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Technical Report No. 320

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Center for the Study of Reading

READING EDUCATION REPORTS

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Champaign, Illinois 61820

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Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238

The National Institute of Education
U.S. Department of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202
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The research reported herein was supported in part by Contract No. 3008100314 and C-400-81-0030 from the U.S. Department of Education. We would like to thank the students of Room 31 at the Mary Hooker School in Hartford and their teacher, Jim Aldridge for letting us observe their writing in process. We also thank Andee Rubin, Patricia Herman, and Paul Wilson for commenting on this paper and all the members of the Quill project for their continued support and stimulation.
Computer-based environments for communication may have profound effects upon classroom social organization and the development of literacy. Students discussed in this article used QUILL, a software system that includes both tools that facilitate writing and new environments for communication. Programs such as QUILL can enhance the learning of reading and writing by providing new techniques for teaching and learning. But the most significant changes may come not from the computer as a learning tool, but rather from changes in the classroom's social structure brought about by a highly motivating focus of students' attention. The examples presented here show dramatic changes in students' writing and in the writing process, changes not easily predictable from knowledge of the technology per se.
students plan and organize their thoughts (Planner). It also uses a text editor—known as Writer's Assistant (Levin, Boruta, & Vasconcellos, 1983). QUILL allows for peer/peer interaction in composing and revising, and encourages students to write to other students in the class. Although nominally a system for teaching writing, QUILL incorporates a considerable emphasis on reading by setting up classroom communication environments in which children's pieces are naturally read by their peers, and in which students communicate with one another for valid purposes.

Proponents of word processing software for children have argued that the ease of revision and the ability to read printed output easily will be great aids in learning to write. Our research in QUILL classrooms has seen the value of these factors, but has also produced surprises. We are finding that changes in the pattern of social interactions in the classroom as a result of the computer may be even more significant than any simple technological effect. This has implications for teaching and for research on the use of computers in the classroom.

We will illustrate this point with an example of writing that occurred in a QUILL classroom. It is neither the best nor the worst piece of writing using QUILL that we have seen, and in fact, as shown here, it is a piece in progress. What is interesting is how it came to be and what that process tells us about computers in the classroom.

In the next section, we carry out a purely linguistic analysis of the writing sample. This analysis highlights several anomalies in the writing which could lead a reader to dismiss the piece as "bad writing." The third section presents our analysis of the social context in which the writing was done. This latter perspective provides an explanation for the apparent anomalies. It shows how the writing process is reflected in the writing product, but not revealed by an analysis of the product alone. In the fourth section, we draw out some implications of the two analyses. We realize, of course, that a single writing event cannot be representative of all writing. On the other hand, we believe that this detailed examination highlights general phenomena about how computers may affect the writing process. More importantly, it focuses our attention on issues that are not typically addressed in broader based studies of children writing with computers (The NETWORK, 1984).

The example is taken from a sixth grade classroom in a low SES urban school in the northeast U.S. One afternoon during Black History Week, Jim Aldridge's sixth grade attended the annual "Black History Show" put on by various classes in the school ranging from kindergarten to sixth grade. The show included a series of songs offered by different classes, one non-musical skit, and several performances by the mixed-grade Glee Club—all commemorating famous Black Americans or calling for racial harmony. Mr. Hodges, a teacher, was the emcee. We (S.M. and B.B.), as researchers interested in the use of QUILL in this
classroom, went to the performance with Jim's students, and one of us (B.B.) observed the writing that followed it.

Jim had encouraged his sixth graders to write critical reviews of the show. With this in mind, many of them went to the performance equipped with pad and pencil, and were observed by the researchers to be taking notes periodically throughout the performance. The next day students who volunteered to critique the show were given suggestions by Jim regarding the kinds of evaluative information they should include (mentioning the quality of singing, scenery, lighting, best and worst acts). They were to write a draft of their review on paper at their desks, bringing it to him for minor corrections, and then be assigned a number--first come, first served--to enter their writing onto the computer.

One of the results of this writing activity was Margaret’s piece entitled "Black History Show." The following is an unedited copy of what Margaret wrote on the computer. The keywords at the bottom were selected by Margaret to identify her text (and can be used by other students to find this or other texts on a given topic stored in the computer).

"Black History Show"

Margaret

I liked the Black History show because I was surprised to see the little and big children singing so well, and clearly.

The best acts were Mrs. Martin's, and Miss Simpson's classes. The songs were nice and the people on stage weren't scared.

The worst act was "Famous Black People"--Mr. Agosto's + Mr. Anderson's class. Everybody messed up and forgot what to say, and they didn't speak clearly. They could have at least practiced more.

The scenery wasn't very much, and the light was kind of dull, and the sound wasn't very good. Mr. Hodges was speaking loud and clearly, and he was great on the stage. When the Glee-club was singing so nice, Marines got very jealous and asked Mrs. Evens to be in the Glee-Club. But when Mrs. Evens said no she wrote bad things about the Glee-Club on the computer up-stairs.

But I really liked the Black History show. I gave it 3 stars because it was very good.

Keywords:
/black history/Marines/glee-club/mrs. martin/miss simpson

Briefly, Margaret's review shows several characteristics of good writing. She is sensitive to word choice. For example (a subsequent interview disclosed), she uses "and" in paragraph 2 to link two classes that gave separate performances, but "+" in paragraph 3 to indicate a single performance by two classes in concert. She refers to the "little and big children" in paragraph 1 in that unconventional order because she wants to
highlight the surprisingly good performance of the younger children.

Moreover, the piece has an over-all structure—a beginning, middle, and end—marked by paragraphs, and internal patterning within paragraphs. Paragraphs 1 and 5 seem thematically and rhetorically parallel statements of positive evaluation and justification. Paragraphs 2 and 3 provide descriptive contrast sets, illustrating best and worst.

On the other hand, paragraph 4 stands out as somewhat incongruous in length, content, and linguistic form. It moves with little overt transition from descriptive illustrations like those of Paragraphs 2 and 3 into a narrative about Marines, a story within the story (Bruce, 1981). Linguistically, the shift into narrative is signalled by "When," the first temporal marker in the text; the clause it begins serves as orientation for the narrative. Margaret appears to assume that the reader will know her classmate Marines, as there is no identifying information other than her name. While the narrative account is personal, referring to someone the reader presumably knows well, the narrative voice is impersonal (3rd person omniscient point of view). The location of the narrator is signalled in the line "she wrote bad things about the Glee-Club on the computer upstairs," which sets the account in the event itself, not in the writing context. This device serves to distance the author from Marines when in fact, both girls did their writing on the same computer.

Corresponding to the shift to narrative syntax and narrative voice is a shift in topic, as well—from "objective" criticism to personal anecdote—relating not to the quality of the show per se, but to what someone else wrote about it and why. The rhetorical force of Paragraph 4 thus shifts from criticism of the show to implied criticism of a fellow critic who had opposing views. Margaret does not overtly discredit Marines as a critic, of course. She uses the narrative voice to distance herself, taking the stance of one who merely recounts "the facts"; it is up to the reader to infer her meaning. Significant to this inference is the pivotal yet ambiguous "But" that begins Paragraph 5. Is the writer: contrasting her own negative statements with her overall judgment of the show as positive; contrasting her own views with those of Marines; or merely reiterating the position she stated in Paragraph 1?

Further linguistic analysis could be done on Margaret's review. Yet without further information about the writer's goals, perceived audience, and process in composing the review, we cannot resolve the above problems of interpretation. Moreover, we are left with the question, why the stylistic and thematic incongruities in Paragraphs 4 and 5? Is Margaret merely incompetent in using cohesive devices (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) such as "but," and in maintaining a consistent voice and perspective throughout a written piece or, does her writing
reflect a young writer's attention to competing demands of style, audience, and purpose?

**The Writing Context**

Because we, as researchers, saw the show and observed classroom interactions around writing the reviews, we know more about Margaret's review than can be inferred from its finished form alone. This information is essential for a full appreciation of the writer's skill and complex goals. This section summarizes what we observed.

On the day after the Black History Show, Margaret approached Jim with her handwritten draft; it contained only four paragraphs, the last of which read as follows:

The scenery was pretty good, and the light was bright enough, but the sound was not that good. Mr. Hodges was speaking very loudly and was good on the stage. I think the show deserves three stars because it was very good.

Jim gave Margaret the number 5, and Marines, her classmate and friend who finished soon after, the number 7. While milling around the computer waiting for their turns, Margaret read Marines' hand written, highly negative review of the show (Marines' review was later published in the class newspaper). Marines' sharpest criticism was for the Glee Club. Some excerpts:

The scenery was very good it was excellent but the lighting was a little dull. The sound was awful in some acts but in others it was good.

I don't know what happened to the Glee Club, they were almost all weak. The audience couldn't hear them. They sounded soft then they went loud. It was a disaster!

When Margaret had her turn at the computer, she entered the first part of her text with minor changes (e.g., note the change from "the light was bright enough" to "the light was kind of dull," apparently influenced by Marines' text). However, she paused before entering the final line of her handwritten text, and composed the rest of Paragraph 4 and the first sentence of Paragraph 5 directly on the computer, revising the final sentence of the handwritten review to flow from what she had newly composed. This, in fact, demonstrates significant expertise in maintaining coherence in writing.

Rather than the Marines narrative (embedded in Paragraph 4 of the final version) being an incongruous chunk, therefore, we see the text as incorporating two separate planes. The first plane, composed in the original draft, is a straight-forward critique of the show. The second, composed at the computer, is a more emotionally charged narrative, whose intent is to discredit Marines as a critic. This second plane stands outside the review proper and overlays it; it is a comment on the enterprise of criticism itself. As such, it is a meta-communicative act (Bateson, 1972) responding to the power of and motives behind
negative criticism. Margaret also uses this second plane to raise her own status as a critic—presenting her "competitor" as one with ulterior motives rather than honest judgment.

The pivotal "But" beginning Paragraph 5 can now be seen as a contrastive device linking the two planes, indicating a distinction between Marines as critic (not to be trusted) and Margaret as critic (simply doing her job). When asked what she had intended in writing this sentence Margaret said, "I meant, I really liked the show. It was good to me" (corroborating our interpretation).

Understanding the Writing (With Computer) Process

Several general points follow from this example. The first is methodological. To appreciate the subtlety and complexity of Margaret's review, as well as to disentangle the meaning of Paragraphs 4 and 5, we as researchers needed to have been there—during the performance and during the writing activities that followed. Moreover, we needed to understand something of the entire writing "system" within which Margaret wrote. This system led to: (1) initial (and relatively hasty) composition on paper, (2) time milling around the computer before being able to use it, (3) opportunities while milling around to read other students' writing, and (4) time to enter text and also to compose afresh while at the computer.¹

A second point is closely related to the first: The most important impact of microcomputers on writing may be changes in the larger classroom writing "system" rather than changes in the technology of writing (e.g., speed, printed output, ease of revision). In "milling around" the computer waiting for their turn to get on, students read each other's writing and interacted over it. These interactions affected both the content and form of student writing. Similarly, peer interactions during writing on the computer, student access to other students' work stored in the computer, and programs like "Mailbag" in which students send messages to each other, can affect students' understanding of purpose in writing, and their sense of audience. For Margaret's review, it was these interactional factors—rather than the ease of typing at a keyboard and revising electronically—that influenced her final product most. A different classroom organization, incorporating one computer per student and/or constraints against reading fellow students' work, would have produced a different outcome for Margaret's review; her computer-assisted piece might have looked much like her far more ordinary handwritten draft.

A third point emerging from this analysis has to do with the writer's sense of audience. Margaret seemed to have assumed that the reader would be a member of the class—Jim Aldridge, most likely, but possibly also Marines or other students; in any case, someone with access to both her own and Marines' critiques. She seemed to assume that both written pieces would be equally in the public domain of the classroom. She therefore added to her information-oriented, "objective" criticism a second plane that
was primarily a social meta-message with indirect discrediting force, telling the reader how her piece and Marines' piece should be understood. In doing so, she assumed that her reader would have the ability to infer her social meaning. For Margaret, both writing and reading are seen as social action—as communication between social actors.

Conclusion

How students like Margaret develop a sophisticated sense of audience, and the role that the computer plays in this process, needs to be investigated further. In Jim Aldridge's class, students' computer-assisted writing is striking in its attention to audience. We have seen a marked "media orientation"—the use of "Press Release" announcements; written commercials for upcoming stories; markers of episodes, chapters, and series; urgings to "stay tuned;" flashy titles (note the use of quotation marks in Margaret's title as a highlighting device); the use of pseudonyms (pen names), and deliberate use of non-conventional capitalization and punctuation for effect. We remarked earlier on how Margaret tuned her information for an insider who would have access to Marines' writing as well.

Several factors are probably involved here. Students' writing is public and available to be read as it is entered into the computer (looking over the writer's shoulder as it appears on the screen). Later, using the Library program, students can retrieve their own or someone else's writing stored on the computer. Writing comes off the printer typed and formatted, like published print (newspapers, magazine ads). It can then be seen on the wall (where its neatly typed format makes it easier to read and hence more accessible to classmates and outside visitors). Finally, through Mailbag (the electronic mail system), students write personal messages to one another (which are also public when being entered on the computer). The relative importance of these factors needs to be examined, because there are QUILL classrooms in which students have not demonstrated this heightened sense of audience and do not mark their written products with the media devices common to Jim Aldridge's class. These differences suggest the importance of looking at how writing "systems" vary across classrooms where computers are used.

This study reminds us that programs such as QUILL are far more open-ended than much of the "drill and practice" software currently available for educational use. These more open-ended programs not only allow, but require, active involvement and collaboration of students and teachers for their success. They can bring about major changes in learning environments; at the same time, their use requires substantial support from peers and adults. Unfortunately, teachers have been given little help in making the necessary choices about how a classroom computer can best be used.

To this end, it is important to understand the value of having researchers and teachers work collaboratively (see Florio
A computer can be a wonderful teaching tool, a major classroom disruption, or a waste of resources. Ideas for improvement in the use of computers are most likely to come from actively involved, informed teachers. Our research has been greatly facilitated by Jim Aldridge and other teachers who have become involved with us in the process of learning about classroom computers and the writing process.

References


Footnote

1Teachers are uniquely situated to carry out or assist in research on writing systems such as the one described here. The teaching role can, in fact, be viewed as a study of the natural phenomena of learning in order to formulate hypotheses about how to help it along. But observations need to go beyond the writing product to encompass the writing system that shapes students' work and the process by which writing is done. Jim, the teacher in this class, adopted a researcher role that proved invaluable in developing an understanding of the changes associated with the computer's introduction.
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