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GENDER AND JOURNALS: LIFE AND TEXT IN COLLEGE COMPOSITION

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Gender and journals: Life and text in college composition

Gannett, Cinthia Lee, Ph.D.

University of New Hampshire, 1987
GENDER AND JOURNALS: LIFE AND TEXT IN COLLEGE COMPOSITION

BY

CINTHIA LEE GANNETT
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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
English

May, 1987
This dissertation has been examined and approved.

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4/29/87
Date
This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Tim, and to my parents Joy and Paul, for caring about language as I do, and for not muting me more than necessary.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since this dissertation assumes the importance of social and historical context in any act of writing, it would be inappropriate for me not to acknowledge some of the various social and historical sources which made this piece of writing possible.

As for my immediate writing environment, I need to acknowledge my children, Ben and Molly, for trying to be self sufficient while I work, and for loving me even when I'm not listening. To my husband, who has lived with a dissertating wife, and all the attendant extra responsibilities for hearth and home for five long years, and is somehow still smiling. To both sets of parents and all the siblings for washing clothes, fixing meals, taking children, and believing in me. To my women friends, Karen, Sharyn, Elizabeth, who listened, read, and wrote with me. And to the producers of Vivaldi's "Four Seasons" on compact disc, the people who make the wonderfully fine-scripting Uniball 500 pen, the makers of M & M's, and the manufacturers of my Z-150 computer for making the act of writing infinitely more pleasurable than it would have been.

More formal acknowledgement needs to go to my dissertation committee, Bob, Tom, Don, Don, and Karl for their patience, forbearance, wisdom, and support. They have been critical to the success of my efforts. Also, to Associate Dean Jack Resch and Dean Lew Roberts for granting
me a Leave of Absence without which the dissertation simply never would have been done.

Finally, I must acknowledge all my students from the past thirteen years. They want to understand the diverse domains of reading and writing we all inhabit as much as I do.
The Situation of the Writer in 1987

For Sartre, writing is "destined to serve a moral and political action in society." (viii) "A piece of writing is a commitment, and enterprise by means of which the author embraces his [or her] age." (ix) (Italics added) I have amended the quote to read "or her," and thus by including women in the language of that sentence, I immediately show my commitment, my embracing, of my age, one in which women are learning to speak and write publicly as well as privately, one in which women are discovering and valuing their own knowledge and their own voices.

This is a dangerous beginning. Academic prose forms, especially dissertations, have not by their nature often involved in any explicit way the social responsibility, the "engagement" of the writer. Sartre speaks disparagingly of "academic culture, of a fruitless kind of study carried on in libraries, those isolated places he does not hesitate to compare to tombs." (x) Although I have "buried" myself in libraries for years, and have read countless books and articles to prepare myself to write, this work is powered by my own experiences and observations, first as student, then as writer, then as writing teacher, and always as woman.

Several factors influence the personal and social "situation" from which I write. (As Sartre points out, all writers write from a "situation.") I am 35. I have been
writing, but not finishing my dissertation for years now. I am married for the second time. I am raising two children, one not even in school yet. My professional life has been filled with gaps: work unwritten, or unfinished, or unpublished. I must work full time. In addition to these common difficulties which many women writers face, I had also been working on the wrong "project," the wrong dissertation. It was an important topic, and an ambitious one, but not compelling enough to force me to write it in addition to all my other responsibilities. All along I wanted to write on the relation between gender and language. Even before my specialized graduate training in applied linguistics, and composition theory and pedagogy I knew how important, how central language is to the shaping of our everyday experience, how critical to every social interaction or enterprise, to every discipline. I knew that words were powerful; they could help or hurt. As a child I knew the power of naming, and so carefully named my dolls with wonderful sounding words: Diarrhea and Polio. I got in trouble in school more than once for "making up" words, and was told "Who do you think you are -- a dictionary?" I loved writing; I wrote reams of poetry, kept diaries and journals intensely, albeit sporadically, even wrote my classmates' compositions for them just for the fun of it.

But it wasn't until the mid-seventies, with the publication of Robin Lakoff's Language and Women's Place (1974) and Mary Ritchie Key's Male/Female Language (1975) and Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley's Language and Sex:
Difference and Dominance (1975), and the consequent proliferation of books and articles on the topic that I discovered how critical the connection between language and gender is, which I shall briefly review for you in Chapter 2. Since then I have read, written (Conrad, 1976a, 1976b, 1978, 1981) and taught in this area. But I tried very hard not to let my knowledge and insights from linguistics seep into my composition teaching, as though they might contaminate the "neutrality" of my pedagogy. Neither did I seriously consider it as an appropriate topic for a dissertation, nor was I encouraged to do so until recently.

As a teacher of composition, I tended to be uncomfortable with the notion that my students might be using gender-preferential reading and writing strategies because identifying gender as an issue in composition pedagogy might be seen as effacing the individuality of my students. It smacked of politics, both feminist and sexist. On the other hand, I finally realized that if we are unwilling to sensitize ourselves to the possibility that our students may read and write in gendered ways, and that we teachers too, may use gendered reading and writing strategies, then we are most certainly are reducing or ignoring significant aspects of their/our humanity. And most certainly we are engaging in politics; the politics of the status quo.

This interest in gender and language/discourse is not only part of "my" situation, rather it is part of the "situation" of our age. The literal explosion of the women's movement in the last quarter century, the volcanic
social and intellectual flux surrounding changes in the ideas about the roles and capacities of women and men, and the qualitative addition of ideas by women about their world and the world are among the core concerns of our age. Sartre felt that if "writers are faithful to their vocation, their writings will be an irritant to their age." In that spirit, I undertake this project. I am as much the subject as the author of it.
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## CHAPTER

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ABSTRACT

GENDER AND JOURNALS: LIFE AND TEXT IN COLLEGE COMPOSITION

by

Cinthia Gannett
University of New Hampshire, May 1987

Since journals were introduced into the composition curriculum in the 1960's, they have become increasingly important components both of writing and writing across the curriculum courses. Yet the available literature shows we know little about the historical and social contexts of journal and diary keeping. This dissertation looks at the ways gender informs our students' attitudes toward and experience with journal keeping in both academic and non-academic settings.

Using three men's and three women's journals as the focal point of my discussion, I find striking sex differences both in the quantity and in the "qualities" of the journals they wrote. These patterned differences, I claim, are linked with centuries-old gendered traditions of journal and diary keeping, and are consonant with other larger gendered patterns in discourse, which in large part, are a consequence of the dominant/muted and public/private relationships men and women have held with regard to language. Implications for teaching and further research are discussed.
INTRODUCTION

On the Title: Gender and Journals: Life and Text
in College Composition

To The Reader
This, reader, is an honest book. It warns you at the outset that my sole purpose in writing it has been a private and domestic one. ... So, reader, I am myself the subject of my book, and there is no reason why you should waste your leisure on so frivolous and unrewarding a subject."
(Introduction, The Essays of Montaigne, March 1580)

Vocation -- the will to write -- nonetheless required a genuine transcendence of female identity.
(Showalter 1977, 21)

Journals have been around for a long time. In fact, journals have been around much longer than college composition classes as we know them. This fact, obvious on the surface, was something I did not see the importance of until recently, and didn't even notice until I had required journals in my composition classes for two or three years. No matter how I tried to introduce them, no matter what sort of instructions I gave out, the journals of the men and women tended to look and feel very different, both in the ways they wrote about themselves (life as text) and in the ways they approached texts (text as life), which I discuss in the core chapter, Chapter Three.

I began to sense that my students had some powerful associations with the word journal, that I neither
I realized I was probably not alone in feeling that I did not fully understand "the journal," so I went to re-read the current literature on journals in composition, which I have summarized in Chapter One. The material, rich as it is, appeared to be without much social or historical context which might explain why my students had such powerful preconceptions about journals.

We seem to know considerably more about the origin and uses of the essay as first practiced by Montaigne in the late 1500's (Newkirk 1986, Heath 1986), and far more about the types of writing introduced in classical rhetoric, because these sets of forms and strategies have been in common public and academic use. Rhetoricians, for example, can cite chapter and verse from the Phaedrus, and continue to place current rhetorical issues in the context of its history (Connors, Ede, and Lunsford 1984, Freedman and Pringle, 1982).

Therefore, I decided to discover what I could about the journal -- its origins, its traditions, its status as a written verbal construct. The journal, as I have come to understand it, is a chameleon form, nay, a protean form, and is several centuries old. It has successfully evaded capture by any single name or set of characteristics. Both the terms journal and diary, which are the most commonly used synonyms, come from Latin words meaning day or daily, diary from "diari-um" which originally meant daily allowance, and journal from Old French "jurjor" which came from Late Latin "diurnal" meaning day book ("papier journal") or day's work.
Journal seems to have been the earlier term used as it appears in the Latin religious texts of Ecclesiastes, and Latin sentences of the 14th century. The term diary makes its first appearances in the OED as dating to the 16th century, and the two terms are used as synonyms from then on. Although the terms "journal" and "diary" may refer to somewhat different sorts of writing in current popular culture, most writers and scholars have always used the terms interchangeably, and I will follow in that tradition.

I also discovered that the journal, or diary, daybook, or commonplace book, or log, or notebook, as it/they are variously called, has always resided in the margins between literature and popular writing, between public and private writing, between the writer and reader, between art and life, and has busied itself with conflating those boundaries, and re-connecting those domains. It can move in and out of autobiography, letter, memoir, fiction, social tract with ease, defying any simple allegiance to genre or form.

Nevertheless, the journal or diary has a rich and increasingly well mapped history, which I discuss in Chapter Four, and there is some indication that journal traditions have indeed coalesced somewhat, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, in ways that are critical to our students' perceptions of, and attitudes about, the use and value of journals. The history of journal tradition(s) show that journals began as semi-public or public documents which logged daily productivity, business and institutional
transactions, military expeditions, expeditions of discovery, and individual travel. As the journal became more "personal" (about or for the person), it took on more modern and more private aspects, and became increasingly associated with women, which brings us to the other major part of the title -- Gender.

Gender -- Again at the risk of being overly obvious twice before the work itself starts, I will simply assert (and show throughout the text) that women's relation to language, to written discourse, and specifically to the written discourse of the journal, has always differed in several critical ways from that of men because men have historically been in control of the production and maintenance of most cultural forms and the symbolic systems upon which they are erected. In Chapter Two, therefore, I will briefly review some of the central work on gender and discourse as a general framework for the more specific discussions of gender and journals in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

The third phrase in the title, "text and life" has several overlapping meanings. Obviously, journals are "life texts," texts which take the mind, or life, or experience of the author as their primary material. But more importantly, one of the critical issues that the journals of the men and women raised for me was that the connection between texts and life differed according to gender, and in ways consonant with larger discourse differences. Men, historically, have lived in both public and private spheres, and have been
educated and encouraged to "master" a variety of types of discourse radically removed from their daily life and experience. Women, largely prohibited until recently from the domain of the public sphere, with its education, power, and sets of experience, wrote, if they wrote at all, (if they were indeed, literate) texts intimately related to their lives and personal experience, and found in the writing and the reading of those texts new selves, possible selves, and the possibility of different lives (text-lives).

Understanding more fully the relation between text and life, and making explicit the social and historical relations which have shaped our ideas and experience of gender, discourse, and the journal/diary tradition, will help teachers use the journal much more effectively both inside and outside of the classroom. In the final chapter, Chapter Five, I move back to the classroom from which I started, considering the implications these issues raise for understanding gendered discourse in the academy, for the teaching and research on composition, and for the teaching of the journal.

As is already apparent, the dissertation is framed by several overlapping disciplinary frames: "genderlinguistics" (the study of the interaction between gender and language structure/use), writing process theory and pedagogy, and reader-response and feminist theories of reading/writing. It situates itself at the intersection of several current issues in composition. As an example, consider the 1986-1987 Boynton/Cook English Catalog. This
dissertation is at the matrix of the issues addressed by books like Toby Fulwiler's *The Journal Book*, The Women's Working Party's (NATE) *Alice in Genderland*, Ann E. Berthoff's *Reclaiming the Imagination: Philosophical Perspectives for Writers and Teachers of Writing*, Thomas Newkirk's *Only Connect: Uniting Reading and Writing*, and Dixie Goswami and Peter Stillman's *Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change*. A central underlying premise of all these works and the dissertation is that reading and writing always takes place simultaneously in both a personal and a social-historical context.

All of these contexts are, in turn, informed by gender. That is, gender is fundamental to each of these contexts, and therefore will continually inform the experience of reading and writing in many ways. The dissertation then, must draw on feminist criticism in its broadest forms to help construct the real contexts for the journal writing my students did, and do.

Much of the research I will cite, many of the claims I will promulgate, many of the questions I will ask, then, are feminist. They derive from the emerging work in all the disciplines which questions, enlarges, refines, re-defines the traditional categories and substance of public knowledge and the modes of its transmission to include women's voices and ideas. These ideas need a hearing, but too often they are consigned to feminist journals or publications which survive only in the shallows near the banks of the river of
Wisdom, never to be part of the center, never to move downstream with the current, never to be the current. This work wants to be "current."

In addition to focusing on gender and discourse as the content of the dissertation, I also attempt to embody (text as life) the issues under discussion, by allowing, indeed encouraging ruptures in the traditional objective academic style, and interpolating other voices: subjective voices, questioning individual voices, the voice of my own journal when appropriate. There is no simple equation of masculine and feminine voice here, but rather a colloquy of public and private voices which have often been linked to the masculine and feminine worlds of discourse. Deciding how to write this dissertation was not easy, for as Jacobus writes:

"Utterance, though, brings the problem home for women writers (as for feminist critics). The options polarise along familiar lines: appropriation or separatism. Can women adapt traditionally male dominated modes of writing and analysis to the articulation of female oppression and desire? Or should we rather reject tools that may simply re-inscribe our marginality, and deny the specificity of our experience, instead forging others on our own -- reverting perhaps to the traditionally feminine in order to revalidate its forms (formlessness?) and preoccupations -- rediscovering subjectivity; the language of feeling; ourselves."

These issues are not only central to my decisions, they also prefigure the central issues my men and women/women and men face in their journal writing. It is their voices and discourse strategies we need to listen to most closely. Their voices are the heart of this piece, the life of this text.
CHAPTER I

Current Uses of the Journal in Composition Pedagogy

Journals and the Process Movement

Journals of many kinds are very popular right now, not only in the composition class, but across the curriculum, primarily as "tools" for expressive, heuristic writing; writing to discover, writing to personalize knowledge and the process of its acquisition.

Journals are clearly powerful writing instruments, yet we know very little about them. Teachers who have assigned journals repeatedly soon discover that journals offer both promise and peril to students. Some students take to them like trout to streams, or finches to the big blue, or better as canaries to song. They learn through writing; they discover connections; they are stimulated by language and acts of generating meaning. They connect, through writing, to much larger intellectual domains. For these students, teachers need practice almost no pedagogy. They can provide such students with a notebook and the directive to write.

Then there are students who acquire journal keeping skills as they might learn to ride a bike. First they look at it for a week or two. Then they practice getting on and off --short tentative entries -- "Am I doing this right?", then the practice runs with the training wheels on (guided in class journal exercises). And finally, the wheels come off, the parent/teacher runs alongside and finally lets go.
Clearly, this kind of student has learned how to ride/write in the journal at the end of the course, but is still quite wobbly, tires quickly, has the tendency to get lost. They end up with a respectable number of pages, may have found a topic or an idea or two in the journal writing which they were able to translate into their more formal writing, and may have found a few entries interesting to re-read. For the many students like these, teachers need to understand precisely what they want the journals to do, or be, in the context of the composition class; how much information students need, what kinds of preliminary activities are most useful to getting the journals "on the road," and what kinds of journal maintenance or support the fledgling journal keeper needs to stay at the wheel.

For some students in every composition course, however, the journal is a disaster. They distrust their journals from the beginning, and by the end of the course, have learned to loathe them, and may end up feeling worse about themselves as writers in certain respects than they did when they entered the course. It's rather like, having gotten the bike, they decided not to ride (got hurt too many times, or just lost interest) it, and prefer to leave it in the garage forever, to rot if possible. But the parent/teacher keeps demanding that they ride it and that they at least pretend they like it, keeps encouraging, offering instruction. As for pedagogy, we just don't know why some students find the journal so difficult, so intimidating, so boring. We need to know why this happens and begin to define some ways of re-
conceptualizing the journal (re-painting it, raising the seat, adding another wheel, or rear view mirrors, or even renaming it "hot rod" or "motorcycle" or "footsaver" or "fastgoer") so that all the students for whom the journal is not an instinctively pleasurable intellectual experience, can feel comfortable enough to get some mileage out of it.

In order to use the journal well in our classes, we need to understand how journals fit in current composition pedagogy. In other words, in what ways and how well does the available literature on the journal in composition pedagogy equip us to teach the journal as a form or a process in writing?

Journal writing as a composition activity in the classroom has been linked primarily with the writing process movement, starting in the early and mid-sixties. With the shift from product-oriented pedagogies to process-based teaching came the new emphasis on prewriting, that is, writing and thinking one did before drafting began. Prewriting activities focus on discovering meaning, and discovering the structure of ideas and information for oneself, as well as experimenting with language and voice, as a preliminary to writing formal discourse for an audience or teacher. The journal, daybook, writing diary or whatever else it might be called, was identified immediately as a locus for a variety of prewriting activities, because of its informal, personal, reflective nature, and its structural capacity to handle frequent, regular, and short "practice" writings.
In 1964, for example, D. Gordon Rohman and Albert O. Wlecki published their work *Prewriting: The Construction and Application of Models for Concept Formation in Writing*, in which the journal figures prominently as a prewriting tool. Addressing the question of why students write so "poorly," so "indifferently," Rohman and Wlecke suggested: "It is just possible that much writing fails because it is conceived within what Bruner calls the "expository mode," and the student-writer, as a result, is never given the chance to "participate in the essentials of the process which he is being called to master." In order to engage students more fully in the process of discovering ideas, or better, discovering new connections between concepts which would allow students to compose interesting and engaged essays, they encouraged students to use various prewriting techniques, such as meditation, and analogy, and most importantly, a writing journal, which they introduce as follows:

Because we assumed that the process of assimilation and transformation was nothing if not personal, we began our course by asking students to keep a journal. We defined a journal as a record of the mind to distinguish it from the diary which is a record of what one does. Although the distinction is not absolute, we emphasized that we were more interested in what students thought than in what they did. ... We sought to drive them back and away from the merely automatic language they had inherited from their culture. We encouraged them to practice thinking less generally and more concretely, stressing the value of achieving a personal sense of what is real. (24-25)

Another early herald, Don Fader, argued in 1966 in *Hooked on Books* that the student journal was a key component to
getting English into every classroom (cited in Fulwiler 1982, 30.)

Models of the writing process, and the actual composing processes of experienced and novice writers, were developed in the early and mid seventies, and the multiple functions of writing were defined by several major figures, such as Janet Emig, Don Graves, Don Murray, James Britton, James Moffett, Ken Macrorie, and Peter Elbow. Writing was increasingly seen as having important heuristic function, or as Janet Emig put it, writing was "a mode of learning." (1977) For these scholars and teachers, the writing journal has become a valuable and, in some cases, a central part of their pedagogical repertoire.

Ken Macrorie (1970) uses the famous metaphor of the journal as a "seedbed" for developing ideas and germinating writing which will become a final formal product. In Telling Writing (1970), he devotes an entire chapter to "Keeping a Journal" (Chapter 13). Interestingly enough, he starts off his chapter by trying to persuade students that a journal is not just "a square idea." (122) Notice in the introductory quote below he implicitly speaks to two different audiences, a female, who has kept a personal "diary," and a male, who has briefly attempted to log his external activities, and then stopped:

'What a square idea,' you may have said to yourself when you read the title of this chapter. A journal! You kept a diary in high school and took it out the other day and looked away in embarrassment --

This was the greatest day of my life. I met Tim. He was standing outside the dime store, this tall,
handsome boy -- a dream that's what he was -- and I thought - "He ought to be on TV -- and then Jeannie introduced me and I thought I'd die. I couldn't believe it. Before I knew what was happening I found myself being walked home by him. He's just absolutely -- I can't say what he means to me.

Or if you're a man, your diary went for two days and stopped. The entries looked like this:

Played ball this morning. Had lunch at 12:30. Didn't do much the rest of the day. (122)

Macrorie sees the journal as a "practice ground," which can be "intensely personal," but must "record telling facts which take the reader through the door into some essences." (123) He sees it as a place for students to consider an experience or set of ideas over time: "Keeping a journal forces a writer to put something into the sock every day or so. Often when he reviews what is there, he sees materials that fit together and build. He can work with them." (129) Keeping a journal is critical if one wants to become a better writer, according to Macrorie: "The man who dreams of becoming a writer spends his time dreaming of becoming a writer. The man who intends to become a writer keeps a journal and works the mine." (123)

[ While I want to go back and change the pronouns and masculine generics in Macrorie's text, something about their use seems appropriate. His having to defend the use of the journal and exhort students to take them seriously and learn to self disclose in them seems an argument directed primarily at the males. I know I am anticipating the findings from my men and women's journals, but Macrorie, I think, has hit intuitively, both with his introduction and
exhortation, on the same issues I have: that my women keep journals and diaries whether I ask them to or not. 2) that my men try sporadically to keep journals, often record only external activities, and often stop writing them altogether.

In *Writing without Teachers* (1973), Peter Elbow promotes the use of "freewriting" or "automatic writing" as a way to generate more writing, create fluency, and prevent premature editing. He advocates the use of a "freewriting diary" as the locus for these short frequent writing activities:

If you are serious about wanting to improve your writing, the most useful thing you can do is keep a freewriting diary. Just ten minutes a day. Not a complete account of your day: just a brief mind sample for each day. You don't have to think hard or prepare or be in the mood: without stopping just write whatever words come out ---whether or not you are thinking or in the mood." (9)

Don Murray is another important theorist and teacher who sees the journal as a central writing tool. He has studied the writing practices of professional writers for many years and has documented the many ways in which writers use journals. He discusses the wide array of writing activities that comprise his own "daybook." I have cited this passage in full because it demonstrates so aptly the current notion that the journal is an extraordinarily flexible compositional tool (although difficult to name or define); it can be used for one kind of writing activity as Peter Elbow's "freewriting diary," or for several in combination:
I am able to make use of fragments of time because my tools, first and foremost my daybook, are with me at all times. My daybook — or writer's log — is what some writers call a journal. When I wrote in a journal, I would swell up like rice in water and fill the space with wordy pronouncements. I tried to be Camus or Gide or someone famous and probably secretly imagined students reading my journal after I was dead. I was unbearable, unreadable — even by me. I'd write for days, read it over and laugh. I lost years, whole decades, when I could not keep a journal. I also tried to keep a diary, but the trivial events of my life were so trivial I was embarrassed reading them. The term "daybook," however, freed me. It was a working document, a sort of lab notebook, and since I have called it a daybook, it has become the most valuable resource I have.

I use an eight-by-ten-inch notebook, because it fits in the outside pocket of the case I sling over my shoulder. I keep that case with me at school and at home, in the car, when I'm traveling, and by my chair in the living room or in my office, or out on the porch — I may be just sitting, remembering Flannery O'Connor. "But I know one thing: If an idea does come ... I am ... ready for it."

The daybook had a page large enough for me to get a good chunk of writing done. Smaller notebooks seem to compress me; I don't have the area in which to explore ideas. Larger notebooks become cumbersome, they stop traveling with me. I use a spiral book because it can be bent back easily and made to fit my lap or whatever surface I have in front of me. I also like green-tinted paper because I often write outside perched on a rock or a log and the green page limits the glare.

It takes me about six weeks to fill a daybook, and when I'm finished with one I go back through it and pick out anything that I need to work on in the next book. Usually this means a page or two of notes at the most. I keep the daybooks on a shelf, and since everything is entered by date I can usually remember about when I wrote something and go back to it if I need to. The fact is I don't go back that much, but the process of writing down is vital. I'm talking to myself, and the daybook is a record of my intellectual life, what I'm thinking about and what I'm thinking about writing. I use little code words in the lefthand margin. The initials for this book were AWTW (A Writer Teaches Writing) and that was the code I put next to notes about what might be in this book. It's easy for me to review the daybooks to see what I've written on a particular project. Many of my articles and books
evolve over a period of years, and the daybook both
stimulates and records my thinking.

If you decide to try a daybook, or a log,
remember that it does not contain finished writing.
It can be a place for writing, a draft, but my book
at least, has all sorts of other writing that
doesn't even look like writing. Everyone's daybook
will change and evolve as the writer changes and
evolves, but mine includes:

- Observations of people and places (not as many as
  I'd expect).

- Questions that need answers (and answers that need
  questions).

- Lines that may become poems -- or stories or
  articles or books.

- Notes for class or for talks I'm going to give.

- The notes I've used to talk from in class or at
  meetings.

- Plans for what I may write (and schedules -- pages
  of schedules, all unrealistic -- of when I may write
  them).

- Titles, hundreds of titles for what I'm writing.

- Leads, dozens of leads, and often ends, for what
  I'm writing.

- Quotations from writers about writing, pasted in
  or written down. My daybook is first cousin of the
  eighteenth-century Commonplace Book, in which people
  copied down observations, reflections, and pieces of
  wisdom from what they had read in a lifelong self-
  education plan.

- Outlines.

- Diagrams that sketch the form of what I'm writing.

- Drafts of poems, articles, chapters, scenes from
  a novel I'm working on.

- Ideas for pieces of writing or talks that will
  become pieces of writing.

- Discussion with myself about writing problems I'm
  trying to solve on the page or teaching problems I'm
  trying to solve in my class.

- Quotations from my students or my colleagues that
  I need to think about.
- Postcards or other pictures that stimulate me.
- Paragraphs from newspapers or magazines that I want to keep.
- Chunks of drafts that haven't worked or pieces of writing or planning or notes that I've typed up or done on the word processor. I print them up and paste them in the daybook so they're with me and I can work on them or think about them.
- Titles of books to read.
- Prewriting.
- Notes on lectures


Murray's journal then, seems to operate as a tracking device for the myriad forms of his intellectual life — his writing, his writing about writing, and his writing about teaching about writing. Murray also reported to me that he does include other, more personal material in his journals in a compressed and "coded" form. While he doesn't often write an extended reflective entry on many of his immediate personal experiences, he will enter a phrase, name, a cryptic reference or remark which will conjure up for him an entire experience or set of feelings. This "coding" allows him access to this repository of information, but would not be accessible to another reader. As we have seen already, each writer and theorist seems to conceive of the journal as accommodating differing proportions of "personal" and "intellectual" content, both in their own journals and presumably, in the journals of their students. They
describe journals as serving a variety of purposes: to be seedbed for ideas to be planted in or a mine for ideas to be dug out of, to be a practice ground where one works out - prewrites, drafts -- as a preliminary to formal writing, to be an inducer of fluency and regular writing habits, to be a record of intellectual life.

Journals and Writing across the Curriculum

Precisely because of its adaptability to any number of writing and critical thinking tasks, its informality, and its proven heuristic value, the journal is seeing its newest pedagogical incarnation in the writing across the curriculum movement. Based on the claims about writing as a way of discovering meaning, a way of discovering the connections between ideas and ideas and oneself, one of the best ways to "learn" about anything, developed primarily by Britton and Emig., the WAC ("writing across the curriculum" or sometimes "reading and writing across the curriculum," or "language across the curriculum") movement is attempting to put writing and reading back at the center of the entire college curriculum.

Randall Freisinger gives a succinct overview and rationale for writing across the curriculum programs based on the experience of the program at Michigan Technological University:

Our program assumes that language for learning is different from language for informing. Britton acknowledges these different kinds of language use
by distinguishing the expressive, transactional, and poetic functions of language use. Expressive language, he says, is close to the self; it reveals as much about the speaker as it does about the topic. It is the language the writer uses first to draft important ideas. Transactional language, on the other hand, is language for an audience. Its primary aim is to convey information clearly to other people; it is the language of newspapers, law courts, and technical reports. It is also the language of schools. ...

This exploratory, close-to-the-self language is important because it is the primary means we have of personalizing knowledge. As philosopher/scientist Michael Polanyi claims, all knowledge, if it is to be genuine, must somehow be made personal. 3 The Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky tells us in Thought and Language that the connection between language and thinking is vital and organic. 'The relation between thought and word,' he maintains, 'is a living process; thought is born through words. A word devoid of thought is a dead thing, and a thought unembodied in word remains a shadow.' 4 When students are not allowed to work out their ideas before they report them to others, they are dealing in "dead things" (moribund words and ideas can be found with distressing ease in almost any batch of student papers). We believe that language must be employed in classrooms as a tool for discovery, an aid to learning, and not merely as an instrument for reporting. (Freisinger, 1982,4-5, see also Freisinger 1980, Freisinger and Petersen, 1981, Fulwiler, 1986)

Given this view of writing and the new interest in expressive, close-to-the-self, heuristic writing, it is easy to see how the journal would be a remarkably appropriate and useful writing tool which could be expanded, refined, and varied to meet the demands of writing to learn across the disciplines. One scholar in particular, Toby Fulwiler, is recognized as being instrumental in the development of the journal as a critical, if not the critical writing tool for WAC. He has published several articles on journals writing across the disciplines, as well as conducting
innumerable workshops nationally on using the journal for writing across the curriculum. In probably his best known article, "The Personal Connection: Journal Writing across the Curriculum" (1982) he provides a good sense of the current view of journals, their characteristics and potential uses. He asserts: "Journal writing, in the broadest sense, is an interdisciplinary learning tool with a place in every academic classroom; it is not the sole province of the English teacher any more than numbers belong to the math teacher or speaking belongs to the speech teacher." (15)

While allowing that journals are "remarkably flexible documents," (16) Fulwiler does attempt to specify what he sees as some of their defining characteristics, and makes distinctions between the journal and other related kinds of writing or structures for writing:

Journals might be looked at as part of a continuum including diaries and class notebooks: while diaries record the private thought and experience of the writer, class notebooks record the public thought and presentation of the teacher. The journal is somewhere in between the two. Like the diary, the journal is written in the first person about ideas important to the writer; like the class notebook, the journal may focus on academic subjects the writer wishes to examine.

Diary          Journal          Class Notebook
(Subjective)  (I/It)            (Objective Topics)

(Fulwiler, 17)

Among the suggestions he gives for using the journals in any class are: 1) starting or ending a class with journal
writing to allow students to compose their thoughts, make connections, summarize, or identify questions, 2) focusing learning by interrupting lectures with a journal write because it "shifts the learners into a participant role" and allows them to "interact with the ideas" while they are still fresh (20), 3) problem solving, or using journals to create problems, and work through the process of solving them, 4) using the journal for various kinds of homework, responding to questions or problems assigned in class, or keeping a "lab journal" to complement a "lab notebook" by personalizing or connecting observations, and 5) using the journals to assess their learning over time in the form of personal and class progress reports. (18-24) As for personal journals, which I understand to be more like diaries in his frame, that is, writing that is solely for emotional understanding and growth, he writes: "We cannot and should not monitor these personal trips, but we should, perhaps, acknowledge them and encourage students to chronicle them wherever and whenever they can." (26) Yet in his summary statement he comes back again to value of "coupling personal and academic learning." As we see below:

I believe that journals belong at the heart of any writing-across-the-curriculum program. Journals promote introspection on the one hand and vigorous speculation on the other; as such they are as valuable to teachers in the hard sciences as those in the more cushioned humanities. To be effective, however, journal use in one class ought to be reinforced by similar use in another class. Of course for teachers in some disciplines, where the primary focus is the student's grasp of specialized knowledge, the personal nature of journals may be of
secondary importance. However, the value of coupling personal with academic learning should not be overlooked; self knowledge provides the motivation for whatever knowledge an individual seeks. Without an understanding of who we are, we are not likely to understand why we study biology rather than forestry, literature rather than philosophy. In the end all knowledge is related; the journal helps clarify the relationship. (30)

Summary and Conclusions

Journals in composition and across the curriculum are currently viewed as powerful prewriting tools. While Freisinger asserts the importance of connecting expressive (writing for self) and transactional (writing to share information and ideas to others) and the importance of both kinds of writing, it's clear that journal writing is generally seen as a preliminary to more important, more "formal" writing. While journals certainly can be employed usefully in the service of prewriting, our current predisposition to see journals just as a form of prewriting is clearly problematic. As Lowenstein points out in her dissertation on the personal journal - journal keeper relationship:

The writing process researchers generally place journal keeping within the Pre-writing stage, which then emphasizes the journals as a subservient activity for the essay and more formal writing. This view is deceptive because it discourages thinking of the journal keeping process with its own stages and considering the journal as a separate genre. The entries in journal keeping are apt to be seen as tentative steps toward the draft. Conceptualizing the journal as Pre-writing leads to the assumption that the main or only purpose of journal keeping is to facilitate more formal writing.

(1982,150-151)
This view of the journal, Lowenstein suggests, may have some unintended negative instructional consequences. For example, "instructors may fail to distinguish among the complexities and subtleties of journal keeping behavior." By conceiving of the journal as some relatively simple (rather like "list making" and "furniture arranging"), easy, even unconscious, task, teachers are less likely to think to introduce the journal in a sufficiently detailed way, and students "may fail to appreciate and learn how to use the journal." (151) Lowenstein's insights here may begin to account for the difficulties many students have with "the journal."

A corollary difficulty which Lowenstein alludes to is that the term "journal" does not always refer to prewriting. Sometimes journals are writing. That is, both teachers and students know journals and diaries are terms which relate to particular kinds of writing, "genres of writing," of which there are many published examples readily available in the popular culture. The current focus on journals as prewriting not only reduces or restricts the meaning of the term to "a strategy" or a "tool," (as opposed to journals being both processes and forms), but also by doing so, disconnects the concept "journal" from the long and rich set of traditions associated with its use. Hence, what students know about "journals" in the popular sense of the word -- as writing about self and/or one's daily events becomes a potential source of confusion for them when they enter the composition class and are asked to "keep a journal."
And the current literature on journals available to teachers, which we have discussed, rarely attempts to place the current notion of the "journal as prewriting" in its larger social and historical contexts. An important (but unpublished) exception is Lowenstein's dissertation (1982) which explicitly tracks changing definitions of and ideas about the journal in order to provide a background for her discussion of personal journal keeping. Otherwise, there are only occasional references to other older journal forms, such as Murray's comment that his notebooks are like the eighteenth century commonplace books, and occasional somewhat vague allusions to the journal as being similar to and yet different from the diary.

The literature then, does not provide an adequate socio-historical context from which to create pedagogy for teachers and researchers. How can we possibly expect our students to know what journals are or should be, if we are not sure ourselves? Clearly, we need to understand more about the history, traditions, and social conditions in which journal forms have been practiced if we intend to be able to bridge the gap between our perceptions of the journal in the college composition classroom and those of our students. We need to be able to provide a much fuller context for the notion of "journal" if we all want to "come to terms" with one.

Allow me to turn to a second set of gaps now for a bit. I will review some of the important work on the "gaps" between men's and women's access to, and experience of,
language and discourse as another frame for looking at how journals are perceived and practiced by our students both inside and outside the composition classroom.
CHAPTER II

Gender, Language and Discourse: Critical Issues

Lying is done with words, and also with silence. (Rich 1979, 186)

Men have been expected to tell the truth about facts, not about feelings. They have not been expected to talk about feelings at all.

Yet even about the facts they have continually lied. (Rich 1979, 186)

In speaking of lies, we come inevitably to the subject of truth. There is nothing simple or easy about this idea. There is no 'the truth,' or 'a truth' -- truth is not one thing, or even a system. It is an increasing complexity. The pattern of the carpet is a surface. When we look closely, or when we become weavers, we learn of the tiny multiple threads unseen in the overall pattern, the knots on the underside of the carpet. (Rich 1979, 187)

Introduction

In order to understand why gender might inform the writing journals of our students we need to look first at the larger set of relations between gender and language/discourse. What are the relations between gender and language structure and use (both oral and written)? To answer this question with any completeness would require a complete review of the voluminous and extraordinarily complex literature in genderlinguistics and feminist criticism(s) which is clearly beyond the scope of this work. Not only are there many full length works in this general
area of study and innumerable articles, but indeed, there are book length bibliographies.¹

For our purposes, therefore, I think it will be sufficient to introduce and explore just a few of the central ideas/issues from these overlapping areas of inquiry, using some key texts such as Man Made Language (Spender 1980) and Language, Gender and Society (Thorne, Kramarae and Henley 1983) in language and linguistics and The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory (Showalter 1985), Writing and Sexual Difference (Abel 1982), Women and Language in Literature and Society (McConnell-Ginet, Borker and Furman 1980), and Silences (Olsen 1978) in feminist criticism literary study as primary touchstones.

Briefly, let me summarize the current focuses of the fields and how those focuses developed, using changing concepts of "difference" or more precisely "gender difference" as an illustration, particularly because we are going to discuss gender "difference" in the composition journals of my students. Hester Eisenstein, in her Introduction to The Future of Difference, documents the shifting uses of the term and its associated ideas. She explains that in the late 60's and early 70's women like Kate Millet and Elizabeth Jancaway and others were challenging the traditional notions of "masculinity" and "femininity" and the stereotyped and restrictive role differences these ideas had promoted for centuries.
The women's movement had absorbed the lesson of the civil rights movement: 'separate,' or different, was not 'equal.' Feminist analysis had revealed that the traditional celebration of women's 'difference' from men concealed a conviction of women's inferiority and an intention to keep women relatively powerless. Thus difference from men meant inequality and continued oppression for women. (Eisenstein, xvii)

One critical problem with that view, women soon realized, was that they were eliminating "their differences" using patriarchy as the model. That is, in agreeing that all differences between women and men actually did signal women's inferiority or deficiency, they were buying into the very model which had named or categorized women as inferior in the first place.

About this time women began to refocus the idea of difference. With the growing awareness that women and women's experiences had largely been rendered invisible or had been completely omitted from most domains of knowledge, Women's Studies came into being, which naturally rested on the assumption that in certain critical respects, "women's lives were different from men's, and it was precisely this difference that required illumination.... Now far from seeking to minimize women's difference from men, feminist scholars were asserting their importance as a legitimate, even critical, focus of study." (xviii) With this new "women-centered perspective," women have begun to understand and value their own ways of knowing and of being. They have begun to consider the ways in which both similarity and difference (and/or ideas about difference) can act not only as sources of oppression, but also as
sources of strength, as resources. They assert that
diversity of perspective and experience can be both positive
and powerful (Eisenstein, xviii-xix). Reclaiming difference
"on their own terms" has also allowed feminist scholars and
writers to begin to explore other kinds of differences
between and within women and men: the often hidden
differences of race, class, and sexuality which still divide
us (xix). And even these notions of difference are not
fixed, as women continue to engage in discussions of the
naming and nature of difference (see also McConnell-Ginet

Both genderlinguistics and feminist literary studies
have gone through these same sorts of shifts or refocusing,
each bringing into view a different cloth or carpet, like
the one Adrienne Rich alludes to in the epigraph at the
beginning of the chapter, increasingly layered and complex.
Thorne, Henley and Kramarae summarize the shifting foci in
language and gender research in their article "Language,
Gender and Society: Opening a Second Decade of Research"
(1983) Early research was centered on uncovering the
unconscious negative stereotypes of female speech (as
compared to male speech) and demonstrating the countless
ways in which language structure and use derogated or
omitted women. Unfortunately, however, several early studies
ended up using male models or criteria to evaluate or
describe the differences and ended up inadvertently
confirming instead of challenging male dominance, such as
Lakoff's influential first study (1975) which characterizes

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women's language as lacking authority and confidence, particularly with their use of the tag question form (Tag questions are sentences like "It's hot out, isn't it?). Dale Spender (1980) explains the problem with Lakoff's analysis:

Lakoff accepts that men's language is superior and she assumes that this is a feature of their linguistic performance and not of their sex. She also compares women to a male standard. She takes male language as the norm and measures women against it, and one outcome of this procedure is to classify any difference on the part of women as 'deviation.' Given these practices, it is unlikely that Lakoff could have arrived at positive findings for women, for any differences revealed, whether a product of language or of sex, would be predisposed to interpretation as yet more evidence of female deficiency. (8)

In fact, the research on tag questions, for example, shows a much more complex situation. Men and women tend to use proportionately greater or fewer numbers of tag questions depending on the social context of the situation and their specific rhetorical purpose. Thus, while Lakoff asserts that frequent use of tags by women conveys uncertainty, "Fishman demonstrates women's use of tags to elicit response from uncommunicative male conversational partners; Johnson describes tags as devices to sustain interaction; and Dubois and Crouch observe that tags can be used in an overbearing way, to forestall opposition." (Spender 1980, 13)

This kind of complexity in the findings of empirical studies of sex differences has led researchers to shift from studying isolated variables to considering language use
in social context, looking more at the gendering of language styles and strategies in specific social and rhetorical contexts instead of trying to locate and describe "genderlects" or gender linked dialects per se. Thorne, et al write: "The genderlect portrayal now seems too abstract and overdrawn, implying that there are differences in the basic codes used by women and men, rather than variably occurring differences and similarities, in the frequency with which women and men use specific features of a shared code." (1983, 14)

Along with this shift towards studying gender and language in more naturalistic and contextually situated manner, gender linguistics has also begun to focus on women's language use and discourse (the second major shift) from women's perspectives, rather than always comparing it to male models of discourse. Thus, while important early work probed the forms of exclusion, ellision, and derogation of women that took place in "man-made" language and language use (language/parole), current work is increasingly centered on descriptions of language use from women's perspectives. "The shift to woman as subject marks an important redirection of research on language and gender." (17) (For another useful view of the multiple concerns of genderlinguistics, see McConnell-Ginet's "Linguistics and the Feminist Challenge" and the other articles in Women and Language in Literature and Society (1980).)

The same set of shifts marks the development of feminist literary criticism as well, the first phase
identifying problems (omission, derogation, harassment of women writers and women's experience generally) with literary texts and literary theory, and the second phase incorporating the critique of the first, but shifting towards a woman-centered focus, called "gynocritics" by Elaine Showalter. In her introduction to The New Feminist Criticism, "The Feminist Critical Revolution," Showalter offers a brief overview of the shifts in perspective which have led to the current state of feminist criticism:

In its earliest years, feminist criticism concentrated on exposing the misogyny of literary practice: the stereotypes images of women in literature as angels or monsters, the literary abuse or textual harassment of women in classical and popular literature, and the exclusion of women from literary history. ...

The second phase of feminist criticism was the discovery that women writers had a literature of their own, whose historical and thematic coherence as well as artistic importance had been obscured by the patriarchal values that dominate our culture. Although critics and writers had talked for centuries about women's writing, when feminist criticism set out to map the territory of the female imagination and the structures of the female plot, it was doing something completely new. The focus on women's writing as a specific field of inquiry, moreover, led to a massive recovery as rereading of literature by women from all nations and historical periods. As hundreds of lost women writers were rediscovered, as letters and JOURNALS were brought to light, as new literary biographies explored the relationship between the individual female and the literary tradition, the continuities in women's writing became apparent for the first time. (Italics added) (6)

The recovery of women's literary traditions, of which the journal, as we will see, is one of the most central, has become a major part of the feminist enterprise, and the feminist recovery of women's journal traditions will provide
the background for my discussion of the gendered patterns I
found in my students journals.

And not unsurprisingly, a good deal of feminist
critical attention has begun to attend to the ways in
writing (actually any kind of discourse) is "different" for
women because of the nature of language itself, and because
of the social, psychological, and historical conditions
which have affected the discourses of men and women.2

In summary, major concepts like "difference" or
"gender" (Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley 1983, 15-16) have
undergone dynamic changes in the ways they are understood
and employed by feminist scholars, as have the intertwined
disciplines of gender linguistics and feminist criticism.
Feminists have incorporated both the useful documentation of
gaps, omissions, deletions, and sexism in language use and
literary texts (difference as dominance) with a newer focus
on "gynocritics," or women as readers, writers, and users
of discourse, which offers new perspectives on "the future
of difference" (difference as possibility). In the rest of
this chapter we will look at gender "difference" from both
perspectives, and we will use the same set of frames for our
discussion of gender and the journal.

**Gender and Man Made Language**

Language is our means of classifying and ordering
the world: our means of manipulating reality. In
its structure and in its use we bring our world into
realization, and if it is inherently inaccurate,
then we are misled. If the rules which underlie our
language system, our symbolic order, are invalid, we
are daily deceived. (Spender 1980, 3)
The women say, the language you speak poisons your glottis tongue palate lips. They say, the language you speak is made up of words that are killing you. They say, the language you speak is made up of signs that rightly speaking designate what men have appropriated.

(Monique Wittig Les Guerilleres, in Showalter, 252)

Why is language so problematic for women? Why do these theorists and writers find language "dangerous" or "difficult"? I have referred to the problematic nature of language several times in my discussion, so let me, briefly, address some of the issues in language and language use which feminist scholars in linguistics and literary criticism and women writers find so troubling.

A key metaphor or set of descriptive terms which enables us to understand the difference between women's and men's relation to language and all its uses in discourse is that of the DOMINANT (or voiced) and the MUTED/MUTE. Edwin Ardener (1975) first used this description to talk about the bias he perceived in anthropology. Anthropologists would often make "definitive" claims about a culture or tribe, having only talked to the males of that group. He noticed that women were often excluded both from the making of meanings within a given culture and from the free expression of those meanings. Ardener's model of the relationship between dominant and muted groups (which could happen along dimensions besides gender) looked something like this.
Dominant/Muted Group

- Muted Meanings and Expression: Women must use and style, and meanings permissible to dominant group.
- Dominant Meanings and Expression: Men as dominant group generate meaning, language styles, and "rules" for discourse.
- Silence: "Wild Zone" - Meanings and expression produced "outside" the dominant discourse. Unheard or invisible to those in dominance. Free zone for generation of new and "unmuted" meaning and form of expression. (For many women, the journal will operate as a "free zone," because of its private nature.)

(Adapted from Showalter 1985,262)
Showalter explains the consequences of such a
discourse/power relation:

Both muted and dominant groups generate beliefs or
ordering ideas of social reality at the unconscious
level, but the dominant groups control the forms or
structures in which consciousness can be
articulated. Thus muted groups must mediate their
beliefs through the allowable forms of dominant
structures. Another way of putting this would be to
say that all language is the language of the
dominant order, and women, if they speak at all,
must speak through it. (Showalter 1985, 262)

Or as Dorothy Smith stated, simply but powerfully, "Men
attend to and treat as significant only what men say. The
circle of men whose writing and talk was significant to each
other extends backwards in time as far as our records reach.
What men were doing was relevant to men, was written by men,
about men, for men. (Smith 1978, 281, in Spender 1980,77)

This muting takes many forms and encodes itself at many
levels in this "man-made" language and symbolic system.
There are literally hundreds of studies now available, for
example, on the infinitely varied ways in which the language
itself limits, derogates, or excludes women and women's
ideas/experience (I am limiting myself to the English
language for this discussion).

One primary way English reflects its man-made bias is
by a critical semantic rule: that words with the feature
+male will be the generic, the unmarked, the norm, the
universal form. Hence, we have what Wendy Martyna calls the
"he/man approach." (Martyna 1983, 25), to the "to be human
is to be male" approach. Although the uses of "he" and
"man" in all their forms have repeatedly been claimed to be
generic (that is, to encompass/embrace both women and men,) a host of empirical studies confirm that the "masculine generic" rarely functions in its generic capacity (see Spender 1980, 147-162, Martyna 1983, and Silviera 1980, for summaries of many of these studies).

Alleen Pace Nilsen's important early study (1973) of masculine generics discovered that young children understood "man" to mean "male person" in sentences like "man needs food." And Schneider and Hacker's work in the same year found college students responding similarly to the kinds of titles and headings frequently found in texts: "Urban Man," or "Political Man." In all the studies, both men and women understood the "generic" masculine forms to refer far more frequently to males. Additionally, male pronouns, even when used explicitly as non-generics, far outnumber female pronouns. In Graham's analysis (1973) of 100,000 words of children's school texts, male pronouns outnumbered female pronouns by a four to one margin. "This ratio was not primarily due to the use of masculine words in generic contexts: 97 percent of the uses of "he" referred to male humans or animals..., and men were referred to specifically seven times as often as women." (Thorne, et al 1983, 10)

The built-in conceptual ambiguity of these words which are presumably both masculine and generic at the same time is demonstrated by how easy it is to slip from the purely generic to the specifically masculine in the same breath or to make what appears to all to be a logical faux pas. (Schulz 1978, Graham 1975, cited in Spender 1980, 154-157, and
Martyna 1983, 30-31)

'How does Man see himself? As a salesman? A doctor? A dentist?' (So far the speaker could be using Man generically, referring to women as well as man.) 'As far as sexuality goes,' he continued, 'the Kinsey reports on the activities of the American male surely affect his self image in this regard...'
(Schulz 1978, 1 in Spender 1980, 155)

In practice, the sexist assumption that man is a species of males becomes the fact. Erich Fromm certainly seemed to think so when he wrote that man's 'vital interests' were 'life, food, access to females, etc.' Loren Eisley implied it when he wrote of man that 'his back aches, he ruptures easily, his women have difficulties in childbirth...'
(Graham 1975, 62, in Spender 1980, 155)

Indeed, we are startled, and either amused or irritated at constructions like "Menstrual pain accounts for an enormous loss of manpower hours" or "Man, being a mammal, breastfeeds his young," or upon hearing of a gynecologist being given an award for "service to his fellow man." (Thorne, et al 1983, 31) And men were not amused at all when elementary school teachers were referred to with the generic "she," even though the vast majority of school teachers were "shes" (Spender 1980, 158).

This masculine/generic confusion or better, exclusion, appears to have different consequences for men's and women's relation to these central language forms and their use. Wendy Martyna (1983) reports striking sex differences in the use and understanding of the masculine generic. She found that females use "he" less often than males do, and look for alternative forms, while "males have an easier time imagining themselves as members of the category referenced
by generic 'he.'", and saw themselves seven times more often in response to sex-neutral sentences with words like "person" or "human being." Clearly, both men and women perceive both false generics and true generic forms as referring primarily to men or males. Thus, women have to continually confront the paradox of being a part of language and is system by virtue of being human (homo symbolicum), and yet being essentially excluded from language by virtue of being "women."

This muting (or silencing) repeats itself again and again throughout the language, as the male-as norm/female as other, absence, deviance, male as subject/female as object operates ceaselessly. Women are defined in relation to men, named by men (Tom's wife, Jack's mother, Harold's widow, Miss, Mrs.) Women's family names have not been important -- girls have for centuries (millenia in some cultures) started life with their father's names, until they could be married and take a new surname (sire-name), their husbands'. In America, for example, for at least a hundred years, many states required that women take their husband's name (Stannard, 1977). Thus, women have been deprived of a central part of their linguistic and psychological identity: a permanent name of their own (Spender 1980, 24-25, Thorne, et al 1983,9, Miller and Swift 1976)

Women also find it hard to use the dominant language because many of the names and labels they have been given derogate or trivialize them. Women have been labelled by man made language according to men's primary interests; many
of the terms referring or relating to women in the language (titles, address forms, descriptors) describe them as sexual object, as body part, as whore or promiscuous, as fruit, as food, or animal, as the classic studies by Schulz (1975) and Stanley (1977) and several others have shown. Words coined without reference to gender or words first coined with reference to males have the alarming tendency to pejorate (take on negative connotation) when applied to females and so do the female-marked forms of parallel gendered terms (master/mistress, governor/governess, courtier/courtesan, baronet/dame,) as Robin Lakoff insightfully demonstrated (1974).

And while one might make the case that these problems are simply "historical" in nature, the case of Esperanto (the newly created "universal" language shows that the same set of biases are still being encoded; that is the male forms are "unmarked" (the normal case, the positive semantic space), while the female forms must be marked by an infix ("fratro" is "father", "fratrino" is mother) (Robbins 1978, in Spender 1980).

Finally, there is the problem of "silences" or "gaps" in the language. This is a particularly difficult problem to get at because of its difficultly, if not impossibility of naming or defining, or discussing that which has no name. Dale Spender puts it this way:

Because women have not been involved in the production of the legitimated language, they have been unable to give weight to their own symbolic meanings (S. Ardener, 1975), they have been unable
to pass on a tradition of women's meanings of the world. Both sexes have the capacity to generate meanings, but women have not been in a position to have their meanings taken up and incorporated in the society. They have not been in the public arena, they have not been the 'culture'-makers with the result that any meanings they may wish to encode, but which are different from or at odds with those that have been generated by men, have been tenuous and transitory: they have been cut off from the mainstream of meanings and therefore have frequently been lost. (Spender 1980,52)

Since women's experience "when recorded has usually been recorded by men and through a medium of a language designed by men" (Kramarae 1980, 61), it is easy to see how much of women's experience might end up being distorted or omitted entirely by the time it got through the language filter. Many women have reported these "gaps" between their experience and the language they have to render them. Betty Friedan in 1963 was reporting that many housewives were feeling a certain malaise which they could describe -- it had no name. (61) And Adrienne Rich has shown an enormous discrepancy between men's perceptions and "naming" of motherhood and the much more complex associations and "namings" that only women can bring to the idea of motherhood. (Rich 1977, see also Spender 1980, 54-60) Men and women, then have a different relation to language: men have been the namers, women have been the named. There have been very few "places" women could go to be "alone" with their language and outside of scrutiny of the "namers." Already, however, we can see how the journal might be suited to that task, especially when we begin to see that the muting/silencing of women has not been restricted to the
internal workings of language alone. For, "just as they have more rights to the formulation of meaning in the language as a system, so it seems that men have more rights when it comes to using that system." (Spender 1980, 44)

**Gender and Oral Discourse: Public and Private Voices**

Nothing is so unnatural as a talkative man or a quiet woman. (Scottish proverb, Swacker 1975, 76 in Spender 1980, 41)

Silence gives the proper grace to women. (Sophocles' Ajax, Kaplan 1976, 28, in Spender 1980, 41)

Women are a decorative sex -- they have nothing to say, but they say it charmingly. (Oscar Wilde, in Key 1975)

While women and men both use the "same" language then, it's clear that they do not necessarily stand in the same relation to it. Women have been more like "borrowers" or even "thieves" as several women poets and writers have suggested, while men have controlled the types of discourse to be lent out, and the conditions of the lending, and have created their model of language based on these forms of power and control.

So women's problems with language and language use are compounded. First, we/they have to tell our/their truths in "an alien tongue," as Adrienne Rich describes it, or "tell it slant," as Tillie Olsen, borrowing from Emily Dickinson characterizes the process, or "use the language which poisons our lips, tongues, palate," as Monique Wittig names it. Simply put by Thomas Hardy's heroine in *Far from the*
Madding Crowd, "it is difficult for a woman to define her feelings in language chiefly made by men to express theirs." (Kramarae "Proprietors" 1980, 58). And as Shirley Ardener (1975) and Berger and Luckmann (1972) point out it's very hard to know exactly what you are thinking or feeling if you have no way to name it, or worse, the language you know and have to think in runs counter to your perceptions. How do you hold onto the "unnameable"; how do you test an idea's authenticity if you can't articulate it, or it always seems to get lost in "translation"? And even if you manage to break into articulate speech will you be listened to? And under what conditions?

Chinese women, for example, are often said to attribute their own thoughts to their sons or husbands or other male relatives to order to have them heard, while Mongolian women (specifically daughters-in-law) must always transpose certain words into other words before saying them because of a supernatural taboo (Ardener 1978, 21). For many women speakers and writers, these necessary "slantings" and "necessary indirections" are central problems.

And as we can see, the problem is compounded for men have controlled the actual practice of discourse as well, not only by explicit sanctions but also by implicit stereotyping and by controlling the micropolitics of discourse situations as well, and punishing or ridiculing both males and females who transgress. By creating the very powerful (albeit constantly shifting) dichotomy of public/private sphere both as "conceptual categories" and as
a set of norms for every variety of behavior, and allocating women's discourse to be both in and about only the "secondary" private sphere, men again, have both muted or silenced women.

Jean Bethke Elstain in her book *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (1981, see also 1982) documents exhaustively the varying forms that the public silencing of women has taken. For example, in Greek society:

Man's public speech took place in that public realm par excellence, the polis. His private, albeit social speech was carried on within the household, though that speech, tied to images of necessity, carried no public weight.... This led to, indeed it involved -- levels of partially autonomous but interconnected spheres of human discourse. The question of what was appropriate to say, to utter, depending on context -- where one was and with whom and why -- emerged not so much as a rule of etiquette (etiquette takes over when social forms begin to fray around the edges), but as a public-political, social, individual, even religious or mythopoetic imperative, broken only by gods, fools, madmen, the very bold, or old, or young. ...

Speech too, had its public and private moments. Some categories of human subjects -- in Greek society slaves and women were the most important -- were confined to private realms of discourse. Truly public political speech was the exclusive preserve of free, male citizens. Neither women nor slaves were public beings. Their tongues were silent on the public issues of the day. Their speech was severed from the name of action: it filled the air, echoed for a time, and faded from official memory with none to record it or to embody it in public forms.

(Elstain 1981, 14)

Greek women, as have most women, been additionally muted because their confinement to the private sphere made the topics of their discourse unsuitable for any public forum, and as women have not been educated to use the specific
rhetorical forms for their discourse, their speech has not been considered proper to be heard in public. (Elstain, 14)

Even now, Greek women who speak up in public are considered threatening and are enjoined to be silent (Ardener 1978, 23). And they are not alone. Indeed, in most southern European cultures (studies from Portugal, Spain, Malta, France, Italy, and Greece), women's topics and women's speech are restricted in multiple and varying ways to the private verbal sphere, particularly to "gossip," as Ruth Borker's fascinating review article on the relation between women's talk and women's social positions in diverse cultures around the world shows (Borker 1980, 26-45). In many cultures, actual silence is imposed on women during various rituals, in synagogues, or during wedding ceremonies, for example. (Ardener, 21)

Robert Connors has recently traced what he calls "The Feminization of Rhetoric," (1986) mapping the host of sanctions against women as users of public, primarily agonistic and polemical, discourse, and the gradual amelioration of these sanctions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And Kramarae (1981) and Gearhart (1979) have also explored the prohibitions against women using male forms of public discourse or their own discourse in public.

We have come a considerable distance from the common nineteenth century experience of Beatrice Potter who, having had a paper on the symbiotic nature of lichens accepted for presentation at the Linnean Society of London, was required
to have her uncle read the paper at the conference, and was not allowed to be present (Fausto-Sterling, 1972). We are probably more comfortable engaging in public discourse than Charlotte Bronte, who was warm and enthusiastic in private conversation, but often could not bring herself to speak in public, and wrote to her friend "my occasional silence was only a failure of the power to talk, never of will." (letter to Ellen Nussey, 18 December 1849, in Ardener 1978, 28)

Yet there is still considerable prejudice against women as public speakers and many women feel quite uncomfortable in that role and with the male registers of public speech, which are often authoritarian and polemical (Kaplan 1976, Kramarae 1981) Spender records one women's typical angst as follows:

When you grow up female in this society, then you learn not to have confidence in yourself as a person. You have to overcome that, and men don't, or at least not in the same way. But even ... and if ... you catch up on that, there is still a problem. I find it easier to talk to women informally. That's the way I want to do it. That's how you can listen and exchange, which is what I want to do when I talk ... not just speak at, to deliver a convincing monologue from a platform. Public speaking is a pretty one way process. It gives a lot of rights to the few who do the speaking and none to the many who have to listen.

So it's still a problem for me. Some people tell me I'm good at it, and I get a bit confused ...

(Spender 1980, 81)

[ I was talking with one of my women students from last semester just a few days ago. Marie, an older returning student, had passionately thrown herself into the reading and writing from the Expository Prose course and would often
produce reading responses up to twenty pages long. As she put it, she developed a love-hate relationship with writing. She was excited by the acquisition of academic language and the world of ideas, and clearly felt at the end of the course that she acquired some rights to this world and its discourse, as well she had. During her conversation with me, however, it became apparent, that her new discursive abilities had gotten her into trouble. She explained that she was thinking of leaving school. I was shocked because it was clear she was an excellent student, and a committed one. She explained that she was afraid of losing many of her long term friends because her going to school was coming between them. Again I asked why. The problem turned out to be discourse. When they would all get together for an evening and talk, she had begun to talk, too. "I just can't stay silent anymore and go uh-huh uh-huh. I hear these things and I know about them, and I have opinions and I can finally back them up. But when I do, they tell me I'm overbearing. Maybe I am overbearing -- maybe I should give it up now. School is so risky, I don't want to lose my friends. But I want school, too." Marie is not an overbearing person, but she is breaking out of her "normal" discourse, into the world of ideas and public discourse, and those around her are clearly not accepting her expanded discourse roles. (personal communication, 3-3-87)

Another overlapping form of control surfaces in the form of stereotypes about the ways men and women actually talk. The way women talk is often characterized as "wishy
"washi mommy talk" (Kramer 1977): "weak, trivial, ineffectual, tentative, hesitant, hyperpolite, euphemistic, talkative, gossipy, gibberish." On the other other hand, men's way of talking is often described or thought of as "forceful, efficient, blunt, authoritative, serious, effective, sparing, and masterful." Most women and men, and even boys and girls can identify these traits as masculine or feminine speech characteristics. One wonders about the potentially debilitating effect of these stereotypes on children acquiring language — what will girls learn about the importance of what they have to say? or the speech styles and strategies they are learning? And recent empirical research shows that many of these "qualities" have little basis in fact, while others have been "named" in ways that clearly distort the actual dynamics of speech.

Take the critical example of "talkativeness." The stereotype suggests women are endless chatterers. Slogans, folk wisdom, cartoons (Kramer, 1977, Key, 1975, Miller and Swift, 1976) repeat the stereotype in endless profusion, and etiquette books inevitably admonish girls to be quiet and listen attentively to boys so they will like them. Yet studies in several discourse situations confirm that fact that when women and men talk together it is more frequently the men who do the majority of the talking, not women. (Swacker 1975, Strodbeck et al 1957, Argyle et al 1968, Bernard 1972, Chesler 1972). As Spender points out: "The talkativeness of women has been gauged not in comparison with men but with silence. Women have not been judged on
the grounds of whether they talk more than men, but of
whether they talk more than silent women." (1980, 41)

In fact, men control the micropolitics of actual
conversations by a variety of strategies. Indeed, these
strategies, are intended more to inscribe or communicate
gender/power relations than to communicate other kinds of
information. Let us now consider some of newer work on
gender differences in style, strategy, and verbal
interaction model which suggests that while men may use
discourse to secure and maintain "authority", and while
gender differences in discourse do often signal asymmetrical
power relations, "women's talk" is not necessarily weak or
trivial and may have its own forms and value.

Male Styles, Male Models: Control and Interruption
as Interaction

The particular, and indeed "dominant" model of verbal
interaction demonstrated by the speech style discussed above
of controlling discourse by controlling speaking rights, and
other strategies as well, is one which works on strictly
defined speaking rights, competition and hierarchy. Most
public discourse and public discourse forms are based on
such a model. Males with the most status "control" the
discourse, by talking most, and by choosing whether or not
to respond to the topics that others (females or males with
less status) raise. Several studies have documented the
competitive, "one-upsmanship," antiphonal style of single
sex male conversations (Mitchell-Kernan 1973, Whitehead
cited in Spender 1980, 127), and verbal dueling, rapping, and "doing the dozens" are speech genres clearly associated with male talk.

[ Allow me another anecdotal rupture here. My husband and I live right across the street from several fraternity houses so we are constantly privy to "naturalistic samples" of male single sex discourse, especially on the weekends and late at night. The sample I offer is certainly extreme, but it is by no means uncommon, and displays some principal characteristics of one form of male single sex discourse: it is aggressive, competitive, and antiphonal in structure, and rather pure in content.

Two young men and a young woman were walking by our home late one evening. Our bedroom windows which faced the street were open. The young woman whose voice was barely audible had obviously reproved one of the young men, presumably her boyfriend, for not being honest with her. He responds:

"What? I'm not a goddamned liar. You think I'm a goddamned liar, don't you."

Her voice starts up again, the words indistinct, the tone assuaging.

"Well, Fuck you! I mean it -- FUCK YOU!"

The second male intercedes at this point, on the young woman's behalf, and attempts to calm the angry young man down ...to no avail, as the first man turns now on his companion.

"Well then, fuck you, too!"
At this point, the antiphonal structure of the rest of the discourse is assured as we hear two male voices, moving away from each other, volleying successively louder "fuck you's" back and forth at one another, echoing into the night.]

The competitive and hierarchical nature of men's speech styles, both in mixed sex and single sex discourse situations, is confirmed by the frequent presence of other salient features such as interruption and non-disclosure. Interruptions for example, have considerable micropolitical significance because they are, by definition, violations of another's speaking rights. Interruptions "establish and maintain status differentials." (103) (Interruptions differ from "overlapping speech" which often enhances or supports a conversation.) Candace West and Don Zimmerman have done several important studies of interruption (1975, 1977, 1983). Their first study sampled cross-sex exchanges in a variety of discourse situations (homes, drug stores, coffee shops, university campuses). In every conversation, males interrupted females more frequently than the converse and male interruptions counted for 96% of all interruptions.

In a later study (1977), they looked at a series of parent-child interactions, and found that parents interrupted children twelve out of fourteen times, paralleling the results of men to women. (Other studies confirm that men tend use a distanced, controlling speech style even to infants and small children, particularly females, which may promote verbal deference on the part of

Most recently, West and Zimmerman have expanded their findings on male interruption, by examining interruptions between unacquainted people in a laboratory setting. Although the conditions of this study were quite different from the 1975 study, the results were amazingly similar: 75% of the interruptions were male initiated, and again, in each of the specific interactions, males interrupted more than females. West and Zimmerman propose: "It is, in other words, a way of 'doing' power in face-to-face interaction, and to the extent that power is implicated in what it means to be a man vis-a-vis a woman, it is a way of 'doing' gender as well." (1983, 111)

One final compelling illustration (at least for me) of the relation between gender, interruption and power is reported by Eakins and Eakins (1978, in West and Zimmerman 1983, 102). Analyzing interruptions in faculty meetings, Eakins and Eakins not only found that males interrupted more than females, but also that the least interrupted person was the male chairman, while the most interrupted person was a female without a PhD.

The last feature I want to discuss as a significant feature of men's discourse style is what is called "non disclosure." Consonant with the public/private distinction, men's speech has often been identified as less personal, less emotional and less likely to treat "personal" or "private sphere" topics at length. Several studies cited
in the annotated bibliography of Language, Gender, and Society (1983) corroborate this general set of features in male-male and male-female interactions.

Aries, for example, (1977) reports male groups "established a stable dominance order" and talked "about sports, competition, aggression, and things they had seen read or heard" (265) Goodwin (1980) taping naturalistic conversation during the play of urban Black children also found an aggressive/competitive speech model and an emphasis on action and achievement in the male's talk. In Komarovsky's Blue Collar Marriage (1962), a series of interviews with 58 couples, "the husbands, who felt their wives talked about gossip and 'silly' matters, talked to one another about cars, sports, work, motorcycles, carpentry and local politics." (273).

Mulchahy (1973), Aries and Johnson (in press), Ayres (1980) and several other studies listed in the annotated bibliography also confirm the interest in "less personal" topics for males of all ages: sports, business, politics, cars, entertainments, activities. And as for non-disclosure itself, Cozby (1973) did a literature review on self-disclosure. He found many studies reporting greater self disclosure in females, a few reporting equal amounts, and none which found males to be more disclosing. Robert Lewis, in "Emotional Intimacy Among Men" (1978) writes that while men report more same-sex friendships, most aren't disclosing or intimate because of the pressure to compete and a fear of vulnerability, among other things.
What seems to be a most useful commentary on the issue of "inexpressiveness" is offered by Jack Sattel in his article "Men, Inexpressiveness, and Power" (1983). He outlines the common explanation that little boys are prevented from learning to express themselves, and then learn to devalue expressive behavior in others, which results in tragic consequences for many men's personal relationships. While he agrees that such conditioning does occur and that the consequences can be quite destructive, he feels it is an insufficient explanation:

My argument is that one reason little boys become inexpressive is not simply because our culture expects boys to be that way -- but because our culture expects little boys to grow up to hold positions of power and prestige. What better way to exercise power that to make it appear that all one's behavior seems to be the result of unemotional rationality. ... This is a style we quickly recognize in the recent history of American politics: Nixon guarded the assault to his position by "stonewalling" it; Gerald Ford asked us to "hang tough and bite the bullet"; while Edmund Muskie was perceived as unfit for the Presidency because he cried in public.

Keeping cool, keeping distant as others challenge you or make demands upon you, is a strategy for keeping the upper hand. This same norm of political office -- an image of strength and fitness to rule conveyed through inexpressiveness -- is not limited to the public sphere; all men in this culture have recourse to this style by virtue of their gender. The structural link usually overlooked in discussions of male inexpressiveness is between gender and power, rather than gender and inexpressiveness. (Sattel 1983, 120)

Sattel is making an obvious but important point. As speakers, we know that talking about ourselves renders us vulnerable, not simply because of the content of our discourse, but also because we are speaking only for
ourselves, and therefore cannot invoke the power, the authority, of "the polis" or "received wisdom."

In summary, males' conversational styles take many forms, but tend to have in common a model of discourse and language interaction based on the following features and assumptions:

1. Language and language use are based on power relations.

2. The public (male)/private (female) dichotomy in discourse is fundamental to maintaining discursive control. The public mode is the dominant (privileged) mode, and male control must be exercised over both verbal spheres.

3. Strategies for establishing and maintaining control include: controlling speaking rights and turn-taking, strategies of non-response or non-disclosure, and interruption.

4. Structure of speech is usually antiphonal, or one at a time. One speaker, all others strictly defined as audience. (Clear speaker/audience boundaries)

   [These central characteristics, as we will see shortly, will be readily discernible in the journals of most of my male students.]

   Certainly, this model of discourse is, as it has been described, "blunt, forceful, masterful". It is the model most of us deal in much of the time. But it is not the only model upon which we can erect verbal discourse, and indeed, if communication, rather than power is the real goal of discourse, it may not always be the best.
Female Styles/ Female Models: Collaboration as Interaction

"The predominant theory of conversation in social life tends to stress competition for turns. In this framework, conversation is seen as a game of conflict, with women as perennial losers. An alternative might be to view it as a game of coordination, of which women are highly skilled players." (McConnell-Ginet 1980, 19) Conversation is a critical part of all social relationships, so omnipresent as to be invisible. And in our most important relationships, regular verbal communication is simply fundamental. "In these relationships, in these mundane interactions, much of the essential work of sustaining the reality of the world goes on." (Fishman 1983, 90)

But much as they appear to, conversations/verbal interactions don't just happen; they are initiated and maintained by a variety of kinds of "work," which Pamela Fishman has described as "conversational housework" or more dramatically, "conversational shitwork" (1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1983) Taping fifty-two hours of talk between intimates of three white, middle class, heterosexual couples (1983) she found an "unequal distribution of work in conversation" as the women were "much more actively engaged in insuring interaction than the men." (98) Women asked two and a half times as many questions (to initiate and maintain conversations). They used many conversational openings like "do you know X" (which children and others with restricted speaking rights use to get into conversations), and "this is
interesting" or "here's a nice idea" variants in order to enlist the male's attention. Women also initiated almost twice as many topics as men, but met with much less success at having the topics become conversation. Men raised 29 topics, only one of which met with uncertain success. Women raised 47 topics, 17 of which were incorporated, 28 of which failed (were not responded to by the males.) Men made twice as many statements on the other hand, which "fill a turn" but don't do much other interactional work.

The following is an example of a "normal" conversation in this frame, taped by Dale Spender, which shows the woman hard at work at "the art of conversation," drawing the male out until he finally interrupts and takes over.

Female: Did he have the papers ready for you?
Male: Mmmmm.
Female: And were they all right ... was anything missing?
Male: Not that I could see.
Female: Well that must have been a relief, anyway ...
Female: I suppose everything went well after that?
Male: Almost.
Female: Oh. Was there something else?
Male: Yes, actually.
Female: It wasn't X ... was it? ... He didn't let you down again? ...
Male: I'd say he did.
Female: He really is responsible, you know, you should get...
Male: I'm going to do something about it. It was just about the last straw today. How many times do you think that makes this week....

(Spender 1980,48-49)3

As Fishman points out, the verbal "domestic engineering" skills women often need to practice take many forms and are complex, even though they are generally invisible:

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While women have difficulty generating interactions, they are almost always available to do the conversational work required by men and which is necessary for interactions. Appearances may differ by case: sometimes women are required to sit and "be a good listener" because they are not otherwise needed. At other times women are required to fill silences and keep conversation moving, to talk a lot. Sometimes they are expected to develop others' topics, and at other times they are required to present and develop topics of their own. (1983, 99)

Not unsurprisingly, the same features of women's speech which have so often been used to prove deficiency or weakness, features like politeness forms, frequent use of tags and other question types, conversational fillers like "uh-huh" and "mummmmmmm" and "yes," and pauses/hesitations, can be suddenly seen as having enormous value in the construction and maintenance of conversational speech. And while it seems apparent that these cooperative or sustaining speech strategies are at least in part, accommodative responses to greater male power (Brown and Levinson 1978, Lakoff 1975) there is considerable mounting evidence to suggest that women prefer a somewhat different model of language interaction even when they are not in the presence of greater male power. Ardener reminds us of the potential value of considering how women talk to women when they are alone, at the edge of "the wild zone" sketched out in Edwin Ardener's figure of the relation between dominant and muted (see page 36).

Members of a muted group may thus come to an accommodation with the social structure in which they are placed, and find their own satisfactions in its interstices and outside its dominant structure. Their alternative systems of value, which may be
rich and complex, should be respected and should receive greater attention than they sometimes do. (Ardener 1978,28)

What is women's discourse like when it is at its greatest remove from the conventions, restrictions and monitorings of the dominant discourse and dominant discoursers? Several studies of talk in all female groups suggest (Aries 1976, Chesler 1976, Kalcik 1975, Goodwin 1980, Jenkins 1982) that women's discourse often operates on a collaborative framework, with personal life, lived experience, and relationships as the primary texts of conversation. Thorne et al summarize these studies as highlighting features like: "mutuality of 'interaction work' (active listening, building on the utterances of others), collaboration rather than competition, and flexible leadership rather than the strong dominance patterns found in all-male groups." When women talk together, they often use overlapping speech strategies, telling parallel anecdotes simultaneously, which center on a "kernel" narrative, for example. Thus, the boundaries between listener and speaker are eroded or conflated, with those present often being in both roles at the same time, or moving fluidly between them.

Women's talk is positive for women for many reasons then, among them: 1) women know they'll get a chance to talk, 2) women know they'll actually be listened to, 3) women know that other women are more likely to value the same interest in relationships and personal knowledge.
Another important reason that women's talk is valuable is that women, I think, intuitively understand that just as the language and discourse around them has bound, elided, effaced, and muted them, so too, it is through language that we/they can be restored. Language can be a constraint, or a release; a prison or a window. When women come together to speak, we (women) validate ourselves. By sharing the overlapping texts of our lives, indeed, the whole relational fabric of our lives, we begin to map the holes/tears, bad seams/misweavings in the discourse woven into our brains since birth. And thus, we reclaim ourselves, rename ourselves, come into being through language, by venturing into the "wilderness", the "wild zone" as Showalter calls it, the areas of women's experience previously misnamed or unnamed. The enormous surge of Consciousness Raising groups which has accompanied the women's movement of the past two decades is a superlative example of the liberatory opportunities women seek in language. Journals, as we will see in the rest of the dissertation, have been used as another. Spender sees the exciting possibilities which can result from women talk (or write):

When women's voices do penetrate, that same cumulative process can apply in reverse. Women-centered meanings will multiply as the pattern of women's existence begins to emerge in both formal and informal contexts. There will be numerous spheres of female existence that will begin to come into focus, which begin to become real.

(Spender 1980, 74-5)

And although I will be writing about gender and written discourse shortly, I must allow Adrienne Rich to come in
here and share her distilled sense of woman's relation to language in the excerpt from "Thinking of Caroline Herschel, 1750-1848, Astronomer, Sister of William; and Others":

I am an instrument in the shape of a woman trying to translate pulsations into images for the relief of the body and the reconstruction of the mind.

(Rich, 1979, 48)

To sum up this discussion of women's discourse strategies and models of language, let me identify some principal assumptions and characteristics as follows.

1. As a muted group, women belong to the dominant verbal traditions, and must use them, but may not generate or control them, and have only limited rights to them.

2. Women have developed a set of discourse strategies and a model of language use which may be partly accommodative but also seems to have developed outside of the dominant discourse tradition.

3. Thus, women's relation to language is more complex in the sense that they are simultaneously in two complementary (in certain respects, paradoxical) discourse traditions.

4. Historically restricted to the private sphere in forms and contents of their speech, women's talk has centered on domestic life, relationships, and lived experience and has developed its own forms (gossip, storytelling, advice to children, etc).
That is, women often produce oral and written texts that are close to life (texts of life).

5. Women, both in mixed sex and single sex discourse, tend to work on a collaborative, rather than a competitive model, which emphasizes sharing of the right to talk, active listening, turn taking, and fluid audience/speaker roles.
Gender and Written Discourse: Public and Private Voices

Every woman who writes is a survivor.
(Tillie Olsen 1979)

Because women writers have had to fit moments of writing between household tasks, or have been considered freaks who denied their primary female creative function, or have been viewed by critics as unworthy of serious attention, they often reflect a self consciousness of themselves as artists.
(Goulianos 1973, xv-xvi)

Let me now turn the lens to the next level of magnitude, to bring written discourse more clearly into view, in order to show how the general claims I've made about language and discourse are relevant to an understanding of the relationship of gender to writing specifically. In the next chapter, then, we'll give our tele/micro-scope one last twist which should bring the journal squarely under our eye.

Because women are a muted group discursively, their writing will be muted in the same multi-leveled way as is their speech, with similar consequences for the quantities and qualities of their written productions, for their sense of themselves as writers, and for their concern with writing as both constraint and release. What women have tended to write about, the forms and styles with which they are comfortable, their complex relation to writing, and as we have seen, language itself: all these patterns will be clearly identifiable in the student journals.

How have women been muted as writers? Several books and countless articles have already been written on this
subject, Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, Tillie Olsen's *Silences*, Joanna Russ's *How to Suppress Women's Writing*, Dale Spender's "Women and Writing" in *Man Made Language*, and Lynn Spender's *Intruders on the Rights of Men: Women's Unpublished Heritage* among them. So I need not treat all the issues in depth, but I do however, want to list some of the ways women have encountered the dominant/public, muted/private sanctions and traditions because that is the legacy my male and female students of writing have inherited. Spender puts it thus:

Women writers, from the time they dared to circulate their work publicly, have been subjected to harassment from men for entering male territory and for allegedly denying their male-defined femininity. They have had to contend with the imposition of limitations to their education, to their opportunities to write and their chances to publish and circulate their work. Even after their words have been printed, women have had to face male literary criticism in order to determine the fate of their work. In each case and at each stage, women have been pressed to conform to men's requirements to meet with male approval. (Spender, *Intruders*, 43)

In the first place, public writing (including literature) naturally has been the province of men. And traditionally, even into the early nineteenth century, in order to write for the public sphere in the Western world one had to be schooled in written Latin and the classical rhetorical forms. Schoolboys of Shakespeare's days were trained in the rhetorical patterns of Cato, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Horace and Seneca, and versed in the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian. Girls, however, were not. Donovan, in her insightful study "The Silence is Broken"
(1980), on the entrance of women into the world of letters, explains: "Latin had become a male public language, which existed only within the male academic institutions. Women could only learn vernaculars and for centuries were denied access to the world of formal, public communication (including literature.)" (206) Indeed, women were not granted access to a university education in substantial numbers until the middle of the nineteenth century, and in some cases not until the twentieth century. Oxford did not open its doors to women until 1920, Cambridge not until 1948 (Mahl and Koon 1977, 6). Just for point of reference, the University of New Hampshire graduated its first four women in 1897.

Even more frightening, and even more basic, UN statistics from 1980 reveal that worldwide "each year the gap grows between women's illiteracy rates and those of men." (Spender, Intruders 16) Clearly then the most basic form of muting has been to deny women, in far greater numbers than men, the basic tools of literacy and schooling which would allow women to write, to create permanent records of their thoughts and verbal creations, and pass them on into the public culture and on to future generations. Tillie Olsen writes:

[Then there are] the silences where the lives never came to writing. Among these the mute inglorious Miltons: those whose waking hours are all struggle for existence; the barely educated; the illiterate; women. Their silence the silence of centuries as to how life was, is, for most of humanity. Traces of their making, of course in folk song, lullaby, tales, language itself, jokes, maxims, superstitions
-- but we know nothing of the creators, or how it was with them. (1979,10)

Women were simply not to be public writers, and not being able to write, many women couldn't even try. As for women who were literate, as John Stuart Mill pointed out in 1859, "women who read, much more, women who write, are in the existing constitution of things a contradiction and a disturbing element." (1974 460, in Spender, Man Made, 192)

One of the reasons women writers were/are a contradiction is that women were not simply to inhabit the domestic sphere, they were to service it. Women were to be mothers and wives (or provide some other set of domestic services) first. They were supposed to be doing things for others, not sitting and writing for themselves!

Traditionally, male writers had have only one job, while females have had at least two (Glastonbury 1978) "This makes a significant difference: it has facilitated access to written discourse for males, it has reduced it for females." (Spender Man Made, 218) Indeed, Glastonbury's study work suggests that women "naturally" helped produced time for men's writing (1978), a situation which only rarely occurs in reverse. And for mothers it is even worse: "It is distraction, not meditation, that becomes habitual; interruption, not continuity; spasmodic, not constant toil. ... Work interrupted, deferred, relinquished, makes blockage -- at best lesser accomplishment. Unused capacities atrophy, cease to be." (Olsen 1979, 19) Very few mothers become
writers of stature, as Olsen with her exhaustive lists has shown, as Olsen, who is a mother, can attest to (19-21).6

This is not to say that some women have not always been literate, or even literary (that is trained classically and/or writing publically) in every age. That is, it has not been possible to prevent women from writing entirely. Indeed, during the Middle Ages many usually upper class women who had taken religious orders were given nearly comparable educations to the learned monks. Sometimes proficient in Latin, capable of producing manuscripts, these women did both write and teach. (Mahl and Koon, 5) Dame Julian of Norwich (1342-1417?), for example, a contemporary of Chaucer's, wrote *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love*, "the earliest literary work in English known to have been written by a women" (Mahl and Koon, 12) During the fourteenth century, a few women have been recorded as attending and even teaching at universities on the continent. (Mahl and Koon, 5)

But outside of the convents and the homes of the very wealthy or noble "the literacy rate for women in England was extremely low," and at least until the eighteenth century almost all the women who wrote were of the upper class. Mary Sidney Herbert (1561-1621), Countess of Pembroke, sister of the famous writer, Sir Philip Sidney, used the "Spenserian" sonnet form before Spenser, and produced sonnets of comparable quality. (Mahl and Koon, 6, Spender *Intruders*, 48), for example. And Katharine Phillips' seventeenth century poetry accorded her the title
of "Orinda, English Sappho" (Spender, Intruders, 49). And way before either of them, Margery Kempe (ca. 1373-?), the illiterate religious mystic had scribes set down her life in what was to become the first known extant autobiography in English. (Goulianos, 3)

Yet these women and their works were "lost" for hundreds of years until feminist scholars recovered them, and many, many more like them in works like *The Female Spectator: English Women Writers before 1800* (1977), *By a Woman Writt: Literature from Six Centuries by and about Women* (1973), and *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Women Writers before Jane Austen* (1986).

The fact of their loss signals a very powerful form of muting: that is, even when women do write and do get circulated or published, they have the tendency to get lost, indeed to be excised, or eroded from literary criticism, literary traditions and from the canon itself. Many have documented, with Rosenfeldt (1982) the "filtering out of women writers disproportionately to their numbers and significance" (15), a trend we will discuss with respect to the journal tradition in Chapter Four. The suppression of the history of women's writing has left large gaps in the development of genre (Showalter, 1977, 1985) and more importantly, has left women who want to write in any ages feeling orphaned, without a tradition of women's writing, feeling that women have not been writers until the eighteenth century, and that the few famous women writers
exceptions, flukes.

This excision of women from our literary heritage helps to reinforce the confines of our mutedness. As women we look at the past and find few other women and our suspicions, inculcated, are fed, and we question our own abilities. As writers we have our doubts multiplied. We have been denied the full knowledge of the contribution made by other women writers and this hinders our own efforts. It is a situation in which every woman writer has found herself. (Spender, Man Made, 205)

Supplementing and aiding the process of excision has been the constant negative treatment, both of works that have dared to circulate and the women who dared to write them. Aphra Behn (ca. 1640 -1689), the first English woman to earn her living by writing as a professional playwright, was extraordinarily innovative, and quite popular, but was often "ridiculed and reviled," satirized as a "lewd harlot" for using the same language that in male writers was considered "wit," and after her death, her works were conveniently lost for almost two centuries. (Goulianos, 87, Wahl and Koon, 165-167) Margaret Cavendish, an early English woman of letters was dubbed "Mad Madge" and alternately "cheered and jeered" as a freak. Horace Walpole labelled Mary Wollstonecraft "a hyena in petticoats" without ever having read "A Vindication of the Rights of Women." (Goulianos, xv) Harriet Martineau, writing treatises on political economy in the early nineteenth century, received the following advice in a review of her work: "the less women usually meddle with anything which can be called public life outside of the their village, we are sure the
better for all parties." (Walters, 76, 332, in Spender, *Man Made*, 194) Elizabeth Barrett Browning's epic poem *Aurora Leigh*, which explicitly addressed the contradictions of women as writer/ as poet, although, again, enormously popular on publication, was surgically excised from the canon of her work, and the canon itself within a generation. (Kaplan 1978, in Spender *Man Made*, 192, 214-216). Women who wrote novels were termed "dancing dogs" by Johnson, and damned as "scribbling women" by Hawthorne.

And again and again came the advice to young women, such as Southey’s to Charlotte Bronte, not to write:
"Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life and it ought not to be. The more she is engaged in her proper duties, the less leisure she will have for it, even as an accomplishment and a recreation ...." (Peters 1974, in Spender *Man Made*, 194)

Anne Finch, the Countess of Winchilsea, another of the early English women of letters has made the definitive commentary on the woman who attempts to write for the public world. As a young woman at court, she would hide her writing, as would Fanny Burney later (Spender *Intruders*, 54-55), and the Bronte sisters (Ardener, 25) even in the nineteenth century, fearing her work would meet with "prejudice, if not contempt" (Goulianos, 71). Years later, Anne Finch would write in the introduction to a manuscript of her poetry these classic lines:

Did I, my lines intend for publick view,
How many censures, wou'd their faults persue,
Some wou'd, because such words they do affect,
Cry they're insipid, empty, uncorrect.
And many, have attain'd, dull and untaught
The name of Witt, only by finding fault.
True judges, might condemn their want of witt,
And all might say, they're by a Woman writt.
Alas! a woman that attempts the pen,
Such an intruder on the rights of men,
Such a presumptuous Creature, is esteem'd,
The fault, can by no vertue be redeem'd.

(Goulianos, 71)

While many women confronted these sanctions head on (women like Aphra Behn and Harriet Martineau were severely punished), many more women accommodated to the sanctions in a variety of ways, just as we saw in the discussion of oral discourse. Sometimes they apologized for their works having been circulated without their knowledge, as did Anne Bradstreet, whose poems had been carried to England and published by her brother-in-law (Rich 1979, 28) or Katharine Phillips, who demurred that she had never written for publication and was taken quite ill on finding out her poems had been published (Spender Intruders, 48).

It was quite common for women to be published anonymously; in fact the British Museum Catalog has twenty-five pages of listings headed "A Lady," and a certain Ralph James issued a pamphlet in 1880 entitled "Aggravating Ladies" on his frustration at trying to identify 150 anonymous works by 19th century English (presumably women) writers (Rosenfeldt 1982, 25). And male pseudonyms were understandably quite popular, for women quickly realized that their works received a much better hearing if they were presumed male. And so Marian Evans became George Eliot, Charlotte and Emily Bronte became Currer and Ellis Bell,
The other important strategy that women have always used has been to write, just as they have spoken, around the margins and in the interstices and seams of public sphere writing; that is to do a variety of types of writing in, or relating to, the private sphere. In fact, women have always done a variety of types of writing that were considered proper, even necessary to the private sphere. These writings mostly served domestic and social purposes, such as letter writing, chronicling family histories and so on. Writing became, in fact, another mandated "domestic" task for most literate women from the eighteenth century on (Ardener 25). And the journal traditions of women have often served these purposes, as we see in Chapter Four. These "private" or "domestic" writings of women served both the purposes of men, and finally, purposes of self expression for women, too.

The dichotomy of male/female, public/private is maintained by permitting women to write for a private audience (which can be extended to encompass other women) but discouraging them from writing for a public audience, that is, men. In the 'private' sphere women have been permitted to write for themselves (for example, diaries) and for each other in the form of letters, 'accomplished' pieces, moral treatises, articles of interest for other women, and even novels for women (during the nineteenth century, women were the mainstay of the novel-reading public). (Spender, Man Made, 192)

Or as Elaine Showalter explains, "Women's writing is a double voiced discourse that always embodies the social, literary and cultural heritage of both the dominant
and the muted." (1983, 263). And now that scholars have started to push back the boundaries of WRITING and LITERATURE, to include writing by women, a "wide range of forms and styles in which women's writing -- especially that of women who did not perceive themselves as writers -- appears. In this way, women's letters, diaries, journals, autobiographies, oral histories, and private poetry have come under critical scrutiny as evidence of women's consciousness and expression." (Robinson, 1983, 116-117) (Again note that women's writing is centrally identified with journals and diaries confirmed as well in the quote below.)

And indeed, just as in speech, women have found value and complexity in the forms of writing they themselves used, some of which may parallel those in the dominant traditions but adapted for women's use and purposes. Often, as Goulianos points out, these "unusual" or "nontraditional" forms provided the opportunity for women "to validate one's own experience." (xiii) All these alternate kinds of writing then, precisely because they were less scrutinized, or entirely ignored by men gave women the opportunity to write without having to be WRITERS on men's terms, which they clearly were not allowed to be. They allowed women not only to write, but to write about themselves, and to write the truth of their experience, to name it.

There exists a rich and complex literature by women that goes back to the Middle Ages, a literature that consists of diaries, of autobiographies, of letters, of protests, of novels, of poems, of stories, of plays -- a literature in which women wrote about
their lives and from which women and men today can draw insights about theirs. ... When women wrote, they touched upon experiences rarely touched upon by men, they spoke in different ways about these experiences, they often wrote in different forms. Women wrote about childbirth, about housework, about relationships with men, about friendships with other women, as wives, mothers, widows, courtesans, workers, thinkers and rebels -- about the discrimination against them as writers and the pain and courage with which they faced it.

(Goulianos, xi)

In summary, we can see that men's and women's relation to writing has been historically quite different. Men have been the creators of public written forms and have controlled access to writing and publishing, as well as the evaluation of writing. They have been in essence, the gatekeepers. Males have been granted access to the necessary education, and freely granted access to public written discourse. That is males could be WRITERS. That legacy of access (the right to write), comfort with public written discourse forms, and comfort in judging and evaluating written discourse will be seen in the journals of the young men we will look at in the next chapter.

Women have not had the same access to public written discourse. They have been denied the necessary education; they have been restricted by their domestic roles in their opportunities to write; they have been repeatedly told that women should not and cannot write in the public sphere. When they have written publicly, they have been ridiculed, rebuked, or ignored. These sanctions have conditioned women to think they cannot be writers and even today women are often uncomfortable with writing for the public sphere.
Consider the following comments by women who are trying to be writers. They are just as aware now, as Ann Finch was then, that they are "intruders on the rights of men."

It's useless trying to say I'm a writer ... and a good one. I nearly said 'good as a male'. And that's what I'm talking about. By definition you can't be a good female writer, it's a contradiction of terms."

(Spender Man Made, 21)

Every time I sit down to write, I get an almost overwhelming sense of inadequacy. Who am I to be so presumptuous? What possible evidence do I have that this is something I can expect to do?

(Spender Man Made, 230)

And this recent cartoon in the Boston Globe shows the double bind of the woman writer explicitly: (see next page, Figure 2)
Copyright 1987 Jules Pfeifer. Reprinted with permission of Universal Press Syndicate. All rights reserved.
Yet finally these restrictions on women writing for the public sphere have not prevented women from writing for it, and women have also a rich tradition of more private kinds of writing which they have done for centuries. These "nontraditional" genres (by men's standards) have suited many of women's expressive needs quite well. Letters (collaborative writing), autobiography, memoir, protest letters and essays, novels and the short story, and centrally -- journals and diaries, are all associated with this legacy of "women's writing." The forms tend to be fluid, not rigidly defined; the styles plain, vernacular, personal; the subjects and techniques garnered from daily life, family, relationships; the functions generally those of personal or social (not necessarily public) utility. Women then have tended, when writing in these muted/private sphere modes, to write texts close to life, and to use these texts in immediate and practical ways in their lives, and to use them paradoxically to challenge the public/private sphere dichotomies, the mutings their discourse and ideas were subject to. They used their private writings to survive, especially their journals and diaries, as do the women in my class, even today.
CHAPTER III

Gender and Student Composition Journals:
Through a Class Darkly

It's been eight years since I kept any kind of a journal, since seventh grade English. I can't say that I miss doing it, I used to hate it -- five pages a week.

(Ted - student)

3/5/86 Write now. I've taken about 45 minutes to write in my journal. I feel better.
5/1/86 I love my journal because it helps me put my struggles, my anxiety, my pressures, my feelings, my good times into perspective. (Cathy - student)

Introduction

When I first came to graduate school, I had illusions of many kinds. One in particular was that I would be a poet in addition to being a literary scholar and linguist. I remember sharing my work eagerly with a few of my teachers, whom I considered professional "readers". One, a woman, said that some of the poetry was as good as anything going and I ought to send it out. The other, a man, refusing to comment on the quality said simply that he couldn't connect with them at all. As I was easily discouraged in those days, I stopped writing poetry. Many years later, as I reconsider that small, but personally agonizing set of events, I realize that the sharply contrasting responses my poetry triggered may have had as much to do with the gender of my readers as with the texts themselves. Now I am a teacher of composition, a professional reader for my students. And if
I want to be an effective reader, and an active collaborator in their developing discourses, I must consider the question: How does gender shape the experience of reading and writing for my students and for myself? I have already begun to address this question for you in the previous chapters by constructing a set of frames from feminist criticism and linguistics which illuminate some of the critical relations between gender, language, and oral and written discourse. But I was certainly not aware of all those parallels and connections when I started my inquiry. In fact, I would have probably ignored the whole matter entirely, had it not rather forcibly presented itself to me at the end of one semester.

At the beginning of spring semester last year, one of the young men in my class the previous fall stopped in to say hello and pick up his work.

"You know, about the journals...," he hesitated, and scuffed his Nike back and forth in the door jamb.

"Yeah." I said helpfully, but vaguely.

"Well, I was never able to get into that stuff. Like some of the others ... especially the girls." He paused, then started up again. "I mean I just didn't know quite what to put down ever. Whenever they'd read or write they always had so much to say about it, how it related to their lives, and what they thought of it. It was harder for me. It just seemed too personal."

I asked him why he thought that happened. He said maybe it was because girls are more used to keeping diaries,
so they are used to writing about themselves. I then asked him if he would have felt more comfortable writing about "personal things" for a male professor. "Sure." He said, "Absolutely."

"What do you think you could have written about for a male professor that you couldn't for me?" I asked, really wanting to know.

"Oh you know, a lot more about sports." He waited a moment, and added, "I hope my not writing about myself much and not writing as much as they did didn't work against me in my grade." "No, of course not." I declared, a bit hesitantly.

But that conversation got me thinking. Although I thought at the time he was a bit confused about the difference between journals and diaries, what he had said resonated with some fleeting generalized intuitions about the journals I'd repeatedly felt and deliberately ignored all that semester. Like many other composition teachers, I had been moving more and more towards informal intensive journal writing as a significant component of my writing courses. Borrowing informally on the writings of James Britton, Peter Elbow, Donald Murray, Toby Fulwiler, and Janet Emig and others I have discussed in Chapter One, I had begun, in the last three years, to use journal writing to relieve the pressure of formal mechanical scrutiny, to allow, indeed encourage, experimentation, and to develop fluency. My sense was that journals allow students to
personalize the experience of learning to write, to make sense of the raw material of their intellectual and emotional lives, to respond to other texts and ideas freely, to read themselves as potential texts, and to read and re-read themselves as writers.

And it was in the journals, as the young man in my office pointed out, that gender differences in the forms and functions of their reading and writing, as displayed in the journals, surfaced most dramatically. While the patterns were not sex-exclusive, they were clearly sex-preferential, as I found out when I went back to re-read the student journals and the final papers for their course. Therefore, I offer the results of my retrospective re-readings in the sections to follow.

Background of Journal Study

The students in this study were enrolled in Expository Prose 501, an elective sophomore-level writing course at the University of New Hampshire. Located in southeastern New Hampshire, UNH is a relatively small state university (undergraduate enrollment approximately 10,000) with relatively strict entrance requirements. Introduction to Prose Writing 501 is a sophomore level writing course which is often taken as a liberal arts elective by sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Of my original class of 19 enrolled in Expository Prose 501, one man and one woman eventually dropped the course for personal and financial reasons, bringing my roster to 17, 11 women and 6 men.
As for the journal assignment itself, the students were to write in their journals frequently, daily if possible, and keep reading and writing responses in them as well. We had discussed prewriting techniques such as brainstorming, freewriting, mapping, role playing and others as being useful activities to try in the journal, which was to be a seedbed for their developing ideas, perceptions, and associations as well as a log of their developing sense of themselves as readers and writers. We had also discussed what I felt at the time to be critical distinctions between the journal and "a diary." I had described journals, as I mentioned before, as a seedbed for ideas and writing; a place to explore issues, ideas, and events for oneself in order to "come to terms" with them before writing about them to an audience. Diaries, on the other hand, I had characterized as the simple listing of events or activities without any attempt to interpret or analyze them.

We also read the views of professional writers like Murray on journal keeping and Didion's essay "On Keeping a Journal" from our text A Writer's Reader (1982). Later in the course we also read excerpts from Sylvia Plath's journal which were also in the reader (349-353). The students knew that I would read portions of their journals regularly in conference, and that they would have to choose entries from time to time to share with their peers. I also read and commented informally on their entries twice during the semester. Outside of these constraints, they were given considerable latitude as to what they chose to enter, and
assured that if they did not want me to read certain sections that were personal or embarrassing they simply needed to mark them as such.

In order to keep the discussion of the specific journals to a manageable size, I will cite primarily from three representative men's and three representative women's journals in order to demonstrate the significant gendered patternings and yet allow for the individuality of each student's voice, to allow for what the linguist Saussure would call both "identity and difference." In choosing which student's journals I would discuss in detail, I used several pragmatic criteria. I tried to locate representative voices. I looked for students who had made a real attempt to use their journals in a significant way. I was interested in what students who were not necessarily English majors had done with them. Therefore, I excluded Gordon, David, Karen, Colleen, and Michaela because they were English majors and/or had strong writerly aspirations. Gordon and Ben were also out because they were nearly illegible. I also stayed away from "extremes" like Jason, who actively disliked his journal from the beginning and did everything he could to subvert it, or Christina, who found her journal invaluable and a "pure pleasure." From time to time however, I add some of these voices to support or refine the arguments I make.

Additional broader confirmation will be offered from a Writing Experience Survey I conducted the next year (1985)
with several sections of composition students at another school, and other relevant research and information.

I'm going to look at several related kinds of differences I found in the writing of the journals: differences in length, use, function, and value in the ways they wrote about their lives, ideas, and other texts. To me, these differences suggest a clear pattern of gendered reading and writing strategies, and a gendered relationship to texts generally. These differences, I claim, are in large part related to and consequences of the public/private (dominant/muted) discourse traditions women and men have inherited, which were discussed in the previous chapter.

Women, marginalized with regard to public discourse, have tended to write discourses "close to life", such as journals and diaries, and have valued personal writings not only as texts of their lives, but also as ways to rename and reclaim themselves, to find "life in their texts." Indeed, as I will show in Chapter Four, women have a whole set of semi-autonomous journal/diary writing traditions. Men, I propose, who have been the creators and primary users of public discourse, tend to be more comfortable with public discourse and its forms. These discourses are often removed or distanced in form and content from personal life and tend to be more concerned with issues of mastery and control. Men too, have a heritage of journal writing, but it reflects itself in the journals in rather different ways from those of the women.

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Although I didn't know it at the time, Tom, the young man in my office was right about two critical things. Women are more "used to keeping diaries." And many men, asked to keep an open-ended sort of daybook for and about themselves, will feel it's "too personal."

**Length of Student Journals**

Both individually and collectively the men wrote both fewer and shorter entries (see chart below). The average length of final journal was 48 pages for the men, less than half as long as the average length of 119 pages for the women. Seven out of the eleven women had journals over a hundred pages long, while the longest man's journal was 82 pages. The longest women's journal was 205 pages long.

**Table 1**

**Length of Men's Journals**

1. Ben C. 65
2. Ted C. 33
3. Jason J. 27
4. Tom S. 82
5. Gordon S. 53
6. Steven S. 27

(7) David L. did some "literary" journal writing. Had to drop out because of financial aid freeze.)

Average length of men's journals: 48
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Length of Women's Journals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Karen A. 102 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sarah B. 73 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Charlotte C. 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jennifer D. 120 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Laurie G. 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Shelley L. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Marianne M. 60 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Christina S. 205 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Colleen S. 50 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Michaela V. 103 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Carrie W. 130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Shawna R. also had to drop out of the class to move to secure a job - she already had about 85 pages in her journal by midterm, and was also keeping a personal journal in addition to her class journal.

Average length of women's journals: 119

* Women who were keeping additional personal journals outside of class. (The other women may have been keeping personal journals but did not mention it.)

Even more telling was the fact that over half (at least seven out of eleven) of the women were actually keeping "more personal" journals IN ADDITION to the journals they produced for class. None of the men who completed the class reported keeping journals outside of class, except those who had been "forced" to do so in previous classes. As one young man, Ted, put it, "It's been eight years since I kept any kind of a journal, since seventh grade English. I can't say that I miss doing it, I used to hate it -- five pages a week." (One man, David, who dropped the class after a few weeks, had kept what he called a writer's
notebook off and on in which he placed quotes from authors and did drafting — see Table 1 above.)

For a more specific example of the disparate lengths of the journals, let's look at the six journals I'm using as representative: the mens', Tom's, Steven's, and Ted's numbered 82, 27, and 33 pages respectively; the womens', Carrie's, Jennifer's, and Sarah's were 130, 120, and 73 pages long. One obvious reason that the men's journals were so short was that some of the men simply wrote less and less as the term went on, and at least two (Ted and Jason) out of the six simply stopped writing in them altogether at some point after midterm.

Life as Text: Similarities and Differences in Use and Value

The second set of differences I want to mention has to do with what sorts of things the men and women did with their journals; what uses they put the journals to, and in what proportions, and to what ends. I also want to consider how they perceived their journals and the value of journal keeping.

First however, it is important to note that the journals were similar in certain important ways. Naturally, all the journals had certain features in common. First off, they all had required reading responses to some or all of the essays we read in the class from A Writer's Reader (1982). Since they also had been asked to comment on a regular basis on their writing, the progress of individual papers, and the changes they saw in themselves as writers,
everyone had some entries on their development as writers, some of which had been in-class assignments. In addition to the reading and writing responses, most of the students used their journals for planning, listing daily activities, and venting various emotions. Tom writes, for instance:

Friday, October 19
Thirty three different ducks today. From Blackbellied to buffleheads to the infamous Canada Goose. I had a practical on all these and a lot more in my Wildlife Ecology class.
It was my Grandparents 55th wedding anniversary also. I went home and surprised them and then joined the rest of my family in a dinner celebration.

Tuesday, October 23
What a day! This seems like it's already finals week. I've been up since seven o'clock and it's now 11:00 pm and I haven't stopped to have a spare moment to relax and sit down. The worst part is I'm going to bed right after this because I'm so tired and I haven't even come close to finishing all my work. I have a test Thursday morning on material I haven't read or studied yet and then another test Friday afternoon. The good part is that I finished my paper for English. Since it's our first graded paper I decided to spend some extra time on it. It's a rewrite and I feel it came out fairly well even though the grader may not think so. I didn't make too many major changes in my rewrite, in fact, there no major changes at all. The changes I made were all small, basically sentence structure and finding the right word. ...

Here are some comparable entries by Sarah. They are clearly similar in that they show her planning for schoolwork and other college activities, and responding to academic pressure, yet the tone already foreshadows an important difference. While Tom tends to focus on what's negative or frustrating about his academic situation, Sarah starts with
her frustration and ends by trying to seek some solution or resolution to her worries.

9/12 2:45 pm
Life is great. I'm finally starting to get organized. I want to take a photography course. It really fascinates me lately and has been on my mind a lot. What a way to express yourself. I want to take a MUB mini course - Ballroom dancing would be cool!! ...

9/24
I'm so tired. I have so much work to do. I can feel the tension rising. I just have to calm down, take a deep breath, and get my work done. 3 exams and a paper. ...

Men's Journals: Characteristic Topics, Uses, and Functions

One immediate difference however was that the men tended to vent about angry, or frustrating feelings or events much more frequently - in fact for most of the men, anger and frustration, especially about school and school-related activities became a predominant theme in their entries. This was particularly true for two of the males I'm using as examples: Steven and Tom. Steven, for example, had 14 entries not relating to the reading, and of those 14, fully 10 of them dealt with either the problems he was having in his advanced Spanish class or the constant frustrations attendant to being the dorm President for Randall Hall (about 20 of the 27 pages which constituted his journal, that is, almost four-fifths of the whole journal.) Here are some characteristic excerpts from his entries.

Entry 7: What to do. The Randall Semi-Formal is next Friday, we don't have a dj, a bus and the
hall isn't paid for yet. I'm president of the dorm so I'm responsible for the whole affair. It's my ass if we can't pull off the social event of the whole semester.

Entry 9: What a stupid place to be: the language lab at Murkland. I listen to tapes of Spanish drills and exercises. The situation reeks of mechanized teaching. When I get to my Spanish phonetics class, we go over the same material with the teacher. The Spanish program is very disappointing to me. It seems the lower levels sucker you in with promises of interesting and beneficial learning. Then the upper level professors act like the Gestapo.

Entry 13: Political science, my major, my official course of studies. What am I doing in a major the I consider to be mostly worthless?

Entry 15: The presidency of Randall Hall is characteristically unfulfilling and frustrating. Presidents rarely serve for a full year. Most last for one semester or less. When I ran for President last semester and have encountered only hassles and headaches. Even during the summer, I took the time to design and approve the printing of Randall Hall T-shirts. Did I get any help? No-o-o-.

Tom, the second male student, uses his journal a bit more to summarize classes and classwork, what's been assigned, or more often what isn't done. He expresses considerable emotion, mostly anxiety and frustration, and sometimes, anger, although not quite in the same manner as Steven.

Entry 7: "Reading for my CD class is very boring and the bad part is I have a lot to read. The first book is about a futuristic community taking place in the year 2000. It takes the perspective of our society as it is today and how much it will change in the future -- if at all. Typical reading though. ... Kind of boring."

Entry 11: "only one class today -- work for about ten-- at least it seems. In my Wildlife
Ecology class we have to design and carry out our own biological experiment. Sounds easy huh? Wrong. The write up that follows is even worse."

Entry 13: "Again another bad day. Why do I have to wait to weekends to get into a bad mood. The pressure from school is already getting to me and we've only been here three weeks, but it already seems like we've been here for the semester. It seems like we never left."

Entry 19: "Today was short, yet it was bad. I only have one class on Friday's and it begins at 1:00 but today it was cancelled and that is bad because it meant I was bound to blow the rest of the day off, which I did."

Entry 21: "Today wasn't one of my better Sundays. I didn't know why, but it seemed very drab."

For immediate purposes of comparison, even though we have not finished discussing the males' journals, let us consider briefly how the women expressed anxiety about school or their classwork. They did so much less frequently, and when the topic did come up it tended to be associated with some kind of problem solving (like we saw in Sarah's entry) or sheer exhaustion, or even self-exhortation.

This following extended journal entry by Jennifer is a good example of the women's tendency to use their journal to write through their academic stress. This one is interesting because it also shows us something of her attitude towards journal writing itself, an area in which I found very significant gender differences:

11/5: I find it increasingly difficult to write now. I'm not sure why. Journals are often like that w/ me -- I start very excited, full of thoughts and
ideas but gradually that enthusiasm fades and I have to make an effort to write. I usually stop writing then because I feel like it is not serving its purpose. I can't stop writing here, though and maybe it will be good for me. (to stick w/ it) Perhaps I have reached a barrier but can get over it if I don't give up. I'll try. I've had so much studying to do in these past weeks that I've been feeling burned out. To write during that time would have only added more stress. I think that it's good that I realized this and took some time away from the journal. I think I'm ready to begin again.

Carrie, too, is worried about the amount of homework that she has to do, but notice the difference in tone between her handling of her worries and that of the two men:

9/21: All I can do is think about how much work I have to do. Ever since the first day of classes I've been so weighted down by work that when the weekend finally comes, I don't feel good about myself when I go out. Thank god I don't have classes on Fridays. Usually I try to finish the reading I couldn't find time for throughout the week. Every Thursday I write a list of all the homework I have to do for Tues. The list just keeps on getting bigger and bigger.

11/19: I'm striving for self actualization -- what is keeping me below this level? I want to be all that I can be. I want to do my best in school. I want to be the best friend of all who deserve my attention. I want to use my time wisely: every minute devoted to doing something. I want to do all I can now that will help me in my future.

So many unanswered questions hang like dirty socks on the shower curtain rod. If I don't start getting my life in order soon, those socks will leave a permanent stench in the bathroom that no air freshener or even ammonia could break up, it could only cover the underlying problem of a confused and disorganized mind. ...I've got to exert myself, drown myself with my books. Stimulate my mind with books and lectures. Uncover parts of my brain and memory to find interesting, invigorating methods of conveying my thoughts.

Moving back to the men's journals, let's look at Ted's, the third man's journal, because it shows some of the other
major trends in the men's journals, in addition to the frequent venting. Like most of the men, Ted has few actual daybook entries in the journal, that is, most of his entries are responses to readings, peer responses to drafts, occasional commentary on his own drafts, and other in-class journal activities. He starts out just like Steven and Tom, frustrated with school, and particularly with writing in the journal:

9/24 After an unbelievable start -- actually the entire month of September, I am sitting down to my first homework assignment -- my daily journal. It's been 8 nine (crossed out) years since I've kept any kind of a journal, since 7th grade English. I can't say that I miss doing it -- five pages a week. I think that class is what made me dislike writing. I'm feeling very lost right now in the art of journal writing. I'm already so far behind in all my classes. Get so pissed off when I think about (it) because it wasn't my fault.

Ted does comment regularly on his problems with writing, especially with "freewriting" and "journal writing" which he sees as similar, which we will see in his drafting entries in this section and later again in the section on attitudes towards the journals. But he also does some other interesting things in the journal which are characteristic of the men's journals.

The first is that his entries (daybook / prewriting / in-class activities) are often focused on sports. He writes about books he's reading in sports literature; he writes about fans of various ball clubs; he reports sports statistics; he tries a sort of Bob Ryanesque sports column; and he repeatedly reconstructs the final moments of the
current year's NBA playoffs which does become one of his final pieces for the course. Yet he only occasionally connects personally with the content of the sports entries, although it's clear that he has played sports all his life and has a great deal of experience to connect with the pieces. Actually a better way of putting it might be to say that sports is central to his life and he does connect with sports in several ways, but he generally resists writing about his experience with sports. He prefers to write about sports events or sports facts; to demonstrate his knowledge of sports.

Here is a sampling of his entries on sports literature. Note that he becomes increasingly derisive of the class (he will call it "another worthless sport lit class" later in his journal, page 23), but continues to enjoy the reading. Notice also that he enjoys reading sports journals and diaries of athletes but he makes no connections between the journals he reads and the journal he's writing. In the last example I cite, he does connect personally with the experience of the text he's responding to in a powerful and potentially textable way, but then leaves it and does no more with it.

Page 5: Read three excellent stories today for Sport in Lit class. My favorite was an excerpt from Jerry Kramer's Instant Replay. Great book. It's a one year diary/journal kept by Jerry Kramer, an offensive lineman for the Green Bay Packers during the Vince Lombardi days. So far I love this class. Everything we do is sports related. Our assignment this weekend is to watch at least one sporting event. Ha! What a joke.
Page 9: I have a lot of work to do before Friday because I won't be doing any studying this weekend. Today is the best day of the week for me. Only one class, and it's one that I like (Sports in Literature) It could be a great class but it's only a good class because of the teacher. Not too impressive.

Page 16: (10/4) ... It also reminds me of a book I read called The Basketball Diaries by Jim Carroll. Despite the title, it's not really a sports book, it's the actual diary of Jim Carroll from ages 12-15. It is supposedly all true and it tells about this 5 year period of growing up and getting into serious trouble (drugs, prostitution, etc) ... I wonder sometimes how a guy that intelligent could of had such a screwed up childhood.

Page 20: (Talking about Instant Replay by Jerry Kramer again.) I loved the book. I read it once in high school and like it then. I wish I had been old enough to see Vince Lombardi and the Packer dynasty. ... (Kramer talks about being in the locker room after the game, swamped by reporters for hours. Even after the last reporter had left, he says 'I was still in uniform still perched in front of my locker. I really didn't want to get up. I wanted to keep my uniform on as long as possible.' What a great line. I remember feeling the same way after basketball games in high school. After a win we would stay out on the court talking to friends, parents as long as possible. And then hanging out in the locker room, being the last ones to leave.

Ted often chooses to write about sports (sports facts or sports moments) when he's trying to develop paper topics. He usually gets what looks like a serviceable first draft lead to me, then drops it abruptly, as in the following two examples:

Page 11: Sportsfans. Every city has them, from the hateful hecklers of Philadelphia to the laid back of Los Angeles. Each hometown crowd is unique. The most loyal fans are the Boston faithful, Celtics, Bruins, Patriots, Red Sox -- it's usually the same people -- just different stadiums. When their teams are winning, you can't walk ten yards without hearing someone talking about Larry Bird or Jim Rice.

--to be continued--
This is not working. It was supposed to be a free writing type piece but I can't do it. I'm constantly editing myself in my head. I might be able to do a paper on this subject because I like the topic, but I can't do it in the free writing style.

Page 26: possible paper. Twenty-six point 4 yards every time he touches the ball. Fifty point 6 points per game. One homerun every twelve at bats. ... (Finishes paragraph)
Stats can mean a lot. They can also be misleading. ... (Goes on for another full page of stats, then stops.)

I'm getting bored with this paper already. I don't think I could stay with it for five pages.

Ted's interest in sporting events also leads him into his longest, most fluent writing in the journal, a kind of writing filled with action, which might be classified as "adventure story" or "close calls with danger" or sometimes even the classic Animal House "road trip." Both Steven and Tom also generated at least one extended entry of this type, while none of the women's journals I am examining carry equivalent kinds of discourse. One such entry by Steven (22-25), for example, reports on several rowdy events which happen at the Randall Semi Formal Ball (which he has planned as dorm president.) This four page entry features vandalism, someone getting his hand cut badly, a trip to the hospital, and partying with a pretty nurse after it all. Tom, in his journal, narrates a wild "road trip" to Dartmouth for a football game. Ted writes two of these "adventure entries" consecutively, each at least two and a half pages long. These short excerpts from the beginnings of both of the entries should give a feeling for this sort of entry:
Page 31: What a weekend. Two trips to Boston and both times I almost died from fear. Friday night I decided to go down to B.U. with the boys to see the U.N.H. hockey game. I had a bad feeling from the start as we packed nine people into a Buick Skylark. Little did I know the troubles that awaited us. After about 40 minutes of driving (flying) a few of the boys started cutting up lines of coke on a mirror. Five minutes later there was a set of blue light(s) right on our ass. Needless to say we were shitting bricks. Anyway we pull over, the cop comes up to the car orders everyone out and started chewing everyone out. For starters, we were doing 85 mph., there was a case of beer on the floor and the car was filled with smoke.

Page 34: Here's another Boston story. Two days later. Same reason -- B.U. vs. U.N.H. hockey. This took place after the game. We're trying to find our way out of Boston. Driving down Commonwealth Ave and this jerk in a Trans Am pulls out of a alley and almost hits us. Naturally we honk the horn and give him the finger. Just as we slip past him the light turns red and we stop, with this guy right on our ass. Before we know, 2 guys are outside pounding on the window. The light turns green we take off and so do they after pelting the truck with a couple of rocks. Minutes later we come to another red light. We see the assholes a few cars up so one of the guys jumps out, grabs a rock and whips it at the car. Two guys jumps out, chase him back to the car, and just as he jumps in we take off, the guys jump in there car and we start a high speed chase, right out of a Burt Reynolds movie.

For the men, then, as a group, the personal writing journal (outside of the writing and reading responses) seemed to function, at least in part, in a powerful and useful way for focusing, managing, and releasing pressure from academic and social responsibility. The journal was often used by the men as a day book, a place to track and monitor activities and assignments, and to track and monitor their social positions in dormitory or fraternity heirarchy. All the men also included entries about sports, from
intramurals to the NBA playoffs, often borrowing on sports writing conventions and usually focusing on statistics, dramatic moments in sports history, winning and losing. Sometimes, however, the entries on sports triggered more personal connections, such as in Ted's piece on staying in the locker room long after the game. Yet, those writings were not often seen as potential texts for further writing.

The men in the class did, of course, occasionally allude to intrapersonal relations, family or friends, or, more rarely, girlfriends, in their journals but tended not to write extended or reflective entries on those topics. Ted, for example mentions once, in passing, that he is going up to UVM for the weekend to see his girlfriend. But by the end of the paragraph he has turned his attention to the "Big Raid tonight with Alpha Xi Delta. It's their bids night so the girls should be fired up!" (9) While the men frequently refer to "girls," they almost never write at length about their intimate relationships with their women friends (or their men friends for that matter). As Tom remarked at the very beginning, "it just seemed too personal." The men were not, for the most part, interested in that kind of self disclosure or self examination on paper. Indeed, they were uncomfortable with the possibility that they might lose control over what might come onto the page. Ted, as we have seen, is always "editing" his freewriting. And Tom is acutely aware of his need to control his writing, to keep his "free" ideas and associations at a distance when he writes about his freewriting:

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Entry 61: It seems like I'm only touching the surface. I should talk about something that isn't so superficial. I know there is something way down inside just waiting to be revealed. This exercise is designed to clear my senses, but it won't accomplish anything unless I let it. Nothing is really bothering me though. Why am I trying to block it? What's behind the wall?

Similarly, the men did not tend to find their experience "textable," that is capable of becoming real texts, such as essays for class or letters that might be sent. Ted mentions writing a letter "outside of class" once, then adds simply, "I hate writing letters." As we have seen, both Tom and Ted repeatedly mention their difficulty in "having something to say" or "finding something to write about" in their journals. And Ted makes the point explicitly in commenting on a draft of a personal narrative he has abandoned.

Entry 4: I finished my first paper tonight. Don't like it at all. Never written a narrative paper like that before. Probably won't do it again. Some stories I guess are better left unwritten. As I wrote I started to recall more and more memories from that weekend, each one as they could be a whole paper in itself. The more I think of it the more I dislike the paper. I still love the story and thinking about it but it just doesn't work on paper. It's one of those stories you just tell.... It was a great fun wild weekend that I won't forget -- and that's that.

Enough about the paper. I don't even want to read it again. Much less revise it or do another draft on it.

The very few extended "personal experience" entries the men did include, were, as we have seen, in that aggressive story telling mode, on what might be labelled "adventures": road trips to Dartmouth, wild weekends in Boston, involving
drugs, speeding and police, and wild frat parties. Most of these involved excitement, risk, and the possibility of real physical damage. But even these longer, fluent, even powerful writings rarely generated other writing.

The journals served some very important functions then for the men, but they were not as often used in the ways I had originally conceived them, as seedbeds for ideas for papers, or to develop ideas for further writing. The men did use the journals to comment on the problems and progresses they found in their writing, although it is hard to tell how often they would have done that if they had been given the choice since several of those commentaries were in-class journal assignments. In sum, the men's journals displayed the forms, characteristics, and content of the larger male discourse model.

**Women's Journals: Characteristic Topics, Uses, and Functions**

What then did the women use their journals for, if not primarily for necessary invective associated with college life? Well, for a variety of things. They did considerably more freewriting and initial drafting of papers right in the journal for one thing, which obviously accounts in part for the greater length of their journals. They did write about school and social life, and kept track of work and responsibilities, as the men had done. But they tended to write more extended and reflective entries on their social, academic, and personal lives. They devoted considerable space to examining their personal and intrapersonal
experience, their primary relationships with family and friends, and decisions they were trying to make. They even drafted important letters, which they then copied out and sent, usually to family or close friends, which none of the men chose to do. The journals expressed a range of emotions, both positive and negative, but without the predominant focus on releasing negative pressure we saw in the men's journals. They were clearly writing from a female model of discourse.

Let me take you into Carrie's and Jennifer's and Sarah's journals to look at a sampling of the various types of entries. First Carrie's. Her journal starts with two drafts of a piece she finally turns in much later about her wealthy and distant mother who beats her, and how she needs still to connect with her. Also, among her early entries are several drafts of a letter to her father whom she loves dearly.

Entry 5: I just can't stop smiling. Seriously, I haven't been this happy for god knows how long. In fact I don't think I've been this happy in a year. (Has met Bobby who becomes her boyfriend.)

Entry 8: So many feelings and thoughts are unspoken. Why don't people just come out and say what they are thinking? I must have encountered 100 people today. Some of those acquaintances were accompanied by hellos, some simply with smiles or nods. What do all these daily rituals mean....I see friendly smiling eyes in the distance, that belong to a boy I know. As our distance shortens my body tenses. What will I say to him, him to me. "Hi he comfortably says, you look really nice today" Stumbling for something to say, I turn purple and red. What makes me look better today than yesterday? Is he just being friendly. I mentally review my appearance. I wonder what I'm wearing: too sexy, too conservative, too boring? We pass each
other by both thinking about the immediate encounter? Does he like me? Does he hate me? Does he care? Why do I care?

Entry 15: The rain jubilantly bounced off the damp hood of my blue Cataract. My nose seemed like a cold iron plate. The top of my Tretorns were sopping wet, the tips covered with mud. My toes were numb. My whole body was as numb as my toes, but it wasn't from the weather. It was a happy ethereal feeling I'd never felt before. Sloshing thru puddles like a 7 year old, I noticed that my inside of my mouth could feel light sprinkles of water. I then noticed why. My lips had been spread apart into a wide uncontrolled smile. I felt as if I crossed streets and skipped down the sidewalk oblivious to all the bewildered stares and honking horns. My body floated across the streets and sidewalks like a red sun-touched leaf blowing in the wind.

Many of these "thick descriptions" of feelings, situations, intrapersonal events or relations go on for several ages. Notice the predominant focus on internal events in the women's journals as compared to the men's choosing to write about more externally dramatic events, like winning the intramurals, or getting arrested for speeding or drugs. One striking thing about Carrie's journal and many of the other women's journals was the clearly narrative and textual quality that their own lives took on in writing. For the women, it was almost as if they felt their personal experience was some kind of text that needed to be written to be understood. As another woman in the class, Christina, put it in her journal: "Writing. A release. A desire to express captured feelings, verbalized thoughts. I need to write. I need to correlate my thinking and my acting -- on paper the two seem to flow together."
Jennifer, the second woman whose journal we'll look at, sets out only to talk about reading and writing (hers and others) because she is already keeping a "personal" journal. Nevertheless, the focus on human relationships, and caring, and communication that we saw in Carrie's is everpresent. And while this journal for her is not a "personal" journal, she still discloses far more about her personal situation, feelings and ideas than the men generally do. In her first entry, for example, she introduces her boyfriend John.

9/8: I got a call from John, though, which made the night worthwhile. I had a feeling his name would turn up in here sooner or later. Perhaps that's the price you pay for being in love. Is it expensive to be in love? (besides phone calls, stamps, and gas I mean?)

9/10: Perhaps my first paper will deal with the book "The Color Purple". I became very involved in it. Or perhaps something with a theme similar to what that story was about (my own story). I feel personally involved with the theme of LOVE at this stage of my life.

9/12: The ring on her finger could be the ring on mine. But I'm too young -- is she???

11/24: (Thanksgiving Break) Boy it's great to be home ... Steven is so tall, Jim's sense of humor hasn't changed, and Chris seems so self confident. Of course my parents are as loving as ever to me---good paper topics.

Jennifer, like Carrie, frequently renders her life experiences in the journal as possible texts or possible stories. While Carrie makes small moments into rich elaborated descriptive narratives, Jennifer writes of composing her own story of love after reading The Color
Purple and refers to the members of her family as "good paper topics."

Sarah's daybook section of her journal, the final woman's journal we'll discuss at some length, again demonstrates the predominant traits I found in the women's journal writing: the presence of frequent drafting, letterwriting, and freewriting (uncoerced), the focus on relationship, reflection, and communication, and the intriguing strategy of rendering personal experience as a textual narrative. For example, her very first daybook entry starts with what appear to be two random renderings of early life experience:

9/12: I remember standing on the plaid couch in our musty basement watching Gilligan's Island. I had the chicken pox and mom brought me a glass of Hawaiian punch and pretzels.

Maribeth and I used to ride her dog Clipper (a black lab) all around the neighborhood. We thought he was a big as a horse. We'd play on my blue and orange swings for hours. We both had navy blue Keds and would listen to 'Hey Jude' on her parent's stereo. Maribeth wanted to carry a purse filled with make up to school on the first day. Her mom wouldn't let her and stopped her on the way to the bustop. painted faces from the Lionville Elementary School fair.

Or consider this excerpt from an entry on a weekend with Rush (her boyfriend) up in the White Mountains which also has that descriptive narrative textual quality.

10/1: Rush and I took off early Saturday morning for the White Mountains. We packed a picnic lunch and ate it on two smooth rocks in the middle of the river. Oh how could I forget the delicious cider that we picked up alongside the road. Pictures. We snapped away so many of them I can't wait to see them. We jumped from rock to rock downstream along the river, (an) array of colors dotted the
mountainside. The sun went down and the clouds began to move swiftly across the sky.

Sarah's entries often take the form of freewriting. She allows herself to move freely from large questions about career choice and relationships ("Why can't two people who love each other get along? Why?" 10/15) to the smallest of irritations ("My legs are stubbly - Yuk" 9/12). Her entries often give the sense of cognitive and affective collage:

9/12: I wish I had a camera around my neck right now and I could just take off -- somewhere where no one else has been -- they'd have been there physically -- it would look different to me -- it would be my world -- seen through my eyes. I know we have to live each day at a time -- live for now -- But I like to sit and daydream, what will my life be like 10 years from now. Will I have kids? I want little boys. There's so much to take advantage of around me and I don't to let it slip by anymore. Rush and I should go on the Cambridge Exchange. We could do that next summer. If you could go back in time, when would it be? 50's? 20's? My legs are stubbly -- yuk -- what would I be like if I grew up in a city environment? Maybe I could write an English paper about that. I want my hair to grow.

12/2: Why do I feel this way? One minute happy -- depressed the next. This huge house was being moved up Main Street. It was wild -- I looked out the window and a house was staring me in the face. Why do I blow things off? I've been doing better lately. Right now all I can think of is going home for Christmas. I'm getting those stupid feelings again with Rush. Am I being too affectionate? A stupid girlfriend? How should I act? I should act the way I want. I'm tired of being put down.

**Attitudes towards the Journals**

These differences in length, use and function are clearly apparent in the comments the men and women make about their journal writing and their attitudes towards
their journals and writing generally, which have already been prefigured in several of the student quotes. Simply put, while both the men and women considered their journals as jobs to do, which they were, the men overwhelmingly felt their journals to be a chore, a responsibility placed on them from outside which they were not particularly committed to, and often enough, a waste. Steven, commenting that his journal needs improvement, writes, "So what the heck. I'll do some mindless free righting (bad) writing.\textquotedblright, suggesting that freewriting is a useless sort of activity.

Tom also writes about having nothing to say in his journal constantly. In fact, many of his entries start with that remark or some variant:

Entry 4: Not much happening today. No writing, just reading, so I guess I'll freewrite for five minutes. (Tries but finds it's too noisy in the library.)

Entry 5: Nothing to say whatsoever. I haven't really thought about what I'm going to write my next paper on, but I have a feeling I better start quick.

Entry 12: The only thing that was anything near worth writing about was Andre Guerron and the UNH Wildcats and they lost. Last Saturday I didn't write anything. I know that's bad, but what kind of writing is this? I'm writing about nothing that means nothing to no one. I hate doing things for no reason.

Entry 55: Nothing much happened to me today and I think this journal entry is going to be an indication of why I need a vacation. It's not only myself but also everyone else. We all just seem to be going through the motions. ... I'm just writing right now just to fill space and I think that's bad.

Entry 67: I'm so sick of writing that all I want to do is get to the bottom of the page, but I don't
even think I can get there. ... (He writes about the music he's listening to and thinks he might write a paper on some song lyrics, so one might think he's gotten something from the writing. But when he reaches the bottom, he writes, "I made it!", and stops abruptly.)

Tom probably got more from his journal than he realized. For one thing he obviously needed to release all that academic pressure he felt, and release he did, which certainly helped clear his mind for more productive tasks. Also, interestingly enough, although he protests he has nothing to say, he usually goes on to fill a full page or more. Even so, it was arduous work and he clearly felt it was not as productive a writing tool as it could have been. And Tom wrote more than any of the other men in the class.

Ted's comments on his journal and journal keeping tend to bear an uncanny resemblance to Tom's and Steven's. Ted made the blunt, but honest comment on hating to keep a journal in seventh grade English which I used as the epigraph for this chapter, and repeatedly comments on his troubles with "freewriting," which he associates with the journal, as I cited earlier. Ted is also the one who, deciding to drop a draft of a paper on a wild weekend he had spent during the summer, reports that some stories can be told, but not written (that is, he does not see his life as particularly textable.)

Echoing Steven's feeling that freewriting is essentially useless, Ted starts an assigned freewriting in class with: "Freewriting again. Ten minutes of non-stop writing. At least I can use this for a journal entry." (24-
5). Like Tom, Ted has trouble with finding anything to write in his daybook (resists life as text) and feels the need to carefully control his writing. Paradoxically, as I mentioned earlier, Ted feels uncomfortable with his freewriting on a certain topic which he thinks he must "edit," but feels he could do a more public class paper without any difficulty. He writes: "This is not working. It was supposed to be a freewriting type piece. But I can't do it. I'm constantly editing myself in my head. I might be able to do a paper on this subject because I like the topic but I can't do it in the freewriting style." (11) At another point he thinks maybe he'll write a paper on songs and song lyrics so he starts to jot down ideas but then cuts himself off, remarking "Not getting anywhere with this freewriting shit so I'm cutting myself off." (9)

In fact, the men's attitudes towards their journals is amply demonstrated by the fact that they generally wrote less and less as the semester went on as Steven did, or like Ted, simply stopped sometime after midterm. Clearly, although the men did sometimes say it was good to release pressure in the journals, they were not perceived by the men as being nearly as useful or pleasurable as they were by the women.

The women generally did find their journals to be valuable and useful to them, and tended to enjoy freewriting. In fact, the women seem to find reading and writing generally to be valuable activities. Christina writes at one point, "since I was a liitle girl I have
always loved reading and writing, to others it might have been a chore -- but to me it was purely a pleasure." and later makes the specific connection I mentioned earlier about needing to write to understand her life. We have seen Jennifer's working through her journal slump by trying to find new strategies to make the journal work for her.

Here are some other comments women made about their journal keeping. Carrie writes, for example, "I would like to rewrite this paper for next week. I want to for my own benefit. I want to uncover all those old feelings and desires. I want to explore deeper into my mother."

Later, she writes in response to Joan Didion's "On Keeping a Notebook", "She brings up a very interesting question, why does she keep a notebook? I write in a diary myself which is not too different from a notebook. I don't write daily accounts of happenings. I write down how I'm doing and how I feel about others close to me."

Jennifer deliberately looks for ways to renew the value of her journal, and finds pleasure (and insight) in her freewriting entries, as we can see in the following quotes:

Entry 20: (Tries freewriting to help her get going in the journal. Writing about working in a bookstore.) I had a great time. There are so many books I want to read. I just got the inspiration I think I needed to keep a journal. I've been waiting for something related to my writing or reading to note in here --I want it to be 'relevant'. But isn't everything I do or hear or say relevant to my life and therefore to my writing?"

Entry 11/30: I'm beginning to enjoy the journal writing. It's like a personal challenge to write every day. A challenge with an instant reward.
Entry 12/2: (Responding to freewriting) I loved it -- trying to recall the minute details of the Christmas tree brought back so many memories. I realized it's the little details that make it so special and unique to our family.

Sarah is even more adulatory about journal writing, freewriting, and poetry writing because she sees her life as a sort of continuous fluid text writing itself from inside her, as we see in her response to Didion's piece on journals. While Tom and Ted and Shawn would prefer to write papers (public polished texts) to journals, Sarah clearly prefers the private, personal, and connected nature of the journal and freewriting to more public formal writing. She feels she can put herself "into the poem." Indeed, for Sarah, in the final excerpt below, the boundaries between life and text are so fluid, (as they are for Christina, who also sees writing as necessary for her life), she can't tell which to write about.

September 10: Like Joan Didion, my journal contains various quotes, short paragraphs and lines. I write down how I feel, not factual information. I write on how I perceive a certain event or what I get out of a quote. No one would understand or get anything out of my journal. It's about how I see the world and about how I feel about certain things. I love it. I never realized until I met a special friend last year, how differently people's thoughts are. You take a situation and I could look at it completely differently than another person. For example, looking back in my journal, I found an entry,

Bert's Barn, memories of a big red house. it sits on the dunes. Seagulls soar overhead as laughter is heard in the house. Family. the beach. We're all together.
Now like Joan has her own thoughts about her writing ... these lines mean something special to me. Bert's Barn is our family's (relatives) beach house. It's a reunion spot. If anyone else read this they'd interpret it differently.

In my journal I daydream alot of the way I want to be or would like my life to be like. Reading Joan's essay, I made me realize just why I keep a journal, too. It's something private for me and only pertaining to me. They're my thoughts. Thanks Joan, for helping me remember that.

Entry: 11/26 (Freewriting on how hard revising and editing are) ... I love to write in journals and freewriting but making papers the best just isn't my cup of tea. It seems as though I always mess things up instead of making them better. I really like poetry. I really love to write poems. I guess it's because I can really feel the words -- I put myself into the poem.

Entry: 11/27 I want to write my paper about life and how confusing it is, or maybe how confusing it is to write an English paper. It has to come from the heart whatever it is I decide on. Heart -- maybe I should write on relationships.

In sum, the journals proved valuable in different ways for the men and women. The men's interests, as represented by what they were willing to write down, tended to cluster around their academic and social responsibilities or burdens. Thus, their journals served to identify them, explain them, plan for them and vent about them. Occasionally, they brought other parts of their lives into the texts of their journals, usually in the form of sports activities or dramatic, active adventures. The men, however, felt less comfortable with their journals overall, especially with "freewriting," or what they considered to be personal writing (writing about feelings other than anger or frustration; writing about relationships). They tended to
"code" or "mask" their personal connections to experience or ideas. When they did make personal connections in their journals (which they all inevitably did), the men usually stopped writing or pulled back from that connection. From their own remarks, it appears they did not want to lose control over what happened on the page. They did not want to risk too much self disclosure. Thus, the men felt the journals were often a chore, in part because they had a difficult time figuring out what they could write in them that would not compromise their authority; their sense of control over both objective information and subjective experience.

While the men tended to prefer the experience of authority then, the women tended to refer the authority of experience. The women felt much more comfortable with their journals because they tended to see their lives as texts which to be written and read to be understood. They used the journals for freewriting (disclosing one's mind in process) and other personal writing, including letter writing; drafting; and problem solving, among other things, and found them to be both pleasurable and valuable.

While it is difficult to generalize about the relationship of gender and journals from six students in one composition class, I do not think my findings are anomalous. Several miscellaneous bits of information and experiences, I have gathered over the years suggests the trend are quite real. For one thing, I have repeatedly received journal entries, poems, even final papers written...
by women as encomiums to their journals, and to the intellectual and personal pleasures they find in writing them. I have yet to receive a single paean of praise for the journal from one of my men, although many will admit somewhat grudgingly that the journal was "good" for them. The only exceptions I have come across are men who want to be "writers" and find their journals useful as forms of "the writer's notebook, or men in crisis: gay men, students whose parents are divorcing, etc. I have also found that at the end of every course, several of my women will immediately ask for their journals back. If I do not return them quickly, I get phone calls, even letters requesting that the journals be returned. My men generally want their graded papers back, but rarely request their journals.

Also, I have shared drafts of this paper with some of my classes, and the men and women alike almost universally share the perspectives of the men and women in this paper. When I ask for comments, the men often tell me they are glad their discomfort is shared by other men. The women are pleased, to find out that other women secretly enjoy their journals, too.

In sharing this paper with groups of faculty, I inevitably hear remarkably consonant anecdotes. For example, I was working on some curriculum plans with three other teachers from my institution one afternoon and we began to discuss my research. Each of the teachers immediately offered confirmation of the discomfort many males feel with the journal. One teacher, Jean Zipke, reported that one of
her male students refused to write a journal for her class. When pressed to do so, the student finally turned up with a series of "love poems" he had written the previous year to a girlfriend. Gail Rondeau, another teacher, reported that one of her male students had also flatly refused to do a journal and had figured out that he would have sufficient points to pass the course (barely) without one. He preferred the "D" to doing the journal.

Jerry Duffy, an instructor at UNH in Durham, came up to me after I had given a talk on my work, and reported that one of his students had actually written a paper about receiving a blank journal book from his father and feeling considerable tension over whether or not he ought to write in it as it, was something that girls did. Finally, he did write in it and found it "helped him record and sort out the feelings of a troubled adolescence." Even though the student found the journal useful, he didn't "broadcast the fact" that he was writing one. And while writing up that anecdote, Jerry Duffy came across another series of echoic remarks by another student in a paper about trying to become a writer. Not only does this student derogate the "diary," but also he fears its feminizing influence, and the possibility that his disclosures will show him to be unoriginal.

Sure, I keep a journal too, but I fear it has almost degenerated into a Diary (a label which has always suggested to me something an emotional pre-adolescent keeps, furiously writing out her thoughts every time the captain of the football team looks at her or whenever she develops another pimple.) I have kept my Journal for three years but I firmly
believe it has only served to turn me into an overly-introspective individual. I rarely use it to write down original cogitations and meditations because it seems as though so many thoughts have already been written about at length.

(Student paper, 4/2/87)

A high school teacher at a party reported to me that she had given up on the journals in large part because she couldn't get them to "work" for the males in her class. And so on, ad infinitum.

But I wanted more than anecdotal support for my findings. Therefore, I examined responses from a writing experience questionnaire given to all sections of composition students at the beginning of fall semester, 1986. The results of my gleaning appear in the next section.

Results from the Writing Experience Survey (WES)

The Writing Experience Survey is a three page questionnaire frequently given out at the beginning of the semester to entering composition students to provide instructors with a detailed profile of the previous writing and reading experiences of the student in school (usually high school) and out of school, in the workplace or at home. The WES is often used in the classroom to initiate student's assessments of the varieties of their own literate behaviors as well. A copy of the WES and student responses is provided in Appendix B.

Some of the questions on the WES ask specifically whether students have kept journals in school or personal journals/diaries at home and their impressions of both kinds
of journal experience. We also asked about other kinds of personal writing students (letter writing, poetry, etc) might have done to see what kinds of personal writing might or might not be identified as "journal writing" or "diary writing" by individual students.

I checked the responses to these questions from 76 students (41 females, 35 males) enrolled in four sections of 401 that fall. The information they yielded was quite rich and deserving of a full discussion in itself, but I will only look at two major confirming patterns of response.

First, I found that while almost equal numbers of males and females had been required to keep some form of writing journal in school previously (24 of the women and 20 of the men, (see Table 3), far more women than men kept personal journals or diaries, just as in my class. Indeed, as the figure shows, a majority of women (28 out of 41) had done some kind of writing on their own that they were willing to identify as a journal or diary.

However, only four of the thirty-five men responding reported having kept a journal or diary on their own. Their responses are very interesting. Two of the four men have kept essentially "logs", or records of one kind of activity or sport. Z-4 (age 19), for example, writes "No" when asked if he keeps a personal journal, but then goes on to say, "For three years I kept a running diary of mileage and times. My coach suggested from it and I benefitted from it." Another student, G-6 (age 18), responds "Yes" to keeping a personal journal which records his climbing activity over
the course of a summer. "It was a journal of climbs in New Hampshire I have done. Only one summer, 1985. I wanted to keep a list to see if my climbing was improving. My ethics and style. And I kept it to recall experiences and people I met." Notice that both of these journals were discrete both in duration and in focus; the journals were undertaken specifically in order to improve performance and skill in sport.

The third man, R-3, who kept a personal journal was also exceptional in that he was older (22) and had been in the navy before entering school. Presumably, the isolation during time at sea as well as the need to fill time with quiet activity, or chronicle the passage of time may have motivated his journal. He writes, "I had a day to day book back about two years ago." He can't remember, however, precisely why he started it, and notes that he lost interest in it quickly: "Once I lost the interest I soon after lost the book."

Indeed only one out of the thirty-five men polled, Z-11 (17), kept what might actually be termed a personal journal. And he uses it in precisely the same way Steven, Tom and Ted did: to release pressure. Here is what he writes about his journal: "I write down many of my problems. I write in it sporadically. It may be hours or weeks between entries. I needed a way to let out frustration."

In sum, with the exception of Z-11, who used his journal to write about his personal problems, the few journals that the men in this sample kept were either logs..."
of activities, or listings of day to day happenings. They were kept for brief, discrete periods of time and motivated by a specific pragmatic purpose, and were not intended to be "personal journals," that is: journals that chart growth and change both within and without a person.
Table 3
Number of Male/Female Students Keeping Class Journals and/or Personal Journals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females/Section</th>
<th>Class Journal</th>
<th>Personal Journal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zipke n=12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannett n=8</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert n=10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau n=11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL n=41</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL n=24</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL n=28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males/Section</th>
<th>Class Journal</th>
<th>Personal Journal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zipke n=11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannett n=9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert n=8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau n=7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL n=35</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL n=20</strong></td>
<td>*<em>TOTAL n=4</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two of the four "personal journals" were actually logs of sports activities.
While we don't have enough time to explore the women's descriptions and impressions of their personal journals in detail, they are available in Appendix B. Suffice it to say, the many of the women who reported keeping personal journals describe them in the same ways that Sarah, Carrie, and Christina do. While a few of the women responded by saying that they tried writing a diary or journal and were either too lazy or didn't find the journal useful, most of the women who kept, or are keeping personal journals have found them valuable. They often say, for example, they want to keep their memories, or keep records of their lives, or their changes. Many also report "expressing thoughts and feelings" as a primary function of their journals. Several of the women also report that they have been keeping their journals (sometimes continuously, sometimes sporadically) for several years. One student (R-3) says she has been keeping a journal ever since her eighth birthday, ten years ago, while another student says she has been writing one ever since she learned to write (L-10). Another woman (G-5), writes: "A diary, my everyday events, no matter how boring or exciting, my feelings, my goals, also my dreams and secrets." As for its value, she writes,"I love my journal. It keeps everything, every moment or feeling that has affected me." Her response was echoed in several of the other women's remarks. One (R-1) said simply that her journal was "priceless."

Clearly, the men's and women's attitudes about keeping personal journals carried over into their attitudes about
keeping class journals. We have no way of knowing exactly what kinds of journals had been required of the 24 women and 20 men who reported doing journals in school, but they were, in all likelihood, quite various in nature. From the comments, it seems some were daybooks, some were freewriting journals, and others were possibly reading logs. Some students said they had assigned topics, while others reported they wrote about whatever they wanted. Despite the wide range of journal assignments given, however, gender remains a critical determinant of whether the journal was perceived positively or negatively.

In Table 4 and Figure 3, I show how dramatically the males and females differed in their attitudes towards the journals they had done for school. I gave "positive" ratings to those who made only positive remarks like "Great, very helpful.", or "I enjoyed it." Mixed responses were answers such as, "Sometimes tedious, mostly enjoyable" or "OK. Somedays I had something to write about, some days I didn't." Negative responses were usually short and to the point: "I never took it seriously." or "I hated it -- thrown out of class for writing what I felt." Again, just as in my class, 80% of the males had mixed or negative responses (50% made only negative comments).

The females made almost diametrically opposed remarks, with nearly 70% (67%) reporting only positive impressions of the journals.

Another interesting thing I discovered is that the men and women who disliked the journals did so for differing
reasons. The men tended to say the journals were "a waste" or "boring," reminiscent of Tom's, Steven's and Ted's comments. The women tended to say the journals were "too private" "an invasion of privacy" or "too personal to be graded."
Table 4:
Gendered Attitudes to Class Journals by Sections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Negative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zipke</td>
<td>n=9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannett</td>
<td>n=3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert</td>
<td>n=6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>n=6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>n=24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zipke</td>
<td>n=6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannett</td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert</td>
<td>n=4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>n=20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3:
Bar Graph of Gender Differences in Attitudes towards Class Journals
In sum, as far as my results are generalizeable from the materials I have presented so far, my male and female students see journals and diaries as gendered kinds of writing, in keeping with gendered models of language. These ideas inform their sense of what can be written in a journal and how it can be written, as well as whether it is acceptable to keep a journal or "diary" at all. What they "know" about journals and diaries clearly affects their attitudes towards journal keeping in the classroom.
CHAPTER IV

Gender and the Journal Keeping Tradition

No form of expression more emphatically embodies the expresser: diaries are the word made flesh. (Mallon 1984, xvii)

The women of the 20th century who write speak out of a tradition of silence, a tradition of the closely guarded revelatory language of diaries and journals. Our style, therefore, does not conform to the traditional patriarchal style we have been taught to regard as 'literary' and 'correct.' Perhaps the autonomy of the written word frees women from the constraints of conversational and situational contexts, which serve patriarchal social structures; and the relatively informal contexts of the diaries frees them from the limitations of 'formal' prose. (Penelope and Wolfe 1983, 125)

The results of the WES amply confirmed my "intuitive sense of the obvious." There is indeed, a powerful popular culture tradition of journal keeping, primarily among women, which is informing both men's and women's ideas about and attitudes towards the use of the journal in the composition class.

What had been invisible to me was suddenly ubiquitous. My student, Tom, was right: women do keep diaries or journals. Signs of women's journal keeping are simply everywhere. I realize it is no coincidence that five of the six journal keepers Lowenstein (1982) has studied in her dissertation on personal journals are women.

I open a packet of papers to be graded to resolve a student's incomplete. The final paper, on stages of
grieving, concerns a childhood friend who died of cancer. The paper is reconstructed from the student's original diaries. The dying girl's last request is that her friend, the author of the piece, take care of her stuffed animals and preserve her diaries.

I am reading a feminist scholarly journal in Dimond Library, Women's Studies Quarterly, and find this ad:

Mother to Daughter, Daughter to Mother is a Daybook—for your purse, pocket or briefcase. You will want to carry this unusual book with you or keep it on your bedside table. Its pages are arranged by months and provide space for your appointments and important dates, your thoughts as you read, your dreams, or your diary. (Feminist Press, 1986)

At the Bookland in the Six Points Plaza outside of Biddeford, Maine where we often stop for ice cream and a good browse after a ride to the beach, I find there are four different types of "women's journals" or "blank books," each labelled as a woman's book, or a woman's diary, or a woman's engagement diary. (According to Thomas Mallon, in his recent book on diaries, A Book of One's Own, (1984) 500,000 of these blank books are sold in America annually, and one look at the calico, brocaded, and unicorncd covers these books inevitably have is enough to identify the presumed audience of the majority of these books.) Also on the shelves, are four anthologies of women's journals and five recently published full length diaries, including the log of a sea captain's wife and a facsimile country diary of an Edwardian Lady, with her own handwriting and drawings reproduced. There were simply no equivalent offerings in the men's
sections of the bookstore. Clearly, there are a lot women reading and writing diaries, even in the little town of Biddeford, Maine.

Right across the river from Maine, in the less small town of Portsmouth, N.H., a full day symposium "Women's Diaries: What Can They Tell Us and How Can We Use Them" was recently held by the Strawberry Banke Museum (March 7, 1987). Over two hundred people attended, mostly women, including many older women from neighboring communities. During the course of the introductory remarks, the speaker informally polled the audience on their interests in diaries. "How many of you in the audience have kept a diary?", she asked. Immediately, over half of the hands went up. "How many of you read women's diaries?" she asked again. This time nearly all the hands went up.

My mother, a social worker, shows me a newspaper clipping on a woman who was recently jailed for hiding her children from her ex-husband whom she believed was abusing them. Where does her court testimony come from? The personal journal she has kept for years.

Ten miles east of Portsmouth, in the very little town of Durham N.H., the gendering of attitude and habit of journal keeping is recapitulating itself in classrooms like that of Joan Zelonis combined fourth/fifth grade class at Oyster River Elementary School. My son, Ben, a fourth grader in that class, informed me one evening last week of a relatively recent "dislike" for the informal reading and class journal he must keep in her class. When I asked him
why he "hated" the journal-writes, he said simply, "All the
guys hate it." Ms. Zelonis finds she has become increasingly aware that the older students are less interested in self-disclosing writing, particularly the boys. She reports auctioning off some blank books for the children to write in, and hearing comments like, "What would he want that for -- boys don't write diaries!" (Zelonis, personal communication, 3/25/87).

Indeed, this process is probably starting even earlier. Writing researcher Ruth Hubbard of UNH, currently conducting research at a nearby elementary school, shared the following story: One of the first grade teachers gave out blank books for her students to write in, if they wanted to, over the summer. The following fall, a few students came in with the journals they had written during their vacation. All girls. First grade.

Indeed, the stereotype of the female journal keeper is so pervasive it has been culturally enshrined in humor. Thomas Mallon (1984), in his introduction to a section on travel journals, uses the following to explain why people would write such a journal, but the inferred gender dynamics are equally fascinating:

Several years ago the cartoonist Charles Saxon sketched a middle aged couple, both of them heavy with normality. The man is slumped in an armchair, watching television, expressionless. But his wife is aglow, lost in the memory contained in a book she has just discovered in the bedroom. She has come into the living room with it and is reading aloud about charming hotels and waiters and wines on a trip to Paris in 1956. Her husband is paying no attention to her, but the look on her face shows it hardly matters. The diary is doing what she knew --
perhaps just dimly, twenty years before -- it would someday have to.

(42)

What strikes me about that scene is that not only is the woman the probable author of the journal, but also that she is the one who finds it functional, valuable. She connects with the "life in the text" of the journal. A more recent incarnation of the stereotype (this time of the prototypical adolescent girl diarist) appeared in the Boston Globe last November (see Figure 4, next page.)
Figure 4:
Stereotype of Female Journal Keeper

"I suppose it's only fair to warn you: I've been keeping a journal the whole time!"

(Boston Globe, 11-18-86)

This William Hamilton cartoon is reproduced by permission of Chronicle Features, San Francisco.
But description is not the same as explanation. Where did the journal come from? Was it always a genre primarily associated with women? If not, how is it that the journal or diary came to be, as it is now, considered to be a kind of writing mostly women do? Let me answer these questions, at least in a provisional way, in the next two sections of the chapter. First, we'll look at the origins of the journal which show that historically, the journal, at least as it has been written about by males, has primarily been associated with males, and public functions and values, as the models of discourse we have considered would suggest. We will also look at the ways in which the literary scholarship about journals has prevented an accurate accounting, or understanding of women's contributions to journal traditions, and thus, offers composition researchers little help in understanding how women came to be increasingly associated, and men increasingly dissociated with the modern, introspective "personal journal."

I will conclude the chapter by showing how my own journaling experience places me squarely in the same set of traditions I had discovered my female students were in, and describing the gendered legacy of the journal/diary that my students have inherited.

Origins of the Journal/Diary

One of the things everyone seems to be able to agree on is that the journal, as it has been practiced in European culture, has a very "murky start." (As we noted in
Chapter One, "journal" and "diary" are terms with similar etymologies and have been used synonymously since at least the sixteenth century.)

If you were exploring someplace nobody else had been to, you'd better be able to tell your sovereign how you got there. A diary would be the richest supplement to any maps you could draw along the way; indeed the ship's log -- like the household account, and the commonplace book -- is one of the forms to which the diary probably owes much of its murky start. (Mallon, 43)

Fothergill, in his critical study of English diaries, Private Chronicles (1974), agrees there is no single source of diary-writing, but rather it has been the result of a "coalescence of a number of pre-diary habits into a form that exceeds its component elements." (14) Indeed, Brian Dobbs in his work Dear Diary (1974) points out the Irish scribes in the fourteenth century were already making odd little autobiographical entries in Gaelic in the margins of the texts they were copying. A certain Eugene O'Shiell, for example recorded for posterity his labored breathing and the phlegm upon him "like a mighty river," and William Magfindgaill notes the torment of spending the Friday of the Passion with water when there is excellent wine in the house. (13)

Certainly one source of the journal has been the wide variety of "public journals," a "range of regular-entry books" either externally or self-imposed which are done for their public utility. Writings of this type include transactions of public bodies, ship's logs, journal records
of military campaigns and scientific expeditions, and various chronicles of every age.

The travel journal is clearly another of the earliest proto-diary forms. Francis Bacon, in his essay "Of Travel", offers advice on how to properly employ the journal as an instructive accompaniment to The Grand Tour, as an extension of "the rationally ordered life." John Evelyn, for example, one of the first diarists to be later published, developed his diary form from the writing habits he had developed during his trips to the continent in the 1640's. (Fothergill, 15)

Another older form of regular entry writing which contributed to what we know as the journal or diary is the commonplace book. The commonplace book is the earliest ancestor to the journals of readings, quotes, observations, notes and drafts that educated people, particularly scholars, writers or artists, have kept for centuries. The earliest extant work, A Common-Place Book of the Fifteenth Century, written by an anonymous resident of a manor house in Sussex, shows how plastic the form is. Among its contents are prayers, sayings, quotes from the poet Lydgate, puzzles, a saint's life, a religious play, interspersed with recipes, family accounts, and tracts on manorial law. (Mallon, 120-121)

One final "prime source of the genre" is the spiritual journal or spiritual diary, developed and adapted for use by several non-Conformist, or dissenting religious groups during the seventeenth century. The Puritans, and later
the Quakers, Methodists and other groups were challenging external authority in matters of personal belief, relying rather on inner guidance and introspection, for which they found the diary a useful tool. (Fothergill, 17, Dobbs, 16-19). By the middle of the seventeenth century, "how-to" books such as John Beadle's The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian (1656) were already available to aid potential practitioners in using the diary to examine their behavior, their conscience, their souls, and their relation to God and his works. (Fothergill, 17) Both George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers), and John Wesley, the founder of Methodism were avid spiritual diarists, Wesley sustaining his journal for a full sixty-six years (1725-1791). This "great Protestant art form" as Mallon calls it, was not only an extraordinarily popular form of diarizing in the seventeenth century, but continued to "feed a major tributary stream right through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth." (Fothergill 17)

(Since America was founded primarily by various nonconformist religious groups, the spiritual diary constitutes a large share of our specific journal heritage, along with naturally, the travel journal.)

What made the secular personal diary possible, then, in its first real coalescence or crystallization, was the major set of epistemological shifts which accompanied the Renaissance and Reformation, which in fact spurred several new forms of thinking and writing from and about the self,
including not only the diary but also the personal essay, which comes from the same cast of mind:

It was only with the Renaissance with its revival of classical learning and the Reformation with its concept of freedom of conscience, that religious and intellectual freedoms reach a stage sympathetic to self expression and made it possible for a man to think of keeping a diary.

The landmark of the new consciousness is not actually a diary but a book of essays by a Frenchman. Written in the 1580's, Montaigne's Essays are profoundly original. ... (H)e turned his attention to his own character and attributes and his own preferences and prejudices, so that Montaigne is as much his own subject as anything on which he writes. (Dobbs, 18)

The post-Cartesian world, with increasing value placed on individual experience, empirical evidence, introspection, and expression, soon made room for another important, and related kind of writing: the novel (which will also be associated with women writers and readers.) Marcia Landy summarizes the major cultural changes and some of their consequences as follows:

The modern world, formed out of the contradictions inherent in the Protestant views of the self, of marriage, of economic life, produced new forms of social life and of literature. We have noticed how the gesellschaft relations characterize arrangements under capitalist society. In literature, the novel, in its portrayal of bourgeois society, its emphasis on romance and sentiment, on psychology paved for way for a closer examination of social relations, particularly of male-female relationships. The biography and autobiography, the journal and the diary are inevitable counterparts of the novel.

(Landy 1977, 20, see also Fothergill, 22-23)
Peops and the Personal Journal

While favorable epistemological winds made the secular personal journal possible, it has been "universally" acknowledged, at least since the nineteenth century, that Samuel Pepys was the man who "condemned all previous diary keeping to be the pre-history of the genre." (Fothergill, 13). Actually, John Evelyn had started his diaries somewhat earlier (1641-1706) and they would be published a few years before Pepys, but Evelyn's diaries, exacting and remarkable as they are, filled with "verbal photograph" both of the age and the events he actually experiences, are not as powerful, or nearly as colorful as Pepys'.

It is Pepys, then, and nearly a hundred years later, James Boswell, who will lend their imprimatur to the diary, or personal journal; the "book of the self," the "imprint of a man's being in the world" (Italics added.) as Fothergill critically defines it. These men, indeed, along with Americans like Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, Jonathon Edwards, and later, transcendentalists like Emerson and Thoreau are, for those of us trained in composition and literature the names we will know. These are the men whose excerpts we have read in anthologies. Even though histories of the personal journal have been written which show how the journal form has taken on the literary and cultural characteristics of each age, for most twentieth century (male) literary scholars of the journal, it is almost as if the diary form not only began, but also reached its apogee with these early male diarists, particularly Pepys and
Boswell. The heights will be difficult indeed, for other diarists to attempt. Dobbs writes, for instance, following the lead of the first important scholars and compilers, notably Ponsonby and Matthews:

And it is only those few, like Pepys and Boswell, whose diaries deserve to be published in toto. Their diaries, even allowing for the disadvantages of the diffuse nature of the genre, have achieved the status of great literature. Of precious few can that be said."

Here's Thomas Mallon, starting his first chapter "Chroniclers," in much the same vein:

The idea of the diary as carrier of the private, the everyday, the intriguing, the sordid, the sublime, the boring -- in short, a chronicle of everything -- seems to have occurred accidentally, and not before Samuel Pepys began what may the best-known diary of all. If he cannot be said to have invented the form as we now think of it, he nearly did, just as he more or less perfected it within months of starting his book on January 1, 1660. (1984,1-2)

Just what is so wonderful about Pepys' diary that it should become the paradigm for all personal diaries? To answer this requires a bit more history. That is, while Pepys was writing in the seventeenth century, he was not discovered, deciphered, and finally published until the nineteenth century (1825). Diary writing was a genre in many respects unaware of itself as such until the early nineteenth century, with only a few exceptions, like Boswell. (In several critical respects, diary writing has never become aware of itself as a "genre" of public literary writing, especially for women as we shall see in the next section.)
With the discovery and publication of John Evelyn's diaries in 1818, diaries suddenly became very popular, both to read and to write. "Diary keeping was in the news and people may have felt keen to emulate their distinguished predecessors." (Dobbs, 224) John Letts, a stationer, was producing a single Lett's Diary for business transactions in 1809. By 1836, aided by developments in print technology and the availability of inexpensive paper, he was publishing 28 different diary formats, and selling several thousand diaries annually. It was the Victorians, then, who initially found Pepys so engaging, and elevated his status as the classic diarist.

Several things appealed to the Victorians (I hesitate to add again, Victorian men), and continue to appeal to the critics of today. Fothergill argues that the chief pleasure of Pepys' diary is its commodiousness, Pepys' ability to render "all his experiences from the most public to the most private, in the same key, as it were, treating all the contents of a day impartially." While such a diary may not have the personal intensity of the more "one-sidedly confessional diaries of the period," Pepys integrates a certain range, variety, and texture of experience that can't be outdone in Fothergill's mind.

However, my sense of Pepys' real appeal is more consonant with Dobb's and Mallon's view that Pepys was enormously attractive to the Victorian mind, and to current critics, not only because he was a "Restoration success story," and a self-made, genially successful man, but also

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because he was "a great booby," and most specifically because of his constant, candid, and quite graphic, depictions of sexual exploits and pecadillos. Indeed, the fact that journals are written in an odd Frenchified code in order not to be read by his wife and other members of his family only makes them more attractive. Both Dobbs and Mallon, who are current critics, devote major parts of their discussions of Pepys to this aspect of his diaries, although they explain their interest in somewhat different ways, Dobbs reveling in its candor, which he insists is not tainted by smuttiness, and Mallon who unabashedly revels in the "smuttiness."

In our own post-Freudian times, there is something infinitely refreshing about Pepys' Chaucerian frankness. He treats his continuing sexual appetite, his momentary bodily disorder, his defecatory and urinary functions, his wife's menstrual discomforts, and his erotic dreams of Lady Castlemaine, all with such openness and in such matter-of-fact terms that even if the details would win him no friends in polite drawing-rooms, he is never offensive in the slightest. There is no smut, no snigger behind the hand, no desire to do anything but to set down the truth without self-deception, and this remember, in an age of almost unparalleled licenence in the court, and its social adjunct, the theatre. (Dobbs, 60-61)

Goodness knows Elizabeth Pepys has her hands full, mostly, because her husband's always are -- of the pliant flesh of servant girls and married ladies about the town. ... Of course, one needn't be bilingual to figure out what he does with Mrs. Martin on June 3, 1666: 'Did what je voudrais avec her, both devante and backwards, which is also muy bon plazer.' Or what happens between him and Deb on March 31, 1668: 'Yo did take her, the first time in my life, sobra mi genu and di poner mi mano sub her jupes and toca su thigh.' ... When you're twelve and someone offers to show you a dirty postcard, you're interested. But when your're told it's a French dirty postcard, then boy, you're really interested.
In matters of the flesh, Pepys was permanently twelve. (Mallon, 4)

Or, as Mallon remarks later on the character of Pepys' diaries, "'Mens cuiusque is est quisque' -- that's his motto on the bookplates. It should have been 'Did poner mi mano sub her jupe'!" (292) Given that Pepys, is said to be the paradigm for the personal journal, and Boswell, and several other men are said to be its major practitioners, we are almost no closer to understanding the ways in which women might be associated with the personal journal than we were before we started our study of the history of the journal. As composition teachers then, even if we know the standard literature in the history of the journal/diary we will not be able to use that knowledge to understand the gendered responses our students make to their journals.

The reason for this is quite simple. As we have seen repeatedly with regard to men's and women's discourse, not only have men written the majority of public discourses, they also have been the ones to decide which ones to save and why, which ones to become public, or even literary, and why. The work on diary and journals shows the same dominant/muted, public/private oppositions we have seen at work in all discourse.

The standard diary literature, as we've already begun to see, from Ponsonby and Matthews, through Fothergill, Dobbs, Malloõ, and Kagle tends be a series of discourses by male critics about male diarists. Female diarists, while not excluded completely, are simply not given much attention,
either in the quantity or in the quality of the discussions. Kagle's book too, *American Diary Literature*, for example, would be more properly titled "American Men's Diary Literature," because it generally treats only males.

Checking Matthew's massive compilation efforts, presumably the most comprehensive annotated bibliographical work on both British and American published and manuscript diaries available to date, I found precisely the same trends. In his work on British diaries from 1442 - 1942 (1980), for example, he includes some very early women diarists, such as Lady Grace Mildmay (1570), Lady Margaret Hoby (1599), Lady (Anne Clifford) Pembroke (1616), and Mrs. Alice Thornton (1625), all writing way before Evelyn and Pepys. But with the exception of Lady Hoby, none of these women get mentioned in the major histories of the diary. All in all, though, very few women are listed, either for the British or American traditions; in the work on unpublished American manuscripts (1945), Matthews lists only six women out of the first two hundred diarists. While it is quite possible that there were fewer women diarists at the very beginning of the tradition, it is highly improbable that the numbers listed in the traditional bibliographic works are an accurate reflection of women's participation in a diary tradition, as we'll see shortly.

Interacting with subtle exclusion, the criteria and descriptive frames applied to works by the important men in the field have continued to efface the presence of women's diary traditions. Ponsonby, for example, the first
important compiler of diaries working in the early twentieth century, preferred the diaries that have some inherent comedic appeal, a criterion that is certain to exclude many, if not most women's diaries.

Fothergill, who has written the most developed theoretical work to date, discusses several female diarists in his work on the development of the journal as a "serial autobiography," yet five of his six "milestone" diarists are men. Only Anais Nin, whose diary becomes "the crucible of consciousness" itself is allowed to be the final capstone of the twentieth century diary tradition. And while Boswell's candor is applauded, the personal commentary in the diary of Hester Thrale, Boswell's contemporary and also the author of a work on Johnson, are treated as too private, sentimental, even "histrionic," by Fothergill. Fanny Burney, the early novelist and noted diarist, comes in a "blank period," and Fothergill considers her "transitional." And while he thinks Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf, and Ivy Jacquier might have been used as the representative figures for the early twentieth century personal journal - the serious exploration of the psyche coming out of the tradition of the "journal intime" (developed by another woman, George Sand), "they lack, in their published state at least, his (Barbellion's - Fothergill's choice for representative figure) organic consistency." That is, they have been, in essence, "too edited," (as though that were a fault of the diarist rather than the editors.)
Dobbs also sprinkles women here and there in his discussion much the same way, and then at the end of the book, devotes a chapter to "The Female of the Species," which naturally suggests that female diarists are the exception, abnormal, an anomalous case to be handled at the end, after the real work on diaries. Even Mallon's most recent work treats the whole tradition of girl and adolescent female diarists as forms of "confessional" and his discussion has the effect of trivializing what is actually a rich, elaborate and poorly understood journal tradition.

And consider, too, for a moment the effect of Pepys and Boswell as the standards for the genre. How many women lived the kinds of lives these men lived; how many women could have afforded, in any age, the brash, but genial display of ego, or the sexual candor these men engage in?

Thus, two overlapping sets of difficulties prevent us from seeing clearly how women have contributed to, and ultimately come to dominate, the diary tradition in the twentieth century. The first is that the conditions under which men and women have produced, and or published, preserved or destroyed, their journals or diaries have not been the same. The second is, as we have pointed out, that the discourse about diaries and journals until recently, has been carried on by males, about males, and using their own male criteria for evaluating works. Both the conditions of writing and the workings of literary canonicity have worked to blur and trivialize women's journal traditions. One
recent, and important, reason for these gaps in the discourse about journals, is that New Criticism, the most important literary criticism of the first half of the twentieth century, placed enormous value on autonomous, self-contained, formal, and deliberately artful forms of writing while it devalued several other kinds of writing, including diaries and journals:

Memoirs, diaries, personal essays, letters, -- forms in which women writers have excelled -- were increasingly considered subliterary genres, except for those works that had been acknowledged as literature for so long that their status was secure. Hence Franklin's Autobiography, but not that of Linda Brent, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, or Mary Hunter Austin; Emerson's or Thoreau's essays, but not those of Margaret Fuller's. (Rosenfeldt, 21)

Since the seventies, however, a variety of critics (Fothergill, Dobbs, and Mallon among them), including post-structuralists, psychanalytic critics, feminist critics, and reader response critics have begun to challenge various parts of the literary canon. Feminists and certain of these other groups have also begun to "deconstruct" notions of canonicity themselves. Researchers in composition have been studying the connections between reading and writing, and the social contexts of all reading and writing, which naturally has connected them as well to questions of the literary canon and canonicity. These investigations, particularly by feminists, as we saw in the earlier discourse studies, have unearthed a "rich store" of women's journals and other "nontraditional" kinds of writing, as
well as alternative ways to think about and describe these kinds of writing.

Women and the Personal Journal Tradition

I write, therefore I am. ... They wrote, therefore I am. (Culley 1985, 8/24)

I think it is true that one gains a certain hold on sausage and haddock by writing them down.
(Virginia Woolf, in Mallon, 33)

Even the male critics I have been discussing above will often grant, paradoxically, in a paragraph or sentence somewhere in their work on the (male) diary, that the diary is a "genre to which women have always felt especially drawn." (Mallon, 19) Mallon reminds us that Japanese women were confiding to their "pillow books" centuries before diary keeping came to the West, and that "the diary was, after all, available to them for expression in centuries when their attempts to practice other forms of literature -- say, produce a play -- were considered presumptuous or silly" (19). Dobbs agrees that diaries have provided for women through the ages a "sympathetic ear for women to confide opinions which have been considered too outrageous for the society they lived in" (178) and an outlet for the "human qualities of wit, perception, and sensitivity." He concludes: "The qualities were shown in the boudoir rather than in the darwing room and demonstrated only in the privacy of the journal has been society's loss but unquestionably the diary's gain." (220) Dobbs understands the useful public/private distinction which has operated
even with these most private texts of one's life. The question remains: what has been society's loss with regard to the journals of women? What has been the diary's gain?

**Women's Journals and the Problem of Preservation**

As for loss, first we must look at the question of whether women writing journals or diaries really were "exceptions" until recently. We know, for example, that fewer women were literate, which certainly precluded the opportunity for writing a journal for some women, but we also know that there were increasing numbers of literate women, many of whom wanted to give shape to their world and the worlds of their mind in some form of writing, especially since the eighteenth century. For them, private writing in a journal was certainly going to be more tolerated than more public, more prestigious masculine forms of writing.

We also know that much of what has been reconstructed as the history of the journal has had to rely on either published journals or publically preserved journals. Historically, women's journals have had much less chance of undergoing either process. Penelope Franklin, author of a recent book on women's diaries, *Private Pages: Diaries of American Women 1830s - 1970s* (1986) recalls her search for women's diaries:

What I found amazed me. The vast majority of published journals were those of men. The thousands of unpublished women's diaries were in archives across the country -- thousands more, I realized, were in attics like mine. I noticed that the men's diaries published were often tales of exploration, war, politics, or adventure; or were those of famous literary or historical figures.
The women's diaries published were sometimes by a famous woman, but very often they were by the wife, mother, or sister of a famous man. Since women weren't for the most part climbing mountains or running for office, no one had considered their personal diaries particularly interesting. (xiv)

Archivist and scholar, Elizabeth Meese, and indeed most women working with women's nontraditional materials have found the same phenomena, "Public libraries, historical societies, attics and basements are frequently better sources of women's manuscripts than are the rare book rooms and archives of larger research libraries." (41) And even when women's journals, letters, or papers are preserved in libraries or other public places, they are frequently catalogued under male family names. In essence they are saved because of their relation to some man. Varina Howell Davis's fascinating journals are filed under her husband's name, Jefferson Davis, and even worse, Julia Peterkin, a Pulitzer prize winning writer, was found to have her letters to a Lyle Saxon, a lesser known writer, filed under his name. (41)

Related to the issue of preservation, is the problem of literal destruction (severe editing or outright destruction) of women's journals, either by the author herself or by those who had possession of a journal after the death of the author, usually a family member or the executor of the estate. While it's clear that some men have destroyed parts of their journals (often early journals) or have been overly edited, the reading I've done suggests that far more women's journals have met with radical surgery or untimely death.
Since women have often committed to journals the very sorts of things that would not have been allowed to become a part of public discourse, it's quite understandable that many women would not want their journals read by others even after their deaths, and therefore would be likely to destroy parts of it or all of it. Katherine Mansfield, for example, destroyed all her early diaries. (Willy, 31) More commonly, however, it appears that women's journals are either edited beyond recognition or destroyed entirely by presumably well-intentioned family members, under the guise of protecting the woman, but equally likely protecting themselves, or the dominant world view the diaries may have challenged. While Pepys and Boswell and Scott appear in all their naked splendor, Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Wynn (68 volumes pruned to 3), and even Queen Victoria's journals have been heavily edited. They are littered with fig leaves one might say. Fothergill, as we can recall, mentions several other female diaries which might have been excellent, but were "too edited." After Caroline Fox, a well known 19th century Quaker diarist died, her sister, Anna Maria allowed a one volume edition of her diaries to be published, then methodically burned the twelve original volumes, "presumably taking the view that discretion in family affairs was more important than literary or social history." (Dobbs 204) This process is still happening, according to Elouise Bell, who teaches a course on women's journals in which students do their own archival work in the community. One student discovered:
A woman of eighty-five had custody of some thirty six years worth of day-by-day journals written by her mother, an early Iowa pioneer and farmer. The journals were not merely health-and-weather jottings but considered thoughtful entries. The aging daughter -- her mother was dead, of course -- was going through volume by volume, copying out important birth and death dates, and then methodically burning the journals, because she believed such books were private.

(Bell 1985, 171)

Husbands and brothers have also played a pernicious role in the process. Jane Carlyle, wife of the essayist Thomas Carlyle, remarked at the beginning of her first extant diary: "I remember Charles Buller saying of the Duchess of Praslin's murder, 'What could a poor fellow do with a wife who kept a journal but murder her.'" (Ranier 44) While Thomas Carlyle did not murder his wife, he did indeed destroy several of his wife's diaries, and she herself presumably destroyed others (Ranier 307). Leonard Woolf literally dismembered Virginia Woolf's diaries (though they were later somewhat reconstructed); Ted Hughes burned up "the bits the children should not see" when editing Sylvia Plath's journals; John Middleton Murray excised significant parts of Katherine Mansfield's journals (Caws 1986, 51-53). And Henry James was against the idea of his talented sister, Alice's, journals being published, even privately, after her death (53). Pepys' and Boswell's transgressions and indiscretions and opinions, even Oscar Wilde's, Evelyn Waugh's, and Benjamin Haydon's vicious satire and occasional ranting don't seem to be nearly as dangerous as any of these women telling some semblance of the truth about their lives.
As a final comparison, consider the rather different treatment the journals of Boswell and Pepys have received at the hands of posterity. When Boswell died in 1795, he left an enormous number of private papers, including his journals, which were very candid not only in terms of commentary about those around him, but also like Pepys', in terms of their sexual frankness. The executors, not wanting to offend the Boswell family, and not wanting to give his arch antagonist, Macauley, any more ammunition, but also wanting to provide for "posterity's claim," made the studied decision to postpone any public release of the journals until Boswell's son was old enough to decide their fate. As opposed to the treatment of women's private writings we saw above, Boswell's private, even controversial, and undecorous papers, were treated with respect and decorum, and ultimately saved for public posterity by the family. Ironically, it was two great-grandaughters in the early twentieth century who rediscovered and saved the papers (Dobbs 65-67).

It is also difficult to imagine a woman's journal being preserved in the same manner as Pepys'. Pepys left his papers to the library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, his alma mater. For over a hundred years, his six leather bound volumes sat quietly and safely in that revered location waiting for someone to break the odd little transcription code he had used. Indeed, just as Pepys might have suspected, someone did become interested in those eccentric, seemingly unreadable books, and a poor
undergraduate named John Smith was set to work for three straight years, ten hours a day, to break the code and transcribe the entire six volumes. (Dobbs 50) What care. What reverence. No wonder Pepys' journal survived.

While it is possible then, that somewhat fewer women wrote journals in the 1600's and 1700's because of the different literacy rates for men and women, certainly far more women have kept journals than has been recorded in the public, primarily male histories. And in spite of the treatment so many women's journals have received, those thousands of extant unpublished women's journals Penelope Franklin refers to speak to other traditions of journal keeping and journal care. Take the case of Martha Morse Ballard's journal. Begun at age fifty in 1785 by a midwife in Hollowell, Maine and spanning twenty-seven years, the journal (several hand-sewn books) passes to her daughter Dolly, who gives it to her daughter, who gives it to her niece, Mary Hobart in the early twentieth century. Mary Hobart wants to be an obstetrician, and the journal from her great grand-aunt empowers her in her quest. The diary becomes for her such a precious legacy that she has it beautifully bound, and has a mahogany box made especially for its safe keeping (Ulrich, 1987). The fate of Martha Morse Ballard's journal suggests that women's journals were important, not necessarily in the public, dominant forum, but rather in the "muted" social, domestic, and familial networks in which women's discourse has flourished. While the male journal keeping tradition has been marked by more
public discourses and public functions, women's journal traditions have tended to develop, as with most of their discourse in the private social and domestic sphere. Indeed the forms and functions of Carrie's, Jennifer's, and Sarah's journals are clearly marked by these forms and functions. Let's look at some of those now, considering the forms and functions of women's journals, and the resonance of other earlier women's journals with those of Carrie, Jennifer, and Sarah. What has been diary's gain ... and women's?

Women's Journal Traditions: "That profoundly female, and feminist genre, the journal." (Rich, SS, 217)

It is a common epiphany in research to come upon a problem or set of issues and then discover that others are working on it, too. I have had the good luck to discover Margo Culley's book A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present (1985), an anthology of diary excerpts which includes an important chapter on women's journal traditions. Since there is not sufficient space in this work for me to do justice to the actual complexities of form and historical development of women's journal traditions, let me suggest Culley's work, as well as Franklin's Private Pages (1986), and Women's Personal Narratives: Essays in Criticism and Pedagogy, edited by Leonore Hoffman and Margo Culley (1985) for those interested in further reading. There are also several other recent anthologies of women's journals/diaries, and myriad published women's journals now available.11 What I would
like to do here is focus on the two major kinds of journals women have kept: journals for or about others (which have served a variety of domestic, familial and social writing purposes -- as women's discourse generally does), and journals for the self (which allowed women private but independent voices of their own, and a place to take themselves seriously without as much fear of repercussion). Bear in mind, however, that the motivations and functions of journal keeping for women have often been a combination of personal and social utility, and that journals kept by a single person also have the tendency to shift in form and function over time.

Women's Journals for Others: While the current commonsense notion of the diary is that of the private "book of the self," Margo Culley makes the central point that the "emergence of the self as the subject of the diary" is, in many respects, a recent idea.

Many eighteenth- and nineteenth century diaries were semi-public documents intended to be read by an audience. Those kept by men, in particular, record a public life or are imbued with a sense of public purpose or audience. (Culley 3)

If we grant that, as both Franklin and Culley assert, the majority of men's diaries have been public by virtue of their author, content, or purpose, and that women's diaries, while generally not "public," have not necessarily fully private either, then what were their functions?, and who were their audiences? From the very beginning of the women's diary traditions, at least as far as we have
reconstructed it to date, women wrote diaries for social and domestic purposes. That is, while men were writing often for "posterity," women were more often writing for and about their children, their husbands, their extended families, and their social networks.

Many early female diarists, for example, have been labelled as "social diarists." They were usually aristocratic or upper class women, sometimes Ladies of the Court, like Fanny Burney and Lady Cowper, titled like Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Winchilsea or women like Hester Thrale, the close friend of Samuel Johnson, or Caroline Fox who moved in the important Victorian circles. Being taught, as females are, to be good listeners, the diaries they produced (as adults) were focused mostly on what others (famous men) said and did, and helped produce the social networks that supported their lives. Naturally, one can understand why these diaries might have been more likely to have been preserved or published, since they illuminated and reinforced the lives of famous men. But also, these journals can be seen as the logical extension of female's social discourse responsibilities, to listen and record, to encourage others in their speech, and to facilitate communication.

The idea of keeping a journal as a part of the social or domestic discourse network seems a central and unique part of women's journal traditions. Women's journals were often practiced, indeed, as part of the continuum of domestic discourse such as letter writing. Fanny Burney,
wrote of her letters as "journals" or "journalising" and often conflated the two forms in practice, seeing them as overlapping rather than distinct. Celia Fiennes, a Restoration diarist (born 1662), wrote some of her travel journals in the form of letters to her sister. Elizabeth Wynn, a well-known diarist from the eighteenth century, composed a considerable number of her sixty-eight volume journals from the extended correspondence she had with her sea captain husband, Captain Freemantle. In many respects, she became his chronicler, and even her descendent many generations later, editing the volumes, felt Freemantle's material was "news," while poor Elizabeth's was "just life."

Indeed, my guess is that the great majority of journals written by women until the late nineteenth century fulfilled this domestic discourse function (among others) of woman as family and social historian. Additional proof of this function of women's diaries is the existence of diary cycles: that is, multiple generations of women keeping diaries in the same family, such as the Burney diaries, the Wynn diaries, and the Woodeforde diaries. (These diary cycles also speak to the ways in which diaries were preserved and diary writing handed down from one generation of women to the next.) And you didn't have to be rich or famous or related to a famous man to keep one, as all families needed someone to record and be able to recall critical events in the life of a family and its members, and keep networks of communication open. Margo Culley writes that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:
Women diarists in particular wrote as family and community historians. They recorded in exquisite detail the births, deaths, illnesses, visits, travel, marriages, work, and unusual occurrences that made up the fabric of their lives. Women for whom that fabric had been torn, who emigrated to this country, traveled as part of the westward migration, joined their husbands on whaling ships, or went to distant lands as missionaries, used journals to maintain kin and community networks. The diaries kept by those women functioned as extended letters often actually sent to those left behind. (Culley 4)

Tristine Ranier, author of The New Diary, one of the many current self-help, how-to books by women on diary keeping makes a similar assessment:

Women's diaries in Europe and in the United States had their own independent tradition throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. By the eighteenth century literally hundreds of American pioneer women had created a network of correspondence and mutual support that stretched from North Carolina to Massachusetts and was based on a shared interest in journal writing. In fact, so many women relied on the diary to preserve their history and culture that 200 years later, many people had come to think of the diary as primarily a woman's mode of expression. (Ranier 11)

Certainly then, a central function of women's diaries as opposed to men's has been to create, share, and preserve social and familial information and essential discourse networks. But while Culley asserts that the journal as a book for the private discourse of the self is a very recent idea (late nineteenth century,) I found in several of these social and domestic journals, even the very earliest ones, fascinating ruptures of self which suggest that women found immediate and profound personal value even in these journals for and about others.
Fanny Burney, for example, a contemporary of Boswell and Johnson, writing in her mid-teens explains her impulse to write as that of confiding her secret thoughts to the sympathetic ear of the diary. She decides to call her diary "Miss Nobody" a century before the convention of "Dear Diary" is ensconced and writes:

To Nobody, then, will I write my Journal! since to Nobody can I be wholly unreserved -- to Nobody can I reveal every thought, every wish of my heart, and with the most unremitting sincerity to the end of my life! (Fothergill 88)

Fanny Burney's early diaries, or what is left of them, are indeed personal; they contain precisely the kinds of things she would not say aloud, or write for others to see. Fortunately or unfortunately for Fanny, as her literary talents are increasingly realised, and she grows into her proper place in society, "her journals soon cease to be private and become family property, (therefore) they increasingly assume the character of letters designed to entertain an immediate audience with the latest exercise of Fanny's gift for social comedy." (Fothergill 54) Notice again, however, that Fanny's journals become family property, not "public property."

As for her slightly older contemporary, Hester Thrale (Piozzi) nearly the reverse is true. Hester Thrale tries to write a series of social diaries, filled with anecdotes of Johnson, and Goldsmith and Burney, but in spite of her conscious desire to write an elegant, acceptable, witty diary, her less conscious anger at her limitations, her
frustration at trying to be perfect for her husbands and children seethes underneath and occasionally erupts into the journal. (Spacks 1975, 206) Remember it was this quality which irritated Fothergill, who was clearly looking for a different sort "imprint of a man" in his conception of the personal journal. Yet as a model of a woman's being in the world, it is an utterly compelling work. Or consider Nancy Woodeforde, who wrote volume after volume of the comings and goings of visitors and the changing of the seasons at a country parsonage with nothing of herself in any of them. Except in the year 1792, and only in that year presumably, she kept a second journal, an anonymous brown notebook full of herself and her difficult relationship with her estranged mother.

There are other examples, but there is not time here for a full discussion of them. Rather, the two points I want to focus on are these: First, that women have for centuries kept journals that center on social and domestic relationships, and are a fluid part of domestic discourse networks, including letters and other collaborative forms of writing; Secondly, that certain women's journals, even the most "other directed" have for centuries also discovered in small, but powerful, ways that the journal was a place they could try to locate, and be, themselves. These are central traditions that my females, even in 1987, display in their personal and academic journals as we have seen.
Women's Journals and Self: Text as Life / Life as Text

Everyone knows that a place exists which is not economically or politically indebted to all the vileness and compromise. That is not obliged to reproduce the system. That is writing. If there is a somewhere else that can escape the infernal repetition, it lies in that direction, where it writes itself, where it dreams, where it invents new worlds. (Cixous 1986, 1)

Oh yes, I've enjoyed reading the past years diary & shall keep it up. I'm amused to find how its grown a person, with almost a face of its own. (Woolf, December 28, 1919, in Mallon, 1)

The other primary set of relations, between the self, and the writing of the texts called diaries or journals, is also critical to an understanding of women's journal traditions, and is also central to the notion of "journal" that many of the women in my class have. As we discovered in Chapter Three, the women I studied tended to see their lives as possible or necessary "texts," and conversely, their read and re-read those "texts" as though the text themselves had life, or were "alive." The men tended not to see the value of making their intellectual and emotional lives into texts to be interpreted. Again, my students are operating in the context of much older journal tradition. Culley offers a useful historical perspective on this aspect of the gendered journal tradition, and suggests a critical reason for men's decreasing interest in the journal. Clearly too, as the journal became affiliated with women's worlds and writing, it probably "suffered" a loss of prestige, which may well have hastened the departure of men from the ranks of its practitioners:
In the course of the nineteenth century, as a split between the public and private spheres came increasingly to shape the lives of women and men, those aspects of culture associated with the private became the domain of women. Simultaneously, changing ideas of the self, influenced by romanticism, the industrial revolution, the "discovery" of the unconscious contributed to the changes in the content and function of the diary. As the modern idea of the secular diary as a "secret" record of an inner life evolved, that inner life -- the life of personal reflection and emotion -- became an important aspect of the "private sphere" and women continued to turn to the diary as one place where they were permitted, indeed, encouraged to indulge full "self-centeredness." American men, unused to probing and expressing this inner life in any but religious terms, found as the secular self emerged as the necessary subject of the diary, the form less and less amenable to them.

(Culley 3-4)

While the specific cultural shifts Culley mentions encouraged, indeed pushed, the journal into its primary current form as recorder of the inner self and forum for self encounter, the specific muted relation of women to discourse and experience has always powered women's use of the journal as a potent tool for self exploration, discovery, and reconstruction. Simply put, since women have always had fewer ways to act on, to inscribe themselves on the world at large, they found ways to inscribe themselves, to make their own unique imprint, in texts. Texts are marks on the world; they are physical objects, and journals and diaries, while silent, are visible and potentially permanent, markers of a life lived even if just for the diarist herself.

Keeping a diary, one could argue, always begins with a sense of self-worth, a conviction that one's
individual experience is somehow remarkable. Even the most self-deprecating of women's diaries are grounded in some sense of the importance of making a record of the life. (Culley 8)

But as I have been arguing all along, women often seem to be doing more that simply recording their life and the life around them, rather they tend to construct and interpret their lives in their journals, in essence, to give them shape and reality.

Interestingly, Mallon writes about this particular motivation for diarists, but suggests that primarily "prisoners and invalids" would be using the journal "not so much to record lives as to create them" (xvii). Indeed, he provides several striking examples of men (mostly) who have been physically imprisoned (Alfred Dreyfuss, Albert Speer, Anne Frank), imprisoned by sickness (George Orwell, William Soutar, W. N. P. Barbellion, Alice James), or society's punishing attitudes towards homosexuality (Arthur Christopher Benson) (248-291), and must use their diaries to live in. That is, men who, for whatever reason, have been temporarily or permanently placed in the position of being outside the "normal" dominant spheres of activity, experience, or world view, have written journals in which they could be safe, healthy, alive. Is it any wonder that women, who have always been, in critical respects, in the position of "outsider" to the dominant world might write from similar impulses? While I don't want to oversimplify women's relations to the diary, women's need to "textualize"
their lives and their corollary tendency to "vivify" their diaries seem central. As Penelope Franklin writes:

A diary can be a 'safe place' where new roles can be tried out, protected from censure; a sounding board for ideas or emotions that may not be acceptable to friends or family; a testing ground where creative experiments of all kinds can be tried, with no one to laugh if they fizzle; a means of regaining balance when caught by conflicting emotions; a valuable record of progress and growth; a place where past, present, and future live together -- and all under one's control.

The diary often evolves into a friend, a confidante, the first place to run with an exciting secret and a last refuge when other people can't or won't listen. This has been especially important to women, who are often isolated physically by the conditions of their lives or psychically by restraints placed on the expression of their feelings. ... The act of keeping a journal is often a way for the writer to get in touch with and develop hidden parts of herself -- often those parts for which little support is given by others -- and establish emotional stability and independence. The process can even be a means of keeping the personality intact, even under great stress -- as the diaries of prisoners and invalids attest.

(xix-xx)

Just as we have heard from our women students that their diaries are "invaluable," "necessary," "a dear friend," a "place where thinking, feeling, and acting come together," other women diarists, even those remote in time or geography have felt similarly. Here is a sampling of their voices:
Fanny Burney: To have some account of my thoughts, manners, acquaintance and actions when the hour arrives in which time is more nimble than memory, is the reason which induces me to keep a journal. ... I must imagine myself to be talking to one whom I should take delight in confiding and remorse in concealment...  
(March 27, 1768, Dobbs 186)

Charlotte Forten: Once more my beloved Journal, who art become a part of myself, -- I say to thee, and to the Old Year, Farewell!  
(Dec.31, 1856, Culley 11)

Helen Ward Brandreth: I have determined to keep a diary. I shall call it Fannie Fern.  
(1876, Culley 11)

Carol Potter (Brandreth's great granddaughter): Most people would laugh to think that a personal diary was of such significance to a person, but this one is to me. When Nellie (Brandreth) writes -- my dearest darling Fan -- over and over, I know how she felt about that little book. It was a friend and so is this dumpy little blue notebook. How I wish I had started in a really nice one. But no one knows what will become of a first meeting or even a few.  
(1876, Culley 11)

Mary MacLane: I write this book for my own reading. It is my postulate to myself./ As I read it it makes me clench my teeth savagely: and coldly tranquilly close my eyelids: It makes me love and loathe Me, Soul and bones.  
(1882-1929, Culley 13)

I don't know whether I write this because I wear two plain dresses whether I wear two plain dresses because I write this.  
(Culley 14)

I am a true artist, not as a writer but as a writing person. ... I once thought me destined to be a 'writer' in the ordinary sense. And many good people visioned a writing career for me. It has a vapid taste to it, just to recall it. ... My writing is to me a precious thing -- and a rare bird -- and a Babylonish jade. It demands gold in exchange for itself. But though it is my talent, it is not my living. It is too myself, like my earlobes and my throat, to commercialize by the day.  
(Spacks 177-178)
Marie Bonaparte: In writing them (the notebooks) found unspeakable relief, a supreme catharsis. I fled into an imaginary world, far from this world with its torments, its conflicts and its disappointments. . . . This habit of taking refuge in writing whenever I have been hurt by life has remained with me.  
(Spacks 281)

Beatrice Webb: It would be curious to discover WHO IT IS, to whom one writes in a diary? Possibly to to some mysterious personification of one's own identity, to the Unknown, which lies below the constant change in matter and ideas, constituting the individual at any given moment. This unknown was once my only friend: the being to whom I went for advice and consolation in all the small troubles of a child's life.  
(Spacks 284-285)

Virginia Woolf: This diary may die of London if I'm not careful.  

(In a bound volume, the year has a chance of life. It can be stood on a shelf.  
(Mallon 31/32)

Lydia Smith: I find that my idle habit of scribbling interferes so much with all regularity that I have determined to relinquish it, tho not entirely, yet I must so constrain it as to pursue my duties and studies, etc. I must wean myself by degrees for I have not the strength to quit at once.  
(1805, Culley 13)

Marion Taylor: How nice a diary is. I could not get along without one. I enjoy writing what has happened as much as I enjoy the happenings themselves almost -- thinking about them -- living them over again and putting them in words.  
(Franklin xvii)

Annie Cooper: I may as well put one more line to my history. . . . Then, too the old longing seems to be to TELL someone -- and that I never do -- so I resort again as when a child to you my Diary.  
(Franklin xix)

Three years almost of life have passed since I last looked upon this book. They have been years of prosperity, years of comfort, years of OUTWARD free-heartedness and yet to you ALONE, my Diary, I confess -- they have been years of mute suffering.  
(May 28, 1892, Franklin xix)

Winifred Willis: How did I ever think I could give you up? Though I shall never go back to drivel ing I shall come back

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to you at intervals. I shall always need you. I need you now.  
(September 9, 1932, Franklin xx)

*Anais Nin*: The real Anais is in the writing.  
(November 1945, Mallon 85)

I only regret that everyone wants to deprive me of the journal, which is the only steadfast friend I have, the only one which makes my life bearable; because my happiness with human beings is so precarious, my confiding moods rare, and the least sign of non-interest is enough to silence me. In the journal I am at ease.

Playing so many roles, dutiful daughter, devoted sister, mistress, protector, my father's new found illusion, Henry's needed all purpose friend, I had to find one place of truth, one dialogue without falsity. This is the role of the diary.  
(Moffat and Painter 14)

*Maries Baskirtseff*: What if seized without warning by a fatal illness, I should happen to die suddenly! I should not know, perhaps, of my danger, my family would hide it from me; and after my death they would rummage among my paper; they would find my journal, and destroy it after having read it, and soon nothing would be left of me -- nothing -- nothing -- nothing! This is the thought that has always terrified me.  
(Moffat and Painter 14)
Indeed, as some of the quotes above suggest, sometimes the journal and the life become synonomous with each other, even to the degree that authors actually see their own death as needing to match or synchronize with the end of the journal. The following three instances demonstrate this fascinating symbiotic quality:

_Cynthia Carleton:_ (written just before she died) I am not very well. Tried to straighten diary.  
(1899, Culley 13)

_Alice James:_ (written by companion and amanuensis, Katherine Loring) One of the last things she said to me was to make a correction in the sentence of March 4th "moral discords and nervous horrors." This dictation of March 4th was rushing about in her brain all day, and although she was very weak, she could not get her head quite until she had it written: then she was relieved.  
(1899, Culley 13)

_Elizabeth Ann Cooley:_ (written by husband on her death) This journal is done! The author being Elizabeth Ann McClure died March 28, 1848. Tho happy in Christ Jesus being the only consolation left me. She was 22 years, 7 months old.  
(Culley 14)

And certainly women who wanted to be "writers" have found the journal a powerful vehicle to be employed towards that end. Men have, obviously, used the journal or commonplace book as a practice ground for more public writing, but for many women writers the journal has been essential, partly because it was a form they were already comfortable with as women. Plath used it to "get life." Jean Rhys, Adrienne Rich, May Sarton and many others have used it to get unblocked, using the refuge of the journal to regain their confidence to start writing publically again, to literally
find their voices. Others like George Sand and Anais Nin used them to release, let go, write through emotional difficulty in order to clear themselves for other kinds of writing. For women then, who have wanted to write more seriously, the journal has been more than practice ground or commonplace book, as important as both those might be. For women, the journal has been one of the few places in which they could be writers and women, without the terms being paradoxes. It is no wonder that Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote *The Yellow Wallpaper* about a woman who is driven insane because she is denied the right to write in her journal, nor that Doris Lessing built her classic work *The Golden Notebook* around the recursive, fragmented, but cumulative form of the journal.

The Gendered Legacy of the Journal

In summary, women and men, including the young women and men in our classes, have inherited several overlapping but distinct journal traditions which profoundly shape their understanding and use of the diary or journal.

The legacy for my men includes:

1. Public writing and public discourse

2. Most twentieth century men are not specifically aware of the literary tradition of men's journal keeping, or the secular personal journal initiated by Pepys. They are rarely exhorted to keep tabs on their souls in the form of a spiritual journal, nor are they likely to have to use
Bacon's advice on using the journal for self-improvement on the Grand Tour.

3. Men, particularly men interested in developing their writing, know or feel comfortable with the tradition of the commonplace book or writer's notebook as a place to keep observations, anecdotes, epigrams, lists of reading and response, and notes for writing. One of my men, David, used his journal in this way.

4. They have also inherited the varied traditions of public logs, military and scientific journals, and daybooks for listing daily activity. The logs of schoolwork and daily events my men wrote are as old as John Evelyn's Kalendarium, and probably considerably older. Their running logs and climbing logs parallel other early proto-journal types: sea logs, logs of commerce. These journals' function is to record and monitor one specific type of activity, and are often used for the purposes of improvement. Maybe the running logs and climbing logs do for the body what the spiritual journals used to do for the soul.

5. Even the travel and military journals of earlier centuries find their updated echoes in the mighty tales of run-ins with police, and road trips, and wild weekends. They are in good company: even for Byron, the great Romantic poet, "the journal, where love and all else are concerned, remains more a field of action than introspection." (Mallon 221)

My women, on the other hand, have inherited:

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1. An enormous and highly visible popular culture tradition of women's journal keeping that is also centuries old, and currently nourished by the late nineteenth / early twentieth century recognition of the unconscious, psychology and the inner self.

2. Women's journals have historically been based in familial and domestic discourse networks. Focusing on daily life, women's journal were used to chronicle family life, to act as "letters" to other family members when speech communities have been disrupted by emigration, westering travel, etc., and to interpret interpersonal relations. Journals were also a form that allowed for the discontinuity, gaps, and silences that characterize women's lives.

3. Concurrently, the journals of many women have been used as private personal documents in which women could escape the "muting" of their discourses. In the "wild zone" of the journal, they could explore their world and the world without interruption or judgement. They could discover themselves as subjects, learn how to work through language to inscribe themselves into the world textually, learn to "read" themselves, and learn to listen to their own voice.

4. There are both published and unpublished models for female diarists readily available. Current model diarists include Anne Frank, May Sarton, Virginia Woolf, and Anais Nin. Earlier generations of women had Marie Bashkirtseff, Mary MacLane, Marjory Fleming, Fanny Burney. In addition to the published models, girls see journal keeping informally
modelled constantly by peers, sisters, a mother, a grandmother, or an aunt. Girls are encouraged to keep diaries from a very early age, are often given diaries by a family member or friend, and some as we've seen start their diaries as soon as they can write.

These are the traditions my women have inherited. And as I come to think of it, these are the traditions I have inherited as well. My first journal, a green leatherette "One Year Diary," was a Christmas gift from my best friend, Krissy Lasch, when I was thirteen. She wrote: "Keep in here a record of all the exciting things you'll experience in your 13th year. A year from now you will read this over and really be glad you kept a record. Good luck and have fun in 1965. Love ya, Kris."

The entries in that first green diary are not particularly earthshattering -- in fact, they are exactly what one would expect from a thirteen year old girl. Here, for example, is January 3:

Tomorrow is school and I'll find out what Joe Zauner is giving me. I'll wear my blue sweater and try to find a skirt to match. I'm trying something new with my hair, just hope it works. (Sorry my handwriting's so crumby.) Goodnight. P.S. Hope I feel more in the spirit for homework tomorrow.

But that little diary, filled with Pep Rallies, and boy's names, and passed notes started me as a journal keeper, albeit sporadically. There are now three more journals, a brown one during my poetry phase, a black one (with unlined paper for drawings) used to write myself through the last years of a failing marriage, and the current unicorn
(another gift). I use mine, like my students use theirs: to value the quotidian, to understand my personal worlds and how all my roles (wife, mother, daughter, sister, teacher, scholar, student, friend) fit together, and to understand and give shape to my imaginative and intellectual universe, to feel whole. Here are two recent entries which I will use to end this chapter:

9/7/86: Two years later it starts up again the rusty or at least dusty, slow sputtering unoiled brain wanting to start up. Especially because of the new dissertation on JOURNALS and because I start teaching writing again tomorrow and I want to "do it" if they "do it." Also simply because I found it again -- it had been lost in the accreta of my desk/shelves interlarded between old resumes, unaccepted abstracts and oddly enough, Sharyn Lowenstein's dissertation on journal keeping. Synchronicity. I'm thinking of using sections of it somehow in the diss. -- another voice -- the journal voice -- documenting itself -- its values, the writing, the gaps, the silences, the shame, all the other jobs, the babies, the multiple tries at restarting the diss, the quiet blank page biding its time -- forgiving -- waiting for me.

10/31/86 (Brainstorming on Dissertation)
While I am not suggesting that it was a 'good' thing that women have been excluded from the creation, maintenance, and practice of public discourse, I am suggesting that most of the forms we have are 'agonistic' 'competitive' even assaultive forms hierarchy producing status displaying -- which might not have been in most women's inclinations to produce -- given any alternative. i.e. that letters, journals and diaries, memoirs, generally -- etc. are valid and viable forms in themselves they serve critical individual, artistic, familial purposes just as men's do that while the efforts to silence women have been enormous, women's efforts to give voice, fragmentary and isolated as they have been a chorus built one at a time, over many years, a set of voices too loud to silence now, too unified to ignore too lovely and sad not to want to hear.
I hear you now -- more and more of you.

all those women speaking and writing those messages of ardor and arduousness, fear, timidity, pride, hope, and putting them in little journal bottles washing across oceans of time, across years of terrain.
Only now do we watch for them to wash up. Only now do we comb the beaches.
CHAPTER V

Gendered Journals, Composition Pedagogy, and Research: The Situation of the Teacher/Researcher in 1987

To use language is always to seize the world in a particular way and at the same time to be seized. To teach language is never to dwell in a sanctuary free from questions of power, but to labor in its very smithy. (Morgan, 1987, 457)

My daily life as a teacher confronts me with young men and women who have had language and literature used against them, to keep them in their place, to mystify them, to bully them, to make them powerless. (Rich, 1979, 63)

This dissertation has been multidisciplinary and large in scope. In order to avoid trying to wrap everything I have unpacked back up and tie it with a bow that would be ludicrously large and incapable of holding, I have decided to glue my final remarks together with a few large dots. These mucilaginous globs are intended to reconnect the body of this discourse with the composition pedagogy and research, the place of origin for my inquiry. First, I want to summarize and speculate about what the gender differences in journal writing mean about the discourse communities of my female and male students. Secondly, I want to ruminate on the current relation of the journal and kindred forms of personal writing to composition pedagogy and specifically, entry into the traditional academic discourse community. Lastly, I want to suggest some valuable ways to conceptualize and utilize the journal in composition to help
all our students write, or read, or think in effective ways, and point to possibilities for future research.

**Gender and Discourse Community**

Clearly, one of the central focuses of the dissertation has been that differences in the journals of my men and women are a part of a much larger set of discourse differences in the forms and functions of reading and writing, speaking and listening. These differences are, in large part, the consequences of the complex dominant/muted, public/private relations men and women have held with regard to each other both outside and inside the academy.12

While feminist literary critics and sociolinguists, such as those I have already discussed at length in earlier chapters, have been interested in the relation between gender, discourse, and power for decades now, more and more composition researchers (some of them feminists) are beginning to be interested in these issues as well, not only because of the influence of the work in linguistics and literary criticism, but also because the field of composition as a whole has begun to attend to the social and ideological contexts and consequences of reading and writing. Fertilized by the anthropological and ethnographic work of Geertz (1973, 1983) and Heath (1983), and the social constructionist views of Vygotsky (1978), Bakhtin (1981), Bruffee (1986), and others, composition as a field is shifting from its expressivist, liberatory, personal growth model of the sixties and early seventies (which first
brought the journal into the composition classroom), with its accompanying cognitivist and mentalistic research focus, to a model which grounds all discourse in social experience (Bizzell, 1986a). Bruffee explains this perspective in its most general terms:

Social constructionist work in composition is based on the assumption that writing is primarily a social act. A writer's language originates with the community to which he or she belongs. We use language primarily to join communities we do not yet belong to and to cement our membership in communities we already belong to. (1986, 784)

The sound idea of discourse communities, people bound together by common conceptions, conventions and discourse strategies, and relationships between discourse communities have become a central part of the composition conversation.

Although gender has not yet been considered as a source of discourse community, it clearly is one. Using current composition parlance to characterize our findings, we could say that while not ignoring other sources of discourse difference, such as race, class, and ethnicity, we understand gender to be a critical determinant of discourse and knowledge community. These conclusions are impelled from the diverse studies of gender and discourse discussed in Chapters Two and Four and from the core study of student journal writing contained in Chapter Three. Indeed, the journal writing was particularly instructive in demonstrating the gendered nature of the original discourse communities not only because the structure, content, style were not explicitly determined beforehand, as often happens
in academic writing, but also because the "journal" tended to be associated with male and female discourse communities outside the academy in very different ways, and tended to be more affiliated with one than the other. But gender differences even in other types of student academic writing are not invisible. Several writing researchers working with various student writing strategies and structures from narrative (Petersen 1987, Graves 1973, Maglin 1979, Bolker 1979, Hoffman and Culley 1985, Warshay 1972) to argument (Pigott 1979, Farrell 1979, Sandborn 1987, Gordon 1987) produce consonant findings (although their evaluations of those findings differ greatly). And research on gender and reading strategies (Flynn 1985, 1986a, 1986b, Bleich 1986, Schweickart 1986, Gannett 1987, Gilbert 1979) corroborates the research findings in writing: that females prefer a "dialectics of communication" while males prefer a "dialectics of control" (Schweickart, 1986). A summary of some of the hallmarks of the male and female discourse communities which have been treated at length in this work follows.

Hallmarks of the female discourse community include:

1. Women's discourse has held a privatized and marginalized relation to language and discourse generally and to textuality specifically.

2. Women's models of reading and writing focus on connection, or collaboration with life (one's own or intrapersonal relations with others, or the experience of
the text itself), and as an "act of survival" as Rich describes the act of re-reading.

3. Indeed, a primary function of all communication for women is to create rapport, connection, consensus, mutuality. Given that function, the structures of women's discourse are often collaborative, shared, overlapping, experientially based, are accommodating to the needs and desires of other discoursers, and allow fluidity of genre boundaries and speaker/hearer, author/reader roles.

Critical hallmarks of male discourse include, on the other hand:

1. Men tend to hold a dominant and dominating (authoritative) relation to discourse and textuality, with discourse models based on power, hierarchy, exclusion, and displacement.

2. Male discourse has primarily consisted of public forms of discourse based on authority and control of knowledge, and specific formal and logical patterns of development, which are often agonistic (competitive or combative) in origin, such as declamation and argumentation.

3. Power and control in discourse are maintained by aggressivity, territoriality, non-disclosure and strictly defined boundaries between genres, discourse and life, speakers and listeners, writers and readers.

Clearly, the relation between the dominant discourse community which males belong to and the historically muted discourse community of females is problematic, because while females have begun to valorize their own forms of
discourse, such as diaries and journals, and have also begun to use discourse in ways traditionally reserved for men, language use is still often used to inscribe and activate dominant and muted social relationships.

The problem is further complicated by the obvious fact that while men are rarely required to participate in the language practices of women's discourse communities (the journal was an unintentional oversight, I think, and predictably, many of the men resisted it), women are always in, but not of, the dominant discourse community of men. They must participate in its models and praxis, but are taught early that they have only restricted rights to its use. Those women who have appropriated the power inherent in the forms and styles of male discourse from the early women writers who were considered "insane" or "hyenas", to the nineteenth century feminists to who were jeered for speaking in public, to the three women who recently wrote a collaborative journal as candid as Pepys in its treatment of sexuality and were jailed for it, know the punishing consequences of their appropriations.

But more importantly for our discussion, what is the relation between male and female discourse communities and what is coming to be a central notion in the field of composition, "the academic discourse community"? How do gendered discourse communities interact with this community?
None of us can do anything to change the fact that the original academic world was male and, at least in the West, conspicuously combative.

(On, 1979, 873)

The academic discourse community: it is a very neutral sounding term. And as it is defined by Patricia Bizzell, one of its leading explicators, it sounds only slightly less neutral:

But the academic community is a community united almost entirely by its language, I think: the academic community is not coterminous with any social class, though it is more closely allied to some than to others. Like any other language community, the academic community uses a preferred dialect (so-called Standard English) in a convention-bound discourse (academic discourse) that creates and organizes the knowledge that constitutes the community's world view. If we see the relation between dialect, discourse conventions, and ways of thinking as constituting a language community, then we can no longer see dialects or discourse conventions as mere conveyances of thoughts generated prior to their embodiment in language. Rather dialects and discourse generate thoughts, constitute world view.

(Bizzell 1986b, 296-297)

But whose world view is this? Whose convention-bound discourse is this? The academic discourse community is hardly neutral with regard to gender. Indeed, the academic discourse community was for all but 150 years of its millenium plus history, the essentially exclusive preserve of males. It was the smithy, to use Morgan's metaphor from his epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, wherein male agonistic discourse was purified, forged, and beaten (literally) into its most powerful and distilled forms.
Walter Ong in his well-known book, *Fighting for Life* (1981), tracks the agonistic heritage in academia at great length; the ceremonial enmity and contest of teacher and pupil, the focus on disputation and oral defense, on argumentation, the acquisition of Latin as a male puberty rite, and the common use of severe physical punishment to ensure learning are all a part of this multi-leveled heritage by means of "manner," "milieu" and "content." (119-134) Ong accounts for the major changes in "manner, milieu, and content" of the academy and academic discourse as being consequences of the entrance of women.

Robert Connors, working from Ong's study of the academy at large, has articulated the ways in which rhetoric itself has been "feminized," that is, affected by the entrance of women into the academic world since the nineteenth century.

The primary effect of coeducation was the quick decline of public contest as a staple of college life. As Ong argues, the agonistic impulse is purely a male-against-male phenomenon. Males perceive it as noble to struggle ritually -- either physically or verbally -- with other males.... But to struggle in ritual contest with a woman? It was unthinkable. ... Real men don't fight women. And thus, when women entered the educational equation in colleges, the whole edifice built on ritual contest between teacher and student and student and student came crashing down. (1986, 21)

The lecture-recitation format for classes was abandoned in favor of discussions, lab classes, and seminars which "minimized agonism" (21). Debating societies broke down, and agonism was increasingly funneled into the available male enclaves, like sports, and fraternities (22). In rhetoric and composition specifically, the entry of women was
accompanied by certain critical changes in the "academic discourse community." Connors lists four primary shifts: 1) the shift from oral polemical rhetoric to written composition as pedagogical focus, 2) the shift from argument to multi-modal approaches, including exposition and narrative, 3) the rise of more personal as opposed to abstract writing assignments, and 4) more nurturing as opposed to judgmental and combative teaching styles (23).

These changes of the last hundred years or so, whether deliberately accommodative or not, certainly have made it possible for women to negotiate the reading and writing courses required of them in the university. But again, it must be remembered that women have always had to be in some sense "bicultural," or maybe "bidiscursive," to be able to function within the dominant male discourse community. The discourse of the university community is clearly constructed on the same model of territoriality, dominance, and display, albeit in a far more concentrated and distilled form. As poet Kate Rushin writes in "The Bridge Poem," "I do more translating than the Gawdamn UN." (cited in Annas, 362) And I submit that while the entrance of women, both as scholars and teachers, continues to "dilute" the male discourse forms of the university somewhat, as we will see below, it is still strong drink to most women, and harsh and alienating for many (Annas 1975, Churgin, 1978, Hume, 1979, see also the several sessions devoted to gender and composition at the 1987 CCCC Conference on "The Uses of Literacy: A Writer's Work in and Out of the University, particularly B-
Annas (1985), Pigott (1979), and Sandborn (1987) among others have documented in detail the roadblocks posed by impersonal, abstract academic writing for many women writers. And an enormous literature on gender and classroom interactions suggests that in many classrooms, male discourse patterns which derogate and mute women predominate (Cambridge, 1987, see also the extended annotated bibliography in Language, Gender, and Society, 1985).

Women have most recently been aided by what Bizzell terms the "personal-style" pedagogy (1986a, 53) linked with the writing process movement of the sixties, a movement which Connors feels is essentially "anti-agonistic" (38). Led by Moffett, Britton, Graves, Murray, and Elbow, the writing process movement has valued process over judged product, has re-written both teachers and peers as collaborators and "readers," and has encouraged students to choose their own topics (which often as not come from personal experience) and control their own writing processes (38-39). Personal style pedagogy did promote more personal connectivity both in terms of style and content. The journal, too, makes its entrance at this point, as mentioned in Chapter One, as a powerful expressive prewriting tool and has been popularized in the current "writing to learn" across the curriculum efforts. And while the journal was certainly not intentionally brought into the curriculum to validate women's writing traditions, or help them work through to their public voices and gain confidence as
writers, those were some of the consequences, as we've seen. Certainly, however, the efforts towards pedagogical reform in the sixties were accompanied by the political and social awareness of that era. Patricia Bizzell (1986a) mentions the early work on composing processes by Rohman and Wlecke and their suggestions on journal keeping and meditation, the institutional resistance these suggestions first met, the inevitable politicized sixties response from which developed the personal style pedagogy.

(The) resistance was seen as discriminatory social sorting, with white middle class men being educated for positions of power and all others being disenfranchised. Academic expository prose was implicated in the indictment of the academy as an institution of political oppression. ... Instead of forcing students to master it, and the concomitant complexities of formal Standard English, writing teachers began to believe that they should be helping students to free themselves from its baleful influence if ever their writing were to improve. (Bizzell 52-53)

While academic discourse was indicated in the sixties because of its sexist and elitist bias, according to Bizzell in the quote above, it was soon out on bail, and at this point it appears that most of the charges have been dropped. Interestingly, this out-of-court settlement seems to have been made by those most explicitly interested in identifying the social and ideological contexts of writing, notably Patricia Bizzell and David Bartholomae (developing the work of Mina Shaughessy).

For these researchers, "mastery of academic writing has become once more an acceptable goal of composition pedagogy." (Bizzell 1986a, 60) Much of their work to date
concerns basic writers, whose difficulties "are best understood as stemming from the initial distance between their world-views and the academic world view, and perhaps also from the resistance to changing their own world-views that is caused by this very distance." (Bizzell, 1986b, 297)

I agree that it is certainly better, and more useful, to say that basic writers have difficulty with academic writing because their world views are different, as opposed to saying that they are cognitively deficient, or developmentally delayed, which composition research has been wont to do. But doesn't this notion of distance between discourse communities as the cause of writing difficulty or "bad writing" put all women in the position of "basic writers," given that their original discourse community is obviously quite distant from that of academic discourse?

Therefore, I have some real and obvious concerns not only about the possible implications of their work with regard to gendered discourse, but also about the model and language they tend to use to describe the process of entry into such a community, and the subtle derogation and critique of the journal they have begun to disseminate.

I am concerned for what appears to a reification and resurrection of traditional (male) academic discourse and an agonistic "way of knowing the world." David Bartholomae suggests that basic students need to "reinvent the university" (1985) which is a compelling idea, but I think we need to work to ensure that the university students "reinvent" is not the static, monist, exclusionary, and
sexist world it has been for a thousand years. Feminist scholars in all disciplines have shown the need for incorporating not only new material about women into the classroom, but also incorporating women's methodologies and epistemologies, ways of knowing, into scholarship and into the classroom (Spanier, Bloom, Boroviak 1984, Martin 1985, Schmitz 1985, Franzosa and Mazza 1984, Fowlkes and McClure 1984.) Recent women's academic writing (this dissertation included) has begun to integrate "standard" expository and argumentative writing with a more connective, collaborative, and personalized stance and style compatible with women's discourse communities. Sandra Gilbert writes "many of my sisters writers in this tradition feel, as I did, that they must locate themselves -- their literal selves, that is rather than their literary personae -- somewhere in their critical work." (1979, 851) Showalter puts it even more strongly:

\[
\text{Women writers searched for a language of their own, a style, a voice and a structure with which they could enter a discipline previously dominated by men. The raw intensity of feeling and the insistence on the relationship of literature to personal experience that accompanied these early phases often expressed itself in autobiographical or even confessional criticism shocking to those trained in the impersonal conventions of most academic critical writing. (1985, 4)}
\]

These essays and books are no less provocative, no less thoughtful, no less stimulating because their authors admit their subjectivity instead of pretending to some ostensible and fallacious "objectivity," or because they occasionally
aim for consensus and mutuality rather then contest and information display.

Pamela Annas, among others, has pointed out that even in the pedagogy of writing courses which allow or assign "personal writing" (Personal writing has various meanings. I'm interested here in writing that allows for real connection between the writer, the word, and the world), the implicit goal is to move from "personal" writing to "academic" writing, which assumes "mastery" (note that word again) of academic writing is finally different from, incompatible with and superior to, personalized and connective writing. Or as John Gage puts it: "Behind every methodology is an ideology." (19)

We have been trained to teach expository writing in a particular way -- one that values writing that is defended, linear, and 'objective.' Indeed many writing classes seem to be designed to teach the use of abstract, logical, and impersonal rather than sensual, contextual and committed language. How many of us teach writing in a way that moves during the semester from image to argument, from the particular to the abstract, and that attempts to 'wean' students from subjectivity into objectivity? ... The kind of writing I finally want these students to be able to do brings together the personal and the political, the private and the public, into writing which is committed and powerful because it takes risks, because it speaks up clearly in their own voices and from their experience, experiments with techniques of argumentation and skillful organization, and engages, where appropriate, with the insights of other writers. (360/370)

[As I read that quote I see my own teaching for over a decade implicated repeatedly in this privileging distanced, objective prose over prose that many well be intellectually rigorous but personally connective. Mea culpa, Mea culpa,
Mea maxima culpa. But I also have experienced the possibilities for an expanded world view in the academic discourse community.

Therefore, I believe that the "way of knowing" the academic discourse community induces in those who enter can be, and must be, large enough to include and embrace the epistemologies of women, who now constitute over half of its members at the undergraduate level. The academy's discourse conventions must be expansive enough to accommodate the critical discourse conventions its female academics have contributed. But this is going to be difficult for a community so steeped, so saturated in agonism that even their descriptions of the processes of reading and writing, and world view acquisition students must go through to become members often sound like a civil war or a fraternity hazing.

Working with William Perry's ideas on intellectual development that takes place during the college years, Bizzell describes the implications of this acculturation process, which one might expect would give the student a second culture, but may instead require the student's having to pledge primary allegiance to this new academic culture. This model is clearly a male discourse model based on power, agonism, hierarchy and exclusion.

If Perry is right, then the academic world view makes a strong bid to control all of a student's experience. ...It seems, then, that biculturalism is likely to be very difficult when the academic world view is one of the world views involved, because the academic seeks to subsume other world views to which the students may have allegiance. (Bizzell 299)
David Bartholomae's language is even more explicit. In his essay "Wanderings: Misreadings, Miswritings, and Misunderstandings" (1986), he tracks the "approximate discourses" students make as they try to become more skillful in the ways of academic discourse. His premise, that these approximate readings and writings are signs of growth towards academic discourse, is amply proved in his piece. But the process he insists that all his students are or must be going through is completely agonistic. A student's reading a text requires "that initial act of aggression and translation" (92). Reading is "the effort to justify or account for (and usually by speaking or writing) a position we have taken by speaking over or against the words of an author who gave us our beginning." (91) (Underlining added.) Indeed, he consciously asserts a few pages later that, "The language of reading instruction, like that of writing instruction is loaded with images of mastery and control." (96) These images of aggressive struggle recur frequently in his text: recent literary criticism casts the reader "in an agonistic role, struggling against teachers and canonical interpretations" (113); discussing Bloom he mentions "the violent dynamics of the classroom" and the "struggle for authority" (113); education "is a scramble for power and for violation," (114) and so on. He asserts that these terms are apt descriptors of his experience with reading and writing.

They may well be apt descriptors for his processes. But if academic reading and writing have to be viewed as
acts of territoriality and dominance, whereby we silence and control other's texts, then successful proximate readings like the examples Bartholomae describes are far more likely to be male. The majority of the journal writings and reading responses of my men were already built on precisely this model of objectivization, distancing, control and displacement. The writings and readings of my females as we've seen, while attempting to integrate academic forms and conventions, were not generally constructed on the basis of those agonistic principles, but rather those which allow subjectivity, connection, process, and mutuality.

So, while we may be requiring males to give up certain habits, forms and conventions for others, we are not asking them to change their whole discourse model (at least for most Western males), which we may well be doing for females. At the very least we are requiring females to shift back and forth frequently between radically different discourse communities, or having them always write and read "double." Thus, we are unfairly privileging male models of discourse over female models.

One last unease I want to share has to do with subtle challenge to the use of the journal I detect being mounted by this group. Both Bartholomae (1986, 1-2) and Bizzell (1986b, 295-6) seem to be questioning the habits of thought that the use of the journal might cultivate. Bizzell questions the journal most explicitly:

(Sh)ould all students be required to learn such conventional academic genres as the case study or the literature survey, or be allowed to pursue the
'same' intellectual work in genres with which they feel more comfortable, such as the journal? [My research shows that it is particularly women who feel comfortable with journal, not necessarily "all students." C.G.] Advocates of requiring students to practice academic genres argue that knowledge of them is necessary for college; advocates of other forms argue that the criteria for success in college must change. If, however, the discourse conventions are seen as generating, and not merely conveying, certain kinds of complex thinking, then the 'same' intellectual work is not possible in different genres. For example, the journal might be a genre that generates personal connections with classwork, such as expressing religious revulsion for genetic research, but that discourages other kinds of thinking, such as surveying religiously resistance to scientific research through the ages. According to this line of argument, students would need to learn other, more academic intellectual work. (Parenthesis added, Bizzell, 295-6) There is not sufficient space to engage with the many important ideas and claims presented in this quote, but it is clear that the journal is being narrowly defined and somewhat disparaged for what Woody Allen might call its "jejuneosity." And I strongly suspect that this judgement of the potential intellectual value of the journal has mostly to do with its non-canonical status, and its immediate origins in the personal-style pedagogy of the sixties, which the social constructionists are responding to, than any inherent incapability of the journal to foster complex thought. Certainly, the social constructionist view, of which I feel a part, should seek to view the journal in its larger social and historical contexts before deciding its worth (Morgan, 1987). While I cannot imagine the journal ultimately "displacing" (not my model) other kinds of academic writing, neither can I see it as "discouraging"
complex habits of thought unless it is misused or misunderstood. When Bacon gave advice to young men to keep journals on their Grand Tours, he did so because he understood the journal to be particularly appropriate for developing critical observation and reflective skills. When Henry Slingsby decided to keep a journal in 1638, even before Evelyn or Pepys, his decision was motivated by the habit of mind developed in the essays of Montaigne, which his son had brought home with him from his schooling in France. That same habit of mind was what distinguished Montaigne as the father of the modern critical essay. The university commonplace book was "common" for centuries before writing even became an important part of the rhetoric curriculum.

The Future of the Journal

(The Humanities) always say more than they mean because they mean more than they say. I trust that is true of the present work. (Ong 1981, 34)

In this last section I want to suggest some ways to use the journal to help students read and write more effectively as well as to understand their own discourse communities and that of the university. Like Bartholomae, I think "students need a curriculum that dramatizes the politics of reading and writing." (100) and that teachers need to let students know "What's at stake?" and "What's going on?". These suggestions are not intended to "displace" other uses of the journal that I have mentioned already or that others have suggested, nor are they intended to be exhaustive.
1. Naturally, I think the journal ought to be introduced in its historical and social contexts both inside and outside the academy. Rather than ignoring what our students "know" about journals, we should tap their knowledge and assist them in reflecting on, and understanding, the nature of public and private discourse, the relation between canonized forms of writing and marginalized forms, the relation between writing and life, writing and thinking (the journal as epistemological trace), and certainly, gender and discourse.

2. Different journal types and their uses and functions should be discussed, which will allow students to understand the journal traditions they have inherited, and why they may want to try certain types of journal writing that may be less familiar to them. Why is it that men write running logs and day books while women tend to keep extended reflective personal documents? Under what circumstances do men keep personal journals? What's the difference between a diary and a journal? When did the two become differentiated and why? Why do we denigrate the diary form when it has such a venerable, if not fully understood history? Why would anyone want to keep some verbal mark of their life? How are journals like letters, or autobiography, or fiction, in terms of style, structure, and audience. These are interesting topics for research for scholars, and students can profitably discuss and write on these subjects, as well as writing more intellectually productive journals.
3. Reading journals can be as valuable as writing them. Teachers who want students to do a specific kind of journal in their class -- a double entry journal, a commonplace book, a science or current events log book, a freewriting journal, for example might want to provide excerpts from several journals written by men and women at different times, possibly even from different centuries.

Reading journals can be very useful in (in contrast to "across") the disciplines. Literature and composition students could read the commonplace books and writing journals of several authors not only to understand the process of literary creation, but also to consider the relation between reading and writing, the social and historical conditions in which writing and reading take place, and the often complex relation between the public and private writing of a specific writer. History students could, and often do, read first hand accounts of expeditions, military campaigns, and other major historical events in order to compare these personal accounts with public received views, and to get a sense of the real texture of quotidian life in times past. Freud's and Jung's, as well as Marie Bonaparte's, Karen Horney's, and Joanna Field's journals could be employed in psychology classes, as well as scientist's and artist's journal in those respective disciplines, to help students understand the actual process of the development of those disciplines, and to experience how knowledge and critical concepts are generated and validated in each discipline.
John Schilb suggests several other ways in which the reading and writing of journals can have pragmatic value for improving students' writing. Reading journals and diaries, for example, can help students ask Sartre's big question, "Why Write?" As Schilb points out, students generally think that writing is something you have to do; for others, for grades, or maybe if you're very good, for money or fame. They are thus alienated from the act of writing and its value. Students may be able to connect with the journal writing by ordinary people, like themselves, who write because the writing itself is valuable. And to the extent that students come to value reading and writing, our jobs as teachers are made simpler and more pleasurable.

Dure Jo Gillikin (1986), on the other hand, has students work extensively with one anonymous unpublished journal to learn close textual analysis and as well as the tools of historical literary research, as they work to discover the author, the historical period, and specific location and social context in which the journal was written. Since students have to actively piece together the "meaning" of these texts, they can come to appreciate the active role readers have in creating the meanings of all texts, particularly modern fictional pieces which are often written without many explicit contextual and structural cues, just as journals are.

4. Certainly, the reading and writing of journals is a superlative exercise for developing voice. Reading longer excerpts of some powerful and diverse voices can help
students connect with the literary, public, and academic possibilities for their own voices. In making this suggestion, I am not simply hearkening back to the romantic, expressivist notion of "personal voice," but rather locating the effort to "give voice" in the social and historical conditions which have governed the "possible voices" for men and women. The journal is very important in this regard, especially for women, as I hope this dissertation has shown, who have had few opportunities for public voices until very recently. For women trying to acquire public voices, from Fanny Burney, one of the first novelists and journal keepers, to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, right up to Sylvia Plath and Adrienne Rich, Jean Rhys, and May Sarton and countless others, have used the journal to negotiate that complex and perilous journey. And as Pamela Annas reminds us "Women students need to stop learning primarily how to translate their own experience into a foreign language and instead spend some time learning their mother tongue." (371) What better place than in a "book of one's own."

As for males' resistance to the privatized voice of the journals, one of the things I have come to understand is that male discourse models will generally require them to resist any kind of incursion on their discursive territory no matter what. They have not had to be "bi-cultural." It will certainly not harm men to work in a discourse tradition they do not "control" for once. But while I will encourage
them to find their private voices, I will not require that they show their "private parts of speech." Equally, I will continue to validate the discourse traditions my women have inherited, and help them seek strong, but not necessarily agonistic, public voices. My task, as I see it now, is to enlarge their repertoires, to let my men and women sing different songs in as many keys as possible. At the same time I don't want to force the women to sing bass or the men to sing soprano. I am certainly no longer a first soprano myself, as my academic voice has been seasoned for over thirty years now, but I will never be a bass. I want to hear the clearest voices they have, and help train those.

The journal, to me, is neither prewriting tool, nor subliterary genre. It is a locus, a place (both bathtub and Carnegie Hall) for all kinds of singing and all kinds of songs -- lullaby, blues, folk song, jazz, and opera.

Final Questions: Notes, Phenomena, and Comment

I have decided that people write dissertations as much to find new questions as to find answers to questions they already have. Here are some of my new ones. I'll be glad to share them with anyone who takes a fancy to them.

1. We need to know a great deal more about the history and traditions of the journal/diary. That work is just beginning. And what is out there we need to integrate into our teaching and research in writing.

2. We need a much fuller understanding of current definitions of academic discourse and discourse communities. As opposed to saying that a discourse community is simply
near or far, can we develop richer and more complex ways of describing their relationships to each other? And can't we develop more models of possible encounters between the various discourse communities than the single agonistic one we seem to have at present?

3. Similarly, there are a host of issues hovering around the concept of "biculturalism" as a way of describing one's admission to the academic discourse community. For one thing, women have to be bicultural to survive -- does that mean they become tricultural when they enter the academy? What does it mean for men to become "bicultural" when most of the changes they need to make can be accommodated within the larger discourse community to which they already belong? How does gender interact with class, race, and ethnicity to shape the discourse cultures of our students?

4. How are journals actually being used in composition and across the curriculum? How do the powerful, non-academic traditions of journal and diary keeping affect journal pedagogy and journal use in the classroom in ways I haven't been able to address. Some of the questions we might ask along these lines include:

a. Do male and female teachers use journals in different proportions, or in different ways in their classrooms?

b. How does the name the task is given -- journal, daybook, log, diary, commonplace book, writer's notebook, notebook -- affect student's perceptions and response?
c. How do male and female teachers respond to the journals written by males and females? Can we identify better with and respond more fully or effectively to journals written in the gendered traditions we each belong to? Or do we respond, as composition teachers, to journals which best fit our notions of academic discourse? Or in some other way? And how does gender affect the problematic situation of evaluating the journal? Remember, what brought Tom to my door at the beginning of this dissertation was, in part, his concern over the fact that he hadn't written as much as the women, which he thought might have affected his grade.

d. And do our students write their journals differently, according to the gender of their teachers? Did my women write up a storm because they knew I could be trusted to understand their traditions. Did my men refuse certain kinds of disclosure in part, because I was a woman? Even though several of my male colleagues have assured me that the same gendering of the journals occurs in their classes, there may be certain effects of teacher gender we don't fully understand.

e. Are my male and female students both treating "the personal," albeit in very different ways? Although the men's journals certainly don't appear very "personal," Murray's comment in Chapter One that he "codes" whatever personal material might be in his journal, and Grave's suggestion (personal communication) that the males he had studied seemed to treat personal issues by "projecting"
feelings and thoughts onto third person characters both seem like interesting leads to follow.

Just this week, I got my April issue of *College English* and in it I found Linda Brodkey had written the ending for my dissertation, and I am thankful for her having done it so well:

The context for research and pedagogy alike is a social, historical, and political construction of the participants whose individual and collective activities inside and outside the classroom determine whether writing is set aside as a school subject or is integrated into their lives. And curriculum or research that denies, out of hand the value of describing and examining subjective experience and the relevance of that experience to the intellectual activity of writing (not simply how to write and under what circumstances) condemns students and their teachers to do the work of writing -- skills and techniques -- in isolation from the very conditions that justify writing and learning to write.

To experience, and imagine, writing as a social as well as a cognitive act is in itself an act of resistance, in that it allows an individual to learn that the world is not only read but written, and that the worlds written from the rooms occupied by, say, feminists, women, minorities, students, teachers, or progressive researchers, who do not literally have a purchase on writing, require different ways of reading. Hence, it is imperative that researchers and practitioners who value lived experience begin teaching one another how it can be studied.

(Brodkey 1987, 414-415)

And now, having finished this private-public work, I can go back to my journal for what Adrienne Rich calls "the relief of the body and the reconstruction of the mind."
Notes


3 The same dynamics were noted even at a conference on sexism in education. Spender writes, "Protests were registered on the grounds that the women did not get as many opportunities to speak, that when they did speak they were frequently interrupted (by men), that they were not listened to with equal attention (or that they were not listened to at all). The general level of noise seemed to increase when a woman was talking and the talk of women was treated as an opportunity/excuse for men and women to exchange information; this did not happen to the same degree when it was a man who held the floor." (Spender, Man Made, 87)

4 Because CR groups allowed women to talk out of the "control" of men and allowed women to take each other seriously, they were often seen as dangerous by the men who are significant others. Spender offers several examples of men's responses to this loss of discoursive control (106-117). I can personally attest to this phenomenon.

5 Virginia Woolf wrote: "Father's birthday. He would have been 96, yes, today; and could have been 96, like other people one has known; but mercifully was not. His life would have entirely ended mine. What would have happened? No writing, no books; -- inconceivable." (in Olsen, 17 as well as other examples).

6 Olsen: "In such snatches of time I wrote what I did in those years, but there came a time when this triple life was no longer possible. The fifteen hours of daily realities became too much for the writing. I lost craziness of endurance." (19-20)

Rich: "For about ten years, I was reading in fierce snatches, scribbling things in notebooks, writing poetry in fragments...." (44)

For more information on the earlier oriental journal forms see Lowenstein, 1982.

The spiritual journal naturally has links with the much older tradition of the spiritual autobiography, see Culley, 1985.

Interestingly, while Evelyn does mention his family, and his family activities, he never hints at his relationships -- his thoughts or feelings about his wife and family -- which is very much like the men's journals of today.

For example there are collections of women diarists over time (Moffat and Painter 1974), contemporary diarists (Lifshin 1982), frontier and westering women's diaries (Fischer 1977, Schlissel 1982), and diaries of individual women dating back to tenth century Japan (Sei Shonagon, 1974), through to the twentieth century diaries of Virginia Woolf (1978), Joanna Field (1981), and Anais Nin (1966).

The reason I say "in large part" is that I think there may be certain neurolinguistic gender differences as well as sociolinguistic gender differences as I have written about before (1976a, 1976b, 1978). These differences have not been discussed here because they were not necessary to the set of issues I was exploring. They are however, important, and I do intend to work more with these various "levels" of difference at another time.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A

Selected Journal Entries from Six Composition Students

Note: I have included extended selections from one male and one female student in the study to show the representative nature of the specific quotes I use in the text. Additionally, readers will be able to "meet" the authors of the journals in a fuller and more connected way by looking at the whole course of the journals and the entries in their appropriate order. Naturally, I have had to reduce many of the entries and summarize some. I also have retained some of the notes and observations I made while transcribing them, because I felt they might be of service in locating the sources of some of my ideas, or the patterns I was trying to track. I have stayed faithful to the ordering of the entries: some used sections such as daybook, reading responses, writing responses, others did not. Also, when students dated their entries I give the date; otherwise I give the page number, or if there were very few discrete entries, the entry number. Original journal materials will be available from the author or stored at the Dimond Library.

Journal One: Steven S.

Entry 1: (Draft writing about skis: three types.)

"Why do you own three pairs of skis, Shawn. Everybody that walks into my room asks me that question. The explanation is quite simple. In order to excell in the different aspects of skiing the proper skis have to be used. Three styles that I am trying to improve in are slalom, giant slalom, and ballet."

[One paragraph on each type of ski - does hand in for weekly paper, then chooses not to revise.]

Entry 2: RR on Audobon: "The Passenger Pigeon"

"James Audobon's "The Passenger Pigeon" is a story that shows a close examination of detail. Though I don't know exactly what an eminence is, I did understand most of his terminology. His attention to the senses was quite meticulous. In his description of the flock fleeing the hawk, he uses not only sound 'like thunder', he describes them as almost solid masses -- in undulating and angular lines. '... The best line was :'I was made aware of the firing only by seeing the shooters reloading.' This entire work was nice to read because it reminds me of the way things were then and should be now."

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Entry 4: RR on Dillard: "Strangers to Darkness"

"This story is highly descriptive and follows a spatial pattern rather than a narrative pattern or time relationship... (quotes from text to support) This is probably the most descriptive story we've read so far. Annie Dillard has done a very detailed job of explaining the scenes."

Entry 5: RR on Dickinson: "A Certain Slant of Light"

"Whaaaaat??" When I first looked at this poem, I thought the reference to light was a happy one. Several rereadings led me to believe that the light was dismal and foreboding. According to the words there can be no other explanation."Winter afternoons" are generally gray. This light oppresses us and gives us heavenly hurt. It's also an imperial affliction sent through the air. ... (Decides that references to light refer to God) ... The light in this poem is God, the gloominess is death. The presence of God is noticed wherever a death occurs.

Entry 6: RR on Eisley: "How Flowers Changed the World"

"This story contains a great deal of scientific material. There are many instances where this material would be boring if it weren't for Eisley's realistic presentation. (Gives examples- the lizards, the plants themselves) Eisley throws in so much scientific knowledge that it's easy to understand that he's an anthropologist. He must be given credit for his excellent account of how the world began."

Entry 7: (Upset about organizing for the semiformal ball for his dorm Randall Hall -- he is dorm president)

"What to do. The Randall Semiformal is next Friday, we don't have a dj, a bus and the hall isn't paid for yet. I'm the president of the dorm so I'm responsible for this whole affair. It's my ass if we can't pull off the social event of the semester." (Goes on to explain the financial woes of
the dorm council- have sponsored several events which people said they wanted but didn't attend.)

Entry 8: ("Adventure Entry" on how when he was first a "wiseass Freshman" he told dirty jokes through the PA system and tempted fate by drinking in front of an R.A.)

"What was a freshman. An eighteen year old freshman with a few weeks of experience. The strict drinking policy was new to me. This was college. People can't tell me what to do. When the Gibbs Hall director heard me and my roommate telling dirty jokes through the upper quad through a PA system, at one in the morning, I thought it would be a good opportunity to see if the alchohol policy was enforced. The hall director introduces herself, entered my room, and demanded ID's. She acted like we had really done something wrong. While she was lecturing us I walked to the fridge and poured myself a frosty Michelob. Her face dropped to the floor. She couldn't comprehend that a wiseass freshman was committing such a heinous crime right in front of her Resiflife (Residential Life) nose. ..."

Entry 9: (Hates the language lab at Murkland.)

"What a stupid place to be; the language lab at Murkland. I listen to tapes of Spanish drills and exercises. The situation reeks of mechanized teaching. When I get to my Spanish phonetics class, we go over the same material with the teacher. The Spanish program is very disappointing to me. It seems as if the lower levels sucker you in with their promises of interesting and beneficial learning. Then the upper level professors act like the Gestapo. ..."

Entry 10: (More on the Randall Semi formal-- goes over the problems with indifference of students to participate in dorm activities again.)

Entry 11: (More on the semi-formal) "If people don't give me money for their tickets by Wednesday before the semiformal, it will be cancelled. I'm going to write a letter to the residents of Randall Hall in their newspaper urging residents to buy their semi formal tickets, pay their dorm dues and pick up their Randall Hall t-shirts."

Entry 12: (In the library- thinking about the bill of rights and the constitution.) "This is the library. I'm sitting on the second floor staring at the government documents section. I've been here for two and a half hours and I need a study break."

(Comments that his journal needs improvement.) "So what the heck. I'll do some mindless free writing (Bad) writing." [As though it were some useless sort of activity.]
(Writes an assessment of one of his weekly papers) "the paper was technically not too good. I think I need a challenge to write well. I had access to some of the best material available for a writing class and I don't think I took advantage of it. As far as I'm concerned, the events and significances speak for themselves." .... [Meaning in events and things, not in people]

Entry 13: (On his major - political science) "Political Science, my major, my official course of studies. What am I doing in a major I consider to be mostly worthless..." (Decides it makes him more discriminating reader of events) ... (But) "I care more about Miranda's Rights than I do about starving people in the world. We can give the Third Worlders all the food they can eat, but they'll be hungry tomorrow. We should teach them to fend for themselves, if they want to learn. If not then we'll let them starve themselves."

Entry 14: (Problems with language lab again. But looking forward to the final exam because it should be fairly easy.)

Entry 15: (Problems with being President of Randall Hall again.)

"The presidency of Randall Hall is characteristically unfulfilling and frustrating." ... "only hassles and headaches"

Resolution: "I hope that things pick up later in the semester. I'll work as hard as I can." But...

Entry 16: RR on Blythe: "Aging and Sexuality."

"This story is told from the point of view of a young person. In the first paragraph, Blythe says, 'We tell the old...' He seems to be talking to the elderly. The topic was interesting but the presentation was boring. The first paragraph was long and confusing. He talks about the old losing their sexual identity. From there, he goes on to say that being old is contemptible. It was very difficult for me to follow this story because of the first paragraph. ." [Summarizes and evaluates the content.]

Entry 17: RR on Lawrence: "Pornography"

[Explains that the author is trying to essentially define - or show how difficult it is to define pornography. Likes the fact that Lawrence brings in Law because he's pre-law.]
Entry 18: RR on Orwell: "Politics and the English Language"
"The piece is more of an explanation of the kind of evolution that continually takes place in our language. Catch phrases and metaphors ..." "Orwell has a great sense of the basic rules of what should and should not be done."

[Notice that he evaluates Orwell, Eisley, and Dillard, rather than connecting with them.]

Entry 19: RR on Parrish: "Welcome to Vietnam"
"This composition is a sick exposition of reality. The medical references remind me of what MASH would be like if it took place in Vietnam." [Starts to connect with the text here, then disconnects later.] "There is a sense of uselessness about the whole piece." [Examples.] "Parrish describes a mixed up topsy turvy, blood crazed world, in which people's values are distorted. .....

Entry 20: RR on Paz: "Mexican American Differences"

[The same pattern is apparent: comments on general and specific attributes of the piece, does some summarizing, and discusses the function of the piece.]

Entry 21: (Problems of organizing a ski trip, as President of Randall Hall.)

Entry 22: (Another "Adventure Story" -- Comments on the Randall Semi Formal. The dance itself went well, but it was a very difficult evening for him.)

"The Semi-Formal was a social and financial success. Being the President I wasn't happy with the results at all...." (FOUR PAGES LONG OF DIFFICULTIES -- no food, music is lousy, some guy gets mad at his girlfriend and punches in the windows of four cars and is cut so badly he must go to the hospital. Steve does, however meet a nice nurse and parties until 3:30 in the morning. Ends by resigning.)

Entry 26: (Entry on summer job-- how he got "a weekend job with lousy hours and great pay." Cleaning restaurants-- describes everything he has to do, in order. Worked days as a "go fer". Excited to share how much money he made that way and how he spent it. Ends with last set of complaints about his Spanish teacher.)
Journal Two: Sarah B.

Sarah B.'s journal is divided into three specific sections (as I had suggested, and as many in the class had done). She starts with Responses to Reading, then Responses to Writing, and then Daybook Section.

Section 1: Reading Responses

Sept. 10: "Like Joan Didion (On Keeping a Journal) my journal contains various quotes, short paragraphs and lines. I write down how I feel, not factual information. I write on how I perceive a certain event or what I get out of a quote. No one would understand or get anything out of my journal. It's about how I see the world and how I feel about certain things. I love it. I never realized, until I met a special friend last year, how differently people's thoughts are. You take a situation and I could look at it completely differently than another person. For example, looking back in my journal, I found an entry,

Bert's Barn, memories of a big red house. It sits on the dunes. Seagulls soar overhead as laughter is heard in the house. Family. the beach. we're all together.

Now, like Joan has her own thoughts about her writing ... these lines mean something special to me. Bert's Barn is our family's (relatives) beach house. It's a reunion spot. If anyone else read this they'd interpret it differently.

In my journal I daydream alot of the way I want to be or would like my life to be like. Reading Joan's essay, it made me realize just why I keep a journal, too. It's something private and only pertaining to me. They're my thoughts. Thanks Joan, for helping me remember that."

[Text as life: life as text. Note personal connection with author--"Thanks, Joan..."]

Sept. 19: "Bill is very descriptive in his writing. He really created an image for me with all his specifics. I can see my writing in his. I like to tell of adventures which happened to me. He really held my attention. I didn't want it to end where it ended."

Sept. 20: "In response to James Agee's essay 'Knoxville: Summer 1915', I found it hard to keep my attention. It was about his childhood -- an attempt to maybe understand it, or remember certain instances about it. His writing contains many specifics, maybe too much -- too overpowering. I really enjoyed the last paragraph. Maybe that's because I
could relate to lying on blankets with my family and watching the stars. I'm kind of confused by the ending."

"Frank Conroy's essay, 'A Yo-yo Going Down' thoroughly captured my attention. It is a form of play, playing with a yo-yo yet it is more in this piece. This is serious business to him. It was everything. Playing with the yo-yo expressed something about himself. I like the line 'the yo-yo represented my first organized attempt to control the outside world.' This yo-yo as the stabilizing force in his life --- as he stated, 'Finally free, in one small area at least, of the paralyzing sloppiness of life in general.' He has a way with words and it was easy to get the feeling he was trying to put across to the reader. He captured my attention by using just enough (and not too many) specifics. ... I like it when a writer tells a reader how he's feeling."

"Lillian Hellman's essay -- 'Runaway' was a bit confusing -- it jumped around alot -- the past and present all mixed together. I think that everyone can relate to getting in a fight with their parents. While reading this story, I remembered when I first got in a fight and ran away for a couple of hours. I liked her description of how she was feeling all the time. ... Having her first menstrual period heightened the events that occurred. Because it made being on her own and standing up for herself even more important -- due to the fact that now she was a woman. ..."

Sept. 24: Response to Stephanie's "The Purple Finch" (class paper)
Oct. 10: Response to Linda's paper -- (class paper)
Oct. 8: Response to Jackie's paper -- (class paper)
Oct. 22: "Norman Mailer's 'A Walk on the Moon' was an interesting essay. I found it to be one of the few [of this set] which kept my attention. I didn't like the use of mechanical lingo alot. I got confused when he used this too much. However, I like the part about taking the first step and the part about the flag."

Writes out "The Road not Taken" by Robert Frost.
"Emily Dickinson's poem 'There is a certain slant of light' was enjoyable to read because I love to write poetry. Poetry is easy to write for me because it comes from the inside -- I can feel them. This poem holds a lot of meaning. I like lines 5-8. Everything affects each of us differently, and the real meaning lies inside. We each perceive things differently -- inside is where it counts."

"Annie Dillard's 'Strangers to Darkness' was an excellent piece of work. I read it over at least five times and each time I discovered or understood something more. Strangers to Darkness is what everyone is. I think that everyone is intrigued by darkness -- the unexpected. Just like darkness, we are intrigued by the solar system and the stars .... what's beyond? No matter where you are on earth, darkness is always the same. Whether you're in Chicago or China. My favorite line is 'night was knitting an eyeless mask over my face, and I still sat transfixed.' That line just grasps you because it is so real. .... That's the way it is -- it gets darker and darker gradually and then the lights go out.

"John Parrish's essay captured my attention. He described different scenes so differently that you could tell how he was feeling inside, also ..."

Section Two: Writing Responses

Sept. 11: "I finished my paper and I'm really pleased with it. It took awhile to get my ideas flowing, but once I got on the right track it took off. I've never liked English very much because in high school we were never allowed to express our ideas -- our own ideas. We were always told how to write and what to write about. This class is definitely an outlet for me -- an outlet to let my feelings flow on paper ... I'm really tired right now. My mind is a jumble. A million things are colliding in my brain. I could go for a chocolate milkshake right now. ...."

Sept. 12: (writes on paper -- pleased with it. etc.)...
"Photography is like writing ... it's another area to express yourself. I really want my best friend to read my
paper but I don't want him to cut it down. He wouldn't. It's just that he's such an excellent writer ... but who says that I can't be. I have to develop more confidence as a writer. ..."

[Writing and lack of confidence]

Oct. 10: (On revising her paper on waiting -- what it's like to wait for someone to come.)

Oct. 3: (dominant impression exercise in class.)

Oct. 10: (working on drafts of two papers -- comments on progress)

Nov. 11: "... I like writing in my journal. I should make a point to set aside a certain time each day for writing in it. This way I'll get used to it."

"Since taking this class, I have learned so much about writing. Mostly I have learned how important free-writing is and how it gives me so many ideas. Also, I've learned to write from the heart -- forced writing is no good. I get so frustrated when I force myself to write."

[Writing and freewriting from the heart.]

Nov. 27: (Progress on papers -- likes one, doesn't like the other yet.)

(2 pages of drafting)

Dec. 2: (Oddly, this is in the writer's section)

"Why do I feel this way? One minute happy -- depressed the next. This huge house was being moved up Main Street. It was wild -- I looked out the window and a house was staring me in the face. Why do I blow things off? I've been doing better lately. Right now all I can think of is going home for Christmas. I'm getting those stupid feelings again with Rush. Am I being too affectionate? A stupid girlfriend. How should I act? I should act the way I want to act. I'm sick of being put down."

Dec. 10: (On progress of "luminarias" paper)

Section 3: Daybook

Sept. 12: (Yeats quote "Hands do what you're bid" - I had given them.)

"I remember standing on the plaid couch in our musty basement watching Gilligan's Island. I had the chicken pox and mom brought me a glass of Hawaiian punch and pretzels."
Maribeth and I used to ride her dog Clipper (a black lab) all around the neighborhood. We thought he was as big as a horse. We'd play on my blue and orange swings for hours. 

"Life is great. I'm finally starting to get organized. I want to take a photography course. It really fascinates me lately and has been on my mind a lot. What a way to express yourself. I also want to take a MUB mini course—Ballroom dancing would be cool!!"

(Also wants to stop dreaming, wants to work with little kids this summer, tennis, going to Beach Haven, or Colorado, Yellowstone (with camera), living each day at a time, life ten years from now, wants children, little boys, maybe Cambridge Program with boyfriend next year?, has stubby legs, what would city environment be like, wants hair to grow) (page and a half.)

[Freewriting—ideas, images, feelings all integrated—"a jumble"]

Sept. 17: "I feel uptight right now. I just want to sit and relax. I have to do this -- I have to do that. What a nice day. I wish I was at the beach listening to the ocean... Soothing. I need to calm down. The lawn mower next to me is making lots of noise. Running is great. It relieves so much pressure from school, relationship problems."...

(Daydreaming, being fat)

Sept. 24: "I'm so tired. I have so much work to do. I can feel the tension rising. I just have to calm down. Take a deep breath and get my work done. Three exams and a paper. How am I going to get all my work done? Help I need sleep so badly."

[Life as text.]

Oct. 1: (About weekend)..."Rush and I took off early Saturday morning for the White Mountains. We packed a picnic lunch and ate it on two smooth rocks in the middle of a river. Oh how could I forget the delicious cider that we picked up alongside the road. Pictures. We snapped away so many of them I can't wait to see them. We jumped from rock to rock downstream along the river, the array of colors dotted the mountainside. The sun went down and the clouds began to move swiftly across the sky."

[Life as text.]

Oct. 3: (Stayed up late -- overslept)

Oct. 8: (Venting: Nice weekend with boyfriend and his parents. she wants to go to England or Colorado. wants to
find a poem about paths -- gets a letter from a friend in Australia.) "The situation at the house (sorority) stinks. It really gets to me -- I try not to let it but at times it's impossible. Some people don't know what they're missing. There is life outside of Chi Omega. Money and material things -- yuk!! Things I hate, worrying about money, chewed fingernails, material things, fake smiles, meat, snoring in my ear. smoking in the car, nagging. people who are always right, littering, not keeping a promise, 2-faced people, feeling fat..."

[ One of the rare occurrences of real venting ]

Oct. 10: (Runs to meet friend (Rush) -- misses him. Has bad cold.)

Oct. 15: "Why can't two people who are in love work things out? Why?"

Oct. ? Life is so confusing. I just don't know anymore. You can go on for so long without anything going wrong -- everything runs smoothly then .... BOOM!!! You get bombarded with a million things. I feel like my life, my world is closing in. Too many things to think about!! Money, jobs, family...."

Nov. ? "Death what is it anyway? He's gone out of my life. One day here, the next Poof!! suicide even -- I can never understand how something could be as bad as to end your life? He was 58 years old, too. If something in your life is that bad, then change it. Make yourself happy."

Nov. ? ( Alone in room -- enjoying quiet -- loves daydreaming about future.)

Nov. ? ( Too many things to think about -- mind jumbled -- jigsaw puzzle -- will pieces fit???)

Nov. 26: (Freewrite) ....(How hard writing and editing is) "I love to write in journals and freewriting but making papers the best just isn't my cup of tea. It seems as though I always mess things up instead of making them better. I really like poetry. I really love to write poems. I guess its because I can really feel the words -- I put myself into the poem...."

[ Journals and freewriting--life as text ]

"An idea for writing just popped into my head -- how about writing about the p.d. or suicide. I'm getting excited about freewriting on these topics. (writes about having been behind)...At times I feel like giving up but I have to stick out the semester. I could actually probably
write a paper on that subject — only three weeks until Christmas break. ... I have a good feeling inside of me now -- I'm really excited to start writing."

[Ideas for writing from freewriting]

Nov. 27: "I want to write my paper about life and how confusing it is. Or maybe how confusing it is to write an English paper. It has to come from the heart whatever it is I decide on. Heart -- maybe I should write on relationships -- no because what a confusing paper that would be, because I'm confused on that subject. ..."

[Texts, relationships and life--no boundaries]

(several pages of drafts on what people want to do with their lives.)

Nov. 28: "I really enjoyed wit and humor (exercises in class) today. It was a nice change of pace. I have the worst headache now. Tension. Also lack of sleep. Freewriting it's really a nice outlet. It's a great way of expressing your thoughts. This paper was a nice crisp clear page turned into a jumble of words. I'm finally caught up in school after missing so many days..." (writes about a dream)

[pleasure and value of journal freewriting]

Nov. 29: (another complex entry)

Dec. 1: (14 pages of drafting)

Dec. 7: "fight fight fight. why can't he ever be sympathetic? I can't even remember the first time he was. Now he makes me feel so stupid like I'm always acting immature. ...Relax, I'm always in a hurry. Fat chance. It's all I can do to keep waiting for you."
Appendix B

Writing Experience Survey
Fall 1986

Note: Asterisks have been placed by the questions which were used to survey experience with and attitudes towards journals and personal writing. In the original survey sufficient space was given for students to answer questions in detail.

High School Writing Experience

a. List the English or English related courses you had in high school.
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

b. How often did you have to write in your composition classes? Every week___ Once a month___ Once a term___? Explain:

c. What kinds of writing did you do in your English classes: book reports___ term papers___ essays___ fiction ___ poetry___ essay examinations___ newspaper articles ___ other ___?

*d. Did you ever have to keep journals or writing diaries for any of your classes? No___ Yes___ If yes, how often ___?
   For what classes 1) 2) 3)

*e. If you kept a journal for a class, what did you think of the experience?

f. Have you ever written for any publication (school paper, local newsletter, editorial for town paper, poetry for PTA handout) whether it was accepted or not?
g. How much and what kinds of reading did you do in high school?
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.

h. How would you rate your training/preparation to do writing and reading at the college level? Why?

Professional Writing Experience: Writing on the Job

a. Do you have a job that requires you to write with any regularity? Yes ____ No ____?

b. If so, what kinds of writing are required for your job?
   Reports ____ Letter writing ____ Other forms of documentation ____ Lists ____? Newsletters ____?
   Other ____________________________________________________

   Explain:

c. Do you have a job that requires any regular reading? If so, how much and what kinds?

Personal Writing Experience

*a. Do you ever write just for yourself? Yes ____ No ____?

*b. Do you or have you ever written stories, fiction, or poetry? Explain:

*c. Do you or have you ever kept a journal or daybook or diary for yourself?
   1. What is/was it like? For how long?
   2. What made you start it or keep it?
   3. What value do/did you find in it?

*d. What other kinds of personal writing, such as letter writing, do you do?

e. What kinds of reading do you do for yourself?
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.
Student Responses
Writing Assessment Survey -- Journal Keeping and Gender

401 - Zipke

Females (n = 12)

1. Z-1 (age 30)
Class Journal: No
Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: Yes. Enjoys writing children's stories for her own children; lived abroad - wrote many letters.

2. Z-2 (age 18)
Class Journal: No
Personal Journal: Yes. "I keep a day book and I've had it since Christmas." "My father bought it for me and I feel my next experiences in life will be the most precious." "I write the most important things in the book about myself, so it has a great amount of value."
Personal Writing: Frequent letter writing.

3. Z-3 (age 39)
Class Journal: No
Personal Journal: Yes. Mostly Just my thoughts. Why? "I had things to say."
Personal Writing: Poetry. Stories on a President.

4. Z-4 (age 21)
Class Journal: 10th grade English. "Each week we passed in one entry in a journal (personal), one summarization of a newspaper article or magazine, and one other story as we chose. It was okay — gave me insight into myself."

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Personal Journal: Yes. "I kept one my 12th grade year of school-- I wrote in it each day, 1-2 pages." Why? "I wanted to write about my last year of school and all the decisions and life's events."

Personal Writing: Some stories and poetry in high school, 3-4 letters a week or every other week.

5. Z-5 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. "I didn't enjoy writing in a weekly journal because the topics were given to us and often they were not very interesting."

Personal Journal: Yes. "When I was younger I kept a diary for about a year --- but I was always afraid of someone finding it."

Why? "Writing helps with certain feelings for me -- sometimes it just feels good to write something down on paper that's been in your mind for a while." "I love going back and reading it and seeing how I used to write! How my feelings have changed."

Personal Writing: "Mostly I just write about myself -- feelings and frustrations that I have -- or I just feel like writing." "I write a lot of letters. I love keeping in touch."

6. Z-6 (age 18)


Personal Journal: "I used to keep a diary or journal when I went on trips. I explained in a journal about my trips that I took, where I went." Why? "I thought it would be a good experience." Value? "To remember my experiences better."

Personal Writing: diary; pen pals and letters to friends.

7. Z-7 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. (once or twice a week) "It was something we did on our own. We hardly ever referred back to it or compared it with others."
8. Z-8 (age 17)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. (daily) "I enjoyed it, the teacher often gave us a topic and we would elaborate on it."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: "Yes, I've enjoyed writing poetry since the 8th grade. Although I haven't had much time in the last year." "I write letters often to my sister and friends at school."

9. Z-9 (age 19)

Class Journal: Yes. English (Junior and Senior) (daily) "Sometimes it got tedious. Mostly it was an enjoyable way to vent my emotions on a certain subject."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "Mostly I just doodle on paper, especially when I am experiencing an emotion strongly." [like a journal?] "I write letters to my boyfriend's mother in Florida."

10. Z-10 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes (All four years of English.) "Good writing experience and exercises." (Pinkerton Academy)

Personal Journal: Yes. "Day to day happenings for three years." Why? "It sounded like a good thing to do at the time." Value? "It keeps good memories of past experiences."

Personal Writing: Yes. "Fiction -- mostly about dream worlds." "write letters to friends."
11. Z-11 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. English. "It was good because I knew what every story was about when it was test time."

Personal Journal: Yes. "About what happened today. Kept it for months." Why? "It was there, it was a gift. Special memories." Value? "It gave me piece of mind."

Personal Writing: Yes. "It's not really poetry. Just things like what I see or how I feel." Correspondence.

12. Z-12 (age 20)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing, English Lit. (daily) "I didn't really enjoy it as much as when it's not mandatory. It was difficult for me to write well in 15 minutes that same time every day."

Personal Journal: Yes. "I kept it for about two years. It was a basic account of what was happening to me at that point in my life. Why? Many different things were happening in my life and I wanted to write it down while I was experiencing them. Value? It is enjoyable to read later on and remember different things that had happened to me."

Personal Writing: Yes. "I have written a lot of poetry in the past and enjoy writing fiction stories with a touch of my real life experience." basic regular letter writing.

Males - (n = 10)

1. Z-1 (age 26)

Class Journal: No

Personal Journal: No

Personal Writing: No
2. Z-2 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. (Every day) Creative Writing. Advanced Creative Writing. English. "I never took it seriously."

Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: Yes. "Poetry, music lyrics. Several drafts always ending up in the trash."

3. Z-3 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. Senior English. (daily) "In my journal I had to write my day by day experiences in school and out of school. I would re-read what I had done at the end of every week to my classmates. It was a very worthwhile experience, because I now feel more comfortable in front of a class."

Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: No. Notes to my girlfriend.

4. Z-4 (age 19)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No (but in fact does.) "For three years I kept a running diary of mileage and times." Why? "My coach suggested it and I benefitted from it." Value? "It was a valuable record of my improvements and my failures."

Personal writing: No.

5. Z-5 (age 19)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. (daily) "I found it a fun way of looking back at my previous day's events."

Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: No
6. Z-6 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. Journalism and English 2. (14 times a month) "a waste of time. The teacher just checked to see if you wrote in it."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: No (just to girlfriend going to school in Indiana.)

7. Z-7 (age 20)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "I attempt to write letters to many people when I have a chance."

8. Z-8 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. "I hated it. I was thrown out of my class for writing what I felt."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "I've written fiction, poetry, even started a novel." "I correspond with about 8 people."

9. Z-9 (no age)

Class Journal: No

Personal Journal: No

Personal Writing: "Poetry"

10. Z-10 (no age)

Class Journal: Yes. 10-1. (daily during school) "There were times I thought it was all B.S., but for the most part I actually enjoyed it. It gave me time to think about my experiences of the day, and my ideas, beliefs, opinions. It was valuable time."
Personal Journal: (remarks refer only to the journal he did in school.) For entire school year. I enjoyed it. "Helped me learn about myself and my strengths and weakness and the way I had grown." Why? "I had to for a grade at first, but then it became the enjoyment."

Personal Writing: "I enjoy stories and fiction the most. While at times they become more difficult because they are more involved in a sense, I enjoy working out the problems."

11. Z-11 (age 17)

Class Journal: No

Personal Journal: Yes. "I write down many of my problems. I write in it sporadically. It may be hours or weeks between entries. Why? I needed a way to let out frustration. Value? It's comforting and relaxing."

Personal Writing: Yes. "Sometimes if I have a dream I will write it down but nothing ever comes of them. I usually throw them out." Write to friends in college.

Females (n = 8)

1. G-1 (age 29)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: "I have many friends I write to. Julie is in the Virgin Islands. Greg lives in Virginia and Robin lives in California."

2. G-2 (age 23)

Class Journal: Yes. (several times a week) (Creative Writing and Freshman English class.) 
"At the time I didn't keep it up, but I've always thought it was a great writing improvement technique and a good "sounding board."

Personal Journal: No.

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Personal Writing: Yes. "In high school I used to write quite a bit (for myself). "Letter writing to sister and mother. "pretty comic."

3. G-3 (age 18)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes. "I just described my day, and my thoughts. It was a typical diary -- and it lasted maybe a month. LAZINESS." Why? "My friends had them and I thought I would enjoy reading it later. Sometimes they make a good laugh." Value? "I got what was on my mind out in the open. It is much easier for me to write poems than it is to keep a diary."

Personal Writing: Yes. "Poetry is a hobby of mine. I have a book of just my poems. They are my own expressions. I enjoy poetry greatly." Lots of letter writing.

4. G-4 (age 17)

Class Journal: No (but kept free-writings in a folder.)

Personal Journal: (unanswered - see below refers to poetry journal.) Yes.

Personal Writing: Yes. "All of them. The poetry I keep in journals. The short stories usually are never completed in final form. I am constantly going back and revising them."

5. G-5 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. (every day) "At the time I felt it was time consuming and in a way an invasion of your privacy, but at this point in time I feel it was a great experience and I have those journals now to look back upon. It was not an invasion (from my teacher). She kept everything confidential."

Personal Journal: Yes. "A diary, my everyday events no matter how boring or exciting, my feelings, my goals, also my dreams and secrets." Why? "My mother has always kept one." Value? "I love my journal. It keeps everything, every moment or feeling that has affected me."
Personal Writing: many letters.

6. G-6 (age 20)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes. "When I was in junior high and high school, I kept a diary off and on for four years. It was the usual teenage diary. I wrote about problems with my parents, school, and boys." Why? "It made me feel better to write about things that were bothering me." Value? I found it damaging -- my mother found the last journal I was keeping and read it. I never kept another diary again. But other than that it sometimes helped to sort out my feelings when I wrote about things that were going on in my life."

Personal Writing: Letters.

7. G-7 (age 18)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "I've written a children's fairy tale and a couple of romances. I've also written a lot of poetry for myself." Letters.

8. G-8 (age 19)

Class Journal: Yes. "It was a hassle and something this personal should not be graded."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: No.

Males (n = 9)

1. G-1 (age 20)

Class Journal: Yes. Sophomore English (one month), Psychology of Communications, Writing Workshop. "It was O.K. Some days I had somethings to write about and
some days I didn't."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "Poetry. I think of them more as lyrical poems. I write them like I would lyrics for a song. It's sort of an escape." Letters to friends in the service.

2. G-2 (age 18)

Class Journal: Yes. "English 2, Sports Lit. "I thought it was only minorly useful because I often had nothing to write about in aspects of the class."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. "Poetry. Sometimes a creative urge comes over me and I feel like writing some poetry, though none of it will be read in this or any other class." Minor letter writing.

3. G-3 (age 26)


Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Yes. Metaphysical/mystical novels that include poetry. Occasional letter writing.

4. G-4 (age 17)

Class Journal: Yes. Writing Workshop and English 2. (daily) "I thought for the most part it was a good idea. I usually had things to write about."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: "A lot of my close friends are away at college so I have to write a lot of letters. But that's something I enjoy doing."

5. G-5 (age 18)
Class Journal: Yes. College Writing, Fiction Writing. "It was a task."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: "Mostly prose and poetry, I've written short stories for classes." (Personal??)

6. G-6 (age 18)

Class Journal: No. "We were required to maintain notebooks and retain writing samples."

Personal Journal: Yes "It was a journal of climbs in New Hampshire I have done. Only one summer. 1985." Why? "I wanted to keep a list to see how or if my climbing was improving. My ethics and style. And I kept it to recall experiences and people I met."

Personal Writing: "Yes. I have written a great number of stories both fiction and fact, and I have written poetry. Not alot, but more than most high school students." "I do a minimal amount of letter writing. When a course puts me in a good writing mood I do some personal writing."

7. G-7 (age 19)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: No. (Every once in a while I will write to some friends.)

8. G-8 (age 19)

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No

Personal Writing: Yes. "When I write for myself I write about things that upset me and I almost never finish what I start."
9. G-9 (age 19)
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal No.
Personal Writing: No.

401 - Lambert (did not ask for ages)

Females (n = 10)

1. L-1
Class Journal: Yes. English, (daily) "I enjoyed the extra free time to write and reflect on the day."
Personal Journal: Yes. "I've kept a journal for about 5 years now. In it I write about my day, how it went, people, problems, achievements, everyday goals." Why? "I was at home alot before I got to know people and to use up the extra time I wrote about what the day had been like and what I had done." Value? "I sometimes look back to see what I was doing at a certain date. Also, I like to remember friends/events now."
Personal Writing: Yes. "I've written a few short stories. I generally try to write suspense or fiction. I wrote one of these from an idea I had while dreaming. I seem to write better when I can choose my own subjects." Lots of letters.

2. L-2
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Wrote a short story once. Wanted to enter it in contests, but didn't; letters to friends at school.
3. L-3 (ESL)

Class Journal: Yes. In 403 College English. every day. "When I wrote journal, I learned more vocabulary."

Personal Journal: Yes. "I kept daybook for about three years. It was like I wrote everything I did in the days. Why? I just liked to have daybook. Value? I loved very much. When I read it over I remembered my past."

Personal Writing: Writes stories, but not in English; often writes letters.

4. L-4

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. every day. "It was okay because I always wanted to keep a diary, but never had the time."

Personal Journal: No. (but wanted to-- see above.)

Personal Writing: letter writing.

5. L-5

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes, but not for herself-- for her daughter. "It is a calendar book which I started in January of this year and is kept up to date (nine months)." Why? "My daughter was incorrectly diagnosed as having cerebral palsy and this lead me to keep a record of her accomplishments." Value? "mostly the dates that we went to see a certain specialist and to report on his findings."

Personal Writing: No.

6. L-6

Class Journal: Yes. 3 classes: Poetry, Fictional Reading, Writing. 5 entries a week. "I felt it was interesting to try to keep the reader from being bored. Sometimes we'd write daily things that would happen or she'd give a topic to write about.

Personal Journal: Yes. "Off and on for about six years. I like having it to look back on things and good times in
the past." Why? "When you're about 11 or 12 it's just the thing to have." Value? Alot. "I like to look back and remember how I felt about people."

Personal Writing: Poems to express feelings to people; letters.

7. L-7

Class Journal: Yes. Psychology. "Keeping a journal helped me remember everything I had done the entire semester. Things I would have easily forgotten were written down for me to refresh my memory."

Personal Journal: Yes. "I keep a day book. This helps me remember thoughts and ideas as well as appointments. Why? When I would remember something relevant to a situation, sometimes it would be too late. Value? Now when I speak to a friend, teacher, family, or doctor, I can refer to the daybook to refresh my memory on what I had wanted to say."

Personal Writing: ?? "Unfortunately I do not write very much."
(the phone is easier.) --- [just apologizes -- can't tell how much writing she actually does.]

8. L-8

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes. "I've kept a diary since 8th grade. Before that I had a couple of diaries, but when I ran out of paper I'd just stop writing. My diaries mostly contain how I feel, what makes me happy or sad. Why? I started a diary because I got one for my birthday, and decided not to waste it. (No kidding!) Value? It has a lot of value for it helps me vent my feelings and even sometimes to sort it out. It beats yelling at people!"

Personal Writing: "I keep a diary and I've also written some short stories, but haven't finished them. Sometimes I write poetry, but I always end up throwing it away because it sounds too 6th gradish. I used to write great, long revealing letters, but when my pen pal just sent me back superficial "fluff" I stopped writing such letters. I'm still a faithful letter writer though."
9. L-9

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No

Personal Writing: "I've written a few poems, but I do not do it frequently." Also letters and requests for information.

10. L-10

Class Journals: 3. Creative Writing, Modern Issues, English. 1-3 a week. "I enjoyed it. I got used to writing comfortably. Journals for class help me study when I reread my notes and scribbles."

Personal Journal: Yes. Since I learned to write I kept a diary until a year or so ago. Why? I started it just for a sense of keeping a record of my life. Value? Rereading it brings back memories. My journal I have now helps me think."

Personal Writing: I like to write poetry when I'm in the mood to write something more creative than a letter. Lists: letters, notes, and poetry.

Males (n = 8)

1. L-1

Class Journal: Yes. English Lit/Comp. Every day. "It was tedious. I was a freshman in high school and trying to get accustomed to school. The journal was just difficult to keep up daily." (Interestingly-- reports he was Asst. Editor of School paper and wrote regular articles.)

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: "I've written five or six poems for personal reasons. It helps me relate to my feelings." "Occasional letters to girlfriend."
2. L-2
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: No.

3. L-3
Class Journal: No
Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: No

4. L-4
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: No
Personal Writing: "I've written a few poems in my lifetime." Few postcards and letters.

5. L-5
Class Journal: Yes. English 9/2, Basic Comp. Every day. "I did not like it at the time. I could not find enough material to put in it."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Yes. "I do write stories, fiction and poetry. I enjoy writing stories, especially fiction stories. I do not write regularly in a diary, but I do manage to write a few stories. I do it when I get an idea; a spur of the moment type thing."

6. L-6
Class Journal: Yes. Sophomore English. Every other day. "I liked it."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Yes. "When I was little I used to write sci-fi stories. I try not to write. Thank you letters consist of most of my writing at home."

7. L-7

Class Journal: Yes. Senior English B. Daily. "It was pretty convenient if I needed to know what I did on a particular night."

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: No. (Writes letters to long distance friends.)

8. L-8

Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: No.

Personal Writing: Music, modern poetry.

Rondeau -- 401 (a)

Females

1. R-1 (18)

Class Journal: Grammar. Daily. "I liked it. I've kept a personal journal for over 5 years running now and see it as essential to record my growth."

Personal Journal: Yes, over five years now. Why? When 12/13 years old. "The changes were incredibly fast and somewhat painful." Value? Priceless.

Personal Writing: YES. Most definitely. (makes a little heart). "Yes, Yes, Yes. Especially fiction and poetry. I'm an incurable romantic and love to try writing in different styles of formal poetry... Some as gifts, some as personal enhancement, though I do take my work seriously, regardless of its quality under an expert eye.
2. R-2 (30)
Class Journal: Yes. Senior Composition. "Sometimes difficult to put thoughts on paper."

Personal Journal: Yes. "Tried to keep a journal a year ago. It lasted one week. Why? Time in my life I was experiencing many new things -- I thought it would be nice to reflect back on my thoughts. Value? Value is that you take time to think what is happening in your life, emotionally and physically- put a perspective on life."

Personal Writing: Yes. Letter writing to friends.

3. R-3 (18)
Class Journal: Yes. English 10B. Every week. "I found that it helped me sometimes, but I don't really think it's necessary."

Personal Journal: Yes. "I kept a diary for about ten years. It's neat because I can go back and read it and find out my thoughts when I was 8, 9, 10." Why? I got it for my birthday. Value? "I find a lot (of value) because to me it's a record of my childhood."

Personal Writing: Yes. "I write poetry when I get a chance because that's one of the ways I can express myself best." Also letters to friends in college.

4. R-4 (20)
Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes. "Once in awhile I'll write how the day or the week went, experiences I've had. Sometimes I try to write stories. Why? I just wanted to write. Value? I find high value in it, no one else can read it. It's personal, and I like to keep it that way."

Personal Writing: letters.

5. R-5 (25)
Class Journal: No.

Personal Journal: Yes. "For about three weeks in high
school. I found I didn't seem to take the time to write regularly. (I preferred to read.) Why? Don't recall. Value? I find it interesting now to go back and see how I started my thoughts on paper (and how my thought processes have changed.)"

Personal Writing: mostly letters to friends.

6. R-6 (38)
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Some fiction, little poetry in high school, Letters to relatives.

7. R-7 (19)
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: Yes. "A journal of my feelings mostly, and of significant events. Also I added some poetry in places. Why? I find it much easier to sort out my feelings and ideas if I write them down and look at them. Value? I found that I could release a lot of frustration out onto the paper. Say whatever I wanted, however I wanted without worrying about it. It helped even if I just threw it away afterwards."

Personal Writing: Yes. Poetry occasionally. A lot of letters to friends and relatives.

8. R-8 (25)
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: Yes. Sketchy. Ages and ages ago. Why? "The Diary of Anne Frank inspired me. Value? must not have been much -- I no longer have the diary."

9. R-9 (18)
Class Journal: Yes. English. Every day. "I enjoyed keeping a personal journal. It helped me keep up to date with what I was doing or had to do."

Personal Writing: "I really like to write poetry, whether it makes sense or not. I guess it's a way of writing out my feelings." Some letter writing.

10. R-10 (17)

Class Journal: Yes. Creative Writing. Twice a week. "It gave me ideas for future writing."

Personal Journal: Yes. Since Jan. 1983. -- I mostly write down when I'm extremely upset or happy to record my thoughts and feelings. Why? I've stopped for long periods of time, but I always go back to it, because I feel like I'll forget everything that has happened to me, if I don't write it down." Value? "I find that I've grown up a lot, and things that used to matter, don't. I wonder why I was upset in the first place."

Personal Writing: Yes. "I spent the summer after freshman year writing short stories. I also wrote two teen novels w/ a friend. I write poetry when I'm upset to help me get out my emotions." Also has had several international pen pals: France, Australia, Austria etc.

11. R-11 (18)

Class Journal: Yes. Freshman English. "It was more like a diary. I found it threatening to my privacy."

Personal Journal: No answer.

Personal Writing: Yes. A little of each and lyrics. (Fiction, poetry) Write to several people.

Males (n = 7)

1. R-1 (23)

Class Journal: Yes. In Freshman English 401 (college). "Not that impressed."

Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: None.

2. R-2 (17)
Class Journal: Yes. English 1 and 2. "I didn't mind it. However, there were some days when I couldn't think of anything at all."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: No.

3. R-3 (22) (Had been in the navy)
Class Journal: No.
Personal Journal: Yes. "I had a day to day book back about two years ago. Once I lost the interest I soon after lost the book. Why? I don't remember." Value? At the time -- It always brought back good memories and lots of laughs with my friends.
Personal Writing: Yes. "On my own level-- whenever the urge hits me." Also - letters. "Love letters -- don't we all. Letters to friends."

4. R-4 (21)
Class Journal: Yes. Journalism. Weekly. "Didn't mind it, other than being a minor inconvenience."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Yes. "Whenever I can find the time I enjoy writing whatever comes to mind." Letters to friends at school.

5. R-5 (27)
Class Journal: No. "I think in theory it's good."
Personal Writing: See above.

6. R-6 (19)
Class Journal: Yes. English. Once weekly. "I didn't like it if you feel a certain way it is hard to write it."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: None.

7. R-7 (18)
Class Journal: Yes. Biology, English. Daily. "Basically what we wrote was what we had done that day. Therefore, I do not think it was too beneficial."
Personal Journal: No.
Personal Writing: Letters to friends in the service.