THE MANY MASKS OF A WRITER: A DRAMATURGICAL APPROACH TO COMPOSITION PEDAGOGY AND LITERATURE ANALYSIS

by

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Abstract

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Audience theories discuss many aspects of the entity of audience, from specific, concrete individuals to general, abstract readers. Composition pedagogical approaches to audience, however, seem limited. Writers, at times, are directed to have a concrete reader in mind, and other times, writers hold certain expectations for those readers and provide textual clues for them to follow. Which approach to take varies on the situation, but teaching writers this type of discernment can be challenging. Erving Goffman provides a possible solution in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Goffman analyzes how individuals portray themselves differently depending on the social situation, and he compares this behavior to actors performing on a stage, thus employing the term dramaturgy. Goffman's dramaturgical theory can be utilized in both composition pedagogy and literature analysis since writers, too, present themselves differently depending on the social situation. Using a dramaturgical approach can be especially effective in analyzing autobiographical texts. For example, Frederick Douglass' three autobiographies demonstrate the reinvention of self over a lifetime. Even though each edition is Douglass' autobiography, he carefully chooses what and how to present based on his audience and the most efficacious approach of convincing them of his new message. Indeed, writers need such methods for affecting their audience as seen with

Indian boarding school students crafting “idealized selves” in order to influence white readers, an audience very different from themselves. By recognizing strategies employed by other writers, students can, then, apply similar techniques to their own writing. Through a dramaturgical approach to composition, students focus their coursework on their prospective career fields and recruit two professionals in that field to review their essays. The overall premise of this approach is for students to gain a broader perspective of audience than solely that of the English teacher and to develop impression management skills that will serve them regardless of audience, but especially for an audience of their future discourse communities. This study, specifically focused on composition theory, analyzes students’ reactions to this type of approach and relates their reactions to the Eight Habits of Mind as outlined in “Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing,” composed by the Council of Writing Program Administrators, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the National Writing Project.

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Chapter 1

An Introduction to Theory

Statement of Problem:

In the fields of rhetoric and composition pedagogy, theories on audience proliferate, but few parallel social interactions with the written communication process. Yet, people form and establish their ethos through social interactions. Writers, too, need such interaction in order to craft their ethos, especially with professional audiences. However, in general, published literature on composition pedagogy focuses too narrowly on audience, as either a flesh-and-blood entity or as an imagined concept , and these theories leave questions on audience unanswered since audience is not a flat entity, but rather addressing audience hinges on the dynamic relationship between writer and audience.

All the way back to the ancient Greeks and Romans, attempts have been made to help clarify the skill of addressing the audience. In *Rhetoric*, Book I, Chapter 1, Aristotle states, “before some audiences not even the possession of exactest knowledge will make it easy for what we say to produce conviction. For argument based on knowledge implies instruction, and there are people whom one cannot instruct. Here, then, we must use, as our modes of persuasion and argument, notions possessed by everybody . . .” (180). Among these “notions possessed by everybody,” Aristotle recommends employing ethos to establish one’s character as a means of persuasion. In Book II, Chapter 1, Aristotle states: “It adds much to an orator’s influence that his own character should look right and that he should be thought to entertain the right feelings towards his hearer; and also that his hearers themselves should be in just the right frame of mind” (213). Later, in Book II, Chapters 12-13, he reviews characteristics of different

types of audiences so that speakers can modify their arguments in order to connect with these different types of audiences (217-18).

Similar to Aristotle, in *De Oratore,* Cicero advises speakers be as knowledgeable in as many areas as possible in order to establish credibility with their audience, but he later concedes that such an expansive knowledge is unrealistic because of the endless possibilities (299). He also discusses the advantage of a speaker's ability to sway an audience by emulating the type of character to which the audience could relate (329). Adapting ethos to audience can be seen in Cicero's own dual identity, both rustic and urbane, within his works *The Laws* and *Pro Sextus Roscius*, as discussed by Marcia Kmetz. Both Aristotle and Cicero recognize the difficulties of affecting audience even though they lived in times of aural tradition, of listeners, specifically males, with a shared culture and values, directly addressed by a speaker. Today's complex audiences, which are potentially more distant in time, space, culture, socio-economics, and the like, contrast sharply with those of Aristotle and Cicero and can be more difficult to address.

More recently, in *The New Rhetoric*, Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca proffered their theory of Universal Audience, consisting of ideal values and specific knowledge which the writer envisions as s/he composes. Since "purely material criteria" does not necessarily define an audience (19), Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's suggestion allows writers to construct their audience by drawing on writers' experience, drawing on "what he knows of his fellow men" (33) and employing reasons that are compelling, self-evident, and valid (32). Again, this concept of audience remains a somewhat nebulous entity (31), yet one created by the writer. Therefore, each writer's Universal Audience will include commonalities with others', but will remain unique according to his own interests and culture and will also be a fabrication of his own interaction with his fellow man.

Within the classroom, composition textbooks basically rely on these two constructs of audience, as a known flesh-and-blood person, as discussed by Aristotle and Cicero, or as a figment held in a writer's mind, Universal Audience, as explained by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca. For example, in *The Essentials of Academic Writing*, Derek Soles lists flesh-and-blood audiences, such as specific readers, teachers, employers, employees, and encourages writers to investigate people's expectations of a written text, such as length, evidence, formatting, and sources (21-22). In *The Longman Writer*, Judith Nadell, John Langan, and Deborah Coxwell-Teague discuss an audience more closely related to a Universal Audience by focusing on rhetorical elements since "it's impossible to predict with absolute certainty what will make readers accept the view you advance or take the action you propose" (463). More encompassing of the two ideas of a specific audience and a mental version of audience, in *The Norton Field Guide to Writing*, Richard Bullock and Maureen Daly Goggin discuss possibilities of audience as known, multiple, and unknown and provide heuristics for discovering and addressing these types (6-8).

Although all of these approaches to audience analysis attempt to clarify the concept of audience, perplexities still remain, such as when to heed audience expectations and when to ignore them. More specifically, despite explanations and insights, approaches to audience seem too limited. In fact, the concept of audience within composition pedagogy appears to be much more intricate than what has been investigated so far. Social human interaction and communication take place on many levels and involve many nuances from which people learn how to express themselves within discourse communities and also learn how to critique others' within those communities. Likewise, writing, especially for formal and academic audiences, involves similar intricacies. Studies show that readers do form opinions of writers' ethos based

solely on written texts (Hairston, “Not All”; Beason; Gildsdorf and Leonard), even with informal correspondence when readers are not specifically looking for errors (Brandenburg). Thus, a new pedagogical perspective, one that considers aspects of face-to-face communication, is needed of written communication.

In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, as well as in his other works, sociologist Erving Goffman provides an interesting study on individuals’ daily social interaction and how that interaction contributes to their identity. Goffman frames his analyses as dramaturgy, in respect to actors on stage, projecting certain traits depending on various factors. He explores the nuances of everyday interactions, bringing to light aspects such as social identity, dramatic realization, and impression management. These same aspects should equally apply to written texts since written texts are a means of social interaction as well. Moreover, an analysis of audience from a dramaturgical perspective could shed light on the complex dynamic between writer and audience, which in turn could benefit composition pedagogy. Thus, audience should be considered from a dramaturgical perspective in order to provide insight on the extent to which social mores and audience, including that of the role of teacher-as-audience, help shape student writing.

The social dynamics of the traditional composition classroom seemingly present only one aspect of audience influence (that of the authoritarian teacher). This authoritarian influence has been little studied in relation to the wider range of audience influence, so this study will also analyze the teacher-as-audience from the perspective of Goffman’s dramaturgical theory, which focuses on various “fronts” people assume with their speech and actions as their audience changes. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca touch on similar concepts: “Various conditioning agents are available to increase one’s influence on an audience: music, lighting, crowd effects, scenery, and various devices of

stage management. . . . [T]echnical improvements have fostered the development of these conditioners to the point that they are regarded by some as the essential element in acting on minds" (23). With the influence of these conditioners, the writing process and product seem to be an intricate combination of expectations for both writers and readers. Research indicates that errors act on readers' minds, making errors one such conditioning agent, albeit a negative one. Elaine O. Lees points out readers' physical reactions to errors, such as raised eyebrows and marking errors (219), and that errors do affect writers' "social identities" (226). Similarly, Goffman notes the need for control in regard to impression management since "impression . . . is a delicate, fragile thing that can be shattered by very minor mishaps" (56). This study will look at how published writers adjust their writing for their respective audiences, how students can shape their writing in order to establish their social identity within their chosen career field, and how composition teachers influence students' written identities. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state that writers draw on their experiences of what they know of their fellow man (33), this study will investigate how Goffman's theory illuminates rhetorical techniques of published authors, how it aids in the writing process within the composition classroom, and how it factors in with the teacher's voice as part of that Universal Audience. Within this framework of literature analysis and composition pedagogy, Goffman's dramaturgical theory prompts many questions in regard to written communication:

In what ways does social interaction apply to writing and the writing process?

How do writers apply what they know from face-to-face interaction and addressing audience to written communication?

Which aspects of Goffman's theory apply to the writing process as well as to readers of the finished text?

How can a dramaturgical perspective aid students in the writing process?

What would a dramaturgical heuristic encompass?

What does dramaturgical theory explain about classroom dynamics?

Moreover, although a plethora of scholarship has been published in regarud to reader-response theory and reception theory (e. g. Suleiman and Crosman's *The Reader in the Text*; Goldstein and Machor's *New Directions in American Reception Study*; Flynn and Schweickart's *Gender and Reading* ; Freund's *The Return of the Reader*), this study is limited to integrating composition theory with Goffman's dramaturgical theory, which consequently can also be utilized in analysis of life narratives. In fact, tbcause of the need for a more comprehensive framework for audience analysis in regard to social influence and the need for a discussion of the extent to which the authoritarian teacher-as-audience becomes integrated with this social influence, this study will look at people who persevered within oppressive authoritarian society by assuming social masks/ethos of their times. Goffman determines that the presented self (ethos) "is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die," but rather it is "a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented . . ." (253). First, the three versions of Frederick Douglass' autobiography provide examples of the same information adapted for new performances, of changing social identity/ethos and projecting impression management, as Douglass became more prominent within white society and slavery was abolished. Additionally, writing from Indian boarding school students demonstrates how social fronts dictate masks/ethos assumed during written performance. Like Cicero, these students employ dual identities as a means of persuasion. Moreover, such performances of Douglass and Indian boarding school students bring into question methods of written language acquisition and how authority factors into the process. Consequently, this study will also discuss language acquisition theory and how authority, specifically the teacher, influences writers' ethos. Such a

demanding audience as the teacher seems a necessary element in the development of ethos.

Review of Scholarship:

Within recent literature concerning audience, several theorists have given it many labels. In "The Meanings of 'Audience'," Douglas Park recognizes the ambiguity of the term and differentiates its many possible meanings. Park identifies two types, the real or actual audience - people outside the text and the imagined or "implied" audience (312). To begin with, whether concrete or imagined, both of these types entail distinctive characteristics. Park outlines four possible concepts of audience: 1) an actual reader; and 2) readers/listeners as those involved in the rhetorical situation. Then, he specifically focuses on his last two definitions: 3) audience as a construct in the writer's mind, and 4) audience as a construct shaped by the text (313). Park also touches on other aspects which influence audience, such as Lloyd Bitzer's idea of rhetorical situation (311).

First of all, the real or concrete audience does influence how writers shape their text. As Park points out, writing is usually defined by its context and thereby holds to certain conventions, such as a piece written for the sciences in APA format as opposed to a piece written for the humanities in MLA format. He also states that audiences in specific contexts usually have specific subject matter in common; for example, readers of *People* have different interests than those of *Popular Mechanics* (314-15). Thus, those audiences hold certain expectations for pieces in that content area to which writers must adhere. Otherwise, they could risk losing their audience. Therefore, Park recommends that writers focus on conventions expected of a piece (315).

Yet, writing for a specific publication targets a specific group of people. Within the classroom, the concept of audience can be much vaguer. Although teachers and textbooks instruct students to keep their audience in mind as they write, the concept is

often talked about as an impersonal, abstract object (Park 312). Likewise, Park states, "Powerful as the idea of audience is, it may block thought to the extent that it presents as a unified, locatable, something that, in fact, involves many different contexts dispersed through a text" (314). As a result, students feel overwhelmed and stifled, unable to write.

Park calls for more extensive "a map of the territory of audience" than what he has outlined (318) and admits that he explains the concept of audience with too limited of a perspective (319). Indeed, the concept of audience necessitates a much broader apparatus that considers more of the working components within the rhetorical situation. Park does not mention the writer's relationship with audience, such as how a writer views herself in relation to the audience, superior/inferior; if the writer wishes the audience to take her seriously, humorously; or how the writer views herself, expert, novice. Therefore, what is needed is not just a "map of the territory of audience" (Park 318), but a map of the social situation, like Goffman's dramaturgical theory. Maybe then can writers identify which role/part to play themselves and which techniques would most effectively move their audience.

Park is not the only one to investigate the effect of audience during the writing process. To combat what can be a counterproductive mental construct, Peter Elbow, in "Closing My Eyes As I Speak: An Argument for Ignoring Audience," believes that the practice of writing for the self can produce a better final draft than when writing to an intimidating audience, i.e. the teacher (336). Elbow justifies his position by explaining that when writers freely explore on paper aspects of a topic rather than focusing on audience, final drafts are better, stronger (338-39). Further, he distinguishes journals as a way to employ what he calls "desert island discourse," the mental reasoning with one's self (341), and therefore, he advocates ignoring audience during the invention stage. He believes this type of "private island discourse" bolsters students' sense of self-value and

creativity more so than teachers' stifling responses to students' writing or the threat of an impending grade (349).

Similarly, Elbow believes that being too aware of audience can make a piece sound artificial and contrived or even impede writer's ability to create (338). To prevent such an impasse, Elbow suggests initially ignoring audience, allowing students to create freely, uninhibited by the restrictive conventions called for by a specific audience (338). In fact, Elbow feels especially passionate about this subject and has much to say. He explains that "the Vygotskian model calls for our attention to the equally important need to learn to produce good thinking *while alone*. A rich enfolded mental life is something that people achieve only gradually through growth, learning, and practice. We tend to associate this achievement with the fruits of higher education" (341). Again, Elbow labels this solitary creating as "desert island mode," which is "an ability that tends to require learning, growth, and psychological development. Children, and even adults, who have not learned the art of quiet, thoughtful, inner reflection, are often unable to get much cognitive action going in their heads unless there are other people present to have action *with*" (341). In fact, Elbow views the "desert island mode" as an essential utility for fostering writing within students:

> But let's also celebrate this same feature of writing as one of its glories: writing invites disengagement too, the inward turn of mind, and the dialogue with self. Though writing is deeply social and though we usually help things by enhancing its social dimension, writing is also the mode of discourse best suited to helping us develop the reflective and private dimensions of our mental lives. (345)

Like what Park suggests, Elbow states, "What most readers value in really excellent writing is not prose that is right for readers, but prose that is right for thinking, right for language, or right for the subject being written about" (339). This rightness to which

Elbow refers echoes what Perelman discusses about the expectations of the Universal Audience- that which is held “real, valid, and true” (33).

Elbow’s theory of desert island discourse could be a key to better understanding effective composition pedagogy. However, as beneficial as ignoring audience could be, it still lurks in the writer’s mind, and some people can be better at banishing it than others. Composition students may especially have a more difficult time since they know that their writing will be graded. Also, he neglects to discuss how much influence the teacher has during desert-island mode, if her instructions infiltrate that private thought. Does it become incorporated somehow? Likewise, Elbow does not discuss what factors should play a role in the invention process nor does he discuss under what circumstances this desert island discourse should be ignored. He states that students should learn what is “right for readers, right for thinking, right for language, or right for the subject” (339), but who determines what is “right”? Clearly, people learn what is acceptable through interaction with others, being a part of a community. Moreover, social interaction provides settings through which people develop their own identities and situate themselves among others (Brooke and Hendricks 8). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s Universal Audience combines social interaction of a writer’s experiences with concrete audiences and self-deliberation (18), much like Elbow’s “desert island mode.” Thus, a dramaturgical approach could provide a clearer understanding of the aspects of social interaction and could provide a foundation for working through mental intricacies of the writing process in order to establish a writer’s ethos.

Some scholars believe that the best way for students to develop their writing skills is for them to study people who have already mastered those skills. Walter Ong’s explanation is best in his article “The Audience is Always Fiction.” He believes that, at first, beginning writers have to imagine an audience, one of their own making, by

emulating the writing of others: “not from daily life, but from earlier writers who were fictionalizing in their imaginations audiences they had learned to know in still earlier writers, and so on back . . . If and when he becomes truly adept, an ‘original writer,’ can do more than project the earlier audience, he can alter it” (11). Like Elbow, Walter Ong also believes that writing is usually a solitary act (10). According to Ong, writers and readers both wear masks, assume personas (20); Ong explains how authors implement signals in their texts with an example of Hemingway using noun determiners in “that year” and “the river” to draw in the reader: “[The reader] shares the author’s familiarity with the subject matter. The reader must pretend he has known much before” (13). However, before writers can create these roles, they must be familiar with what audiences will and will not accept from a text (Ong 15). Ong claims that once a writer adopts a style comfortable for him and appropriate for creating/fictionalizing an audience, subject matter becomes of little importance (11). Much like what Park discusses with readers of certain magazines expecting certain content, Ong focuses on style and technique. Yet, such a focus seems exclusionary since Ong discusses only analyses of polished texts. Whereas this analytical experience can contribute to a student’s writing skills, most students need more than just imitation. Although Ong touches on the important pedagogical approach of imitation to teach writing, he also neglects many other aspects and influences on the writing process, such as author’s social status or own self-assessment, and other aspects that relate to audience, such as purpose and point of view.

For the most part, Ong focuses on methods writers employ in creating roles for his readers and not on roles writers assume themselves. Not only do readers play roles as Ong points out, but writers do as well, and contrary to what Ong states, “not from daily life” (11), writers do learn roles through daily interaction. Ong’s discussion links the role of audience to roles people play in everyday life, but he does not extend this analogy to

writers. He claims that roles are found throughout history, literature, and culture (15-20), but stops short of discussing such roles in respect to writers. As Perelman points out, with reference to Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, “an orator wishing to persuade a particular audience must of necessity adapt himself to it” (20-21). Instead, Ong hinges the interplay of reader and writer on the role created solely for the reader (18). However, many more elements factor into the equation, such as the writer’s social status or how he views himself. Ong discusses games readers must play in order to become part of the audience. Such games of which Ong speaks are a ubiquitous part of society and are played by readers and writers alike. For example, a young, inexperienced writer hoping to be published for the first time will approach a topic differently from a well-known established author, even if both are writing to the same audience. That inexperience and naiveté are not erased once the young writer imitates Mark Twain’s style, as Ong suggests (11).

Just as Ong notes that readers must learn to play roles and how writers address/create these roles (19), so too writers must learn to assume roles. Ong briefly touches on the fact that as social beings, people develop masks as a means of communication and identity (20). This idea of masks for both writer and audience needs to be developed further, to encompass not just the audience or even the writer, but to critique the entire rhetorical situation, which Goffman’s theory could provide.

As a result of Ong’s work, Russell C. Long, in “Writer-Audience Relationships: Analysis or Invention,” suggests that students should work on creating an audience, and he also assumes that most readers are passive (225). Additionally, Long cautions against generalizing the audience for two reasons. First, generalizing is a form of stereotyping, which should be avoided, and second, the writer automatically assumes the reader must be persuaded, thus creating an adversarial relationship to the reader (223).

Basing his reasoning on Ong's findings, Long advocates that composition students practice creating their audience by questioning "What attitudes, ideas, actions are to be encouraged?" within a piece of writing (225). By approaching audience in this manner at the beginning of the writing process, Long believes that students will find that background information, diction, and tone automatically fall into place during the rest of the writing process (225). Long maintains that such an approach "shift[s] the burden of responsibility upon the writer from that of amateur detective to that of creator, and the role of creator is the most important and most basic the writer must play" (226).

Long provides some valuable insight into the writer/audience relationship, but, like many other theorists, Long focuses too narrowly on audience as a single, passive entity and neglects additional factors that influence the writing process as well as the finished product. Although Long attempts to adjust attention on audience away from a single, concrete agonistic entity in need of persuasion, he commits the same mistake of focusing on a single, fictional creation, which will passively heed rhetorical devices. Yet, at least in academics, passive readers are a scarcity. In the last sentence, Long mentions a key component of writing, that of "the role of creator [which] is the most important and the most basic the writer must play" (226). Indeed, with each piece, writers must re-create themselves just as actors take on new roles, and this re-creation of a writer involves many more facets than "attitudes, ideas, and actions" in order for writers/text to be accepted by the audience.

Somewhat similar to Ong and Long's creation of audience, in "*The New Rhetoric: A Theory of Practical Reasoning*," Chaim Perelman discusses a Universal Audience, an ideal, fictional audience to which writers appeal. He holds that writers appeal to this audience "whether embodied in God, in all reasonable and competent men, in the man deliberating or in an elite" (1393) through implementing "literary techniques and a number

of rhetorical figures" (1395). Further, Perelman discusses the purpose of rhetoric as a means to stir an audience either to act or at least into "a disposition to act" (1388) which requires the speaker to connect with his audience through a sense of community, which links to Burke's "identification" (1388). Perelman claims that "all education also endeavors to make certain values preferred to others" (1394) and states, "[the writer] has at hand a whole arsenal of linguistic categories – substantives, adjectives, verbs, adverbs – and vocabulary and phrasing that enable him, under the guise of a descriptive narrative, to stress the main elements and indicate which are merely secondary" (1396).

Perelman provides a sound understanding of audience with their theory of Universal Audience. He recognizes that concrete audiences exist. Likewise, in order to establish a sense of community with others, or an "identification," individuals must first discover which commonalities bring forth those shared beliefs and interests that link with others, suppress those that do not, and especially hide those that would repel an audience. However, Perelman does not discuss the social mechanisms by which writers learn to deploy an "arsenal of linguistic categories" (1396) in order to create a sense of community. A dramaturgical approach to composition could provide a means for students to analyze and gauge the best technique for persuading their own audiences.

Of much of the current literature on audience, Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford provide a thought-provoking analysis of audience theory and offer a new perspective in "Audience Addressed/ Audience Invoked: The Role of Audience in Composition Theory and Pedagogy." They recognize that writers need to produce content which pleases the reader and that writers must rely on past experiences to make such judgments. Referring to Walter Ong and Russell Long for this process, Ede and Lunsford employ the term "invoke" an audience (325), meaning writers guide their readers by means of rhetorical strategies and writing techniques. Rather than writers choosing techniques

based on what they think the audience expects, the audience is plied by the text itself. For the concept of “audience addressed,” Ede and Lunsford scrutinize Ruth Mitchell and May Taylor’s article “The Integrating Perspective: An Audience-Response Model for Writing” and find it lacking in several aspects, especially their model of writing which “isolates” each of the concepts of writer, written product, audience, and response, as a single, stand-alone, unaffected element (323). They warn of dangers if writers concentrate too much on the concrete audience. In fact, they believe by doing so, writers focus too narrowly on one aspect of discourse, when in reality, writing is a mixture of several components such as writer, audience, and subject (325). They are also concerned that focusing only on what the audience wants to hear puts the writer in danger of using double speak, of using language as a means to an end: “The resulting imbalance has clear ethical consequences, for rhetoric has traditionally been concerned not only with the effectiveness of a discourse, but with truthfulness as well” (324). Ede and Lunsford also believe that Mitchell and Taylor neglect the role that the writer assumes as reader of her own work. Ede and Lunsford point out the importance of this writer/reader duality in the writing process as the method by which writers create their audience as well as assume the role of audience when reading during revision (324). This ability to switch roles from writer to reader makes the writing process a unique situation in that writers can be on “both sides” so to speak – unlike when giving a speech, one cannot stand at the podium and sit in the audience simultaneously. Ede and Lunsford note that writers and readers learn these roles through “experience and expectations” (324). As Ede and Lunsford state, “What is missing from . . . much work done from the perspective of audience as addressed is a recognition of the crucial importance of this internal dialogue, through which writers analyze inventional problems and conceptionalize patterns of discourse” (324). Writers engage in “silent dialogue” with

others (333), similar to Elbow's desert island discourse and similar, also, to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's idea of the writer deliberating with himself, which eventually manifests into his Universal Audience. This silent dialogue/desert island discourse/self-deliberation acts as a crucible by which writers refine their texts.

Ede and Lunsford go on to identify the root of the problem with teaching writing: "One of the facts that makes writing so difficult, as we know, is that we have no recipes; each rhetorical situation is unique and thus requires the writer, catalyzed and guided by a strong sense of purpose, to reanalyze and reinvent solutions" (329). In regard to Ong, Ede and Lunsford recognize his miscalculation that audiences are always invented, and they go on to detail scenarios in which audiences play different roles, yet represent concrete entities (327-29). In an effort to devise a more effective explanation, Ede and Lunsford provide an audience wheel of the relationships a writer can potentially have with audience (331). All of which influence the writer. Ede and Lunsford argue against the over simplification of the role that either audience or writer take as well as the influence of each on the writing process and the final product, and they conclude that audiences can be both addressed and invoked (332).

Ede and Lunsford come closest to identifying the intricacies entailed with audience by recognizing its concrete as well as its abstract characteristics, and they also recognize the limitations of their proposal (333). Indeed, there is a need for an investigation of how the roles of the writer and the roles of the audience, both addressed and invoked, interplay, how those roles interpret from daily social interaction, and how those roles are portrayed in written form. Also, Ede and Lunsford fall short of discussing how the composition classroom and how academic writing help writers adapt to potential audiences. What roles does academic writing teach? How do such roles translate to the

business world? Many questions remain unanswered in regard to audience, especially the role a teacher plays as part of the audience within composition pedagogy.

Because of the possible pressure imposed by audience, such as noted by Elbow and Park, some theorists believe that the authoritarian teacher inflicts harmful effects on students and their writing. Therefore, they propose remedies for what they believe has become a detrimental part of composition instruction. In “Chapter 4: A Rhetoric of Laughter for Composition Pedagogy” in *Breaking up [at] Totality*, D. Diane Davis calls for a present-but-impotent version of the teacher, surrendering the course to the students, in an attempt to remove the authoritarian figure from the classroom. In Davis’ scenario, students write for the sake of writing and become highly introspective individuals. Even more radical, Stephen Yarbrough wants composition completely removed from the college curriculum in *After Rhetoric: The Study of Discourse Beyond Language and Culture*. He instead recommends that students engage in textual studies and participate in apprenticeships. Likewise, Victor Vitanza questions teaching composition in “Three Countertheses: Or, a Critical in(Ter)Vention into Composition Theories and Pedagogies”; however, he realizes that removing composition from the curriculum is an unrealistic expectation. Instead, he calls for a “pedagogy of hope” (143). However, each of these suggestions of Davis, Yarbrough, and Vitanza neglect important aspects of both social dynamics and classroom dynamics.

D. Diane Davis, in her quest to devise a new feminist pedagogy for the composition classroom, transforms the role of the teacher into that of a peacemaker, therapist, and social butterfly, ensuring that everyone in the class participates and that every voice is heard. Although Davis views the teacher as nothing more than a “suppository,” merely acting as a catalyst forcing students to expel texts that are carbon

copies of the teacher's personal beliefs (227), even Davis admits that the teacher still remains in control regardless of attempts to remove that authority (221).

Clearly, there is no escaping the role of the teacher in the composition classroom, nor should such a vital component be dismissed as the teacher has more experience than students. Additionally, the role of the teacher is too complex and too venerable to be reduced to base bodily functions. More so, teachers act as guides directing students to techniques and skills that work for them, the teachers themselves, as well as for students, a.k.a. best practices, akin to Goffman's impression management. Since many teachers do not solely teach, but are students, writers, presenters themselves, fully engulfed in the writing process, they recognize and experience the struggles and triumphs of writing. They, too, are judged/graded on their written word. Davis may call for removal of authority in the classroom, but when are people not judged in social settings. Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca state: "under normal circumstances some quality is necessary in order to speak and be listened to" (18). Clear communication is needed for more than Davis' focus of economics and politics.

Communication is a matter of being understood and accepted by others, successfully interacting with society (Goffman's dramatic realization); the classroom is but a microcosm of the larger world. Contrary to Davis's suggestion for rhizomatic writing, that which is "non-system[atic]," with no beginning, middle, and end" (45), verbal language and written language are systems. In fact, even before children learn the alphabet, their writing reflects a systematic approach, a single shape representing a single object, and then as children advance, "letters" correspond to the size of the object, more letters equaling a larger object (Bissex 101). Thus, Davis' suggestion to un-systematize students' writing runs counter to their innate tendencies. Additionally, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca comment that "In our well-ordered world, with its

hierarchies, there are generally rules prescribing how conversation may be begun; there is a preliminary agreement arising from norms of social life" (15). For Davis to encourage classrooms to be "dark, shifting, erupting, out of order" (246), to encourage students not to create "an/other identity, [or] solidifying the ego" (240), but to become "Legion" (252), would only extricate them from these norms, from society. Conveniently, Davis does not tell of the effect Legion has on the man he possesses – isolated, anguished, tormented, and self-mutilated. In contrast to Davis, in *Audience Expectations and Teacher Demands*, Robert Brooke and John Hendricks discuss the necessity of a coherent self situated in society:

> A person's group affiliation and ego identity, thus, are deeply related to health and sanity. If a person is unable to negotiate the different personal and social identities she is assigned and is unable to mold a particular pattern of group affiliation into an ego identity, then the person may be headed for madness, for a profound and unmanageable sense of disintegration (as studied in Laing's *The Divided Self*). On the other hand, if a person can negotiate a pattern of group affiliation and rejection to call her own and make her 'self,' then the person may attain a sense of congruence and integrity. (8)

Additionally, Brooke and Hendricks also find that rather than focusing on acquiring specific knowledge or skills, students are primarily concerned and motivated by fitting in with their social environment and being accepted by fellow group members (54). So contrary to Davis's recommendation of disunity and fragmentation, classrooms should be a place to analyze systems of written communication within society and a place for students to practice them so that they learn to adapt their writing to various audiences.

Even more radical voices call for the removal of the teacher as audience. Yarbrough views the teacher as an authoritarian, silencing force (211, 225) or as a tool

used to perpetuate “games play” of standardized testing (217). In fact, Yarbrough goes so far as to advocate for the complete removal of composition from the curriculum (210, 213) and believes that concepts such as grammar and syntax cannot be taught (218). He quotes Kent: “The composition teacher, ‘at best, can offer only advice’ and serve as a collaborator” (218). For Yarbrough, a teacher should become more of a sociology teacher who is to “teach [students] more about the way things are” (228) and to “teach objects affecting situations” (237). He believes the teacher should help students “cop[e] with problems that more forcefully affect our lives” and promotes service learning, a type of “apprenticeship” (239).

What Yarbrough and Kent propose is partially true. Teachers can “only offer advice,” but their job is to offer students various knowledge, information, and skills. This type of interaction lends to what Elbow discusses as becoming part of Desert Island discourse and Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca’s Universial Audience. Ultimately, though, students hold the responsibility to learn. Teachers cannot force them to accomplish their educational objectives. They must do it for themselves. However, for the majority of the students, that advice becomes invaluable. As Ann M. Blakeslee’s study on scientific writing shows, becoming ingratiated into an audience takes years of continuous practice and study for both novices and professionals. Such practice is not a novel concept. In *De Oratore*, Cicero’s Crassus compares good rhetoricians to good athletes who need training and rigorous practice (309). Likewise, writers should have a coach, a guide to assign continual practice of application and to offer feedback on performance. Even experienced writers seek feedback on their drafts, as noted in many acknowledgments. Ede and Lunsford even mention a colleague’s responses to drafts of “Audience Addressed/ Audience Invoked” (333). Such feedback (social interaction) is invaluable for written communication, and in the composition classroom, the teacher has the insight and

the expertise to help students continuously hone their writing skills in order to navigate through various audiences. More recently in the arena of education, teachers have become facilitators in the classroom, rather than the "sage on the stage," placing students at the center of their own learning. Through this collaboration between the teacher and students, students can be directed towards concepts of written negotiation that they may otherwise not have known without the direction of the teacher. Brooke and Hendricks note that social life consists of negotiating conflict experienced while interacting with others, whether to accept or to reject membership within certain social groups (4). Since teachers must still impose some type of criterion on the class and evaluate students' writing in order to justify grades and credits earned, students receive feedback on how well they can negotiate audiences through their writing.

Of the commentary on composition pedagogy, Victor Vitanza's suggestion is much more puzzling and much more obscure than Davis's or Yarbrough's. Vitanza views the current authoritarian teacher as "invidious and insidious" (140) and instead believes that student writers should "drift" throughout the composition process. Vitanza originates his suggestion from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattori's theory of rhizomes (148), suggesting that students' writing should take on any organic form and shift to any topic. Moreover, Vitanza is particularly antagonistic toward economic ideologies, Marxism and especially Capitalism. For Vitanza, any type of authoritarian hierarchical social structure impedes free-thought and creativity, which leads him to also criticize education's authoritarian approach to language, both prescriptively and descriptively. Vitanza calls for rebellion against using any type of structure, rationalization, or system of language because doing so induces sameness, commonality, coherence, and homogeneity, which Vitanza deems debilitating enslavement (156).

Unfortunately, Vitanza dismisses language as a means of establishing community. Although he discusses language games and advocates that students learn how to drift from one game to another, he seems to forget that games are played with others and that games entail rules and regulations to keep the play in motion. Vitanza also takes for granted that students must learn language games first before they can drift from one to the next. More beneficial would be a dramaturgical approach looking at how people adjust their language from situation to situation and teaching students various writing skills so that they will be better equipped to drift into any type of compositional "game" they may encounter.

As a result of this combination of narrow approach to audience paired with antagonism toward the teacher-as-audience, conflicting opinions have surfaced on how composition students should address the audience or if they should ignore it all together. Hence, instructors have myriad theories from which to choose. For example, composition instructors can have their students write for a general Universal Audience, such as asking them to envision an audience based on their own experience and knowledge of others. Another alternative is that students engage in composing "real world" texts, writing to a specific, concrete audience outside of the classroom, as is done in service learning classes. Similarly, Douglas Park believes students should focus more on "appropriateness, clarity, and accuracy" rather than on a specific audience (316). Other scholars, such as Peter Elbow, recommend that students ignore audience during the early stages of the writing process. Students' attention then shifts to invention rather than envisioning the finished product. Walter Ong holds that writers learn to create their audience by emulating other writers. Russell C. Long follows Ong's advice, advocating that students focus on their writing rather than on audience. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's Universal Audience provides a starting point for writers, but it leaves too many

aspects of social interaction unaddressed. Ede and Lunsford give the most effective analysis, but it also leaves aspects unaddressed. Social nuances play an important factor in face-to-face communication, yet such nuances have yet to be thoroughly explored within the writing process.

More radically, Diane Davis, Stephen Yarbrough, and Victor Vitanza call not only for the removal of the teacher-as-audience because of the stifling authoritarian figure he/she poses, but they also question even teaching composition since language is fluid and teaching writing privileges one type of language over another, therefore, suppressing and controlling minority cultures and the economically disadvantaged. However, should the teacher-as-audience or even teaching composition be completely dismissed from the curriculum? Communication requires social interaction, so discounting the role of teacher-as-audience seems counter-intuitive as she is the person with the most writing and reading expertise within that classroom. In addition, students' grades ultimately depend on her evaluation, and students are well aware of their teachers' authority. In fact, many students have become adept at discovering what individual teachers prefer and capitalize on those preferences in order to achieve high grades and social acceptance (Brooke and Hendricks). Therefore, trying to circumvent the teacher's influence as audience within the classroom, as with Davis's "Pedagogy of Laughter," is kind of like in the *Wizard of Oz,* when the wizard commands, "Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain!" Likewise, even though teachers instruct students to focus on an outside audience, such as in service learning or asking them to picture their own audience, they still recognize teachers as the ultimate evaluators of their papers. The teacher's presence, at least to some degree, remains an influence within the classroom regardless of attempts to mask it. Instead, a broader dramaturgical analysis of social interaction needs to be applied to writing so that the experience of addressing an

authoritarian teacher can be shifted to addressing an authoritarian audience. As Goffman notes, fronts are rarely new themselves, but rather solely new to the individual or new to the situation (27). Therefore, with this new approach to composition pedagogy, an attempt will be made at synthesizing an authoritarian academic audience with an authoritarian professional audience.

Methodology:

Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky conducted extensive studies in children's learning processes and their relationship to language acquisition, and his work is particularly pertinent to this study in that he views the individual as an active participant within a social context, i.e. the classroom, rather than as a passive recipient. As quoted by J. A. Gray:

> To sum up those features of Soviet psychology which distinguish it most from its Anglo-Saxon counterpart, the former emphasizes the *active* part played by the subject (and especially the conscious human subject) in *structuring* his own environment and his own experience, in contrast to the traditional (though perhaps weakening) Anglo-Saxon insistence on a *passive* organism, in which associations are formed by the interplay of processes (such as temporal contiguity), and the occurrence of rewards and punishments) [sic] assuring successful *adaptation* to the environment. (qtd. in Robbins 6-7 footnote)

Additionally, in specific regard to Vygotsky, David Bakhurst states: "'Socialisation,' the all-pervading influence of the community upon the child, is not to be conceived as that which in principle *limits* individuality, but as that which makes possible the child's emergence as a self-determining subject. Vygotsky's position represents a theory of the *social genesis of the self*" (qtd. in Robbins 7). Thus, Vygotsky's work illustrates the necessity for socialization with discourse communities that students wish to join. Social activity

becomes especially important for understanding Vygotsky's stance that higher mental processes do not stem from within and then move toward action, but rather are "created through activity" (14). In other words, for Vygotsky, higher mental processes are first experienced via interaction with others and then internalized rather than vice versa (Robbins 20). Vygotsky states: "The most significant moment in the course of intellectual development, which gives birth to the purely human forms of practical and abstract intelligence, occurs when speech and practical activity, two previously completely independent lines of development, converge" (qtd. in Robbins 48). Thus, higher mental processes, such as "logical memory, creative imagination, and verbal thinking and regulation" (Robbins 25) can be cultivated within the classroom through interaction with various audiences.

Furthermore, the classroom also enables students to practice situating themselves within a social setting: "A basic part of Vygotsky's ethics is derived from the assumption that how we react to others is how we view ourselves" (Robbins 22). Writers read their own text, thus becoming part of their own audience (Ede and Lunsford 324). This reciprocity contributes to the writing process. Along students' journey through the educational system, they accumulate techniques and acquire composition skills in order to "reanalyze and reinvent" within their writing as stated by Ede and Lunsford (332), and the composition teacher can (re)enforce this type of discriminatory skill by aiding students in addressing prospective audiences, thus, assisting students in situating themselves within their writing.

In fact, the power of audience could be significant and could even have long-lasting effects on students well into their adulthood, and this critical aspect of composition pedagogy needs further study. Brooke and Hendricks discuss that the effectiveness of the composition class hinges on students' ability to see relevance to their identity

negotiations in the future (60). Regardless of the intended audience, the teacher who assigns the task remains the driving force behind the writing assignment, so incorporating an influence that students regard as important, such as professionals in their field of study, could prove integral to their development as writers. In fact, the presence of the teacher probably effects and may even dominate the mind of the student while he/she writes. Indeed, Ann Blakeslee links educational experience, what she deems as "shoulders of Giants," as one of the collaborative factors of composing (112). Thus, the presence of the teacher and professionals could possibly manifest as part of the Universal Audience, which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca characterize as a conglomeration of what an individual knows and experiences with others (33).

Vygotsky is not the only theorist attributing language acquisition and mental growth to social interaction. Mikhail Bakhtin also theorizes that the mental life connects with the outside or social world through discourse and thus requires an active response (*Dialogic* 345-46). Akin to Ong's suggestion of learning from other writers, for Bakhtin, people first learn from others, and then words become "one's own" when internalized and put into one's own content. However, unlike Ong's claim that writers do not learn from "daily life" (11), Bakhtin's theory that speech genres, primary (everyday language) and secondary (written forms such as essays) must both be analyzed in order to better understand the nature of utterances (*Speech* 61-2), which correlates directly with this study as it will analyze social influences, specifically how they correlate with the composition classroom, that shape a writer's process. Bakhtin states that words can be neutral, straight from a dictionary, but they also come from someone else's ideas (*Dialogic* 293). Bakhtin theorizes that such an influence of someone else's ideas links not only to the past but also to the future (*Speech* 94), making the interaction with both the teacher and society critical to the evolution of the student as a lifetime writer. Bakhtin

also discusses the fluidity of language and recognizes that despite this fluidity, it is still governed by parameters (*Speech* 79). He contends that language is not free, as Saussure states (*Speech* 81). Thus, Bakhtin provides another theoretical basis for opposing Vitanza's, Davis, and Yarbrough's recommendations of removing composition for the curriculum and dismissing the composition teacher as an authoritarian. Bakhtin furthers the necessity of the structured classroom in that "the better our command of genre, the more freely we employ them, the more fully and clearly we reveal our own individuality in them, . . . the more perfectly we implement our free speech plan" (*Speech* 80).Thus, the composition course can provide a pivotal opportunity to students by exposing them to various writing techniques and thought processes of both academic and professional audiences.

One approach to such a sociological analysis is Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory, in which he proposes that people adjust their personas dependent upon whose company they are keeping. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman outlines specific aspects such as "front," "setting," and "impression management" that people employ in order to present an "idealized" self. As Goffman points out, people already know how to shift from one language game to the next during social interaction (252-53), so students may need to learn social aspects of written communication in order that they be able to participate in a wider variety of said language games. As Janet Emig notes in her article "Writing as a Mode of Learning," "writing is a learned behavior" (123), which provides a unique, effective learning experience, one that employs both sides of the brain as well as both logical and emotional responses. Such activity situated within the classroom corresponds with Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development, "which is the reciprocal, dynamic, dialectical, asymmetrical, nonlinear approach to child (and many aspects of adult) development. Within Vygotsky's understanding, there is a blending of

individual and social, or of innate and experiential within a framework of modeling by more capable peers or teachers. The end result is one of self-regulation and self-realization of one's dreams, goals, and so on" (Robbins 101). Likewise, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state, in regard to initiating a conversation, "a preliminary agreement arise[s] from the norms set by social life" (15) and even "frivolous discussions that are lacking in apparent interest . . . contribute to the smooth working of an indispensable social mechanism" (17). As a result, learning formally, i..e within the classroom, along with socially, i. e. from specific discourse communities, could be empowering as it broadens students' written communication skills. In order to analyze social influences on writing, this study will apply Goffman's theory and terminology in a rhetorical analysis of texts written by suppressed people (Indian boarding school students and Frederick Douglass) as well as analyze and devise a pedagogical approach for the composition classroom.

Because the social dynamics of the traditional composition classroom seemingly present only one aspect of audience influence (that of the authoritarian teacher), and this influence has been little studied in relation to the wider range of audience influence, this study will analyze the teacher-as-audience from the perspective of Goffman's dramaturgical theory, which focuses on various "fronts" people assume with their actions and speaking as their audience changes. With the influence of these conditioners, the writing process and product seem to be an intricate combination of expectations for both writers and readers. This study will look at how writers adjust their writing for their perspective audiences as they deem necessary and how a composition teacher's influence can effect such adjustments within students.

Tentative Chapter Organization:

A Discussion of Audience Theory and a Dramaturgical Classroom – This chapter will link Goffman's dramaturgical theory with other theories discussing effects of audience on writers. This chapter will also discuss the necessity of a dramaturgical pedagogy and how it can possibly be implemented within the classroom.

Ethos and Errors - This chapter will discuss theories of how people learn to communicate with others and how academics shapes students' written ethos by teaching impression management. Through social interaction, people learn the need for performance and impression management. Therefore, the chapter will discuss the two aspects of written language, that of technical and that of social, and will then explain the necessity of true collaboration in order to learn how to address an audience most effectively.

Socialization and the Written Self – This chapter will use Goffman's dramaturgical theory to analyze writing of students from Indian boarding schools, which attempted to erase students' culture and language so as to make the "white." This dramaturgical analysis will show that these Native American students learned how to assume an alternate idealized self for advancing their own interests within their writing.

Frederick Douglass: First Impressions of an Idealized Self – This chapter will analyze changes in Frederick Douglass's presentation of self in his three autobiographies and discuss how these changes pertain to Goffman's dramaturgical theory and reflect on how Douglass's "idealized" self at various stages in his life coincides with his changing audience. As a result of this type of dramaturgical analysis, students could be shown how to use impression management techniques of other writers in order to create their own written idealized selves.

Classroom Application of a Dramaturgical Approach – This chapter will analyze classroom practices from a dramaturgical perspective and offer a pedagogical framework for teaching composition. For this study, students are asked to acquire two personal reviewers within their chosen career field so that they can begin interacting with their future audience and forming their ethos with that discourse community. Additionally, I will also provide feedback on their essays, comments and grades. By having both, reviewers in their career field and an academic figure as a guide, hopefully students will acquire skills needed for successful written communication within their career. In order to measure their success, I will discuss students' feedback concerning their growth as writers in their prospective career fields as they relate to the Eight Habits of Mind established by the Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing.

Chapter 2

A Discussion of Audience Theory and a Dramaturgical Classroom

A climate of dismissing sentence-level errors and a shift to process over product in composition pedagogy (Duffy 427; Cooper 364-66) seems to have contributed to a concern for students who cannot write effectively ("Neglected" 14, 16). More specifically, college graduates lack the writing skills necessary for success in their professional careers ("Neglected"). The National Commission on Writing for America's Schools and Colleges discovered that although students do possess basic writing skills, they are not "able to create precise, engaging, coherent prose" ("Neglected" 16). A separate survey by the Commission reveals that recent college graduates do not have the writing skills that employers require nor does the academic writing that students practice in school meet the needs of those employers ("Writing" 14). Consequently, the Commission calls for a "fundamental reformation of what society means by learning and how it encourages young people to develop to their full potential" ("Neglected" 9). In yet another study, Catherine Alter and Cark Adkins found that students' essays particularly lacked organization, focus, and substance (500). Therefore, in an effort to answer this call and fill this gap between academics and professional, maybe a new approach to writing instruction is a needed, one that specifically focuses on audience expectations since audience plays as a common factor among academic accountability, employers' expectations, and students' interests. Likewise, a focus on audience would prepare students to meet expectations for writing for their professional discourse communities. The survey conducted by the Commission indicates that good writing skills are an integral factor for "high skill, high wage professional work" ("Writing" 19) and that "more than 90% of midcareer professionals reported needing to write effectively as a skill of great importance daily" ("Writing" 11). Through this new approach, students address

expectations of their chosen career fields' discourse community, in order to gain experience with composition skills necessary to be successful members of those communities before they graduate college rather than being hired for a job and being underprepared.

However, teaching students how to address individual audiences can become problematic in a first-year writing course of approximately twenty-eight students per class because of the impossibility of one teacher knowing all perspective career fields' discourse. Currently, composition textbooks primarily rely on two basic constructs of audience, either as a known flesh-and-blood person or as a figment held in a writer's mind. Yet, despite all the explanations and insights, approaches to audience seem lacking. Although approaches to audience attempt to clarify the concept, perplexities still remain, such as when to heed audience expectations and when to ignore them. In fact, the concept of addressing audience appears to be much more intricate than what is discussed in textbooks. Since social interaction and communication take place on many levels, involve many nuances, and evolve over time, a new pedagogical perspective, one that incorporates continued face-to-face interaction, is needed for written communication. Moreover, this new approach includes the prospective audience of students' professional careers rather than relying solely on the teacher for feedback. By maintaining contact with their professional audience throughout the semester, students experience navigating the nuances of language expectations over an extended period of time instead of considering audience in isolation with each essay assigned.

One approach to such a sociological analysis of audience is Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. As Goffman points out, people already know how to shift from one language game to the next during social interaction (252-53), and he explores the nuances of everyday interactions, bringing to

light aspects such as social identity and dramatic realization. He defines performance "as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (15). This definition equally applies to essays, in which writers hope to influence readers through persuading, informing, or entertaining. More specifically, Goffman outlines aspects such as "front," "setting," and "impression management," which people employ in order to present an "idealized" self. Because writing is another means for presenting an idealized self, these same face-to-face aspects should equally apply to written texts. In light of Goffman's theory, what seems to be lacking in current pedagogical approaches is on-going interaction with one's audience, which is a vital element in establishing one's social identity. Therefore, with a dramaturgical approach to composition, students collaborate with professionals as reviewers, in addition to working their peers and teacher, over the semester as a means of developing their professional written self.

Interestingly enough, various approaches of audience theory touch on different individual aspects of audience, and Goffman's dramaturgical theory provides a unifying thread. In "The Meanings of 'Audience'," Park's focus on audience as a mental concept and as a textual construct correlates with Goffman's theory. Specifically, Park's concern about the mental concept of audience causing writer's block (314) could refer to two things, either the separation between the writer and audience or the stress of a critical audience. One reason for the block may be because of the separation of where and when, the setting, of the act of writing itself from the setting of the intended reader. The two settings could be incongruent and, therefore, require the writer to project himself to another time and place. For students who have not yet encountered their professional discourse community, this projection could prove difficult. Second, the pressure of presenting an effective social front to a critical audience could be overpowering. As

Goffman notes, the performer “will pay much attention to his appearance and manner, not merely to create a favorable impression, but also to be on the safe side and forestall any unfavorable impression that might be unwittingly conveyed” (225). As a result, students feel overwhelmed and stifled, unable to write, out of fear of creating an unfavorable impression. Thus, students need to understand and practice shifting to what Goffman labels as backstage/back region, the place where performances are constructed out of view of the scrutinizing audience (112). The backstage/back region manifests in the classroom during revisions of rough drafts, when students address any concerns they may have. These revisions take place among classmates, with the instructor, and with reviewers in their professional areas. By collaborating with others before the essay is graded, students do not face the same kind of pressures as when turning in a final draft. Instead, they become accustomed to improving their writing through interaction and inquiry.

With his analysis of social interaction, Goffman’s terminology provides a means for better understanding the social framework of writer and audience. For example, Park calls for more extensive “a map of the territory of audience” than what he has outlined in his essay, (318) and he admits that he explains the concept of audience with too limited of a perspective (319). Indeed, the concept of audience necessitates a much broader apparatus that considers more of the working components within the rhetorical situation, that of separate fronts, social and personal, that of the backstage, as well as that of other aspects, such as the idealized self and impression management. For example, Park does not mention the writer’s relationship with audience, such as how a writer views herself in relation to the audience, as superior or inferior; if the writer wishes the audience to take her seriously or humorously; or if the writer views herself as expert or novice. Therefore, what is needed is not just a “map of the territory of audience” (Park 318), but rather a

dramaturgical perspective of the social situation. Park's discussion of contextual expectations corresponds with Goffman's discussion of front – "expressive equipment of a certain kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance," which can be/are tied to the setting (22), such as a specific magazines as Park notes. With perspectives of social situations, maybe then can writers identify which role/part to play, can see what fronts look like in their careers, and can practice which techniques would most effectively move their audiences. Goffman observes:

> The line dividing front and back regions is illustrated everywhere in our society. . . . But in all classes in our society there is a tendency to make a division between the front and back parts of residential exteriors. The front tends to be relatively well decorated, well repaired, and tidy; the rear tends to be relatively unprepossessing. Correspondingly, social adults enter through the front, and often the socially incomplete – domestics, delivery men, and children – enter through the rear. (123)

These same front and back regions apply to the writing process. By writing and revising in a dramaturgical classroom, students have a back region to practice their written personas - professional/private, formal/casual – and to demonstrate the clear division of expectations for each area. Once they graduate, they, then, will have the skills to successfully function within the front region of their professions rather than being under-prepared as current studies indicate.

Indeed, the concept of audience plays a significant role. In "Closing My Eyes As I Speak: An Argument for Ignoring Audience," Elbow advocates ignoring audience during the invention stage, and his idea of "desert island discourse" corresponds directly with Goffman's backstage/back region: "It is here that the capacity of a performance to express something beyond itself may be painstakingly fabricated; it is here that illusions

and impressions are openly constructed. Here stage props and items of personal front [learned skills set] can be stored in a kind of compact collapsing of whole repertoires of actions and characters" (112). Activity such as prewriting, rough drafts, and classroom practice serve as a backstage area for students to create and to practice their written performance/personas. In this backstage area, students can explore, mitigate, experiment, and practice without the scrutiny of the intended audience, but with feedback from reviewers. As Goffman points out, "In general, then, backstage conduct is one which allows minor acts which might easily be taken as symbolic of intimacy and disrespect for others present and for the region, while front region conduct is one which disallows such potentially offensive behavior" (128). Goffman points to the discrepancy between activities conducted in the separate rooms of a house, the cleaning, grooming, and dressing completed in the bathroom and bedroom in order to present the body to visitors in the living room. Likewise, by students employing desert island discourse in specific backstage activities, i. e. freewriting or revising, they can become accustomed to the same type of transitions from back rooms to front rooms in their writing as they perform in their daily lives.

In addition to improving invention, Elbow believes that "private island discourse" bolsters students' sense of self-value and creativity, more so than teachers' stifling responses to students' writing or the threat of an impending grade (349). Yet, grades have shown to motivate students. According to Alter and Adkins' study, those who receive low assessment scores were more likely to seek help from the writing lab than those who earned high scores (502). Additionally, in order to know oneself, people must first interact with others and establish how their own beliefs compare with the larger society. As Goffman points out, the backstage and front are often connected so that a performer may, if necessary, "receive backstage assistance" (113). This self-knowledge

becomes crucial in the writing process at the college level since students are expected to write on more mature, complex issues. A lack of personal interaction in either academic or professional areas may account for why teachers believe that students, especially younger students, have nothing to say or lack depth in their essays.

Thus, the crux of the problem may lie in a lack of social interaction with people in certain fields. Certainly students do not lack something to say around their peers. Some scholars believe that the best way for students to acquire effective written communication is for them to study people who have already mastered those skills, such as Ong in "The Audience is Always Fiction." Even though the act of writing is usually as a solitary act (Ong 10) and students need to study others' writing (Ong 11), writers also need socialization with others in order to learn and to know how to project what Goffman explains as the collective representation, "the expected stereotype of a social front" (27). In a study on audience within scientific writing, Ann M. Blakeslee finds that addressing the needs of the audience is a skill that "requires continual updating as communities shift and change" (35). She goes on to state that for both novice and experts, socialization provides the means for induction into a community and for developing an ethos expected of its members (37). Blakeslee states, "Learning about one's community and acquiring the skill to effectively address it, requires time [10 years], accumulated experience, and interaction" (37). As Blakeslee contends, writers are influenced by and respond to their real, flesh-and-blood audience members, who in turn come to represent the audience at large (50). Therefore, for students to learn expectations of established communities, they must begin interacting with that community as soon as possible instead of merely imitating others and waiting until they graduate and find employment to actually join a community.

In fact, language games make up the social front that people project, in which "the differences in social statuses among the interactants will be expressed in some way by congruent differences in the indications that are made of an expected interaction role" (Goffman 24). For example, a young, inexperienced writer hoping to be published for the first time will approach a topic differently than a well-known established author, even if both are writing to the same audience. The idea of creating masks for both writer and audience needs to be developed further, expanded to encompass not just the audience or even the writer, but as a critique of the entire process, for through such an expansion can the complexities of the writing be illuminated. Moreover, Goffman explains how the uniqueness of every situation governs performance:

> In thinking about a performance, it is easy to assume that the content of the presentation is merely an expressive extension of the character of the performer and to see the function of the performance in these personal terms. This is a limited view of the performance for the interaction as a whole.
>
> First, it often happens that the performance serves mainly to express the characteristics of the task that is performed and not the characteristics of the performer. . . . Further, we often find that the personal front of the performer is employed not so much because it allows him to present himself as he would like to appear but because his appearance and manner can do something for a scene of wider scope.
>
> But most important of all, we commonly find that the definition of the situation projected by a particular participant is an integral part of a projection that is fostered and sustained by the intimate co-operation of more than one participant. (77-8)

Thus, the act of writing moves on a continuous flux between solitude and collaboration as audience moves on a continuous flux between abstract and concrete. Because of all these fluctuating variables, a dramaturgical approach could provide the means for students to view the act of writing more easily and more effectively since they are socially engaged with their audiences during the writing process.

Many rhetoric/composition theorists mention language as "games play" (Wittgenstein, Austin, Searle, Yarbrough, Vitanza, Davis); however, a pedagogical approach to "games play" seems to be lacking. Goffman refers to an information game in which an individual controls how others perceive him by projecting a certain character, a character that would be most advantageous to him (8-9), and Goffman's theory provides a foundation for this type of pedagogy as part of the game is managing one's presentation and, as best one can, managing others' responses to that presentation. A dramaturgical pedagogical approach could prove quite effective as Goffman finds that "There are grounds for believing that the tendency for a large number of different acts to be presented from behind a small number of fronts is a natural development in social organization" (26) and "Thus, when a task is given a new front we seldom find that the front it is given is itself new" (27). Therefore, what is practiced throughout the semester within the classroom and with various reviewers should carry over afterwards into students' professional life.

Such collaboration over an extended period of time affords students the experience needed for familiarization with their professional audience. In "Writer-Audience Relationships: Analysis or Invention," Long's recommendation for students to practice creating their audience (225) mirrors that of Goffman's idealized self, and his suggestion reflects Goffman's idea of performance: "When the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially

accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole" (35). In other words, students must question: "What self do I want to present?" as a means for engendering the intending reaction by an audience. By becoming a detective/creator, students seek out expectations of their discourse communities and practice creating those personas, idealized selves. As Blakeslee discusses, even writers already established in their discourse community need to re-evaluate their audiences since communities are always shifting, both in members as well as mindset (39-40). Consequently, the social constructs of each new rhetorical situation need to be considered.

Students should, therefore, research and interact with their perspective communities during their academic years rather than wait until after they graduate to begin that socialization. Goffman states: "Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way" (13). Gaining admittance to a professional community, people must demonstrate that they have what that community values in order to be respected by that community. Goffman continues: "Connected with this principle is a second, namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is" (13). Therefore, individuals need to know and practice how to present themselves in their writing, establish that written persona. By writing in a dramaturgical classroom, students learn to gauge the effect their words and style have on others via their one-on-one interaction with their reviewers. As Goffman discusses, an individual's performance affects his audience:

> In consequence, when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thereby makes an implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a

> particular kind, he automatically exerts a moral demand upon others, obliging them to value and treat him in the manner that persons of his kind have a right to expect. He also implicitly forgoes all claims to be things he does not appear to be and hence forgoes the treatment that would be appropriate for such individuals. The others find, then, that the individual has informed them as to what is and as to what they ought to see as the "is". (13)

As what Goffman discusses with face-to-face performances, writing equally effects audience. Since writing is a projection of the individual, a separate entity working on its own, it at times establishes and represents that "is," that person's being. Based on Goffman's analysis of society, dramaturgical pedagogy hinges on students researching their area of professional interest in order to discover which characteristics are expected and which values can be most beneficial to individuals in that profession. Part of this discovery also depends upon students finding two individuals in their professional area who are willing to discuss and revise their essays in order for students to investigate issues pertinent to their area, to practice their written idealized self, and to obtain feedback on their performance from both professionals in their chosen field as well as from fellow students and the academic instructor.

Such feedback contributes to the creation of a writer's concept of audience. In *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca point out, with reference to Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, "an orator wishing to persuade a particular audience must of necessity adapt himself to it" (20-21). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca go on to describe a universal audience as an idealized, abstract audience to which individual writers should appeal in order to achieve effective argumentation, an audience that, for each individual, develops over time through

experiences with concrete audiences (30, 31-33). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca distinguish a universal audience from concrete audiences by differentiating between the timeless “real” and momentary preferable (66). A universal audience, in a sense, determines reality, “facts, truths, presumptions” accepted by all, regardless of era or interests (66). In contrast, concrete audiences establish the preferable according to a specific group of people at a specific moment in time (66). In other words, the abstract universal audience is to appeal to quantity, using timeless understandings accepted by everyone, rather than to appeal to quality, applying standards established by an elite, as with a concrete audience (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 97). Individuals continuously configure a universal audience, an abstract ideal audience, through their interactions with concrete audiences, each lending validation to the other (35). Students interacting with their professional discourse communities as well as their academic discourse communities gives them experience exploring what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state as characteristic of a universal audience, what is “real, true, and objectively valid” (33). In other words, students can see elements particular to each concrete audience and elements that apply to both, therefore transcending to their universal audience. This distinction between interacting with concrete audiences and envisioning an abstract universal audience is crucial to developing writing skills since these different manifestations of audience both play an integral role throughout the writing process and on the product produced. Not only do students learn and practice standardized writing for an academic audience, but they work with others outside of the classroom, gaining experience with another specialized audience, thus both concrete audiences contributing to their manifestation of a universal audience. Since individual writers establish their own universal audiences through experience with others, a dramaturgical classroom provides the ideal fulcrum for all of these elements to come together. Such interaction with

specialized audiences outside the classroom is important as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca advise of the need of a universal audience in order to discern effective argumentation, for speakers not to get too caught up in complying with one specific concrete audience (26, 31). This need for discernment, which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss, can be seen in recent graduates' inability to shift from an academic writing style to a business writing style (National Commission, "Writing" 14). In a survey conducted by The National Commission on Writing for America's Families, Schools, and Colleges, companies reported dissatisfaction with recent college graduates' academic writing abilities, which did not serve well in the corporate world ("Writing" 14). As indicated by this survey, once students graduate from college, they maintain their focus on an academic audience rather than adapting their style to a professional one. With a dramaturgical approach, collaborating with others both inside and outside the classroom exposes students to specialized audiences, which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss as affecting part of an individual's universal audience (33). More specifically, those elements that writers adopt as part of their universal audience are not randomly chosen, but are rather those that writers themselves deem as worthy (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 34), and an individual's universal audience represents his discourse community (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 44). By approaching writing in a dramaturgical manner, students are subject to different concrete audiences: "For certain features of the universal audience will always coincide with the real concrete person: the universal audience will only differ from a particular audience in the measure that the conception held of the universal audience transcends given particular audiences" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 502). Further, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss the purpose of rhetoric as a means to stir an audience either to act or at least into "a willingness to act" (45), which requires the speaker to connect with his audience.

Although Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca do not discuss how writers learn to use social mechanisms in order to create a sense of community, this connection of stirring a community into action linked with the tools of formal education are important elements of the social aspect of writing as "Once the proper sign-equipment has been obtained and familiarity gained in the management of it, then this equipment can be used to embellish and illumine one's daily performances with a favorable social style" (Goffman 36). Additionally, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca acknowledge that there is "no clear-cut dividing line between techniques of order designed for the universal audience and techniques that only have validity for some particular listener" (502). Thus, whatever students learn about addressing their concrete audiences through interaction and practice can then serve them later as a representation of their universal audience.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca provide a sound understanding of an abstract universal audience, of an entity that exists somewhere between the concrete and the imagined, each influencing the other (35). Concrete audiences exist, and in order to establish a sense of community with others, to learn how to identify with them through their writing, students must first discover which commonalities bring forth those shared beliefs and interests, how to suppress those that do not, and especially how to hide those that would repel their audience. Such discernment cannot be accomplished if they are isolated within a classroom. Individuals establish who they are in relation to others (Goffman 10), and the idea of addressing a universal audience functions as a means for writers to establish their written persona, what Goffman calls the "truer self" (19). Again, this process relates back to collaboration with others in the discourse community. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss the need and the value of adjusting arguments in response to hearers' reactions (35). As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca note, arguments are scrutinized and therefore, in order for writers to be successful, their

arguments must be as balanced as possible, whether in detail, style, or tone, and thus appeal to their universal audience (119). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca equate dialogue with discussion, which functions as a means for testing and agreeing on truth, for working together in order to find the "best solution to a controversial problem" (36-37). However, unlike Ong, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca link argumentation to daily life and the need to persuade others (39). They also discuss the function of interacting with others in regard to providing information and counter arguments in order to strengthen one's own reasoning and personal convictions (44). Goffman, too, discusses the role others and social standards play in one's private life, which consequently create and govern an individual's universal audience:

> When a performer guides his private activity in according with incorporated moral standards, he may associate these standards with a reference group of some kind, thus creating a non-present audience for his activity. This possibly leads us to consider a further one. The individual may privately maintain standards of behavior which he does not personally believe in, maintaining these standards because of a lively belief that an unseen audience is present who will punish deviations from these standards. In other words, the individual may be his own audience or may imagine an audience to be present. (81-2)

Although an individual may be writing specifically to others, that specific audience many times is not present in the flesh during the writing process. Therefore, individuals must write to expectations presented by previous audiences, "what he knows of his fellow man," (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 33), and also must "maintain standards . . . which he [may] not personally believe in" (Goffman 81) in order to be taken seriously by his audience.

On the other hand, in “Audience Addressed/ Audience Invoked,” Ede and Lunsford warn of the dangers of writers concentrating too much on the concrete audience and that focusing only on what the audience wants to hear puts writers in danger of using double speak, of using language as a means to an end (324). Goffman also acknowledges that performers maintain standards that they do not necessarily believe in themselves (81), and he approaches this same aspect in that the performer needs to be sincere, an individual “who believes in the impression fostered by his own performance” (18). Having reviewers in both a professional community and in an academic community should function as a means to aid students in maintaining a balance of technical language needed for the community as opposed to using double speak for effect.

Besides having reviewers, students can learn to critique their own work from another’s perspective. Goffman discusses that an individual can “be his own audience” or employ an imaginary audience as a means to scrutinize his performance (82). The idea of learning roles through “experience and expectations” (Ede and Lunsford 324) needs to be expanding to include experience and expectations encountered during one-on-one interaction with those in a specific discourse community. As Lev Vygotsky reasons, individuals learn first through encounters with others and then internalize concepts for themselves (Robbins 20). Therefore, writers must interact with others before they can deliberate with their self. They need to know where they fit in within the discourse community, which lends to the significance of Goffman’s studies in relation to composition pedagogy. Students need interaction with their perspective professional discourse communities in order to develop their internal professional dialogue and their written professional persona.

Indeed, there is a need for an investigation of how the roles of the writer and the roles of the audience, both addressed and invoked, interplay, how those roles interpret

from daily social interaction, and how those roles are portrayed in written form. Within a dramaturgical classroom, personal interaction with professionals provides a crucial component for students' self-development and writing abilities. Although "we have no recipes," as Ede and Lunsford state, communities do have parameters and expectations for individuals to follow. Goffman explains the human need for social interaction: "Whatever it is that generates the human want for social contact and for companionship, the effect seems to take two forms: a need for an audience before which to try out one's vaunted selves, and a need for teammates with whom to enter into collusive intimacies and backstage relaxation" (206). Thus, students need to collaborate with their professional communities in order to learn how to best communicate within that group, an aspect that seems to be missing from most current pedagogies.

More specifically, Goffman's sociological theory seems particularly applicable to a pedagogical approach because its concepts provide a unifying thread for composition theory on addressing audience, and also the theory as a whole relates to studies of audiences' reactions to unmet expectations of a piece of writing. Therefore, in an effort to devise a method for analyzing and addressing audience and to provide a new perspective for composition pedagogy in order for students to develop their professional written voice, I will explore classroom practices of students using professionals in their chosen career fields as reviewers. The purpose of these reviewers is to give students feedback on their essays in regard to content specific aspects, such as terminology and point of view. The teacher will also serve as a reviewer in regard to formal language usage, genre, and MLA format, and will later grade essays according to the district rubric. Since people naturally shift personas in social situations, I hope to devise a means for showing students the necessity of shifting from a casual voice to a more formal voice in their professional writing and for them to recognize that writing effectively requires

continuous collaboration with their discourse community. For this process, students are asked to recruit two reviewers in their professional area so that they can see and experience what type of front they need to establish for themselves and what language skills they will need for successful impression management in their career field, which should benefit students unfamiliar with workplace etiquette/protocol since students need to learn how to situate their written selves within a professional social context and begin establishing their professional idealized selves. Moreover, by maintaining a relationship with their professional reviewers throughout the semester, students also experience the nuances of language dependent on aspects such as topic, purpose, and the like.

Social interaction is vital to this process. At the point where written texts and social activity converge, the correlation between Kenneth Burke and Goffman becomes evident. Jay Jordan points to Kenneth Burke's idea of rhetoric as a necessity for establishing relationships (268) and that identification comes to fruition not only through connection, but also through division (269). Instead of Burke himself, Dell Hymes, his student, longtime friend, and a sociolinguist, applies Burkes' idea of identification to the function of language within specific discourse communities, "that 'systematic relations' underlying the 'diversity of speech within communities' are just as observable as grammatical structures" (Jordan 271). For Hymes, language is solely a linguistic code, but communication entails "code, participants, an event in which they are situated, a channel, a setting, a form or shape to the message being conveyed, and a message or meaning" (Jordan 272). The importance here for Hymes is not solely the language used within the context, but the rules specific to a discourse community that govern those contexts, rules acquired and established only through social interaction with its members, rules that promote both identification as well as division (Jordan 272-73). Hymes is also concerned with linguistics' social utility and with the shortcomings of the American

education system of teaching language in isolation rather than addressing social aspects of language (Jordan 273). As Hymes warns, “to participate in a speech community is not quite the same as to be a member of it” (Jordan 274). Jordan states: “’Literacy,’ here, is thought on a much broader scale than the acquisition of print-language fluency. It is the ability to detect and act within and among already-existing social and institutional conflicts that in their turn act on how language might be used” (274). Hyme’s argument for language study situated within a specific discourse community prompts the use of Goffman’s dramaturgical theory as the framework for a pedagogical approach to composition as it provides a framework suitable for mapping the writer-audience dynamic.

This type of sociological approach to writing is nothing new. Marilyn Cooper provides a synopsis of such theories in “Ecology of Writing.” Within her article, Cooper also proposes a systematic framework in which writing operates: “a system of ideas, of purposes, of interpersonal interactions, of cultural norms, [and] of textual norms” (369-70), and Cooper points out the benefits of one-on-one interaction with one’s audience (371). Through interpersonal interactions, writers not only learn expectations of their discourse communities, but also learn what types of questions and feedback can aid them most in their own writing process (372).

Cooper’s discussion of writing’s cognitive effects corresponds with others’ opinions as well. As Janet Emig notes in her article “Writing as a Mode of Learning,” “writing is a learned behavior” (123), which provides a unique, effective learning experience, one that employs both sides of the brain as well as both logical and emotional responses. A pedagogical approach to writing as a social activity situated within the classroom also corresponds with Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development, “which is the reciprocal, dynamic, dialectical, asymmetrical, nonlinear approach to child

(and many aspects of adult) development. Within Vygotsky's understanding, there is a blending of individual and social, or of innate and experiential within a framework of modeling by more capable peers or teachers. The end result is one of self-regulation and self-realization of one's dreams, goals, and so on" (Robbins 101). Likewise, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca state, in regard to initiating a conversation, "a preliminary agreement arise[s] from the norms set by social life" (15) and even "frivolous discussions that are lacking in apparent interest . . . contribute to the smooth working of an indispensable social mechanism" (17). With all of this support for the importance of social interaction, it only makes sense that formal learning within the classroom paired with collaborating with people in students' chosen career fields could be most beneficial as it could potentially aid students with developing written communication skills both in academic terms and in professional terms. Although writing assignments are "artificial" in that the essay genres are assigned by the teacher, and essays must meet specific academic requirements as outlined by the college district, Goffman's theory will hopefully provide a pedagogical approach to teaching audience analysis by giving students a method to evaluate social expectations as they are developing relationships with people in their profession. By utilizing a blended audience, that of professional and academic, no longer are students isolated to an academic audience nor are they asked to imagine their audience with each individual assignment, but rather students collaborate directly with their audiences over the course of a semester and gain experience with the fluctuating nuances of written communication. As mentioned by Cooper, by assuming social roles, writers learn how to be a part of the community, which is ever-changing and adapting (373). Thus, in composition pedagogy, audience should be considered from a dramaturgical perspective in order to provide insight on the extent to which social mores and audience shape writing and on the complex dynamic between writer and audience.

Moreover, a dramaturgical approach could benefit composition pedagogy in terms of the role of teacher-as-audience, who grades essays according to goals outlined in the district syllabus, and how that authoritative role carries over to students' professional writing. Hopefully, this approach will provide an adaptable writing strategy, regardless of content or audience, since it offers a fluid means of social analysis. In fact, a dramaturgical pedagogy corresponds with Cooper's ecological model that posits itself in an ever-changing, dynamic system. Students learn to write while interacting with and reacting to their chosen discourse communities over an extended period of time. The key lies with flexibility.

This flexibility applies to the authoritative teacher as well. For a dramaturgical approach to be effective, teachers will need to surrender some control to their students since this writing process needs to be a true collaboration among all participants, students, the teacher, and professionals. Consequently, collaboration needs to be clearly defined. In "Collaboration (in) Theory: Reworking the Social Turn's Conversational Imperative," William Duffy calls for a more focused definition of collaboration in response to the vague idea of "team work" the idea of "conversation" that it has taken over the years (417-18). To begin, Duffy borrows the term "adjacent possible" – the theory that ideas are created within the context of working with others (416) and explains collaboration as "a mutual intervention and progressive interaction with objects of discourse" (418, my italics). Duffy discusses the inventional benefits of collaboration (422), and his definition of collaboration indicates that students should engage in content and location-specific language. Therefore, within a dramaturgical classroom, students write about topics in their career areas and decide on aspects, such as length, visuals, or others as needed by their profession, their topic, and their audience, rather than teachers maintaining control and dictating all details of an assignment.

Additionally, as Duffy points out, collaboration is more than just a conversation (422). Instead, it is an “interaction” and “invention” (418). Thus, a dramaturgical classroom can function as a means for student writers to interact with professionals, their future peers, and their instructor in order to conceptualize their writing tasks, a means for delineating their rhetorical mechanics that Duffy points to as methods for productive collaboration as co-authors (418). For example, as students engage with their professional audience (reviewers) and their academic audience (instructor), they can discover “fronts” –“expressive equipment of a standard kind . . . employed by the individual during his performance” (Goffman 22) -- expected of each social situation and how those fronts overlap. Throughout the semester, as they work on their essays and receive feedback from both audiences, students can discover and adapt various means of “impression management” – employment of “certain attributes” to ensure quality of performance (Goffman 212) -- that are most effective within their professional and academic communities.

Since people do not effectively learn to write in a vacuum, incorporating collaboration from a dramaturgical pedagogical approach into the composition classroom should aid students in understanding social expectations within the framework of their own written texts and aid them in becoming a contributing member of their professional discourse community. Duffy anchors his definition of collaboration to Donald Davidson’s idea of triangulation (418) and explains Davidson’s triangulation theory in terms of adapting language in relation to discourse communities (424). A dramaturgical pedagogy fosters interaction between writer and audience, thereby giving students experience with what Davidson labels as prior and passing theories. By collaborating with individuals within their chosen fields, students gain experience with what they intend to say and how they expect to be understood (prior theory) and how what they say is actually understood

(passing theory). As many students, if not most, have little to no experience in their prospective careers, the purpose of this approach is to demonstrate to students the role and the importance of assuming professional personas and to have students practice assuming those personas in order to aid them with various aspects entailed in the writing process. Much like Davidson's prior and passing theories, Goffman offers "Two types of communication -- expressions given and expressions given off" (4). Ordinarily, because readers are removed by space and time from writers, writers remain unaware of which aspects of their writing are effective and which aspects are not. By students interacting with their professional reviewers and their academic reviewer (the teacher), they gain experience with written fronts and how well their personas are perceived in their writing. Such experience is advantageous because of the asymmetrical relationship between individual and audience; an individual only can control (govern) the performance (expressions given), but the audience scrutinizes that performance (expressions given) as well as controls how to interpret those expressions (expressions given off), which are ungovernable (Goffman 7). The performer can only speculate at how his performance will be received based on responses to past performances. Within the classroom setting, students have the unique opportunity to practice governable aspects (expressions given), such as form and style, and see how those aspects are received by their audience (expressions given off), which is ungovernable.

In addition to Davidson's triangulation theory, Duffy also explains how collaboration aligns with the eight habits of mind as outlined in "Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing" (429-32). As Duffy notes, these habits-activities and thought processes that cultivate good writers "point to the value of developing hermeneutic sensibilities that allow us to adapt and respond to rhetorical situations with attention and care" and to "attend to those dimensions of discourse that make writing public,

interpretable, and situated in specific contexts" (429). A dramaturgical approach in the classroom should foster these same habits. The "Framework" first lists: "Curiosity – the desire to know more about the world," which should be fostered in a dramaturgical classroom by students writing on research topics of their own interests, exploring their prospective professional communities, and practicing how to present themselves within that community. Next, the "Framework" lists: "Openness – the willingness to consider new ways of being and thinking in the world." By interacting with professionals and developing a professional persona, students should come to recognize and more fluently adapt their personas dependent upon the "front" they wish to present. Duffy notes that collaboration offers writers means for working with others and discovering the most productive activities for written discourse (427). By students focusing on their chosen career field, finding their own reviewers, and choosing their own essay topics, they should have a sense of the "Framework's" "Engagement – a sense of investment and involvement in learning." Students will use "Creativity – the ability to use novel approaches for generating, investigating, and representing ideas" by collaborating with their professional as well as their academic audiences. Students must have "Persistence – the ability to sustain interest in and attention to short- and long-term projects" by writing papers in the same subject area throughout the semester as well as during their career. In regard to persistence, Duffy discusses resistance, things that can prevent effective communication, and he promotes collaboration in order to learn ways to overcome various resistances (425), which a dramaturgical classroom should provide. Students will assume "Responsibility – the ability to take ownership of one's actions and understand the consequences of those actions for oneself and others" by choosing their career path, by researching areas of interest, and by receiving feedback from professionals as well as from the instructor. Students will learn "Flexibility – the ability to adapt to situations,

expectations, or demands" by developing and balancing a professional persona with their academic persona. Additionally, by continuing a relationship with their professional reviewers throughout the semester, students experience changes within a specific discourse community over a period of time rather than current approach of singular teacher-student revisions per essay. By revising and adjusting each draft in comparison to previous drafts and graded papers and by answering end-of-the-semester self-reflection response questions, students will engage in "Metacognition – the ability to reflect on one's own thinking as well as on the individual and cultural processes used to structure knowledge." The goal of a dramaturgical approach is for students to gain experience writing about, to, and for their future colleagues. Through this experience, they can discover how to present themselves in a written format, how they should want their written personas to be perceived, and how those personas actually are perceived. They also have to take ownership of their own learning by choosing their own topics, finding their own revisers, submitting drafts in a timely manner, and accepting feedback from their audience. Through all of this interaction, the dramaturgical approach should simulate intricacies of professional social life.

Interacting with concrete audiences provides vocabulary, genre, theory, and values. As Dell Hymes and the National Commission on Writing for America's Schools and Colleges call for a new approach for language arts, a dramaturgical classroom can help students situate themselves within their discourse communities and help them begin to establish their professional idealized selves (personas) by giving them a backstage, the classroom – a place to learn and explore topics, a place to test social interactions, and a means to construct their universal audience. In a dramaturgical classroom, instead of the teacher investigating the needs of the many students in a classroom and then devising a lesson plan to meet those various needs as best she can, students

themselves discover their audiences' expectations and practice meeting those expectations in addition to practicing and meeting the academic expectations of the classroom. In this manner, rather than being subjected solely to academic standards, students have the power to choose standards most beneficial to them, taking ownership of their own learning and expectations as supported by Duffy's correlations of collaboration with the Eight Habits of Mind. A dramaturgical classroom recognizes that a successful presentation does not depend solely on skills of a performer, but also on a performer's ability to collaborate with others. Through a dramaturgical approach, students begin their journey of becoming contributing members of their professional discourse communities rather than employers having to "retrain" students after they graduate college. Instead, college composition should provide that training, those skills that mid- to upper-level professionals use on a daily basis ("Writing" 11, 19).

Chapter 3

Ethos and Errors

Goffman's theory of presenting an idealized self and the pressures that come with that presentation equally apply to one's writing. In "The Author to Her Book" by Anne Bradstreet, the speaker agonizes over the publication of the first edition of her poetry collection: "errors were not lessened (all may judge). / At thy return my blushing was not small," (lines 6-7). Embarrassed by errors, the speaker knows that mistakes in the work can reflect badly on her, discrediting her ethos. This pressure that "all may judge" is not merely Bradstreet's conventional use of a woman discrediting herself nor is judgment of writing strictly the task of composition teachers; writers are embarrassed by errors because they fear that those errors reflect on their character and their abilities (Lees 223). As Goffman notes, with each performance, individuals place moral expectations on their audience to be treated in a certain manner, and each performance serves as proof that the individual does, indeed, deserves such treatment (13). However, seemingly insignificant errors can discredit an entire performance (Goffman 52). Like the blushing speaker in Bradstreet's poem, even non-academic readers react physically to errors in writing, responding with grunts, raised eyebrows, or marking text (Lees 219). Moreover, through the advancement of technology, the written word proliferates – emails, blogs, wikis, and no longer do audiences have to wait weeks, months to receive a message as in Puritan times of Bradstreet, but rather delivery is almost instantaneous and also to a much broader audience. Although spellcheck and grammar check have somewhat alleviated the stress of producing error-free writing, the pressure of a critical audience remains.

Since the pedagogical shift from product to process that began in the late 1970s (Duffy; Cooper), teaching grammar has declined in importance. Now, theories call for

focus on the production of text rather than on adherence to standards, i. e. Diane Davis's "Pedagogy of Laughter" and Asao B. Inoue's argument against quality failure. Some theorists argue that imposing Standard Academic English stifles students' creativity and will to succeed and that imposing standards of written English is unrealistic since language changes. Theorists also argue that Standard Academic English is really just "white" English and therefore, biased, dooming all non-whites to failure (Shaughnessy, Inoue). In a 1977 article published in College English, Daniel J. Dieterich interviewed prominent composition theorists William Lutz and Edward M. White about the growing number of students entering college who had to be placed in remedial writing courses. William Lutz openly states, "I am afraid that CLEP and the other advanced placement tests test things like punctuation, spelling, grammar, the use of a dictionary, and etymology, which we don't think are important. We want to see what students can do in their writing" (qtd. in Dieterich 469). Lutz assumes that students will automatically acquire punctuation and grammar skills: "A student intelligent enough to understand and achieve the means of expressing himself or herself in the written language will quickly recognize the need to spell and punctuate as well" (qtd. in Dieterich 470). However, no longer did the deficiencies stem from only disadvantaged schools, but students from upper-class high schools as well could not produce essays suitable for the college level (Dieterich 466). Therefore, the problem does not seem to lie within a biased system, but rather from a lack of fluency with creating idealized selves in written discourse.

In fact, studies indicate that even non-academic readers are critical of writing errors and form opinions of the writer based on those errors (Hairston, Beason, Lees, Gilsdorf and Leonard, Brandenburg). In 1981, as a response to Mina Shaughnessy's charge of elitist academics imposing unrealistic expectations on students, and in an effort to gauge the effect of errors in the business community, in "Not All Errors Are Created the

Equal: Nonacademic Readers in the Professions Respond to Lapses in Usage," Maxine Hairston surveyed business professionals in order to find the most bothersome errors in professional business writing. Hairston found that some errors are more troubling than others, specifically those that disrupt understanding. Most offensive are what Hairston labeled "status markers," such as subject/verb agreement and double negatives (796); next come errors in mechanics, such as fragments and run-ons (797); after that come "serious" errors, such as "commas in a series and tense switching" (797). Hairston also finds that women are more critical than men in regard to usage and mechanics (796). From this study, Hairston deduces that writing, especially professional writing, is scrutinized more harshly than spoken language because it usually makes a request of the reader (799). Hairston also finds that, overall, people are most concerned with "clarity and economy" (798), but she also ascertains that students must be taught to avoid errors in their writing since such errors do cause negative impressions from readers (799). Thus, as Hairston's study shows, readers recognizing errors and judging writers based on those errors are not criticisms relegated to composition instructors imposing standard Academic English on others, nor is preparing students to avoid errors unrealistic.

Hairston is not the only one to investigate non-academic readers' responses to errors in writing. Jeannette Gilsdorf and Don Leonard first conducted a survey in 1999 and then conducted a follow-up survey ten years afterward in order to find out if people's opinions to errors had changed. Like Hairston, Gilsdorf and Leonard surveyed business leaders and executives because they believe people in such high positions best represent "effective communicators" and use "practices of educated persons" (448). Although language does slowly evolve over time, they found that the same errors bothered respondents as those of ten years prior, errors which include "run-ons, fragments, comma splices, non-parallel structures, and danglers" (449). Like Hairston,

who found that respondents are mostly concerned with writing that is clear and concise, Gilsdorf and Leonard determined that these errors are most bothersome because they hamper readers' comprehension (449). Therefore, punctuation and grammar rules serve a purpose greater than promulgating biased standards. They serve to aid in clarity.

In regard to academic vs. non-academic audiences, academics do "guard the tower," as Shaughnessy claims. Gilsdorf and Leonard found that academics are bothered more by errors than business leaders (452), especially in print sources (459), but both are less bothered by the same errors in e-mails or web sources (459). Of course, such judgments are part of human nature, but types of reactions vary with each discourse community. Academics and professionals serve as examples of different discourse communities. Although these communities do have subtle differences, their expectations are not mutually exclusive. Like other researchers, Gilsdorf and Leonard discuss that peoples' characters are often judged on their usage of Standard English (445), although students commonly write as they speak (443). From their findings, Gilsdorf and Leonard point out that students essentially have "two publics": their teachers and their future employers (441). As a result, Gilsdorf and Leonard contend that students should learn to adapt their language in order to meet the needs and expectations of their audience (446). Moreover, because of Gilsdorf and Leonard's qualification of Standard Written English as a dialect (443), composition teachers should not be criticized for teaching their content area. Since students engage with two publics as Gilsdorf and Leonard report, I would suggest that an effective pedagogical approach would be for students to engage with both audiences, academic and professional, while learning to write, an idea similar to speaking with a native speaker in order to learn a foreign language.

This type of approach centers on Goffman's dramaturgical theory that posits that people craft idealized selves to present during social interactions, much like actors

present characters on a stage. As Gilsdorf and Leonard observe that language is a behavior and a habit (443), students' enrollment in college composition should assist them in crafting their professional personas suitable for reaching their career goals. Gilsdorf and Leonard call for teachers to emphasize the difference between written and spoken English so that students learn the importance of "non-speech symbols such as punctuation" (460), and they discuss that in order to teach effectively, instructors must show students that correct language usage will benefit them (467). In addition to Gilsdorf and Leonard's suggestions, instructors also need a method for aiding students in achieving their career goals, as could be achieved by implementing Goffman's theory in a composition classroom. Within a brief academic semester, students can practice Academic English, and experience how it is employed within their career field, and then eventually become fully immersed once they join that discourse community. Therefore, a dramaturgical pedagogical approach is a possible means for aiding students in achieving their career goals since its aim is to help students learn "non-speech symbols" and "language usage" within their professional career interests.

In order to become successful within a discourse community, meeting audience expectations is critical for establishing credibility with readers. In 2001, in "Ethos and Error: How Business People React to Errors," Larry Beason limited his survey to fourteen professionals in order to analyze the types of responses and the variation of responses per individual and per error. In addition to a written survey, Beason also conducted one-on-one interviews with those fourteen professionals in order to examine their reactions and hopefully to discover reasoning for their reactions and their perceptions of the text as well as their perception of the writer. In this article, Beason discusses textual and extra-textual impressions, the effect of the error on the piece of writing itself and the impression that the error gives of the writer (46-7). Through the interviews, Beason discovered that

professionals perceive the writer in three basic categories: a lack of credibility as a writer, either hasty, careless, uncaring or uninformed (49); a poor business person, either a faulty thinker, not detailed oriented, a poor oral communicator, poorly educated, or a sarcastic, pretentious, or aggressive writer (52); or a poor representative of the organization, either to customers or in a court of law (56). Such critical perceptions may be because businesses have more equity at stake when it comes to the written word. Professional writing represents the ethos of the writer, of the professional self, and also of the company. For example, readers in Beason's study expressed concern over hiring writers who commit errors because such errors reflect on the business itself. Although readers in this study empathized with writers, they still criticized errors and formed negative opinions of those writers (Beason 50, 60). Like Gilsdorf and Leonard (440), Beason argues that judgement of the severity of errors and criticism of those who commit them is highly subjective (57-8;). Therefore, as Beason contends: "Errors must be defined not just as textual features breaking handbook rules but as mental events taking place outside the immediate text" (35). As previously discussed with Hairston's and Gilsdorf and Leonard's studies, readers are primarily concerned with clarity and economy. Yet, reactions to breakdowns within a text hinges on readers' perceptions; error is relative to discourse community. With a dramaturgical approach, students can experience the effect of those mental events within their discourse communities rather than attributing errors solely to their English teacher's preference. By writing for both academic and professional audiences, students witness how academic standards apply to their own concerns within their professional careers and not just in the classroom.

Contrary to claims that academics play gatekeepers for elitist academics, non-academics also recognize the importance of correctness in writing. Unlike Hairston and Beason, whose studies focused on errors in isolation and how readers reacted to those

errors, in 2015, Laura C. Brandenburg measured non-academic readers' ability to detect errors within context and collected their opinions about writers who make such errors, in her article "Testing the Recognition and Perception of Errors in Context." Brandenburg used Survey Monkey to disseminate two mock e-mails, one with errors and one error free. Participants were asked to identify any errors and to rank their perception of the writer based on ten statements about the writer's credibility and personality. Brandenburg found that although non-academic readers did not find all errors, they did find some and that finding errors caused readers to form less-than-favorable opinions of the writer. Brandenburg's study suggests that errors do affect readers' perceptions of not only the text itself, but also their perceptions of the writer, even when readers are not specifically looking for errors (84 – 6). Similar to Beason's findings that readers sympathize with writers, Brandenburg also found that "errors will affect the writer's ethos – even when the writer is still seen as a knowledgeable and caring authority figure" (86). Thus, Brandenburg contends that composition pedagogy should not only focus on correct grammar, but also address methods for establishing ethos, means for presenting a persona that best communicates with the reader (87-88). Also, Brandenburg calls for composition pedagogy to focus more on the establishment of ethos: "Knowing what kind of ethos we need to construct, as writers, ought to be as foundational to our writing pedagogies as teaching our students to analyze their audience" (87-8). One way to understand an audience is to interact with it. Thus, with a dramaturgical pedagogy, students research topics important to their career goals and interact with professionals in that area to help them revise their essays. In addition, students also interact with their composition instructor, who aids them with academic aspects, such as grammar, mechanics, and argument theory. Interacting with both of these audiences will help

students recognize how to craft an effective ethos in their academic and professional writing.

As some theorists, such as Shaughnessy and Inoue, argue for a negotiation of cultural English and Standard English, I argue that students need to learn the English of their professional discourse communities. Writing is more than just knowing English vocabulary; it is a skill acquired through instruction, practice, and interaction. Contrary to Lutz's assumption that students will automatically learn these skills, writing is different than speaking in that "writing is a learned behavior; talking is a natural, even irrepressible, behavior" (Emig 123). Speaking comes easily, and without formal instruction; students record their spoken language since "writing is an artificial process; talking is not" (Emig 124). Moreover, "writing is a technological device," which must be learned and practiced, whereas, "talking is organic, natural, earlier" (Emig 124). Additionally, since "most writing is slower than most talking" (Emig 124), students need to learn to take the time to revise effectively. An essential part of writing is revising, and by collaborating with academics and professionals, students' writing can evolve past their basic speaking abilities, into more formal language systems expected in academia and professions.

Non-academics' reactions to errors support this theory for broader social interaction in the composition classroom. Students should realize that composition instructors are not the only ones who spot errors, and instructors need an approach that focuses on students' professional goals rather than only addressing academic expectations. These theorists' findings of readers' reactions to errors in writing all correspond with sociologist Erving Goffman's studies on how individuals present themselves in different social settings. Like readers' reactions to written errors, Goffman found that audiences can be greatly disturbed by minor flaws in performances solely

because of the difference between what is trying to be projected and reality (51-2). Likewise, Beason's suggestion of the difference between an error and the impression that error gives of the writer (46-7) corresponds with Goffman's idea of expressions given, literal communication, and expressions given-off, impressions received. One of the difficulties for writers is making an ideal impression on their readers. Students need to see that "the impression of reality fostered by a performance is a delicate, fragile thing that can be shattered by very minor mishaps" (56) and that essays are more than a grade or credit earned for a composition course. They are a means for creating and establishing written personas, professional ethos, which should be carefully crafted and honed. Therefore, because of the differences of social perceptions per discourse community, revising and editing should be a focus of the writing process, more so than it currently is since, as Beason notes, errors involve more than neglecting rules in a handbook (47). Instead, students should see revising and editing as defensive practices, which Goffman defines as "strategies and tactics employed to protect his own projections" (13).

The Two Sides of Ethos:

As noted by the research presented here, even sympathetic audiences do not turn a blind eye to faulty writing. Audiences all have expectations and judge writers when those expectations remain unmet. Clearly, communication is a social act; social mores and expectations of dialogue transfer to writing as well. Yet, there seems to be a gap between academic and professional expectations, which may account for the increasing number of college and graduate students who lack proficient writing skills (Alter and Adkins 495-96; National Commission, "Writing" 14). Students are intelligent enough to pass their courses and graduate, so this lack of skills is not necessarily because of an inability on their part or on the part of teachers, but rather may be a sign of pedagogical approaches that do not adequately address diverse discourse communities. In addition

to Hairston's, Beason's, Gilsdorf and Leonard's, and Brandenburg's reports of the discrepancies between academic and professional reactions to errors, in "Proofreading or Reading Errors as Embarrassments," Elaine O. Lees contends that errors are a construct of the reading community (220): "What I am arguing is that we call up and apply those rules, when we use them, in a profoundly social context, informed by our sense of the goals people have in situations. Most of the time we can take milieu, situation, for granted. But sometimes it causes us to alter the rules" (224). In social settings, people are concerned with image, their own and others' (Lees 223). Errors result when social rules are not followed (Lees 220), and as a consequence, errors do affect "social identities" (Lees 226). Lees explains that people move in and out of discourse communities by employing various language systems specific to each community and that learning a new system does not render previously learned systems forgotten (227). She also discusses that "the group, the 'readers,' offer candidates roles and positions to aspire to; errors are defined against the background of these aspirations" (222). In this article, Lees focuses on college students' inabilities, which are deemed errors solely because students are new to the language systems of the university (221). From Lees' perspective, language users can be divided into two categories: experts, who have mastered and use the system, and learners, who have seen the system, but are not yet users (227). Lees goes on to explain that learners are "working through two interpretive systems, one mastered, used, and one they are learning" (228). Lees' discussion of two interpretive systems supports the argument for incorporating revisers from students' individual professions into composition pedagogy. Just as students are learning to negotiate the language system of academia, they also should experience negotiating language systems of their prospective career fields.

Lees' idea of learning to negotiate language systems is much like what Mikhail Bakhtin discusses in "The Problem with Speech Genres." Individuals may be well-spoken when presenting in front of a group, but socially awkward when engaging in one-on-one dialogue (Bakhtin, *Speech*, 80). Bakhtin explains: "Here it is not a matter of an impoverished vocabulary or style, taken abstractly; this is entirely a matter of the inability to command a repertoire of genres of social conversation" (*Speech*, 80). So, within the composition classroom, in addition to the teacher's technical instruction, students need feedback from individuals experienced in that discourse community. Bakhtin states:

> the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation – more or less creative – of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances, (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness,' varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (*Speech*, 89)

Interaction with others serves as a means for acquiring one's own language. Such interaction needs to be included in composition courses. Within his explanation of speech genres, Bakhtin also delineates grammar from stylistics (*Speech*, 66), which again points to two aspects of written discourse, technical/academic and social/ professional, something that composition pedagogy seems to have neglected. According to Bakhtin, grammar encompasses the language system, and stylistics encompasses the speech genre, each intertwined with the other (*Speech*, 66), and he argues for the necessity of taking all aspects of speech genres (discourse communities) into consideration for an

effective analysis of speech: “A stylistic analysis that embraces all aspects of style is possible only as an analysis of the whole utterance, and only in that chain of speech communion of which the utterance is an inseparable link” (*Speech*, 100). Therefore, studying composition in isolation from the intended community creates a gap in students’ writing skills.

Students need interaction with their professional audience in order to bridge the gap between writing for academics and writing for professions. The written word is a projected image of the self, a persona which adapts to each audience and is developed over time and with practice. As Goffman describes, an individual’s persona is “a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it” (252). Thus, by learning formal elements of writing, students then have an array of devices by which to craft their ethos, their professional persona. As a result, composition instructors are not “guarding the tower” as to “protect the academy from outsiders, those who do not belong in the community of learners,” as Shaughnessy claims (234), but rather they provide instruction and guidance as students develop their writing skills. Also, composition instructors focus on these formal elements because that is an expectation of their discourse community. Students need more than technical accuracy in their writing, and instructors should not solely be “preparing . . . students to write for college courses” (Shaughnessy 235), but rather composition courses should also prepare them for their career goals by developing their professional ethos in tandem with their academic skills.

Since people establish ethos in the public sphere, students should begin interacting with their professional discourse communities as part of their composition course. Interaction with future colleagues enables students to acquire stylistics of that discourse community. In a discussion of Aristotle’s ethos, S. Michael Halloran compares the modern definition of ethos, that of the private self, to the Greek application of ethos,

that of “a habitual gathering place,” a public self, and he describes the speaker’s reputation as a “dramatization of the character,” as a portrayal of a persona (60). One of the issues with current pedagogy is that students are isolated within the walls of the classroom rather than interacting directly with a larger public, hence perpetuating a written ethos as a limited self. Halloran conjectures, “To have ethos is to manifest the virtues most valued by the culture to and for which one speaks” (60). Thus, students need to acquire virtues of a professional culture in order to present an effective ethos, what Goffman terms as idealization, “The tendency for performers to offer their observers an impression that is idealized in several ways. . . . Thus, when an individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole” (35). Moreover, Halloran reports that Aristotle’s Nichomachean Ethics (II,1) discusses that an individual establishes ethos only through practice, for only by one’s actions can character be developed (60-61). Through a dramaturgical pedagogy, writing essays and interacting with both an academic audience and a professional audience will give students that practice and experience with a larger public, more specifically the public they will one day join. Halloran goes on to delineate character from personality, with character as a choice and personality as innate (61). Thus, Halloran surmises that composition instruction develops students’ character since writing is an action by which one chooses how to present himself (61). While interacting with others, individuals make choices concerning their personal fronts, both in appearance and manner (Goffman 24). Goffman defines appearance as “those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of the performer’s social status” and to also “tell us . . . the temporary ritual state, ...engaged in formal social activity, work, or informal recreation” (24). Goffman defines manner as “those stimuli which . . . warns us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play . . . haughty,

aggressive or meek, apologetic" (24). People naturally acquire informal skills outside of academia, but academia concerns itself with the formal aspects of these stimuli. It provides a formal setting, with four walls and a classroom with desks and texts, with formal tasks of assignments and attendance. Students enroll and pay tuition because they are developing their formal, professional social identities, and the composition classroom should contribute to that development by providing a means for presenting not only to an academic community, but also to a professional one. Goffman contends of social identity: "The very obligation and probability of appearing always in a steady moral light, of being a socialized character, forces one to be the sort of person who is practiced in the ways of the stage" (251). In a dramaturgical classroom, students practice ways to present themselves academically and professionally because, within the dramaturgical classroom, essays are assigned so that students can learn the genres; but students choose their professional discourse communities, develop their professional personas, pick essay topics, and recruit their own professional revisers. Collaborating both inside the classroom and outside, students develop their own character and experience how academic standards apply to their professional field, which should help them transition to life after they graduate college.

Learning to collaborate with one's audience begins at an early age and remains a continual part of communicating with each discourse community. To begin with, this social activity corresponds with Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development, "which is the reciprocal, dynamic, dialectical, asymmetrical, nonlinear approach to child (and many aspects of adult) development. Within Vygotsky's understanding, there is a blending of individual and social, or of innate and experiential within a framework of modeling by more capable peers or teachers. The end result is one of self-regulation and self-realization of one's dreams, goals, and so on" (Robbins 101). Through social exchanges,

individuals glean traits most beneficial for each particular context, and then they employ those traits when necessary in order to further their social advancement. People are much like chameleons blending with each environment they encounter. Goffman best explains this social adaptation when he quotes Robert Ezra Park:

> It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask. It is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role . . . It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves.
>
> In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves – the role we are striving to live up to – this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons. (19-20)

Thus, as Halloran contends that composition courses shape students' character, then integrating students' professional audiences into the curriculum is essential for them to develop their ethos, which is an on-going practice. In fact, Halloran discusses how modern society has lost a division between public and private, "to have lost our sense of the importance of the [public sphere] (62), and he states, "the ritual acts that manifest our group identity or ethos are the very same acts that form it" (63). In the same respect, Goffman's defines character as "a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it. The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited" (252-53). Based on Halloran's and Goffman's explanations of how ethos becomes established, socialization

with specific discourse communities functions as a necessary component, a component lacking in composition pedagogy. However, a dramaturgical pedagogy would allow the flexibility for composition teachers to focus on the technical aspects of student writing and for professionals to contribute to students' acquisition of nuances in that community. This symbiotic approach should aid students in recognizing the pliability necessary for effectively addressing various audiences. In fact, Halloran urges for composition pedagogy that focuses solely on technical aspects of writing to become more public since it is culture that shapes students' ethos (63). Composition I, a core course, provides a prime opportunity for students to begin establishing their professional ethos, and in light of Halloran's call for composition courses to shape students' ethos, composition pedagogy should work in conjunction with students' professional ambitions by fostering their professional ethos, which is the focus of a dramaturgical approach.

However, establishing ethos within a community is an intricate feat. As Goffman notes, a persona can be "idealized in several different ways" (35). Therefore, in order to know expectations of and how to function in specific professional discourse communities, students need to interact with their prospective colleagues. In "Perelman, ad Hominem Argument, and Rhetorical Ethos," Michael Leff discusses the connection between Aristotelian ethos, establishing credibility with the audience through techniques of speech and presentation and Isocratian ethos, establishing credibility through character and actions. Leff goes to discuss the importance of knowing both Aristotelian ethos and Isocratian ethos in order to successfully understand and present an argument (308). Leff's analysis of Perelman supports the principle that students need to learn both Aristotelian ethos, such as formal techniques of style and diction, as well as Isocratean ethos, such as practicing their professional personas by interacting with others in that professional context. Essentially, students first learn tools of written presenation in the

classroom, a space that functions as Goffman's backstage, a place where individuals perfect their performance beyond the view of their target audience (112-13). They first practice the formal aspects by drafting an essay that addresses academic expectations, Aristotelian ethos, and then continue working on that draft by collaborating with their professional revisers to address social expectations, Isocratian ethos.

Although students engage in peer review and receive instructor feedback in current pedagogical approaches, they rarely, if ever, engage with prospective colleagues. In conjunction with Aristotelian ethos, Leff's explanation of Isocratian ethos (307) reflects Goffman's idea of impression management, learning what not to do, or what would cause a performance disruption (212). Leff explains that Isocratian ethos focuses on a speaker's "flexibility" in regard to circumstance, the ability to "enact character in a particular case" (307). What current classrooms seem to lack is a method for greater social exchange so that students can appropriate which techniques to employ dependent upon the circumstance. This interaction and collaboration would fill the gap between the "two publics" of which Gilsdorf and Leonard speak (441), academic expectations and professional expectations, which do overlap, and students would remain in charge of discovering how to develop their writing within their own prospective discourse communities, thus empowering students with choices regarding their academic and professional success. Leff goes on to comment that Perelman "regards argument as related to action that manifests itself in socially and psychologically determined situations" (305). Interestingly, Leff's explication of Aristotelian ethos and Isocratian ethos supports the theory of a dramaturgical approach to composition. Students need this social exchange in order to become savvy of their future communities, and this one-on-one exchange is something that instructors cannot provide since each community has its own nuances. To be effective, composition pedagogy needs to address both of these

aspect, formal techniques of writing, Aristotelian ethos, and professional socialization, Isocratian ethos, to foster students' written ethos. Like Goffman, Leff also characterizes argument as performance, a means by which a speaker ingratiates himself into his audience (306), which cannot be necessarily dictated by a college district's syllabus. Here again, the gap between academic and professional expectations surfaces. Therefore, students should examine how others communicate within their given career field and participate in that interaction all while studying formal written communication. Doing so should assist students in building a well-rounded written ethos, academic as well as professional.

First-year composition courses should emphasize to students that effectively addressing audience necessitates feedback and collaboration with others in that discourse community, even for individuals established in their fields. For example, in *Interacting with Audiences: Social Influences on the Production of Scientific Writing*, Ann M. Blakeslee studied three physicists' collaborative practices with publishing an article persuading the scientific community to change the standard method of analyzing molecules to that of an eschewed method. One scientist in Blakeslee's study was a graduate student, the other a postdoctoral fellow, and the other an already well-respected physicist within the scientific community; all three relate their struggles throughout the process. From these scientists' experiences, Blakeslee finds that "knowing how to adapt one's writing to a particular community entails more than having a body of knowledge that is simply learned at some point in time and always retained. Rather, it is a tool or a skill that requires continual updating as communities shift and change and as individuals enter and leave them" (35). Blakeslee goes on to state, "socialization – in particular, interaction and exposure to a community's discourse – remains important even for experienced members of a domain. Rather than becoming complacent about their audiences,

experienced practitioners must continually revise and update their knowledge structures of the audiences. Audiences are dynamic entities that shift and change as scientists move in and out of shared project spaces" (39-40). In her conclusion, Blakeslee reiterates the need for continued socialization: "Audiences are complex entities that require strategic, life-long learning rather than one-time mastery" (129). Social interaction is a continuous part of writing, even with experts in a field, as evidenced by many acknowledgements in various publications, thanking friends and colleagues for their input. Therefore, having students begin their journey interacting with their professional discourse community as well as interacting with their composition instructor would establish a collaborative mindset towards writing.

Additionally, people need experience with a particular audience in order to visualize that audience during the writing process. Much like Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford's conclusion in "Audience Addressed/Audience Invoked," Blakeslee determined that audiences are both concrete and imagined. She states: "These findings suggest viewing audience as a real, physical entity that authors an interact with and come to know (and be influenced by) on a more direct and personal level, an entity that is not abstract and static, but dynamic and fluid. Audiences are real entities that can be addressed and made more concrete and discernible. Such findings thus suggest that writing is a social process that involves envisioned as well as real, internationally experienced audiences. Authors' understanding of an approach to audience rests on a continuum some place between imagined and real" (128). Thus, with composition pedagogy addressing this sliding scale between real and imagined, students can recognize that the more experience they can have with concrete audiences, the better they can devise their imagined audience.

Goffman's theory and the teacher's role:

In Book 2, Chapters 12-17 of *Rhetoric*, Aristotle teaches the necessity of knowing the characteristics of one's audience in order to effectively persuade them (163). He then details various types of audiences (young, aged, prime of life, wealthy, powerful) to make students aware of the characteristics of various audiences they may encounter. Similar to Aristotle's belief that a speaker's ethos must align with that of the audience in order to be successful (164), Goffman explains that "when an individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact than does his behavior as a whole" (35) and that with one's performance, "the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited" (253). With these ideas of understanding audience and creating one's ethos with each, composition pedagogy needs also to exercise students' ability addressing their audiences effectively.

Yet, today's audiences and college students contrast sharply with those of Aristotle's time. No longer are they all males, of roughly the same age, the same social status, the same ethnic background, the same educational background, and basically the same career goal of civil service. In the United States, college students are of all ages, from all sorts of socio-economics, cultural backgrounds, educational levels, and varied professional aspirations. Many of them are looking to achieve a career that is new to them, engaging in a forum they may be experiencing for the first time. Instructors have the difficult task of meeting the complex needs of these students, and the influence of the composition instructor on student writers can be far reaching. Students have insecurities about their writing, and in turn, many have reluctant attitudes in composition class.

Even years out of school, people react nervously to the presence of an English teacher. Edward White relates a humorous anecdote of the ever-present authority of an

English teacher in *Teaching and Assessing Writing*. White reports people's standard, defensive reply, "I guess I better watch what I say" when English teachers confess their occupation (13). Composition instructors, often viewed as "language police," have a difficult task of balancing encouragement and correction. Students should be encouraged to think creatively and to practice new stylistic concepts, but they should also be held accountable to certain academic standards. Unfortunately, composition instructors come to be seen as enforcers of expectations, which some students take personally and view as a personal attack, especially since people have an emotional attachment to their writing, which is much more personal than fill-in-the-blank history questionnaires or math equations. Likewise, composition instructors hold a unique position, that of "training specialists." Goffman explains:

> Individuals who take this role have the complicated task of teaching the performer how to build up a desirable impression while at the same time taking the part of the future audience and illustrating by punishments the consequences of improprieties.
>
> Performers often feel uneasy in the presence of a trainer whose lessons they have long since learned and taken for granted. Trainers tend to evoke for the performer a vivid image of himself that he had repressed, an self-image of someone engaged in the clumsy and embarrassing process of becoming. The performer can make himself forget how foolish he once was, but he cannot make the trainer forget. . . . Perhaps there is no consistent easy stand that we can take to persons who have seen behind our current front – persons who 'knew us when' – if at the same time they are persons who must symbolize the audience's response to us and cannot, therefore, be accepted as old teammates might be. (158-59)

At times, students react negatively to this criticism, possibly out of embarrassment or anger. As training specialists, composition instructors hold the difficult role of pointing out students' mistakes, evaluating whether their work meets district requirements, and encouraging them to persevere.

Yet, scholars in this area recognize the necessity of social interaction for the development of language skills. In *Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke's explanation of the role of language is socialization and moralization (1336). In addition, Burke states, "Education ('indoctrination') exerts such pressure upon him from without; he completes the process from within" (1336). The instructors, particularly composition instructors, play a significant part in that pressure. The instructor "exerts such pressure" as to help mold students into effective communicators, thus becoming a significant force. Instructors can possibly become, either in the conscious or unconscious minds of students, positively or negatively, part of an ever-present audience. Therefore, composition pedagogy should play some part in aiding students in crafting their professional written ethos. Here again, the influence of the instructor intercedes, directing students on that which academic audiences will or will not accept. One of the teacher's objectives should be to guide students as to which techniques create certain effects as opposed to others (i. e. how to use an absolute phrase or the need for an Oxford comma), so that students learn a variety of techniques and when and how to implement them. The influence of the instructor can be long lasting as evidenced by people's stereotypical reaction to English teachers as language critics/critical judges (White; Hairston, "Not All", 795, 798; Beason 38). Since writers rely on past experiences, the influence of the composition instructor could provide a litmus test by which writers can evaluate their own work.

While Elbow focuses on ignoring audience in "Closing My Eyes," he also recognizes the need for social interaction in order to develop this desert island mode,

which is “an ability that tends to require learning, growth, and psychological development. Children, and even adults, who have not learned the art of quiet, thoughtful, inner reflection, are often unable to get much cognitive action going in their heads unless there are other people present to have action with” (341). Elbow’s theory of desert island discourse could be a key to better understanding effective composition pedagogy as composition instructors need to promote “action with” students’ prospective professional audiences and also to find some kind of balance between the social and the solitary. As freeing as ignoring audience can be, some people can be better at banishing it than others, and regardless, it still lurks in the writer’s mind. Clearly, people learn what is acceptable through interaction with others, being a part of a community. Whereas composition instructors focus on rhetoric/technical aspects of writing, Isocratean , or social expectations, vary by discourse community. Elbow states, “What most readers value in really excellent writing is not prose that is right for readers, but prose that is right for thinking, right for language, or right for the subject being written about” (339), but what is “right” for each subject lies beyond the scope of what an individual composition instructor can know.

This rightness to which Elbow refers echoes what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca claim about the distinction between interacting with a concrete audience and envisioning a universal audience, a crucial aspect since these different manifestations of audience both play an integral role throughout the writing process and also on the product produced. The universal audience, in a sense, determines reality, the “real,” accepted by all. The concrete audience establishes the preferable according to a specific group of people (66). In other words, the universal audience is to appeal to quantity, using understandings accepted by everyone, rather than to appeal to quality, applying standards established by an elite, as with a concrete audience (Perelman and Olbrechts-

Tyteca 97). Thus, the universal audience is comprised of concrete audiences and also an abstract ideal audience, each lending validation to the other (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 35). Applying aspects of social interaction to composition pedagogy would provide a foundation for establishing a universal audience and working through the intricacies of the writing process. Otherwise, by isolating students within the walls of academia, their private island discourse/universal audience remains stunted to that of a singular academic audience.

Additionally, interacting with individuals whom students themselves have chosen as their revisers alleviates some of the pressure of performing solely for the instructor. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, too, discuss the benefits of social interaction: "It also very often happens that discussion with someone else is simply a means we used to see things more clearly ourselves" (41). With a dramaturgical approach, students find two reviewers, similar to what Goffman labels "teammates," to assist them in their performance. Such social interaction allows individuals to work through their thought processes and also to form ideas in terms to which others in that community relate. As Elbow states: "A rich enfolded mental life is something that people achieve only gradually through growth, learning, and practice. We tend to associate this achievement with the fruits of higher education" (341). College composition fostering social interaction with discourse communities, both academic and professional, affords for students to fully develop their private island discourse/universal audience, thus preparing them for future professional lives.

Fostering interaction with professionals outside of academia broadens students' scope of audience expectations. As Aristotle and Cicero acknowledge that, although ideal, speakers cannot know all possible topics, instructors, likewise, cannot know current vernacular, expected formatting, and pertinent issues in each student's prospective

career field. Language is in constant flux, depending on factors such as audience and context. Although written language is not as fluid as oral language, audience and context still influence how one writes (Gilsdorf and Leonard 440-41). What composition instructors and textbooks deem as acceptable does not necessarily reflect opinions of business writers. For example, although teachers and textbooks view occasional fragment usage as acceptable, readers in business and other professional areas disapprove of them (Hairston “Not All” 798-99; Beason 41, 44-5). As Beason and Lees discuss, expectations and reactions differ by community, and Beason recommends that composition teachers address not only errors, but also the impression those errors manifest outside of the classroom (47), hence the need for a dramaturgical approach in composition pedagogy, so that students can learn and practice social nuances of their individual professions.

These social nuances are gained through interaction. As Cooper points out in “The Ecology of Writing,” the writing process entails many interwoven systems that hinge on social activity. Cooper states: “The variety of roles people take on in writing also arise out of this social structure” and since “people move from group to group,” writing “is not simply a way of thinking but more fundamentally a way of acting” (373). Cooper provides an alternative perspective in composition theory. Cooper, too, views writing from a social perspective and insists on approaching composition pedagogy from many angles. She sees the act of writing as a symbiotic relationship of systems, all interacting and fluctuating as society interacts and fluctuates. Cooper breaks writing ecology into five main systems: a system of ideas, a system of purposes, a system of interpersonal interactions, a system of cultural norms, and a system of textual forms (369-70) and discusses these systems in relation to socio-cognitive abilities and the necessity of interacting with others in order to learn effective communication, in order to become

effective writers (371-72). Cooper stresses the importance of students "developing the habits and skills involved in finding readers and making use of their responses. Students, like all writers, need to find out what kind of readers best help them in the role of editor, how to work with co-writers, how to interpret criticism, how to enter into dialogue with their addressees" (372). She, too, recognizes that "the various roles people take on in writing also arise out of this social structure and that social communities constantly change as do their various systems (373). A dramaturgical approach to composition pedagogy builds on Cooper's theory of the ecology of writing. By charging students with finding two reviewers in their perspective career fields, they begin discovering and using systems of their interest area. As Cooper discusses the perils that can accompany closed systems, of shutting people out, and of discouraging writing (373), a dramaturgical approach should open the classroom to more perspectives, to more reviewers, to more voices, so that students are not limited to the discourse community of academia. Because people shift social groups, rather than limiting students to their classmates and teacher, which Cooper focuses on, they should also begin interacting with their future colleagues so that they can apply what they are learning in the classroom to their professional writing. Students are in the classroom only briefly, yet spend their lives communicating with others. Therefore, the composition classroom needs to be a locus for gaining and practicing communication skills that will enable them to reach their life goals, by students correlating goals listed in the district syllabus with their own personal goals.

By recognizing the difference between classroom expectations and professional expectations, students learn to adapt to mental events needed for particular audiences. One aspect of development would be for them to view revision and editing as a means for crafting their ethos, and not just something that composition teachers require within

the classroom, as Beason reports (59). The composition classroom should provide an experience that prompts students to mature their writing paradigm into that of experienced writers. In “Revision Strategies of Student Writers and Experienced Adult Writers,” Nancy Sommers compares revision habits of student writers to experienced writers and finds that student writers perceive revision as a mere word exchange, swapping one term for a “better” one regardless of intent or clarity (382). Sommers also finds that student writers considered a draft final if and when they have no “rule violations,” errors which teachers have previously marked on their papers (383). In contrast, experienced writers in Sommer’s study used revision as a means to construct and solidify their argument by rearranging text and elaborating on ideas (384). Secondly, they focus on their audience’s expectations, by revising with a critical eye (384-85). To move students beyond their myopic understanding of revision, collaborating with professionals would give them insight into ideas, diction, and relevance with their own writing. As noted by Gilsdorf and Leonard, academics are more critical of print errors than professionals are, but by writing for two audiences, academic and professional, students can no longer focus solely on rules that instructors have previously marked, but also on efficacy and clarity that a professional audience expects. Thus, interacting with both audiences gives students training in academic standards and professional culture, making their learning personally relevant to their goals.

Implementing interaction within the classroom has become a common practice, yet keeping that interaction confined to the classroom isolates students from broader perspectives that lie outside of academics. In “Collaboration (in) Theory: Reworking the Social Turn’s Conversational Imperative,” William Duffy recognizes the history of viewing writing as a type of collaboration within composition theory and points out that the term collaboration has held various meanings through the years (416-17). He argues that true

collaboration is more than holding a conversation (421), and in an effort to spur a more effective pedagogical approach to composition, one that encompasses the flexibility of language, Duffy offers a more precise definition of collaboration: “a mutual intervention and progressive interaction with objects of discourse” (422). Duffy explicates his definition by employing Donald Davidson’s idea that people arrive at a mutual understanding through a process of triangulation, specifically through that of prior and passing theories. A speaker configures his message based on what he thinks his audience already knows (prior theory) as a means to have them react how he thinks they will react (passing theory) (Duffy 424). Likewise, his audience has preconceived ideas (prior theory) and uses those ideas to interpret and react to the speaker’s message (passing theory) (Duffy 424). Duffy’s clarification of collaboration points to the necessity for composition pedagogy to include students’ direct interaction with individuals in areas other than academics. In order for students to have an idea about what their audience already knows (prior theory) as well as what they intend their audience to do with the information (passing theory), students need to encounter people in that area and experience their responses. In other words, students need interaction, true collaboration with people in their career discourse communities in order to establish more accurate prior and passing theories than they would interacting solely with classmates and their instructor.

As Duffy explains with the notion of the “adjacent possible,” ideas are not created in a vacuum; people motivate and inspire one another, especially those who share an environment (416). As Duffy notes, true collaboration is not merely conversation, but interaction with objects of discourse. Thus, others’ expertise should be utilized in the composition course. Duffy charges that discourse communities are always changing as are meanings within those communities (428) and recognizes that inexperienced collaborators give up during times of resistance (426), but through practice with others

who use the same objects of discourse, they can learn to overcome obstacles, gaining experience for future success (426). Therefore, because collaboration fosters cooperative skills conducive to those of particular communities, composition pedagogy needs to utilize experts across fields in order to have true collaboration; otherwise, students have limited conversations with their instructors and fellow classmates rather than developing an ethos credible in the specific context of their intended profession.

Chapter 4

Socialization and the Written Self

The Problem:

Several scholars claim that the structure and demands of required composition courses, such as regimented studies, assigned papers, preset/defined goals, and authoritative teachers, all stifle students' creativity and rob them of their individual voices. These scholars advocate removing the authoritative teacher as audience because they feel that such an imposing figure impedes the voice and autonomy of students. More specifically, D. Diane Davis believes that "[o]ur approach is murderous. We arrogantly attempt to conduct the flow of language, stuffing it into our prefabbed grids. For the sake of identity; for the sake of meaning-making; for the sake of 'teachability'" (240). Likewise, Stephen R. Yarbrough warns of the evil of recommending one set of language precepts over another, and he calls for the removal of composition courses from universities' core curriculum. Because this call for a new approach to composition is becoming more and more prevalent, this section will investigate the feasibility of a new approach by examining texts of Native American authors whose authoritarian teachers were the extreme, who truly did try to expunge all traces of students' culture and individuality. In fact, boarding school administrators' ultimate goal was to use Indian students as examples of the finished product of a system that turned Red men, "white," completely indoctrinating them into the Eurocentric culture. More specifically, Amelia V. Katanski labels the boarding-school pedagogy as a "culture-eradicating ideology" (171), and boarding schools' attempt at assimilating Indian students clearly reflects D. Diane Davis' premise that "Composition/writing is used and abused to promote this identity here or that one over there. Indeed, composition courses have historically figured as prostheses, as

‘basic courses’ designed to complete a very particular service for the university and/or society’s economic structure itself” (229). Boarding schools wanted to ensure the proliferation of the white culture under the guise of benefactors within an educational system. This malevolent system also falls in line with Paulo Freire’s assessment of compulsory education: “Indeed, the interests of the oppressors lie in ‘changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them; for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. To achieve this end, the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of ‘welfare recipients’” (190). According to Freire, Davis, Yarbrough, and other theorists like them, educators, under the guise of benevolence, function as societal regulators by controlling students’ access to knowledge, what Mina Shaughnessy labels as “Guarding the Tower.” Therefore, with what these theorists suggest, maybe forms of authority should be relaxed in the classroom, so that students can truly grow and even thrive. Deregulation would include an expansion of audience beyond academia in order for students to develop voice, hone critical thinking skills, and mature as individuals. One possible answer for a new approach could lie in viewing how a text functions as a dynamic persona, a performed character, with each piece of writing, rather than as a singular, fixed identity.

In order to explore texts as dynamic personas, this section will discuss American Indian autobiographical works, specifically those of Francis La Flesche, Charles A. Eastman, and Zitkala Sa, who all went through the boarding school system. Since the goal of boarding schools was to remove all traces of the “savage” and assimilate these students into the white culture, an analysis of authorial personas created by these Indian boarding school graduates could provide an indication of how writers craft social

identities conducive to influencing an audience from a culture different from their own. Because these three authors are among the most studied and analyzed, critical analyses of their works provide abundant evidence for this analysis. These three authors are also featured in Amelia V. Katanski's *Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding School Experience and American Indian Literature*, which provided the impetus for this analysis and much of the support. Besides the three published authors of La Flesche, Eastman, and Zitkala Sa, the novice work of students from the Genoa Indian School is also discussed here so as to analyze texts that have not been polished by professional editors.

In addition to these authors, the sociological theory of Erving Goffman provides the framework for analysis of these Native American texts. Goffman studied social behaviors of a small farming community on Shetland Isle, and from his studies, he pinpoints various behavioral elements for explaining how individuals present various "selves" depending on social expectations of each audience. Goffman contends that the "self does not derive from its possessor, but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses" (252), and he correlates these changing behaviors with dramatic performances on a stage and applies the term dramaturgy to describe his overall theory. Goffman's dramaturgical theory of a performed social self equally applies to written texts and illuminates how these Native American authors enact personas (idealized selves) in order to affect their white readers. A dramaturgical analysis contributes to understanding how La Flesche's, Eastman's, Zitkala Sa's, the Genoa Indian School students' experiences shaped their written personas, which in turn could also provide a foundation for creating a new pedagogical approach to composition.

The Analysis:

The oppression of the American Indian spans many years, dating back to the arrival of the first Europeans on American soil in the late 1500s. From that point on, Indians became the target of domination and eradication. By 1886, the US government believed that only with total removal from their homes could Indian students fully be "civilized." In years previous, several boarding schools were established around the country. Founded in November, 1879, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, the famous Carlisle Indian Boarding School began recruiting students from reservations and shipping them away from their families for years at a time in order to remove their "inferior tribal ways" and to replace those ways with Eurocentric ideals. This process of Anglicizing Indian students included cutting their hair, dressing them in domestic clothing, banning their language and culture, and renaming them with English names. The school day was divided, half a day of academics and half a day of vocational school. Trade curriculum included wagon building, painting, tailoring, sewing, typing, and cleaning. The schools' methodology for "civilizing" these students corresponds with Davis' views of "using the [contemporary] pedagogical position to foster particular kinds of subject or student-citizens, whether to take their place in the economic/political system or in the Grand March against it" as "pedagogical tyranny" (224). The objective of these schools was to turn students into functioning, contributing members of the dominant white society's economic structure. Although some parents were forced to give up their children through imprisonment or starvation, some parents saw it as an opportunity of an education for their children, not as a replacement of their own culture, but as a means to expose their children to the new rising Anglo culture in order for them to be successful in a changing economy and a changing country. As a result of this perspective, they voluntarily sent their children.

A product of this imposing system is Francis La Flesche. La Flesche was torn between the two polarities of assimilation, between the white culture promoted by his father Chief Joseph Iron Eye La Flesche, who had converted to Christianity, and the cultural traditions of his mother, Elizabeth La Flesche, a full-blood Omaha and shunned second-wife of the chief (Katanski 97). Francis La Flesche arrived at the Presbyterian Indian Mission School located eighty miles north of Omaha, Nebraska, and from then on, rose to be a prominent example of a "successful" Indian. He clerked for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, earned a law degree from the National University, and recorded tribal customs for Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology. La Flesche could have easily chosen the side of his father and fully surrendered to the assimilation process. Yet, instead of fully surrendering to white ways, throughout his life he strove to emphasize the similarities between Indians and Anglos, to become an interpreter, so to speak, for both sides (Smith). His ability to vacillate between these two cultures follows Goffman's analysis of individuals crafting performances that reflect the values of the audience in order to influence that audience.

La Flesche embraced both cultures and actively used his biculturalism to speak against the injustices and atrocities of the Indian boarding schools. In an attempt to do so, La Flesche published his memoir *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* in 1900 and geared it towards white readers (Smith 583). In fact, in the first paragraph of his preface, La Flesche specifically states that he focuses on his boarding school friends with whom white readers can relate rather than writing about his other friends whom white readers would stereotype as savage. Although accepted and even praised by Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the prominent Carlisle Indian Boarding School and leading proponent of the assimilation movement, as well as by other proponents of assimilation, such as Charles Fletcher Lummis and George Bird Grinnell, La Flesche's

The Middle Five clearly disparages his boarding school experience (Katanski 101). Even the publisher was impressed with La Flesche's "literary qualities and . . . its goal of humanizing Indian people for white readers" (Smith 594). One element that helps La Flesche achieve this success is his use of the memoir, a literary form popular with whites. As Goffman explains that performers will "incorporate the officially accredited values of the society" (35), La Flesche's memoir aligns with his target audience's expectations. His memoir presents as a "front region," the place of performance where a certain decorum is expected (Goffman 107). La Flesche utilizes the Anglo narrative form in order to advance the plight of the native. As evidence, Katanski points to a pathos-charged scene in which a teacher, who had promised a grandmother to take care of her grandson, physically abuses the young boy. Katanski identifies the scathing tone that La Flesche uses to reflect on the "vengeful" teacher's actions that provoked his "hatred," a feeling so strong that his Christian teachings could not counter (102). La Flesche uses this example as a means to appeal to his white readers' Christian duty to care for innocent children and to love others. Goffman explains that individuals persuade an audience by fostering a "belief that he is related to them in a more ideal way than is the case" (48) as evidenced by La Flesche's use of a memoir and Christian values to instigate social change, to combat "savage" Indian stereotype by revealing the teacher as the true savage. As this example shows, La Flesche performs an idealized self after years of schooling within the Presbyterian Indian Mission School. He could have easily written a scene of a caring, benevolent school teacher disciplining an unruly child, yet he shows the cruelties that children faced at the hands of their vindictive guardians, and he skillfully uses a Western literary form, the memoir and incorporates white Christian values, to convey the plight of Indian boarding school students. He portrays white social values in

order influence his white audience so that they will sympathize with people whom they previously thought of a savages, people different from them both culturally and spatially.

Furthermore, this piece is not the only instance of La Flesche performing an idealized self to condemn the actions of whites. Smith also notes La Flesche's open criticism of missionaries and philanthropists, calling them "awful" and characterizing them as impetuous, in his letters to his sister Rosalie (590-91). Because his sister was a close confidante, La Flesche could write in a more direct, casual manner. As Goffman explains, individuals "relax the strict maintenance of front when they are with those they have known for a long time and to tighten their fronts when among persons who are new to them. With those whom one does not know, careful performances are required" (222). Although La Flesche retains his overall social identity, of presenting "always in a steady moral light, of being a socialized character . . . practiced in the ways of the stage" (Goffman 251), he presents slightly different idealized selves, "to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society [audience]" (Goffman 35) depending on his readers. For his white readers, he carefully juxtaposes Christian beliefs with cruelty to a boy whereas with his sister, he openly criticizes whites. Regardless of audience, La Flesche maintains his stance; how strongly it is presented is a matter of degree. This retention of a consistent social identity could be attributed to the fact that the school was located within the Omaha community and was filled students of the Omaha tribe. In other words, although attending a boarding school filled with anti-Indian policies, La Flesche still lived among his people and, therefore, maintained his identity because he still functioned within his home culture.

As seen with letters to his sister, La Flesche retained relationships that served as behavior behind the scenes. Goffman explains that individuals exhibit certain behaviors in a back region/back stage. In this area out of the sight of a critical audience, behaviors

serve as a means for subverting authority and solidifying relationships with teammates. Besides personal letters to his sister, subverting authority and aligning with teammates is also seen in *The Middle Five* when La Flesche and the other school boys defy the systematic rule which governed them. Because of their need to assume identities as their surroundings dictated, students at the school created their own subculture unbeknownst to administrators, such as romantic relationships between students, the bartering with ginger cakes, and the formation of "gangs," which is where the title of the book, *Middle Five*, originates (Katanski 104-05). These subversive behaviors presented only when safely out of the watchful eyes of school administrator, in a back region or backstage. Thus, these students did not fully succumb to teachers' dictations. Although Indian students were forced to look the same, act the same, and speak the same while under the watchful eye of the boarding school staff, they still found a mode for release once they were outside the confines of the school. According to Katanski, "they were able to create options for themselves that lay outside of the assimilationist rhetoric and practice of the educators. This type of escape was not unique to La Flesche's school and situation, despite the institutions' claims to 'See All,' exemplified by Carlisle's Man-on-the-Band-stand" (104). As in most cultures, La Flesche and his classmates demonstrate behaviors delineated between front and back regions. Individuals more freely speak their minds in modes and with languages of their choice in back regions/backstage, and they use modes and language of their audiences' choice in front regions in order to influence that audience.

Ironically, Indian students and their families found some value in their experiences with whites. Katanski and Smith note that while students resisted the assimilation process, they and their parents did not fully reject the education. Instead, they saw it as an opportunity to perpetuate their own culture during uncertain, changing

times (Katanski 108; Smith 592-93). Providing an example of dialogue from La Flesche's *Middle Five*, Katanski states that "[t]he mixture of English and Omaha illustrates a fearlessly syncretic student cultural activity" (105). Katanski relates this new type of student to Malcolm McFee's "150% Indian," where the native practices and cultures incorporate with that of the white, resulting in an individual well-adapted to both societies (108). Katanski's observations of the synthesis of cultures correspond with Goffman's explanation that the idealized self presents values favorable for moving the audience and does not necessarily reflect the whole individual (35). Katanski remarks about how La Flesche already learned the importance and use of "layered identities" while interacting within the Omaha tribe (103), so employing different identities was a skill he had already acquired before ever attending formal schooling. Once enrolled, La Flesche utilized this skill even more as he circulated among student cliques, which grew out of the regimentation of authoritarian rules and regulations. Smith also shows La Flesche as this 150% Indian in that he can remove himself from either race and openly criticize both; he has a "distrust of whites" and a lack of faith in "stupid" or "silly" Omahas (591). As La Flesche's writing indicates, the written persona is not a static entity, but rather a flexible idealized self. His previous identities are not sacrificed to new ones, and "La Flesche found nothing unusual or uncomfortable in the creation of new identity options, especially syncretic recombinations of identities already available to American Indians at the turn of the century" (Katanski 111). Smith, too, finds that La Flesche and his fellow classmates "blended Omaha and American values and did so 'with surprisingly little mental anguish'" (593). Upon his death, *The New York Times* stated that he was an "Indian leader who had played the white man's game and won" (Smith 598). Throughout his works, La Flesche demonstrates writers' adaptability to audience as he presents various selves depending on audience.

Proof of adaptability does not end with La Flesche's example. Charles Eastman also shows this same flexibility as he, too, employs various selves. Eastman, or Ohiyesa, was born into the Santee Sioux tribe and was raised by his grandparents after his father disappeared. Upon his father's return from imprisonment in Minnesota, Eastman, then fifteen, moved with him to North Dakota and converted to Christianity, the new religion of his father. In the story of assimilation, Eastman represents all that assimilationists hoped Indians to achieve. He attended Dartmouth College, graduated from Boston University with a medical degree, and even married a white woman, Elaine Goodale, who was an assimilationist herself. He served as a physician at Crow Creek and at Wounded Knee during the massacre in 1890, where he was dubbed the "white doctor." He was a well-known, sought-after author, essayist, and lecturer, his works being published and translated throughout the world. People wanted to hear his message, and Eastman wanted to prove to his audiences that both white and Indian cultures could benefit each other. He conveys this message by blending traditional Western literary devices with traditional tribal narrative elements, demonstrating the compatibility of the two. His interactions with whites afforded him the powerful ability to recognize the merits of both cultures and to advance his message to the dominant white society in a written idealized self. He carefully chooses his diction and focus in order to direct his audience to important topics. For example, in *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, he states, "that the white man has a well-grounded religion and teaches his children that same virtues that our people taught to theirs. The Great Mystery has shown to the red and white man alike the good and evil, from which to choose" (148). These parallels between cultures serve as connections to his readers, bridging both races. Although Hertha Dawn Wong finds Eastman's position within these two cultures as conflicting and incongruous; such is not the case. Katanski remarks about Eastman, "The representative self that this

complicated individual portrays in *Indian Boyhood* differs from the self he represents in the later autobiography, which continues to support a Christian worldview but begins to associate Christian behavior with Dakota culture in opposition to a European American culture, which continually falls short of Christian ideals" (153). Eastman employs Anglo religious doctrine in order to foster white's understanding of Native people. His exposure to the white man's religion did not prejudice him against his past culture; rather he parallels the two. For example, he details young males' strict training in discipline and etiquette in *Indian Boyhood* (40-42), behaviors corresponding with those of white readers. Wong also recognizes the many voices that Eastman employs throughout his works (142), but contrary to Wong's claim that Eastman is conflicted, Katanski contends, "A critical praxis that listens for and acknowledges Eastman's multiplicity will recognize that Eastman is choosing from among a repertoire of available forms to represent a situational identity. Eastman's various self-representations are not, therefore, contradictory but are deployed for differing purposes" (153). Similar to La Flesche, here, again, is an author performing idealized selves. For example, Eastman at times refers to the Sioux as "they," distancing himself from his people and placing himself as an observer whereas other times, even just a few pages later, he uses the inclusive "our" to show his allegiance with them (Wong 145). Wong believes that the "seeming contradictions and the evident tensions in Eastman's pronoun use, behavior, and dress reveal his struggle to reconcile two opposing cultures" (145); on the contrary, Eastman shows that he is "practiced in the ways of the stage" (Goffman 251) with his thorough understanding of language and audience to perform an idealized self for a specific social front, rather than an individual struggling between two cultures

Clearly, Eastman adeptly utilizes white society's perspectives in order to reach a white audience. For example, Wong discusses passages in which Eastman turns the

same verbiage whites commonly used to stereotype Indians, to describe the "savagery" and "warfare" of white society (149). She also relates one of Eastman's anecdotes of an Indian converting a white man to Christianity (149), more proof that Eastman took advantage of written language to render it an equalizer between the two races. Katanski holds that: "Unwilling and unable to be classified as assimilated or tribal, these writers sought to create versions of Indian identity that would enable them to achieve (sometimes provisional) reforms without locking them into a single essentialized identity. For Eastman, this meant highlighting the capacity of 'the race' to adapt to the values and institutions of hegemonic American society" (164). Katanski's observation correlates with Goffman's dramatic realization, for an individual's performance to "dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure" (30). Acutely aware of his critical audience, Eastman faced a double disadvantage. First, performers always face a disadvantage because, as Goffman explains, critiquing a performance is easier than giving one (8-9). Plus, Eastman's white audience was already tainted by prejudices of the time. Therefore, in order to overcome such obstacles, he integrated the traditional Western autobiographical form and whites' stereotypes with traditional Sioux elements, such as storytellers, myths, legends, and songs for *Indian Boyhood* (Wong 142). With this mixture of elements, Eastman's work demonstrates how individuals present written selves by appealing to readers' own values and understandings. Written selves are a conglomeration of experiences, which flex and adapt to myriad situations and audiences.

In addition to La Flesche and Eastman, Zitkala Sa represents yet another example of this flexibility. She, too, became a proponent of her people and her culture. Unlike La Flesche and Eastman, as an author, teacher, activist, editor, she was quite vocal and at times caustic. She openly spoke her mind about the injustices of boarding

schools (even when she worked there) and openly criticized the tenants of white society, for which she herself faced harsh criticism (Spack). Much of what Katanski says about Zitkala Sa supports Goffman's idea of the social identity: "Although she felt that she had lost her voice and the freedom to express her true self from the moment she first left home with the missionaries, she made use of the English language to regain a voice for herself as 'Zitkala Sa,' creating the identity by which she is best known today" (127). Born as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Zitkala Sa emerged as an outspoken author, portrayed through many idealized selves as she recognized "her distinct, though multiple, identities as an individual" (Katanski 156) and to do so, she "uses tropes common in sentimental writing as tools in her self-representation" (Katanski 157). Katanski also states that "Zitkala Sa uses these Western autobiographical forms to present a sympathetic and sentimentalized – though angry – Yankton self to an audience who understood and expected those forms, using the individual perspective as a means of resistance to assimilation" (155). As a skilled writer, Zitkala Sa knew how to appeal to her white audience via a genre they were already familiar with, and throughout her life, various white literary devices served her well: "Zitkala Sa – as an artist, activist, Dakota woman, and Western-educated autobiographer - is offering a *representation* of her life and is, therefore, shaping and molding her experiences to fit both literary conventions and her political agenda" (Katanski 160). Katanski contends, "Zitkala Sa's autobiographical writings are proof that using a Westernized form leaves plenty of room for the expression of an Indian identity" (161). In response to one of Pratt's criticisms, Zitkala Sa retorts, "Col. Pratt used his pull against me because my think is not his think – nor my ways – his ways! And just the hate of him frees me to work again even when I would most like to fold my hands" (qtd. in Spack 190). If anything, her experience at school made her more

vocal and also gave her the resources to express herself to an audience she may otherwise never have reached.

Therefore, individuals assume various identities depending on their audience and intent. By the time Zitkala Sa left the indoctrination of schooling, she carried with her the means to create her various idealized selves for white audiences and a discernment of situation to know which self to employ at which time. Again, much of what Katanski has to say supports Goffman's dramaturgical theory of a performed self: "Rather than randomly 'oscillating' between positions and worldviews, Bonnin [Zitkala Sa] masters moving among the numerous strategic identities that make up her repertoire, varying representative codes to attempt to articulate a middle ground between a pure, all-encompassing tribalism to which she never had access and the genocidal policies of the boarding-school system and the Dawes Act (harsh realities that built upon the supposed loss of Indian Culture)" (163). Zitkala Sa made distinct, conscious decisions when assuming different idealized selves, but "[t]he shift in names does not suggest schizophrenia but rather, the presence of a repertoire of representations visible in the accepted critical practice of identifying Bonnin as Zitkala Sa when speaking of her authorial persona and as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin when referring to her activism, since this is how she identified herself in these areas" (162). She steadfastly refused to obey the precepts society held for her, both as an Indian and as a woman; she rejected the domestic training of the boarding school and adopted a feminist stance in its place (Spack 181). Zitkala Sa's social identity remained focused. Although composition theorists seem to think that student autonomy and current composition pedagogy conflict, Katanski's commentary on Zitkala Sa suggests the opposite: "She also describes her recognition of her own multiplicity and her realization that she has several linked identities, which cannot be contained but which do not contradict one another as

boarding-school educators seemed to think individual and tribal identities conflicted" (119). Rather than having her voice stifled, Zitkala Sa used the boarding school training to her advantage and developed many voices that spoke for her many causes.

As evidenced with Zitkala Sa's employment of selves, encountering various social expectations could give students multiple avenues of self-expression. Yarbrough believes that "[l]inguistification and culturalization encourage us to believe that no matter what we say or do, reality will remain as it is, and we will be tomorrow as we are now" (212). However, Goffman maintains that performances are a means by which individuals "influence" an audience (22). Goffman explains that: "Power of any kind must be clothed in effective means of displaying it, and will have different effects depending on how it is dramatized. . . . Thus the most objective form of naked power . . . is neither objective nor naked but rather functions as a display for persuading the audience; it is often a means of communication, not merely a means of action" (241). So contrary to Yarbrough's claim that the self remains fixed, individuals perform a self-utilizing elements most likely to influence their audience. "Zitkala Sa associates learning English with self-protection and *rebellion*" (Katanski 122, italics mine), as it gave her the ability to persuade a white audience. As a consequence, Zitkala Sa faced criticisms that she "fictionalized her own life," but Katanski contends that she was only "claiming the right to represent herself and, in the process, to proclaim her own truth (124). She boldly claimed, "I will say what *I* think" and would not be "another mouthpiece" for the oppressive system from which she came and where she worked (Spack 187). Katanski reports that in Zitkala Sa's work, she presents a "critique of the schools as civilizing machines that oppressed their students" (120), and once out of school, she employed writing skills of that "civilizing machine" to speak out against it. Throughout all the years of domineering teachers and administration that Zitkala Sa endured, she maintained her autonomy. With all of her education,

publications, and activism, she, too, could have easily assimilated into white society; however, her heart remained with her people, so she returned West to teach at the reservation (Spack 198). Undoubtedly, she endured a great deal, and yet she remained true to herself. Similar to Eastman, she employed the English language on the people who had originally used it against her. For example, she published an article "Why I Am a Pagan" shortly after she had heard that the administration at Carlisle considered her "worse than a pagan" (Spack 193). Ironically, Katanski notes, "As a vigorous opponent of the depersonalization of Indians, Zitkala Sa unsurprisingly chose to utilize a language and a system that would give her individual personhood, that would allow her to represent herself as a thinking and perhaps, more important, a *feeling* individual to a readership accustomed to valuing the sentimental. . . . Instead, she attempts to use the masters' tools to dismantle the masters' house . . ." (158). Just as Goffman suggests, individuals portray values best suited for persuading an audience, which is clearly what Zitkala Sa did. Her voice was not silenced, but rather it was unleashed in the language of her audience as a tool for social change.

Evidence of written idealized selves does not only reside with prominent authors such as these, who were adults performing for a larger audience and whose works underwent the scrutiny of professional editors. These same performance techniques can be found in young Indian students' writing. For example, Amy Goodburn provides proof in her article "Literacy Practices at the Genoa Industrial Indian School." She quotes Deborah Brandt's evaluation of the letters as "a complex, sometimes cacophonous mix of fading and ascending materials, practices, and ideologies" (Goodburn 36). Goodburn also employs Mary Louise Pratt's term of "the contact zone," as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (36). Through these contact zones, individuals glean skills for crafting

an effective performance for a particular audience, for becoming “practiced in the ways of the stage” (Goffman 251). For example, the Genoa Indian School (GIS) teachers used essay and letter writing as a means for students to practice their writing skills, which students, on their own, readily employed for voicing their opinions, and even defying and questioning the school’s rules and regulations (Goodburn 3). Goodburn states that “these Genoa Indian School literacy artifacts depict a complex and contested contact zone of literacy, one in which students found spaces to assert their voices and to claim ownership in their education” (49). Students wrote essays on the preservation of their native language and for the equality of the Indian race; they wrote letters to the Indian Commissioner when their various personal requests were denied by their superintendent, when they had grievances against the superintendent, and also when they felt the need to express concerns regarding aspects of their schooling, such as gaining permission to travel home or requesting a recommendation to enroll in another school (Goodburn 46-47); thus, the white practice of writing essays and letters not only served as class assignments, but it also armed students with a vehicle to express their concerns and aspirations. Similar to how Yarbrough characterizes the classroom: “Teachers following traditional pedagogy do not *listen to* what students have to say; they *speak at* them about how they should say it” (225), these students became “practiced in the ways of the stage,” with essays and letters, which they then utilized to voice their concerns outside of the classroom. Although one of the rules of letter writing was for students to never write anything negative about the Bureau of Indian Affairs or any of its offices (Goodburn 46), they defied this decree by going above the superintendent and complaining to the commissioner. Even though they operated within an oppressive environment, these students had their voices heard by using the very methods that were supposed to

"civilize" them in order to challenge those in authority and to speak out against injustices, just as did La Flesche, Eastman, and Zitkala Sa.

Years out of school, former GIS students continued to preserve their culture and their language; some wrote letters to the local newspaper "to respond to, reframe, and sometimes resist [white] interpretations of [their] experiences while also participating in the commemoration of the school's history" (Goodburn 50). Countering Yarbrough's belief that "culturization and linguistification encourage us to believe that no matter what we say and do, reality will remain as it is" (212), these students' presented social identities to voice their concerns and to create a clearer reality, one that includes many voices, not just the dominant white perspective. These students used their socialization with whites to their advantage by becoming part of a discourse community so that they, too, could shape history.

Identity Acquisition:

The work of the Indian students discussed here illustrates how individuals adjust their idealized selves as part of interacting with society. So where as Indian students of boarding schools had limited means for structuring their environment while at school, they still managed to do so, such as La Flesche and his classmates forming gangs and the GIS students writing letters to the commissioner. Once away from the regiments of school, they continually performed idealized selves as evidence by numerous pieces defending their cultures that they all wrote as adults. One quote by Zitkala Sa is particularly indicative of individuals performing in order to influence their audience, and not merely blindly following social precepts. She states, "my think is not his think" when referring to Colonel Pratt's criticism of her (qtd. in Spack 190). Yet, in order to reach white readers, she uses their techniques and values. Otherwise, she could alienate them. As these students' work demonstrates, individuals comply with social expectations in order

to present an idealized self that influences the audience, but overall, their many performances reflect their social identities, their "truer self" (Goffman 19). How they choose who they wish to be (social identity) and how to present themselves to others (idealized self) depends upon the audience and the situation, but their motivations and intentions rest solely within the individual.

Furthermore, not only do individuals actively create social identities, but their experiences become a catalyst for that creativity. Thus, in response to Vitanza's and Davis's call for a new pedagogical approach to composition, Goffman's dramaturgical theory illustrates that individuals shape their idealized selves in response to others, such as does La Fleche's layered identities, Eastman's flexible personas, and Zitkala Sa's multiple voices. Even more so than La Flesche and Eastman, Zitkala Sa vehemently campaigned against injustices inflicted upon Indians through a variety of modes and personas. These authors used their experiences under the oppressive white educational system to speak out against it to address a white audience, an audience that could most affect change. Katanski acknowledges, "Perhaps most significant to us, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, this Indian counternarrrative used English as a language of Pan-Indian solidarity and created a pan-tribal Indian identity option that has become increasingly important in providing Indian people (including those who maintain strong tribal affiliations and identifications) with a voice in political and social issues" (129). As Goffman contends in his research on social interaction, the self "is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited" (252-53). These authors presented selves in a manner that would be most convincing and credible to their audience.

Goffman is not the only theorist to attribute presentations to social interaction. Mikhail Bakhtin also theorizes that mental life connects with the social world through

discourse and thus requires an active response (*Dialogic,* 345-46). For Bakhtin, people first learn from others, and then words become "one's own" when internalized and put into one's own content. Bakhtin theorizes that speech genres, primary (everyday language) and secondary (written forms such as essays), must both be analyzed in order to better understand the nature of utterances (*Speech,* 61-2), which correlates directly with this analysis as it demonstrates that social influences, specifically in regard to spoken and written language, shape a writer's persona. Bakhtin also states that words can be neutral, straight from a dictionary, but they also come from someone else's ideas (*Dialogic,* 293), and he theorizes that such an influence of someone else's ideas links not only to the past, but also to the future (*Speech,* 94). For example, Goodburn discusses that after reading the novel *Romona*, Genoa boarding school students' writing reflects a personal connection with the character Ramona, who resisted white suppression. In turn, these students spoke out against injustices of their own situation. Additionally, this intricate webbing of time and meaning can be seen with Eastman's utilization of autobiography, a white genre, to reach a white audience, and he also incorporates negatively charged diction that whites used to describe Indians, to describe whites' "savagery" and "warfare." Such a ripple effect of time and meaning instigate social change, making students' interaction with both the teacher and audience necessary to the evolution of the student as an effective writer.

Bakhtin provides another theoretical basis for supporting Davis and Yarbrough's recommendations for a new approach to composition. Like Davis and Yarbrough, Bakhtin also discusses the fluidity of language, but he recognizes that despite this fluidity, it is still governed by parameters (*Speech,* 79). He contends that language is not free, as Saussure states (*Speech,* 81). In fact, early childhood studies show that children create their own "writing systems" with rules and patterns before they ever learn the alphabet

(Netchine-Grynberg, Netchine, and Pannier). Bakhtin furthers the necessity of a structured composition course in that “the better our command of genre, the more freely we employ them, the more fully and clearly we reveal our own individuality in them, . . . the more perfectly we implement our free speech plan” (*Speech*, 80), as exemplified by the GIS students writing essays defending their language and later writing letters correcting misrepresentations to the newspaper in their adulthood. Thus, students need direction and practice with various writing techniques within the classroom, which they can later use at their own discretion in classroom assignments and then for the rest of their lives.

Broadening social activity within academia, and especially with one’s prospective audience, becomes especially important in relation to Goffman’s stance that one’s identities do not reside within the individual, but rather are “often bolted down in social establishments” (253). Therefore, teachers may need to incorporate audiences other than academia so that students do not potentially remain limited and isolated from lack of formal written social interaction. Social identities can be fostered and performed within the classroom through assignments and curriculum that include writing in formal social situations and directly interacting with that audience. For example, GIS students first learned letter writing because of their school assignments, which they then used to express their concerns and requests to the commissioner in order to instigate change. Indian students learned how to situate themselves within their writing in a way that would effectively advance their cause because of their experiences with whites at boarding schools. Later, as adults, they continued writing letters to voice their concerns to the editor of the local newspaper. As evidenced with the GIS students, real-life application of academic skills transfers to continued use of those skills years out of the classroom. A

key component to this continued use could lie with the direct real-life application while still in school.

Furthermore, performing in formal social situations also enables today's students to situate themselves within a formal setting, in contrast to the casual setting of family and friends. Along students' journey through the educational system, they accumulate techniques and acquire skills in order to "reanalyze and reinvent" themselves within their writing as stated by Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford (332), and composition can be an opportunity for students to hone this type of discriminatory skill, what Goffman labels dramaturgical discipline (216-17); thus, instead of limiting students' audience/readers to the classroom, they should be expanded to include audiences that lay outside the four walls of academia.

So in response to Davis's and Yarbrough's call for a new approach to composition, students may need to experience social aspects of written communication so that they employ skills learned in class to perform for an outside audience. Experiences within and without the classroom become crucibles for creating idealized selves. Instead of students revising in response to teachers' and classmates' comments, they can also revise with others outside of academia, who can aide students with negotiating written language across social establishments. As a result, learning to perform in formal social situations within and without the classroom could broaden students' written communication skills, as demonstrated by the Indian authors mentioned here. All of these authors – La Flesche; Eastman; Zitkala Sa; GIS students, who were still embedded within a truly tyrannical system - chose which voice to employ depending on the topic, audience, and other mitigating factors. The government's attempt to eradicate Indian culture failed, and instead, according to Frederick Hoxie, "The assimilation effort, a campaign to draw Native Americans into a homogenous society helped to create its

antithesis --- a plural society" (qtd. in Katanski 167). Once graduated, they retained their identity and individuality. Instead of remaining submissive, they triumphed by utilizing skills that allowed them to function in a broader social setting. "They [La Flesche and Zitkala Sa] represented their educations in a manner that contradicts the reformers' beliefs about how identity worked, and about the degree to which the schools 'killed' the Indian within their students" (Katanski 96) because the self as presented to others appeals to audience expectations and beliefs, but performs in the interest of the individual. What students need are encounters with audience for responding and expressing their idealized selves to nonacademic audiences, but still follow the academic curriculum.

Students are an amalgamation of their social experiences, picking and choosing how to act and react based on those experiences. In essence, the boarding schools did just what Yarbrough believes that education should do:

> The aim of our courses, then, "writing" courses and otherwise should be to offer to our students whatever they need to be able [to] engage in effective discourse with others . . . Our job is to help them to learn how their understand others' responses to their speech and writing can empower them, that is, teach them more about the way things are – and how to alter their own responses to others' responses so as to learn more, rather than simply cling tenaciously to the patterns of response and sets of beliefs they already hold. (228)

The boarding schools did teach students "the way things are." They learned to operate in an environment foreign to them, to communicate with the dominant culture, and to operate in a changing society. As these students' examples show, individuals have the ability "alter their responses" instead of mindlessly following rules and regulations. One

possible way to teach students “the way things are” is to have them write (perform) and interact with real flesh-and-blood audiences rather than blindly follow grammar rules and district syllabi.

Conclusion:

Thankfully, today’s students do not have to face such harsh conditions as those in Indian boarding schools, but they are expected to follow some level of conformity. Even Yarbrough admits that “discursive games played upon artificial grounds characterize nearly every institution in our society. . . . As a practical matter, students do need to understand those games” (213). And they especially need to understand games in a multi-faceted society such as America where teachers face the challenge of educating students of various backgrounds, languages, and aspirations. Although Yarbrough states that “[s]uccessful communication . . . does not necessarily require that we use the same marks and noises in the same way as the person with whom we communicate” (236), employing values and beliefs of an audience does, to some degree, increase the odds of effectively and efficiently communicating with them as these Indian authors have shown by using literary genres with which white readers were already familiar. Goffman, too, explains that successful performances incorporate the values of the audience in order to most effectively influence it (35). In relation to the current call for a new pedagogical approach to composition, today’s students could benefit from learning about the experiences of the Native writers and from writing for audiences other than academic, specifically by interacting with real audiences outside classroom walls. Although students are expected to meet expectations set by district syllabi, they do not abandon their previous selves, but instead create new ones by interacting with new audiences. With a broader understanding of audience, today’s students can then, too, present their truer selves in order to present themselves to myriad audiences of the

modern world. Once students finish their composition courses, they can employ which ever techniques they need to create the necessary persona, but first they must be given some type of foundational skill set in order to have the methods needed to construct idealized selves. One way to achieve this is by creating a 150% student, one who develops his own social identity by performing idealized selves, and composition course could provide the “contact zone” which fosters this type of development.

Chapter 5

Frederick Douglass: First Impressions of an Idealized Self

As the adage goes, first impressions are everything, and especially so with written texts since writers cannot infiltrate readers' minds and make revisions after the fact. Therefore, finding just the right beginning for a piece of writing targeted to sway a specific audience can be difficult, and various theorists expound on the influence that audience has on a writer. In "James Joyce and Humpty Dumpty," Donald Davidson analyzes expectations that James Joyce held of his audience as evidenced by details that he expects his readers to already know. Similar to Davidson's study of Joyce, Walter J. Ong discusses Hemingway's and other writers' techniques for creating a role for their reading audience in "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction." Likewise, in "Writer-Audience Relationships: Analysis or Invention," Russell C. Long calls for an analysis of a text in order for writers to discover methods for addressing audience. With different theories on audience, teaching composition can be a daunting task. Long's suggestion of textual analysis is a good place to begin, but students still need a singular critical approach for such an analysis.

Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory provides a potential solution. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman analyzes sociological aspects of people interacting with each other in formal social settings, and he pays particular attention to how presenters influence their audience and vice versa. His observations could potentially be applied to how writers present themselves, or rather their written personas, to their readers. Subsequently, composition teachers could use Goffman's dramaturgical theory as a critical approach for teaching students to analyze others' writing and in turn, for aiding students in applying techniques to creating written personas of their own.

In light of using Goffman's dramaturgical theory for critical textual analysis, Frederick Douglass' three versions of his autobiographies provide interesting fodder, specifically his introductory materials and first chapters since those first capture readers' attention. Douglass, a former slave, had a monumental task of enticing a skeptical white audience. With close reading, some of the roles that Douglass creates for himself and for his readers become apparent. Douglass' calling as a lecturer seems to convey into his career as a writer; he addresses readers, especially in the two subsequent publications, as if he were speaking to them directly. He even states that "Writing for the public eye never came quite as easily to me as speaking to the public ear" (qtd. in Stauffer 15). In fact, Douglass did not learn to edit until Julia Griffiths, an English woman who helped purchase his freedom, came over to help him run *North Star* and taught him grammar and editing (Stauffer 22). Since Douglass lacked instruction in writing, but flourished at speaking, it would make sense that his speaking abilities would influence his writing. Goffman theorizes that individuals present various personas during social interaction, much like actors playing characters on a stage, and Douglass was well-versed in presenting upon a stage. Thus, while some critics discuss Douglass' changing persona from text to text as a reflection of his personal growth (Andrews 4; Lee 4), these changes could be also be a reflection of his recognition of his changing audience and, therefore, his shift in roles he creates for himself and his audiences with each text.

According to sociological studies, people adhere, for the most part, to social expectations; similarly, a writer must first learn what roles audiences are willing to accept and how to create those roles. Goffman explains how an individual's persona is a manifestation of each social situation rather than a static character; one's image "is a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it. The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is

to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented" (252-53). Because of Douglass' limited reading and writing, coupled with his experience on the speaking circuit for the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, he would have relied on his interactions with whites as a guide for shaping his writing. This social influence of a concrete audience seems evident in the all three versions of his autobiographies.

It only seems logical that Douglass would have incorporated his first-hand experience into his writing and attempt to influence his audience according to his message. In 1845, Douglass had spent a little over six years free from the confines of slavery and four years on the speaking circuit for the Antislavery Society, so he was fully engaged in promoting his cause alongside William Lloyd Garrison. In "Identity and Autobiographies," Robert S. Levine believes that Douglass constantly reinvented himself depending on the message he wished to convey (31), but to convey a message effectively, first the writer must know the audience. In fact, in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, the introductory letters and the first chapter are configured as an argument as if Douglass were standing at a podium addressing an actual crowd. Letters of introduction were a common practice of the time, which falls into what Goffman labels as a social front, part of established expectations of an audience (22). With these two letters, Douglass demonstrates that he has already been vetted by prominent whites, which contributes to his credibility. Goffman discusses how individuals present themselves in a manner as to influence others and control their (re)actions in a particular way. With the first publication of his autobiography, Douglass knew that his white readers would be highly skeptical of his abilities and that he would need a means for convincing them of his authenticity, so he uses a method already established by white society, letters of introduction.

Since Douglass probably anticipated reactions of his audience as he wrote, the roles that Douglass creates for his readers diverge minimally from his lecture audiences. In fact, Goffman notes that while tasks may be new, the social front which governs the situation is rarely new, meaning that social fronts, established expectations, often times, are re-applied to these new tasks (27). Moreover, the targeted audience of *Narrative* resembled that of his speaking tours, mostly Northern whites, abolitionists, and those who could still possibly be persuaded on the issue of slavery. Like his listening audience, most of his reading audience probably had never experienced slavery first-hand or knew little about it. Ironically, although they might be anti-slavery, they still held prejudices against blacks and believed that, although blacks should not be slaves, they were still inferior to whites. As Goffman notes, the performer holds the disadvantage as a flawless presentation is much more difficult than being a critical observer (8-9). Hence, Douglass was at a double disadvantage, being not only a performer under audience scrutiny, but also a black man facing stereotypical prejudices. Douglass experienced this prejudice first hand during several hostile encounters with whites while traveling to his speaking engagements. Also, even though not all listeners were blatantly hostile, some were skeptical that Douglass ever was a slave because he was so well-spoken. He knew he had to convince a skeptical or even a hostile reading audience, who were probably politically minded or at least curious about what, to them, seemed an anomaly, a former slave with the ability to write**.** Because of Douglass' face-to-face encounters with his audience during his speaking tours and instructions given by his white counterparts, he learned the necessity of impression management for convincing such an audience: "In order to prevent the occurrence of incidents and the embarrassment consequent upon them, it will be necessary for all the participants in the interaction, as well as those who do not participate [audience], to possess certain attributes and to express these attributes

in practices employed for saving the show" (Goffman 212). As a result, Douglass probably envisioned these encounters as he wrote his first autobiography and employed this knowledge of audience to his writing. He knew he needed the testimony of white men in the form of letters of introduction in order to establish credibility with white readers as well as to indicate to readers their role as sympathetic witnesses.

Douglass' audience for his second version, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, however, changed from that of *Narrative.* By 1855, ten years after the first publication, Douglass was much more experienced as a speaker and a writer, reaching a broader audience with the success of his newspaper and popularity from speaking engagements. He had spoken widely in Great Britain, returned home a free man, established his own newspaper, continued speaking publicly on issues of slavery and women's rights, and broke politically with Garrisonians in 1851 (Andrews 9-12). With Douglass' perspective broadened, so did his audience, which by now would not be as skeptical as with his first narrative. Additionally, the debate on slavery continued to grow, especially with the passing of the Kansas Nebraska Act in 1850, which established newly expanding western states as slave states. As a consequence, the outdated Whig party transformed into the Republican Party, of which Douglass was a member. As Goffman attests to performers' need for employing new strategies for each new presentation, Douglass' newly broadened audience demanded a new role. As a result, he needed to demonstrate the necessity of blacks and whites working together for the benefit of the community. With this second version of the autobiography, his focus shifts from establishing his credibility and professing the atrocities of slavery to showing gratitude for people influential in his life and demonstrating the influence that community can have on the individual. This shift could be the result of his increased audience of his newspaper. With his experience in journalism, Douglass' technique somewhat switches from that of an

orator to that of a reporter. He relates stories of those who were closest to him, not only because he is now free from the threat of capture, but also so that he can demonstrate humanity's interconnectivity and blacks' significant role in the community. This version is not as harsh or confrontational as the first edition; instead, it is a portrayal of slavery as a shared hardship, especially among the members of the black community. By softening his tone, Douglass invites readers to become part of that community. Not that they won't still have their own beliefs, but so that they can assume what Goffman labels a "veneer of consensus" (9), to temporarily suspend their concerns in order to become part of a group. However, Douglass still has the task of convincing his audience of the detriments of slavery, but does so now by showing them the interconnectivity of community as they assume the role of community member.

Twenty-six years after *My Bondage*, Douglass' audience changes again. With his third version, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, published in 1881, he no longer has to fight for the end of slavery. Lincoln freed the slaves; the Civil War had ended. Times were not as stressful as they had been. By then, Douglass had played an influential role in American history, from advising Lincoln, to recruiting blacks to fight in the war, to advocating for black's and women's suffrage, to campaigning for Presidents Lincoln's and Grant's elections, to serving as a government official at various appointed positions (Andrews xii-xiii). His audience, for the most part, still probably held prejudices, but they were probably not as hostile towards Douglass himself since he was so well-known and so highly accomplished. As in *My Bondage*, in this last edition, Douglass creates a veneer of consensus as he reflects over his life's work, taking his readers along on the journey. This time, though, Douglass focuses readers' attention on the detriments of prejudice and segregation.

With all three of his audiences, Douglass needed to shape his texts in a way as to capture their attention and to dispel prejudiced stereotypes, which is why the letters of introduction, the artworks, the title pages, and the first chapters are so crucial. Indubitably, Douglass faced a daunting task. Goffman discusses the pressure that a performer faces with social idealization:

> Care will be great in situations where important consequences for the performer will occur as a result of his conduct. . . . The interviewee is likely to feel, and with some justice, that his every action will be taken as highly symbolic, and he will therefore give much preparation and thought to his performance. [He] will pay much attention to his appearance and manner, not merely to create a favorable impression, but also to be on the safe side and forestall any unfavorable impression that might be unwittingly conveyed. (225)

Douglass was already a spokesperson for American slaves, but putting his story in print would open him, his race, and his cause up to intense scrutiny. Because the importance of the letters of introduction, the artworks, the title pages, and the first chapters for enticing readers, the following analysis will examine each of these elements for evidence of Douglass' awareness of audience and his skills as a performer for addressing it.

Letters of introduction are one of the first pieces that readers encounter in all three texts, and these letters also reflect the changes in Douglass' audience. As part of the "front," the "part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and a fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" (Goffman 22), these letters serve as a bridge between the two races. *Narrative* begins with letters of introduction by two prominent white male abolitionists, William Lloyd

Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Just as letters of introduction established connections for whites as a means of networking, a practiced way of introducing an unknown individual into society, these letters introduce Douglass to readers as an acquaintance of Garrison and Phillips. Douglass' readers would recognize the significance of letters of introduction as a means of presenting him to their society and also as a means of priming them for reading the text itself. William Lloyd Garrison's second sentence characterizes Douglass as a "stranger" (3), but the repetition of "fortunate" alerts readers that they, too, can be blessed with experiencing Douglass' first-hand account just as did members of his listening audience. Wendell Phillips' letter begins "My Dear Friend," addressing the reader in a familiar tone. Even though the letter is to Douglass, that designation is footnoted at the end of the letter, not at the beginning. Consequently, readers assume the role of "my dear friend." The next line, too, assumes a familiar tone, "You remember the old fable of 'The Man and the Lion'" (13), as if Phillips and the reader had together enjoyed childhood fables in the past; thus, the reader becomes part of the veneer of consensus along with Phillips and Douglass. So not only do these letters from well-known, respected abolitionists lend status to Douglass, they also ingratiate readers into their social circle as well.

Furthermore, these letters are also characteristic of introducing a speaker, attesting to his background and his character and building up the crowd before a speaker takes the podium. This type of technique could be seen as another type of impression management, a means for pre-empting any negative perceptions by the audience. In *Narrative*, Garrison defends: "I am confident that it is essentially true in all its statements; that nothing has been set down in malice, nothing exaggerated, nothing drawn from the imagination; that it comes short of the reality, rather than overstates a single fact in regard to SLAVERY AS IT IS" (8). Then in the next letter, Wendell Phillips characterizes

Douglass as a lion telling his side of the story, providing readers a rare glimpse of the other side. With these letters testifying to accuracy of Douglass' account and straight-forward tone, readers become privileged to the inside story of a man of great character.

Although *My Bondage* is still an argument against slavery, it does not incorporate the same impression management as *Narrative*. Instead, this front portrays a slightly different definition of the situation. The editor's preface contrasts with *Narrative*'s introductory letters in that although this preface gives assurance of the narrative as historical fact with all names and dates as accurate, the editor, who remains nameless, then also recognizes fictional works depicting horrors of slavery, but separates *My Bondage* from these other accounts as consisting of pure fact. Just three years before, Harriet Beecher Stowe had published the highly dramatic, best-selling *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which Uncle Tom passively accepts and forgives all injustices and cruelties. On the other hand, Douglass provides his actual account of standing up to and fighting against those injustices and cruelties. With this preface, readers know that they are not simply engaging in fictional entertainment as with Stowe's novel, but rather they are witnesses to Douglass' actual testimony. Hence, Douglass emphasizes his sincerity and the gravity of slavery. By now, Douglass does not need the support of prominent white men as proof of his credibility. However, he still would have needed to dispel any doubts resulting from prejudice disbelief and comparisons to fictional literature.

This new front in *My Bondage* becomes established through dramatic realization. As Goffman explains, performers will purposely "highlight and portray confirmatory fact that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure" (30). The entire preface is signed off solely as "Editor," who remains nameless so that readers focus on Douglass. Unlike his previous edition, *Narrative,* this preface includes Douglass' own letter, in which he justifies rewriting his autobiography, not for his own glorification, but out of the request of

the editor. “By letting in the light of truth upon a system [of slavery]” and by declaring slavery an atrocity to all of mankind, Douglass crusades for the integrity of the black race in the scope of humanity (vii). Without this letter’s inclusion, readers could easily dismiss this edition as attempt at more notoriety, but with this move of impression management, Douglass attempts to forestall any criticism that he republished for self-serving reasons. In the next section, the introduction, Dr. James M’Cune Smith, a black abolitionist, gives an overview of Douglass’ life and portrays him as a successful businessman, an influential speaker, and an example of the self-made American. Goffman explains that performers will portray themselves to an audience in ways that suggest that they are “related *to them* in a more ideal way than is the case” (48). Here, readers begin to see an emphasis on the interconnectivity of people. Douglass is not just an individual black who happened to rise above slavery, an enigma displayed on the stage by Garrison. Instead, he is a representative of all America, part of Everyman, who is acting out of the good for all mankind.

Likewise, Douglass no longer needs to be introduced by prominent white men. He can introduce himself as he has become nationally as well as internationally known through his speeches and his publications. No longer is he a “stranger” to America. Unfortunately, times have not completely changed. Although ten years later, the editor and Smith, still testify to Douglass’ account as factual and declare his integrity for readers, who most likely still harbor prejudices. Yet, this new definition of the situation employs the same techniques which white readers would expect, letters of introduction, but this time, two of the letters are by black men and the preface is by an unnamed editor. Hence, these introductory materials demonstrate the interconnectivity of the races with blacks employing social customs of whites.

With the last edition of the autobiography, *Life and Times*, the definition of the situation has changed again. By 1881, Douglass was well-known and slavery had been abolished. Readers are no longer being persuaded to join the abolitionist movement, but rather are being informed of Douglass' accomplished life. With this definition of the situation, they no longer need assurance of the text's authenticity nor do they need a letter introducing him. Instead, they are presented to Douglass in the context of American history. George L. Ruffin, black abolitionist, first appointed county judge in Massachusetts, and personal friend of Douglass, wrote the introduction for *The Life and Times* and uses the opportunity to herald Douglass as a writer and orator unequaled by any in America or even Europe. Ruffin recounts Douglass' life and remarks on the characteristic "fire" of Douglass' speeches. At the end of the introduction, Ruffin ranks Douglass with Toussaint L'Overture and Alexander Dumas. He heralds Douglass' character and life accomplishments as an inspiration to all. Readers now become students of history, learning about an influential American leader.

In addition to the letters, the cover pages of these autobiographies also serve as fronts, defining the situation and alerting readers to roles they should assume. Lee observes that "Part of the brilliance of Douglass's self-presentations was how skillfully he controlled his public image so as to preclude potential attacks" during his public lectures (5), which also applies to his texts' frontispieces as well as title pages. In *Narrative*, the frontispiece features a young Douglass facing forward, his head and shoulders solid, but his arms and torso faded into only an outline, possibly mimicking a half-hidden body as if he were standing behind a podium, arms positioned as if resting there, ready to begin his lecture (see fig. 6-1). His suit and clean-shaven face attest to his respectability and his earnestness. Rather than allowing readers to conjure their own likeness of him, Douglass

provides a concrete image as a means of impression management so that readers don't rely on stereotypes of their own.

Likewise, the title page of *Narrative* also helps establish the front. The boldfaced words on the title page and title itself promote this narrative as a conveyor of facts, a real-life account. The facing cover page remains minimal with the title running horizontally downward, "NARRATIVE" at the top, indicative of a conveyance of events. "LIFE" is larger than rest of text, stressing the importance of human life and/or the reality of everyday life for slaves. "FREDERICK DOUGLASS" in large font simulates a flyer advertising his performance, inviting readers to hear his tale (see fig. 6-2). A definition subtitle of "AMERICAN SLAVE." in heavy bold and a further authenticating subtitle "WRITTEN BY HIMSELF" framed by upper and lower borderlines promote his story and authenticity. The back of the cover page, too, stages the text as it reads: "Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1845, By Frederick Douglass, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts," adding to his credibility of statement of facts. With letters of introduction and the inscription relating the narrative as a court document, Douglass presents his account as historical testimony, which gives readers a perception of a lecturer relaying unbiased facts.

Fig. 6-1 (Douglass, “Frontispiece Image”, *Narrative*)

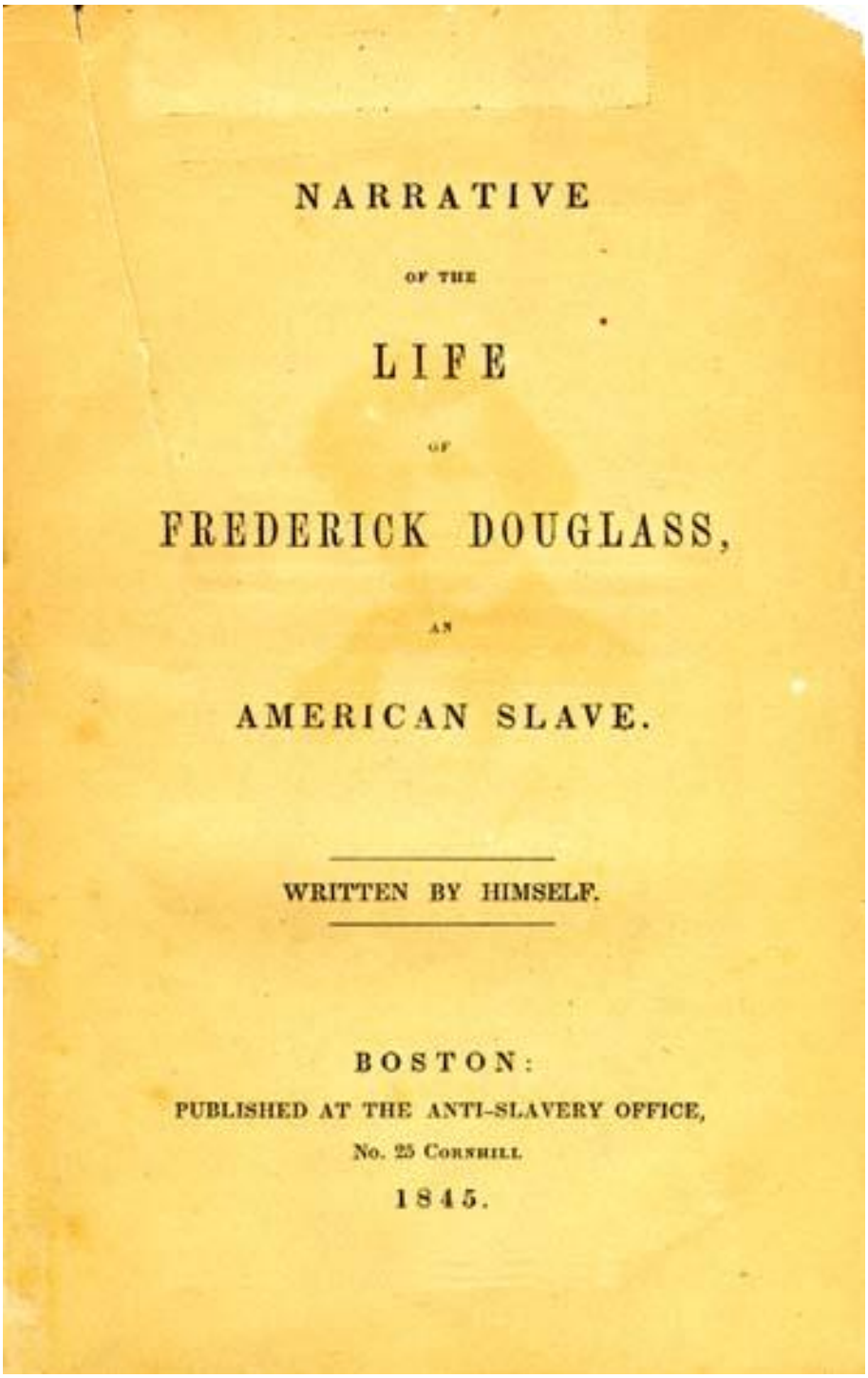


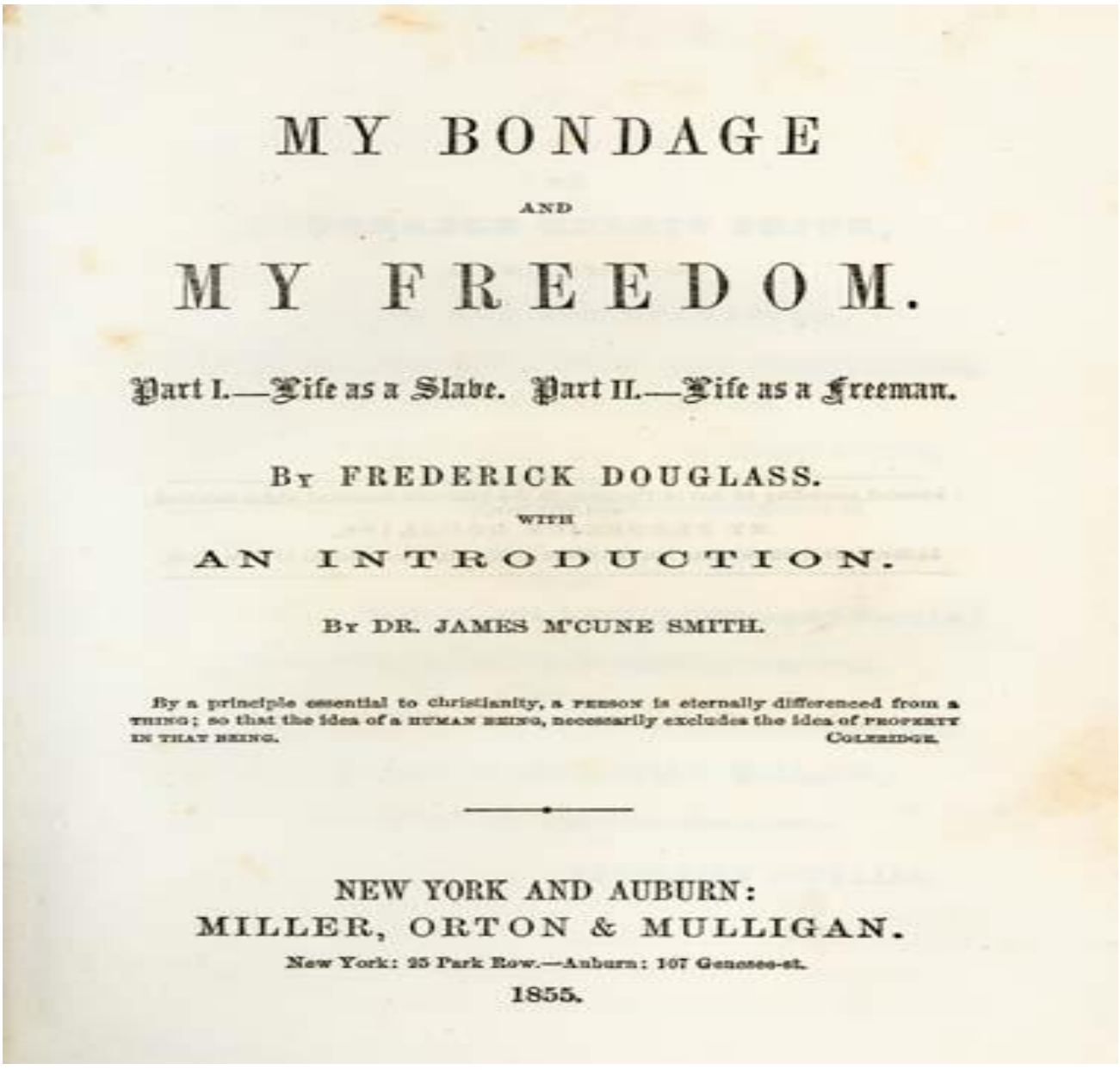
Fig. 6-2 (Douglass, “Title Page Image,” *Narrative*)

In contrast to *Narrative*, the title page of *My Bondage and My Freedom* is much more intricate, indicating an addition of details to the narrative (see fig. 6-3). This front also possibly reflects the intricacies of a changing American society, and so Douglass redefines the situation. The title page reads: "MY BONDAGE" with "**MY FREEDOM**" in largest font on next line. With the change of title to the first-person *my*, Douglass now emphasizes his physical freedom and his ability to freely express himself rather than being restricted by the reactions of a hostile audience or by stipulations of white abolitionist leaders. Separating himself from the Garrisonians in 1851 (Andrews xii), he uses this text as a speech act, setting himself free politically and intellectually by public declaration. The next line of the title page details the text's two parts in script font: "Part I. – Life as a Slave. Part II. – Life as a Freeman," visibly delineating a clear distinction between his life as chattel and his life as a human being. In the next line, block letters, all caps, "BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.," his name is no longer the prominent type set as it is with *Narrative*, possibly because he has now gained notoriety. Instead, Douglass focuses on freedom so as to promote the abolitionist movement rather than his own name. The next line, in all caps, stretched centered, "AN INTRODUCTION." and the next line, "BY DR. JAMES M'CUNE SMITH." show yet another clear distinction from his first edition which does not list Garrison's or Phillips' names on the title page. Additionally, this title page includes Douglass' and Smith's names, impression management lending ethos to the suppressed black race. Even smaller, towards the bottom of the page, lies a quote by Coleridge: "By a principle essential to christianity, a PERSON is eternally differenced from a THING; so that the idea of a HUMAN BEING, necessarily excludes the idea of PROPERTY IN THAT BEING." Another technique of impression management, the quote positions Douglass in society of educated, well-read white intellectuals who would recognize Coleridge. Also, Douglass places his text within the realm of British

literature, lending it status as well as connecting philosophy across borders, linking all of humanity, and presenting the argument for humanity as more than an American vision, with the capitalizations in the quote juxtaposing humans and objects. Levine contends that *My Bondage* focuses more on Douglass being part of the larger African American community (36). However, as indicated by the new title page, Douglass seems to position himself in a larger community of blacks and whites, both. Doing so, Douglass establishes the definition of the situation for white readers, which both races belong to a singular community. As with his previous version, *Narrative*, in 1855 Douglass still faced a skeptical audience who would need assurance of the authenticity of *My Bondage*. The back of the title page has that stamp of authenticity: "Entered According to Act of Congress, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, by Frederick Douglass, in the Clerk's office of the district court of the Northern District of New York." This stamp acts as part of the front, or "expressive equipment" (Goffman 22), a guarantee to readers demonstrating consistency between Douglass' pledge of "letting the light of truth upon the system" and the text of *My Bondage*.

After the title page, Douglass includes a dedication page to Gerrit Smith, a rich white abolitionist who helped him start his newspaper. This visually interesting page with a different typeset for each line contrasts with the letters of introduction from the well-known white abolitionists proclaiming Douglass' extraordinary abilities and promoting his *Narrative*. With *My Bondage*, Douglass declares his admiration and appreciation for Smith instead of someone else speaking on behalf of Douglass. Also, Douglass again demonstrates the interconnectivity of both races by showing his gratitude for what Smith has done for him personally and also as a judge. It also goes further to establish what Goffman designates as manner, "the interaction role the performer will expect to play. . . . haughty, aggressive . . . [or] meek, apologetic" (24). Here, Douglass establishes a

manner of gratitude, humility, and dedication, thus plying readers for accepting his stance of blacks and whites united in a single community.



MY BONDAGE

AND

MY FREEDOM.

Part I.—Life as a Slave. Part II.—Life as a Freeman.

By FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION.

By DR. JAMES M'CUNE SMITH.

By a principle essential to christianity, a PERSON is eternally differenced from a THING; so that the idea of a HUMAN BEING, necessarily excludes the idea of PROPERTY IN THAT BEING.

COLERIDGE.

NEW YORK AND AUBURN:
MILLER, ORTON & MULLIGAN.

New York: 25 Park Row.—Auburn: 107 Genesee-st.

1855.

Fig. 6-3 (Douglass, “Title Page Image,” *My Bondage*)

In addition to the title page, *My Bondage* includes more visuals than *Narrative*, suggesting that with Douglass' increasing prestige and reputation, publishers would be willing to spend more on production and charge more for the book. Facing the title page is a daguerreotype of a sitting Douglass dressed in a suit, from his head to his waist, with hands resting on his legs, as he peers pensively at the reader (see fig.6- 4). The juxtaposition of Douglass' almost-full body, looking at the reader as the reader looks at the title page personifies the text as if Douglass were sitting down with the reader to tell his story. This impression management technique creates a role for readers as listeners who hold commonalities with Douglass, and in turn, rendering readers more receptive to his argument against slavery. Likewise, the page facing Chapter 1 also has five sketches depicting atrocities of slave life (see fig. 6-5). This second version's illustrations familiarize the audience with slavery, another attempt of impression management so that readers have a specific image in mind rather than relying of their own stereotypes or remaining ignorant.

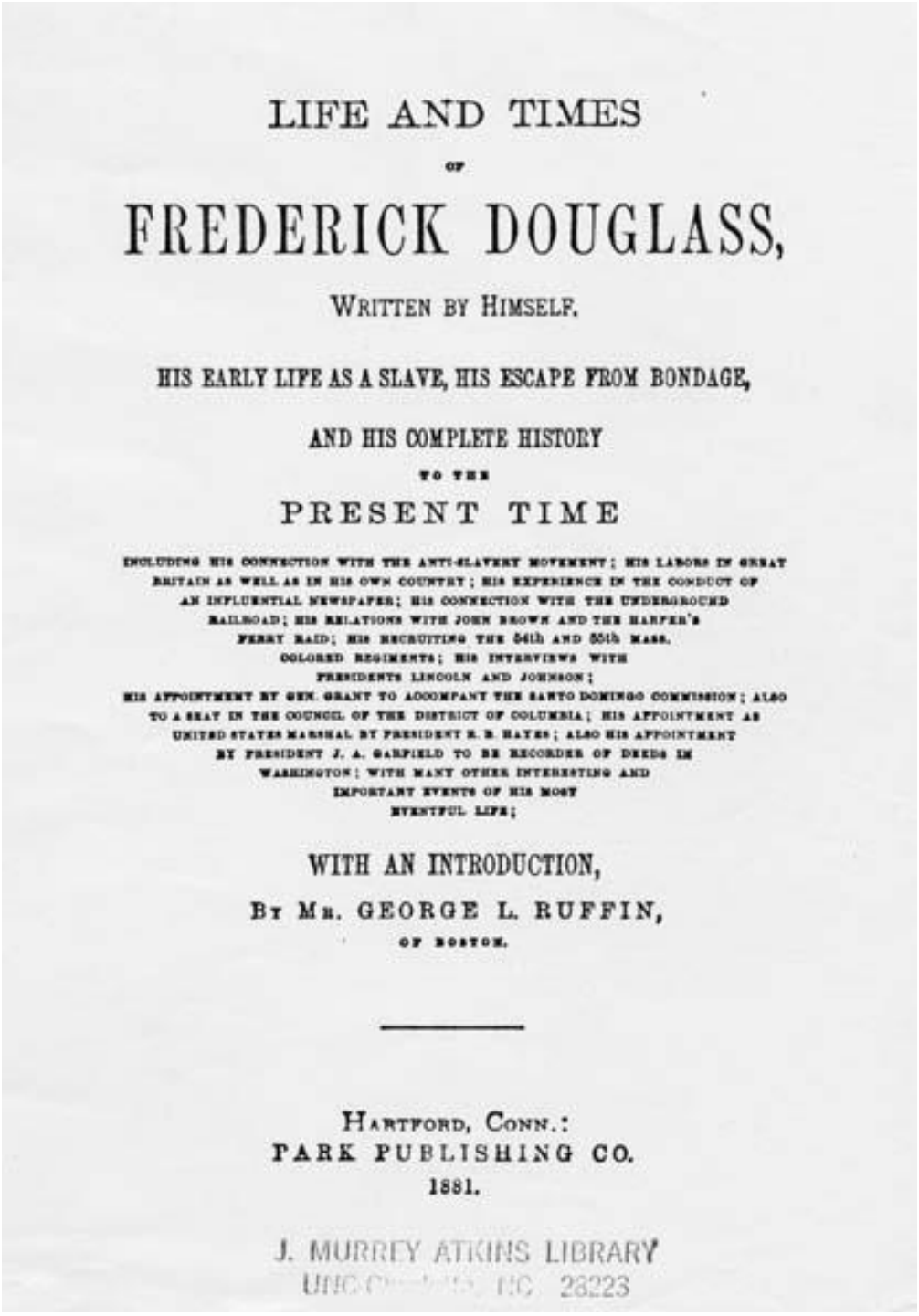
Fig. 6-4 (Douglass, "Frontispiece Image," *My Bondage*)

Fig. 6-5 (Douglass, “Illustration Page 33a Image,” *My Bondage*)

Of all three versions of Douglass' autobiography, *Life and Times* is the most visually interesting. With this final edition, Douglass establishes yet another definition of the situation. Slavery has ended so Douglass no longer needs to persuade his readers to join the abolitionist movement. However, prejudice and segregation remain. Through impression management, Douglass presents a self that is highly accomplished and influential in American history, his new edition demonstrating blacks' contributions to the nation as it, like his two previous versions, will be taken as symbolic not only of himself, but also of his race. Douglass creates the role of eyewitnesses of history for readers so that they can come to recognize the injustice and detriments of segregation to the nation as a whole and especially to blacks individually. The frontispiece image takes a different approach than the depiction of Douglass as speaker in *Narrative* or Douglass as conversationalist in *My Bondage*. This photo portrays a gray-haired Douglass looking reminiscently off to his left (see fig.6-6). This profile shot replicates a historical bust, displaying just the head and chest of a prominent leader, indicating that Douglass has reached an elevated status in society. The title page, filled with text, is also much different (see fig. 6-7). "LIFE AND TIMES" at the top signifies the retelling of his personal life paralleled with historical events. With this very first line, readers are alerted to the larger historical significance of this text rather than it solely focusing on Douglass. "FREDERICK DOUGLASS" on the next line is largest of all, with "WRITTEN BY HIMSELF" smaller on the next line. Unlike the previous two versions, Douglass' name is now the most prominent on the title page; Douglass himself is now the most significant factor. Then on the next line a division of his life: "HIS EARLY LIFE AS A SLAVE, HIS ESCAPE FROM BONDAGE" on one line. The next lines, "AND HIS COMPLETE HISTORY" and "PRESENT TIME." indicate additional material, something new that readers have not seen. Then underneath in a highly visual pattern, like two over lapping

arrows pointing downward, comes a listing of his major life events, the list of personal life pointing to the list of government appointments. As part of the impression management to influence readers, these two lists provide a synopsis of Douglass' impressive life and service to the country. These arrows point to "WITH AN INTRODUCTION," next line "BY MR. GEORGE L. RUFFIN," next line "OF BOSTON" in tiny font. As with Smith's name on the title page of *My Bondage*, Ruffin's name, as a black activist and judge, demonstrates black's significant contributions to America and furthers Douglass' argument against prejudice and segregation. All of this text impresses upon readers a full, remarkable life that few people ever experience or even witness. This version also has illustrations, and more of them, which are embedded within the chapters, each depicting a single scene (see fig. 6-8), but they are placed farther within the text, not in Chapter 1 as with *My Bondage*. Douglass having established such a prominent, illustrious reputation, publishers would have the confidence to spend even more on additional illustrations than when he was first published.

Fig. 6-6 (Douglass, "Frontispiece Image," *Life*)



LIFE AND TIMES

OF

FREDERICK DOUGLASS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

HIS EARLY LIFE AS A SLAVE, HIS ESCAPE FROM BONDAGE,

AND HIS COMPLETE HISTORY

TO THE

PRESENT TIME

INCLUDING HIS CONNECTION WITH THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT; HIS LABORS IN GREAT BRITAIN AS WELL AS IN HIS OWN COUNTRY; HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE CONDUCT OF AN INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPER; HIS CONNECTION WITH THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD; HIS RELATIONS WITH JOHN BROWN AND THE HARPER'S FERRY RAID; HIS RECRUITING THE 54th AND 55th MASS. COLORED REGIMENTS; HIS INTERVIEWS WITH PRESIDENTS LINCOLN AND JOHNSON; HIS APPOINTMENT BY GEN. GRANT TO ACCOMPANY THE SANTO DOMINGO COMMISSION; ALSO TO A SEAT IN THE COUNCIL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; HIS APPOINTMENT AS UNITED STATES MARSHAL BY PRESIDENT R. B. HAYES; ALSO HIS APPOINTMENT BY PRESIDENT J. A. GARFIELD TO BE RECORDER OF DEEDS IN WASHINGTON; WITH MANY OTHER INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS MOST EVENTFUL LIFE;

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY MR. GEORGE L. RUFFIN,

OF BOSTON.

HARTFORD, CONN.:
PARK PUBLISHING CO.
1881.

Fig. 6-7 (Douglass, “Title Page Image,” *Life*)

THE LAST TIME HE SAW HIS MOTHER.

Fig. 6-8 (Douglass, “Last Time He Saw His Mother,” *Life*)

In addition to the changes of the introductions and title pages, the three versions of Chapter 1 vary as well. With each new publication, Douglass shifts his focus of subject matter in order to reach his audience. In *Narrative*, he highlights injustices of slavery. In *My Bondage*, he moves to slaves’ importance within the whole community. In *Life*, he

relays the basics of the beginning of his life, but concentrates more on the subsequent chapters. Douglass' shift in focus relates to what Goffman says of dramatic realization, "dramatically highlight[ing] and portray-[ing] confirmatory fact" so as to influence an audience (30). With each new presentation, Douglass focuses readers' attention to elements that would most likely persuade them.

In *Narrative*, Douglass compares lives of slaves to lives of whites throughout Chapter 1. As instructed to "give . . . just the facts" by John A. Collins of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (Douglass, *My Bondage* 361) during his speeches, Douglass' use of logical reasoning proliferates throughout this chapter, but it is underscored with ethos and pathos as well, as a means to persuade readers of the detriments of slavery for both whites and blacks. As Stauffer points out, "Having rehearsed his life story for years on the lecture circuit, he knew what to say and how to say it . . ." (19). From the beginning of the chapter, Douglass carefully parallels his life with his readers' lives in order to educate them of the atrocities of slavery. He begins with the mundane, such as his place of birth, and paragraph by paragraph he eases them into the horrific treatment of slaves, building to the savage beating of his aunt at the end of the chapter. With this gradual descent into the horrors of slavery, Douglass establishes his persona as a logical individual conveying factual information so that once readers do encounter such atrocities, they do not dismiss him as being overly dramatic or fictionalizing events. Douglass continues this appeal to his white audience with a short paragraph about his mother being dark, thus certifying his own blackness, and with a longer paragraph about his white father. Paying greater attention to his white parentage, Douglass highlights that although he is half white, he shares none of the same privileges as the white children, such as celebrating a birthday, something with which his readers can identify. Douglass then unsentimentally relates the absence of a maternal bond.

Here, too, readers can recognize the tragedy of a boy not having feelings for his own mother even though Douglass presents the situation in an understated fashion, which can work more effectively than dramatizing the situation to an already skeptical audience. Instead, readers are left to imagine the details and react accordingly. Douglass then shifts from personal to general, explaining the reasoning for white masters procreating with their female slaves. Just as Goffman suggests that an individual "often engenders in his audience the belief that he is related to them in a more ideal way than is always the case" (48), Douglass smoothly leads readers from one fact to the next, demonstrating his objectivity. He widens his scope to yet another one of the atrocities of slavery, that of masters selling their own blood, the children they fathered with a slave, and how children following the fate of their mothers encourages slave owners' illicit relations with female slaves as a means of increasing their own slave stock (21), which hints of bestiality. Douglass employs logical and ethical appeals as he goes on to comment on the increase of mulattos in the south, making not only Africans slaves, but also half-whites as well, dispelling the religious justification of blacks as descendants of Ham as slaves (22), demonstrating how illogical, unethical, and immoral slavery is. Thus, Douglass cautiously argues against the white institution of slavery by employing "the officially accredited values of society" (Goffman 35). Douglass, then, shifts back to his recollection of the brutality of slavery, that of the severe beatings Mr. Plummer gives to Douglass' Aunt Hester. With this account, Douglass aligns himself with white readers as someone new to slavery, relating the first horrific incident he witnessed. By shifting from personal to general, Douglass begins with a personal introduction to connecting his story to slaves in general in order to educate readers that his story is not unique and also to convey the atrocity of slavery.

As a spokesperson for slaves, Douglass paid particular attention to details that would most affect his readers in order for him to achieve social idealization within a white society. Goffman points out that presenters purposefully display specific information so as to influence the audience through dramatic realization (30). Likewise, Douglass carefully chooses issues that he knows to be pertinent to his audience because they are issues that white readers can connect to their own lives. For example, when people introduce themselves face-to-face, they usually tell where they are from. Likewise, Douglass begins his narrative with his birth and heritage, but he immediately shows discrepancy between whites (his audience) and himself because he does not know his own birthday or who his father is, so he cannot give full account of his lineage. So while most people may not know their grandparents or ancestors further back, they know at least who their parents are and when their birthday is. Yet, Douglass does not know his true birthday like the other white children, thereby spurring empathy in readers. In the first paragraph, Douglass sets himself apart from whites since white children know and celebrate birthdays. He writes factually and even admits to having no "authentic record" of his birthday, as if he were testifying in court. He recounts whispers of having white father, but again admits to have no proof or facts and gives a sterile account of his relationship (or lack thereof) with his mother and her death. This first paragraph is important because Douglass reveals that he has no established family and, therefore, lacks familial support. Here, Douglass plays on readers' empathy by employing a pathetic appeal to humans' basic need of a sense of belonging. By juxtaposing blacks and whites, he also employs dramatic realization, the act of "infus[ing] his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure. For if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he must mobilize his activity so that it will express during the interaction what he wishes to

convey" (Goffman 30). Such mundane details as knowing one's parents and celebrating birthdays may be taken for granted by white readers; yet Douglass points to their significance and the void created when an individual is deprived of them so as to move his audience to support the abolitionist movement.

During his lecture tours, Douglass had already encountered prejudices of his audience, so he works to dispel that by maintaining a factual comparison of blacks and whites. He gives the facts of his life, place, time, and people, and he admits to not knowing some of the facts, such as his date of birth or the name of his father. Douglass also faces an obstacle with hierarchies as whites deemed themselves better than blacks, so he begins and continues juxtaposing whites and blacks paragraph by paragraph. In the first paragraph, Douglass compares that white children knew their birthdays, but he did not. The second paragraph briefly introduces his mother. The fourth paragraph discusses his father. The sixth and seventh paragraphs discuss the mixing of the races, and the remainder of the chapter recounts the treatment his aunt, whom he elevates above all other black and white women in the area, received at the hands of a brutal white master. Douglass appeals to his audience's sense of values when recounting the profanity Mr. Plummer uses on his aunt. He portrays her as a noble woman savagely abused by a man of low moral character. By using this running comparison, Douglass continuously shows the inconsistencies between whites' values and their inhumane treatment of their fellow man.

In contrast to the stark first version of Chapter I in *Narrative*, the second version of Chapter I in *My Bondage*, entitled "LIFE AS A SLAVE" with the subtitle "THE AUTHOR'S CHILDHOOD," has a visual typeset which sets up this version more as a narrative, and underneath the chapter title, Douglass gives an outline of the chapter. In

this version of Chapter I, he assumes more of a role of storyteller, which coincides with his image at the front of the text. *My Bondage* is much longer. Douglass' audience has expanded through his continued speaking engagements and his newspaper clients. He also does not have to be as guarded with his presentation as he was for *Narrative* since his audience would be more familiar with him. Later in this version, Douglass admits that he had tired of merely repeating facts of his life; he "felt like denouncing" the injustices of slavery, so added his own commentary (Douglass, *My Bondage* 362). He no longer juxtaposes blacks and whites to highlight savage injustices, but instead points to black's contributions to American society.

By the time *My Bondage* was published, Douglass had become more well-read and well-traveled. These influences can be seen in his writing. Rather than beginning with the direct "I was born . . ." (19) as he does in *Narrative*, this time Douglass begins with a less-direct tone, "In Talbot county, Eastern Shore, Maryland, near Easton" (34). With this type of beginning, readers know that they are about to be taken back in time to another place, which coincides with the addition of pictures. However, by the second half of that sentence Douglass turns to a negative description of the land itself, characterizing Tuckahoe, Maryland, as a place of "ague and fever" and possibly named for thievery of the lowlife inhabiting the land (33-34). He quickly turns to a negative, disparaging tone to alert readers that they are not headed into a fairy tale, and he justifies paying so much attention to where he is from because of connotations of a person's birthplace. He then explains that he knows little of his parents or his age, just as other slaves did not (34-35). Unlike the general background on slavery in *Narrative*, Douglass now directly compares his circumstance to his fellow slaves, "Like other slaves" (35), instead of juxtaposing blacks and whites in order to set himself apart from readers. No longer does Douglass blatantly use his previous argumentative strategies, such as logical appeals or argument

by disassociation. In *Narrative,* he states he had no "authentic record" of his birth, whereas in *My Bondage*, he states that "[g]enealogical trees do not flourish among slaves" (34). By doing so, he creates a veneer of consensus as his tone has become less argumentative and more satirical and more literary. He no longer illustrates disparities between the two races. He also does not employ the same emotional, logical, or ethical appeals as he previously did, no emotional references to fathers selling their children, no logical references to the increasing rate of slave stock, or ethical appeals of Biblical references to Ham. Instead, he recounts happily living with his grandparents and especially focuses on the goodness and local notoriety of his grandmother within the county (35-38), demonstrating that even though she is black, she is highly esteemed by both races. Again, with *My Bondage*, Douglass illustrates the interconnectivity of people regardless of race by creating common ground. The community characterized his grandmother as charmed with "good luck" with cultivating sweet potatoes, but Douglass attributes her skills to her hard work and the attention she paid to detail (36), a contrast to the other local inhabitants. He nostalgically reminisces about his grandparents' cabin and his great fortune to be able to live there with his grandparents (37), "Grandmother and grandfather were the greatest people in the world to me; and being with them so snugly in their own little cabin" (38). With this impression management technique, he presents a persona that his readers can relate to. Only after this fond memory does he tell of when he began to realize his situation as a slave and his fate as a member of that system (38-40). Not until the end of the chapter does he covertly employ argument by disassociation, satirically comparing the happy ignorance enjoyed by young slave boys to the restrictive edification of their white counterparts: "The slave-boy escapes many of the troubles which befall and vex his white brother. . . . He is never chided for handling his little knife and fork improperly or awkwardly, for he uses none. He is never reprimanded

for soiling the table-cloth, for he takes his meals on the clay floor" (41-42), quite a different ending from the shocking account of his aunt being beaten by the profane Mr. Plummer in *Narrative*. Other details that Douglass omits are also important. This chapter is much more reflective of the area where he is from and of his childhood. He contrasts the bleak misery of the land and area itself with the happiness he felt growing up under the care of his grandmother, who also raises her other grandchildren, yet Douglass never refers to them as his cousins. He mentions his grandfather only a couple of times, but he does not characterize him in detail as he does his grandmother. Although he is close to his grandmother, he does not detail any other familial bonds.

This time, however, Douglass' tone presents as victorious rather than caustic as to draw in his readers. This change in manner and focus is a result of new impression management. Although Douglass transitioned from a lecturer to an author, it seems some of those techniques carried over into his writing. Dropping the formal pretenses found in *Narrative*, Douglass directly addresses the reader: "The reader will pardon so much about the place of my birth . . ." (34). Again, readers are persuaded that they are related to Douglass in "a more ideal way than is . . . the case" (Goffman 48), created by a veneer of consensus with Douglass speaking directly to them as if in conversation.

This relaxed manner carries over to the final version of his autobiography. In *Life*, "Chapter I: Birth and Parentage" remains in many ways unchanged from *My Bondage*. Douglass still gives an outline under chapter title, but this chapter is much shorter than that in *My Bondage*, since by 1881 most readers would be familiar with his basic information. However, the book overall is much longer, Douglass establishing a new definition of the situation by expounding on information that will be new to readers. Readers are now being given an account of Douglass' life in order to illustrate blacks' significant contributions to America and to combat prejudice and segregation. Douglass

begins with the same line, “In Talbot County, Eastern Shore, State of Maryland, near Easton, the County town, . . .” (5), employing the same narrative set up. He personifies the area as that “among the laziest . . . of streams” and characterizes both whites and blacks as “indolent” (5). This time, he leaves out the history of name Tuckahoe to briefly explain his lack of knowledge of family. He, again, creates a veneer of consensus by directly addressing the reader with “The reader must not expect me to say much of my family. Genealogical trees did not flourish among slaves” (6). Again, he characterizes his grandmother as a hard-working woman, highly esteemed by both blacks and whites, and explains why she raised him instead of his mother. New to this edition, in the next paragraph, Douglass describes his mother, likening her countenance to one in *Prichard’s Natural History of Man* (6), placing blacks in the scope of world significance. In the last paragraph, he explains that he lacks a father and that slave children follow the designation of their mothers. This change in impression management creates an image of Douglass, and as a result, blacks in general, as an individual who triumphed despite circumstances and provided significant contributions to society. Gone are any pictures for this chapter. Gone are the running comparisons between blacks and whites and the startling account of his aunt’s beating from *Narrative*, and from *My Bondage*, Douglass omits his description of his grandparents cabin. Not until the second chapter does Douglass describe his Grandmother’s home, his happy life there, and his grief on the day his grandmother took him to the plantation to live, and all in much more detail than *My Bondage*. With this last version, Chapter I has been paired down to the minimal facts of his place of birth and his parents and grandparents, just as the simplified chapter title indicates, “Birth and Parentage.” Now that Douglass is so far removed from his time as a slave and he has accomplished so much in his life, he no longer needs to confront his readers, but rather he presents a much more focused, full-life memoir since his readers

probably already know his basic story, and perhaps because he has already said it so many times before. By now, Douglass is well-known and highly accomplished so he no longer faces the daunting task of convincing a critical audience of his invaluable worth nor of the atrocities of slavery. Instead, he advances his message of the necessity of integrating the races by focusing readers' attention first on the quality of an individual's character.

Evidence from all three versions indicates that Douglass was influenced by his audiences. Maurice S. Lee, editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Frederick Douglass*, states: "Considering the hundreds of speeches that Douglass gave throughout Great Britain and the United States, and given the intense intertextual dynamics of racial debates in nineteenth-century transatlantic print culture, it makes sense that Douglass learned to present his view in multiple registers, to transform his literary voice so as to move as many listeners as possible"(4). Douglass does the same in his autobiographies. As evidenced by the three versions of Douglass' autobiographies, his changes correspond with Goffman's speculation that the performed self does not reside within the individual, but rather is a "dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented" (253). What is presented depends to a large degree on audience. Throughout his three texts, Douglass revises each definition of the situation for his audience. He focused on those "listeners"/readers and geared each of his autobiographies as to convey a message they would "hear" in at the particular time in history that they needed to hear it. For *Narrative*, Douglass positions his readers as an adversary in the debate over slavery by juxtaposing blacks and whites. In *My Bondage*, the discussion on slavery continues; however, Douglass includes blacks and whites within the larger community of humanity and no longer positions himself as an adversary. In *Life and Times*, he briefly recounts his heritage in order to spend more time reflecting on inner strength of character that he

encountered throughout his life's journey. Although Levine believes that Douglass changes reflect his struggle with his identity (31), and although some critics discuss Douglass' changing persona from text to text as a reflection of his personal growth (Andrews 4; Lee 4), these changes could be also be a reflection of his recognition of his changing audience and, therefore, his impression management changes with each text in order to best influence his audiences as each new definition of the situation requires a different approach.

By analyzing such changes in Douglass' three versions, students can see the shifts in his impression management in order to most effectively persuade his audience. Thus, a dramaturgical approach can possibly provide students a means of critical analysis that investigates how writers present a self as dictated by audience and, in turn, students could then apply those techniques to their own writing. In light of all the audience theories in composition pedagogy, Goffman's dramaturgical approach is one way that teachers can show students how making the right impression depends on knowing how to present effectively to audience expectations in a given context.

Chapter 6

Classroom Application of a Dramaturgical Approach

The Approach:

In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Erving Goffman discusses how social communities set expectations as a means for including/excluding members, and he relates this social interaction, or "performances," to an "information game" in which participants choose how to give and receive communication (8). Goffman's analysis of how individuals socially interact, and his discussion of the ways to present one's self, an "idealized self" (35), favorably to others also correlates with how individuals present themselves within written texts. More specifically, Goffman's "information game" mirrors language games that writers and readers both play by creating and assuming roles (See Walter Ong's "Audience is Always Fiction"; Douglas Park's "The Meanings of 'Audience'"; Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford's "Audience Addressed/Audience Invoked").

However, these games can prove difficult for the performer, who remains at a disadvantage. Goffman warns of the asymmetrical relationship between performer and audience (8-9), i. e., writer and reader. This asymmetrical relationship results because audience members have the advantage of scrutinizing performances, detecting inconsistencies, between the performer's governable (intentional) and ungovernable (unintentional) expressions (Goffman 6). In fact, critiquing a performance is much easier than giving one (Goffman 8-9). Because of the performer's/writer's disadvantage, presentations must be thoughtfully crafted. For this reason, performers/writers should first know a community's expectations and carefully practice in order to craft successful performances. Thus, in light of Goffman's theory, a pedagogical approach to composition, one that engages students with their prospective professional communities, could aid in students' proficiency of said information/language games.

In fact, preparing students' ability to adapt to future audiences is a contingency for which the "Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing" by NCTE, CWPA, and NWP argues. The "Framework" specifically recommends for writing assignments to be as authentic as possible, written with/for *authentic* audiences both inside and *outside* of the classroom (3, italics mine). Thus, composition students would benefit from direct, sustained interaction with their intended audience so that they can learn a community's expectations, recognize any inconsistencies in their writing, both governable and ungovernable, and acknowledge how those inconsistencies reflect on their ethos/idealized self within a particular discourse community. Furthermore, according to Goffman's dramaturgical theory, a performance requires cooperation of the performer (writer) and the audience (reader) (9). Whereas instructors and classmates can address the technical aspects of writing and offer superficial suggestions in regard to certain topics, students can truly engage in their learning as they revise their essays with professionals who have expertise in that student's prospective discourse community.
In order to aid students in addressing future audiences, the "Framework" provides specific recommendations for the classroom. First, the "Framework" lists eight habits of mind - curiosity, openness, engagement, creativity, persistence, responsibility, flexibility, and metacognition, which are considered crucial skills necessary for rhetorical competence (1). Interestingly, these eight habits of mind serve also as mental processes utilized for staging a performance by assisting students in crafting their idealized self. Additionally, the "Framework" suggests "experiences that are critical for college success" (1) in order for instructors to cultivate rhetorical knowledge, critical thinking, flexible writing processes, knowledge of conventions, and composing in multiple environments (2). These habits and experiences relate to how individuals situate themselves within discourse communities and how they learn to relate to others and to society as a whole.

Specifically, the engagement fostered in a dramaturgical classroom comes to fruition as students interact with their instructor, with their classmates, but especially with their professional reviewers. Hopefully, by restructuring the composition class from a dramaturgical perspective, students may be better served in achieving their future goals as this type of approach should aid them in discovering the nuances and expectations of writing within their chosen field and allow them a place to practice and hone skills for crafting successful performances prior to entering their career field.

The dramaturgical classroom centers on Goffman's premise that individuals create performances dependent upon community expectations. In relation to this premise, students are taught that each essay is a performance that readers will critique by using standards preconceived by their particular discourse community. Since students' chosen career paths represent who they want to become, their future self, as Goffman notes "their truer self" (19), an "idealized self" (35), the course syllabus is constructed on the premise that students enroll in college pursuant of career attainment or advancement and also on the premise that their composition course should help prepare them for that career. Studies indicate that, now more than ever, students are motivated to attend college because of status and monetary gain rather than solely for educational purposes (Twenge and Donnelly). The overall objective of the class is to enable students to recognize the relevance and means to shape idealized selves for both their professional and their academic writing. As Goffman states: "A status, a position, a social place is not a material thing, to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, coherent, embellished, and well-articulated. Performed with ease or clumsiness, awareness or not, guile or good faith, it is none the less something that must be enacted and portrayed, something that must be realized" (75). In order to assist students in realizing their professional ethos, throughout the semester, they write essays

based on issues relevant to their professional goals. Their first essay is a literacy narrative, asking them to investigate various aspects that encompass achieving their goals, such as issues, language, publications, academic degrees (See Appendix A); students are also expected to find two people in their intended profession to review their following three essays as well as write five revision questions to submit with each rough draft to their two reviewers. Although students are assigned the genres of essays, they choose the topics and perspectives and write to convince a professional audience in addition to meeting the academic expectations assigned for each paper. In addition to submitting essays to two professional reviewers, students also electronically post and present one of their essays to the class. During their presentations, students explain any difficulties or concerns they may have with their rough draft. Their classmates and instructor discuss these concerns with them during class and then also provide written feedback on that student's posted essay. Students also have time in class for small-group discussions and revising print copies before each essay is due.

As a result of this curriculum, a dramaturgical approach also follows the "Framework's" recommendation for classroom activities:

- Students develop their rhetorical knowledge ("Framework" 6) by researching their profession and choosing their own topics, by consulting professionals in their career area, by using the college's database to discover and learn about issues relevant to their profession, by responding to other's opinions on those issues, and by writing to real audiences within that profession.
- Students think critically ("Framework" 7) while researching and composing essays, while deciding on what to write about in field, and while choosing what perspective to take in their writing.

- Students develop flexible writing processes (“Framework” 8) as they research their chosen topics, consult with their professional revisers, submit their drafts online to be revised and graded, trade print copies with their classmates, and utilize the writing lab staff.
- Students develop knowledge of conventions (“Framework” 9) by using MLA format and citations, grammatical structures, punctuation rules, and rhetorical structures, and by delineating those most relevant for academics and their professions.
- Lastly, students compose in multiple environments (“Framework” 10), with pen and paper while brainstorming in class, with posting electronic versions for class revisions and for final submissions to be graded, with e-mailing drafts to professional revisers, and with printing hard copies for their classmates on rough draft day and/or taking their drafts to the writing lab.

In order to lay the groundwork for the rest of the semester, students’ initial assignment directs them in their focus. For their first essay, the literacy narrative, students are asked to investigate their chosen field of study/their professional career so that they can begin learning their target audience and practice addressing that audience. This first essay is strategically a literacy narrative essay so that students can weigh, analyze, and plan aspects of their chosen field which will make them most successful in that field. Through a dramaturgical approach, students are directed to think about elements, such as “social idealization” – what values are important to their community? What needs to be their “social front,” such as what qualities do they need to possess? What will be the physical setting of their career and written settings, or “fronts”? Finally, students are encouraged to utilize “defensive practices” (Goffman 13), such as revising,

editing, research in area, peer review workshops, writing lab help, and professional reviewers. In addition to this first essay, students also submit the names and qualifications of their two reviewers as well as five revision questions that they have written for their reviewers. Throughout the semester, students' subsequent essays, an argument, a rhetorical analysis, and a research essay, which can be literacy narrative, argument, or rhetorical analysis, all stem from this initial essay. The rest of the semester is spent with students' writing about issues in their chosen field and getting feedback on their writing from individuals in that field, their classmates, the composition instructor, as well as the writing lab staff.

The Response:

An important aspect of the dramaturgical approach is how students see themselves situated within a discourse community. This exploratory study of dramaturgical pedagogy focuses on perspectives beyond the classroom, on students' creating a written ethos/idealized self for a professional discourse community. Success will be determined by the value that students find in collaborating with their professionals and those in their academic community. Therefore, students were asked to reflect on their writing during the course of the semester (See Appendix B). The questionnaire was administered as an on-line, short-answer assignment. Students received credit as long as they answered the questions and were not graded by formal standards. As a result, their quotes have been standardized for clarity, but content has remained untouched. A dramaturgical approach applied to two 16-week fall Composition I classes, one 16-week spring Composition I class, and one eleven-day Mayterm Composition I class, students provided insightful responses in regard to their own learning and to the efficacy of this type of pedagogy.

Eight Habits:

In addition to students' responses, the dramaturgical pedagogy's efficacy will be related to the guidelines and recommendations as established in the "Framework." The eight habits of mind as outlined by the "Framework" prompts students to play an active role in their learning (4) by promoting elements of learning that apply across the college curriculum and career fields (2), which are conducive to a dramaturgical approach. Because students' interests and career goals are so diverse, a dramaturgical approach is beneficial in that it allows students to explore areas of their own interest, to choose their own essay topics, and to explore how their assignments in composition class coincide with their long-term career goals. Likewise, students also have the unique experience of recruiting and consulting professionals in their prospective career areas in order to collaborate on their coursework and to see how that work relates to their career goals, thus blending their academic and professional discourse communities. An aspect promoted by the "Framework," this mix of audiences broadens students' perspectives on topics and expectations, specifically linking their academic work to their chosen career field.

Curiosity:

The first habit of mind listed, the "Framework" defines curiosity as "the desire to know more about the world" (4), and the first activity listed under Curiosity is to "use inquiry as a process to develop questions relevant for authentic audiences within a variety of disciplines" (4). With a dramaturgical approach, students' first assignment requires them to research issues in their chosen career in order to prepare for their subsequent assignments. This initial inquiry lays the foundation for creating their own research questions later that semester as well as for creating questions for them to ask their professional reviewers. Early in the semester, students begin creating their social

identity, “of appearing always in a steady moral light, of being a socialized character” (Goffman 251). During this time, they discover about their professional communities’ interests and expectations. Students relate that their reviewers gave them insight that they otherwise would not have known. One student writes how her reviewer inspired her to include additional information: “On one of my papers, I asked for my reviser to write comments that she thought would be important to include aside from the questions I asked. She talked about her most desirable moments the field as well as worst moments. She stated what kept her going on and staying in the career. It motivated me to [make] the paper strong enough in order to speak for all or most of the dental professionals in the world. The revisers can be inspiring, not only helpful.” As this student’s response demonstrates, through this process of researching their prospective career fields and consulting authentic audiences, students gain insight and motivation that being confined to classroom revision may not provide. By developing their own questions relevant to their own interests and needs of their audiences, they learn new information about their specific discourse community: “I have learned more about the ethical issues of reporting that I hadn't really been aware were as pervasive as they are.” In fact, “develop[ing] questions relevant for authentic audiences” (“Framework” 4) necessitates “being a socialized character” (Goffman 251). Rather than imagining how readers might react or receiving feedback solely from classmates and/or the teacher, students interacting with professionals in the field, an authentic audience, provides them with ideas and direction for their research throughout the semester and for writing in their intended careers.

In addition to inquiry, the “Framework” recommends that students “seek relevant authoritative information and recognize the meaning and value of that information” (4). Through a dramaturgical approach, students choose what issues they want to pursue, and in an effort to direct them to authoritative information, they are given instruction on

how to use the TCC databases and are required to use sources from those databases for all of their essays. At first, they struggle because many of them are unfamiliar with navigating databases. They are unaccustomed to Boolean searches, full-text options, pdf vs. html formats, and the like. However, after a semester of practice, they become proficient with the options and realize which databases hold information specific to their field. They also come to realize the "meaning and value of that information" to their career interests: "The most helpful source, though it was a pain in the butt to navigate, was the database. It gave me access to scholarly articles and served as a great way to learn more about the field," and "The TCC database was the most helpful. At first, it was difficult for me to use, but then became a great foundation for learning new ideas on my topics." Students create their social identity by implementing authoritative information within their writing, which reflects on their character, "a figure, typically a fine one, whose spirit, strength, and other sterling qualities the performance was designed to evoke" (Goffman 252). With the proliferations of internet searches, today's student should be able to easily navigate databases, but that assumption does not seem to hold true. Students researching topics relevant to their perspective careers and utilizing authoritative information within the TCC database provides them with direction, knowledge, and ethos, that will serve them in establishing a social identity for their future academic and career goals.

After "seek relevant authoritative information," the "Framework" lists "conduct research using methods for investigating questions appropriate to the discipline" (4). Knowing what is appropriate to the discipline depends on being a socialized character; hence, students need to learn what is appropriate for their discipline of choice. By utilizing reviewers outside of the classroom, students realize what information their professional audience expects: "I learned that my professional audience is hard to persuade. My

arguments must be strong and clear. They also like to look at examples and statements made by patients and not only statistics. Numbers are very important, but experience is more important and easier to understand situations." Here, this student clearly understands what her audience expects; examples and patient testimony carry more weight than statistics, lending credibility to her writing. Another student responded by listing the most beneficial question that he had devised at the beginning of the semester: "'How are the issues that I bring up in the essay affecting your operation as a healthcare professional/policy?' This question offered interesting topics that I could use for other essays. I learned more about my reviser's future career and I thought about how I will be involved in that realm." Focusing on his career choice and creating questions for individuals already in that field gave this student direction in his research and in his social identity for his career. Statements like these demonstrate the necessity of students' contact with authentic audiences. Without direct contact, students may have an idea of what is appropriate, but for accurate understanding, they need interaction with that audience.

Lastly, under Curiosity, the "Framework" suggests that students "communicate their findings to multiple audiences" (4). With a dramaturgical approach, students are given multiple opportunities to present their writing to others. Besides submitting drafts to their professional reviewers, students also present one rough draft for a class-wide workshop, during which they read their draft in front the class and then a class discussion follows. Students also have rough draft days during which they exchange print copies of their drafts with their classmates for revision before the final draft is due. Students are encouraged to utilize the writing center on campus by earning five points extra credit per essay. Through these opportunities, students learn to shift from backstage practice, where performances are constructed out of the view of the intended audience (Goffman

112), to final draft presentation and to meet the expectations of their two audiences, academic and professional.

In regard to presenting to “multiple audiences,” one point of a dramaturgical classroom is for students to recognize the language systems of their discourse communities and how to implement a backstage by utilizing that system for revision. All of this activity familiarizes students with various aspects of the revision process that can be most beneficial to them and the necessity of having a backstage, a “place” for constructing their piece and the support system of resources and reviewers that can help them create a final written performance, a place where they can be comfortable practicing and presenting preliminary drafts.

Students specifically liked interacting with people in their field and appreciated them sharing their experience because doing so gave them new ideas to research and write about: “The feedback gave me a window into what successful professionals are thinking about the issues in my prospective field, and sometimes brought to light new issues I did not know existed,” and “I received good feedback from my reviser. She gave me other different topics I could include in my essay and was very helpful. It was beneficial because she knew what she was talking about instead of having someone who didn’t know a lot about my topic revise my paper.” Again, students focusing on their prospective careers and consulting professionals in that field provides direction for their research that they otherwise may not receive. Likewise, having professional reviewers gives students experience in nuances of that community through social exchanges, thus establishing students’ social identities for their career fields.

Openness:

The “Framework” defines openness as “the willingness to consider new ways of being and thinking in the world” (4). Openness relates to Goffman’s terms of social front,

expected behavior as determined by social groups, and personal front, how an individual adjusts his behavior in relation to social fronts (24). Through openness, once students experience how a discourse community, or social front, operates, they can adjust their writing, personal fronts, accordingly. The "Framework" first notes for students to "examine their own perspectives to find connections with the perspectives of others" (4). Within this course, one way that students examine their own perspectives in order to compare to others is by researching topics important to their career goals, by incorporating scholarly articles into their own essays, and by acknowledging the many sides of an issue, not just their own: "I have learned that there are some things I need to do a bit more research on, especially touchy subjects that I think I know what is right when in reality I haven't looked at the other side." By reading scholarly articles that address various sides of an issue, students become aware of other perspectives that they may not have known. Another way that students gain perspective of others is through class revisions (presenting) and through peer revisions. At first, they are apprehensive about sharing their work; however, instead of negativity, they receive constructive comments that improve their essays and their writing overall: "The feedback I found most helpful was when the other students were able to give me feedback. It was most helpful because it allowed me to see the different viewpoints of what my audience might think." Much like what Goffman discusses of the social front shaping a performance of character, students expressed the benefit of presenting to the class: "I think the most helpful feedback for me personally was presenting the paper to the class, it let me hear what I could do to improve my papers and hearing other opinions on the subject made it easier to pull things to research." Hearing others respond to their essays allows students to adjust their perspectives and consider ways to situate themselves within their prospective discourse communities.

Besides examining other's perspectives, the “Framework” also recommends that students “practice different ways of gathering, investigating, developing, and presenting information” (4). With a dramaturgical approach, the various reviewers prompt students throughout the writing process. Specifically, professional reviewers give students insight into the field that they one day will join: “One thing in particular that I had learned about my professional audience is that I am quite ignorant on a lot of subjects. I would get into conversations with them before I sent my paper for revision and so many of the points I brought up were easily countered by someone with expertise in the field. It showed me just how much I have to learn about the subject.” By speaking with people in a particular field, this student learned areas to research and topics to address. He learned how to shape and present his argument in a manner that would reflect a favorable character in that social setting. Similarly, another student commented on how her reviewers helped with organizing information in her essays: “They [professional revisers] were not afraid to tell me how I should write and help me figure out how to arrange my ideas.” By encouraging discourse with others, a dramaturgical approach to composition offers a means for aiding students to create and present their written arguments within a broader discourse community, with means they may otherwise not have known.

These students’ comments also address the suggestion of the “Framework” for students to “listen to and reflect on the ideas and responses of others – both peers and instructors – to their writing” (4). During this course, students recognize that new perspectives and opposing viewpoints are beneficial. In response to the survey question about which type of feedback is most useful, one student responded: "The feedback that suggested new lines of thought, contradicted my notions on an issue, or gave a viewpoint other than my own." Students especially like when reviewers question aspects of their papers because it gives them more material to write about: "The type of feedback that

was the most helpful was when my revisers asked me questions. In my essays, I knew what message I wanted to get across, but that doesn't always mean the reader will understand that same message, so whenever the revisers left questions to the side, it helped me expand on a subject and explain what I was talking about." The insight that others provide or questions that others ask prompt them to think deeper about their subjects and about what they have to say. Another student reflects on his past experiences with previous instructors: “I have learned on how to properly write essays that are educated and well thought out. In high school my teachers would barely read my essay and put an A on it, that didn't properly develop my skills as a writer and I appreciate my teacher who actually takes the time and writes and marks on my paper to tell me what I've done wrong.” Such comments indicate that students want and do heed constructive feedback from reviewers.

Another benefit of openness is that students have an ally as they work on their writing. Because professional reviewers are chosen by students themselves and because reviewers - classmates, instructor, and professionals - do not grade rough drafts, these individuals function as teammates, which Goffman defines as: “Someone whose dramaturgical co-operation one is dependent upon in fostering a given definition of the situation” (83). These teammates provide a critical, but non-threatening eye during the revising process that many seasoned writers utilize. Students remarked: “They understood what I was attempting to say and, therefore, it was corrected,” and “Several of my reviser’s feedback was great. By suggesting ideas to correcting my work, some of their responses were beyond what I was expecting. I will surely be asking for more help throughout the future for essay assistance.” Within a dramaturgical classroom, students develop openness about their writing that provides a backstage, an understanding of the need for and an openness to collaborate with others during the writing process. Having

different reviewers, students come to see the various perspectives that readers can take on a single piece and also how beneficial others' perspectives can be when drafting a piece of writing. During this experience, students learn the importance of openness by seeking reviewers and feedback for their writing.

Engagement:

In respect to engagement, the "Framework" defines it as "a sense of investment and involvement in learning" (4). In the dramaturgical classroom, students achieve engagement through each performance they give both in class and with their professionals by crafting their personal fronts, both academic and professional. In order for students to be invested and involved in their learning, this course is structured so that they decide many aspects of their coursework. Students focus on their prospective careers and choose their essay topics, perspectives, organization, and length each paper based on their professional areas. Additionally, they also choose their professional reviewers, what questions to ask them, and when to present their papers to the rest of the class during the revision process.

The "Framework" states that to foster engagement, students "make connections between their own ideas and those of others" (4). After a semester of sharing their drafts with the instructor, their classmates, and their professional reviewers, students see how they themselves fit into a discourse community, and students also see their reviewers as "helpful" and "mature." One student responded, "I've noticed that they [professionals] tend to see the same ideas as me" and "For me, feedback on my ideas is more helpful than any grammar feedback. Using the perspective of my peers allows me to see my own writing in a new light. I think using a new perspective makes me a better writer because two minds are better than one and so forth." Connecting with an authentic

audience gives students an opportunity to hone their personal front for a specific audience and also to more firmly establish their own perspectives.

With engagement, students “find meanings new to them or build on existing meanings as a result of new connections” (4). By focusing on their careers, students begin building their professional knowledge: “I've learned that becoming a veterinarian could be a challenge. Veterinarians nowadays are in major debt and it is hard to pay it off. Not only did I learn more about vets, but animals, too. There are unnecessary procedures done on dogs that should not be done, such as ear cropping and tail docking. I also learned that there is a no-kill movement that is trying to make all shelters to stop euthanizing healthy animals.” Students relate how such collaboration contributes to knowledge about their career: “The feedback my revisers gave back to me was helpful because they gave me ideas as to what more to research, they actually edited and revised my essay, and they also gave me their own information as to what they knew about nursing.” By utilizing a semester for research and engagement focused on professional goals, students benefit from the consistency of establishing what they know and building on that foundation.

Their foundations allow them to make more informed decisions about their writing. With engagement, students “act upon the new knowledge that they have discovered” (4). With this new knowledge, students begin recognizing nuances important to their individual discourse communities: “I learned that you have to be direct and straight forward and actually have an argument that you’re discussing to your audience. I learned that we have to state facts to support what you’re speaking about. I learned about seeking out claims, reasons, and evidence, which I never knew about before.” Students change the way they present themselves in their writing as a result of gaining new knowledge: “I have learned that they [the audience] will not respond to questions I

ask the way I want them to so I have to be careful when I ask them something." Such realizations are integral in becoming acclimated to a discourse community as one misstep can discredit an entire performance (Goffman 56). Collaboration with professionals helps students gain insight into a discourse community: "I learned about the issues the physicians and healthcare administration face. When studying these topics, I rekindled my passion to pursue a career in politics as well as medicine. I learned more about health care administration and how they play a role in American politics," and "I have also learned that I will get better with time, and that I shouldn't worry too much about where I am today because professionals were once like me." Having this experience early on in their academic career gives students insight into where they stand in relation to their prospective discourse communities, an insight they may otherwise not receive until after they graduate college and enter the work force. Another student sees value interacting with a reviewer even when it did not apply academically: "Physical therapists really love their job. If people have questions they are able to answer them for you. They are involved in many things while at work and even though I did not receive much feedback on my papers, I was able to ask them other questions for my personal use besides just for my papers." Thus, establishing a relationship with professionals in their areas of interest provides students with a broader perspective of audience, a perspective that extends beyond merely gaining course credit. Students gauge where they are in relation to their future colleagues, and they gain a sense of how to how to become a viable member of that community.

Creativity:

The "Framework" defines creativity as "the ability to use novel approaches for generating, investigating, and representing ideas" (4). Creativity within a dramaturgical composition course allows students to craft their social identity in relation to their

diversified career interests and goals. Since students maintain control of their research, they develop their own individualized approach to writing. For example, the "Framework" recommends that students "take risks by exploring questions, topics, and ideas that are new to them" (4). Although students usually have a general idea about their career interests, many of them are unfamiliar with particulars in that area. Therefore, they explore their career interests, delving into issues pertinent to that field. With this exploration, students realize the expected depth of knowledge required to participate successfully in their future discourse communities: "Writing for a professional audience forced me to be more critical of my own writing. When writing for a professional audience, you can no longer get away with kind of knowing the information; you have to know it front and back because 9 times out of 10 the professional audience knows just as much if not more about your subject than you." By exploring topics and working with professionals, students become familiar with facets within their fields: "I have learned that there many different ways you can go with computer engineering; there are many subdivisions into computer engineering itself. I also learned there are obstacles I will have to face." In particular, students appreciated their professional reviewers' comments: "The feedback gave me a window into what successful professionals are thinking about the issues in my prospective field, and sometimes [they] brought to light new issues I did not know existed." This type of insight aids students in identifying elements in their writing that convey an "idealized self," what Goffman explains as a means "to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society" (35). Investigating issues and consulting professionals in their chosen careers give students an awareness of a field that a regular classroom does not necessarily provide.

In addition to exploring new information, the "Framework" also recommends that students "use methods that are new to them to investigate questions, topics, and ideas"

(5). In regard to new methods, many students are unfamiliar with using a database; therefore, for this course, they are required to use the college database for their research. Many students reflect on their new discoveries by using the database. One student writes that the most helpful resource is “learning how to properly use the database,” and another student writes: “The data base was the most helpful. I found a lot of information about my essay topics. It was kind of confusing to use at first, but in the end, I learned how to use it and was able to find research about my topics. Another resource that was helpful was the two revisers in my professional field. They always provided good feedback that I could later use to make my essay better.” Besides using the database, students also asked for their classmates’ responses by reading their essays to the entire class and posting the essay for revisions: “I loved presenting my paper to the class for help and feedback. At first, I was nervous about it and thought it was a horrible idea. After I actually presented and read through the comments, I realized it was a great idea. It gave me so much more to talk about and consider for adding or removing in my paper. I was able to see what my readers wanted to see. Also, the professional revisers were a great idea. I wish the professionals had more time to put more effort into answering the questions.” Thus, utilizing methods new to them eventually led students to discover information pertinent to their fields and to adjust their writing so as to present their best idealized self.

Next, the “Framework” recommends that students “represent what they have learned in a variety of ways” (5). Within a dramaturgical course, students are assigned different genres of essays (literacy narrative, argument, rhetorical analysis), but they maintain their focus on issues in their careers throughout the semester, thus connecting and reconfiguring their research from essay to essay. Their final paper, their research paper, is an expansion of any paper that they have written previously in the semester.

Throughout these essay assignments, students make stylistic choices according to the expectations of their assignment and their audience. In order to acquire responses from their audience, students share their essays in a variety of ways. For presentation day, students electronically post their essays to Turnitin for revisions by their classmates. Students then read their papers out loud and discuss with the class any concerns that they may have. Besides the class discussion, non-presenting students write comments on the posted essay. On days that rough drafts are due, students bring a print copy to exchange with their classmates. They submit their drafts to their professional reviewers in a variety of ways. Some communicated via e-mail, either by copying and pasting their essays directly in the e-mail or by attaching essays as a file, while others met face-to-face with their revisers, who write on a print copy. Afterwards, students also turn in their final drafts by uploading them to Turnitin, where they are then graded. In regard to rendering their writing in a variety of ways, students found value in submitting their drafts to different audiences. Having feedback from different points of view provided these writers with new ideas and perspectives. Overall, students valued presenting to their classmates: “The most helpful resource I had were my classmates. On the paper that I had presented to the class, they gave me so many helpful hints and topics that I didn’t even think about,” and “The presentation revisions that the other students had to do over my paper helped me realize what I was doing wrong and what I needed to fix to make my paper better.” With this sustained focus on research and by presenting that research in different ways to different audiences, students gain a depth of understanding of topics in their area of interest and a knowledge of how to best demonstrate that understanding in their written idealized self.

Lastly, under Creativity, the “Framework” states that students are to “evaluate the effects or consequences of their creative choices” (5). Indeed, an important aspect of a

dramaturgical approach is that students discuss their writing with their audiences and learn to adjust their writing accordingly. Each essay calls for a slightly different presentation. In fact, Goffman explicitly states that the presented self is the product of a scene, the result of a set of circumstances, and not a static, fixed persona (252-53). Thus, sharing their drafts with others enables students to assess how well they have crafted their written self in order to effectively address their intended audience with each essay. Students' comments indicate that they recognize progress in their writing abilities: "The way my writing has changed most was more attention to the details. How to do better research and cite those resources. Who's my audience and what they might already know. How to stick better to one side." The sustained focus on a field of interest and continued collaboration with others provides a consistency that aids students in evaluating their stylistic choices from essay to essay: "My writing style started off average and surface level, lacking depth and specifics of examples to further my point. Since my first paper corrections, I've taken in the feedback and corrected most of what the feedback found me lacking to improve my writing style." With a semester of reflecting on their essays, students come to recognize how their choices might affect their intended audience and advantages of those stylistic choices. As Goffman discusses, individuals learn how to "perform," acting in a means as to influence others (15), by interacting with them and gauging their responses (1). Thus, through these various methods of presenting their work to others, students continually practice their performances and gather critiques, which aids them in creating their written idealized self.

Persistence:

The "Framework" defines persistence as "the ability to sustain interest in and attention to short- and long-term projects" (5). Persistence relates to the dramaturgical classroom as students focus their research on issues within their career fields and submit

four academic essays based on that research throughout the semester. In order to practice persistence, the “Framework” recommends that students “commit to exploring, in writing, a topic, idea or demanding task” (5). Maintaining focus on their career and collaborating with others provides students opportunities to build on prior knowledge with each draft. Through persistence over the semester, students have chronological evidence of their progression of their technical skills and knowledge of their professional audience, which in turn, helps students develop not only their idealized professional self, but also hone their defensive practices, their impression management for circumventing any performance missteps (Goffman 212).

The “Framework” also recommends that students “grapple with challenging ideas, texts, processes, or projects” (5). In order to maintain such academic rigor, students are restricted to researching and writing about current issues relevant to their professional interests. Also, since many of students do not know how to properly navigate the database nor have some of them developed a sense of discernment as to which articles will best support their arguments, they are required to find sources within the college database. In the beginning, some of them find the database overwhelming and difficult to utilize, but once they become accustomed to it, they find useful information relevant to their professional area: “The most helpful source, though it was a pain in the butt to navigate, was the database. It gave me access to scholarly articles and served as a great way to learn more about the field.” As with the “Framework’s” charge for students to sustain interest long-term, an important aspect of a dramaturgical approach is for students to continue researching the same field in order to make breakthroughs, rather than easily giving up at the first encounter of resistance: “The database was useful at times, but it did take a long time to find exactly or similar articles on what I was looking for,” and “The TCC data base was the most helpful. At first it was difficult for me to use,

but then became a great foundation for learning new ideas and topics." Thus, students being restricted to the database requires them to explore their topics in depth rather than using the first source they find online or a book they have already been assigned for another class, and focusing on their career choice over the semester requires them to sustain their interest rather than flitting from one topic to another.

Besides struggling with challenges, students are expected to "follow through, over time, to complete tasks, processes, or projects" ("Framework" 5). Consulting a diversified audience on the same area of interest over the semester rather than writing a singular essay with a one-time teacher revision, students recognize the necessity of taking time to produce quality work: "At the beginning of the semester, I was more shallow, didn't focus, and rushed my papers, which caused me to do a lot of rambling, but it has changed. Now I slow down. I give myself time to have a good paper. Now I just have to focus on the grammar part. I'm still having problems with that, but at least I'm doing better," and "In the beginning of the semester, my essays were awful. I never paid attention to great details and grammar. I am now aware and pay attention to make sure I have a clear thesis, argument, claim, reasons, transitions, and so on. I find that doing all the grammar I have learned this semester very helpful and important factors in writing an essay." Taking a semester to research and to synthesize that research within their essays helps students value taking the time to investigate their topics in order to build stronger arguments, to construct those arguments, and to scrutinize each draft in order to present their idealized self.

Lastly under persistence, the "Framework" recommends that students "consistently take advantage of in-class (peer and instructor responses) and out-of-class (writing or learning center support) opportunities to improve and refine their work" (5). For in-class revisions as detailed by the "Framework," students engage in peer editing by

electronically posting and presenting their essays to the class and also by trading print copies with their classmates. Second to liking the database, many of them mention how helpful the feedback from their classmates is. The electronic postings gives students quick and easy access to their classmates' remarks: "Turnitin was helpful when we presented our papers because I could look at the feedback at any time," and "I also loved being able to get in touch with my classmates to make sure I wasn't the only one who was confused or if I just needed some moral support." Students clearly appreciate the support and comments from their peers, especially since they can easily contact each other through postings and email.

In addition to their classmates' remarks, they receive written responses from their instructor on their posted rough drafts and also on their graded final drafts. Rather than being intimidated or feeling stifled, students perceive the instructor's comments as part of the revision process: "The feedback that was most helpful was the one you [the instructor] provided on the finished paper, it helped me know what to work on and how to make my next paper better." Students recognize how technical aspects of their writing improved over the semester. Several also compare their experience in this class to their previous writing instruction: "In the beginning of the semester my grammar skills were below expectations of what a college professor would expect. Over these past 4 months I've learned more about English composition than the four years I was in high school" and "I have developed a sense of the different writing styles. I have become a stronger formal writer and I actually learned a lot compared to my English teachers in high school." Students also appreciate the need for honest criticism of their work: "I have learned how to properly write essays that are educated and well thought out. In high school my teachers would barely read my essay and put an A on it, that didn't properly develop my skills as a writer and I appreciate my teacher who actually takes the time and writes and

marks on my paper to tell me what I've done wrong." These responses indicate that students look to composition courses as a means to improve their writing skills, and they value when that improvement comes to fruition.

As for out-of-class revisions, students are also encouraged to use the writing center by receiving five points extra credit per essay if they go, and they are required to submit their professional reviewers' responses with each final draft. Close behind enjoying peer revisions, students mention that going to the writing lab for one-on-one tutoring is quite helpful: "The writing center was helpful because the help consisted of face-to-face interaction. The tutor could see all of my mistakes and explain why they were wrong and how to fix them." Students learn the benefit of reaching out to others and utilizing available resources: "The reading and writing lab staff were my most helpful resources. Their patience and dedication to help a student out when it came to essay writing assistance were great. On my research paper, I received a high amount of help by correcting the intro, run-on sentences, fragments, grammar, and works cited page. I especially had a preference of a tutor who would always assist me whenever I needed the help." This previous comment reflects how individuals develop bonds with people they come to rely on for a successful performance; they learn to establish a performance team, "a set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single routine" (Goffman 79), during the writing process.

In regard to their professional reviewers, students appreciate that help as well: "The feedback my revisers gave back to me was helpful because they gave me ideas as to what more to research, they actually edited and revised my essay and they also gave me their own information as to what they knew about nursing." Especially helpful is the knowledge and expertise from the professionals: "The feedback from the revisers was really helpful. They could tell me what to add about the fashion industry since they had

experience working in it," and "The feedback I got from my revisers was very helpful, they kept me following the lines of what my field would like to see in a paper." Professionals serve as mentors for these students: "It was extremely helpful because he is going through the steps before me. So I can learn from his," and "My revisers really helped me establish the writing style I was hoping to achieve as an aspiring physician. Since we all have the same career path, they were able to understand my information and help adjust my writing to accommodate any misunderstandings in evidence and commentary. Being able to relate to my information, my revisers proved to be a fresh set of eyes to scrutinize my paper." As with the difference between technical and social, the composition instructor cannot provide the same insight as these professionals: "A person could never have too much feedback. The fact that you made us find revisers in our professional area of interest was extremely beneficial in correcting mistakes in the use of vocabulary specific to our fields," and "Very helpful! They were honest if some of the information was not accurate and were able to tell me what I needed to add to my paragraphs to make the essay more informative. I personally liked having revisers look over my essays because at the end I felt more confident in my degree choice and my essays." Plus, establishing these professional social connections, creating a performance team, gives students the assistance and direction they needed in order to be and feel successful in creating their idealized selves for their prospective professional discourse communities.

Responsibility:

According to the "Framework," students learn responsibility by recognizing the consequences of their own actions and by accepting those consequences (5). From a dramaturgical perspective, the "Framework's" responsibility goes hand-in-hand with dramaturgical discipline, circumspection, and loyalty, as it assists in situating one's self within a discourse community and crafting an idealized self. As part of responsibility, the

“Framework” believes that students need to “recognize their own role in learning” (5); a dramaturgical approach places students at the center of their own learning, which requires them to make critical choices in regard to their course work. They decide what to write about by researching topics in their chosen career fields, they seek feedback from professionals whom they themselves recruit, they sign up for the day they want to present their essay to the class, and they lead class discussion during their presentation. All of this collaborating and decision making within the dramaturgical classroom fosters students’ responsibility since students see not only academic consequences of their writing (technical), but also professional consequences (social). Likewise, Goffman discusses the attributes of dramaturgical discipline: discretion, presence of mind, and self-control (216-17). By situating themselves within a discourse community, students realize the skills and maturity that they need to be successful: “My revisers were quite critical. At the beginning I would get mad from their negative comments. Then I realized that it wasn't because the comments were meant to be negative, but I would take them as a negative way.” As seen in this student’s comment, experience crafting an effective idealized self takes time and depends on a student’s willingness to accept criticism. Yet, by the end of the semester, students learn not to take comments offensively, but to use them to improve their abilities: “Several of their helpful and critical responses made me think outside the box in certain situations. Not only feedback, but I also learned to take negative comments and make them a positive outcome.” Additionally, students take responsibility of their lack of effort and procrastination: “I did not find any revisers due to the fact that I gave little effort in finding one,” and “I actually did not... I intended to have two nurses revise my last paper but writing it until 11:57 when it's due at 11:59 doesn't allow much time for revising. I found it really hard to find anyone accessible in my field.” Although some of these students express a lack of discipline needed to create a

successful performance, writing and discussing their essays with professionals in their area gives them a glimpse of the rigors of that area, and it requires them to be self-motivated, focused, and receptive to others' comments.

Besides students knowing their role, the "Framework" believes that they should "act on the understanding that learning is shared among the writer and others – students, instructors, and the institution, as well as those engaged in the questions and/or fields in which the writer is interested" (5). In order to gain the discretion needed to act on that understanding, students need to experience expectations of a community and practice meeting those expectations. Collaborating with others also helps students develop dramaturgical circumspection, the prudence needed in order to be a contributing member of a performance team. More specifically, Goffman defines dramaturgical circumspection as the discretion needed to craft an effective performance, to recruit loyal teammates, and if possible, to select a favorable audience (218-19). Students in a dramaturgical class engage their audience by turning to their classmates, instructor, professionals, and writing lab staff to share their writing and to ask for criticism in order to revise their work. From a social standpoint, students realize the necessity of learning about their audience in relation to establishing their own credibility. Interacting with professionals demonstrates to students how they needed to craft their idealized professional self, "to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of a society" (Goffman 35): "My professional audience knew the topic already and was able to determine if I knew what I was talking about, or not" and "They are very scrutinizing of the content of my essays since they know about the topic. I have to go above and beyond their expectation of what is supposed to be in my essays." Since their topics are in their career field, students can see how their writing directly applies to their learning and their ultimate goal of becoming a member of a professional community. Goffman, too, addresses the necessity of shared

knowledge in that being able to perform appropriately within a given community establishes an individual as a trusted member of that group (217). Specifically, writing for a concrete professional audience requires students to elevate their language and their content, more so than writing for an imagined audience or writing informal personal essays. As another student commented: “The professional audience has credentials that I as a student do not have, so it definitely raised the bar for my writing . . .” With a dramaturgical approach, students are no longer isolated within the classroom, but situated among their prospective discourse communities. By the end of the semester, they measure how their writing skills compare with those in their field, an essential part of this measurement being collaboration with others.

So by receiving that feedback for their own work and providing quality feedback to others, students realize the importance of having a community of shared knowledge. Interacting with professionals gives them insight into the discourse community that they one day will be a part of, but moreover, interacting also with others (peers, teachers, professionals, writing lab tutors) instills the importance of social connections, of establishing a quality performance team. For example, one student wrote: “I do not like when everyone tells me it’s good and there is nothing to change. That is nice, but unhelpful because I know that my writing can always be improved so I value honesty and ideas.” Once they overcome their initial fears, students recognize the value of criticism and recognize that learning is a shared practice. They learn what methods best help them revise: “The type of feedback that was the most helpful to me was when my revisers asked me questions. In my essays, I knew what message I wanted to get across but that doesn't always mean the reader will understand that same message so whenever the revisers left questions to the side it helped me expand on a subject and explain what I was talking about.” Another student remarked: “The type of feedback that I

thought was helpful came from the revisers that actually took the time to help me. I had some revisers that would only find my thesis and give me my paper back. Not helpful at all!, just a waste of time. I liked whenever they would correct me in anything they saw was confusing." Social interaction, the core of a dramaturgical approach, plays a significant role in students learning how to act on shared knowledge of a community. Being a part of a community includes reflecting on others' ideas.

Finally under responsibility, the "Framework" prescribes that students "engage and incorporate the ideas of others, giving credit to those ideas by using appropriate attribution" (5). Because students delve into issues pertinent to their career interests, write researched, MLA-documented essays, and reflectively discuss those essays with others, they become a contributing member of a conversation by incorporating and responding to what others have to say. In relation to dramaturgy, Goffman describes dramaturgical loyalty as a performer's willingness to uphold "certain moral obligations" of the performance team and to protect its "secrets" during and after a performance (213-14). Students learn dramaturgical loyalty when they uphold a certain mode of decorum, which performers are expected to maintain and protect regardless of personal distractions (Goffman 212). Through this process of researching, responding, and gathering responses of others, students experience how to adjust their writing according to their community's expectations: "I've learned that I have to make sure I provide enough evidence for my audience to get facts, and that I need to make sure to provide a lot of information to make sure I give them all the information they want or need to know." Interaction with others prompts students to incorporate more research and/or more of their own commentary so that they present a successful performance. Students appreciate their professionals' input, which directs their research: "The feedback from the revisers was really helpful. They could tell me what to add about the fashion industry

since they had experience working in it." Interacting with flesh-and-blood members of their prospective professional community engages students directly with their real audience, establishing personal connections with that audience; thus, students become invested in their learning as well as invested in that community. They come to recognize the value of their soon-to-be peers. As seen with this comment, "My professional audience knew the topic already and was able to determine if I knew what I was talking about, or not," students realize the need to present credible, documented information and not see their research as solely an assignment for their composition course. Students realize obligations to their community to present a credible self, of being knowledgeable by incorporating relevant, accurate evidence.

Flexibility:

The "Framework" defines flexibility as "the ability to adapt to situations, expectations, or demands" (5), which relates to Goffman's theory of the performed self. As Goffman points out, the self is ever-changing, dependent upon situation and audience. The self as presented to others:

> does not derive from its possessor, but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses. A correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience to impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation – this self – is a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it. The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited. (252-53)

With this idea of the performed self as a dramatic effect, students implement various elements in their writing, experimenting how elements affect their audience. Consequently, throughout the semester, students learn to adapt to the specific expectations of their discourse community, a skill critical to developing their professional social identity.

Part of learning to craft a written social identity depends upon the "Frameworks" first recommendation under flexibility, for students to "approach writing assignments in different ways, depending on the task and the writer's purpose and audience" (5). During the semester, students write a total of four essays. The last essay requiring a formal tone, more sources, and a longer length, students must also choose the type, as opposed to the first three essays for which the type is assigned. Thus, with each progressing essay, students strategize how to approach their writing, their purpose, their audience. For example, one student wrote her argument essay directed toward architects in order to convince them that renewable green resources were the future of the consumer market. For her last essay, she expanded the same idea, but directed her argument towards consumers in order to convince them to hire architects with green certifications. Giving students the opportunity to redirect a paper to a different audience allows them to recast their idealized self for each new performance.

Furthermore, by appealing to and interacting with multiple audiences (classmates, instructor, professionals, and writing lab staff), students experience each audience's reactions and revise their essays according to how well they portray that particular idealized self. During this process of commentary and revisions, students hone their discriminatory skills, deciding which elements to include in order to present an idealized self depending on their audience's reactions. By the end of the semester, students articulate their flexibility in regard to their writing tasks: "There're different types

of audiences that appeal to the situation. I learned what to do that can appeal towards my audience," and "I have learned that your writing style will depend on your audience, whether you are writing to a formal, informal [audience]. If you are writing to an informal audience, then you will use the low or middle style; if you are writing to a formal audience, then you will use a high style." Leaving students the choice of topic, purpose, and audience helps develop their flexibility to approach writing tasks because they become practiced in what Goffman labels as dramatic realization, to "dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure" (30). They learn to recognize and respond to the situation at hand rather than tenaciously adhering to one style of writing. Students' first three assignments are somewhat formal in that they are writing as professionals; however, their last paper is a highly formal, third-person essay, usually directed at the elite in their field. Consequently, students value knowing their future professional community: "I found it most helpful when the revisers would provide information on how to make my paper sound more like someone who has experience in the medical field was writing the paper." This comment indicates that students come to see their writing as a projection of their idealized self, as someone knowledgeable in that community. They also realize how the language they use establishes their professional social identity: "My professional audience required a vast vocabulary improvement from street credibility to office credibility." Professional reviewers seem to provide another level of understanding and significance to students' experience in their composition course. Students, then, connect the selves they craft in the classroom to their future professional selves they will one day perform for their prospective discourse community.

In addition to approaching writing in different ways, the "Framework" lists for students to "recognize that conventions (such as formal and informal rules of content,

organization, style, evidence, citation, mechanics, usage, register, and dialect) are dependent on discipline and context" (5). By identifying specific characteristics between personal and professional, informal and formal, students recognize the dramaturgical discipline, the ability to shift from an informal setting to a formal one without becoming addled (Goffman 217), that flexibility requires. Over the course of a semester, as students begin to delineate between their informal and formal writing, they see their personal writing as expressive and relaxed and their professional writing as precise and formulated: "My personal writing is extremely different from my professional writing. For my personal writings, I do not revise to check for grammar errors. I also do not apply rules to my personal writing. To me, personal writing should be what the writer is thinking and not necessarily based on rules." Many of them characterize their personal style as casual, conversational, as a mode of creativity, as well as for more intimate relationships, such as with family and friends: "In my personal writing, there is less formality and the use of normal, non-career specific [vocabulary]";"When I write for my personal life, I am normally texting or emailing family and friends and do not worry as much about grammar or content, although it does vary by the recipient," and "In my personal writing, I write unique and my own language I use every day. It's not too formal and not too informal. Of course I use my own type of slang as well." They see their personal style as applicable to specific contexts, such as social media, texting, and personal e-mails: "Personal writing is more geared towards emails or text messaging"; "For my personal writing, it would be something like a social media post." They see their personal writing as self-based rather than community-based, as free flowing rather than structured. In contrast to the free expression of informal, personal writing, students view professional writing as formal, adhering to conventions and rules in order to appeal to a particular audience. They realize that their professional writing takes more time and effort than their personal

writing: “My professional writing differs from my personal writing in that professional writing needs more thought put into it. In my personal writing, I can just start writing and say whatever I want without thinking twice about it, but in my professional writing, I have to put effort in my word choices and the kind of vocabulary that I am using.” In fact, many mention the need for specific diction and depth of knowledge: “My professional writing pushes me to use more concise and elaborate vocabulary to convey my message, but personal writing depends on convenience.” Students note stylistic choices between formal and informal in order to present an idealized self: “My professional writing is more sophisticated and I tend to use bigger words than in my personal writing which is short and choppy.” A few of them discussed tone and how they appear to their audience in their writing: “Professional writing makes me take a second look at how I'd sound to someone important or that I need to make a proper impression to. It's more of something proper for a company's article rather than something such as a diary or blog entry. I consider my audience more when writing professionally; I try to sound like I fully understand the topic, creating something viable with strong diction and detail. Something overall reliable enough that I can back up with reasons and evidence and not have my essay sounding questionable in any sense.” Students express an understanding that personal/informal writing is more relaxed and that their professional/formal writing is more rigid. They recognize the need to shift between levels of formality since being part of a larger community requires following rules and meeting expectations, that different communities establish different requirements.

Closely related to recognizing conventions according to discipline and context, the “Framework” states that students need to “reflect on the choices they make in light of context, purpose, and audience” (5), which mirrors Goffman’s theory of individuals being “practiced in the ways of the stage” (251). In “Chapter Three: Regions and Region

Behavior," Goffman notes how individuals display different levels of formality depending on context. While performing in a "front region," individuals are expected to adhere to established expectations whereas in back regions, individuals can operate in a more relaxed manner (107-13). This same differentiation between behaviors can be seen in students' writing. Students compare personal writing to personal, informal conversation, which focuses on feelings and self-interests: "My professional writing differs from my personal writing because in my personal writing I don't use evidence, or provide examples. I simply write as if I were talking to another person." They view their personal writing as taking less effort and being more self-centered, opinionated: "Your professional writing is more for the reader, more third-person, and personal is more self-referring and more focused on the personal aspect of the paper." Their personal writing is more about the private self addressing a smaller audience of the self, family, or friends: "For my personal writings, I will only think about my thoughts and not write to the pleasure of others," and "In personal I obviously talk more about myself more than others." Students mention the lack of research in their personal writing: "In personal writing, I tend to be less analytical because I don't feel that inclined to go so in-depth with research as I do with professional writing, but I try to remain knowledgeable about my topic." Hence, students equate personal writing as a type of back region, a place with fewer expectations.

In contrast to the relaxed style of personal writing, students see the necessity of conforming to the "front region" in their professional writing: "While in personal writing you can be informal and use whatever words or tones you want, in professional writing you need to, for lack of a better word, be professional. Personal writing is completely to your discretion while professional is not." Many of them mentioned the need to follow protocol of their community: "I have learned that a professional audience can be people you do

not even know. Even if you know them, say, your fellow students, co-workers, colleagues, it still requires your address, essay, or speech to be official as long as the occasion demands so. Also a professional audience can be experts in a particular field. You should expect them to know even more than you in the area being discussed." They recognize that professional writing requires a level of diction, tone, and knowledge already established by the community.

Besides the need for conformity, they see professional writing as focused on a broader audience to which they must prove themselves, unlike their intimate personal audience of friends and family, who already accept them: "My professional writing is much more normal and enables me to take a broader view on the topic I am researching because I see both sides of the issue. Whereas my personal writing is more opinionated and narrow." Thus, they envision their professional audience is a broader entity, not necessarily specific individuals, but a representation of the profession as a whole. With this audience of a broad group of professionals, students discuss the need to establish credibility by demonstrating that they are knowledgeable in their area: "I've learned that I have to make sure I provide enough evidence for my audience to get facts, and that I need to provide a lot of information to make sure I give them all the information they want or need to know. I also learned that they like seeing either personal or another professional's experience." Students come to understand that their professional writing needs research in order to demonstrate knowledge, explanation in order to demonstrate understanding: "One thing in particular that I had learned about my professional audience is that I am quite ignorant on a lot of subjects. I would get into conversations with them before I sent my paper for revision and so many of the points I brought up were easily countered by someone with expertise in the field. It showed me just how much I have to learn about the subject." Students realize that their professional writing requires research

about a topic in order to present their idealized self as a trustworthy member of the community. Consequently, a few students recognized the needs of their audience (social) as opposed to what was taught in class (academic):“The professional writing of a journalist doesn’t differ much from my personal style of writing because the majority of a journalist's job is to write, and do so in a way that the majority of the population will understand. Therefore, there is not much need for higher vocabulary or technical terms that will not be widely understood.” Students recognize the difference between course expectations and professional expectations: “I learned that they [professionals] are not as focused on the grammar but more so on the content and if something sounds funny.” Conclusions such as these, that recognize the nuances of specific discourse communities, may not have been reached if students had not been collaborating simultaneously with academics and professionals. Within a dramaturgical classroom, students learn what elements either credit or discredit their written professional social identity, such as diction and research, within their prospective professional communities, not just the academic community. This development of their flexibility comes to fruition by working not only on their academic selves, but simultaneously on their professional selves.

Metacognition:

For metacognition, the “Framework” states that students should have “the ability to reflect on one’s own thinking as well as on the individual and cultural processes and systems used to structure knowledge” (5). Part of metacognition is reflection, which a dramaturgical approach utilizes as part of the back region or backstage, where students practice and hone their performances. The course becomes a back region/back stage, a place for students work through their thoughts, clarify their ideas, and present an idealized self with each essay, all with the assistance of teammates. Goffman

characterizes teammates as those “whose dramaturgical co-operation one is dependent upon in fostering a given definition of the situation” (83). For the composition course, teammates include students’ classmates, teacher, professional reviewers, and even the writing lab staff. As students discuss with others and revise each essay, they reflect on their writing and how that writing affects the intended audience. Goffman states that “when an individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact than does his behavior as a whole” (35). Through a dramaturgical approach, as students focus on their prospective career, collaborating with their various audiences, academic and professional, provides them with fresh perspectives on how to craft their social identity for their prospective professional discourse communities.

Under metacognition, the “Framework” recommends that students “examine processes they use to think and write in a variety of disciplines and contexts” (5). By juxtaposing their own thinking with that of their audience, students come to realize first-hand their audiences’ expectations and how to adjust their writing in order to meet those expectations. Students then craft their written idealized self in order to incorporate expectations of their professional field. They practice how each performance can “incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values” (Goffman 35) of their discourse community. Students acknowledge benefits of discussing with others in order to clarify their own thinking: “I think the most helpful feedback for me personally was presenting the paper to the class; it let me hear what I could do to improve my papers and hearing other opinions on the subject made it easier to pull things together.” Discussing their ideas with others helps students solidify their thoughts and, in turn, their writing. Likewise, by the end of the semester, students also notice improvements to their writing processes, which some admit to having difficulty with before taking the class: “I

feel like my writing has changed drastically from the beginning of the semester to now. At the beginning, I couldn't even put my thoughts onto paper, but now I feel like I can gather information and put it all together to make write a decent paper." They consciously recognize elements that make their writing more effective. Like the previous quote, students identify a process to structure their thoughts into an essay: "I have improved a lot on how essays should really be. I used to write essays unorganized with ideas thrown all over the place and poorly thought out. Now I plan out what I should do using a rough draft and laying out all of my ideas on my paper." They identify specific elements that they now use to construct an essay: "Even though I took AP English in high school, at the beginning of the semester my writing still needed a lot of improvement. I didn't know how to cite sources correctly, make a strong thesis, transition from paragraph to paragraph, or do a header. I now know how to do all those things plus more." Their responses also indicate a shift towards a broader perspective of revision, of a focus on organization and audience. Another student wrote: "From my professional audience, this semester I have learned the importance of writing clear, thought-out sentences. I may know what I'm referring to when I say things like "they" or "it," but they don't. Therefore, making sure I clearly state what I am referring to is critical. I also learned about transitioning from paragraph to paragraph. Transitions are important in papers; they put everything together and allow the paper to flow smoothly." At the beginning of the semester, inexperienced writers view revising as a mere word exchange; by the end of the semester, students express a transition out of that mindset. They reflect on global changes in their writing style and their essay structure: "I have learned the difference between the first three papers, and how the essay sounded different when reading them [out loud], which means that the impression is also different. My revisers helped me to understand things that I didn't. The professional audience has credentials that I as a student do not have, so it

definitely raised the bar for my writing, especially for the research paper." Such conversations serve as a means for students to analyze how they organize their thoughts in order to effectively present a written idealized self to others.

In addition to reflecting on thinking and writing processes, the "Framework" states for students to "reflect on the texts that they have produced in a variety of contexts" (5). With a dramaturgical approach, students employ various methods to compose their essays, from discussion, to print copy, to electronic postings. Overwhelmingly, students comment on the benefits of presenting their rough drafts during class-wide workshop. For this activity, students first mention any concerns that they have with their draft, then they read the draft out loud, and afterwards, they discuss with the class particular points, both positive and negative. Additionally, students post these drafts online so that their classmates can make written revisions as well. This activity of discussion and online revision becomes part of the back region/backstage: "I believe the presentations we were required to do this semester were the most helpful. Having to read your paper out loud and express your concerns in front of your classmates as well as receive feedback help many see what was wrong with their paper and improve it." Students recognize this activity as part of the writing process to revise rather than to harshly criticize others: "The greatest resource I had in this class was the presentation and revision of my paper which helped me make important changes to my paper to raise my grade." They like the immediacy of class discussions: "Rough draft discussions [of print copies] and essay presentations were the most helpful to me because they provided direct feedback on my essays and gave me a surplus of new ideas to integrate into my essays. The professional revisers were also very helpful because they enabled me to see how the issues related to people in my career and what mattered to them." By the end of the semester, students express growing confidence in their writing: "I have developed a sense of the different

writing styles. I have become a stronger formal writer and I actually learned a lot compared to my English teachers in high school." Others discuss their improved organizational abilities of how to construct a well-written essay: "I loved presenting my paper to the class for help and feedback. At first, I was nervous about it and thought it was a horrible idea. After I actually presented and read through the comments, I realized it was a great idea. It gave me so much more to talk about and consider for adding or removing in my paper. I was able to see what my readers wanted to see. Also, the professional revisers were a great idea. I wish the professionals had more time to put more effort into answering the questions." Additionally, having teammates provides students with individualized feedback: "I like one-on-one feedback so that I can understand right then and there how to do exactly what it is that I need help with." An especially important component of a dramaturgical approach are the outside resources of the professional reviewers, who aid in bridging classroom assignments to students' long term goals: "The feedback gave me a window into what successful professionals are thinking about the issues in my prospective field, and sometime brought to light new issues I did not know existed." Professional reviewers can relate their "officially accredited values" for their particular community: "I also like having to go to revisers in my field because they were able to tell more about things I did not know about. They also were able to let me know if my essay stood up to par for professionals." Making the classroom relevant to students can be challenging, yet providing them with different contexts to present and refine their work gives them individualized instruction relevant to their personal interests and goals.

In connection with individualized contexts, the "Framework" wants students to: "connect choices they have made in texts to audiences and purposes for which texts are intended" (5). Part of addressing academic and professional audiences is using an

appropriate tone. Therefore, all of the four assigned essays are expected to be written in a formal tone, and the last of which in a highly formal, academic third-person tone. Some students struggle, but by practicing over the course of the semester, they learn how to shift to a formal tone: “It’s [formal tone] a lot harder than what I’m used to doing, or ever have.” Students are already familiar with an informal, casual tone; however, an academic/professional tone is something some of them have yet to master. They seem to lack experience transitioning from relaxed, personal writing to structured, professional writing. Consequently, with practice, students develop dramaturgical discipline, the ability “to move from private places of informality to public ones of varying degrees of formality, without allowing such changes” to cause confusion (Goffman 217). Students also express an understanding of the importance of addressing their audience in a specific style: “It [my writing] has improved; I notice mistakes in my writing much more often and find that my written correspondence with clients, such as emails, has become much more professional,” and “My professional writing differs greatly from my everyday writing. In my professional writing I have to use quite a bit of filler to say the same thing I would normally write. I am very analytically minded and write very concise and to the point. When I am writing for a professional audience, I tend to do way more research because I do not want to come across as ignorant on the subject and can get myself caught up in the details. Also I cannot write well grammatically, so I have to rely heavily on external sources for corrections.” A dramaturgical classroom provides a means for students to familiarize themselves with this social aspect of the writing process and with practice crafting a social identity before entering their careers. Collaborating with professionals, in addition to classmates, instructor, and writing lab staff, grants students a view of their writing from the perspective of their career field rather than solely from the perspective of academics, which provides them with a broader experience of addressing audience and

development of the dramaturgical discipline needed to shift to a style appropriate for that particular audience.

The final suggestion under metacognition is for students to: “use what they learn from reflections on one writing project to improve writing on subsequent projects” (“Framework” 5). A dramaturgical approach is organized so that students apply what they experience with each assignment to shape their future social identity, and indeed, their responses display a sense of progression towards their future professional goals: “My professional writing has improved a great deal, especially writing for a more learned audience; I have mastered using third person without taking myself out of the essay which is very important for my professional field.” They notice a difference between how they used to write and their current abilities: “My writing has changed tremendously, at the beginning of the semester I just wrote essays like I did in high school. They were not very proper and were grammatically wrong. I learned how to write in a different style and how to stay on topic.” They discuss a transition in their writing style: “At the beginning of the semester, I was not able to write in a high style of writing, my grammar was awful, and I misspelled more words than I did spelling them correctly.” They also recognize writing as a dynamic skill: “I wouldn't say that my writing style has changed much, but I will admit that I feel more comfortable wading in words now than I did a few years ago. I can tell that I'm progressing at a good pace. I often go back and reread some my earlier works to compare them to what I'm writing now.” They mention specific details about their writing in relation to audience understanding: “My writing, I believe, through the course of this semester has changed greatly. Things such as overuse of WABU's [subordinating conjunctions] were something I hadn't even thought of and it has greatly affected the way my papers read. Also, however much I may know about a subject, if I can't convey the information correctly to others, this will make me look ignorant to whomever I present the

material. So I have tried to continually get better with each paper I submitted, taking something we had covered in between papers and applying it to the next." With this broader approach to audience, students gain an understanding of how their academic writing applies beyond the classroom and how collaboration contributes to the writing process. Goffman notes the importance of having teammates with which to practice one's idealized self and the importance of establishing informal back region in order to hone the most effective presentation in social settings (206). These teammates and back regions are equally necessary for the written self. Thus, composition courses may need to expand audience beyond the walls of academia in order to incorporate various audiences of students' prospective discourse communities so that students can begin crafting their professional social identity that reflects individualized values and expectations of their chosen discourse community. A dramaturgical approach offers a potential means for doing so.

Conclusion:

As studies such as those by Hairston, Gilsdorf and Leonard, Beason, and Brandenburg indicate, composition instructors are not the only ones critical of written errors; rather, scrutiny permeates across the professions, and more importantly, as Brandenburg notes, "errors" are subjective to audience and context. Because criticism of written errors is not relegated to English instructors, and because criticism of errors is dependent upon social context, first-year composition courses could benefit from an approach that includes helping students function within social written nuances of their prospective careers. In his analysis of face-to-face social performances, Goffman comments on the crux of performance breakdown:

> The crucial point is not that the fleeting definition of the situation caused by an unmeant gesture [error] is itself so blameworthy, but rather merely

> that it is different from the definition officially projected. This difference forces an acutely embarrassing wedge between the official projection and reality, for it is part of the official projection that it is the only possible one under the circumstances. Perhaps, then, we should not analyze performances in terms of mechanical standards [technical], by which a large gain can offset a small loss, or a large weight a smaller one. Artistic imagery [social nuances] would be more accurate, for it prepares us for the fact that a single note off key can disrupt the tone of an entire performance. (52)

Because each professional discourse community holds performance expectations unique to that field, first-year composition courses should perhaps expand beyond academic audiences (technical) to include professional ones (social) so that students can become practiced in projecting an idealized self conducive to their prospective careers.

As Goffman concludes that mechanics do not necessarily define a situation, but rather social expectations do, developing one's written social identity is not a matter of practicing only grammar and punctuation rules nor practicing to write for academics, but rather it is also a continuous process of collaborating with one's intended audience. In fact, Goffman discusses the ephemeral aspects of each performance: "This self itself does not derive from its possessor, but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses. . . . [The self] is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited (252-53). Hence, the idealized self manifests from the myriad factors involved in each particular performance. Because one's writing is also a performance of the self, first-year composition courses should not only uphold academic standards, but should also aid

students with crafting their written social identity. In order to do so, the course needs to include both technical (academic) and social (professional) aspects, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. By recruiting professionals as reviewers, students learn to perform within their future discourse communities and not solely an academic community. To successfully function in professional social settings, Goffman notes: "And the disciplined performer is someone with sufficient poise to move from private places of informality to public ones of varying degrees of formality, without allowing such changes to confuse him" (217). In order to assist students in meeting the varied needs of audience, dramaturgical pedagogy offers a methodology that generates from students' goals, giving them ownership of their own learning rather than instructors assigning topics. A dramaturgical pedagogy also provides varied means to approach, to address, and to analyze the written social identity in relation to academic and professional audiences, hence bridging students' academic goals with those of their prospective careers.

Currently, students enroll in college for purposes other than obtaining knowledge or self-fulfillment, the leading motivator being a larger paycheck (Twenge and Donnelly). In turn, composition courses should work in partnership with students achieving their long-term aspirations. Realistically, though, composition instructors, as all individuals, have a limited knowledge of audiences. As a result, today's classroom calls for a multifaceted approach to audience because of the vast array of students' backgrounds and interests. Because of students' varied professional pursuits, career professionals should also provide feedback to students in order for them to gain knowledge about their prospective discourse communities, instead of composition instructors and classmates being the only ones to revise drafts. The NCTE, CWPA, and NWP, too, devised the "Framework" that recommends for students to write for authentic audiences which reside

outside of the classroom so that students develop mental capacities (Eight Habits of Mind) necessary for successful writing years beyond college. Doing so, students experience nuances of their prospective professional communities, and they learn to situate themselves within that community by crafting their written social identity.

However, effectively utilizing language, style, and expectations of a discourse community takes time and practice, for novices as well as experts (Blakeslee). During a sixteen-week semester, a dramaturgical approach can influence students' development of their written idealized selves. Of course, this approach will only serve as a starting point for them as effectively addressing audience is a life-long process. Yet, by the end of the semester, students have begun their transition into being a part of their professional discourse community, and they realize that collaboration is a necessary part of the dynamic writing process. With students discussing their writing with others in their prospective career fields, they perceive how academic writing techniques correlate with their professional writing. Occasionally, opinions among reviewers conflict; this perspective also allows students to develop their dramaturgical discipline within the classroom rather than after they graduate and begin their career. As students bridge their academic experiences with their career goals, they can see application of writing beyond the classroom. No longer are they completing assignments merely to earn a grade or college credit. From students' responses to the survey and comments during class, they do not view assignments as a means for "giving the instructor what she wants," but rather as a means for connecting with their audience and for presenting themselves as a credible individual, an idealized self, in their field of interest. Consequently, the first-year composition course serves as an exploration into professional discussions and aids students with succeeding in their future professional endeavors.

Chapter 7

Merging Audiences

Analyzing life narratives, such as Native Americans' writing and Frederick Douglass' autobiographies, from Goffman's dramaturgical perspective reveals adjustments that writers make in order to address critical audiences. Students can use this dramaturgical approach to literature analysis and composition as a means for learning to adjust their own writing. Unfortunately, many of them perceive English teachers as language police ready at all times to hold people accountable for any language infractions. This attitude possibly stems from personal experience of their returned papers bleeding with red ink. In "Chapter 8: Severity, Charity, and the Consequences of Student Writing: Toward a Consequentialist Pedagogy" in *Meaning, Language, and Time,* Kevin Porter discusses the residual effects this misconception of the English teacher's role. He experimented by providing his freshman composition students the task of grading a sample essay as if they were the teacher. Students unaware that he wrote the essay, Porter recorded their reactions in order to ascertain what they remembered most about remarks teachers had put on their papers in the past. According to Porter, students rather enjoyed marking errors and writing critical comments on the "anonymous" text. In fact, he comments that the exercise sparked "the liveliest [class discussion] of the semester" (281). In an effort to counter this negative mindset, Porter concludes the chapter with his theory of consequentialist pedagogy, which approaches writing from the perspective that meaning lies with the individual reader, and as a result, Porter contends that students essays should be evaluated in relation to possibilities of meaning for readers rather than graded solely on a teacher's rubric. In light of Porter's suggestion, a dramaturgical approach provides a move towards this consequentialist pedagogy as students analyze how others present idealized selves in

life narratives and interact with audiences who matter to them; hence, students are not subjected solely to the teacher's expectations. Since effective communication builds relationships (Porter 205), it is in students' best interest to learn such skills for presenting idealized selves in their prospective careers, where they will, hopefully, spend more time than they do in the required college English course(s).

Moreover, students analyzing rhetorical approaches of other authors and writing about topics of their own choosing prevents teachers from assigning topics of their own personal interest. In "Diversity, Ideology, and Teaching Writing," Maxine Hairston argues against using composition courses, especially freshman composition, as a vehicle for social activism. She reasons that classrooms are not platforms for instructors to spread their personal political agendas, that doing so constricts freedom of thought for both students and instructors (188-89). Instead, she recommends that instructors focus on writing skills and have students choose their own topics. In addition to choosing their own topics, students should also choose their own professional reviewers so as to build their own personal support team. According to Hairston, students writing on what interests them creates an environment where diversity is encouraged and respected, where students feel more comfortable with taking risks, where voices are more genuine, and where learning relevant to the student takes place (189). With their own professionals as teammates, students will also feel more comfortable and be more likely to ask questions and take risks. Hairston contends that composition should be a workshop in which instructors aid students through a collaborative effort interacting with the world and with their classmates (190), which is the structure of a dramaturgical approach. For Hairston, such an approach meets the needs of each student, wherever they may be in their academic journey, by promoting critical thinking, individual research, and effective communication (192). Consequently, the dramaturgical approach focuses on students'

goals rather than teachers' agendas by blending expectations of students' goal audiences with expectations of their academic audience.

Contrary to Yarbrough's and Davis' belief that teachers should remove themselves as audience, maybe instead, teachers can effectively use audience awareness to educate students and guide them into becoming critical thinkers by having them correlate fronts expected by academics and professionals. Elbow, himself, admits that his desert island mode "require[s] learning, growth, and psychological development" (341), which can be cultivated when students enter written discussions within their chosen fields. Since writers rely on past experiences as suggested by Ede and Lunsford, and in light of Ong's belief that audience is always a mental construct, experiences in a dramaturgical classroom could provide a permanent litmus test by which writers can evaluate their own work, establishing part of that Universal Audience that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca propose. Yarbrough, too, states, "Teaching, to be teaching and not indoctrination, must be dialogic. Because teaching is dialogic, learning students will converge their discourse with the teacher's towards the objects of the course, not simply ritually repeat the teacher's incantations. . . . Teaching, like all discourse, is social" (237). Thus, teacher-as-audience needs to be tempered with real-world life narratives and a concrete, professional audience, which must be chosen and recruited by the student. Otherwise, if assigned, this outside audience becomes just another authoritarian figure imposed by academia. Instead, students should retain the onus of their own learning and begin networking within their specific profession.

Any important aspect of any pedagogical approach is understanding cognitive processes of why students become stymied during the writing process. Even after students learn writing practices, making choices does not always come easy for them. In "Rigid Rules, Inflexible Plans, and the Stifling of Language: A Cognitivist Analysis of

Writer's Block," Mike Rose explores possible reasons why some students become bogged down with rules and restrictions for writing while others can discern how and when to implement said rules. Rose approaches the subject with cognitive psychology's problem-solving framework (390) and discusses how past learning experiences influence problem-solving methods (391). Rose also discusses the necessity of rules and parameters in order to function in daily life, and he proposes that rules "might even be the central element in complex problem-solving behavior" (391). Rose delineates mathematical rules, which are rigid, from heuristics, which are flexible plans or guidelines (391). People methodically approach problem solving, and their approach depends on their personalities (Rose 392-93). With a dramaturgical approach to composition, then, students' classroom writing helps them internalize heuristics, their own personal flexible courses of action. Rose views "writing as a problem-solving process" and believes that some students become stifled by writing teachers' instruction (393). However, students cannot be forced to operate as they would not normally. Because of their own personality traits, not necessarily teachers' directives, their writing process can stagnate. Rose admits that students who suffered from writer's block all had problem-solving skills and also that they fixated on rules rather than allowing themselves to make "mistakes" and then to revise. Rather these students approached assignments with rigid mathematical rules and tried to write "correctly" the first time. Those students who did not suffer writer's block frequently sought feedback and asked questions for clarification (397), working from a heuristic mindset instead of a mathematical mindset. The dramaturgical classroom creates a unique environment in which students can experiment with style and ask questions about effect, but they have to learn that behavior first and they have to be given time and direction to practice. Rose proposes working with blocked students so that they can learn flexibility within the writing process and methods of

working with the rules rather than being constrained by them (400). The classroom provides an opportune setting for students to work on the technical aspects of language and to practice creating their written idealized self by analyzing life narratives and by engaging in social aspects of language. As a place for crafting a performance, Goffman explains that individuals utilize a back region or a backstage, a place out of sight from the intended audience where it is safe to create and perfect the final show (112). Rules of grammar and punctuation provide instruments for writers to convey meaning, but they should not be considered a writer's sole focus. A dramaturgical approach creates a dynamic between students and teacher and students and professionals that places the impetus on students to acquire feedback and adjust their writing. An experience which leads them to devise revision practices that are most beneficial for them. Learning is a give-and-take process that, at times, can be uncomfortable. Students must first be shown how to enter the discussion before they can practice their own set of heuristics and discover which path works best for them to enter into a particular discourse community. It is part of the educational process, part of internalizing writing skills and building heuristics for future application.

Likewise, the dynamics of a dramaturgical classroom provide a setting for students to acquire impression management skills as teachers address technical aspects and professionals address social aspects of writing. This concept can be further illuminated by Lloyd Bitzer's theory of rhetorical situation. Although Bitzer applies his theory to a much broader world-view application, aspects of his theory correlate directly with much of Goffman's theory, and it fits perfectly with the classroom paradigm as a dramaturgical classroom simulates future applications of rhetoric. According to Bitzer, "[t]he situation [the classroom] . . . calls discourse into action" (2). In class, students research current topics and experience the nuances that responses to their writing evoke

from an audience in their field of study. With the addition of their career audience, students also acquire social aspects of writing in their career field. Since "[a] work is rhetorical because it is a response to a situation of a certain kind" (Bitzer 3), students learn that certain situations call for certain responses, as evidenced in Native American texts and Douglass' autobiographies. The more students know of these situations and responses, the better equipped they will be to evaluate them and communicate more effectively. Bitzer explains that "a work of rhetoric is pragmatic; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it functions ultimately to produce a change in the world; it performs some task. . . . In a sense rhetoric is always persuasive" (3). In a dramaturgical classroom, students complete and submit essays not solely for the sake of persuading the teacher that they have met expectations and deserve course credit, but also to contribute to the larger conversation of their career discourse communities, of affecting change in an area important to them.

The ultimate goals of the dramaturgical approach are for students to become better critical readers, to be capable of implementing various rhetorical skills, to be able to adapt to new situations, and to be understood by their future professional audiences, whomever they have chosen, and not to solely focus on gaining credit for the course. In addition, many colleges and universities have established specific curriculum as designated in district syllabi, so teachers have a compounded obligation, to the institution to convey a set standard of knowledge and to their students to assist them in learning to effectively address their prospective discourse communities. Composition teachers have to maintain a fine balance between academic enforcer and student advocate. A dramaturgical approach provides a possible means for establishing that balance. If Bitzer's suggestion that "[c]onstraints . . . have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence" (8) holds true, then the classroom provides a forum for

students to experiment within constraints and receive feedback as to how well they accomplished tasks under such constraints, as well as practice critical thinking and problem solving skills. In order succeed, students need to become adept at working within constraints of their prospective discourse communities as the "[r]hetorical situation invites a fitting response, a response that fits the situation" (Bitzer 10), just as teachers require certain concepts within student essays and discourse communities hold certain expectations for successful presentations. In addition to academia, people in the business world also judge others based on their writing skills (Beason; Brandenburg; Hairston; Gilsdorf and Leonard), so such constraints are not relegated just to the authoritarian English instructor. Moreover, writing has two aspects, technical and social. What is acceptable for one audience is not necessarily acceptable for another. Goffman explains that presentations can be utterly ruined by even the most minute error (56) and that the true fault is not necessarily the error itself, but rather the difference between what is being presented and reality (52). Since "[t]he rhetor may or may not read the prescription accurately" (Bitzer 11), both the teacher and professionals step in to give feedback and to re-direct the student's efforts relevant to their career goals, i. e. Porter's consequentialist theory.

In order to acquire a germane education, having a concrete professional audience is key to students' progression as writers. In a true rhetorical situation, the exigence must be real, not imagined (Bitzer 11), so although imagining an audience can direct writers in some aspects, a concrete professional audience can have a much more effective result as the "[r]hetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change" (Bitzer 8). Thus, having students write to an imaginary audience can be only partially effective. The dramaturgical classroom is a highly structured rhetorical situation, according to Bitzer's

criteria (11-12). Although the teacher remains a part of the critical audience, who ultimately grants or denies course credit, students apply their learning to their future audience. By doing so, they focus on course and personal objectives and can see themselves progress throughout the semester, working towards goals directly related to their life ambitions. Having this type of interaction with the teacher and with an outside audience prepares students to cope with future situations which may not offer such clear parameters as the classroom. Additionally, akin to Goffman's theory of established fronts being applicable to new situations, Bitzer states that "comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established" (13). Therefore, interaction and practice with academic and professional audiences can build students' confidence in abilities and create a store of fronts, which they can implement in future situations.

Again, interacting with professionals is key. William Duffy argues in "Collaboration (in) Theory: Reworking the Social Turn's Conversational Imperative" for a clearer definition of collaboration as "a mutual intervention and progressive interaction with objects of discourse" (422), which bridges to Goffman's dramaturgical theory in that students interacting with professionals in their prospective career fields should lay groundwork for establishing future social fronts and developing impression management skills. Dramaturgical pedagogy promotes "mutual intervention," students, the instructor, writing lab staff, all working together to produce essays that meet academic discourse community expectations, and students and professionals working together to produce essays that meet professional discourse community expectations. Likewise, this interaction progresses over the course of a semester, with students focusing on topics within their chosen career field and advancing their academic skills. Specifically, Duffy points to the need "to understand how language means in any given instance" (422). This

maintained focus on a field of interest and collaboration with professionals plays a significant role in students' progress, which supports Duffy's discussion that the adjacent possible hinges on his clearer definition of collaboration. Duffy suggests with the adjacent possible, that ideas are not created in a vacuum (416), and neither are the idealized selves or fronts. These aspects come to fruition through collaboration.

Another benefit of this true collaboration is that students have an ally as they work on their writing. Because professional reviewers were chosen by students themselves and because their reviewers do not grade the essays, they function as teammates, which Goffman defines as: "Someone whose dramaturgical co-operation one is dependent upon in fostering a given definition of the situation" (83). These professionals, as teammates, provide a critical, but non-threatening eye during the revising process that many seasoned writers utilize. Thus, dramaturgical pedagogy establishes a mindset that part of the writing process is collaboration, reviewing drafts with someone knowledgeable on the topic as a means for revision. Moreover, through this practice, students not only become familiar with aspects pertinent to their discourse communities, but they also learn to collaborate with teammates within that community and the benefits of that collaboration. Technical aspects of writing are part of that system, and students have to start with some type of foundation in order to understand why some aspects work and why some do not within certain discourse communities. As with any learned ability, skills must be practiced. The dramaturgical classroom provides that practice ground/backstage with the teacher and professionals as mentors. Students can then understand why teachers expect certain skills within the classroom as well as common practices outside the classroom.

Concluding Remarks: "Give a man a mask, and he will show you his true self" – Oscar Wilde

Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory provides a means for rhetorical and audience analysis, a perspective for viewing writing and reading as a form of presentation, with each piece of writing as an opportunity for presenting an idealized self. As Blakeslee discusses, effectively addressing audience is a continuous, life-long process as audiences and their expectations are always changing. Also, as Marilyn Cooper points out in "The Ecology of Writing," writers move from one social group to another (373). A dramaturgical approach to composition aides students in seeing writing as a pliable tool for addressing such changes rather than as a concrete set of rules enforced only by English teachers. By shifting the pedagogical approach from being teacher-dictated to student-generated, from focusing on academic expectations to incorporating audience expectations, curriculum content becomes a more flexible mechanism for meeting students' needs and empowering them in reaching their individual goals. It also frees composition teachers from searching every semester for new issues that students will hopefully find interesting or, worse yet, from teachers assigning topics according to their own interests.

Of course, a dramaturgical approach is not without obstacles. Some students haven't yet chosen their career goals, some decide to pursue a different major, or some enroll for purposes other than their careers. Yet, they still benefit because they research their own interests and retain ownership of their own learning. If need be, they can change their topics in the middle of the semester and pursue a different field of interest. Another obstacle is that some students do not or cannot find professional reviewers. This obstacle indicates that recruiting and utilizing professional reviewers takes time and effort and can possibly be intimidating for various reasons, including class and cultural barriers. Even with this disadvantage, students can still benefit from looking at their writing from a broader perspective of audience and also by pursuing their own interests. Lastly, a few

professional reviewers do not respond in time or do not respond at all. However, one important note is that a dramaturgical approach is different than service learning, so professional reviewers should not be assigned. First, Porter cautions against students serving as writing tutors as they could see themselves as experts, thus becoming the dreaded authoritarian figure themselves (301). Instead, a dramaturgical approach places students as performers rather than as a critical audience. Another aspect of service learning entails projects being assigned by the agency as Laura Julier discusses in "Community-Service Pedagogy" (139).In a dramaturgical classroom, students write essays on topics of their own choosing and with their own purpose in mind. Additionally, with service learning, agencies are limited and often assigned to students (Julier 141). Instead of writing "as if their commitments were the agency's" (Julier 142), with a dramaturgical approach, students write on issues important to themselves. Likewise, classroom assignments should ensure equal college credit for equal work. For example, students enrolled in the same class should not receive equal credit for editing a press release vs. creating a researched ten-page proposal. Moreover, with service learning, students' interest and inquiry ends at the end of the semester whereas with a dramaturgical approach, students' interest and inquiry continues into their professional lives. As a result, students should retain responsibility for recruiting their own professional reviewers so that their experiences in the course directly correlate with their personal interests and goals.

In regard to students' interests and goals, this study examines only immediate effects of this approach. Possibilities for the future include a long-term study of students' academic success once they move into their studies of choice and especially a long-term study of their preparedness once they enter their professional fields. Likewise, this study focuses solely on print literacy, not on digital. As digital requirements often differ from

print requirements, another possible study could compare presenting a digital idealized self as opposed to a print idealized self. For example, with the increasing use of the internet, students could practice their abilities of shifting from an informal self of text-speak to a formal self of their prospective profession. Lastly, adapting more of Goffman's dramaturgical theory for literature analysis could render some fascinating insights into life narratives or possibly even of fictional characters.

A dramaturgical approach attempts to blur the distinction between academics and professionals. As the years pass, more and more students attend college in order to make more money (Twenge and Donnelly; Wyer) and "to get a better job" (Wyer). More and more students focus on gaining college credit, not necessarily on gaining knowledge (Twenge and Donnelly). If courses could help students see the direct application of course work to their own interests, maybe students could then recognize assignments for more than just giving the teacher what she wants, but instead see practical applications of their learning and possibly see the college experience as a way to explore new interests. Just as Bakhtin discusses that language acquisition is a process of assimilation, of using other's words and reworking them for one's own self portrayal (*Speech*, 89), students in this study recognized the advantage of having professionals as reviewers as a means for improving their idealized self. They could see themselves as citizens participating within their chosen professional community, and not as visitors submitting essays to an ivory tower.

On the other hand, teachers should still hold high expectations for their students. In fact, as Sommers and Saltz's study contends, meeting high expectations builds students' confidence. Understandably, some students come to class frustrated because previous teachers did not explain or teach grammar, but only marked errors. Because some students see no long-term benefit of their coursework, they have grown frustrated

and, at times, apathetic to their own education. Some are such weak writers, at least at the community college where I teach, that they come not knowing basics such as subject-predicate construction, and at my campus, an increase of students in developmental classes are unable to write complete sentences. In fact, students enrolled in community college enter with lower skill levels than those at four-year universities (Thonney 348), so teachers cannot presume students have learned basic writing skills before attending a college composition course. Rules of writing, then, cannot be completely disregarded as many students need review of these basic skills so they can eventually internalize them and establish their own directives for writing once they leave the composition classroom. However, course expectations need to include a broader perspective of audience than solely the English teacher's. Goffman's theory demonstrates how individuals perform various selves depending on their audience. An individual's written self is no different. It is another means for creating a mask, an idealized self. Therefore, composition courses could possibly better serve students by providing a forum, a backstage, for analyzing how others construct a written self, for practicing their professional idealized selves, and for developing impression management skills relevant to students' long-term goals, thereby helping them craft masks of their "true self," the self they wish to become.

Appendix A

Literacy Narrative Essay Directions

Composition I

Literacy Narrative Essay

For this essay, you will be exploring the professional culture that you wish to join. Below are questions and aspects to consider:

- Whom do you expect to become?
- Identify your social role.
- Who will be your peers, your supervisors, your subordinates?
- What are the expectations, values, and standards of each?
- What are your expectations, values, and standards of yourself?
- What language/vocabulary predominates your area?
- What issues have been identified in your area?
- Do any issues need identification or more attention?
- What are the written formats of your area?
- What are the major publications of your area?
- What bridges would aid you in achieving your professional self?
- What barriers would prevent you in achieving your professional self?

In addition to this essay, you will need to devise and submit a questionnaire of five questions for your revisers as well as explain who your revisers will be and their qualifications.

Appendix B

End-of-the-semester Student Questionnaire

Final Quiz

1. What have you learned about your professional audience?
2. How does your professional writing differ from your personal writing?
3. How has your writing changed overall? (In relation to the beginning of the semester.)
4. What resources were most helpful?
5. How did you find your reviewers?
6. How helpful was the feedback from your reviewers?
7. What type of feedback was/is most helpful for you?
8. What would make this course better? (Not easier, but more beneficial.)
9. What aspects of this course were least beneficial and/or what would you change and how?
10. May I quote you in my dissertation? (I will not use your name, only your responses.)

As an incentive for students to answer the questionnaire, they received a 100 as a daily grade, which equated to two points extra credit on their final average. As long as students answered all of the questions, they received a 100.

Appendix C

Workshop Strategies

Workshopping Strategies

Giving your classmates feedback on their essays will:

1. help your classmates think about their essays;
2. help you become a more perceptive reader;
3. give you strategies for working through your own essays;
4. earn you workshop credit.

How to Respond

Write comments on the margins of your classmates' drafts and also at the end. Provide whatever information you think is the most useful. Make “facilitative" comments to the writers consider new lines of thought (for example, "How else could you prove this point?". Write "directive" comments when you feel confident that you know what's missing ("Add more an analysis").

Throughout the Essay

- Note aspects of the essay you like or that seem especially effective (so the writers don't change the wrong things).
- Warn the writer about serious flaws (such as if the essay doesn’t match the assignment).

On the Introduction

- Is the title appropriate and interesting?
- Does the intro draw the readers into the essay gradually or supply a hook to engage their attention?
- Is the thesis clear and complete?

On Body Paragraphs

- Does each topic sentence have a clear tie to the thesis or preceding paragraph?
- How does the order of information support the line of argument?

- Do the paragraphs have PIE (Point, Illustration, and Explanation)?
- Where would additions or deletions eliminate confusion or solidify the argument
- How could the writer increase credibility?

On the Conclusion

- In what ways does the conclusion do justice to the paper?
- How does it expand on the thesis? (Now that you've read the essay, what are you left thinking? Or, are key points presented in the conclusion that should have come earlier?)
- How does the conclusion balance against the introduction?

For Your End Comment

- Give your overall impression of the essay's strengths and weaknesses.
- Respond as a reader - share some of your own views about this topic.

Although using Standard Written English is important, drafting is not the time to worry about it. Please ignore spelling and grammar at this stage unless you can' understand what the writer is trying to say.

Your classmates will assign you credit (up to five points) according to the effort of your work. Note that it's your responsibility to come to class. If you were absent when writers passed out essays, ask them for copies during the next class period. Because the workshop writers have extended due dates, they will still be able to make use of your comments.

Taken from: Ransdell, D.R. "Class Workshops: An Alternative to Peer-Group Review." *Teaching English in the Two-Year College*. Sept. 2001, 32-42.

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