Spaces: type, action, and direction of action.

The first space, the standard learning space involves unidirectional teacher-student interaction. This might occur when a teacher introduces and explains new material to be learned. In a traditional grammar lesson using a textbook, for example, this would be the phase where the teacher explains how to identify nouns in sentences. In this interactional space, the teacher is active and the student is mostly passive. The teacher explains and illustrates, while the student observes, perhaps requesting clarification. In its extreme form (i.e., lecture only) this space did not seem to be present in either the Ellison or Watkins classrooms. All of the teachers seemed to be skilled at drawing students into their presentations of new material in ways that allowed students to make connections between their prior knowledge and new material. For example in the following segment, Darlene

introduced new board work lessons at Ellison by calling on students to recall prior knowledge:

Darlene: Okay. I have got something on this board work, some kind of special word. Does anybody in purple know what in the world these things are? What are they called? Adelyn, do you think you remember from last year? I don't know if you did this last year, but you may have heard about it.
A: I heard about it.
Darlene: Heard about it. That's what I thought. You heard about it. All right, Donny, you think you remember?
Donny: Compound words
Darlene: Did you just say that, Adelyn? Very good.

By calling on students to consult their prior knowledge, Darlene drew out their knowledge of compound words. A less skilled teacher might have said something like this: "Okay, today I am going to tell you about compound words. A compound word is a word that is made up of two smaller words..." Darlene, however, through her knowledge of the history of the class regarding what happened, or might have happened, last year, was adept at making connections with students' prior learning.

Likewise Rhonda, in the inclusion room at Watkins, involved students in her explanation of the task. Recall her introduction to persuasive writing.

R: This morning we are going on a journey of writing that will cause someone else to change their thinking or so we can do something we want. What do we call that type of writing?
Ned: Persuading
R: Persuading. I'm sure you all have done something like this...You really want some new roller blades. You want something new that you think you need, but your parents don't agree.

In this way, Rhonda elicited the topic from the students, rather than disclosing it herself. She also involved students in the selection of a second issue by drawing the topic, school uniforms, from another classroom activity, a virtual journey through Africa.

R: What did you vote on today on Globalearn [computer site for the journey]?
S: Wearing uniforms to school.
R: That was the issue...We are going to take the issue of wearing uniforms to school.

Thus, although persuasive writing meant learning new concepts and writing skills, Rhonda did not present these as a lecture, which less experienced and skilled teachers

might have done, but provided opportunities for students' active involvement.

The second space, the guided learning space, involves bidirectional interaction as the teacher leads students through examples involving application of new knowledge. Both teacher and student are active. In our example, this is the phase where the teacher in the hypothetical grammar lesson says, "Okay, let's do the next one together," and then proceeds to lead students as they do the exercise. Although both research classrooms afforded opportunities for activity in the guided learning space, the nature of those interactions was quite different. In the Team Room at Ellison, continuing the board work example shown above, the following bidirectional interaction occurred as Darlene continued to guide students through the assignment they would be doing later on their own.

D: Then what do we have next? Loren.
Loren: Mailbox.
D: Mailbox. What are two small words in mailbox, Loren?
Lo: Mail and box.
D: Mail and box. How about this word, Lanie? (*Lanie has raised her hand.*)
Lanie: Popcorn.
D: Popcorn. What are the two small words?
La: Pop.
D: Pop
La: Corn
D: And corn.

Together Darlene and the students accomplished the task, with the teacher guiding students through the exercise. However, the interaction had the qualities of the initiation-response-evaluation (I-R-E) pattern (Cazden,1988; Mehan,1979). The lesson was quickly accomplished and the teacher moved on to the next group, where a similar sequence was repeated.

At Watkins, teacher management of the guided learning space was quite different. First, because writing a persuasive essay was a more complex task than writing compound words, the guided phase of the lesson was much longer for the persuasive exercise. Rhonda and the students spent several days on the task, first constructing topic sentences and then paragraphs. In the transcribed segment below, note how, rather than controlling the discussion through the use of the I-R-E sequence, Rhonda engaged the students in

problem-solving by referring decision making back to them.

T: I hate to tell you this, but how is that [soiling a uniform] different from wearing your own clothes? ...Somehow we gotta make it be different.
D: The buttons might come off when you're washing your clothes.
T: Oh,...if they wear out? There's something we didn't think about.
D: That could go with the buying one.
T: Could go with buying one up there too couldn't it. Good thinking. ... If you're writing things that could still be the same as regular clothes, that's not gonna persuade anybody. Dustin said they might wear out quicker. Now there's a thought.

Rhonda identified a logic problem with their argument, then turned it over to students for repair. Dustin's response received a high level evaluation (Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991), one that allowed his contribution to influence the outcome of the discussion. Dustin's sentence was eventually added to the model essay. Through the guided co-construction of text, Rhonda built from students' comments, as if she were positioned equally, as just another group member working with Paul and Cassie to compose a sentence for their common essay.

Thus, we note the possibility of variations of teacher guidance within the guided learning space. Darlene provided guidance that involved students, but she was leading students toward known answers. Rhonda's exchanges with students were used to develop students' thought processes and ideas.

Passing over the third learning space for a moment, we note that the fourth learning space, the autonomous learning space, involves independent action on the part of students as they proceed to apply new knowledge in some task. This would be the phase in the traditional lesson where the teacher directs students to "Do the next ten sentences on your own." In the board work lesson above, this occurred later that morning during the time specified for seat work. In the persuasive essay writing, this would have occurred later had there been time before the end of the school year.

The three learning spaces just described, the standard, guided, and autonomous spaces, seem to be typical in most classrooms. This brings us to the third space, the collaborative learning space. Learning in the collaborative space is an instructional phase

that is critical for student learning. This is where peer-peer interaction takes place as students help and instruct each other in the application of newly learned skills to a new task. As active participants in this new, joint task, students have opportunities to instruct and be instructed, explore, take intellectual and emotional risks, voice authentic and personal questions, and initiate topics of interest (Raphael, Brock, & Wallace, 1998). Learning in the collaborative space assumes the social construction of knowledge and moves away from teaching and learning viewed as transmission.

Students in the Watkins classroom had opportunities to work in the collaborative space, directing peer talk toward the accomplishment of a joint task. Students were often encouraged to work in small groups or in dyads. This interaction was viewed as a responsibility of members of a learning community. As responsible members of the community, students shared knowledge with each other and assisted other students in case of need. At least this was the goal, and despite times when the interactions fell short of the goal, students had the opportunities to benefit from these interactions. This possibility was missing at Ellison. For example, Table 11 illustrates representative lesson sequences in the two classrooms. Typically, students at Ellison were not provided collaborative opportunities, while students at Watkins were.

Table 11

Example: Octopus Report/Persuasive Essay

	Standard Learning Space	Guided Learning Space	Collaborative Learning Space	Autonomous Learning Space
Ellison	Teacher lists facts & models concept map for octopus report.	Teacher elicits facts and big ideas.	(No formal opportunity for peer collaboration)	Students copy concept map and write own report.
Watkins	Teacher shows the persuasive essay web.	Teacher & students construct model essay	Students construct essay on new topic in small groups.	Students would have written own essays, if time.

To summarize, activities in the standard and autonomous learning spaces were similar in the two classrooms. In each case, teachers explained the task to their students, and

students performed independent work. However, activities in the guided learning space might be qualitatively very different, as they were in the two cases under consideration. Guiding took different forms. In Darlene's octopus lesson, she asked students to recall what they remembered. She then augmented their recall with her own observations and comments. In Rhonda's sequence of lessons on persuasive writing, she asked students to problem solve as they and she struggled to construct text together. For her, guiding involved turning problem-solving situations back to the students and providing them with opportunities to respond to the ideas and suggestions of other students.

In the collaborative learning space, students at Watkins worked together to construct persuasive essays. Working without major teacher input, students had the opportunity to explore the new skill of persuasive writing with their peers. Students at Ellison did not have formal opportunities for this type of mutual, collaborative exploration of new skills. An opportunity for useful exploitation of the collaborative space might have occurred had students been instructed to write their reports with a partner, that is, two students writing one report.

We have demonstrated in the persuasive writing collaborations described in Chapter 5 that acting in the collaborative learning space entails risks. However, the point is that students in the inclusion classroom at Watkins had opportunities for collaboration that students at Ellison did not. If opportunities for social interchange are critical components of opportunity to learn, then, clearly, students in the Watkins inclusion classroom received enriched learning opportunities. At Watkins, what was afforded was a rich menu of opportunity for social interaction that involved activity structures allowing for whole class, small group, dyadic, and individual activities. Participation in such structures allowed the involvement of more knowledgeable others (Vygotsky, 1978) to serve as resources for students' learning. Students with access to each other for support have a wider range of educational opportunities available (Gutierrez & Stone, 1997) when compared with students who must rely exclusively on their own resources or on the teacher.

Curriculum Design

Since special education and regular education typically operate within different paradigms (Meredith & Underwood, 1995), curriculum design for inclusion classrooms is a critical issue. Typically, special education provides instruction that is individualized, deficit driven, segmented, and tightly controlled (Poplin, 1988). General education teachers, on the other hand, are required to attend to the needs of an entire group of students. At present, teachers in general education environments do not often adapt curriculum to meet the unique learning needs of students with disabilities who are included (McIntosh, Vaughn, Schumm, Haager, & Lee, 1993; Scott, Vitale, & Masten, 1998; Zigmond & Baker, 1995). In effect, students are included but not engaged. Teachers in both of the classrooms in this study designed similar curricula for every child, with the child's participation individually determined. The curriculum was for everybody, and differential participation was supported. At Ellison, participation in the universal curriculum was asynchronous, in that, although all students learned the same curricular components, they learned them at different times. At Watkins, participation was synchronous, but different levels of performance were allowed and encouraged.

Attention to Individual Learning Needs

Attention to individual learning needs is necessary and critical for students with learning disabilities (Kauffman & Hallahan, 1997). We might wonder how, in an inclusion context, this individualization might be accomplished. In particular, because writing instruction in the Team Room at Ellison was so obviously structured to focus on remediating individual learning needs, we might well wonder how similar individualization was accomplished at Watkins, where all students often participated in shared activities.

I suggest that, in both classrooms, instruction was indeed individually calibrated for all children, whether they were identified as general or special education students. However, this calibration was accomplished in different ways (see Table 12).

Table 12

Calibration of Individual Instruction

	What is provided	When it is provided
Ellison	Calibrated instruction is provided for every child by the individual materials and activities provided for each student.	All calibration is planned for ahead of time. Requires less on-the-spot teacher-student interaction.
Watkins	Calibrated instruction is provided for every child "on line" as teachers interact with students while they are doing the task.	Requires constant on-the-spot calibration during the process of the task.

To state these findings as a claim, individualization was provided in the Ellison classroom via planning, and in the Watkins classroom via scaffolding. In the Ellison classroom, calibrated instruction was provided by the planned materials. These teachers had complied shelves of large three-ring binders full of phonics work sheets that covered and carefully sequenced every phonic element they could think of. Students were assessed at the beginning of the year, and on this basis, assigned an "entry point" into the phonics curriculum. Progress was planned for by sequenced work sheets and activities. This type of calibrated instruction required less on-the-spot calibration on a moment-to-moment basis, because all calibration was planned for and prepared ahead of time.

In the Watkins classroom, calibrated instruction was provided "on line" within the "multilevel instructional" tasks (Vaughn & Schumm, 1996) required of all students. As teachers interacted daily with students during Morning Message or Writing Workshop, they adjusted and tailored their instruction for each student. Such instruction requires on-the-spot calibration during the process of the task.

It may be that the "inclusion" aspect of both classrooms could be defined as (a) enabling of students academically and socially, and (b) attention to unique learning needs, and is found in the calibrated individualization of instruction for every child, whether general or special education. It is the presence or absence of calibration that is a key feature of successful inclusion rooms.

Writing Instruction: How Students Participated

Participation, according to Wenger (1998) is made up of action and connection. Therefore, participation has both individual and social aspects that imply interaction. In the classroom, both teacher and student contribute in and to classroom activity. The teacher contributes instruction (action) and trust (connection) to the interaction. The student contributes some kind of activity (action) and trust (connection). Interaction implies engagement. We know that engagement is critical to achievement. If engagement abates, achievement may be reduced.

This section is segmented into three parts. The first deals with teachers' views of participation, the role of trust in participation, and the nature of participation in writing activities. The middle part addresses actual engagement of students in writing activities. The final segment considers the roles and relationships among students and teachers during writing activities.

The Meaning of Participation in the Two Classrooms

Teachers' views of participation. I was alerted to possible variations in classroom culture when the teachers in each classroom defined "participation" rather differently. Ellison teachers talked about two kinds of participation. One was whole group participation in specific activities, as when all students receive the same content at the listening center: "Everybody participates...everybody's getting the thematic information. It's necessary...because their board work, or everything, revolves around what the theme is. So everybody's participating in attaining all kinds of...information." This kind of participation meant listening to the tapes and completing the accompanying activity. Another whole group activity where everyone participated was the daily introduction to board work: "Everybody participates as full group, but these [board work exercises] are specific to whatever their needs are. So they have a specific place they have to direct their attention to when they're doing the board work." This was a similar kind of participation, in that students were expected to listen and give the right answer when called upon.

For the Watkins teachers, participation and community were linked. Both terms surfaced in the same conversational topic. Participation was essential for community membership; if you're not there, you can't be fully part of a community: "When kids are in pull-outs, they're not really a whole part of that community." Participation also creates community: "They immediately were talking [through their journals] back and forth,...it's also building community." Participation was a goal: "Everyone can participate today." If academic learning was not immediately evident, the bottom line was "at least the participation part was there." Participation was linked with empowerment: "I have the power to do that if I participate." In the Watkins classroom, participation was expected at the whole group level, it was invited, and it involved writing or speaking.

A second kind of participation involved students' relationship to the general instructional program of the classroom. Having prior knowledge of the sense of community and the kind of participation the Watkins teachers encouraged, I tried to prompt the Ellison teachers to say something similar, to somehow indicate that for them, involvement of students at various levels in the shared activities of the classroom was also important.

RB: Well, for instance, some people in inclusion classrooms might say, I really expect, they mean everybody, but I really expect the special ed kids to really try hard, do their best, you know, participate.

DW: That's just everybody. I don't expect anything from a special ed kids I don't expect from everybody. I don't, I never even thought of it. I mean, that's why the question seems so foreign, because it's not something we think about.

The Ellison teachers seemed to construe participation as participation <u>in</u>, as opposed to the participation <u>with</u> that the Watson teachers valued. At Ellison, students participated in order to complete their work. At Watkins, students participated in order to belong to a community. Participating in an individual tape-listening activity is different than participating with peers in the construction of a Morning Message. The kind of participation I thought I was attempting to describe in the interview just didn't make sense to the Ellison

teachers. To paraphrase in my own words the sense of the Ellison response, "Of course, students participate. They come to school; they do the work. If they don't, they'll be in trouble. What else is there?" At Ellison, participation was assumed at the individual level, required, and involved listening, observing, or simple responses. At Watkins, participation was assumed at the group level, invited, and involved complex responses in addition to listening and observing.

Requirements for participation may be pre-defined or decided *in situ*. At Ellison, participation was nailed down. Students knew what was expected of them each day, and teachers made sure all assignments were completed. Structures, even physical structures such as the dividers at the literacy centers, encouraged students to participate (i.e., do their assigned tasks). At Watkins, participation was much more contextually determined. Since participation was in a sense optional (invited), teachers constantly encouraged participation by, for example, asking Morning Message authors to call on students who had not yet participated, by scaffolding participation when it was difficult (e.g., Marta being allowed to call on another student to speak for her), and by noting participation when it occurred ("That's good. Thank you.").

The role of trust in participation. Teachers at both schools talked about the importance of trust. At Ellison, gaining students' trust was prerequisite for learning and preceded everything else. Once trust had been established, students would do with the tasks selected for them. At Watkins, trust was also considered foundational to learning: "They have to trust us to make sure it's okay to...try things." The teachers seemed to understand that the possibilities for learning and participating may be high-risk for some students. However, one had the sense that trust was also the result of community building. This vignette told by Rhonda demonstrated how trust evolved from relationships.

> I got on some kids out here I don't even know, at recess time....After I'd taken care of the problem, I said [to some of our students], "Boy, they sure looked like they were afraid of me, didn't they?" and they started giggling...So, it's, you know, that trust thing...[They know] you're going to be accepting of them, even when they make mistakes. (interview)

The nature of participation in writing activity. Writing activities in the two classrooms may be characterized differently. At Ellison, activity involved copying, listening, responding to a phonics tape or a computer skill drill program. It also involved observing; however, it was observing for the purpose of providing the correct answer at the appropriate point, to learn the guidelines for an assignment to be accomplished later, or to provide an audience for the teacher's presentation of new knowledge. These were the teachers' activities for the students. In the octopus report writing, the activity was to copy the web and then produce the product the teacher wanted, which included a particular order for the "big ideas." In the creation of the dragon shadow puppet show script, the teacher was visibly in charge of the text, paraphrasing it and modifying it as she wished. Activity was reproductive (Bloome, 1989) rather than productive, and the teacher owned the task. In fact, the teacher's talk contained very little evidence for the possibility of joint ownership. For example, the only time the teacher used the pronoun "our" in the octopus lesson was in referring to the new students in the class who were learning how to use "our" brainstorming sheet, a sort of "them" and "us" inference.

At Watkins, activity involved speaking, writing, and observing; however, observation involved identifying a point where one might contribute to the product under construction. There was every indication that a student's contribution would actually modify the outcome of the activity; thus, a student might develop a sense of ownership in the activity and outcome: "That word/phrase/sentence/idea up there is mine. The teacher didn't think of it; I did." In the persuasive essay whole group activity, the teacher's talk included ten instances of the use of the pronoun "our": our data, our web, our topic, our paragraphs, our list, and so on. Activity was shared activity and was productive rather than reproductive.

Engagement Aspects of Participation

To be part of an enterprise, subjects must be joined in a common task that is mutually shaped by their interaction (Wenger, 1998). Participation in such a task might be defined as

engagement. This section will address student engagement in three activity structures: whole group lessons, small group collaborations, and individual work.

Engagement during whole group lessons. Whole group lessons included text construction during Morning Message and persuasive writing at Watkins, the dragon story at Ellison, and the public phases of board work and process writing (the octopus report) at Ellison. In the octopus report and dragon story lessons, the teacher invited student ideas, but students were not involved with her in composing the texts. At Watkins, the students provided the raw material and also co-constructed the text. When students were involved in the composition, the interactions tended to be much tighter, in that, to make a contribution, a student would have to be attending to and following the thread of the conversation in order to understand the process. In this type of interaction, sequence is integral to coherence. A student's contribution must be made at the right time to make sense. Students with learning disabilities might find this type of interaction difficult if the interaction proceeds rapidly. The following transcript segment from the persuasive writing episode illustrates the tight, sequential nature of the exchange.

P: Okay, you could put "He says that they're too hot."
T: Okay, ...remember Cassie,...This was kind of your issue. ...
Cassie: You could write, he says the uniforms get too hot, because they're not hot when it's winter.
D: Or we could put, are too hot in the spring and
Cassie: Summer
D: Or in warmer weather?
P: Yeah. The uniforms are too hot in the warmer seasons.
T writes: The uniforms are too hot in the warmer seasons.

Four people were involved in this conversation: Paul, Rhonda (the teacher), Cassie, and Danny. For Danny to be able to say, "Or we could put...," he had to have been following the exchange closely. His utterance directly related to Cassie's immediately prior utterance. This is equally true for Cassie, because her, "Summer," completed Danny's unfinished thought. Thus, attentional demands were greater in large group lessons at Watkins, but this also meant students were being apprenticed into a wider range of "discourses."

Although exchanges similar to the one above were common, there were more relaxed opportunities for entering the dialogue at other times. During Morning Message, Mark, a special education student, asked a question that began with a question word: "Where did you go and play soccer?" This followed the teacher's reminder to Kevin to call on someone, which, in turn, followed her reminder for students to use question words. The cue, "If there's someone who hasn't been called on, you need to call on them," signaled that the previous exchange had finished, and the author was ready to entertain a new question or suggestion. Mark's contribution at this point did not need to be linked to the previous text construction episode.

In both the octopus report and dragon story at Ellison, students did not have to attend as closely to sequence. During the octopus report, recalled information could be presented in any order to be added to the list on the board. Categorization had not yet begun. During the dragon story lesson, the teacher kept the students apprised about what needed to come next.

- He is calling for Ling-Ling to come...Raise your hand if you have an idea of what could happen next.
- The tiger was walking toward the emperor...What next?
- In flies Ling-Ling. He says, "Welcome, I'm here to help you." What next?
- The emperor is saying again, "Help me!" What's going to happen next?
- He'll get rid of that tiger for ten gold coins, and he's gonna find his cricket on top of it. What's going to happen next?

Each "What's going to happen next?" question was preceded by an account of the story line to that point. In this way, the teacher did the intellectual work of coherence. Students at Watkins needed to pay close attention to the ongoing dialogue to understand the sense of it, while at Ellison the teacher provided the coherence. This was an important scaffold for students who typically have difficulty with coherence issues in both narrative and expository writing (Englert & Raphael, 1988).

Whole group instruction provided opportunities for engagement at both Ellison and Watkins. It also provided opportunities for disengagement. In both classrooms, students with learning disabilities volunteered contributions and responses during this participant

framework, but did not carry the major work of the conversation.

Engagement during small group collaborations. Peer collaboration for the purpose of text construction was not an activity at Ellison. At Watkins, for better or for worse, target students had access to both the risks and potentials of small group dynamics. Small groups were often constituted for writing expository text and for supported independence before individual performance. These events provided opportunities for students to take the lead and/or be mentored in the production of text, but also created problems of access to the text and to the writing process when one or two members of the group dominated the activity. Success in small group collaborations demanded the negotiation of both social and cognitive tasks. Again, the target students displayed both engagement and disengagement behaviors during small group collaboration.

Engagement during individual work. Types of task engagement during individual tasks were probably similar at both Watkins and Ellison. However, I noted some differences. At Watkins, students were expected to help each other and also sat in close physical proximity when engaging in writing activities. They could easily ask a neighbor how to spell a word or comment on their or someone else's text. Routine writing activities at Ellison were generally intended to be individually completed at students' desks. Students were not necessarily located near each other. This was because one group at a time was distributed throughout the desk area while the five other groups were away from their desks attending other centers. However, students occasionally formed ad hoc associations for writing.

In both classrooms, individual activities offered the most opportunities for students to be engaged. Even so, target students in both schools tended to exhibit a mixture of both engagement and disengagement during individual writing activities, attending to task, then being distracted, then turning back to the task, only to be distracted yet again, and so on.

In summary, while active engagement in large group activities by the target students at Ellison generally meant providing direct answers to teacher's queries, active engagement in

individual activities involved individual attention to one's task. At Watkins, active engagement in large group activities involved closely attending to the ongoing conversation and contributing to the joint construction of text. Active engagement in small group collaborations required the negotiation of the social norms of the interaction as well as the cognitive content. As at Ellison, active engagement in individual activities demanded attention to one's individual work.

Roles and Relationships: Structures and Consequences of Participation

Participation and engagement imply the existence of roles and relationships that emerge as individuals interact with one another. This section addresses the role of the teacher as decision maker and student roles and positions relative to teachers and peers, concluding with attention to the effect of the multi-age/grade nature of the classroom on students' positions within the classroom community.

Making decisions: Who decides? Classroom structures involve social hierarchy and relationships among participants and their roles in the learning process (Gutierrez, 1994). One of a teacher's roles is traditionally that of decision maker. However, in communities of learners, both teachers and students may at times share aspects of the expert role with respect to domain knowledge, and at times act as acquirers, users, and extenders of knowledge in the sustained, ongoing process of understanding (Cole & Engestrom,1993).

Ellison teachers initiated and controlled most of the writing tasks on behalf of the students. For example, Darlene was clearly the decision maker in the octopus report writing activity. As the decision maker, she was vested in and owned the task. In her talk she repeatedly referred to "you" and "your," but what "you" were expected to do as a student was follow the teacher's instructions. Problem solving on one's own was unnecessary. In contrast, Rhonda at Watkins sprinkled her talk with references to "our paper/web/issue/data/stand/topic/paragraphs/list/writing." Joint ownership was implicit in her talk. At Ellison, the only use of "our" in the events transcribed occurred when Darlene made a distinction between newcomers and old-timers in the classroom: "So the first

graders, and those who haven't been in our room before, they are just going to be learning about it right now. How to fill out our brainstorming sheet" (transcript). Here, "our" was used to divide the group into two parts, newcomers and old-timers, rather than to signal joint ownership of and participation in the task.

Students at Watkins had a great deal of input into whole group text construction. They also retained a high degree of discretion over their writing tasks in Writing Workshop. They were able to decide topics, when to stop, and length. Marta, for example, knew how long to make a story, "to the bottom." This was her decision, not the teacher's. It was typical for the teacher to introduce Writing Workshop by reminding students of their choices:

> You reread what you wrote last time. Then what do you do?...Write the date where you're going to start this time. You have to make a decision, don't you? Paul, what do you need to decide?...Okay, keep working on another story or start a new one. (transcript of videotape)

Whenever students did Writing Workshop, they began with decisions: what to work on, for how long, and so on. Student decision making determined the nature of Writing Workshop for the individual student and the class as a whole for that lesson.

Academic and social positioning. In this study I asked whether students identified as special education students were positioned in these classrooms in a lower position because of their disability. Positioning always occurs in social relationships. In a social relationship one individual may be in a position of dominance, relegating other or others to positions of inferiority (Harré & Langenhove, 1999). I sought to discover whether and how such positionings occurred in these classrooms, but more importantly, whether and how such positionings may be related to disability status. In the next two sections, I look at positioning relative to teachers and positioning relative to peers.

Positioning relative to teachers. A reason for undertaking this study involved the possibility that teachers might inadvertently position students with disabilities in inferior roles both academically and socially. Such findings were an important contribution of a

study undertaken by Dudley-Marling (1998), who found that special education students were positioned as disabled by teachers who paced lessons too rapidly, who demanded a high degree of specificity in student responses, and by the hierarchical and technical components of the lessons in which they participated.

I found no evidence that this might be occurring in either of these classrooms. In both classrooms, teachers were attentive to the needs of students with disabilities. In neither classroom were students with learning disabilities distinguished as a group from those without learning disabilities. The teachers in the Ellison Team Room held the view that all students had unique and distinct learning needs. The teachers in the Watkins inclusion classroom were committed to the empowerment of all students in their classroom.

Positioning relative to peers. The teachers in both of these classrooms strove to conceal the identification of students with disabilities. (Recall that there were no students with moderate or severe disabilities in these classrooms.) Their intention was that no student in the classroom would be able to position another student, or students position themselves, on the basis of disability. Thus, teachers' self reports indicated an intention to eliminate the possibility of observable differences based on disability classification. Consequently, in one sense, positioning on the basis of disability was moot in these classrooms.

However, in another sense, positioning on alternative bases might be more critical in the sense that these classrooms, as inclusion classrooms, had a wider range of performance levels than regular classrooms, which might make academic differences more clear and obvious, and provide the impetus for students to position others as academically and socially inferior. The public "board work" lessons at Ellison might have provided just such a forum for indexing student knowledge or skill levels. Where the curriculum is stratified and students are publicly assigned to different levels and/or activities, as they were for board work and phonics center assignments at Ellison, the opportunity exists for students to figure out their academic level relative to other students and to make assumptions about

others or themselves on that basis, if they care to do so. Where the curriculum is multilevel and students participate in shared activities, as they did for Morning Message and the persuasive writing lessons at Watkins, it is unlikely that students will be able to make such comparisons, because every contribution is valuable and valued. In addition, any individual student may contribute a variety of skills to the shared activity, since multiple intelligences theory (Gardner, 1983) suggests that students are likely to perform in multiple skill areas, depending on activity and students' interests and strengths.

At Watkins, peer judgment might have influenced interactions in the episode regarding Marta and her spelling level. Spelling, at Watkins, was a stratified activity, with students assigned to various spelling groups. This stratification allowed Danny to position Marta, even though Danny's judgement was unlikely based on an overt awareness of disability. However, we might ask, What difference does that make for Marta? Whatever the basis for her marginalization by the higher performers in her group, this episode, uncomfortable for me to observe, must have been difficult for her.

Was this episode evidence of a breakdown in the community fabric or a normal, albeit rather dark, aspect of relationship in any collective? In this opportunity for special education students and general education students to participate in a shared, small-group activity, the general education students did not take up the community idea, even when afforded. At other times other students did, as when general education students "helped" by sharing answers with other students in large group situations. In the case of Marta's group, uptake needed to be done by the regular education students.

Multi-age/grade. Adding to the diverse nature of the classrooms, both shared the distinction of being multi-age, multi-grade classrooms. In such classroom arrangements, "veteran" students (students in the classroom prior year[s]) might provide for the "maintenance of institutional memory" (Weade, 1992) and help "rookies" adjust to new learning demands and processes. In the Team Room at Ellison there were twenty "veterans" and twelve "rookies." The veterans provided models for the rookies at the

beginning of the year when the routines for using the literacy centers were being learned. However, teachers at Ellison portrayed Team Room veterans as puzzled onlookers, rather than as a resource for the rookies: "And the second and third graders...are going, what is wrong...why can't they do this?" (interview). Rookies were accorded novice status in areas where they have not yet mastered the procedures: "So the first graders, and those who haven't been in our room before, they are just going to be learning...how to fill out our brainstorming sheet" (transcript). "They" were not us, and "our" artifact had not yet been mastered by the rookies.

At Watkins, where the range of student ages included first- through fourth-graders, teachers exploited this wide variation as a resource for student learning. "Experts" (the teachers' term) were called on to assist those who needed help in accomplishing learning tasks. For example, Angie stated her expectation that students would handle difficulties with a math assignment by consulting a peer "expert": "Raise your hand if you think you need help, and I'll try to find you an expert" (transcript).

At Watkins, veteran students may even assume teaching responsibilities with the teachers. This happened early in the year when several students, who were familiar with how their teachers had taught poetry the previous year, not only suggested several poems to learn but also conducted the lesson:

> The kids are doing poetry this year, once a week. I mean, kids are doing poetry...They're teaching a lesson... Today Bailey brought this one in from a book she had at home...She said, "Okay, now, this group, you're gonna do this, read this section, and this group, you're gonna read this section." She leads them. (interview)

However, this variety of ages and performance levels posed a unique problem for Angie and Rhonda, particularly in Writing Workshop. Because their students were working at so many different levels, it was challenging to assess where each student was performing on a daily basis and where to go next. They were concerned that "sometimes, as a teacher, it's hard to keep everything in your head." Having this knowledge would enable them to be confident that they knew that a student might be

> kind of at this emergent or beginning emergent, or later emergent, you know, and these are the things we're working on, what else do I need to work on...Yes, he's kind of here. What else at that level could we be working on? (interview)

They felt that they were doing this, but wanted to feel more confident about it. Having this specific knowledge available would also enable them to effectively communicate with parents about the progress of their student.

Darlene and Monica dealt with the range of ages in their classroom on an individual basis. They placed students at the appropriate point in the curriculum sequence, knowing that what the student needed was determined by what came next in the sequence. Students might progress more rapidly or slowly than others in the sequence, but everyone went through the sequence. In this way, the teachers ensured their own awareness of individual achievement levels and eliminated the possibility of gaps in students' learning. Such a curriculum also made it easier to monitor and predict students' past and future progress.

Writing Instruction: What Was Appropriated

Differential opportunities for appropriation. This study equates appropriation with learning (Rogoff,1993). However, a sociocultural framework suggests that what use students make of the cultural tools available to them both determines and exposes what they know. Discourse serves as a cultural tool for learning. In the Ellison classroom we have seen that the teachers controlled the discourse, thus limiting opportunities for students to engage with teachers and peers in decision-making and problem-solving situations. At Watkins, teachers constantly used discourse to make visible expert thinking and problem-solving techniques and to turn back to the students spaces where students could explore the possibilities of learning afforded in the tasks.

Students must be engaged with the learning task in order to learn from it. However, students with learning disabilities have more difficulty engaging in participant frameworks that involve whole group activities than their general education counterparts, and, because of their less well-developed social skills, possibly with small peer groups as well. This was borne out by the data for this study. Engagement in individual, private, activities seemed to

engender the least problems for students with learning disabilities in both classrooms.

What was appropriated at the two schools depended on engagement, what was afforded, and types of activity. At Ellison, if participation was defined as doing what you were asked to do individually, to learn a curriculum that represented a tight sequence of knowledge, in activities under the authority and control of the teachers, then appropriation involved following directions and learning skills. Students at Ellison appropriate a product. At Watkins, if participation was defined as speaking or writing in interaction with others, to learn a curriculum that offered a wide range of possibilities, in activities negotiated with other community members, then appropriation meant finding a way to contribute to and share in the activity and interactions of the group. At Ellison, appropriation meant metaphorically turning a page in a linear advance toward a particular learning goal. At Watkins, the relevant metaphor might be a web page with hyperlinks, where the student is exposed to the whole task with multiple entry and decision points.

Academic and social outcomes. Because participation has both personal and social aspects, so do outcomes have both individual and social characteristics. Academic achievement is an individual outcome. Ellison students scored higher on a standardized test of word decoding. This outcome makes sense, given the phonics curriculum emphasized there. Some target students from each room also did well on criterion-referenced writing measures.

Important social outcomes for students with learning disabilities have to do with enablement. Individuals are enabled to be literate through "tool kits" (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Turner, 1997, p. 376), which are sets of practices that include the literacy skills and behaviors acquired through social interaction. How one is enabled depends upon what one is enabled to do. Students at Ellison are enabled to do what everyone else does.

> That's just everybody. I don't expect anything from a special ed kid I don't expect from everybody...everybody, across the board, we have the goal is the same. How we arrive at that goal is different for each kid, but it's not because they're special ed or

> regular ed, it's because of who they are and what their needs are. (teacher interview, Ellison)

Thus, enablement at Ellison meant students individually and skillfully doing their work, enabling them to acquire knowledge and blend in with other students who are also doing their individual tasks.

Teachers at Watkins talked about empowering students, not only to succeed in the classroom, but to be able to regulate their own actions and learning.

> We talk about empowering students. We want to empower them. And that's really what it is, we want them to be able to do the kinds of things that we ask them to do independently, and do their very best and continue to feel success, and continue to grow in their abilities...And metacognitively...we really talk about, think about...thinking about how you learn and what you want to do and why (interview).

Enablement at Watkins meant learning through being involved with others in interactive associations, blending in with other students and teachers in reciprocal relationships that allow shared expertise and resources.

Remaining Challenges for the Two Research Classrooms

The purpose of the study was to discover the unique attributes of each of these classrooms that contributed to the deconstruction of disability in each classroom, rather than to unfavorably compare one with the other. That disability had been deconstructed in each classroom as a consequential factor for academic instruction or social interaction was apparent. However, unique challenges remain to be confronted for each classroom model. For the Ellison classroom, how might principles of universal design be used to include all students and to foster a sense of community? How can shared ownership of expertise and resources facilitate learning? How can discourse and talk be used to enable learning? Given what we know about communities of learners and the social acquisition of knowledge, how can learners be supported to use each other as resources?

Likewise, teachers in the Watkins classroom face unique dilemmas. For classrooms where students share expertise and learning tasks, how are individual learning needs appropriately recognized and met? Because many learning tasks are designed to involve the

whole group, how is active engagement supported for students with learning disabilities, who are considered to be passive and disengaged learners? Asking students to work in peer collaborations presents special challenges with respect to identity. The risk-reward hazard may be particularly acute in these situations. For students whose contributions are valued, the rewards of such interaction may be large. However, students who find themselves marginalized in such situations where the brokering effect of the teacher may be absent may elect to disengage from the situation.

We cannot consider these two classrooms with the depth of observation and analysis we have applied without wondering, What could be the ideal classroom? The teacher is key. Students may appropriate only from what is afforded, and the teacher stands as the grand designer and broker of affordances.

CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS

The inclusion of students with learning disabilities in general education classrooms involves issues of affordance, participation, and appropriation. The 1997 Reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) encourages access to and participation in the general education curriculum as a means for improving educational results for students with disabilities. Such participation is believed to be important for students' sense of self-worth and belonging and thought to facilitate special education students as academically and socially enabled learners who are full participants in their learning communities.

However, this study illustrated the need for concepts such as "access" and "general education curriculum" to be further defined. In both classrooms, opportunities afforded, and thus, what students had access to, became a critical issue due to contrasting teacher beliefs, writing curricula, and instructional techniques. The findings of the study have implications for teachers and educational researchers who work in or are involved with inclusion contexts. Implications in the three areas of affordance, participation, and appropriation are discussed in this chapter: (a) the influence of teacher beliefs and curriculum design on opportunities afforded for students' learning; (b) participation types and structures, particularly teacher-student interactions and activity structures; and (c) appropriation and learning in inclusion classrooms. I also discuss methodological implications, limitations of the study, and future research directions.

Opportunities Afforded for Students' Learning

Teacher Beliefs

This study demonstrated the influence of teachers' theories about learning, instruction, and disability on classroom practice and students' learning opportunities. Variations in writing instruction in the two classrooms appeared to be linked to underlying differences in

epistemological stances held by the two teaching teams. Corresponding variations in the implementation of similar instructional models have been noted by other researchers (Gutierrez, 1994; Mariage, 1995; Turner, 1995). Clearly, both teams of teachers operated from "orienting premises" (Vaughn & Schumm, 1996) that influenced every aspect of classroom life and activity, and their explicit articulation of personal philosophical perspectives was probably unusual and clearly a gift for me as the researcher.

Researchers investigating the effectiveness of intervention strategies with special needs students need to include consideration of teacher beliefs as a possible confound affecting fidelity to treatment. Different outcomes in the effectiveness of particular interventions may be traced to variations in teacher theoretical orientations rather than to effectiveness of treatment.

Teacher educators need to address teachers' beliefs and theories about learning and instruction in both pre-service teacher preparation and in-service teacher education. Disagreement with or lack of understanding of the underlying principles associated with particular teaching techniques may undermine the effectiveness of the technique. The consequences of failing to consider teachers' beliefs include the possibility of low fidelity to desired instructional interventions. Because teachers might embrace a different epistemology than that upon which a particular instructional intervention is based, their instruction may have little power and fail to achieve intended outcomes.

Curriculum Design For Inclusion Classrooms

Teachers in both of the classrooms in this study implemented instructional approaches that required teacher collaboration, and their collaborations were more extensive than those typically found in many general education classrooms. Rather than merely planning adaptations and modifications of general education programming for some students, the teachers preferred comprehensive approaches and viewed them as important in meeting the needs of all students. Theoretically, such approaches may be considered as using principles of universal access to curriculum (Orkwin & McLane, 1998) or as increasing the

instructional tolerance of classroom teachers (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1995). Whether seen as universally designed curricula or supports for instructional tolerance, special modifications of general education curricula were not required for lower-performing students. Instead of targeted modifications, students' learning was supported by the curriculum sequence at Ellison and by "on-line" teacher scaffolding at Watkins.

The success of these two approaches to inclusive instruction suggests the need for a turn in research on inclusive curriculum and instruction toward the study of whole class models of instruction, rather than modifications targeted for some students but not others. Instructional interventions that "water down" general education curriculum for special needs learners are unnecessary when teacher and peer support are provided for students who require such support. By using universal approaches, inclusion can be successful, as students will be academically and socially both included and engaged. This type of inclusion does not preclude the use of pullout programs for some students. However, pullout arrangements will not be permanent, and grouping patterns will be based on specific student need, rather than on disability category.

Nevertheless, despite their success, both approaches were resource heavy, and their accomplishment depended greatly on teachers' skills and dispositions. The Ellison teachers contributed enormous amounts of personal time and resources to develop and implement the individual programming that was planned for each student. The Watkins teachers worked within highly indeterminate interpersonal contexts, where they were required to improvise moment-to-moment interventions benefitting each individual child, and where traditional teacher-student roles and relationships were traded for distributed forms of expertise. Both teaching teams were highly committed to their particular approaches, but each approach exacted a high price in terms of personal resources. One cannot assume that similar levels of personal dedication and service will be standard in every inclusion classroom. Therefore, much additional research needs to be directed toward the planning and implementation of universal curricula for classrooms with diverse learners and, most

importantly, the supports required to teach diverse students in inclusive contexts. Without such supports, most teachers will be reluctant to assume inordinately heavy work responsibilities, and effective teaching in inclusion classrooms will continue to be variable and random.

However, responsibility for the development and availability of resources required for alternative instructional approaches for teaching diverse students in inclusive contexts should not be limited to the individual classroom teacher. In our society, efficiency and division of labor have shaped our thinking about the delivery of educational services (Skrtic, 1995). Traditionally, special education services have been specialized and separated from the general education context. Because these teachers' beliefs prompted them to collaboratively instruct all students, they worked in a societal vacuum with little building, district, or community support. Changing this societal orientation to one which accepts and expects shared responsibility for learning and collaborative approaches to the provision of instruction similar to those implemented by the teachers in this study may be a difficult but, nevertheless, worthy goal.

Participation Types and Structures

The teachers in both classrooms engaged in teacher-student interactions and established activity structures that have implications for both pre-service and in-service teachers.

Teacher-Student Interactions

In any classroom, social interactions are the critical mediator of instructional interventions (Reid, 1998). In the research classrooms, the type of social interaction (i.e., whether teachers maintained tight control over the interactions, as in the Ellison classroom, or whether they sought to turn over decision-making to students and even to position students to respond to one another, as in the Watkins classroom) made a substantial difference in the classroom experiences of students with learning disabilities. Thus, at a minimum, teachers must be aware of their personal interaction styles vis-a-vis students and

the effects of their interaction styles on student learning.

However, to increase instructional flexibility, teachers must also be prepared to employ a variety of interactive practices appropriate for specific goals and purposes of learning (Wiggins & McTigue, 1998). These may include effective teaching techniques uncovered in the process-product research as well as contributions from social constructivist approaches to instruction. Accordingly, teachers will have knowledge of under what conditions to employ teacher-directed lesson formats that include clear introductions, effective demonstrations, well-paced presentations, and productive use of seat work as well as shared task activity involving authentic tasks, holistic activities, productive classroom dialogue, and collaborative work opportunities (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992).

Activity Structures

Students in both classrooms had opportunities to work in a variety of activity structures as they learned to write. In the Ellison classroom, students worked independently alone, independently with interactive materials in the phonics center, in a large group in a recitation format, or in a large group in a collaborative format. Students at Watkins worked independently, with peers in dyads or small groups, or in large group collaborative formats. Each activity structure had unique opportunities for participation.

Independent tasks allowed students to demonstrate autonomous achievement. Independent work might facilitate learning in two ways. First, as they work individually, students are relieved of the demands of simultaneously constructing identities, as they do in social interaction. Second, attentional demands are greatly reduced. However, if tasks are predominantly independent, students may lack opportunities to experience advantages of peer interaction, which may both provide assistance for difficult tasks as well as allow students to learn by providing assistance to others. Teachers need to use independent activity structures effectively, but need to balance these with other types of student engagement.

Small group work allowed students to explore new task requirements with the collaborative support of their peers. However, these experiences can also have negative effects. At Watkins, students with learning disabilities involved in small group activities did not necessarily have access to either the cognitive activity or the co-constructed artifacts. Two implications might be derived from these findings. First, results of this study are congruent with research on small group dynamics and cooperative learning in suggesting that use of alternate participation frameworks requires careful planning and preparation of students for unfamiliar forms of interaction and engagement. Second, the experiences of these students adds weight to the argument for retaining the continuum of services for students with disabilities. Perhaps pullouts in early years could be more effective in both individualizing instruction and constructing identities. After all, not reading and writing are detrimental to constructing a positive identity.

Large group participation structures were either recitation lessons or collaborative text construction. Although recitations are traditional activity structures (Mehan, 1979), the teachers at Watkins made a conscious effort to step out of this conventional structure in order to empower students as co-participants in the instructional event. This powerful teaching technique positioned students in roles typically associated with teachers, which included calling on students and challenging teacher or student responses. Students with disabilities used this opportunity to observe peers performing complex learning tasks, tasks to which they might not otherwise have access in another classroom where basic skills instruction is emphasized for students with disabilities. However, students did more than merely observe; they had opportunities to be involved in integral roles in the task. Teachers who wish to teach in inclusive settings must find and learn similar instructional techniques in order to fully integrate all students into the academic and social life of the classroom community.

To summarize, teachers must consider the range of different types of interactional opportunities available to students in their classrooms, and the four learning spaces (i.e.,

standard, guided, collaborative, and autonomous) provide a useful heuristic for this purpose. While most teachers are probably well aware of cooperative learning models of instruction and grouping, cooperative grouping schemes seem to be targeted toward specific uses such as problem-solving tasks. Teachers need to be made equally aware of the benefits of peer interactions for other types of learning. If teachers are cognizant of the desirability of promoting peer interactions in a variety of grouping schemes and their application toward a variety of tasks, they may search for other models of interaction to accommodate varying goals and purposes for learning, rather than rely only on customary or narrowly-applied configurations.

Appropriation and Learning

We as educators, and particularly as special educators, often assume that affordances are directly appropriated by students and result in learning. In other words, we want to believe that what we teach is what students learn. This probably derives from a linear notion of transference of knowledge, and the belief that knowledge can be handed over to fill students' empty heads. In this study, however, in addition to stated curricular objectives, student learning was also affected by the established discourse of the community of practice to which they belong.

Broadly construed, the students in both the Ellison Team Room and the Watkins inclusion classroom learned to write. However, the written artifacts tell only part of the story. The teachers in both classrooms had both material and social goals for students' writing achievement. This study demonstrated that, without looking at the discourse and other semiotic resources available, we are likely to miss the bulk of student experience and learning. Students' writing achievement must be evaluated with both material and social goals in mind in order to determine whether or not they were successful writers in their respective classroom communities.

Yet, this begs important questions -- Do these students become more competent writers several years down the road, and do they transfer their writing skills to other

contexts and purposes? Longitudinal data are required to address this issue.

Methodological Implications

Several implications for methodology are suggested by this study. The first involves the relationship between individual and social learning (Salomon & Perkins, 1998), with the methodological issue being selection of an appropriate unit of analysis (Trent, Artilles, & Englert, 1998). This study sought to examine the individual in context. To do so, I foregrounded aspects of one or the other at different times. Observations of group lessons focused on social interactions and affordances available in the group and environment. Examination of individual engagement and writing samples foregrounded individual learning and development. Both were necessary to understand the learning experiences of students with disabilities in inclusive contexts.

A second implication involves research design. Many studies of educational programming for students with learning disabilities involve single subject designs in evaluating effectiveness of instruction and learning outcomes. Other studies seek to provide descriptive data about students' interactions in the classroom (Bulgren & Carta, 1992) by use of checklists and coding schemes. However, this type of data has limited usefulness for close examination of in situ classroom interactions.

This study involved ethnography in seeking to understand the learning experiences of students with disabilities. Not only was student interaction studied in the context in which it occurred, but also context was considered as constitutive of opportunity to learn. Since both individual and context were foci of the study, multiple tools were used to collect information. Accumulation of multiple types of data resulted in a more complex data reduction and analyses project, but also ultimately deeper understandings of students learning and classroom life. Researchers who wish to derive a fuller understanding of how students with disabilities fare in general education contexts must engage in holistic and comprehensive studies that investigate the individual learner in context, as well as take into consideration a child's strengths and weaknesses with respect to visual and auditory

processing, executive control, regulation of attention, short- and long-term memory, verbal expression, and so on.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Several methodological limitations bounded the generalizability of the study. First, the teachers and students were not a random sample but were selected on the basis of their epistemological beliefs and reputed effectiveness as teachers. Second, only two classrooms were examined, thus limiting the generalizability of results. Third, because of limited numbers of videotaped observations in the classrooms, representativeness of data cannot be ensured beyond my familiarity as researcher with the patterns of instruction common to each classroom.

Other limitations of this research point to directions for further investigations. Few quantitative data were collected about time on task. Additional studies of inclusion classrooms should include detailed data regarding both time on task and engaged time as broad indicators of student activity and to enable evaluation of student engagement with respect to known patterns of task engagement of students with learning disabilities. These data, together with data addressing quality and nature of interactions, can provide more comprehensive information about student engagement.

In both data collection and analysis, not as much attention was given to the development of the construct of appropriation as I had hoped. A greater involvement in the classroom and collection of larger amounts of data would allow a deeper focus on individual students and how they come to appropriate what they eventually display as learning. This focus would include evaluations of student temperament and "personal stimulus qualities" that shape their learning and social interactions (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Orth & Martin, 1994).

In addition, the design of this study precluded multi-year data collection, important for following the learning development of students with learning disabilities. It has been shown that students' learning develops unevenly over time and that longitudinal research

designs are more useful in being able to detect learning patterns and development (Englert et al., 1995). Richard's writing achievement, for example, must be examined in the light of his performance the previous year, when he destroyed most of his written work before it was completed. With that perspective, his careful construction of written texts during the study year must be viewed as an important achievement. Inferences about Dustin's seeming lack of writing progress should properly be withheld until subsequent years, because the future development of his writing skills will likely have had their beginnings during this academic year. Future research on this topic will be longitudinal to be maximally informative.

Questions For Both Classrooms

In practical terms, the most critical issue with respect to inclusive environments involves teachers' skills and knowledge in adequately and effectively meeting the unique learning needs of students with disabilities in the context of general education. Stated otherwise, teaching in inclusive contexts requires teachers to work in two paradigms, and these must be balanced. The paradigm of general education requires teachers to attend to group needs, while teachers working in a special education paradigm focus on the strengths and weaknesses of individual students. Perhaps the teaching team at Ellison emphasized attention to individual needs at the expense of community building. Perhaps the Watkins teachers' commitment to community overshadowed attention to the unique learning needs of individual students. How to maintain an appropriate balance is a constant challenge, but one that can be met when the collaborative efforts of school people, university personnel, and community members focus on preparing teachers, providing necessary supports, and changing societal views about educational access and achievement.

APPENDIX

Initial Teacher Interview

A. Questions about your teaching background.

1. Please describe your teaching background in terms of preparation, years of experience, and grade levels taught.

2. Why are you interested in teaching students with disabilities?

3. How did you come to teach in a collaborative teaching team in an inclusion classroom?

B. Questions about your general writing program.

4. Please describe the writing instruction you will be providing this year (when and how do you teach writing?).

5. What are your academic/learning goals for writing instruction? social goals?

6. How do you plan writing instruction (over the year, from day to day)?

7. What are the different kinds of texts students write in your classroom? (journals, stories, reports, etc.)?

8. What instructions, guidance, or rules do you provide for each type of writing?

9. How did develop your writing program? Where did you get your ideas?

10. How have your ideas about teaching writing changed over time?

11. Will your writing instruction be different this year than last year? Please explain.

C. Questions about writing instruction for nonwriters

12. What are the key principles or components of a writing program that are likely to help nonwriters become writers?

13. What are the important scaffolds or supports that you use in your writing instruction that help the lowest-performing students in your classroom be successful?

14. Are there other promising techniques or strategies that you feel are successful with nonwriters? Are there things that don't seem to work?

15. What do you believe to be the major problems or barriers that inhibit the progress of nonwriters?

16. What are your thoughts about what teachers should do to accelerate the performance of nonwriters?

17. How do you accommodate a wide range of student needs (both regular education and special education) regarding writing instruction?

18. Your classroom is an inclusion classroom. Are there advantages for students with disabilities in an inclusion versus pullout context?

D. Questions about students' needs and teachers' expectations

19. Do the regular education and special education students in your room have different needs in terms of writing instruction? Please explain.

20. Do you have different expectations for regular education and special education students? Please explain.

21. How do you measure or evaluate success for regular education students? special needs students?

22. How confident are you that your nonwriters will make progress in your room this year? What kind of progress do you hope they will make?

Final Teacher Interview

A. Questions about the effectiveness of your general writing program this year

1. Please describe the writing instruction you provided this year.

2. What were the different kinds of texts students wrote in your classroom? (journals, stories, reports, etc.)?

3. What instructions, guidance, or rules did you provide for each type of writing?

4. Were there any particular successes in your writing program this year (events or particular students)? Please describe.

5. Were there any problems or disappointments? Please describe.

6. Were there any challenges for you (personal challenges or student challenges)? How did/are you dealing with these challenges?

7. Have you developed any new insights into principles, activities, or strategies that seem helpful to your students?

8. I noticed that _____(open-ended for the researcher to focus on a particular practice, event, student, etc). Please say more about this (in terms of description and evaluation of success).

9. Did your writing instruction differ from last year? Please explain.

10. Are you considering further changes for next year? Please explain.

B. Questions about students' needs and teachers' expectations

11. Did you find that the regular education and special education students in your room had different needs in terms of writing instruction? Please explain.

12. Did you have different expectations for regular education and special education students? Please explain.

13. How did you accommodate a wide range of student needs (both regular education and special education) regarding writing instruction?

Writing Strategy Interview

Directions: (1) For the teacher: Circle the response for each item that is closest to your impression of the student's writing strategies and behaviors. Respond in the blank space as appropriate. (2) For the student: Circle the response for each item that best describes your writing strategies and habits. If none of the choices seem to describe what you do, you may write a better response on the blank lines. You may wish to choose more than one response for some items. (The student may have the items read aloud to her or him.)

1. When I have to write a paper for school, I:
   (a) don't know where to begin.
   (b) know what to do first.
   (c) other:_____

2. Before I write, I:
   (a) plan my ideas on paper.
   (b) plan my ideas in my head.
   (c) don't plan; I just start writing.
   (d) other: _____

3. When I am writing and spelling words, I:
   (a) usually spell all the words correctly.
   (b) forget how to spell words.
   (c) just try to spell the best I can.
   (d) ask a teacher or friend if I don't know how to spell a word.
   (e) leave a blank space for a word I don't know how to spell and ask someone later.
   (f) other:_____

4. When I am writing, I:
   (a) try to think of my audience.
   (b) don't think about who I am writing to.
   (c) try to answer all of the questions that a reader might ask.
   (d) other:_____

5. When I am writing, I:
   (a) try to choose words that make my paper interesting.
   (b) choose words that I know how to spell.
   (c) other:_____

6. When I am writing, I:
   (a) make sure my paper has a beginning, middle, and end.
   (b) other:_____

7. When I am done writing, I:
   (a) read over my paper to make sure it makes sense.
   (b) read it to someone else to make sure it makes sense.
   (c) ask someone else to read it to make sure it makes sense.
   (d) other:_____

8. When I am done writing, I:
   (a) read over my paper and edit it.
   (b) type my paper on the computer.
   (c) just hand it in.
   (d) other:_____

Teacher Temperament Questionnaire

Name of student: _____ Name of teacher: _____

Short form of the Teacher Temperament Questionnaire (Keogh, Pullis, & Cadwell, 1982). Copyright 1982 by the National Council on Measurement in Education. Adapted with permission of the publisher.

Item	Hardly ever 1	2	3	4	5	Almost always 6
Factor I: Persistence/Distractibility/Activity						
Child seems to have difficulty sitting still, may wriggle a lot or get out of seat.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If child's activity is interrupted, he/she tries to get back to the activity.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child is easily drawn away from his/her work by noises, something outside the window, another child's whispering, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child can continue at the same activity for an hour.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child is able to sit quietly for a reasonable amount of time (as compared to classmates).	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child cannot be distracted when he/she is working (seems able to concentrate in the midst of bedlam).	1	2	3	4	5	6
If other children are talking or making noise while teacher is explaining a lesson, this child remains attentive to the teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child starts an activity and does not finish it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child sits still when a story is being told or read.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Factor II: Adaptability/Approach-Withdrawal/Mood						
When with other children, this child seems to be having a good time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child will initially avoid new games and activities,preferring to sit on the side and watch.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child enjoys going on errands for the teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If initially hesitant about entering into new games and activities, child gets over this quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child takes a long time to become comfortable in a new physical location (e.g., different classroom new seat, etc).	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child will show little or no reaction when another child takes his/her toy or possession away.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child plunges into new activities and situations without hesitation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child takes a log time to become comfortable in a new situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child is bashful when meeting new children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Factor III: Reactivity						
When playing with other children, this child argues with them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child is sensitive to temperature and likely to comment on classroom being hot or cold.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child overreacts (becomes very upset) in a stressful situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
When child can't have or do something he/she wants, child becomes annoyed or upset.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Child is highly sensitive to changes in the brightness or dimness of light.	1	2	3	4	5	6

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