Literacy Practices of Student Athletes: The Ethics of Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown

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ABSTRACT
Literacy Practices of Student-Athletes: The Ethics of Repetition, Surveillance, and Breakdown
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Literacy Practices of Student-Athletes: The Ethics of Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown examines how a group of male basketball players as a small Division II university in the southeast United States used and were affected by literacy in their academic, athletic and social lives. The driving question that guided data collection was *How do the physical learning and material conditions of high level basketball players at Richardson University influence their literacy practices?*

The impetus for this question was a desire to understand the relationship between the literate activity and moving bodies of these players. In school settings academic training is often conducted in ways that isolate the body from the mind. This ethnography sought to uncover if or how a bifurcation of mind/body occurred amid the training practices of these subjects. To accomplish this task, the study was designed to look at what bodies were doing during "literacy events." "Literacy events," which is borrowed from Barton and Hamilton, functioned as the core unit of analysis of the database.

The method for pursuing the primary research question was ethnography. For one academic year I observed, interviewed, took fieldnotes, collected artifacts and supervised photographic literacy logs. Observations were conducted across the campus of Richardson University in three domains of the players' lives – academic, athletic and social domains. Interviews were conducted with individual players and were based off of

fieldnotes, observations and the players' photo literacy logs that the players made as a way of documenting samples of their literacy practices.

There were four core findings that this study of these student-athletes allows me to state with certainty: (1) these student-athletes' training methods influenced their literacy, (2) these student-athletes have highly sophisticated literacy that reflects their highly sophisticated cognition, and (3) these student-athletes liked their training regimens. The fourth finding can be split into thirds based on the three themes organizing the data of the study – Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown. And, each of these attests to the highly physical nature of these student-athletes' academic and athletic training; they also indicate the extent to which reading-writing was infused in this training.

Repetition was essential to habituating motor-movements as the foundation for being able to move beyond the basic physicality of a literacy event to more critical, higher order engagement. Repetition is not a mindless, rote activity. Repetition *is* thinking. Surveillance was an effective educational technology for instilling positive literacy habits through a system of control and observation. Breakdown was another educational technology that demonstrated a powerful connection between body and mind, similar to repetition. These three concepts and the conversations that support them illustrate that literacy is not simply a cognitive act; it is not just a way of thinking, but a socially embedded way of acting.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Obtaining a Ph.D. is not a series of acts performed by one person along the path to a doctorate. There are a lot of people along my Ph.D. path who have earned credits and are worthy – in some cases more worthy than myself – of acknowledgement and praise. If you are reading this, chances are you are one of those people.

Without the players and coaches who granted me permission to share in their lives this study would have been nearly impossible. I learned more from them than what is revealed in the pages of this study. I am indebted to them for the opportunities they afforded me.

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My parents gave me life, but there are two people in particular who showed me how to live it: Malcolm Holman and Brandon "Busy" Wyatt. You are with me always.

Then there is my family. My grandparents, Charles and Maxine Walker, and Jim and Margaret Drew, deserve credit for the familial foundation they laid that has supported not just myself. Their hard work and love are daily in my mind. Bonnie and Jim Drew, my parents, built upon their parents' foundations and made for my siblings and me a real and loving home. Kelley Drew Henry, Kassie Drew Redmond and Jimmy Drew are the reason I have not shot somebody for their ham sandwich. These mammals are the reason I try to do right by the world.

Finally there is Eli. I guess I should say something about him. Hm. Well, he is at the same time one of the most supportive and infuriating people I know, which makes for a strange relationship because I myself have been the ideal and perfect mentee! I've cursed his name and cherished his counsel. You deserve a special thank you – as does Wendy (you can finally tell her I won't be calling any more!). Eli is among the small number without whom this accomplishment would never have been realized.

The honor of the culminating degree does not belong to me. I could not and would not have done it without the family and friends who have sustained me these past five and a half years. In many ways this is their accomplishment, not mine.

To each: thank you!

DEDICATION

For my momma. Before it was even written, this was for you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CHARTS

LIST OF IMAGES

Page

PREFACE

Literacy Practices of Student-Athletes: The Ethics of Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown examines how a group of male basketball players use and are affected by literacy in their academic, athletic and social lives. I conducted this ethnographic study over the course of one academic year from 2007-2008 at a small, Division II, private liberal arts university in the southeast, identified in this project as Richardson University. The driving question that guided data collection was *How do the physical learning and material conditions of high level basketball players at Richardson University influence their literacy practices?* The impetus for this question was a desire to understand the relationship between the literate activity and moving bodies of these players. In school settings academic training is often conducted in ways that isolate the body from the mind; there is a bifurcation of mind/body. Based in part on personal experiences and encouraged in part by the works of Debra Hawhee (*Bodily Arts*), Julie Cheville (*Minding the Body*) and Kristie Fleckenstein ("Writing Bodies"), this study sought to understand the role of the body in relation to intellectual training. In other words, this study was designed to look at what bodies are doing during "literacy events": what physical relationships do subjects have with reading, writing and talking about texts? These concerns were the driving forces of the data collection process, and they shaped the nature of my observations, fieldnotes, interviews, artifact collection and use of photographic literacy logs.

In addition to being shaped by the above questions, the data collection and database analysis were determined by a core unit of analysis – "literacy events." Literacy events are defined by David Barton and Mary Hamilton as

> [*L*]*iteracy events* are activities where literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text. Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them. The notion of event stresses the situated nature of literacy, that it always exists in a social context. ("Literacy Practices" in *Situated Literacies*, 8)

The database, in other words, consists of observable episodes of reading, writing or talk about text. In my fieldnotes, for example, when I was noting the postures, facial expressions, bodily movements, gestures, social interactions, etc. of the subjects it was always in relation to their interactions with or responses to text(s). The contexts for these data fall into three categories, or domains: athletic, academic and social. In the three chapters that discuss the three major themes/findings (Repetition, Surveillance, Breakdown) of this project, these three domains function as organizing categories.

I spent a significant amount of time observing postures, bodily movements, social interactions and the like because the goal of this study was to understand the physical nature of these subjects' literacy practices. Working with Barton and Hamilton's (*Local Literacies*) definition of literacy events I identified such events and in my fieldnotes I recorded as much as I could about the subjects' physical activity and the setting, material and people they were interacting with. In order to learn about what these subjects were physically doing as they read and/or composed I constructed a database, using various methods, that made a record of their motor-movements.

This study, then, is about reading and composing and how these subjects physically performed literate acts. This study also examines forces that were exerted on these players to see how these forces shaped the way they read and composed.

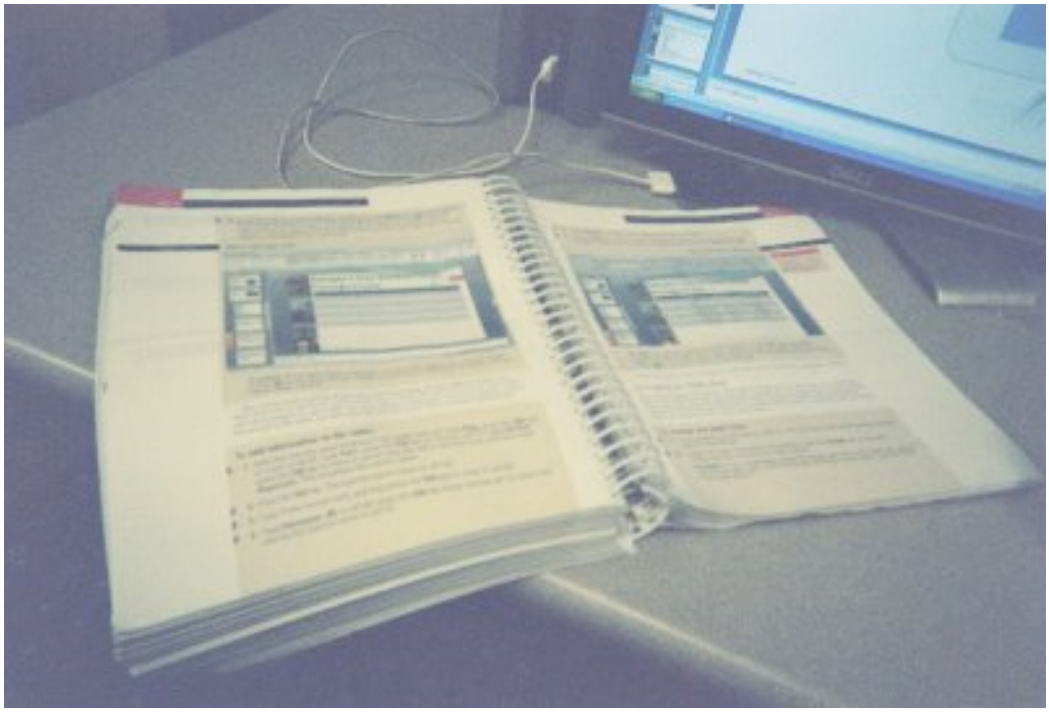
One of the things about literacy that is most easily taken for granted is the fact that first and foremost, before it ever becomes an intellectual activity, an exercise of the mind, part of an academic training regimen, reading and writing and talk about text is a physical, bodily activity. As Fleckenstein says, "we write as bodies."

> First, we write as bodies, attending to the undulation of inscription and response. We immerse ourselves in—create a subjectivity out of—our own bodily reactions as writers. We *are* our bodies; we are writing bodies, caught in that slippage between bodies that write as they are written. Therefore, we need to attend to visceral rhythms as we compose writerly identities, readers, and textworlds at a specific time and in a very specific physical place (body, clothes, room, technology, culture, etc.). (Fleckenstein 297)

Among other things, this project articulates some of the slippage that these subjects experienced between bodies that write as they are composing papers or interacting on Facebook and bodies that are written by such literacy practices of their social milieu as class schedules and practice plans. What I try to keep in the foreground along each step of the way are the writing and reading bodies of the subjects, the physicality of their literacy practices. The project is rooted in this simple premise that we write as bodies and it is from this understanding of literacy as a physical act that this project moves ahead. In what follows I hope to continue to expand and extend a conversation about whole-body training methods that has already been started by others.

Here are examples from each of the three themes chapters. In Chapter Three I discuss Repetition; I do so in relation to a literacy event from specific domains. Here is

an example of a literacy event from the domain of academics taken from Victor's photo literacy log:



(Image 0.1 – Victor's Photo Log)

Here Victor has a textbook out along with a PowerPoint presentation displayed on his computer screen. The PowerPoint is a study guide provided by his instructor. In the interview he explained that this image captured a moment where he was studying for a test; he described his method of studying course material "over and over." Based on my coding of the data from the database demonstrate that this literacy event is an image of repetition in action.

In Chapter Four I discuss Surveillance. Surveillance is an "educational technology" that was used by the coaches and support staff to instill habits and control behaviors and maximize desired athletic and academic and social outcomes. The image below is taken from Jasen's photo literacy log:

(Image 0.2 – Jasen's Photo Log)

The participants of this study were under near-constant surveillance by the coaching staff. One of the ways we might read this image is as Jasen's attempt to make himself impervious to surveillance. By making himself invisible within this personal space he evades surveillance. He is able to be in control of what he is doing within this space. It's hard to make out what book is on his bed (he didn't describe it in his interview), but nonetheless, this image demonstrates the desire to be literate in unregulated ways, independent of the controlling forces of the system of surveillance.

In Chapter Five I discuss the concept of Breakdown. Breakdown is a training concept that consists of six principles: Context, Reduction, Performance, Feedback, Repetition, and Build-up. In the domain of athletics the concept of Breakdown informed nearly all of their training practices. Here is an example of Breakdown as a literacy event from the domain of athletics taken from Charles' photo literacy log:

(Image 0.3 – Charles' Photo Log)

A scouting report such as this one would be used to reinforce the training they had done in practices leading up to a game, and it embodies at least four of the six principles of Breakdown: context, reduction, repetition and build-up. The scouting report was one of their reading and training habits that were a part of the subjects' preparation for upcoming games.

These three quick examples illustrate pieces of the database, demonstrate how I analyze them using the core unit of analysis of the literacy event, and introduce the three themes along with the organizing principle of domains. The three themes – Repetition, Surveillance, Breakdown – contribute to literacy studies and composition in that they (a) provide insights into the literacy practices of a little studied demographic; (b) describe an educational technology that instilled positive literacy habits and practices; (c) demonstrate an agonistic relationship between academics and athletics; and (d) reveal

effective syncretic training methods that physically engage students in literate learning situations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an ethnography of the literacy practices of student-athletes. A systematic review of the database resulted in an analysis of three major themes in response to the question *How do the physical learning and material conditions of high level basketball players at Richardson University influence their literacy practices*? Those three themes are Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown. Over the course of one academic year I collected data in the form of interviews, observations, fieldnotes, cultural artifacts and photographic literacy logs. Supplementing the database were my own experiences and knowledge of this Discourse community based on my own experiences as a D-I basketball player. Another supplement was a pilot study I conducted that preceded this dissertation project. There is relatively little research on student-athletes within the fields of Composition and Literacy Studies. One of the objectives of this study was to respond to this gap in the literature. Another objective of this study was to examine people whose learning is deeply rooted in the physical. The impetus for this second objective was the result of my interest in the bifurcation of body and mind that pervades academia specifically and education in general. I addressed these two objectives by collecting data that closely examined what my subjects were physically doing as they read, wrote and/or talked about texts.

This introductory chapter sets the stage for the following chapters that explain the methodology (Chapter Two) and present the data, data analysis and discussions of the three major themes (Chapters Three, Four and Five). I set this stage in what follows by

doing five things. First, I discuss three scholars whose work played a pivotal role in creating a place for my own. Second, I discuss the major theoretical works that inform and frame the work of this project. Third, I discuss the major terms and concepts that circulate throughout this project as well as provide a sense of their geneology and the ways in which they enrich our understanding of the data. Fourth, I introduce and describe the volunteers of the study. Fifth, I talk about myself, my personal student-athlete experiences, and my position within the fieldsite and relationship to the subjects and the study.

My Intellectual Heritage

Three texts by three scholars opened the door for me to do this study: Debra Hawhee's *Bodily Arts*, Julie Cheville's *Minding the Body* and Kristie Fleckenstein's "Writing Bodies: Somatic Minds in Composition." Hawhee's work is largely historiography and focuses on the ancient methods for training athletes and rhetors. Cheville's study examined "what student athletes know about learning" and brings together numerous fields such as "anthropology of performance, literacy studies, cultural studies, journalism and political science, biogenetic and medical research, sociological theories about group behavior" (Cheville vi). Fleckenstein's work talks about the writing body and acts as a keystone that unites these other two in the sense that her work is from within Composition and Literacy Studies. And it is significant to me because I, too, locate my work more specifically within these fields. The common denominator of the works by these three scholars is that they argue for a reunification of the mind and body that was ruptured by Descartes and has been maintained in Western thinking ever since.

In *Bodily Arts* Hawhee describes a "sophistic training" model that consisted of the "three R's" of Rhythm, Repetition and Response. These three R's were enacted within the gymnasia of 4th Century BCE Greece. The sophistic training method was a syncretic approach that trained both the mind and the body at the same time. In her introduction Hawhee explains "A focus on rhetoric's connections to athletics enables a view of rhetoric as a bodily art rather than strictly a cerebral endeavor, and traces the way in which rhetoric and athletics mutually shaped and struggled with each other – conceptually, practically, culturally" (Hawhee 14).

Julie Cheville explores the cultural conceptions of and "devaluations" of the body in relation to language and learning. The focus of *Minding the Body* can be summed up as an examination of:

> How the human body is oriented in the context of activity determines what cognitive structures are available to learners. Documenting how thought is situated in bodily activity challenges a historical devaluation of the human body that has had several consequences. (Cheville 8).

She documents the situated bodily activity of the women basketball players in her study through her discussion of space/place, "systemic balance," emotion, and academic policy and practices at the University of Iowa and within the NCAA. In the end she "worr[ies] that theories of learning that essentialize the role of language undercut the conceptual significance of the body" (139). She argues that we are connected bodily to what we do and that there is a relationship between mind and body. Cheville presents and processes literature from cognitive psychology and the field of medicine. But in the end, for her, the body remains a cultural construct, a tool not to be neglected in the

mediation of knowledge that will be stored in the brain. She doesn't make the same jump as Hawhee and Fleckenstein in her conclusions. For her the body and mind are still distinct, are still divided.

Fleckenstein writes that "we are our bodies" (Fleckenstein 297). In the Preface I highlight Fleckenstein's quote: "we write as bodies" (297). Writing, for Fleckenstein, is *not*, first and foremost, a cognitive process. In fact, in her book *Embodied Literacies*, Fleckenstein argues that we need to actively seek ways for re-conceiving writing-reading as more than linguistic:

> Besides picturing the world, we need to picture literacy, to disestablish our definitions of literacy as dominantly and aggressively linguistic. We need to seek an alternative imaginary that enables us to conceive of writing-reading as something more than words, more than language. (*Embodied* 2)

Fleckenstein's work argues that we write-read with our senses, *as bodies*. Composing and comprehension are not couched only in the brain. Literacy, she encourages us to imagine, is not solely a cognitive process. Like Hawhee, and in the same spirit as Cheville, Fleckenstein pushes open the door of syncretism; she demonstrates for instructors of writing-reading how to think about the body as inseparable from the mind, that without the body there is no literacy. Together these three theorists paved the way for this project.

Joining an Ongoing Conversation

Importantly, Hawhee, Cheville and Fleckenstein have links to New Literacy Studies (NLS) by way of a shift to the social and ideological components of literacy. To transition into an engagement with NLS, first I briefly review some literature that flanks

this project. That is, I discuss three types of literature that inform and represent the progression of my thinking about this project. In the beginning my approach to this project was mediated largely by philosophical and psychological texts. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson and even Howard Gardner's writing influenced my thinking. Next, as I was reviewing research methodologies and ways of framing the project, I dedicated myself to theoretical texts – largely NLS. However, in influencing my thinking about how the role of the body in higher order development and training, Lev Vygotsky and Debra Hawhee's writings played a role equal to that of NLS. As my analysis and thinking of the significance and applicability of my research has advanced I began delving more into practical texts to learn specific teaching strategies used by K-12 educators, to read about applications of theory to classroom practice. I have immersed myself more and more in the K-12 literature on teaching vocabulary, reading and writing, adolescent literacy, literacy coaching, etc. because this body of literature more closely describes and reflects the methods I had observed at my fieldsite. So, Michael Graves, George Hillocks, Peter Smagorinsky, Michael Smith, and various publications by the International Reading Association such as *The Reading Teacher* and *The Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* currently enjoy top priority on my reading lists. These materials crowd my tabletops and bookshelves.

There is a distinction between these three different bodies of literature that continue to inform my research on literacy practices of both student-athletes and non student-athletes. They could be characterized respectively as philosophical (where I started), theoretical (framework for the study) and practical (where I'm headed). The first group of philosophical texts were the literature that allowed me to access discussions

of the mind-body divide infused in academia. Merleau-Ponty as well as Lakoff and Johnson philosophized about the phenomenology of perception, the role of bodily senses in mediating human experience and personal knowledge. Gardner specifically suggested that these personal bodily experiences determined "intelligences" (a problematic theory in part because "multiple intelligences" has a troubled existence within cognitive science, in part because the theory is based on anecdote, and in part because Gardner, more especially his followers, tries to go beyond the philosophical and even the theoretical to suggest practical applications). Lakoff and Johnson, inspired by Merleau-Ponty, work from empirical evidence of cognitive psychology and neuroscience to advance their theory of a "philosophy of the flesh." These proved useful as entry points for my inquiry.

New Literacy Studies (NLS), which is the primary focus of this section, develop theory from concrete qualitative research (whereas Gardner, for example, is largely anecdotal). While not explicitly acknowledging the mind-body divide that nourishes the "autonomous" model of literacy, the work of NLS shifts focus to the social, situated and interactive nature of literacy. That is, NLS debunks the assumption that literacy is an objective, universal skill set; NLS identifies literacy as being always ideological. This is an important shift in understanding literacy and how and why people read and write – an understanding that has important implications for teaching reading and writing to disparate peoples.

Prior to this project my world, my understanding, of literacy was in relation to college-level reading and writing. I fancied myself a College Compositionist. K-12 reading and writing practices were not all that relevant to what I thought I was doing. Of late, though, it's been K-12 education literature to which I've been turning for highly

specific and practical research and information about how to teach phoneme awareness or how to scaffold (Peterson, Taylor, Burnham & Schock) or incorporate vocabulary instruction (Graves) or writing rubrics for narrative writing assignments (Hillocks) etc. Instructors of college freshman writing frequently bemoan the skill-level of students. If they are in fact coming to us with 9-12 grade writing and reading skills then it behooves us to connect with successful K-12 literacy educators as a way of bridging the gap. It's not the job *only* of K-12 teachers to send students to us fully prepared, but for 13-16 educators to meet students where they are as well. It was through my research on these student-athletes that I realized the need to better understand and master the basic elements of teaching reading and writing. K-12 literature often presents very concrete recommendations, with clearly laid out lessons, for how to teach, for example, vocabulary building exercises to young readers (e.g., see Graves Chapter 3; Hillocks; Winters). The literature from the field of college composition and rhetoric often neglect such concrete examples in favor of more abstract and theoretical discussions.

While there are not many of studies that are similar to mine, there are a few. William Broussard has written about the "balkanization" of student-athletes. Part of what Broussard argues is that student-athletes are treated as a separate class of students, balkanized by their segregated study-tables, dining halls and overbearing athletics schedules. Student-athletes, argues Broussard, are isolated from their non-athlete peers in ways that can negatively impact their academic experience at a university. Jabari Mahiri has written about how a community youth basketball league functioned in relation to schools and literacy of young African American boys. Part of what he argues is that the models for encouraging language and literacy practices that take place outside of school

can serve as a model for connecting language and literacy development and learning in schools (see Mahiri Chapter 2). Loic Wacquant conducted an extensive ethnographic study of boxing culture in inner-city Chicago. From his study Wacquant went on to elaborate in numerous sociological articles what amounts to a continuation of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice that critiqued issues of class and race in American inner cities (Wacquant was a student of Bourdieu before coming to the States). Of relevance to my project are Wacquant's insights into and experiences gaining access to this group of highly competitive athletes (his subjects were not student-athletes). Through close observation and analysis of the actions and behaviors of the boxers he developed deep understanding of the values, beliefs, ethics and cultural ways of being of his subjects. He studied how they trained, how they talked and thought about their training and he examined how that boxing training affected the boxers' lives beyond the gymnasium. Through sport he developed sociological theory. There are numerous studies of student-athletes, but I am unaware of any study that qualitatively examines the literacy practices of student-athletes. As such, to design this study, I have examined models and taken from studies conducted in educational anthropology, education, sociology, literacy studies, composition, and rhetoric. Julie Cheville's work with female basketball players remains the only study that I have read that qualitatively examines student-athletes' academic and athletic training side by side. She focused on "learning." My focus is on literacy.

In between where I started and where I have since turned is the theory that specifically frames this research project. This project continues in the qualitative research tradition of scholars like Shirley Heath, Brian Street and David Barton and Mary

Hamilton in particular. Also pertinent to the theoretical framework are James Gee, Pierre Bourdieu, Lev Vygotsky and Debra Hahwee. I begin with Vygotsky.

The Basics: Connecting Language and the Body

Russian developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky was one of the first to conclude that language acquisition and development is a social phenomenon. In one of his two most frequently cited works, *Thought and Language*, Vygotsky argues that physical, motor actions are a central element of higher order (mental) development.

> The connection between thought and word, however, is neither performed nor constant. It emerges in the course of development, and itself evolves. To the biblical, "In the beginning was the Word," Goethe makes Faust reply, "In the beginning was the deed." The intent here is to detract from the value of the word, but we can accept this version if we emphasize it differently: In the *beginning* was the deed. The word was not the beginning—action was there first; it [the word] is the end of development, crowning the deed. (Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, 255)

Vygotsky puts forth this articulation of his idea that the word crowns the deed in development at the end of *Thought and Language* as part of his final summary. In other words, a major part of his conclusion is that physical acts within a specific social context are an essential element to thought and consciousness development. For Vygotsky, before a human utters a word, she acts and gestures with her body. It is the gesture, the act, that leads to intelligent utterances. The act of the individual occurs within and in response to a social setting, but it is, nonetheless, a physical gesture that mediates language development.

In the passage above Vygotsky is reiterating a point that he consistently makes throughout *Thought and Language*: in the process of higher psychological development, motor actions precede verbal articulations. Mina Shaughnessy makes a similar claim in *Errors & Expectations* (1977) when she states that "as long as the so-called mechanical processes involved in writing are themselves highly conscious or even labored, the writer is not likely to have easy access to his thoughts" (Shaughnessy 14). The writer is, says Shaugnessy, "cut off from thinking" (14). Because of the time period in which she was writing, Shaughnessy was referring to writers' abilities to manipulate pen and paper proficiently, be able to produce legible handwriting. The 2009 equivalent is being able to physically manipulate a keyboard and use word processing software. Before you can become a carpenter you have to know how to use a hammer; before you can bcome a writer you have to know how to use pen and paper. Shaughnessy is not the only Composition scholar to make a connection between physical acts and access to thoughts.

In 1975, at the Buffalo Conference on Researching Composing, Janet Emig proposed that "the [physical] *process* is what is basic in writing" (Emig 59). The hand, the eye and the brain, says Emig, are the requisite organic structures that interact to produce the process of writing (59). In 1977 Shaughnessy was arguing that a lack of physical writing dexterity interrupts one's ability to transcribe ideas. In 1980 Sondra Perl got physical when she took the time to observe "what writers do while writing" (Perl 1994). In talking about the recursive nature of writing, Perl elucidated the movements of a writer that occur based on "felt sense" and "sense experience":

> There is also a third backward movement in writing, one that is not so easy to document. It is not easy because the move, itself, cannot immediately be

> identified with words. In fact, the move is not to any words on the page nor to the topic but to feelings or non-verbalized perceptions that *surround* the words, or to what the words already *evoke* in the writer. The move draws on sense experience… The move occurs inside the writer, to what is physically felt. (101)

She goes on to say that what is elicited in an act of composing is "not solely the product of a mind but of a mind alive in a living, sensing body" (101).

In 1996 Christina Haas (*Writing Technology*) studied the physical back-and-forth movements that occur when writers compose using different materials (e.g. pen and paper vs. word processor). Haas studied the materials of literacy and how they are used – this included a look at writers' physical interactions with the material tools. Conjuring a concept similar to the one Perl cites, Haas found that writers employ four different types of "distancing moves" (129-31) as a way of orienting their bodies so as to get or make "text sense" – i.e. "a mental representation of the structure and meaning of a writers' own text" (118). Haas concludes that,

> Hence, the body (in the sense of an individual, embodied experience, rather than as an abstract cultural construction; see Hayles, 1993) is the mechanism by which the mediation of the mental and the material occurs. Writers' relationships to their texts are embodied in the most intimate of ways, because writers have no other way of either producing text or of interacting with it than through their bodies, particularly their hands and eyes. For the most part, material concerns have remained outside the realm of consideration of writing research, possibly due to the profound distrust of the bodily within scholarly inquiry and within the culture at large. (226)

Haas is referring to the mind-body divide that is still prevalent. This bias is part of a bias that dates to the dualism inspired by Descartes' philosophy that prized mind (and soul) over body (see Lakoff and Johnson chapter 19).

Thus, there is a history of writing about the body that dates back to the early days of Composition and Literacy Studies. Vygotsky and Shaughnessy make a case for the importance of the material, gesturing, performing, experiencing body as an integral part of the process of learning to write. They are argue that physical action and the ability to effectively manipulate the materials of literacy is the first step towards higher level development for using language in written form. However, it is not until Kristie Fleckenstein's 1999 article "Writing Bodies: Somatic Mind in Composition Studies" that the field explicitly articulates a theory of the "writing body." Fleckenstein's work is one of the very few that explicitly theorizes the physicality of writing-reading. In her article she explains that "We need an embodied discourse, one that interprets body as neither a passive *tabula rasa* on which meanings are inscribed nor an inescapable animal that must be subdued before pure knowledge can be achieved" (Fleckenstein 281). The body and its senses, says Fleckenstein, is an active mediator for fusing ecology and culture (281-2). While there are conversations in the field about "embodiment," few scholars have taken up the issue of physicality – i.e. what the body does or is doing. Most conversations talk about what happens to the body – the body as object. For over 30 years now the field has been dominated by social theories of literacy. And for good reason: it is a fruitful and formidable paradigm. It is this paradigm to which my research connects both methodologically and theoretically. And it is Fleckenstein's line of thinking that I hope to push forward.

New Literacy Studies: The Social Nature of Reading-Writing Practices

As one of the founding scholars of the New Literacy Studies, James Gee early on called for focused attention to social practices. Writing in a special issue of the *Journal of Education* (171:1) in 1989, Gee asked literacy and language scholars to redirect their gaze when he claimed that "the focus of literacy studies or applied linguistics should *not* be language, or literacy, but *social practices*" ("Literacy, Discourse, and Linguistics: Introduction" Gee 5). Gee had collected a number of previously published papers, arguments that were published prior to *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourse* (1990), to declare that "Thus, what is important is not language, and surely not grammar, but *saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations*. These combinations I call 'Discourses,' with a capital 'D' ('discourse' with a little 'd,' to me, means connected stretches of language that make sense, so 'discourse' is part of 'Discourse')" (Gee 6). Gee's work in the late 1980's shaped the research of Brian Street and David Barton and Mary Hamilton and others who would research and write as New Literacy Studies scholars. The focus of New Literacy Studies was and is the social.

At the heart of this focus on social practices was Gee's term "Discourse," which he defined as "ways of being in the world; [Discourses] are forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes" (6-7). A few years later Gee's Discourse came to share many of the same characteristics as "literacy practices." In 1995, in *Social Literacies*, Brian Street defined "literacy practices" as consisting of both behaviors and socio-cultural conceptualizations of literacy.

> The concept of 'Literacy practices' is pitched at a higher level of abstraction [than literacy events] and refers to both behaviour and the social and cultural conceptualizations that give meaning to the uses of reading and/or writing. Literacy practices incorporate not only 'literacy events', as empirical occasions to which literacy is integral, but also folk models of those events and the ideological preconceptions that underpin them. (Street 2 *Social Literacies*)

Literacy practices are social practices. Street appropriates Gee's definition of Discourse – especially the abstract components such as valuing and believing – and condenses it in the phrase "a higher level of abstraction." I use Gee's notion of Discourse and Street's concept of practice to define the group milieu of the subjects of this study. The subjects' ways of writing-doing-being-valuing-believing either affected or were related to their literate and non-literate practices.

There are subtle differences between Street and Gee, but they are both New Literacy Studies scholars. And at the crux of the New Literacy Studies paradigm is "the social." The social subsumes language and the smaller events that go into the creation of language in both literate and oral forms. For example, Street's work argues that an "autonomous model" of literacy effectively prejudices literacy training. The autonomous model works from the assumption that literacy is an objective, universal set of skills, and that literacy is one thing used for the same purposes across contexts. This autonomous model is based in Western ideals and Western ideology. His research demonstrates that the ideology of dominant powers impact the literacy training of marginalized groups; when two ideologies conflict in this arena the dominant ideology usually supplants the local ideology. And according to Street, literacy is always ideological. As a result, Street

calls for an awareness of ideology and attention to the effects of installing foreign literacy training models that conflict with native ideologies and ways of being.

Barton and Hamilton's research on "local literacies" is similarly a social theory of literacy. Barton and Hamilton take care to identify literacy as being "primarily something people do; it is an activity, located in the space between thought and text" (3). They go on to say that "literacy is essentially social" (3). As such they "study what people do with literacy"; they study "the social activities," "the thoughts and meanings behind the activities" and "the texts utilised in such activities" (3). Their important contribution to the New Literacy Studies, *Local Literacies* (1998), is an ethnographic study of the literacy practices of a large group of people from a neighborhood in Lancaster, England. Their research demonstrates that literacy practices are embedded in a milieu. And the practices (attitudes, beliefs, values, and social relationships) of the milieu determine how reading/writing are performed. The terms used by Barton and Hamilton demonstrate the close relationship to both Gee and Street. Take Barton and Hamilton's definition of literacy practices for example:

> Literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships (Barton and Hamilton 6, *Local Literacies*).

They go on to more clearly define exactly what they mean by literacy practices:

> Practices are shaped by social rules which regulate the use and distribution of texts, prescribing who may produce and have access to them. They straddle the

> distinction between individual and social worlds, and literacy practices are more usefully understood as existing in the relations between people, within groups and communities, rather than as a set of properties residing in individuals. (Barton and Hamilton 7).

Literacy practices, then, are a "cultural way of utilizing literacy." Literacy practices are defined by Barton and Hamilton as abstract. The terms are evidence of the commitment to the social theory and paradigm of the New Literacy Studies. These terms demonstrate the coherency of and commitment to the social theories of literacy set forth by the New Literacy Studies. "Literacy practices" is an important term and concept for this study. As we move through the themes chapters we see time and again how practices and texts straddle individual and social worlds (Ch. 4), and how literacy practices reinforce and instill community values and ways of being (Ch. 3 and Ch. 5). These practices, as we see below, are developed via isolatable events – which are composed of individual physical acts.

Bourdieu and Bodies: Linking the Concepts of NLS to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

One final theorist whose work is integral to the framing of this project and to the data analysis of later chapters is Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's work in anthropology/sociology is both predecessor to and counterpart of the "social practices" of New Literacy Studies. In 1972 Pierre Bourdieu published the French edition of his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (it appeared in English in 1977) where he articulated, among other things, the concepts of *habitus* and *hexis*. Bourdieu's theory, which grew from his research on marriage practices in North Africa, came to be a response to

objectivism. Bourdieu's stated mission was not to make objectivism obsolete. Rather, he was articulating a dialectical relationship between objectivism and subjectivism by "inquir[ing] into the mode of production and functioning" of both "scientific practice" and "lived experience" (4). The result of subordinating the operations of scientific practice was "a theory of practice and practical knowledge" (4) (for more, see Bourdieu Chapter 1, "The objective limits of objectivism"). For my purposes Bourdieu's theory functions as a lens – a way of viewing the connection between bodily actions (*hexis*) and larger social ways of being (*habitus*). I view my data and analysis in a similar light – i.e. the reciprocal relationship between individual bodily acts and larger social practices. In Chapter 3 we see how the basketball practice plans illustrate this relationship.

There are striking similarities shared by Bourdieu's theory of practice and New Literacy Studies' (especially Gee's) articulation of a social theory of literacy. New Literacy Studies was rejecting an "autonomous" theory of literacy (see Street 1995); Bourdieu was rejecting objectivism. New Literacy Studies marked "social practices" as more important to the field of literacy studies than language or even literacy itself (see Gee above). Bourdieu made a similar claim for anthropology when he declared that practices of the social world are the source of knowledge and understanding and theory construction. Bourdieu's theory of practice maps onto New Literacy Studies' social theory of literacy most demonstrably via the terms of *habitus* and *hexis* vis-à-vis literacy practices and literacy activities respectively. Therefore, I juxtapose these two sets of terms: *habitus*/literacy practices and *hexis*/literacy activities. *Habitus* and *hexis* are key concepts in Bourdieu's theory of practice. And they are apropos to and useful for this study of literacy practices.

I am constructing a history of the physicality of literacy as it has been implied by some of the most important figures in Literacy and Composition. As well, I'm exploring why or how literacy is first a physical act(ivity) and second a socio-physical practice. To get a better sense of my claim here is a passage from *Outline of a Theory of Practice*:

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produces *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (72)

Bourdieu's *habitus* is a system of structures and principles that regulate practices. *Habitus* determines behaviors within a system without demanding a specified behavior via rules and regulations. Like Gee's "Discourse" and Street's "practices" *habitus* structures beliefs, values and ways of being within a milieu. For example, in sports, "winning" is all that matters in the uber-competitive culture of competitive American athletics. American sports culture has produced a "winner-take-all," "ends-justify-the-means" mentality that gets inscribed onto participants and produces particular practices and behaviors. "These practices can be accounted for only by relating the objective *structure* defining the social conditions of the production of the habitus which

engendered them to the conditions in which this habitus is operating, that is, to the *conjuncture* which short of a radical transformation, represents a particular state of this structure" (78). Practices, in other words, are accounted for by relating objective structures to the conditions in which *habitus* operates. Sports culture (the structure) imparts a winner-takes-all mentality that is played out in practice within the conditions of individual sports teams and fans. The deep-rooted passion to win then becomes an habituated mentality and reinforces the original structure. The habituated mentality manifests in real, physical actions and behaviors, or *hexis*. This suggests that structuring structures and the conditions of *habitus* are self-perpetuating.

Using the example of competitive American athletics, the ends-justify-means mentality we have to look at the conditions in which individual athletic programs are housed. The condition of the "objective structure" of Athletics is that winning is valued above all. These conditions impact the ways of being within individual athletic departments or organizations. The conditions in which *habitus* is operating are these individual departments. The sum of their ways of being equals practices equals *habitus*. To simplify, there is a reciprocal relationship between individual elements (i.e. departments) of the objective structure and the system of structures that house individual departments. The actions of the *habitus* are em-bodied and, thus, enacted, via *hexis*. When enacted system-wide, these individual actions, carried by individual bodies come to be considered practices. They are "permanent dispositions." The enactment of these "em-bodied," permanent dispositions are what Bourdieu terms *hexis*. And it is these actions, this hexis, that carry a society's techniques, meanings and values – imparting

more than "models" in part because, as Bourdieu argues, it is actions that children imitate, not models (87).

Habitus is important to this study for seeing how the materials within an environment (ecology) affect practices and beliefs and memory. Juxtaposed with *habitus* is *hexis*. If *habitus* represents objective structures and systems that shape practices, *hexis* represents individual actions performed by individual bodies. For Bourdieu, there is an inseperable relationship between *habitus* and *hexis* – they affect each other. *Hexis* is, in short, the bodily expression through motor functions of systematic techniques "charged with a host of social meanings and values" (87). And hexis is important because hexis is the "em-bodied", taken-for-granted manifestation of habitus. Hexis is habitus unquestioningly performed. Together habitus and hexis allow for the term socio-physical. Together these two concepts fill out Street's notions of literacy events and literacy practices.

In regards to reading-writing, though simple, the terms act, practice and activity each embody a sophisticated complex of bodily disciplining, mental processing, social support and material access. Physically a body is required to move its eyes (or, if blind, fingers) across pages of text in a systematic way. A body is also required to assume an enabling posture. Sitting and keeping the body at rest for periods long enough to engage a substantive piece of text is an often taken-for-granted element of 21st century reading (and writing) processes.

The mental processing of printed and printing words also develops by way of bodily training – hearing, seeing, feeling (in the case of Braille), saying, writing the symbols that make up a system of writing. Acquisition of the basics of literacy occurs

via repetitive sense-engagement with the symbols. Those symbols, however, have little meaning until they are employed with consequence in social situations. In fact, the very acquisition of literacy requires social interaction: you must be able to hear what the various symbols sound like so when you see the symbol you may come to know how they are associated with the sound they represent. As well, it is not until one physically speaks or writes the symbols her self that she owns that element of language – have successfully appropriated it (see, e.g., Bakhtin 1981, p. 293-4).

Of course the social includes so much more than simply consequential opportunities to make/share meaning with written or oral language. The social includes people to imitate, values associated with certain ways of communicating, apparatuses that promote/support (or don't support) reading/writing, etc. When the umbrella term social comes out, a number of other affective elements are implied such as gendered, classed, raced attitudes and ways of engaging with literacy. While issues of gender, class and race are a part of the experiences of the subjects of this study, this study does not address them. The focus is on the conditions and ways of being and methods of training for *student-athletes*. Here "student-athlete" is a class or social group that supersedes other classifications.

Finally, materiality is especially important when it comes to reading/writing because it is material production/consumption of text, of inscribed language, that is the primary element of literacy that sets it apart from orality. Read and written words are able to be read/written because they exist in some tangible, material form: the text can be touched and seen and heard and smelled and traded etc. Access to and use of the materials of literacy are essential for training the body how to manipulate and be with a

text or produce a text. If, as some suggest, literacy is a technology (see Barton 2007, pp 32; 42-3), one needs to be trained with that technology (e.g., see Shaughnessy). Abundance or lack of literacy materials indicates, or at least implies, a number of other factors including class or economics. Other factors that affect access to literacy materials – especially in relation to NCAA athletics – include differences between Division I, II, and III; revenue-generating sports vs. Olympic sports; men's sports vs. women's sports (as well as sports that are created or eliminated as a result of Title IX).

This short discussion of the bodily, mental, social and material aspects of reading/writing open us to consideration of the tacit complexity of conceptions of literacy activities and literacy practices. Below I elaborate on the utility and importance of understanding Bourdieu's habitus and hexis in relationship with, or as ur-terms for, literacy acts and literacy practices. This connection is essential because it makes explicit the physical, the syncretic complexity of training a body how to be literate.

In *Outline* Bourdieu first discusses habitus (what I'm labeling as the "socio-") and works his way towards *hexis* (what I'm labeling as the "-physical). His sequencing is important because it emphasizes the heavy-handed impact of the structures within an environment on individual behaviors (*hexis*). The *habitus* affects *hexis*; less often *hexis* affects habitus. He illustrates this in his discussion of systematic or community-wide ways of acting. Whole, structured environments and the accepted patterns of acting within an environment are communicated through actions. Here he explains how this happens:

> So long as the work of education is not clearly institutionalized as a specific, autonomous practice, and it is a whole group and a whole symbolically

> structured environment, without specialized agents or specific moments, which exerts an anonymous, pervasive pedagogic action, the essential part of the *modus operandi* which defines practical mastery is transmitted in practice, in its practical state, without attaining the level of discourse. **The child imitates not "models" but other people's actions. Body *hexis* speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values** (87-8 bold emphasis mine).

In other words, Bourdieu is arguing that the techniques, meanings and values within a society do not need to be explicitly "modeled" or taught because they are lived and enacted bodily everyday in the actions of adults. Children acquire these techniques, meanings and values experientially through immersion in specific contexts without becoming conscious of what they are acquiring, and the absence of consciousness is attributed in part to the fact that the *modus operandi* never attains the level of discourse. So what about when it comes to acts and practices of literacy? Ways of walking, tilts of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, etc. are all public performances. Developing minds acquire those techniques, meanings and values of a public society. They cannot absorb the private performances of a society's adult citizenry. Reading and writing are frequently not publicly performed – academic literacy is an especially private performance. More than that, though, students develop behaviors by watching the actions of those around them, and they unconsciously develop behaviors based on the modes of operating that they observe and imitate.

In the passage above Bourdieu argues that "pervasive pedagogic action" instills "practical mastery…without attaining the level of discourse." People learn without having to be taught. Gee calls this "acquisition" (see below). People can and do teach without having to talk. This is wrapped up in Bourdieu's concept of *hexis*. Without "attaining the level of discourse" both practical and abstract concepts or lessons are instilled. This happens both without words and in conjunction with words. Bourdieu's concept of *hexis* suggests that physical action, bodily modeling, instills social meaning and values. Gee, too, via his concept of Discourse, suggests that we examine the relationship between physicality and literacy learning. If people acquire the meanings and values through exposure to group motor functions, it makes sense then to make note of *their* motor functions as they engage in acts and practices valued by society. In other words, look at what people *do* as a means of measuring the lessons, values, beliefs, ways of being that they have learned. In part, that is what this study has done: examined the physical, bodily actions of a group as a way of trying to understand these subjects' relationship with literacy. It makes sense to do this in order to understand and measure whether they are implementing society's values and norms in desirable ways. Furthermore, such an inquiry, one where we examine people's *hexis* (i.e. physicality), provides a snapshot of the values and ways of being that adults are imparting. A study of this kind provides a reflection of the values being performed by elders/leaders in a society.

So far I have discussed the theories of Barton and Hamilton, Bourdieu, Gee, Street and others to establish the dominant paradigm by which my research is framed. My research joins a long conversation about the social nature of literacy and how the

practices of a milieu determine individual acts and activities. While there are aspects of this project that re-confirm arguments that have been made about literacy and about practices, my research offers new insights and makes claims that diverge from the accepted wisdom of the scholars who have preceded this work.

Physicality and Materiality

The primary research question was originally crafted so as to examine (1) the subjects' *physicality* as they read, composed and/or talked about texts, and (2) the *material* conditions that impacted their literacy practices. When we engage in a literate act – read or compose a text – we must, with our bodies, physically manipulate some material object in order to produce/consume communicable symbols. At the most basic level reading and composing are physical acts. Before literacy can become a cognitive activity there must be physical engagement. Motor-movement and interaction with material objects is the most basic aspect of literacy. This is something that we take for granted when we talk about literacy. Part of what the research question for this project sought to answer was how physicality impacted literacy practices. So, during the data collection, I focused my gaze on the physical activities of the subjects.

There are examples of how my focus manifested in the data. In my fieldnotes I noted the subjects' bodily actions, postures, gestures, movements. I noted the material objects that were used by or surrounded the subjects. I composed over 300 pages of fieldnotes documenting my observations. Within those 300 pages, in relation to the physical, I wrote about arms (21 times), body (61), elbows (25), eyes (49), feet (31), form (24), front (64), head (24), lap (20), leaning (34), looking (88), movement (44), physical (42), reading (129), rest (21), running (21), shoulder (29), smiles (20), speaks (47), think

(97), touching (20), type (41), view (26), working (111), writing (101), yelling (27). To get these word counts, as a way of visualizing the data, I used TagCrowd. TagCrowd is a word frequency software program from TagCrowd.com. By inserting my fieldnotes into the software and modifying the analysis specifications on the website, TagCrowd generates images of the inputted text and produces these word counts. These tag words don't fully encapsulate the full extent of my focus on the physical. However, it begins to provide a sense of the character of the data base. The excerpt from my fieldnotes of Clint's Sports Management class illustrates what I focused on when in the field.

His attention is on the Prof; he faces forward; both feet are on the floor facing the front of the room. Clint again speaks up to answer a question about when coaches can begin calling "prospective student-athletes". On his left leg he's wearing a black medical "boot" for a stress-fracture that I have not seen him without in several weeks. It's on his left leg/foot. He sits with his back at nearly a 90 degree angle with shoulders slightly slumped with hands in lap and elbows by belly. Now he leans forward with elbows on desk and hands alternating between under his chin and forearms on desk..

What I was documenting as I was observing was *how* Clint and his teammates read, wrote and talked about text – i.e. what they were physically doing in order to produce, consume or discuss texts. I looked at their bodies as those bodies were being literate. This has important implications for the analyses that develop in later chapters wherein I discuss the literacy habits and practices of these subjects. Though I talk about my methodology in the following chapter, it's important to provide insights into the focus of the study up front. The point of this is to demonstrate how I went about connecting physicality and literacy. I accomplished this connection by identifying literate

interactions, literacy events, among the players and noting their physicality as they engaged in a literacy event by reading, writing, talking about or otherwise being moved by a text.

Within the over 300 pages of fieldnotes, in relation to materiality, I wrote about book (34 times), desk (82), floor (33), galley (47), gym (40), hour (40), institution (43), library (81), locker (46), material (30), money (21), page (91), paper (111), pen (35), phone (76), scholarship (25), seat (30), social (24), space (28), terminal (61), text (48). Again, these tag words alone do not fully encapsulate the extent of my focus on the material. But, again, it begins to provide a sense of how my gaze manifested in the process of following the research question. Here is another short excerpt from my fieldnotes that illustrates what I was focusing on as I collected data in response to the research question

6:33 Jeremy turns around to engage Will in a brief exchange that put a big smile on his face and what appeared to be a light chuckle from Will.

Wll puts his head back into his terminal and Jeremy returns to his MyBlackboard webpage. His R hand is on the mouse as he surfs. He places his fingers on the home row keys of the keyboard as he types what looks to be a message to the BlackBoard message/class discussion feature. His fingers tap the keys at a moderate pace. He types two lines and then engages the mouse to send it (? – the box closed and a new page opened). Now [6:37] he is reading something that he has highlighted with the mouse. He finishes reading and then returns to post something (in response?) – an email/class discussion box pops up and he again types using the home row, now the backspace button

(his right hand came off the home row then returned). He has typed approximately 3 lines, now 6 lines and counting…

The focus of my gaze was on Jeremy. I was observing, minute by minute, *how* he was interacting with the materials around him and the tools of literacy – in this case his computer, the (social) space around him, the keyboard, webpages, and the mouse. Here again the primary research question is directing my gaze: I am noting his interactions with the materials in order to compile data that will allow me to address the primary research question.

To collect data on the "physical learning" and "material conditions" of these student-athletes' literacy practices I paid close attention to their movements and physical interactions with their textbooks, study guides, essays, syllabi, computers, basketball gear, cell phones, etc. The focus of my data collection was on understanding what they did when they were reading and writing, how they did it and what the effects were of this doing. I also focused on "talk about text" (more on this below) to see how literacy events affected them as well. From the beginning I had a very specific focus on their physical movements and the details of the materials involved; I noted the objects they were moving or moving with.

When I talk about the physical or physicality, I'm talking about bodily actions/interactions. When I talk about the material or materiality, I'm talking primarily about the stuff the subjects were using, the objects that surrounded them, or the space they inhabited. I should note, however, that material/materiality is not always as concrete as the physical/physicality is. Material/materiality can extend into the abstract when in the data the subjects and I begin to note or talk about issues of time, money, scholarships,

work/training, etc. There are connotations of class and ideology implied by the terms material/materiality – or that can, rightfully, be imposed on such terms as these. But in this dissertation I do not engage this conversation. Within athletics there is a belief in a "level playing field" – i.e. that there are not, generally, material differences. Which is to say, the mentality in competitive sports is that you work hard, train with passion and play your butt off in order to realize success and accrue athletic cultural capital. These factors, not race or class or economics, are what matters. It is largely for this reason that within this project I am looking at this group of players as students and athletes and student-athletes. I am not looking at race, class or ideology in the Marxist sense. While there is fertile ground for such a conversation within this topic, that ground will have to be tilled by another scholar in another project.

Terms

In this section I briefly describe some of the major terms that pepper this text. I call your attention to them here, in the beginning, as a way of noting some slight and major distinctions between my use of the term and the way others before me may have used them. My purpose is to clearly establish the sense and meaning I am bringing to the use of these terms.

Reading/Writing/Literacy. Reading, writing and literacy are not all the same things. Each term connotes disparate things. Also, they each require a different set of physical performances. The term "literacy" often obscures the actual physical activity of reading and writing. Not many would mistake "literacy" as something other than reading and/or writing. But the effect of using a term to embody the two activities of reading/writing creates a remove from the actual act. This disconnect disembodies

reading and writing. This simple, seemingly benign terministic move superimposes an academic ideology onto the physical acts of reading and writing. Subsuming reading and writing to "literacy" makes the act a "process." "Literacy" is political; it is legislated; it legislates. Reading is what a person does. It is an act that a person performs. The same is true of writing. Literacy is *not simply* what a person does. Literacy embodies much more than an act of moving your eyes across a page. "Literacy" connotes a cornucopia of social and educational issues at the same time that the term hides individual enactments of reading and writing. Literacy is a social activity of a *habitus* – the collection of individual literacy activities and events. Reading and writing are individual acts of *hexis* – i.e. reflections of the larger milieu. The term literacy is over-used and abused in academic parlance. We have "information literacy," "scientific literacy," "multimodal literacy," "local literacies," "African American literacies" and so on. Literacy has become a terministic catchword that taps into public consciousness about literacy and literacy's fundamental relationship with education. Literacy is attached to a sub-field or sub-discipline as a way of cashing in on the term's capital, the capital that has accrued over the centuries as a result of the literacy's perceived and real value to social, economic, moral, and judicial fabrics of a society (see Harvey Graff's *The Literacy Myth* and *The Legacy of Literacy* wherein he writes about the widespread and erroneously attributed connection between illiteracy and crime and illiteracy and morality). Overuse of the term desensitizes us to the acts that the term signifies. I don't want this basic fact to be lost: acts of reading and writing are the stuff of "literacy."

Literacy Acts/Activities. Literacy acts are the physical, individual actions that one performs when engaging with a text. A literacy act is reading a word, sentence, book.

Writing a word is a literacy act. Literacy activities are generally understood to be – though rarely articulated as – the physical motor-movements required to produce or consume written words. This would include manipulating a pencil, typing on a keyboard, scanning a page with one's eyes, flipping the page of a book, etc. Literacy activities also incorporate body postures and gestures. Literacy Acts and Activities are terms that help focus attention on the particular.

Literacy Events. A literacy event is an event wherein a text affects the behavior or actions of at least one person. For example, Coach's act of composing a practice plan for a basketball workout makes that basketball workout a literacy event because there is a text that affects the activities of the event. Usually the text is present, but it is not always. Literacy events is a term first used by Shirley Heath (1983) and later employed more prominently by Street and Barton and Hamilton. In *Ways With Words* Shirley Brice Heath issues one of the earliest, and most popular, definitions of Literacy Events: "Those occasions in which talk revolves around a piece of writing have been termed *literacy events*" (386). Heath advanced and complicated the definition of literacy by including "talk around" literacy as an integral part.

Literacy Practices. Brian Street and David Barton & Mary Hamilton each defined literacy practices. They each distinguished literacy practices from literacy events by pointing out that it was the values, beliefs, norms, ways of being (i.e. "practices") of the local context that trickled down to shape literacy events. As I pointed out above, I use Street's definition of literacy practices and the relationship between a group's "ideological preconceptions that underpin" literacy and literacy itself. As Street says, "The concept of 'Literacy practices' is pitched at a higher level of abstraction [than

literacy events] and refers to both behaviour and the social and cultural conceptualizations that give meaning to the uses of reading and/or writing" (Street 2 *Social Literacies*). Street's definition emphasizes the social nature of literacy that is at the heart of New Literacy Studies. This definition also works to break down conceptions of literacy as an autonomous skill set. Literacy is not exclusive of cultural or folk ways of knowing and communicating; there are direct and important links between literacy and local ideology. In the findings of my study we see the values and ways of being directly connected to *how* the subjects use reading, writing and talk about text to train – they use literacy to train in particular ways that are shaped by their Discourse community and are transferable across domains.

David Barton and Mary Hamilton offer the following definition of literacy practices:

> Literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships (Barton and Hamilton 6, *Local Literacies*).

Barton's definition of literacy practices emphasizes the "structuring structures" (see Bourdieu) of a milieu the effects of which determine literacy events (and activities). Throughout this text the term Literacy Practices is applied with the same meaning as you see above.

Acts/Activities. An act or activity is representative of something that occurs at the individual or micro-level. Acts or activities are usually literal but are sometimes

metaphorical in the sense that they stand for something at the bottom, something commonplace, something that is basic or fundamental. More often than not, though, act/activity is an isolatable, concrete, observable action. Acts/Activities are often used in reference to Bourdieu's theories of practice, and they can be distinct and separate from Literacy Acts/Activities for the sake of this study because of the fact that Literacy Acts are physically specific movements.

Practices. Practice is commonly understood to be the repetition of activity for the sake of habituation (improvement; e.g. "practice makes perfect"). Throughout this text, though, practice assumes this meaning only when talking about the basketball practices of the basketball team – the events and times when they congregated in the gymnasium as a group to *practice* the skills and strategies they hope to execute in competition. Unless noted thus, practice, as I explained above, represents attitudes, beliefs, values, social relationships. Practices are the abstract ideologies that shape activities from the top-down. Sometimes these top-down abstractions are agentless, sometimes they are not. In such occasions when they are *not* agentless practices can be concrete. The distinction I want to make is between "athletic practices" and "literacy practices."

Ethics. Ethics is commonly related to good/bad behavior; it is commonly understood in terms of virtuous or base actions, morality and immorality. Ethics is a challenging term to define. When talking about ethics there is a considerable grey area; ethical behavior is not always black and white. The idea of ethical behavior plays a significant role in my interpretation of the data, I need to address the term's use within the context of this study of literacy.

Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* is probably one of the most recognizable text on this topic. For Aristotle, ethics is a disposition – a *hexis* (bodily having/holding) – that manifests as a result of virtuous behavior. A maxim that illustrates the relationship I'm trying to articulate between action and ethics reflects Aristotle's treatise: "Watch your thoughts, for they become your words; watch your words, for they become your actions; watch your actions, for they become your habits; watch your habits, for they become your character; watch your character, for that is your destiny" (Anonymous). Thoughts, words, actions, habits: the sum of these are your character. To behave, repeatedly, with virtue is the key to being an ethical person. The key word here is "repeatedly." Through repetitious actions some type of ethics, ways of behaving, was being modeled, taught, learned and otherwise instilled in the subjects of this study. The data from this study compels me to articulate the fact that repetition had deep and profound impacts on the subjects of this study. One of the effects was an ethical interpellation of the subjects. The relatively benign label I use when discussing these ethics in relation to the subjects and the data is "ethics of behavior."

Behaving with virtue does not necessarily mean acting according to how you feel or what your heart tells you. Neither does it necessarily mean acting according to group or milieu norms. What is ethical may be something that is averse to our own personal tastes/pleasures, and it may be something that goes against standard societal practices. Doing what is ethical is to correctly choose between two extreme possibilities so that the act is harmonious, balanced (see Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1105B). This is a pretty fuzzy definition. We can often sense what is ethical behavior or unethical behavior. And what is ethical is context dependent. Ethical behavior is culturally bound.

Literacy Taxonomy. The components of the literacy taxonomy are those concepts or actions that affect reading, writing and talk about reading/writing. The literacy taxonomy consists of literacy acts, literacy events, literacy practices, and majority and minority ideologies. A taxonomy of literacy is the hierarchical model of literacy that I have extrapolated from the NLS theorists that frame this study.

Literacy Model. A literacy model is the hierarchical arrangement of the literacy taxonomy. At the top of the literacy model is ideology/literacy practices → literacy events → literacy acts. It is a top-down model of literacy. The literacy model that I present is *not* hierarchical. And my literacy model emphasizes that literacy acts can and do affect literacy practices from the bottom-up. My literacy model is not as linear; it is reciprocal and recursive.

Physicality. Physicality is physical, sensory engagement with material objects. Or, physicality is to kinestheticly compose or respond. Physicality is the term that indicates bodily engagement with a person, place, thing or idea. One cannot read or write without physical, sensory engagement with the tools of literacy. The term physicality is the embodiment of this taken-for-granted tenet of "literacy." Reading and writing are physical acts. When I write of "physicality" I am highlighting this fact.

Materiality. Materiality, or material, is the stuff, the static, tangible objects with which a body can interact physically and with the senses. Material also includes audible material – such as the content of a lecture. If an agent is physically interacting with the materials of literacy, that subject is holding, touching, viewing or manipulating a two or three dimensional object such as a pen, piece of paper, keyboard, mouse, book, etc. Materiality indicates a key tenet of literacy – that literacy is always at some point

tangible. To be able to read or write there must be stuff upon which to write and with which to write. Materiality is the term that embodies these basic tenets that allows us to talk about "literacy."

To reiterate a point I made above, in this study I explicitly address materiality as being in relation to tangible materials. The class and ideological sense of the term is something that must be explored at another time. That's not to say that I ignore issues of class or ideology or power, for you will be able to clearly see the influences of these things when I analyze the data about Surveillance in particular. The student-athletes of this study were themselves a separate class within the large ecology of Richardson University. They had at their disposal more resources and enhanced opportunities (e.g. early enrollment). These concerns will have to wait to be explored by other researchers or in another study. In this project I studied this group of men as student-athletes, not as African-Americans, not as middle-class. In this study "student-athlete" is the categorical equivalent of race, gender, class, and as far as this project is concerned it is the only category of significance.

Acquisition and Learning. In discussing how we are enculturated into a Discourse community James Gee distinguishes between acquisition and learning. The distinction between these two is significant to this study because they help articulate how people come to know things without being explicitly taught. We see this especially in relation to the Surveillance chapter, but also in the Breakdown chapter where the subjects demonstrate right ways of being and training – what I call an ethics of behavior. Some of these behaviors are taught explicitly (i.e. learned) and others are acquired. Here is how Gee defines acquisition:

Acquisition is a process of acquiring something subconsciously by exposure to models and a process of trial and error, without a process of formal teaching. It happens in natural settings which are meaningful and functional in the sense that the acquirers know that they need to acquire something in order to function and they in fact want to so function. (From "What is Literacy?" Gee, p. 20)

The idea of coming to know through trial and error appears in the chapter on Repetition. You will also notice that Gee talks about exposure to models as part of acquiring something, something we saw Bourdieu talk about in discussions above.

Here is Gee's definition of learning:

Learning is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching, though not necessarily from someone officially designated a teacher. This teaching involves explanation and analysis, that is, breaking down the thing to be learned into its analytic parts. It inherently involves attaining, along with the matter being taught, some degree of meta-knowledge about the matter. ("What is Literacy?" Gee, p. 20)

The idea of breaking things down into smaller analytical parts is at the core of the chapter on Breakdown. Both of these terms, acquisition and learning, circulate throughout the chapters in relation to the subjects' literacy and training practices.

Student-athletes. Student-athletes are the male basketball players that are the subjects of this study. They are variously talked about as the participants, players, athletes or student-athletes. Student-athletes are students who are solicited by a college or university to compete on a sports team as a representative of the institution. On my blog, Wind Farm (http://illinoisnative.blogspot.com/2007/11/athlete-students-or-student-

athletes.html), and on the NCAA blog, Double A Zone (http://www.doubleazone.com/2007/11/studentathlete_or_athletestude.html#more), I've made the argument that student-athletes are really *athlete*-students. The emphasis, that is, should be on the "athlete" portion of the hyphenation. The conversation about this hyphenated existence suggests a dual way of being for the subjects of this study. I am not insinuating that student-athletes live a life of persecution and prejudice – although often negative stereotypes of "dumb jocks" do play out in unproductive or damaging ways. And I am not insinuating that this study offers a deep analysis of race or the effects of race on the subjects' literacy. Although race is an important issue – especially in NCAA revenue-generating sports – it is not something that this study endeavored to engage and as such racial double consciousness in relation to student-athletes is a topic for another study. What I am suggesting is that as student-athletes they simultaneously exist in two domains and maintain dual identities – as the hyphenated term student-athletes itself demonstrates. And, since their identities are dual in nature, the problem of locating them and their actions within a specific domain also gets complicated.

Domains (Academic, Athletic, Social). Domains are areas of our life experiences that are determined by specific practices, rules or norms for communicating and behaving. Talking about semiotic domains, James Gee describes domains in this way: "By a semiotic domain I mean any set of practices that recruits one or more modalities (e.g. oral or written language, images, equations, symbols, sounds, gestures, graphs, artifacts, etc.) to communicate distinctive types of meanings" (Gee 2004, p. 18). He is defining domains in relation to understanding various forms of communication. He then lists a number of different semiotic domains that have disparate practices, rules and ways

of communicating meaning – practices and rules that affect whether or not a person might be able to "get it." For example, being able to function in the domain of cellular biology, postmodern literary criticism, Roman Catholic theology, rap music, basketball, etc. means knowing more than just how to read and write (Gee 18). In this study, there are three domains that are used to analyze the various practices and activities of the subjects. Those domains are Academic, Athletic and Social. The academic domain includes settings, discussions or activities that involve school. The athletic domain includes settings, discussions or activities that involve basketball. The social domain includes settings, discussions or activities that involve interacting with friends or peers. Just as there is the identities of student-athletes are blurred, so are the boundaries of these three domains. Rarely, as we see in later chapters, is one domain exclusive of another.

Richardson University. Richardson University is the small, Division II, southeastern, liberal arts university that served as the fieldsite for this research. Richardson University is a private university that has a reputation for attracting socio-economically affluent students – children of diplomats, ambassadors, CEO's of Fortune 500 companies and otherwise socio-economically advantaged families.

Richardson University has 2,183 undergraduate students, 51% of whom are male. The enrollment by class consists of 35% freshman, 19% sophomores, 15% juniors, 17% seniors and 14% graduate students. The enrollment by race/ethnicity is 1% Asian, 5% Black-Non Hispanic, 5% Hispanic, 14% International, 0.08% Native American, 44% White, 30% Other/Unknown.

The Undergraduate demographics are as follows: The median age of new freshman is 18. The average SAT score for new freshman is 901. The average ACT

score for new freshman is 18. The median age for all undergraduates is 20. 44% of undergraduates live on campus. 67% of freshman live on campus. 87% of first-time, full-time freshman live on campus. Undergraduate student/faculty ration is 17 to 1.

Tuition and fees for one academic year are $28,490. Room and board costs range from $10,100 - $13,300. The graduation and retention of first-time, full-time freshman are: 2001-2007 six-year graduation rate: 34%; 2001-2005 four-year graduation rate: 24%; 2001-2007 six-year athletes graduation rate 76%. Fall 2006 to fall 2007 retention rate was 61%. Between July 2006 to June 2007 394 Bachelor's degrees were awarded (along with 168 Master's and 19 Doctorates). There are 16 professors, 18 associate professors, 40 assistant professors, 16 instructors, 13 visiting professor and 67 adjuncts. These figures are from the "Richardson University Facts Sheet Fall 2007" put out by the Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Assessment.

Body. Throughout this study, when talking about "the body" it should be understood that I am talking about the bodies and bodily ways of being of the subjects of this study. Within the context of this research the body is not a universal human body. I report and analyze the physicality of 11 specific bodies. Though at times there is slippage in my language that may confuse the bodies of these 11 student-athletes and a generic human body, we would do well to keep in mind the limitations of this research.

Study Participants

This section provides a brief introduction to the subjects who participated in the study. As you will see in Chapter Two: Methodology, only 11 players agreed to participate as subjects. However, to comply with IRB protocol and to further protect the identities of everyone involved, I list each member of the team, including the coaching

staff. It may or may not become clear which of the 15 players volunteered, which is the point. Only those who granted their permission are interviewed or quoted or otherwise used in the analysis of the data. And they have all been given pseudonyms.

There were a total of 15 players. Eleven of the 15 players were new to the team the year of data collection. Only four of the participants were returning players from the previous season. Those four were all juniors or seniors. The subjects came from all over the U.S. and two hailed from Western Europe. All of the underclassmen and a couple of the upperclassmen who lived on campus (which was all but three) hung out together and were very tight-knit group on and off the court. The basketball players always sat together in classes and ate together at every meal. Though their academic achievements were varied (it was posted in the sports section of the school paper that seven of them made honor roll first semester; I did not have access to the GPAs of the others), they all valued the education they were receiving. The four players who experienced serious injuries throughout the course of the year reported an even deeper appreciation for and commitment to their academics, though only three of them actually demonstrated this commitment.

The original research agenda called for interviews that would collect information about personal lives and demographic information. This did not work out for each of the subjects. As a result, there isn't a consistent base-line of demographic information that I have for all of the subjects. Some of the subjects I was able to learn much more about than others. I try to give a sense of each players' personality as well as some other identifying information that will hopefully allow them to stand out as individuals.

Will. Will is a hard-working, soft-spoken freshman. Will is dutiful and well-liked. He is articulate and excels academically, proving so by making the honor roll. He is majoring in sports management and gets As and Bs in both his major and in his general education courses. Will is a very engaging. Will is a thoughtful respondent and would often come to me later with an elaboration on a question that he was unable to answer at an earlier time. He was quick to talk with me and answer my questions. But he was always hesitant to speak for or about his teammates. Even during some of the more trying, more dramatic periods of the season when things were a bit rocky, Will never allowed himself to use me as a release. I was an outsider, and you don't talk bad about The Team or your teammates to an outsider.

Victor. Victor is a fun-loving underclassman. Quick to say "What's up?" Victor is much less guarded about expressing his opinions, less "cautious" about talking about The Team. Though he doesn't consider himself particularly smart, Victor performed well as a student and earned good grades. Victor worked hard and played significant minutes at various points throughout the season. Victor has an outgoing personality and could often be seen hanging out with female friends. Victor's interviews were usually interesting because I could often see him processing his conversation with his facial expressions and his gestures. He was concerned about being as accurate as possible – answering then pausing, correcting then confirming. Victor could often be seen logging extra hours in the gym working on his game.

Charles. Charles is a reticent, soft-spoken freshman. When he speaks he does so with a deep, low voice. The conversation he engaged in was for him and his interlocutor; he didn't speak to have an audience. Charles is very stoic and systematic. In class he

always sat with the same posture facing forward, feet under the desk, not goofing around. He was consistent both in the classroom and on the basketball court. He was very business-like and disciplined – perhaps a product of his experiences in military academy. Charles was a good student and earned above average grades. He played more minutes throughout the season than any other freshman on the team.

Kirk. Kirk is a junior who speaks softly but leads loudly – by example. Kirk is respected by the underclassmen as a role model and he sometimes is sought for his advice or just to talk through things. Paradoxically, Kirk is not a team leader on the court, but he played significant minutes. Off the court Kirk is involved in as many activities and groups as he can find time for. He volunteers with groups; he writes for school publications; he participates in university activities. Kirk came to school to squeeze as much out of the experience as possible. Not doing so, for Kirk, would have meant wasting time. Though all of the subjects had a conflicted relationship with Coach, Kirk's and Coach's personality clashes were particularly acute. Telling of his personality is the fact that throughout the season Kirk kept this hidden from his teammates and even after season when he quit the team and decided to transfer, he kept his plans secret, consulting no one on the team or support staff, until the day he informed Coach.

Mario. Mario is a friendly and eager junior. Mario does what is asked of him. In relation to Coach he won't resist or offer a challenge to instructions, requests, demands; he's quick to please. On the court Mario played significant minutes. In the classroom Mario sits at the front, participates in discussions, offers opinions and answers and ideas; he will challenge a peer if their contribution to the class is flawed. He is, in other words, serious about his academics. He earns good grades. Mario is organized and gets his

work in on time. Study hall usually is not a productive time for Mario because he takes care of business on his own time. Mario is friendly and gets along well with his teammates. He has been a part of Coach's system for several years and is viewed by the coaches as a team leader, but his teammates do not view him in a similar light – they don't view him as a particularly good leader.

Devonte. Devonte is another eager junior. Devonte is a motivated player. He's also a nervous and slightly paranoid person. He is nervous that Coach might find out that school is more important to him than basketball and paranoid about whether or not there are consequences to his prioritization. Devonte is committed to being the best he can be on the court. He diets and does extra work outs and focuses on getting better at the things that Coach wants, the skills Coach tells him. So basketball is also important to him, but due to an injury riddled career, highlighted by a major pre-season injury during this study, Devonte had come to value his education much more than he did during high school and his first two years of college. Devonte can be somewhat talkative at times. Devonte was one of the more welcoming subjects; he didn't put up a barrier; I wasn't held at arms-length the way I was with some of his teammates. Devonte wasn't an A student, but he worked hard and was committed to his academics.

Jeremy. Jeremy is a student of everything he does. Jeremy feels like he is competing against everyone, his sister, his teammates, himself, the world. He wants to be the best at everything he does, and that's his mantra. Jeremy keeps notes about things he needs to improve upon in basketball. If he's in his dorm room and one of his roommates goes to the library he gets up and goes too, because he doesn't want somebody getting better than him in something while he just sits around. Jeremy talks openly about team-

related topics that his teammates are more reticent about. However, Jeremy, too, keeps to the code of "what happens in the locker room stays in the locker room." Jeremy is a very likable player. Like Kirk it is easy to see and hear other students making positive comments about the two of them. Jeremy and Kirk have friendly personalities that make them popular – but not because they are on the basketball team. Jeremy gets very good grades. On the basketball court, though, he is not nearly as successful.

Clint. Clint is a somber junior. Clint can often be seen drifting here and there by himself. Like Charles, Clint is soft-spoken. He has a look about him that isn't the most welcoming, but once you engage him in conversation he lightens up and gives you a conversation you don't expect. Clint is not the best communicator of the group, and he doesn't seem to reflect as much as, say, Jasen or Jeremy. But he's honest and open. Clint does not get very good grades. Yet he is active in the classroom. He participates and offers ideas and opinions. He is not consistently attentive to his schoolwork. He gets along well with his teammates.

Brad. Brad is an energetic senior who likes attention. He can be loud and he can be a distraction. But he's looked to by his teammates, especially the underclassmen, as a strong leader. Brad isn't a stranger to trouble and he's bumped heads with Coach about disciplinary issues throughout his career. You might say that Brad is a bit of a controversial figure. He does well enough in school, and on the court he's one of the better performers. On the court Brad will both encourage and get on his teammates. Off the court the other subjects have positive things to say about him; he is liked.

Horace. Horace is a senior in athletic eligibility but academically he is a graduate student. Horace tries to be a leader by being vocal. Even though his yelling reflects

Coach's approach and at times is explicitly approved of/encouraged by Coach, this "leadership" is not totally acknowledged by his teammates. Horace performs well on the court and plays significant minutes. He has been on the team longer than anyone else. Horace is cordial. Because he takes graduate courses at times that conflicted with study halls and certain other optional team gatherings and because Horace lives off campus, he was not very accessible and I did not uncover much from Horace directly about his academics, athletics or much else.

Jasen. Jasen is a playful junior. Jasen has a big friendly smile that he flashes frequently. Jasen tries to be very meticulous and is very conscious of his scheduling. He is reflective about his actions – especially his performances on the court. Jasen writes in a journal "at least twice a week" though he keeps it on him at all times (so he may write in it more often). Like Kirk, Jasen is quiet and held in esteem for being something of a wise old owl. Jasen is thoughtful and hangs out with players on the team who are smart but perhaps still a little naïve. Jasen played significant minutes and as an important contributor on the court. In the classroom Jasen does okay. He doesn't participate in class except when asked to, but then he does so willingly.

Ryan. Ryan is a very suspicious senior. For nearly the entire study he appeared leery of my presence. In my fieldnotes there are numerous occasions where I remark that "the watcher [i.e. me] is being watched." Ryan is not fond of outsiders. And he always gave the impression that he was protecting both his teammates and himself by keeping his intimidating eye on me. Ryan leads by example. And he is generally pretty successful on the court; he plays significant minutes. Ryan struggles in the classroom.

My experiences with other people who knew Ryan better were that he is a very endearing person – for those very few that he opens up to.

Byron. Byron is a freshman who tries very hard on the court. He also tries to socialize and enjoy himself when there is time. This is true of many of the participants, but Byron (along with Victor) is the least shy about talking about his social life (what little social life these players have). Byron does okay in the classroom. Though he doesn't appear as serious about his studies as Will, Kirk, Charles, Devonte and Jeremy he does well in the classroom. Byron has an engaging personality and, especially towards the end of the year, began to share more and more insider information about the inner workings of the team. And though he dropped hints, he, too, never betrayed the locker room code. By the end of the year Byron, along with Kirk and Jeremy was relatively jaded by the experiences of the year.

Phil. Phil is an underclassman who, like Ryan, never warmed up to me. Phil is expressive and likes attention. He claims to aspire to a very challenging major, but in study hall and other academic situations he does not give the impression of a disciplined student. He is often, in fact, a distraction in study halls. I was unable to ascertain his academic success which means that he is neither exceptional nor horrible in the classroom. He is not particularly successful on the court. I don't think he cared much for my constant presence. Mostly, though, he just ignored me. Phil is almost always with his teammates, at least one at any given time.

Coach. Coach is the head coach of the men's basketball team. He is a former basketball player turned coach. He is intense. He is harsh. He is loud. If I were to cast a drill-sergeant to play the roll of Coach, it wouldn't take much of a transformation of

character from one to the other. Coach knew all and controlled all. He spoke loudly and patrolled frequently. He was hired at Richardson University as an assistant coach from a Junior College. When the head coach left, Coach got the job. In his first season he led the team to the NCAA D-II Elite 8. In the years since then the team's winning percentage steadily reduced though he almost always has a winning season. Coach is relatively young, under the age of 40.

Coach Danny is the lead assistant coach. He was a former player at a Big XII school. Coach Danny is responsible for recruiting, supervising current players' academic schedules, staying on top of financial aid issues like Pell Grants and other such university bureaucratic work. On the court, during practices, Coach Danny's role, as well as Coach Tony, is a much quieter, supportive one. His role is to supplement the lessons or philosophies that Coach is attempting to instill. Coach Danny often gets on the court to demonstrate, without yelling, points that Coach tries to make. There were even occasions when Coach Danny and Coach Tony would suit up and scrimmage in practices against the players. Coach Danny is in his mid-30s.

Coach Tony. Coach Tony is the second assistant. This was his first year as a full-time coach. The previous year Coach Tony had been a graduate assistant. Two years prior he had been a standout player at Richardson University. In fact, Coach Tony still works out and stays in shape in hopes of perhaps getting an opportunity to play professionally overseas. Like Coach Danny, Coach Tony is much quieter than Coach. On the court, during practices, his role is to supplement the lessons or philosophies that Coach is attempting to instill. Because Coach Tony played for Coach, he knows Coach's personality, the drills, philosophies and general goals of Coach better than Coach Danny.

Therefore he demonstrates on the court more frequently than Coach Danny. Coach Danny or Coach Tony were usually the ones who would moderate study halls or go to classrooms to check the players' attendance. Not much is known about their past academic careers or their personal lives except to say that both Coach and Coach Danny are married and Coach Tony still enjoys partying and going out when he has the free time. Coach Tony is in his early to mid-20s.

My Role as Researcher

The final character in this research is me, the researcher. One of the reasons I chose collegiate male basketball players is because of my familiarity with this community. For two years I played Division I college basketball at Southern Illinois University where I played for Bruce Weber. Two years after I graduated, Weber took a job at the University of Illinois where he led his team to the NCAA Championship game and he was named as National Coach of the Year. During my sophomore year I played at a junior college in Texas for one year. I had a medical redshirt year my freshman season, which was under Hall of Fame coach Hugh Durham at another D-I university, Jacksonville University. At that time, Hugh Durham was one of the winningest active coaches with over 700 career wins. In addition to my personal experiences with NJCAA and NCAA D-I basketball I also have three siblings who signed scholarships to compete at the NCAA Division I level. My father is a member of the Illinois High School Basketball Hall of Fame as a coach. As well, as two final notes about my past and present connections and experiences with this community, I have friends who are assistant basketball coaches at Division I universities and I am myself a college basketball referee.

What these relationships and experiences provide me is a perspective that few other researchers could bring to a project like this – a coach's perspective, player's perspective, teacher's perspective. As a researcher I think the knowledge of the community and the experiences I had as a former member of this community were a great advantage for understanding the lingo, being perceptive of the effects of certain team rules and ways of being. To an extent, I was an insider to this Discourse community. While I was an outsider to this group of subjects, an outsider to this particular milieu, my experiences provided me with access that another researcher without such a background might not have been able to acquire. There were times throughout where my background as college basketball player and my current avocation as a college basketball referee allowed me to make some connections that eventually led to some longer conversations and deeper relationships with a few of the players, especially some who were reluctant to open up to this "outsider."

The insider/outsider dichotomy played an important role in the process of collecting data. Insider/outsider was also a central part of the code of The Team. The Team was a unit – not too far off from the Marine's mantra at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in the movie A Few Good Men: Core. Unit. God. Country. The Team came first. The players' had a constant circle-the-wagon mentality that manifested in the smallest of behaviors whether it was walking in pairs to class, sitting together for every meal, going to the beach together, flirting with girls together, going out on the weekends together. This mentality was actively sponsored by their General: "What happens in the locker room stays in the locker room." In fact, this was the very first thing Coach told me when I approached him for permission to work with his players: "The locker room is off limits.

You can't come into the locker room. I don't even allow my boss [the Athletic Director] into the locker room." This type of unity affected the players' literacy practices.

I try my best not impose my personal experiences onto the data or to interject personal anecdotes when analyzing data. Though there are many personal experiences, anecdotes or knowledge that I have about this community that parallel some of the data, I do not insert those experiences into the discussion. Nor do I interject them into the analysis of the data. Also, while I do have deep personal convictions about the ethics of certain practices in major NCAA sports, I did not approach this study with any agenda other than to try to discover what it is student-athletes do with literacy. One of my first experiences in my Ph.D. program was to do a literacy autobiography. I was shocked to hear from friends and family and teammates and see how literate I had always been. Perhaps I viewed myself as less than literate or less intellectual because of perceived stereotype threats as a former jock. In my experiences not much was expected of jocks. In fact, my sophomore year when I transferred to the JUCO in Texas with a 3.5 GPA, the admissions department checked to make sure it wasn't a mistake. And when they found out it wasn't, they asked what the heck I was doing there. I suppose that subconsciously I came to internalize these perceptions and expectations of jocks. As a result I never imagined myself as an academic. In fact, it's a career path that I still struggle to accept sometimes because it often feels unnatural to me. As well, I had a strong interest in what makes coaches effective educators. Finally, I had a passionate desire to engage in conversations about the separation of mind and body that occurs in educational institutions at all levels. These were the agendas that I carried into this project.

In addition to my role as researcher I was also a faculty member at Richardson University during the time of the data collection and writing. My position as research/faculty member at the same institution further provided me access to information and goings on that a non-faculty member would not have had access to. These things include various faculty meetings, interactions with support staff, various philosophical, ideological or personality idiosyncrasies that directly and indirectly impacted the subjects, full access to all parts of campus including classrooms and dorms and so on. I kept my research separate from my teaching. That's not to say there weren't limitations to this setup. I occasionally had to miss practices or team engagements because of my teaching schedule or a faculty meeting. In earlier drafts of this dissertation I made the comment in this section that "as far as I know there were no conflicts of interest in holding these dual roles of researcher and faculty member." But that is not entirely true. There were numerous occasions when I observed behaviors in various departments across campus that I considered unethical. There were times that players confided in me about their medical treatment or about the mental and emotional effects they were experiencing. In a sense, by opening up with me about such information the players were signaling to me that I was both insider and outsider: still an outsider because they knew there was no risk or repercussions for voicing their displeasure about their treatment (i.e. I had no influence within this group or within the athletic department), but an insider because they recognized that these were experiences that I could relate to and understand. Because these things were either not a part of the original IRB-approved study or because they came after the data-collection ended, discussions and analysis of events such as these are largely absent from this text. One of the major reasons the

notion of “materiality” is not more fully developed is because I have recused myself from writing about it. In my writing I found that I was unable to write in an unbiased manner strictly from the database. So, in part because of some of the dubious actions and behaviors I beheld, there were limitations to having this dual role of researcher and faculty member. My feeling is that the benefits far outweighed the limitations. After all, any researcher that spends as much time with their subjects, immersed in their fieldsite is going to see some unsavory things. But I saw a lot of really cool things, too.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is broken up into six major sections. In explicating the methodology for this study I explain (1) the data I originally planned to collect, (2) the data I actually collected, (3) how I collected it, and (4) how I analyzed the data I collected. The fifth section is a discussion of the writing of ethnography that locates my methodology in the tradition of ethnography. By way of laying out the original plans, I present and/or discuss portions of the original research prospectus. As I discuss what I actually collected I analyze why I focused on what I focused on and present a couple of charts that visualize portions of the database. During the process of collecting the data there were unexpected variables that impacted how I collected data; I elaborate on representative examples to illustrate the reality of fieldwork. Finally, I explain the core unit of analysis – *literacy events*. I also make clear the smaller units of analysis and give descriptions of my process of coding to explain how I analyzed my data. Before I begin my explanation I first want to begin with a section that reviews some of the sources that inform this methodology.

Locating My Methodology: Ethnography and Writing

According to David Fetterman, "Ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture" (Fetterman 1). Ethnography is an immersive qualitative methodology. It is defined primarily by the writing we do as researchers. As such, ethnography must be understood as an act of writing (inscribing/transcribing) and reading (interpreting). Ethnography is the act of re-presenting culture via literate acts; it is the inscription and translation of other lives. It is a participatory method for systematically

and scientifically understanding elements of human culture that we might not otherwise come to know about.

Ethnographers are writers. Understanding the writing processes and the things that shape the writing of ethnographers is vital to understanding this research methodology. Clifford's essay, "Partial Truths," is important for reasons beyond outlining the factors of ethnographic writing. In his essay he also explains how ethnography is a form of story telling. To a degree, ethnography is fiction writing. Here's Clifford:

> To call ethnographies fictions may raise empiricist hackles. But the word as commonly used in recent textual theory has lost its connotation of falsehood, of something merely opposed to truth. It suggests that partiality of cultural and historical truths, the ways they are called fictions in the sense of "something made or fashioned," the principal burden of the word's Latin root, fingere. […] Interpretive social scientists have recently come to view good ethnographies as "true fictions," but usually at the cost of weakening the oxymoron, reducing it to the banal claim that all truths are constructed. (6)

When ethnographers write we are re-presenting the reality we experienced and observed in the field. And that which we experience we cannot *fully* re-present to others who were not there. We have to "make or fashion" parts of the whole. Ethnographers are, as Ralph Cintron points out, "MAKERS" (Cintron ix-x). We select; we choose; we construct. We tell the story of the culture or the system that we experienced and observed and came to know. This representation, this story telling, is another great source of tension for

ethnographers. It's a tension that for some, such as New Ethnography scholar H.L. Goodall, Jr., is unresolvable. According to Goodall,

> [W]hat may be truest about writing [ethnography] is this: The tensions that guide the ethnographic writer's hand lie between the felt improbability of what you have lived and the known impossibility of expressing it, which is to say between desire and its unresolvable, often ineffable, end. (Goodall 7)

Because you can't know each experience that has shaped this story ethnographers provide frameworks and outlines for how the database was accumulated and analyzed. For you, the audience, to trust this story I must work to make the systematic process as transparent as possible. Hence the methodology sections of ethnographies.

If ethnography is writing, what determines ethnographic writing? James Clifford outlined six determining factors for ethnographic writing:

> Ethnographic writing is determined in at least six ways: (1) contextually (it draws from and creates meaningful social milieux); (2) rhetorically (it uses and is used by expressive conventions); (3) institutionally (one writes within, and against, specific traditions, disciplines, audiences); (4) generically (an ethnography is usually distinguishable from a novel or a travel account); (5) politically (the authority to present cultural realities is unequally shared and at times contested); (6) historically (all the above conventions and constraints are changing). These determinations govern the inscription of coherent ethnographic fictions (Clifford 6).

What Clifford examines is how ethnographers "write up" their studies. The write up is dependent upon the social system in which the ethnographer was immersed. And the

writing is shaped by various forms of expression that are conventions of opposing systems (e.g. the field site vis-à-vis academic discipline). In the case of this project that includes both language and images. Clifford's third determinant is institution. It seems obvious enough that ethnographic writing would be determined by the traditions, disciplines and audiences of academia (i.e. traditional consumers of ethnography). But we should keep in mind the shaping powers of the institutions/systems that ethnographers study – i.e. the context.

Why ethnography? The appropriate methodology is determined by the primary research question. The question for this project is *How do the physical learning and material conditions of high level basketball players at Richardson University influence their literacy practices*? Such a question is less about *effects* and more about *causes*. Obtaining an answer to a question of "How?" means spending time trying to understand causes and critiquing systems by posing questions that don't have simple or straightforward responses. To understand *how* you need to have a sense of *why*: what's the motivation for this behavior? Observing *how* a practice, event or behavior unfolds within a context allows ethnographers to experience parts of the process that we might not otherwise be able to get at through, for example, a survey. The immersive nature of ethnography allows for more variations in data methods and sources – which equates to having more puzzle pieces to aid in recreating the bigger picture. When studying a dynamic and complex group/system you must have a dynamic methodology that generates rich sources of data. Ethnography is the methodology that fits the question. If, as Clifford states, ethnography *is* writing, then note-taking must be one of the most important methods of the methodology. Fieldnotes (along with interview transcripts)

constitute one of the largest aspects of the project database available for systematic review and analysis. As such, training how to take fieldnotes is a critical part to being prepared to conduct an ethnography. In *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, Robert Emerson, Rachel Fretz and Linda Shaw explain that "writing fieldnotes, not writing polished ethnographies, lies at the core of constructing ethnographic texts (viii). As they further point out

> field researchers have similarly neglected issues of how to write fieldnotes. 'How to do it' manuals of field work provide reams of advice on how to manage access and relations with unknown others in different cultures and settings. But they offer only occasional, ad hoc commentary on how to take filednotes, what to take notes on, and so on (viii).

Reading ethnography and immersing one's self in the systematic and scientific "fictions" that ethnographers have produced about different cultures and systems is important. Reading ethnographic accounts is a useful strategy for manufacturing an ethnographic state of mind. Some important ethnographies whose authors helped shape my thinking about and designs for this study include Ralph Cintron's *Angel's Town*, Loic Wacquant's *Body & Soul*, Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Affects*, David Barton and Mary Hamilton's *Local Literacies*, Shirley Brice Heath's *Ways with Words* and Julie Cheville's *Minding the Body*. And even though I believe in experiential training when it comes to learning ethnography, the theory and "how to" guides written by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologist, cultural studies scholars and others play an important and influential role in helping craft an ethnography. David Fetterman (*Ethnography*), Jim Thomas (*Doing Critical Ethnography*), H. L. Goodall, Jr. (*Writing the New*

Ethnography), Robert Emerson, Rachel Fretz and Linda Shaw (*Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*) and Grant McCracken (*The Long Interview*) were particularly useful as I prepared for this project.

Methods of Ethnography

There are five primary sources that have informed the methodology of this study most significantly. Robert Emerson, Rachel Fretz and Linda Shaw's *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, David Fetterman's *Ethnography*, H.L. Goodall, Jr.'s *Writing the New Ethnography*, Grant McCracken's *Doing the Long Interview*, Jim Thomas's *Doing Critical Ethnography*. These five texts served as my introduction to the field and practice of Ethnography. They were my guidebooks. Thomas's and Fetterman's are introductory texts that explain basic concepts, methods, techniques, equipment, analytical approaches, writing process and ethics, applications and the traps and tricks to watch out for. As Fetterman points out, "Fieldwork is the heart of the ethnographic research design. In the field, basic anthropological concepts, data collection methods and techniques, and analysis are the fundamental elements of 'doing ethnography'" (Fetterman 2). Fetterman's text presents concrete examples to illustrate a "step-by-step" approach to ethnography. Thomas's text is an introduction to "critical ethnography." Critical ethnography is different from critical ethnography: "Conventional ethnography describes what is; critical ethnography asks what could be" (Thomas 4). In the process of introducing critical ethnography Thomas presents sound guidance on how select a "problem," and a fieldsite. The value of Thomas' work, for me, was related less to his discussion of critical ethnography and more about implementing ethnographic methods. His chapter on "Tricks, Traps, and Moving Beyond" (Chapter 5) presents the novice

ethnographer with warnings about potential traps that await her in the field. These two texts show the reader how to do ethnography. They show the reader how to enter a fieldsite, how to be in a fieldsite and how to use methods or watch for traps in ways that will optimize the time and quality of data you collect from your research participants in your fieldsite.

Two excellent compliments to Fetterman and Thomas are Emerson, Fretz and Shaw and McCracken. The work of these scholars provides detailed insights into, respectively, how to write fieldnotes and how to conduct an interview. Emerson et al present observing strategies, jotting strategies, memoing strategies, organizing strategies, how to pursue meaning from participants, coding strategies and theme selection strategies. Their text offers a guide for how to record fieldnotes – the "accounts *describing* experiences and observations the researcher has made while participating in an intense and involved manner" in the field (Emerson et al 4-5). To do fieldwork is to do ethnography; an essential, inseparable component of fieldwork is composing fieldnotes. Writing fieldnotes, however, is not simply a matter of generating text; there are many ways of writing: "To view the writing of descriptions simply as a matter of producing texts that *correspond* accurately to what has been observed is to assume that there is but one 'best' description of any particular event. But in fact, there is no one 'natural' or 'correct' way to write about what one observes" (5). Emerson et al explain how to make fieldnoting and writing choices that are best for your study; they explain the art of fieldnoting.

Another source that is instructive of the art of fieldnoting is Goodall's text about "new ethnography." His book focuses on the fourfold task of developing as an

ethnographer: learning how to do fieldwork, learning how to write, "learning who you are as a fieldworker, as a writer, and as a self," and learning how these activities connect (Goodall 7). Specifically, like Emerson et al, Goodall focuses on writing. He explains that writing is *the* core of new ethnography, sometimes giving the impression that ethnography *is* writing – even more than it is fieldworking.

The final instructive text is McCracken's text. Conducting interviews requires practice. He presents the "Nine Key Issues" (Chapter 2) and the "Four-Step Method of Inquiry (Chapter 3) as outlines for how to obtain more detailed, richer data from informants and participants. The long interview is a different creature than the unstructured ethnographic interview in that it "adopts a deliberately more efficient and less obtrusive format" (McCracken 7). Interviewing, whether it's the long interview or the unstructured interview, takes practice. And it's important to invest time practicing interviewing skills before entering the field. McCracken's text offers valuable lessons and tips to guide in this process including sample questionnaires and strategies for how to get the interviewee to respond to essential questions with revealing details, details that will provide glimpses into their mental world and the categories and logic by which they see the world (9).

During the course of this ethnography an important method developed that proved valuable to the richness of the database, photographic literacy logs. There is a history of using photography with ethnography. J Einarsdottir's article "Playschool in pictures: Children's photographs as a research method" talks about the facility that photography provides for giving voice to the subjects in a way that interviewing and other methods cannot. Einarsdottir's study was of primary grade schoolchildren. The relevance of

Einarsdottir's article to my method, in particular, is that putting cameras in the hands of the players provided a view of their lives from within their settings from their perspectives. The voice that emerged from the players' photos was much different from the voice that emerges from the interviews or other data sources in that the researcher was not present. The images they captured were natural, unmediated. This method allows access to settings that are otherwise private and to which the researcher may not ever be able to have access to. There are some similarities between the photo literacy log approach and the written literacy logs approach that the original design called for. The biggest major difference is, however, that photos provide the researcher an image. With photos you can literally see literacy events from the subjects' perspectives as opposed to reading their descriptions of their literacy events (which is complicated by the fact that their description is itself a literacy event).

Fenwick English's "The Utility of the camera in qualitative inquiry" provides four "strategies to minimize error in the creation of photographic visual images" (English 13). These strategies, which are demonstrated in my use of cameras, are: one, use multiple photographers with standardized still cameras and lenses; two, develop shooting scripts, three, triangulating the data; and, four, randomizing exposures and camera angles (14). In my project I, one, used multiple photographers (i.e. 8 of the players) with standardized still cameras and lenses (i.e. they all used the the same Kodak disposable cameras); two, provided each player with the same instructions (i.e. script) for capturing literacy events from their daily lives; three, triangulated the photo data with fieldnotes and interviews wherein the photos themselves were used as prompts for questioning; and four,

randomized the exposures and camera angles – this was achieved naturally in that each player photographed according to the script in his own way.

Particularly relevant to this study is Mary Hamilton's use of photography in her ethnographic literacy research. Hamilton relies on a database of photos from media sources and researchers. For her study the participants themselves did not take the photographs. Nonetheless, as Hamilton points out that when collecting "observable data about literacy events: who is using written texts, where and how[;] Photographs are particularly appropriate for documenting these aspects of literacy since they are able to capture the moment in which interactions around texts take place" (Hamilton 16-17). For her study, the images that are "prototypical" – i.e. most fruitful sources of data – contain four key elements: participants, settings, artifacts and activities (17). Hamilton's article describes features of literacy that were observed in her photographic database, and thus provided a model for analysis. She also describes her method for analyzing by coding the photos into four separate types (26-31). The central finding of her study about using photography to analyze literacy practices is that still images, as opposed to other forms of data collected during fieldwork of a literacy study, offers more complex and nuanced scenes. She reports that people and texts interact in forms and manners that often go unnoticed or unremarked.

> Many of the photos we have collected suggests, therefore, that we need to reconsider ideas of what *interactions* may consist of in a literacy even and perhaps the adequacy of the notion of *event* itself. We need a form of description that acknowledges that people can participate in literacy practices in a range of ways, some of which involve very passive roles. (32)

In other words, Hamilton's study suggests that the definition of literacy event needs to be broadened. The use of still images as a data source revealed that circulating throughout our environments are literate interactions that are sometimes so small or quick or peripheral as to be dismissed as not being a literate interaction at all. The use of photos provided a data source that enhances our ability to analyze interactions literacy events (or non events).

The Plan: The Prospectus

The data collection plan was, in retrospect, quite ambitious. It set a demanding schedule and weekly agenda not just for me, the researcher, but for the research subjects as well. In fact, while composing the data collection plan I had accounted for the time and energy demands that I would have to endure as both a researcher and a faculty member – I had anticipated working 12, 14, 16 hour days five or more days per week. But I did not account for the demands this would put on the subjects. The original plan did not, in my mind, demand much at all from any one individual in terms of time or energy. At least two of the subjects did not feel this way and became uncomfortable with my seeming omnipresence, and as a result the original plan had to be revised on the fly. I discuss this in the next section.

One of the first things that will jump out at you as you read the original plan is the ambitious plan I laid out. One of the things I tried to do in the original plan was compensate for the time I knew I would have to devote to my responsibilities as a faculty member. Truth be told, the research project was priority number one. I viewed my actual job responsibilities as a useful way of gaining insider information about the larger context in which this study was situated. Though I took my job seriously and dedicated

myself to my students, my teaching, my collegial duties and my profession in general, this research was always fore in my mind. Such was the attitude I brought to the study. The result that manifested in the original study was an exuberance for the research project that assumed that the participants would want to dedicate the same time and energy that I was prepared to dedicate. At the very least, it assumed that they would be at least half as motivated to learn about their literacy practices as I was. The assumptions I was bringing to the study and the plans for the study quickly meant with a certain reality that most qualitative researchers who rely on human subjects encounter. Even in the planning stages I was blinded by my "data greed." The result: once I arrived at the fieldsite and started with the data collection I had to start adjusting the plans. Here are the original plans; following I discuss some of the changes I made and why.

Employing ethnographic methods I will collect data from student-athletes in the form of observational field notes, by interviewing relevant subjects, assigning literacy logs to subjects, and collecting relevant cultural artifacts (e.g. papers, scouting reports, internet url addresses, etc.). This ethnographic data collection process is the integral aspect of this project.

I will begin observing the men's basketball team as soon as is possible in the Fall of 2007. Out of the 12 – 15 members of the team, four or five subject will be chosen as "cases" to focus on throughout the duration of the study. Fall conditioning and individual work outs will start in advance of the official start of practice (which is usually at midnight on the second Saturday of October). At the beginning of the semester I hope to take advantage of a team meeting wherein I may introduce myself, the purposes of the

observations and interviews, and present the consent forms. At this point, the data collection will officially begin.

I will observe and take written field notes a minimum of three times per week observing the case subjects and/or members of the team in practices, study halls, team meetings, classes and, hopefully, in less structured, less formal situations such as in their dorms/apartments, the library, cafeteria, etc. In other words, I will be collecting data in "school" settings and outside of "school" settings. The idea is to collect data on their thoughts and enactments of literacy for a multitude of ends in diverse situations. However, it is estimated, because of issues of access, that the bulk of the observational data collection will come from the more structured gatherings such as practices, classes, and study halls. This is especially true for the non-case subjects.

Regarding the 4 – 5 case subjects, these are the student-athletes who I will observe in classes, dorm rooms, cafeteria settings, and other non-team gatherings. As well, I will be observing the entire team when in team settings such as practices, weight-lifting, scouting report meetings, etc. In other words, I will be collecting team data and case-subject data. Obviously there will be overlap between the two – such as when the case subjects are in team settings as well as when the case subjects are interacting in non-team settings with other members of the team. The objective is to have fewer subjects to observe in non-team settings so as to collect more detailed data about the literacy events and practices in such settings.

I will observe each of the case subjects in one non-team setting (e.g. class, dorm room, teacher-student conferences, etc.) at least once a week. The case subjects will be chosen based in part on information from an athletics department informant. In

conversations with a support staff member regarding this study, I have already been directed to three subjects that may make good case studies based on their literacy histories (e.g. one team member, who is now an upper-classman, allegedly could not read or write when he first matriculated), class and racial background (e.g. another team member who comes from an affluent, Caucasian family has an "interesting" effect on team dynamics based on how he behaves on the court, in the classroom, in study halls, and in social settings) and degree of athletic prowess (or lack thereof; e.g. there are "walk-on" team members [i.e. non-scholarship players] that may, according to my informant, be interesting to follow because of how they are viewed and treated by both their teammates and the coaching staff). Obviously the participation of these 4 – 5 student-athletes will depend upon willingness and logistics (i.e. schedules). At this point I have yet to encounter anything in the scholarship that indicates that one student-athlete might make a better case study subject than another. Therefore the selection of these subjects is grounded more in ethnography scholarship about informant information before entering a field site than it is in theory about bodies and learning.

Another important element of the data collection will be taped interviews. I will conduct long interviews (see McCracken) with each subject two times per semester (mid term and near/after finals). The first long interview will focus on the literacy history of the subject – collecting data about school and educational experiences, family literacy practices, personal literacy assessment/practices, socioeconomic and biographical information. The second long interview will focus specifically on their uses of literacy throughout their Fall 2007 experiences with athletics and academics. It will also be

partially shaped by observation data, literacy log data and follow up questions from the first long interview.

In addition to the two long interviews, there will be shorter, monthly talks (i.e. short interviews) that will take place to review the Literacy Logs that I will be asking the subjects to keep. Based on Michael Smith and Jeffrey Wilhelm's "Reading Logs" (see "Appendix B: Reading Log Directions" pp. 206-8 in Smith and Wilhelm), I will direct the participants to keep a daily record of their reading and writing activity. They will be instructed in terms similar to those of Smith and Wilhelm: "[R]ecord any time you 'write' or 'read' any kind of 'text' that is longer than a STOP sign! By 'writing' [I] mean that you compose something meaningful; by 'reading' [I] mean that you try to make meaning out of a 'text.' And by 'text' [I] mean anything that you make meaning with that requires your involvement, including things like videos, websites, books, magazine articles, video games, drawings, photographs, pictures, [scouting reports, playbooks, film review sessions, Facebook], etc." (Smith and Wilhelm 206). The Literacy Logs will be an important part of the triangulation of data as well will provide a view into literacy practices that I may not be able to observe personally.

The length of the case subject and team data collection will be one academic year.

The short version is: I planned to collect at least three forms of data from all 15 members of the men's basketball team as few as three days a week to as many as five days a week in multiple settings a day for one academic year. In addition, I had planned to secure four or five case subjects from whom I would, hopefully, obtain even more specific data, particularly in the form of more intense interview and more frequent

observations. The shorter monthly talks relevant to the literacy logs were likewise overly ambitious – at least for this particular group of subjects. I could have collected all the data I originally planned – if it weren't for the players' demands for personal time. And that is an important consideration that I had not accounted for. In my mind I wasn't asking for much from the participants. Truth be told, my requests for literacy logs, multiple interviews, constant interaction was more than the players realized they had signed up for.

The lesson to be learned is, as an ethnographer, you have to be realistic about the demands you place on your participants. The literacy logs are a perfect example. The players did not do them. Why? Because they took too much time. They were too much of an imposition. The original plan was to imitate Smith and Wilhelm's method. This did not work with my subjects. One of the major changes that took place in the field was switching to photographic literacy logs as opposed to a journal style written literacy log. This method was much more successful (i.e. the players actually did them). The reason was, I adjusted the method of data collection to be more time-sensitive and less of an inconvenience for the subjects. I provided each of them with disposable cameras and instructions on what to photograph. I discuss below the numerous advantages of this change of method for both the players and me and my database.

The other two major changes that occurred were to my interview schedule and my plans for case study subjects. The first interview I conducted was with Will and we ended up talking for over an hour. We both enjoyed the conversation/interview equally. The problem with conducting a first interview that lasts over an hour is this: teammates talk. When I started making requests for interviews with some of the other players they

were hesitant. Towards the end of the data collection period I asked a couple of the players why it was like pulling teeth to get them to do interviews. They told me: They didn't want to talk about literacy, let alone talk about it for over an hour. This fact directly impacted my ability to coral case study subjects. There were four or five players whom I was able to collect more data than the other players. But, again, my notion of "case subjects" had to be revised on the fly.

During the planning process, as I was imagining the time and energy demands, I was thinking only of myself. I could not see either at the planning stage or, sometimes, during the fieldwork the demands that my presence alone put on the subjects – not to mention my requests for interviews, artifacts and their precious and rare amounts of personal free time.

The changes to the original plan did not compromise the rigor of the study. In fact, I would argue that certain revisions, such as the incorporation of photo literacy logs, actually enhanced the richness of the database. The lessons to be learned are at least twofold: One, in the planning stages researchers need to, to the best of their ability, imagine contingency plans for when subjects don't come through. Two, flexibility while in the field is key. Being able to go with the flow and creatively adjust on the fly can take actually take a researcher down paths that flow more naturally with the curvature of the landscape she's studying. Adjustment and change isn't necessarily a bad thing. Trying to impose the dictates of a research plan onto a field that demands change can actually be more detrimental to the project than abandoning a method or data source.

Putting the Plan in Action: Data I Actually Collected

Despite not being able to collect all the data I originally planned, the database was still rich, varied and quite large. In this section I provide a breakdown and a brief discussion of the data I accrued during my time in the field. Though the section following this one is an elaboration of how I collected this data I take time to elaborate on some of the data here. There were five forms of data that make up the database – fieldnotes/observations, interviews, photo literacy logs, artifacts, and miscellaneous data that included encounters with informants, random encounters with subjects and insider information about the institution. Data collection started, as did my fieldnotes, on 20 September 2007. My last fieldnote entry was on 08 May 2008. The data collection period was only a few weeks shy of a full academic year, which is what I had planned.

My fieldnotes were transcribed into and saved as Word Documents. There were a total of 312 double-spaced pages of fieldnotes. The fieldnotes came from my time spent observing the subjects in the cafeteria, classrooms, gymnasium, study hall/library, dorms, weight room, track, walking across campus. I took detailed fieldnotes at 30 basketball practices. This number does not include practices/workouts that I observed but did not take notes. I observed all but two (Mario and Will) of the participants in a total of eight classes. I observed Charles in three classes, Victor in three classes, Kirk in two classes, and Clint, Jasen, Jeremy and Devonte in one class each. Several of the subjects had classes together – hence the total number of classes observed appears to be more than eight. I took notes at eight of their games and attended three or four others. I woke up to observe and take notes at 12 of their 6:00 a.m. conditioning and/or weight lifting sessions. Since I frequently ate in the same cafeteria either with or near the players it is

difficult to say how many lunch/dinner observations are peppered throughout the database.

I originally planned to have four or five case subjects. Simply put, this did not actualize. There ended up being four or five players from whom I was able to get more detailed data such as more time spent with them in conversation or being able to see them in more classes than the other players or getting an additional interview. However, they did not become case subjects in the way that I had intended in the original plan.

I originally planned three individual interviews per participant plus group interviews. Because of demands on their time and energy, this did not come to fruition. I was able to conduct a total of 15 individual interviews. I was able to interview Charles, Devonte, Jeremy and Victor two times each. I was able to interview Mario, and Jasen once time each. And Will I was able to interview three times. There were two other interviews. One was a group interview at lunch in the cafeteria; the other was a group interview in the library. The interviews averaged about 45 minutes each. The shortest interview was 33 minutes, the longest was 56 minutes. Altogether the interview transcriptions totaled 306 double-spaced pages.

The photo literacy logs were not an originally part of the research data. However, because the written literacy logs did not work, I amended the plan and improvised by providing the subjects with disposable cameras and accompanying instructions for recording their literate moments visually. Eight subjects took a total of 58 photographs (one camera, Mario's, was destroyed at the Walgreen's photo mat). The settings for their photos included the library (11), dorms (8), locker room/training room (5), classrooms (7) and at unspecified desks/close-ups of documents or computer screens (27).

Setting	Library	Dorms	Locker Room	Classrooms	Unspecified Desks, etc.
# of Photos	11	8	5	7	27

The texts they took pictures of included: signs/posters (8), essays/quizzes/textbooks/papers (17), scouting reports (2), books (5), texts + computer (4), computer screenshots (14), other – i.e. people or classrooms or dorm rooms or power points (8).

Texts	Signs	Essays, Quizzes, Textbooks	Scouting Reports	Books	Texts + Computers	Computer Screenshots	People, Class, Dorms
# of Photos	8	17	2	5	4	14	8

The average number of photos per photo literacy log was 8.2.

I collected a total of 39 artifacts. I received the class schedules of all eleven original volunteers. The artifacts also included such documents as practice plans (20), scholarship agreement/letter of intent (1), athletic department policy documents (1), Richardson University fact sheet (1), subjects' papers (1), and miscellaneous documents about the team such as the school paper (4). Supplementing these artifacts were several photos of the field that I took. Collecting artifacts was not an easy task. For example, the players were not allowed to part with their scouting reports. If before a pending game they showed up to a team meeting or practice without it they would be disciplined.

Collecting papers from the guys was also a challenge. I often requested that they bring a paper to the interviews or in study hall I would ask them to print out an extra copy. Either because of forgetfulness or conscious resistance the papers were not forthcoming.

An essential part of the database that is not represented in the discussion above are the innumerable exchanges with my primary informant who would provide me valuable insider information about the team, the individuals, the coaches, the support staff, the institution, etc. My informant was a member of the athletic department. This person had numerous responsibilities. Chief among them was the task of assembling academic eligibility reports; she also served in an unofficial capacity as a councilor to many of the student-athletes, especially, it seemed, to the male student-athletes. They trusted her and confided in her frequently and often without self-censoring. Initially, for the first three or so months of my fieldwork, my informant provided me with a steady stream of insider information. Also not included in the list of actual data outlined above are such data sources that include practices or workouts wherein I did not take notes. The above data does not include conversations I had (and continued to have) with subjects as we walked across campus together or at lunch together. It does not include visits to their dorm rooms to collect photo literacy logs. It does not include going to a sports bar to watch Sunday afternoon football with Mario. It does not include times the players would approach me or email me. I was immersed in data. Any time I was on campus I was at my fieldsite and would invariably end up being exposed to data even when I had no intentions of recording data. There are even examples from my personal life where I would be at the beach and bump into a group of subjects, or be refereeing a game where one of the coaches would appear, or be refereeing a game where fellow officials would be

telling me about various activities of Coach that they had experienced. Despite, or maybe because of, my dual role as both faculty member and researcher, the data collection process turned out to be nearly as immersive as I had originally planned. Though in slightly different ways.

How I Collected What I Collected

In this section I continue to explain the data I actually collected. Mostly, though, I concentrate on explaining *how* I collected that data and why I focused on these data. An important characteristic of the database is that it was amassed for the purpose of answering **how** these student-athletes read-composed. Though there are portions of the database that illustrate **what** they wrote, the objective of this project is to respond to questions of how.

Fieldnotes. The majority of my fieldnotes are descriptions of what the players were doing when they were with texts and/or tools of literacy or what they were doing as a result of a literate event. As I explained in Chapter One, in my fieldnotes I described their movements; their gazes; their body postures; how they moved their hands; whether they used the home row keys as they typed; the objects they interacted with; how they interacted with each other, their peers, their coaches; their movements throughout a space; the sounds, colors, smells, clothing, etc. of their immediate environment; and so on. I tried to focus on the physical activity. I focused on how texts circulated around them and how they interacted with or responded to texts. I accomplished the note taking on the things I observed primarily using two methods – using a small notebook to take quick notes that I would then, after leaving the field for the day, transcribe and add details from memory. Or I would covertly type fieldnotes at a computer on a blog while I was in

the field among the subjects (or immediately after leaving an observation site). Using a blog as a fieldnoting notebook provided at least two features. One, it was portable. Two, I could manipulate the blog interface in such a way that it could appear that I was, like the players, on a social networking site, just goofing around. The blog was less conspicuous than a notebook and pen or a word document on the computer screen. When it came time to assemble my data it was easy to simply copy and paste the content from my blog into the large Word document wherein other fieldnotes were saved.

When in classrooms, at the gym on the field or otherwise not near a computer I would use my notebook. At the end of the day, when transcribing from my notebook, there would usually be multiple domains – at least two or three – that I would describe. Throughout the course of a day I would, at the least, see the participants at practice and study hall, or practice and the cafeteria, or at practice and conditioning, or at practice and walking across campus, or conducting an interview and meeting with an informant, or some variation thereof. The point is that this version of my fieldnotes would be records/observations of numerous encounters throughout the course of a day.

During study halls – the place where I was able to take the most prolific and detailed notes of them being literate – I would type notes on a personal blog page (with a privacy setting so that it is not accessible to the public). This allowed me to take minute by minute notes in a way that the subjects didn't think they were being watched. I.e. there was no intrusive pen or paper or audio recorder – objects that the participants took notice of and, as you will see, would affect their behaviors. This unobtrusive method made it seem like I was nonchalantly working on my own work (because I would also sometimes bring my own students' papers and spread them out before me to give the

appearance that I was working – again, so as not to disrupt the players' comfort zones – to give them the impression that I was using study hall just like they were: to get work done). These notes, as I said, were often very detailed – frequently noting the exact actions, postures, texts, websites, conversations, etc. of the galley or setting where we were gathered.

There were a total of 81 blog posts. The majority of the posts were from study halls (21). There were also blog posts for individual workouts (3), pre-season conditioning/weights (2), cafeteria (4), informant interactions (3), classrooms (1), practice/games (13), interviews (9), and phone conversations (1). The remaining blog posts were, like the fieldnotes from my notebook, combined topics that either overlapped with two or more of the above labels or were analyses of, reflections on or plans for revising or enhancing data collection. In a handful of cases there are thoughts that functioned as prewriting for the writing up stage of the research process. I used the blog too as a portable notebook of sorts. After a moment in the field or a meeting with an informant or time spent doing some other observation I would take advantage of the numerous available computers to log on to my account and type up notes. Typing, for me, is faster and more efficient. And the easy access to the internet and my blog meant I was often able to take my notes within minutes of leaving the observation situation.

After a data-rich encounter I would sometimes record audio notes on a digital recorder after meeting with informants and sometimes after visiting dorm rooms. These audio notes I would later transcribe.

Interviews. Fourteen of the 15 individual interviews were conducted in the library. One was conducted in the cafeteria. Getting them to stick around after a study hall or

come early or to otherwise commit their time to a 45 minute interview was a huge challenge. I would frequently spend three or four or more weeks coaxing the subjects and presenting them with possible meeting times. Almost every time, as my fieldnotes indicate, the participants would cite time demands or their lack of energy as reasons for backing out. Eventually, though, I was able to interview eight of the 11 participants. As I've mentioned before, one of the 11, Horace, lived off campus and was only around for games and practices; another one, Brad, was dismissed from the team for rules violations and left after he graduated during winter break; another, Kirk, had too many personal issues and commitments throughout the year to ever be able to find time.

The first two interviews – one with Clint and one with Will – were intended to be histories of their literacy practices and they were based on Debra Brandt's interview protocols in the appendix of *Literacy in American Lives*. These interviews were ill-fitting for this research project, and I could sense this even in the midst of conducting them. It wasn't clear to me why I needed to know about their grandparents' reading and writing, or whether their parents attended college. It would have been interesting and useful data, but Brandt's protocols didn't flow well with my subjects in the context of the study that I had described to them. I was trying to impose a questionnaire from an entirely different study that had a specific purpose designed for that study. My interest was in the local, the immediate. I quickly abandoned the line of questioning from this interview protocol – in one case I did so even as we were talking and reading/responding to the script.

After my experience with the first two interviews, I committed the interview time to asking the subjects questions about what they did when they were reading, writing, studying, reading scouting reports, training, what they read in their spare time, etc. In

other words, I shifted the interview questioning to a personal line of inquiry about their current ways of interacting with or doing literacy. This I did in conjunction with my observations. That is, I used my fieldnotes to construct questions for individual subjects. For example, I would ask Clint about his movements in study hall: "Why are you always looking at your teammates' computer screens?" I would ask Charles why he used so many note cards to study. My questions for Jeremy would be based in part on my observations of him logging so many extra hours in the library. My questions for Victor were influenced by my observations of him doing so much socializing with women during study hall. Nobody else used note cards the way Charles did; it was an aberration; it piqued my interest. None of the other players spent as much time studying as Jeremy. Victor's excessive socializing with women was unlike that of his teammates. These topics were of interest because they weren't the norm, they were exceptional activities that were not usually displayed by the group and I was hoping to come to know how these blips functioned in relation to non-aberrant events and behaviors. I shifted my interviewing strategy to being more personal, more immediate and based on things I had observed them (or their teammates) doing. And we branched out from there. This is the type of interviewing strategy that I could develop only once I was in the field interacting with the subjects.

I was able to interview all but two of the subjects (Mario and Jasen) at least twice. During the second interviews I had the advantage of having props – their photo literacy logs. During these interviews I was able to ask them about the images they had captured; I was able to get them to explain the events that *they* viewed as literacy events. Also during these interviews I would continue to interject with points from my observations or

I would ask follow-up questions based on comments from other teammates. In this way I was able to construct some common threads that ran across the interviews while at the same time allowing the photos from individual literacy logs and the individual conversations take their own course. While I went to each interview prepared with questions, the more interviews I did the less control I exerted over the course of the conversation. I developed a comfort level and trust in the participants to talk freely without overdetermining the interviews, and as they became more comfortable with me they felt more at ease about going on and on in detail about their literate lives and about other aspects of their lives. One of the things you see in the transcripts is fewer words coming out of my mouth and longer paragraphs from the subjects.

Photo Literacy Logs. The original research prospectus was designed to have the subjects maintain written literacy logs. The plan was to collect them on a monthly basis and have conversations with the subjects about their logs. The time and energy demand proved too much. The written literacy logs did not work. Only three subjects (Kirk, Jeremy and Mario) submitted their logs on November 10. The average number of entries was three. Jeremy had the most number of pages, six. And this was after eight weeks with the logs. In other words, the players did not do the written literacy logs. In the middle of October I came up with an idea for how to supplement for the written logs: photo literacy logs. Providing the players with disposable cameras was my answer for coming up with a record of what, how, where, when they read or wrote or were moved by texts. I gave them instructions to snap pictures of their interactions with texts or their literate moments.

When I handed out the notebooks on September 20th I made a presentation of it. Each member of the team received a notebook with typed instructions pasted on the front and a sample entry posted on the inside of the front cover (see, Smith and Wilhelm). When I handed out the cameras I made a point to do so individually. I tried to make each subject feel like he was on a special assignment. I also tried to make it more private so not everybody on the team would necessarily be aware of what they were doing. Whether or not this made any difference, or whether or not my instincts about presenting the cameras this way had any validity, it worked. All of the participants who received cameras took photos. Handing out the cameras individually, over the course of six or so weeks had the additional advantage of collecting images during the end of a semester (first semester), over break and at the beginning/middle of another semester. Which is to say, I feel I received a wider variety of images of literacy events because at any given time the subjects were engaged with texts in different ways (over winter break as opposed to during finals week, for example). Since nothing was ever simple with these players, retrieving the cameras often proved a challenge as well. But, eventually, I received all the cameras, developed the photos, shared them with the players, and was able to ask them in recorded interviews about the literacy events they captured.

Though I was disappointed in the average number of photos each subject took (8.2), the photo literacy logs still proved to be one of the richest sources of data for this project. The photos helped immensely with spurring conversations about their specific activities in the interviews. The images provided snapshots into personal spaces I otherwise wouldn't have had access to. The images, more than anything else, functioned as examples of what *they* thought of as literacy events.

Artifacts. The artifacts make up the final portion of the database. The majority of the artifacts consisted of practice plans (20) and the participants' class schedules (11). The rest I came across by happenstance as a result of being in the field. I collected the practice plans by picking them up from managers after practices or if they were left laying around. The class schedules were provided to me by the coaches. I was disappointed that I was unable to collect more academic texts – syllabi, essays, assignments. Though I was able to observe the players engage with their academic work, I was unable to analyze many of the products of this work. Despite this limitation, there remained plenty of academic-related data sources to analyze – e.g. observations, interviews and photo literacy logs. Having more player papers would have allowed for a better analytical balance of texts from the domain of academics, especially in comparison to the domain of athletics.

The Core Unit for Analysis

The "literacy event" was the core unit of analysis for the themes of Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown. At the heart of each of these themes was reading, writing or talk about text: this is a literacy event. I highlighted Barton and Hamilton's definition of literacy events in the Preface, but it bears repeating here:

> [*L*]*iteracy events* are activities where literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text. Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them. The notion of event stresses the situated nature of literacy, that it always exists in a social context. ("Literacy Practices" in *Situated Literacies,* 8)

Every case related to Repetition, Surveillance or Breakdown discussed in this project was a literacy event. If there was not a written text, talk about a text or a text being read then it did not apply to the discussion/analysis of the three themes.

My data collection, as I pointed out above, focused on the physical nature of the subjects' interactions with texts, focused on what they did and/or how they did what they were doing during a literacy event. As an example, the photo literacy logs were "observable episodes" where a "written text, or texts, [was] central to the activity." With each photo the subjects snapped they were identifying an event; they were declaring "this photo represents a literacy activity, event or practice." The photos identify a writing or reading activity within a context. The captured image within their photos is literacy according to them (as opposed to literacy according to me). Each photo represents how, where, when and sometimes even suggest why the photographer engagesd in a reading/writing activity (suggestions I was able to later question them about in their interviews). Each photo *is* an act of reading or writing. And these photos are literal illustrations of the types of reading, writing or interacting with text that I identify as literacy events elsewhere in the data.

How I Analyzed the Data: Categorizing, Coding and Developing Themes.

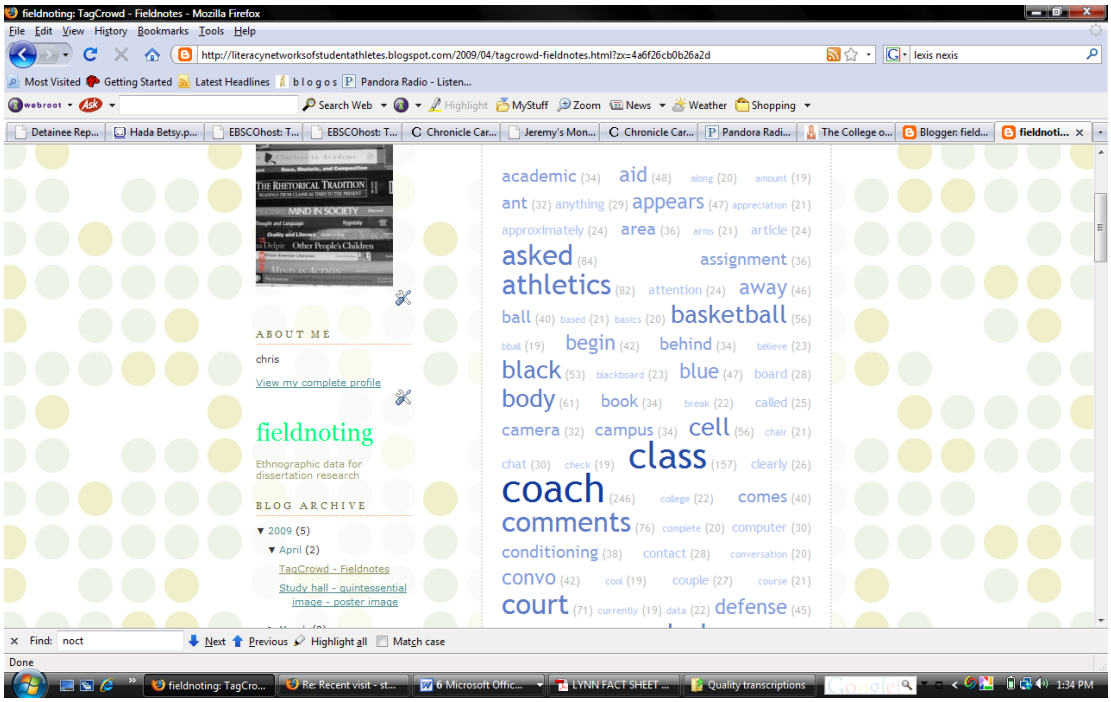
There are at least five identifiable strategies and principles involved in the data analysis that are modeled after, in part, Carl Auerbach and Louise Silverstein's basic ideas for coding and analyzing qualitative data (*Qualitative Data).* Initial analysis began as I was in the field collecting data, and this less structured analysis played an important part in shaping the ongoing data collection. What I focus on here are the strategies of analysis that I employed at the conclusion of the data collection period, once I had left the

field. The five steps that I followed are adaptations from Auerbach and Silverstein's description of the coding and writing up process in *Qualitative Data* (identified in italics below). *The first step was to read the data, review the documents, examine the photos and listen to the interviews* (Auerbach and Silverstein Chapter 4). During this process I took notes and began the process of chunking data – i.e. formulating preliminary slots into which various data could be grouped.

The second step was to categorize the groups that emerged. This second step – which was a recurrent one – was part of the coding stage (Auerbach and Silverstein Chapter 5). Though early in the analysis process, naming, or coding, the data is an important part of interpreting the raw experiences and data of the study. The coded data represented similar and significant phenomenon.

Part of the recursive nature of analysis involves reading and re-reading, making notes and revising notes, listening to the interviews and comparing the transcripts, examining and re-examining the photos, etc. *The third step includes the process of reviewing and chunking the data into groups so as to determine or select major and minor themes. This is an ongoing and key part of the process* (Auerbach and Silverstein Chapter 6). Part of the selection process was informed by the use of computer programs, especially the use of word-frequency programs such as TagCrowd.com. This program allowed me to enter both the entire database and chunks of the database into a program that would generate word-frequency counts. Another feature of TagCrowd.com is that the program generates a visualization of the word-frequency. Being able to see the frequency with which certain words occurred provided an objective, verifiable image of

repeated words/concepts. Below is a screenshot of a portion of a TagCrowd for the fieldnotes. This particular TagCrowd was posted to my private "fieldnoting" blog.



(Image 2.1 – TagCrowd Screenshot)

As you can see in the image above, the higher the frequency rate of a word, the larger the representation of that word. In addition, following each word is the number of times it appears (in parentheses). As well, simple searches of key terms were made possible in Microsoft Word. This process allowed me to examine variations of particular terms in their various contexts as they appeared across the data.

The use of the computer allowed me to more easily compare occurrences across fieldnotes, interview transcripts and other documents in order to triangulate the data. *That is, the fourth step in the data analysis was triangulating the data – checking and cross-referencing coded data and themes for reliability* (Auerbach and Silverstein Chapter 6).

Ethnography inevitably generates massive amounts of data – the majority of which never makes it to press. Just as the analysis consists of viewing and re-viewing the data in order to select significant chunks and themes, *selection is equally important (if not more so) at the writing up stage. The fifth step is the writing up stage*, which must, necessarily, be a reductive process. This is where ethnographers "write culture." Here I continued to select and refine the data to present it in a manageable format. Here I presented the story of my subjects. Here I provided my interpretation of the system that I studied for an academic year. The story and the interpretation emerged from the mass of data and details.

The three major themes of Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown emerged as a result of the repeated manifestations of specific activities. Each respective chapter provides specific details about how I analyzed these themes in relation to the core unit of analysis – literacy events. Here I provide an overview. Repetition, for example, was a dominating activity that I observed frequently everyday. Repetition also repeated itself in the subjects' interviews and in the cultural artifacts. The concept/activity of repetition thus became one of the major categories (step three) that became more refined through the process of systematically coding for repetition. Coding for repetition consisted of isolating specific moments in the data – an interview excerpt for example – and breaking down the description, enactment or representations of repetition. In discussing repetition, Will, for example, provided a definition of repetition as being an activity he does "over and over again." This became one of the search terms/phrases that I employed (using the search function in Word) to identify other occurrences of repetition. After identifying and isolating the various examples of repetition I looked more closely at the context and

analyzed how repetition was functioning, how the subjects talked about it, how they didn't talk about it, the ubiquity of repetitious activities, how it manifest in various ways across domains, etc. (step four). The write up of Repetition in Chapter Three is the culmination of this process of analysis.

The theme of Surveillance and Control was easily identifiable because of the critical mass of documents and texts that circulated around the subjects in a way that determined their activities and behaviors (step two). The coaching staff especially always were carrying and consulting documents that the players responded to in various ways. In my fieldnotes, the interviews, the literacy logs and the artifacts are peppered with samples of documents that determined the players' behavior. Educational anthropologist Kevin Foster wrote about the concept of Surveillance and Control in relation to student-athletes in 2003. Using the same strategies outlined above to first categorize this theme and then code for, search and analyze the database, I employed Foster's theoretical concept of Surveillance and Control (what he calls "Panopticonics") to discuss and analyze this theme (step five).

Breakdown was an approach to training that involved the composition, reading or talk of texts; this training method, or educational technology, could be heard about or seen in various forms in both the academic and athletic domains. The parts that make up the process of Breakdown were most easily identified in the domain of athletics. Like Repetition, Breakdown was so pervasive as to be seemingly omnipresent. The design of every basketball practice was based on this approach to training. As the study went on my fieldnotes began to reflect some of the principles of Breakdown being replicated in the domain of academics. While in the field I noticed this training approach and I

constructed questions for the interviews to try to get additional sources of data. Like Surveillance and Control, then, the grouping for this theme began while I was still in the field collecting data. The pervasiveness of data related to this theme became more evident once the data collection ended. The process of coding for the theme of Surveillance involved doing word searches for whole literacy events wherein structuring texts were known to structure the subjects' behaviors. For example, searches for "study hall," "practice," "practice plan," "curfew," and "lists" led me to contextualizing points in the database where I could more closely examine and discuss specific literacy events – how the subjects were interacting with, composing, reading or talking about texts.

CHAPTER 3

REPETITION AND THE TRICKLE-UP EFFECT

> *[Y]ou know the coaches will go through and they'll show us the plays first, then I'll watch them which is similar to listening to a teacher describe what they're talking about, and then when it's our turn to do it you know it's similar to me going back to my dorm room and just memorizing it myself. And you know, going over the play over and over again until it becomes second nature, just like it would be for me studying for a test question. I'll just keep drilling it until it becomes second nature.* – Will, freshman shooting guard

The way that Will chose to explain the process of learning the new material was by comparing it to his academic training strategies. For him – and for a number of his teammates – there are parallels between the domains of academics and athletics when it comes to training strategies. The crux of this training strategy is repetition. As part of the team's preparation for upcoming contests those players on the team who did not get much playing time played a role as "scout team." Scout team members consist of non-starters and those who do not play significant minutes. They would learn and then imitate the strategies of the opposing team so that the starters could practice against the various offensive and defensive strategies that they would face in the actual game. In addition to watching film and seeing diagrams and descriptions in the scouting reports, the players also had a real life replica thanks to the efforts and abilities of the scout team members (and the coaching staff).

Will's interview excerpt and, in fact, this chapter is an exploration of the repetitive nature of the literacy practices of student-athletes. Based on the reading, writing and other training activities of male basketball players at Richardson University, I present insights into a literate training model that has repetition as its foundational training concept. The subjects of my study used reading and writing to train for athletics. And in their academic training they applied the physically repetitious approaches of their sport to compose what was for them effective methods of learning academic material. One of the objectives of this chapter is to illuminate how small acts of reading, writing and talk about texts, repeated over time, trickled up to effect the subjects' ways of being. These subjects' ways of learning in the domains of athletics and academics were deeply rooted in the physical (*hexis*), and their ways of composing and learning were intimately connected to the values, norms, beliefs and ways of being of their Discourse community (*habitus*). Understanding the physicality of the literacy practices (socio-physical) of this community of readers and composers offers teachers of writing insights into alternative models of composing – or at least additional complex ways of thinking about composing and learning. For these players, one of their primary ways of knowing was through bodily performances and bodily ways of being (*hexis*) – doing something repeatedly until it was habituated, second-nature. Writing teachers will see the connection between repetition and physicality to understand how literacy functions physically to shape ways of being within this milieu (*habitus*), and the milieu of these players dictated that performing content precisely is equivalent to "knowing." Such a view complicates the notion that literacy learning is simply a cognitive process. A player might be able to talk about a defensive strategy, and in that sense, in the academic sense, he would "know" the

defensive strategy. But in the athletic sense, these players didn't "know" a thing unless they could execute it on the court. Part of what the subjects of this study make clear is that their literacy learning is a socio-physical process. What this means is that these subjects' literacy is a bodily expression performed through motor functions of systematic techniques (*hexis*) combined with the objective structures and systems that determine their practice (*habitus*) (see Chapter 1, p 33).

There three issues that guide the start of this conversation. First, I demonstrate the how, where and in what ways the basic elements of repetition manifested in the subjects' training and learning. Second, the basic element of repetition is almost always defined by me as a literacy event or a literacy act. The discussion of literacy events/acts and repetition will demonstrate the interwoven nature of the literate training practices of these subjects across domains. Third, I discuss what I call the "trickle-up effect." That is, small (literacy) acts trickle up to affect larger (literacy) practices. Supporting these talking points are data and data analysis from the study.

Defining Repetition

In the interviews, on 28 separate occasions, eight of the student-athletes mentioned "doing it over and over" or "going over and over" an idea, concept or activity. According to my subjects, the simple definition of repetition is doing something "over and over." An example of this is in the last two sentences of the opening epigraph; here Will contextualizes this definition of repetition: "you know, going over the play over and over again until it becomes second nature, just like it would be for me studying for a test question. I'll just keep drilling it until it becomes second nature." Will's explanation of the repetitious academic and athletic training principle is representative of how the

subjects talked about learning/knowing something – via repetition. This, in fact, is how I have come to define repetition for this chapter, and I have taken the words from Will's (and his teammates') explanation to code the data and identify examples of repetition. Defining repetition thus, I am challenging, to an extent, the notion that "rote" exercises are unintelligent, unthinking, mindless routines. Repetition is coming to know through physical doing, bodily thinking. This bodily thinking facilitates competency and comfort; repetition facilitates functional literacy. And this is part of what Shaughnessy is talking about when she talks about barriers to being able to think while writing – to break down such a barrier a writer has to have facility with the methods and technology of reading-composing. In other words, to say that one cannot "think" while writing is to imply that the *doing* (i.e. the act of writing) *is thinking*, that it takes brain power to think through the act of composing. Once a writer has repeatedly performed the motor-movements that are the foundational aspect of composing *then* she can "think" about the content she is trying to inscribe as opposed to the actions it takes to produces the composition.

Will speaks of repeating as doing something "until it becomes second nature"; his phrase is "having it drilled into you." Debra Hawhee calls this "habituation" (*Bodily*, pp 5-7). Close kin to Hawhee's term are Bourdieu's (*Outline*, Chapter 2) and Aristotle's (*Ethics*, Book II and V) concept of *hexis* (a bodily "having" or "holding"; more on this below). Will is quite literal in his explanation of how the process of embodying knowledge occurs – it is *drilled* into him through *drills* – skill and drill, repetitive memorization practices. There are pros and cons to such an approach, especially in relation to critical, independent thinking. But the pro is, according to Will and his

teammates, that they physically *do* the knowledge that they want to know so intimately that it becomes second nature. They do it so many times that the content becomes habituated. Like the writer who has mastered the tools of writing, these players become free to invest their thinking not in the individual motor-movements but of the dynamic content they are performing.

In relation to these player's practices (both literate and otherwise) there are important implied elements of repetition: the matters of rightness and correctness. Rightness, here, suggests an ethical equivalency. Correctness, here, suggests technical accuracy, precise execution. In their sport, repetition is the right method of training; it's how training is accomplished, and it is an important way that learning happens (the mantra is not "Practice makes perfect," but "Perfect practice makes perfect"). In academics the players repeat the correct material; they study facts, information, definitions, responses that are accurate for the accompanying questions or problems. We might also consider the issue of intent or purpose. For these players the purpose of repetition as a method of training is to physically know some material or content. Repetition, then, is to rightly and correctly perform something over and over for the purpose of habituation, so that it's "second nature." There is a usefulness of the work of repetition, too: the motivation is that it is for utilitarian application – in Will's case either a test or for a contest (i.e. basketball game). For these subjects, repetition was not just busy work or skill and drill: it was a way of being; it was a meaningful part of the work they did as student-athletes. To go to the gym and shoot 200 jump shots, for example, was nearly an everyday activity. Such an activity involved specific and precise individual motor-movements: setting your feet, holding the ball just so, raising your arms

with proper technique, elevating from the floor, releasing the ball at the same point of elevation each time, flicking the wrist in a manner that creates backspin on the ball, flinging the ball with a consistent arc, and so on. Shooting 200 jump shots means practicing on proper and precise form and technique. The purpose of executing the individual motor-movements of a jump shot over and over is so the players could perform them precisely and accurately without having to think about them during the heat of a contest.

Repetition emerged as a theme because of its pervasiveness in the data. To analyze repetition I needed to be able to identify it. Therefore, I coded the data based on the definition of repetition that emerged in the interviews. Using the word search function in Microsoft Word, I searched the interview transcripts and my fieldnotes for the following words or groups of words: repetition/repeat, over and over, drills/drill/drilled, second nature, doing it (in addition to being a part of the definition of repetition that the subjects provided, "doing it" indicates past and present progressive action performed on more than one occasion – in this case repeatedly). As well, I searched the images from the participants' photo literacy logs for instances that were common to the coded words or that represented instances of repetition (e.g. practice plans, scouting reports, study sheets, motivational signage). For the purposes of coding, and for the purposes of the chart below, I did not include artifacts that I collected.

Instances of Repetition in the database

	Athletics	Academics	Social	Total
Interviews	36	27	10	73
Fieldnotes	39	1	0	40

Photo Lit Logs	5	9	7	21
Total	80	37	17	134

(Chart 3.1)

Most of the repetition occurred within the domain of athletics. More so than in the other domains, repetition was a how they trained in athletics. However, it is telling that there are significant amounts of repetition in the other two domains: it demonstrates a consistent method of training, way of being, frame of mind.

A breakdown of the figures representing instances of breakdown in the chart above is as follows: In the interviews in relation to the domain of athletics a version of the word repeat/repetition appeared seven times, eight times for the domain of academics. Over and over appeared 11 times in relation to the domain of athletics, nine times for the domain of academics, six times for the social domain. Doing it appeared six times in relation to athletics, nine times for academics and six times for the social domain. Drills/drill/drilled appeared nine times in relation to the domain of athletics, one time for academics and two times for the social domain. Second nature appeared three times and only in relation to athletics.

In the fieldnotes in relation to the domain of athletics a version of the word repeat/repetition appeared four times, one time for academics. Over and over, doing it and second nature did not appear in the fieldntoes. Drill/drills/drilled appeared 35 times in relation to the domain of athletics.

It is important to point out that the chart above documents explicit mentions of repetition. The chart does not, however, reflect the amount of repetition that actually permeated the ecology of these student-athletes. For example, within a single basketball

workout or practice the players would easily have committed well over 134 acts of repetition. At the beginning of a workout they would often shoot 100 jump shots. Or, in the library, they would often repeat vocabulary definitions dozens of times. They could be seen getting on and/or checking their Facebook or BlackBoard pages numerous times within the span of an hour-long study hall. So, in a way, repetition both pervaded the ecology and ways of being of these subjects and it was at the same time subtle (so common as to be invisible, even – as we'll see in the practice plan below).

The results of coding the data lead to a charting system that naturally divided the coded data by domain. Following the data, the organization of this chapter follows these divisions. Therefore, arrangement of this chapter follows relatively closely the domain pattern of the data. As Will's opening interview excerpt demonstrates, however, there were numerous occasions where crossover between the various domains occurred. The strict division between domains is mostly a classifying schematic that I've imposed on the data for the purposes of reporting and, to an extent, analyzing. The reality of the fieldsite was that Discourse community of these student-athletes dictated that the boundaries between athletics, academics and the social were by and large very blurry. The very label "student-athlete," for example, is representative of this: they were always both student and athlete; they were almost always in both domains simultaneously. Their school work was managed and overseen by coaches and athletics department support staff. Their position as athletes was always in relation to their role as representatives of an academic institution. Throw in the fact that their social lives existed within the context – the physical boundaries of – their institutional identification as student-athletes

and it becomes easier to see that "domain" is a complex analytical tool. Numerous examples of distinct domains should be viewed with this understanding.

As a means of setting up the data, analysis and discussion, I want to address two issues. First, in this chapter, and elsewhere throughout this study, repetition is almost always a part of a literacy event or literacy practice. It is important to keep in mind this relationship between repetition and literacy events/practices. Literacy itself is an activity that consists of repeating specific motor-movement in precise ways over and over (e.g. start eyes at top of page; move eyes from left to right; move eyes down; proceed again from left to right). But we don't think about the motor-movements involved in acts of reading-composing. Why? Because they are habituated, second-nature. Repetition is almost always in relation to the physical activities that took place as a part of these subjects' physical learning and literacy practices – especially their composing practices (e.g. shooting 200 jump shots). The function of repetition in relation to literacy events/practices is that those motor-movements that are the focus of repetition become second-nature so that more critical and dynamic thoughts can ensue. The mind-body can be freed up to perform or think about a higher order activity or event as a result of the habituated motor-movements. This is one of the important ways that repetition and literacy are happily wedded.

The documents, the texts, served as points in the data that illuminated for me the impetus for their repetitious doings. The texts were often the starting points for repetitious activity and themselves embodied repetition. Another result of these texts was that they dictated action and activity. Literacy events also include "talk around texts" in addition to reading and composing texts. It is for this reason that we examine, for

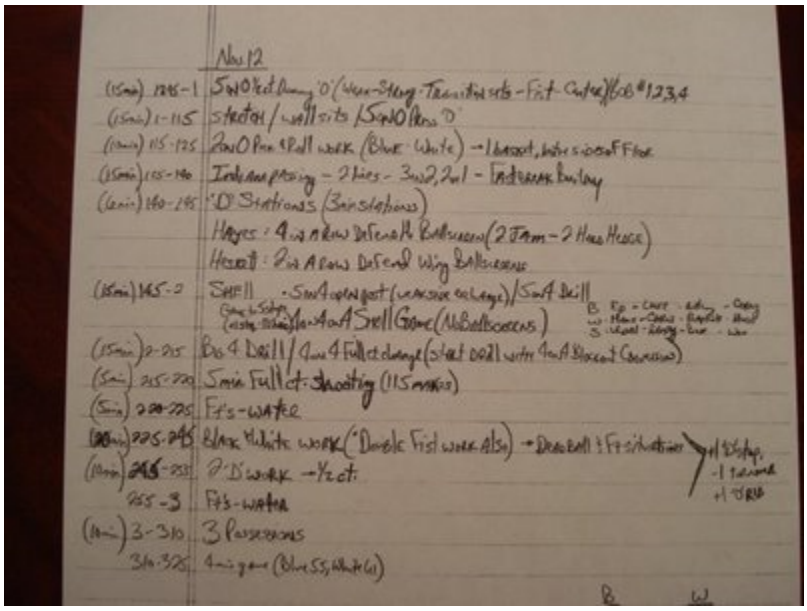
example, practice schedules. Texts such as the practice plans and scouting reports were maps of repetitious activity and were themselves repetitious in their construction, composition and use. These facts will bear themselves out below in the conversations about practice plans, methodically studying with note cards, interacting on Facebook, etc.

Second, while I slip back and forth between calling repetition a literacy event/practice and a training/learning method, repetition was also a method of composing for these subjects (as we see in the example with Charles below). Composing in this way is what facilitate appropriation of the content they were trying to learn. In other words, as the players performed and as the content became habituated they came to own it. Performing. Composing. Appropriating. The subjects performed content in order to know it and their performances were their compositions. Just as I and the data cross back and forth between the blurred domain boundaries, the blur between repetition as training strategy and composing method is the margin at which literacy scholars and compositionists are bound to find something interesting. Performance as composition: through this method, as the subjects suggest, appropriation of material appears to occur (as we see in the exchange below with Clint).

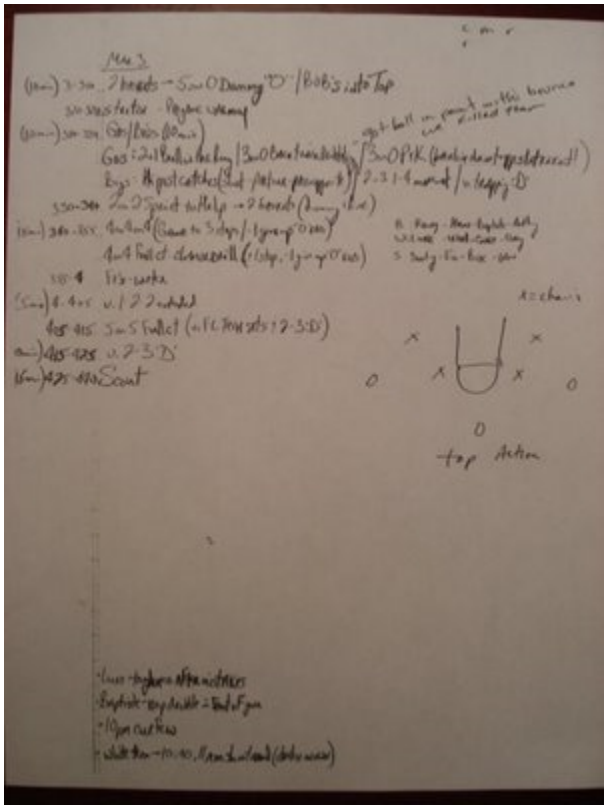
Scripted Repetition in the Domain of Athletics: Basketball Practice Schedule

For each and every basketball practice Coach, along with his assistants, would decide on the objective for the day's practice along with specific skills/strategies to emphasize (e.g. emphasizing screening and trap-defense). The coaching staff would select various drills that would facilitate work on these skills/strategies, and they would sequence them and then write them down by hand on a sheet of notebook paper. This would be the schedule of drills and activities for the day's practice; this was the

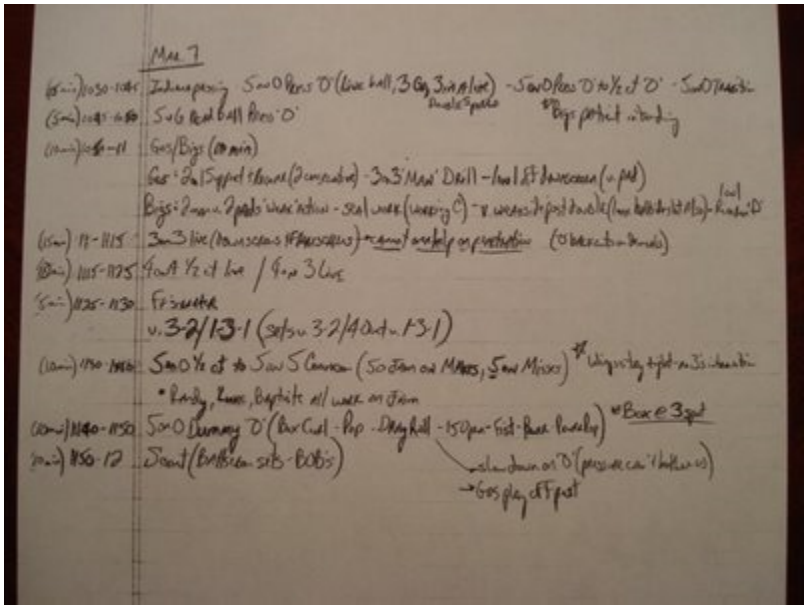
basketball practice schedule (sometimes referred to as the practice plan). Every day that I observed a basketball practice I observed one of these practice schedules in the hands of the coaching staff. Below are some images of typical practice schedules:



(Image 3.1 – November 12th practice)



(Image 3.2 – March 3rd practice)



(Image 3.3 – March 7th practice)

These three images of practice plans, plus the transcription of a fourth below, illustrate the consistency of a repetitive methodology. The images illustrate the formatting of each practice plan. The are consistent; there is virtually no change from early in the season (image 3.1) to late in the season (image 3.3). The practice plans, and thus the practices, are structured according to the amount of time spent on each drill. In the left-hand margin are the time increments. To the right is a description of the activity for each time-slot. Occasionally Coach will include a diagram (image 3.2) of a play or a drill to expedite the set-up time for a new drill. Very little time is squeezed into the practice plan for transitioning from one drill to the next; the transcription below illustrates this as well.

Here is a transcription of a practice schedule; it was of the January 15th practice, and it is similar to what you see in the images above:

(15 min) 12:45-1 5 on 0 ½ ct. Dummy 'O' (Weak-Strong-Transition sets – fist – center)/BOB#1,2,3,4

(15 min) 1-1:15 Stretch/wallsits/5 on 0 Pres 'O'

(10 min) 1:15-1:25 2 on 0 Pick & Roll work (Blue-White) → 1 basket, both sides of floor

(15 min) 1:25-1:40 Indiana passing – 2 lines – 3 on 2, 2 on 1 – Fastbreak Buildup

(6 min) 1:40-1:45 "D" Stations (3 min stations)

MH: 4 in a row defense hi ball screen (2 Jam – 2 Hard Hedge)

TH: 2 in a row defend wing ballscreens

(15 min) 1:45-2 – SHELL -5 on 4 open post (weakside exchange)/5 on 4 drill

Game to 5 stops 4 on 4 on 4 Shell Game (no ballscreens)

(15 min) 2-2:15 Big 4 Drill / 4 on 4 full ct. charge (start drill with 4 on 4 blockout conversion)

(5 min) 2:15-2:20 5 min. full ct. shooting (115 makes)

(5 min) 2:20-2:25 Ft's-water

(20 min) 2:25-2:45 Black & White Work (Double Fist work also) → Deadball & Ft situations

(10 min) 2:45-2:55 2 'D' Work → ½ ct.

2:55-3 Ft's – water

(10 min) 3-3:10 3 Possessions

3:10-3:25 4 min game (Blue 55, White 61)

- *academics! (Ryan – Byran – Mario)*
- *12:45 tomm, weights after*
- *Horace-Ryan (media)*

Several prominent features of this document are the regimented structure, time allotments, and the "breakdown" format (i.e. the method of demonstrating the entirety of an activity and then breaking down that activity into constituent parts so as to practice the individual motor-movements of said parts) of the day's activities. But the most significant feature of this document is something that doesn't even appear on the document proper; repetition appears in the actions, in the doing, of the players and coaches. The structure, timing and breakdown features of these documents have a direct relationship with repetition – where and how it manifested, the philosophy behind it and the effects. The most conspicuous element of the practice schedule is that there is no mention of repetition. Repetition, on the actual text, is invisible. But to experience the actual basketball practice either as an observer or as a participant is to either see or do activities over and over and over. Often the only thing that puts any restraints on the

amount of repetition are the 20, 15, 10 and 5 minute blocks of time dedicated to the specific drills. In fact, that is what the time allotments are for: to limit by time – not by count – the number of times the participants perform an act.

As an example, let's look at the first drill of the day, "5 on 0 ½ ct. Dummy 'O'" with BOB [Baseline Out of Bounds plays] #1,2,3,4." These first 15 minutes of practice are dedicated to reviewing the various offensive plays in the team's repertoire. For each play, each of the five offensive players has specific duties or movements that they must perform in a highly choreographed sequence. To master these movements and their timing the student-athletes "study" the plays by repeatedly performing them under the watchful (and constantly corrective) eye of Coach. First they run their "½ ct." sets (i.e. offensive plays that are performed on only one half of the basketball court); then they review four of their out of bounds plays (i.e. plays designed to inbound the ball before the allotted five seconds expire). They repeat each play at least four times: first the Blue squad runs through them twice then the White squad runs through them twice. (At the beginning of practice the 15 players are divided into two "squads" of seven and eight players so that they can compete against each other in drills and scrimmage scenarios. Depending on the nature of the drill there may be as few as three or as many as five members from each squad competing against each other.) Not only does each player perform the play twice, but he also sees it performed two times. If there are any mistakes made, they repeat the play as many times as are needed until each one is run without mistake. The playbook consists of dozens of plays only a selection of which are performed on a given day. They perform the selected plays over and over and over again until the 15 dedicated minutes expire.

The players then move on to the next activity on the schedule, which is their stretching exercises plus some sprints in the form of their "5 on 0 Pres 'O'" (i.e. they imagine that another team is employing a full-court defensive strategy against them and they act out the appropriate (re)actions). Both the Blue and White squad repeat the 5 on 0 Pres O seven times. Stretching takes up approximately 10-12 minutes. Included in these 10-12 minutes are the "wallsits" – a stretching exercise where the athletes act like they are sitting in a chair by placing their backs against a wall with their thighs parallel to the floor. The drill serves at least two purposes: ingrain this low, bent-knee defensive posture and to build up toughness in the leg muscles. The rest of the time is dedicated to the 5 on 0 Pres O (i.e. five offensive players move through the choreographed strategy of getting the ball to the other end of the court against imaginary defensive [Press "O" stands for Press Offense] opponents [hence the "0"]. Starting off basketball practice by learning new material or reviewing old material is a routine that the team follows throughout the year. As a warm up, during the first minutes of practice the players go at a slower pace, with less intensity. Essentially they are walking through whatever material they are learning/reviewing. To use an opposing metaphor, they "stretch their minds." Then they (literally) stretch their bodies. The 5 on 0 Pres O is performed at a full sprint; this is the first intense drill of the work out. Here they break a sweat and continue the loosening up of their bodies. This routine is repeated on a daily basis: half-speed drill to open practice, followed by stretching, then sprints, then full speed ahead into the remaining drills of the practice (which the players are expected to perform with a high level of intensity).

The following 10 minutes are dedicated to "2 on 0 Pick & Roll work." The Blue squad goes to one half of the court and the White squad stays on the other. Breaking the team into two separate squads allows the coaching staff to facilitate more repetitions per player. The advantage of breaking the 15 players into two groups and separating them into different spaces within the gymnasium is that there is less waiting time when the players are taking turns to participate in the drills; each player gets to perform the material more times. Though the pick and roll is one of the most basic offensive strategies in the game of basketball, mastery of it does not come easy; the pick and roll is a relatively complex group of isolatable acts. The pick and roll involves two offensive players – the dribbler and the screener. To successfully execute the pick and roll the dribbler must "set up" his defensive player so that he is in a position to be screened. This maneuvering must be timed in such a way that his teammate, the screener, can properly position himself so that he does not commit a foul. Once the dribbler reaches the screener the dribbler's job is to rub shoulders with the screen so that there is no space for his defender to move between the dribbler and the screener. After the dribbler has moved past the screener, the screener then pivots and rolls or cuts to the hoop. The purpose of the screen and roll is to create an advantage over the defenders by putting them in compromising positions. The idea is to put the defenders in exploitable positions. There are a host of possible scenarios that can emerge from this offensive strategy. And "reading the defense" is one of the aspects that is the focus of this particular drill. Being able to read, or observe, the reactions of the defender and make the appropriate split-second decision is a skill that takes many, many trials and errors to master. Trials and error are a part of performative repetition in the domain of athletics (trial and error come

up below in other domains). However, before the players and coaches reach the point where they work on this split-second decision making, they first work on mastering the coordination and timing of the actual movements of maneuvering into the correct positions to execute the screen and the roll. They work on footwork, cuts, nonverbal communication (e.g. eye contact and reading the pace and speed of the play, etc.), passing, catching, etc. During this drill they work on all of these basic elements. Repetition is *the* approach to mastering this bit of content. During these 10 minutes the team is focusing on the right and proper execution of setting a pick and rolling to the basket.

The collection of repetitious activities is represented by the text of the practice plan. The practice plan is, in fact, the impetus for the activity. As well, the coaching staff spends time explaining particular aspects of or motivations for the various drills. They pause to talk about the activities and think deeply and critically about the activities they are performing. While the players are in the process of habituating the motor-movements, this talk also has a forward-looking effect in that it allows these players to imagine a bevy of dynamic situations in which the drills will be performed during a game. According to the definition laid out in Chapter One, this makes it a literacy event. While the text directly drives the specific activities of the particular time and day, the approach to training would probably still exist even if the coaching staff did not compose the practice plans each day. That's because within the culture of high level basketball these training practices are very common. In this sense, the coaches'/players' approach is in line with Street and Barton and Hamilton's definition of a "practice." Even though the texts were never not present, it's important that I point out the training traditions that are

the norm in high level basketball practices; it's related to my argument about the Trickle-Up Effect. These norms – i.e. "practices" – demonstrate the reciprocal nature of activities-events-practices for shaping ethics of behavior and ways of being.

Repetitious behavior is a habit of body and habit of mind that became a habituated way of behaving across domains. Repetition is not just an act or a practice; it is a way of being – an "ethics of behavior." From where did this ethics of behavior come? There are numerous instances in the database where repetition is mentioned, observed, enacted. The three examples from Charles, Victor and Clint cited below occurred exclusive of any explicit directive by their professors to read or write or perform the material repetitively. *The fact that neither Victor nor Clint were explicitly given a method for learning new academic materials is a significant difference from the dominating method handed to them from their coaches.* This observation indicates that repetition was a method of training that infused these subjects' ways of being. In one domain (athletic) they were explicitly shown how to train, in the other (academic) they were not. We may suppose that these repetitive behaviors might be a carry over from previous schooling experiences, but this study is not equipped to confirm or deny such connections. As far as the data for this study is concerned, only during basketball workouts was repetition explicitly demanded as a part of the training model. It was in the weight room that coaches told players to "get your reps" [i.e. repetitions]; it was in the gymnasium that coaches shouted for the players to "get your shots" [i.e. shoot the ball numerous times in succession]. It was during basketball practices that players did pick and roll drills for ten minutes at a time. To take the pick and roll drill as an example, players would perform the same act, the exact same sequence of movements, over and over. The demands on

the players to execute exact motions of their bodies included exacting execution of body posture (e.g. how to hold their shoulders, arms, hands, width of their feet as they set the screen), footwork (e.g. which foot to lead with as the screener stepped out of the screening posture and began his roll to the hoop), communication (e.g. calling for the ball and reading the body motions and trajectory of moving bodies). These are just three of the demands of the screener. To learn these motions, to "get it down," the subjects repeated the drill. And then they would repeat it some more. Coaches demanded that the players repeat these acts. The players, without question or concern, repeated these and other basic acts nearly every day for two to three hours.

The data and analysis tells us that the domain of athletics relied much more heavily on repetition as the foundational approach to instilling "content." *The claim that emerges from the data of this ethnography is that repetition is the foundational element of student-athletes' training methods that instills habits that they can perform unthinkingly. This habituation becomes, for student-athletes, a way of behaving, a way of being. It is how they conceptualize the work of learning new material. And it transfers to other domains of their lives.*

The Physicality of Doing It in the Academic and Social Domains

The subjects' approach to training in the domain of academics and athletics were physical and literate in unexpected ways. Their training was, according to Hawhee, "syncretic" (Hawhee 9, 13-14): they were using intertwining, whole-body training methods – using their body to train their minds and using their minds to train their body. For example, Charles had a very specific approach to studying course material that involved physically manipulating stacks of note cards that he would write and read. His

motivation for creating these note cards was so he could more easily repeat and review the material. Here is Charles explaining:

> *It's all in one. And it's like I can just keep going over and over and over until I get it down. With note cards. See if I have 30 note cards I will take three. I will take three out of the pile. Or just say if I have like okay 30 note cards or whatever. And I take three out. I will take three out and just know those three first. And once I know those three I will put it to the side like that. And then I'll get the next three. And you know once I know those two again fine, I will get – and then I will take the other three. That makes six note cards. And I will take all the six note cards and then go over those until I know those. And then I'll take the six note cards and put them down and I'll start over like that.*

Charles' use of the note cards is a very precisely choreographed literacy activity. In the interview, as he was offering the above explanation, he was miming the practice – cupping the stack of note cards "like that," picking up three cards "like that," reading the imaginary words in the empty space between his hands that were holding the cards and then "put [them] to the side like that." Read one card. Stick it behind the other two. Over and over. This method of studying is not itself an act of composing – at least not in the way that writing teachers typically imagine. Yet, he composed the note cards; he composed a study method more in line with the valued practices of his athletics Discourse community. Also of significance is the fact that Charles re-wrote all his notes and study guides onto the note cards. The process of re-composing the material onto the note cards was a part of the process of appropriating the material, putting it into a form that was his. (This is also an example of Breakdown; see Chapter 5.)

The juxtaposition of the practice plan with Charles study methods serves several functions. The one I want to highlight right now is the blur between physicality and literacy: literacy is at the heart of their athletic training, and physical interaction is central to how these student-athletes learned course material. In re-writing the material, Charles was "doing it" (i.e. doing the material physically). It is subtle and implied, but as literacy educators we often overlook the fact that at its most basic level, reading and writing are acts of the body first and foremost. Without our bodily senses and motor-movement capabilities we cannot read or write. This is a given. What the subjects of this study illuminate, however, is the complexity of this physical engagement with literacy. *Composing is a highly physical activity. For these subjects, literacy was not a passive, brain-based activity. Of significance to teachers of writing is the fact that reading and writing are as much physical as they are mental*. This data highlights the physicality of reading, writing and learning; it is a 21st century demonstration of the whole-body process of (literate) communication that Hawhee reveals about the rhetors and athletes of 4th century B.C.E. Greece.

Repetition showed up in multiple forms, and Victor demonstrates this fact. In one interview excerpt Victor is explaining how he studies psychology vocabulary by reading his notes and then re-writing them:

Me: So then how do you memorize it?

Victor: Just repetition.

Me: Just keep reading it over and over again?

Victor: Yeah.

Me: All right.

Victor: Same thing with this. Pretty much all our psychology class, all our test, was all vocabulary, just repetition, reading over and over again, memorizing. What I also do is, as far as like if I have vocabulary, I would type it up, type all the words, like memorize it more. Like type the word and keep reading it instead of just taking that [i.e. the online notes], printing it out and all the study guide, whatever.

Me: So do you think it helps you? Why do you type it out also? What does that –

Victor: I memorize – I don't know. Makes me memorize it better since I'm like reading it and typing it.

Not to be overlooked in these examples from both domains is the role of performance: "Makes me memorize it better since I'm like reading *and* typing it." The process of writing/typing the definitions is an act of appropriation that happens in the performance. Victor doesn't just review the study guide given to him by the teacher via BlackBoard. He re-writes it with his own hands; then he memorizes it by repetition. Same with Charles; he didn't just read from a study guide or a glossary. He re-wrote the material into a format that allowed him to use learning strategies that fit him. When these subjects invested the effort to re-write their class notes, PowerPoint slides or vocabulary, they were actively engaging with the materials through re-composing. There was something about actively *doing* the material that Charles and Victor were drawn to. What this suggests is that repetition is not just a rote exercise for these players. Repetition is not mindless or unintelligent (as the term "rote" suggests); to repeat is to perform, to put the material into action. It these players method of appropriating something, habituating by means they are familiar with. Repetition is not *just* an extension of skill-and-drill approach. Part of repetition was personally performing the material; this was a key

element of the activities. Repetition is how they come to embody basketball skills or classroom knowledge. Repetition is a method of learning so that information becomes "second nature," embodied, to these student-athletes, and it was mediated by acts of (re)writing.

Repetitious training methods are time and energy intensive. A frequently assumed stereotype of student-athletes is that they are athletes first and foremost – dumb and/or apathetic jocks. In this example, Victor unwittingly addresses this stereotype while simultaneously demonstrating the transference, the fluidity, of student-athlete training practices across domains. Here is Victor talking about what makes him a good student:

CD: What are some things that you feel like you know a lot about?

Victor: That's what I'm saying. Like I don't really think I know that much about, like a lot in life. But, I'm just like good at studying. That's why my graders are good, I'm good at studying.

CD: So then what makes you good at studying? Like –

Victor: Repetition.

CD: Repetition?

Victor: Yeah. Just keep studying it over and over.

CD: So like give me an example of something. Like if you were studying for something how you would do it.

Victor: Well like my biology test. He had a PowerPoint and he had slides. And he did a study guide. And I just read one question and I go to the answers. I read the question. Keep asking it over and over. Just keep reading it until I, you know, I just I

don't have to look at it. And I just think well and the question and the answer is in my head. And I see all this.

CD: So you just, so just reading it –

Victor: Yeah. Going over it. Repeating, repeating over and over again.

Victor opens up with a deprecating comment about what he does and doesn't know. Here he is being dismissive of his own intellect, and instead he gives credit to his method of studying for his academic success. Of significance here is Victor's emphasis on the role of repetition in his academic successes. According to Victor, how he comes to know what he knows can be attributed to repetition. He identifies the method of repetition as the mediating factor for "why my grades are good." Victor employs the term repetition. He clearly illustrates what a repetitious engagement with course material looks like: it is the act of "just studying it over and over," "asking it over and over." He reads the question. Flips to the appropriate page. Reads the answer. Reads the question. Flips the page. Reads the answer. Reads the question. Flips the page. Reads the answer. Reads the question. Flips the page. Reads the answer. The physicality of *doing* the content repetitively was *the* basis for *all* of these subjects' successful training.

What's remarkable about Victor's method is that it is also Clint's method. It's Charles' method. It's Will's method. It's Devonte's method. It's Jeremy's method. It's Coach's method. Each and every member of the team engages in repetitious acts as a way of learning. Repetition is explicitly identified as a key component to learning and knowing content when in the domain of academics. When in the domain of athletics, however, repetition is not explicitly identified; repetition is simply a part of their everyday activities.

Habituating Ethical and Excellent Behavior: The Trickle-Up Effect

Some of the terms that I've already put in play or have alluded to – terms such as repetition, habituation, second-nature, embodied, hexis, habitus – have an intellectual history that connects to numerous other theorists. I want to focus on two of them: Debra Hawhee and Aristotle. In *Bodily Arts,* Debra Hawhee argues that the Three R's of Sophistic training, Rhythm, Repetition, Response – the model of education used by ancient Greeks to train athletes and rhetors side by side – sculpted character (see Hawhee 141-8). The Sophistic model of Rhythm, Repetition and Response was viewed as an educational approach that instilled "right ways" of behaving (147) that prepared athletes and rhetors not just for competition but "better equip[ed] students to become effective citizens" as well (146). Just as Hawhee (by way of Isocrates) argues that the Sophistic training model habituated a way of being in the world that affected behaviors beyond the scope of the gymnasium (where athletes and rhetors trained and competed alongside one another), I, too, argue that these student-athletes' training sculpted an "ethics of behavior." This ethics of behavior is a habituated (and thus unconscious) way of performing accurately and correctly.

In Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics,* his treatise on ethics, we see how actions within an activity are to be performed so as to live well. To perform activities within a particular function according to high standards is to attain excellence. This, says Aristotle, is to be "in conformity with excellence or virtue" (Aristotle 17). The foundation of excellence or virtue is located in individual, specific acts repeated over time. Later in *Ethics* he goes on to say that, "In a word, characteristics develop from corresponding activities. For that reason, we must see to it that our activities are of a

certain kind, since any variations in them will be reflected in our characteristics" (Aristotle 34). It is not enough to perform an activity once or twice; only when it becomes part of our regular practice is it "reflected in our character." Aristotle is talking about a trickle-up effect. Small, well-performed acts repeated over time shapes good practices.[2] Martin Ostwald, in his introduction to Aristotle's *Ethics*, helps articulates this point:

> But in order to have virtue it is not sufficient to exercise this *proairesis* or "choice" of acting well only on a small number of isolated occasions. Virtue is, for Aristotle, a *hexis* (literally, "a having," "a holding," "a being in a certain condition"), something so deeply ingrained in a person by constant habit that he will almost automatically make the morally right choices on every occasion, rejecting at the same time and equally automatically all the alternatives as wrong. Virtue will thus be a firmly established characteristic of the person, and the aggregate of all his characteristics will constitute his character. (Ostwald xxiii)

Not covered by Ostwald's is *how* one arrives at *hexis*, how one comes to "being in a certain condition." Debra Hawhee fills in this gap. She explains how the ancients arrived at *hexis*. They did so through Repetition (in conjunction with Rhythm and Response). What Ostwalt's reading of Aristotle and what Hawhee demonstrates is that a repetitious process approach to training is integral to facilitating "something so deeply ingrained in a person by constant habit that he will almost automatically [perform accurately] on every occasion."

Smaller, isolated acts performed via repetitious training models – be it in basketball or in writing – trickle up to shape the habits of these student-athletes, and, as I

argue later (see Chapter 4), their character as well. The "watch your actions, for they become your habits; watch your habits, for they become your character" maxim cited in Chapter One embodies the analysis that emerges from the data. The data demonstrates a "trickle-up" model of literacy whereby small, basic acts determine the success of larger (literacy) practices. This claim offers a slight revision to the dominant New Literacy Studies paradigm that focuses on the top-heavy social and ideological effects of "practices" on acts of reading and writing. How so? To begin to answer this question I point the discussion towards the physical places *where* these student-athletes performed/composed. The places where these players performed illuminate a disciplined habit that became instilled in them through repetitive acts. A look at place helps demonstrate how the trickle-up effect played out within this system.

Study hall was mandatory for every player on the team (the one exception was a fifth year senior who was taking graduate courses). For study hall the players and at least one coach always met in the library on the first floor near a bank of computers. Twice a week, every week, they met in the library for one hour. The players were compelled by the coaches to regularly attend mandatory study hall, and this instilled a habit: school work is done in the library. All eight of the players that participated in interviews indicated that they didn't like having to go to study hall. However, all eight of the players expressed that study hall was good for them and that they valued it. Here's Clint explaining that in his first semester he never would have gone to the library, but after getting into a rhythm and habit of going to the library, the library became his preferred place of study:

Because of study hall I have to come in here and get my work done. Because if they didn't like make me I probably wouldn't come in here [the library] and sit in here and do my work. I wouldn't have did it that first semester, but like now this semester I do my time. I come in here on my own and do my work.

Like the rest of the players on the team, Clint didn't enjoy going to study hall. He would have preferred to not have study hall at all. Yet when asked about the value of study hall, Clint, and all of his teammates, expressed his (begrudging) appreciation. The library became the right place. It was a productive place. They developed a habit of going to what they saw as the proper place of study. As Mario explained it, the study hall, assisted in developing positive habits because "for some of these other players it's good to actually get in the library and get 'em working." It was a positive thing just to get them in the library because to do so was to have the players performing motor-movements associated with what the Discourse community valued as positive habits. For the subjects of this study these smaller library acts developed into habits. To have them physically performing the motions of studying – whether they were *actually* studying or not – was a positive activity. It was a positive activity that contributed to the development of a physical literacy habit, a routine for literacy similar to their routine for shooting 200 jump shots. The habit became a regular practice. Without being compelled by the coaching staff the players would return to the library on their own time even when they did not want to. This practice is especially powerful when juxtaposed with their non-athlete peers. Here's Victor explaining the challenge of going to the library:

I think one thing is just getting the motivation to start an assignment because I know the hardest part a lot of times is just to get out of the dorm room and get to

the library and do your research. But when you have to frickin' get up before the sun comes up at 5:00 a.m. when the rest of the student body is coming back from their parties and you're getting up to go to the track and do your workouts, you can carry that over to being in your dorm and not wanting to start it, but knowing that you have to do this.

It takes a lot of discipline to skip out on all the partying. What facilitates that discipline is the habit they've developed. These student-athletes have come to embody the values, attitudes, feelings and beliefs that are prized by their group. Going to the library over and over generated a habit that was instilled in the players and trickled up to become a practice.

Discussion

There are at least three things that writing teachers can take away from this. First, these players' learning was deeply rooted in the physical. So, too, was their reading and writing practices. When these student-athletes set about to learn something, the process wasn't a passive one; they actively and physically engaged the material using syncratic methods. These literate composing practices offer support for the argument that reading and writing is not solely a cognitive process. An important part of understanding this first point is to consciously acknowledge the realities of the physicality of reading-composing. At its most basic, as Emig and Shaugnessey have made clear, reader-writers must be able to physically manipulate the tools of literacy. Literacy presupposes the bodily sensory ability to use pen and keyboard, paper and screen, brail and audio books and voice recognition software. This study complicates this basic element of the physicality of reading-composing. To physically read-compose is to appropriate the

material; it's more than just demonstrating a set of literacy skills. Developing habits for doing reading-composing appears to have a significant role in this appropriation process.

Second, the training/learning methods of these subjects indicate the power of small acts repeated over time, that such small acts develop into permanent, domain-crossing dispositions and ways of being. This is the trickle-up effect. Finally, the domain of athletics shares important learning principles with academics. Understanding and paying attention to the literacy and learning of other Discourse communities such as these student-athletes' expands writing teachers' conceptions of *how* people compose – and teaching *how* is more transcendent than teaching *what*.

Writing is a physical activity that facilitates ownership of material and is an active mode of appropriating material. Imagining reading and composing as physical activities opens up the possibility for viewing Discourse communities such as athletics as less at odds with educational domains than traditional wisdom and stereotypes have allowed us to imagine.

Notes:

1. As teachers of writing our discipline-specific agenda is to teach best writing practices that will put our students "in conformity with" excellent and virtuous writing. The broader mission or our liberal art is to train excellent and virtuous citizens.

CHAPTER 4

PAPER AND PEN AND SURVEILLANCE: THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF THE LITERACY OF SURVEILLANCE

> ["Panopticonics: The Control and Surveillance of Black Female Athletes in a Collegiate Athletic Program"] is a Foucauldian description and analysis of the circumstances by which, during the tenure of my ethnographic research at Midwestern University, black female student athletes' identities were shaped, as well as the implications of the formation process for their academic achievement. It describes the MU women's athletic program as a modern-day panopticon and describes how it functioned with precision to maximize participants' athletic and academic potential through surveillance, control, and discipline. (Foster 300-301)

Will: But I think that a big reason why they do that, also, and why they might have the paper and the pen is because they want you to know that they're keeping track of everything you do and you gotta take care of business because they're gonna be checking you every single study hall.

Me: So do you think that sort of checking up – do you think that shapes the way you or any of the other players study or affects the way you work?

Will: Yeah. I think it definitely does because I think whenever you know that you have someone watching over your shoulder, it's gonna give you that extra motivation to get the good grades. Especially with someone like Coach, you know that if you don't meet his expectations there's gonna be consequences.

The system of surveillance and control by means of paper and pen seen in Will's interview excerpt is carefully and consciously crafted by Coach and his staff. It is effectively designed to shape behaviors, to discipline conformity to "his expectations." It is a seemingly small thing, but the presence of the paper and pen reinforces the idea that "they're checking you every single study hall" and that "if you don't meet his [Coach's] expectations there's gonna be consequences." The constant presence of the paper and the pen is an example of a literacy event shaping both literacy activities and literacy practices. The players were acutely aware of and hyper sensitive to the presence of pen and paper; papers and pens were constantly circulating about the players and the players knew the role of these objects in determining aspects of their lives. I use the phrase "paper and pen" because that's how two of the subjects described it in their interviews. At each study hall or basketball practice the immediate effect of the ever-present paper and pen is to determine and shape specific activities – e.g. ball handling drills or reading; writing or group studying for classes. The paper and pen are equivalent to "talk about" a text in that the text itself communicates a message to the players. The ever-present paper and pen has the disciplining effect of shaping literacy practices and habits. The players know that the paper and pen is going to be present to record or determine their activities, so, over the course of time, their activities get shaped into habits and their study hall behaviors become an unconscious way of being when in that setting – i.e. practices. A large part of this chapter explores this relationship between paper and pen and surveillance and the behaviors that manifest as a result.

In the ecology of my subjects, the constant circulation of documents – in addition to the near constant presence of coaching and support staff – systematically functioned in

a fashion similar to the "modern day panopticon" that Kevin Foster describes in his 2003 article (301). The panopticon is the structural design of prisons/hospitals described by Foucault as having a disciplining effect on subjects (Foucault *Discipline and Punish* 1979). The design of the panopticon is such that the watcher can systematically observe subjects – some times even without the subjects' awareness or knowledge of the surveillance – and discipline aberrant or undesirable behavior. Time subjected to this system (which Foster calls "panopticonics" – i.e. the systematic application of surveilling) instills in the subjects a sense that they are being constantly watched, and, as a result, they become disciplined/controlled to behave according to the expectations of their watchers. In the case of Foster's subjects, Black female athletes were disciplined, controlled and surveilled in order to "maximize partipants' athletic and academic potential" (301). In the case of my subjects, as Will explains, they were disciplined, controlled and surveilled to "meet [Coach's] expectations."

As the opening epigraphs suggests, this chapter is an examination and analysis of the theme of Surveillance that developed from my database. The most conducive format for presenting the data is to do so, yet again, by domains. Athletic, academic and social domains serve as the organizing concepts; this is the classification schema. Will's opening epigraph is a case in point: it was the subjects' *athletics coach* who oversaw their *academic work*. The consequences for not meeting Coach's (athletic, academic and social) expectations are doled out in the gymnasium, but the punishment might be for non-athletic related activities. Coach oversaw the activities in all three domains. At one point or another all three domains converged in the space of the gymnasium and/or the

library. As you can see, the crossing back and forth between (i.e. the blurring of) the domains schema complicates the classification system.

The reason for examining surveillance as a theme is because surveillance was a mechanism for controlling and disciplining the subject with documents; surveillance was a literacy event. More importantly, and more significant to composition and literacy scholars, the system of surveillance (which I'll later term an "educational technology") affected the ways that the subjects read and composed; surveillance determined their literacy practices. In the latter portions of this chapter I present and discuss data that illustrates the social behaviors of the student-athletes that emerged in spite of the system of surveillance, and I discuss how these social behaviors relate to – and positively enhance – the subjects' practices of reading and writing and talking about text.

The arrangement of the rest of the chapter includes, first, a summary of Foster as the framing theory for understanding the concept of surveillance, discipline and control in relation to student-athletes. Next I off an explication of the method of coding for and analyzing surveillance in relation to literacy. Third, I talk about surveillance in the three domains of athletics, academics and social. As we progress towards the conclusion I demonstrate the effects of surveillance in these domains, and I offer the suggestion that the system of surveillance, while odious to the ear, has certain values within educational settings. I conclude with a discussion of surveillance as a positive "educational technology."

Foster as a Frame

Kevin Foster's analysis of his 2003 study at "Midwestern University" is an ethnographic study that examines the methods and effects of exerting surveillance,

discipline and control over a group of black female athletes. The lead term in the title of his article – "Panopticonics" – is defined as "the purposeful application of surveillance, control and discipline to the development and maintenance of effective educational structures" (319). After reviewing the Foucauldian tradition, his methodology and the database from which his analysis emerged, Foster presents his discussion of the role of race within MU's athletic program (302-4), the "architecture of control" within the athletic department (304-9), the "racialization of Black Female Student Athletes" (309-14), and the "internalizing of racialized control" (315-19). His findings indicate that within this particular athletic system race and gender affected differing treatments. His subjects, the Black female student athletes, were treated differently from their white female peers (e.g. they were treated as hypersexual, prone to sexual promiscuity). There were differing expectations (stereotypes) for the black and white student-athletes based on their lived socio-economic and cultural experiences. People made interpretations of these women as being unprepared to know how to succeed within this highly competitive academic and athletic environment. The technologies of surveillance and control within this system had to exert themselves more intensively on these raced, sexed and classed women in order to help them succeed. The system, then, was very paternalistic, very controlling. It should also be noted that the "system" exerted paternalistic control, not individuals. Which is to say, in Foster's study the "system" was largely agentless.

In the end, Foster comes to three major conclusions. First, "the structure in women's athletics yielded results that stood in favorable contrast to those realized among female college students generally" (319-20) – a finding that he puts in contrast with the commonplace strictures and "rigid behavioral guidelines" that were common in

"successful Black education in segregated, Pre-Civil Rights America" (320). The second major conclusion he comes to is that, though complex and problematic, overall the program positively "shaped student athletes' approaches to and conceptions of success even as it helped them to achieve it" (320). Finally, though his subjects experienced more demanding scheduling, stricter scrutiny and heightened surveillance, they experienced "greater success than their nonblack peers" (320). The effect of this finding is that Foster, who recognizes some of the flaws and need for reform within this successful system, goes on to advocate for the implementation of this model on a larger scale. His opinion is that male athletes in particular would benefit potentially more than the women. He also suggests that such a system would benefit non-athletes as well regardless of race. His view is that this educational technology could potentially be beneficial to all students.

Foster was located physically within the academic support program for the student-athletes. He did not observe them outside this context (though he himself was a student-athlete and has researched student-athletes for other projects). For this study Foster observes the student-athletes and the support staff. My study observes student-athletes as they circulate throughout the entire institution and interact with more varied personnel. Foster qualifies his assertions (e.g. the system was successful, *but* it's highly intrusive; there were positive results, *but* it's paternalistic). This indicates the highly problematic nature of such a controlling system – a fact recognized by everybody except for the watchers, the managers of the system itself (which was the case in my study also). An illustration of the complex nature of the relationship between student-athletes and panopticonics follows:

> An important aspect of the programs operations, then, was that it shaped student athletes' approaches to and conceptions of success even as it helped them to achieve it. For many strong-willed young student athletes, being subject to such an effective and powerful force felt smothering, even if in the final analysis they expressed acceptance—or even gratitude—for the program's stringent design. (320)

The student-athletes in my study expressed consternation with the burden of being compelled to attend mandatory study hall. Paradoxically, they also valued it a great deal. And, in the end, their behaviors, their study habits, were positively altered – just as Foster's subjects "approaches to and conceptions of success" were positively affected.

Foster labels panopticonics a "technology" (321). In relation to my data analysis I refer to the system of surveillance and control as an educational technology. Foster's article resonates with several of the points of conversation – namely the complexity of the system and the effects of such a system on behaviors (the data from my study does not allow me to make claims about the "success" of such a system). One major, important difference between Foster's study and mine is that acts of reading, writing and talk about text are at the heart of my data and discussion.

Data – Coding for Control

In the Repetition chapter we saw how texts determined physical activities. Since part of the definition of literacy events includes talk around text (in addition to reading from a physically present text) the basketball workouts where these practice plans were present were labeled as literacy events. Literacy Events are not defined by whether or not they explicitly and systematically *control* behavior. In this chapter, though, that is

exactly how specific texts functioned, and it is those texts – and the system of using texts in this way – that functioned as surveillance technology to determine and control behavior. But how did I arrive at an analysis of this theme of Surveillance and control? To explain, I present and explicate a data chart that identifies the sources of data and the method by which I coded the data that coalesced into the theme of this chapter.

The chart below displays the data sources for the theme of surveillance and control for this chapter. Represented in the columns, at the top of each chart, are the three domains (athletics, academics, social) of literacy I observed. Represented in the rows, along the side of each chart, are the methods (textual, gaze/physically present body, system/apparatus) by which the surveillance/control was performed on the subjects. The data source for each item in the following nine cells are from artifacts, interviews, fieldnotes, photo literacy logs and observations. Though I don't specify the source for all of the data in the chart below it can be deduced by the tag word. For example, "stat sheets" are artifacts and photo literacy log images. Practice and conditioning are from interviews and fieldnotes and observations. More important is the method and/or form in which the surveillance and control manifested. Some duplication of methods occurred across domains. This is reflective of the blurry and slippery nature of classifying and analyzing the database by domains.

Forms and Manifestations of Surveillance across Domains

	Athletics	Academics	Social

Texts	Stat Sheets Practice schedules Banners, posters, motivational signs (from photo literacy logs) Bulletin Board	"The paper & the pen" of the coaches (cited in fieldnotes and interviews) Class Schedules (artifacts from Sept.) Lists of due dates and test dates (Coaching staff) Blackboard (grade reports, midterms…)	Athletic Financial Aid Agreement (i.e. Scholarship Contract)
Gaze/Body	Practice Conditioning Weights Individual workouts (from observation, fieldnotes, interviews and photo literacy logs)	Blackboard Study Hall moderators Eligibility/NCAA Tutors Advisors (including Coach cf. Charles) Grade reports, midterms, advisors' emails to professors	Public behavior – trash & chair patrol Curfew
System/Apparatus	COACH and Asst Coaches Trainer reports Advisors & support staff Study Hall Pre- & Post-season conditioning Curfew	Study Hall Eligibility NCAA eligibility & compliance (from Scholarship Contract) Advisors GPA	Scholarship Contract Study Hall Physical exhaustion through time and energy consumption (e.g. Victor's interview)

(Chart 4.1)

In the Texts/Athletics cell, stat sheets, practices schedules, banners and bulletin boards represent the types of texts or literacy events that circulated around the players within the domain of athletics. These documents either determined or were designed to affect their physical activities, behavior and/or attitudes.

In the Texts/Academics cell, paper & pen, class schedules, lists and Blackboard represent the texts or literacy events that were used to track the student-athletes' behavior and to ensure that they were behaving or doing what they were supposed to do. Because of these texts and the constant management of the players' academic deadlines supervised by the coaching and support staff, the student-athletes could not neglect (most of) their academic work – at least as it related to due dates published on syllabi and Blackboard.

In the Texts/Social cell, the Athletic Financial Aid Agreement (i.e. scholarship contracts) that each athlete signed dictated that as representatives of Richardson University they could and would be held responsible for their behaviors off the court and away from campus. In other words, these student-athletes were contractually bound to behave well (an issue I discuss below in the section on the social domain).

In the Gaze/Body/Athletics cell, practice, conditioning, weights and workouts represent the physical activities that were constantly scrutinized and controlled by the coaching and support staff. During these various athletic training moments the student-athletes' activities were constantly scrutinized, corrected (or "coached") and/or recorded. For example, during weights and conditioning the coaches carried paper and pens to write notes and keep lists of how much weight the players were lifting or how fast they were running 200 meter dashes. Mostly the purpose of this was for tracking their progress.

But there were secondary purposes and other effects. A secondary purpose would be to ensure they were exerting maximum effort and demonstrating a hard work ethic.

In the Gaze/Body/Academics cell, Blackboard, study hall moderators, eligibility, tutors, advisors and grade reports again represent the methods by which the players' academics were constantly monitored. In the examples from this cell the method for surveilling and controlling were multiple – i.e. the methods were textual literacy events (grade reports), they were structural/institutional policy and practices (NCAA eligibility requirements) and they were the individual agents that oversaw the enforcement of eligibility requirements (advisors and coaches). Above, when Will speaks of "consequences," this is only one of the types of consequences the players may face for not meeting "expectations." Will is mostly referring to Coach's basketball expectations, but there are also academic expectations that are determined by the NCAA and by Richardson University that the players have to meet in order to be able to continue to compete as members of the team.

In the Gaze/Body/Social cell, public behavior and curfew represent the effects of surveillance and control and another device by which that behavior is controlled. As we see below in the example of Kirk picking up trash and pushing in chairs so that he and his teammates won't get in trouble, the effects of surveillance control the players' behavior even when they aren't being watched. Curfew is another rule – one that is sometimes checked by dorm visits from the coaches and enforced by punishment such as sprints during practice – that determines the behavior of the players outside the classroom and beyond the domain of basketball. Surveillance controls how they behave among their

peers: they have to be in their rooms while their peers do whatever they please whenever and wherever.

In the System/Apparatus/Athletics cell, coaches, trainer reports, advisors, study hall, conditioning and curfew represent the methods of surveillance and practices within the student-athletes' immediate Discourse community as well as the larger Discourse community of collegiate athletics. This cell represents practices – i.e. behaviors, attitudes, norms, values – that manifested in the form of policies, behaviors, texts. For example, study hall is a team event that these players experience at Richardson University. However, it is also a wide spread practice that is sponsored by the NCAA (e.g. CHAMPS program) and individual institutions across the country. Conditioning, curfews, training reports, pre-season conditioning: these are all activities and events that the coaching staff at Richardson University didn't dream up independently of the larger system of sports training that exists under the aegis of the NCAA specifically and the tradition of basketball and athletics training in general. These are practices and ways of training that existed long before the coaching staff at Richardson University became coaches.

In the System/Apparatus/Academics cell, study hall, eligibility, compliance, advisors and GPA all represent the methods of controlling academic-related behaviors, study habits and outcomes (e.g. course grades and GPA). Again, this list represents the practices that were prevalent within their immediate Discourse community as well as the larger Discourse community of American collegiate athletics.

In the System/Apparatus//Social cell, scholarship contracts, study halls, time and energy consumption all represent methods of controlling the players' time (e.g. curfew),

energy level (e.g. working them so hard they don't have the energy to socialize) and general socializing behavior (e.g. no alcohol consumption) so as to affect specific habits and behavior or, rather, prevent aberrant behavior (see fieldnotes from November 8 study hall).

Overall the chart offers a visual illustration of the domains, controlling methods, the data sources and the domains in which the surveillance and control materialized. The chart included examples that were and were not literacy-related to provide a sense of the pervasive and systematic nature of surveillance and control exerted over these young men. The rest of the chapter focuses primarily on the relationship between surveillance, literate behavior and reading, writing and texts.

There are five remaining sections in this chapter; at the heart of four of them are representative chunks of data or scenes from the database that illustrate the relationship between surveillance, literate and non-literate behavior and literacy itself. These sections discuss and analyze bodily movements; they discuss and analyze the role of paper and pen; these sections discuss the effects of surveillance on the players' behaviors. It is the effects of surveillance that we are interested in: we see how this educational technology affects literacy practices and is itself a literacy practices.

Quintessential Data – Ingraining Literate Practices in Study Hall

(Image 4.1 – Jasen's Photo Log)

The image above is of a typical study hall in the computer galleys on the first floor of the university library, and it comes from Jasen's photo literacy log. Jasen's image was the single best and richest piece of data from the 58 literacy log photos, and it was the only one that captured the action of a large portion of the study hall area as opposed to just an individual desk/terminal (of which there between 27 and 38 – the approximation is due to the close-up angles of the photos that makes the setting of 11 of the photos difficult to determine). This is the area of the library where the student-athletes met for their hour-long study hall, which was always moderated by at least one member of the coaching staff. As a way of bringing the above data chart to life, and in order to more thoroughly and convincingly connect surveillance and literacy, I describe and analyze four major aspects of the above image: bodies, setting, the "architecture" or "technology" of surveillance, and the effects on literate behavior.

Coach Danny is at the center of the study hall where he efficiently surveills the activities around him - a la Foucault's panopticon. Starting at the center, we see Coach Danny hunched over (bent back with forward leaning posture) and hanging onto (arm and head resting on the divider and well into the physical space of the terminal) Charles' terminal. Coach Danny's body posture and gestures are penetrating Charles' space at the same time that he is in the center space of *all* of the players' spaces. Coach Danny's right arm is invading his work space to touch the paper on Charles' desk; Coach Danny's foot is propped up on the back of Charles' chair; Coach Danny's open leg, reaching arms and dangling head are draped all over his space and are in fact invading Charles' space as he appropriates it, pushing himself so far into the terminal that he is nearly in it with Charles. The tale of this image, and what the body postures within it illustrates, is the co-opting actions of the coaches; Coach Danny and the rest of the staff move in and out of the players' virtual and real spaces as though it is their own.

Charles' computer screen is showing a Word Document and his posture reveals that he was in the midst of composing text on this document (comparatively, when Charles wasn't actively working on something he leaned far away back in his chair and away from the computer screen). Including Charles, there are a total of six subjects in this photo. The postures of each of them demonstrate a working posture. Whether or not they were actively working on course work cannot be determined. As Clint pointed out in his interview, and as I observed in my fieldnotes at least five times, upon arriving in the study hall the players would do two things: open a word document and type a heading and open their personal Blackboard pages. Then they would minimize these windows and have them at the ready so they could maximize them and cover up their Facebook

pages or YouTube pages when one of the coaches would wander through the galley. Given Coach Danny's close proximity and the players working postures (facing forward, square to their screens/terminal space, heads down, hands active, stoic faces as opposed to smiling, joking, fun-having facial expressions) in this photo, they all certainly had their Blackboard pages or a Word Document up on their screens or a textbook or study guide on their desks. There is no question about this. They all *look* busy, are *acting* engaged with their school work, reading and writing or talking about texts. This is an example of a corporeal drilling activity. The surveilling coach, simply by his presence in this case, is ensuring that the players are at least *acting like* they are reading-composing-studying. The still image alone is not enough to determine whether the guys are working or not. The way I was able to determine was to sit and watch the players' computer screens and whether they were composing a document or watch how they interacted with their textbooks or note cards.

In addition to their body postures, also of note is the proximity of the players. These five players are all sitting within approximately 12 feet of each other. Clint, who is standing with the red hat, appears to have been sitting outside of the galley of computers. It was fairly common for Clint to sit away from the group in relative isolation. The same is true for Mario, Brad, Ryan and Kirk; these five were older (juniors and seniors) players, and they didn't like to be interrupted by the occasional distracting outbursts by the younger members of the team who would fairly consistently socialize with one another when coaches weren't around. The players' proximity to one another is indicative of their closeness as friends and teammates; they almost *always* traveled in packs. It's how they acted across domains. In class they sat together; at lunch they sat

together; they walked to and from the dorms together; they walked to practice together; I once even saw three of them together at the beach. The significance of their proximity in this photo is that it facilitated easier collaboration on or help with assignments. Their proximity also made it easier for them to socialize by showing each other YouTube clips or other random information on their computer screens. Also, the coaching staff limited the players to certain parts of the library. For example, as Jeremy pointed out in one of his interviews, the players were not allowed to work up on the quieter, less-trafficked second floor. They all had to be within the visual reach of the moderating coach. The players could sit anywhere on the first floor.

The second major point for discussion is the setting – the library, the galley, the computers, the desks, the books, the noise, the circulation of people, conversations, etc. As I've pointed out, there were other, quieter areas in the library. In fact, in three or four conversations with the head librarian, he pointed out that the large, cavernous, marble foyer acted as an amplifier of all possible noises. Though there were efforts to try to facilitate a quieter study environment, due to the architecture of the larger library and the density of students in the galley in particular, this was sometimes a logistical/architectural impossibility. There were 22 computers in the galley. And the galley was the area to which most students gravitated to do their non-group work. Even when the basketball team wasn't in this area it was usually one of the busiest work areas in the library. Along with the high concentration of people that flowed in and out of the area, there were also the conversations they brought with them.

In addition to the plentiful computers around the library at least three of the players had laptop computers. So computer and internet access was rarely if ever an

inhibiting factor to doing school work. At no point in interviews or observations did any of the players indicate that computer/internet access kept them from accomplishing their work. As Clint, Jasen, Jeremy and Mario pointed out in their interviews, the library was where they preferred to go to do their work in their free time. There were noise and distractions that hovered around the galley area of the library, but compared to the dorms, these were not prohibitive. The dorms were much less conducive to study.

As a way of discussing the architecture/technology of the system of surveillance and control I want to return our attention to Coach Danny. Much like the design of Foucault's panopticon, Coach Danny is at the center able to watch, with minimal effort, each member of the team. And when he's not lurking in their midst he often settles in a position that allows him to see the players without them knowing for sure whether they can be seen. For example, he might sit at a table on the other side of the stack of books to the left or in the background. Not knowing whether they are or are not being watched, the players generally are disciplined to display work-like postures – postures like those in the image above (i.e. focused on their screens/books, facing forward, hands engaged with the keyboards, books, pens, etc.). The systematic employment of this architecture or technology of surveillance exists elsewhere too. Though they might not be at the center, the coaches do circulate to their classrooms, dorms and the cafeteria. And, of course there are basketball workouts and practices where all three coaches are all over the place around them. In the image we see a very powerful illustration of Coach Danny encroaching into Charles' work space. Such was the level of participation in the players' personal space and lives. What is also very powerful about the entire image – and the reason it serves as the quintessential center piece of data for this chapter – is that the

effects of Coach Danny's surveillance is affecting specific literate behaviors from the players. The players are performing motor-movements that coincide with doing academic work. They are demonstrating positive literacy practices. Physically doing these postures develop into habits that get played out in the data below.

To compliment the discussion and analysis of the study hall photo I want to share a scene from my fieldnotes. The scene is from November 8, 2007. In addition to triangulating the data (the other leg of the triangle would be the interviews and scholarship document), the fieldnote scene below functions to bring to life the photo above:

Phil is frequently a distraction to whomever it is he's sitting next to. The unsanctioned interactions are usually pretty easily spotted: first he'll peak around the room; then he'll slowly rise from his chair bent at the waist with a hunched back and dangling arms. There's a five and a half foot wall that separates the galley of computers from the lounge wherein the supervising coach sometime sits [see wall in the image below]. So if Phil can stay low enough –and he always does, they all do – he can creep over to one of his teammates to show a YouTube video of a running back impossibly breaking tackles, a Facebook pic of a young lady or a funny text message. Today, though, there's none of that. All 12 players are working on a school-related project. Devnonte is sitting at his terminal perfectly squared to the computer screen on his desk. He's leaning slightly forward with his right hand resting on the mouse and the other hovering above the keyboard. He studies then types, studies then scrolls.

This area of the study hall, the "galley," is always abuzz with circulating bodies, chatty students, the tapping of fingers on keyboards and muffled music from the

headphones of working students. When the players have study hall, between the student-athletes and the regular students, the galley of 22 computers is usually close to full.

(Image 4.2 – Here is the "galley" of computers, an often congested and not-quiet place to work. Notice the wall that separates the galley from the dark lounge area in the background.)

The scenes that unfold in this space can be quite varied. Usually work is school-related. But, since one of the coaches moderates study hall and is always present patrolling the area, academic domains and athletic domains often blur. With list and pen in hand, Coach Danny approaches each of the players. Reviewing the list of this week's assignments he sidles up to Clint and Jeremy, "Clint, what day is your speech?"

"I'm working on it with Jeremy right now, Coach."

Clint and Jeremy are both working on speech presentations. They're sitting side-by-side at a large work table opposite the galley on the other side of a stack. Spread out before them are a dozen or more print-outs of at least one PowerPoint file. The nature of their

collaboration is difficult to determine; they're sharing ideas. The researcher knows, and so does Coach, they are not in the speech class together.

"What's this? Are you allowed to use notes?"

"Yeah. An outline."

"Good. How's that leg feeling? When does the doctor say you'll be ready?" And so goes the conversation that accompanies Coach Danny's circulation from one player to the next: checking up on academics + chit-chat about basketball.

Coach Danny is visible one minute then gone the next. I try to fly under the radar, try to avoid interference with the coaching staff. So I, not unlike Phil, slyly float towards or away from the players based on this visibility factor.

Now is one of those moments: Victor is talking to me about how tired he is, exhausted actually. Victor's eyes are blood-shot, and in conversation his responses are groggy and slow; he is wearing the look of weariness. Yet he maintains a studious posture in front of his galley terminal. Victor is not nodding off, not conversing with teammates or the ladies. Phil has generated some text in his Word document.

Mario is off away from the galley of terminals. He's in the high-traffic center of the library with iPod earphones in his ears, a textbook is resting on his two thighs and both hands hover above the keyboard. He's taking an open-book online quiz. It's timed. Such quizzes are a frequent occurrence for him. These quiz events are easily differentiated from other studying or non-studying event, too: he backs his chair away from the computer terminal, puts the textbook in his lap, leans slightly over the textbook as he bobs his head up and down in conjunction with his vacillations between clicking

through the quiz and flipping through the pages of his textbook. He's in his TCB posture – "taking care of business" as Charles says.

It is one hour and eight minutes past the conclusion of the mandated study hall and Charles is still slowly, but steadily, constructing a document in Microsoft Word. Charles isn't the only one still here. Victor and Jeremy are still working, too. Jeremy consistently logs extra time in the library. His advanced algebra class is a particularly challenging course. "I'm not good with numbers," he says. Yet he will pull a 3.9 GPA his freshman year.

Away from the team, and away from the often rambunctious galley, Kirk works on his Toshiba laptop. When he collaborates with one of his peers, which is rarely if ever one of his teammates, he does so on the quieter side of the stacks that separates the galley of computers from the large study tables [see the shelf of books in the background of the image below]. When asked why he sits in this area (see figure XX.XX below) *he responds, "The younger players like to do their thing over there. I'm older. I'm over all that. Too many distractions. I just want to get my work done." Right now he is on his MyBlackboard page reviewing an upcoming assignment for a class. He gets the information he needs then shuts down his computer and pulls out a book from his bag. With the Toshiba now in his bag and the book on his desk he hunkers over the book. His elbows each flank the book and his head, which is directly over the book, is being supported by his hands. He reads. After 25 minutes of reading the large, black laptop reemerges for his remaining time in the library.*

(Image 4.3 Here is the "quiet" area of study hall. Behind the single stack of journals and books is the "galley")

After two and a half hours of observations, I leave the scene. Three of the players remain, an hour and a half past the end of study hall, working.

There are three things to discuss about this scene in juxtaposition with the original image: the blurring of the domains; the positive literate behaviors (e.g. Victor) as well as the sneaky behavior (e.g. me and Phil); and, the social interacting and collaboration. The collaboration and social interacting are examples of Vygotsky's notion of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). The ZPD is a social interaction among peers one of whom is more advanced than the other and who helps lift up his less-advanced peer to his level. I didn't mention this about the image, but what the fieldnote scene illuminates is the blurring of the domains. Coach Danny is enforcing academic behaviors, but he is also constantly interjecting comments and questions about games, practices, sports-related injuries, etc. These are much more specific examples (e.g. Coach Danny talking in the scene about Clint's leg), but just the presence of the *basketball coach* overseeing

academic activities demonstrates this blurring of domains. Other than the classification scheme and for a presentation of data for this study, what difference does this blur make? How is it relevant to the reading, composing and talk about text that the subjects did? It demonstrates that school-work isn't always completed in ways that are sanctioned by those who sponsor or control that work. These subjects' social ways of interacting demonstrate an alternative and systematic approach to completing academic work. They don't always consult tutors or teachers; they are able to get the help they need from within their network of peers.

Second, the description of Victor's steady performance of a work-like posture even in the face of sheer exhaustion demonstrates the degree to which a particular literate behavior has been instilled. Putting your head down or leaning back with your eyes closed is not allowed in study hall. No sleeping. Victor works through his exhaustion. He may or may not be working on an actual assignment. But the positive behavior has become a habit. He can physically engage in sustained acts of reading-composing even when his body is telling his brain he is tired. Or is his brain telling his body? Either way, the corporeal disciplining that has occurred as a result of the educational technology of the system of surveillance allows him to push through (be "mentally tough" as the team would say).

The technology of surveillance did not always affect "positive" behavior. Two examples of subversive behaviors that developed were Phil's and my own. We slink below the line of sight like soldiers avoiding whizzing bullets above the trenches. We know how to maneuver through the panopticon so as to avoid the gaze. Another behavior that emerged was the practice of opening up phony Word Documents and having idle

Blackboard pages at the ready on their computer screens. Not all the "work" being done by the players in study hall was school work. Even so, whether they were doing school work, they *were* reading and composing. They were reading their Facebook walls, pop-culture stories, YouTube videos, etc., and they were writing on their Facebook page, texting or sending emails to friends. A third example of non-sanctioned study hall behavior was texting on their cell phones. The players developed strategies for this, too. They would leave their cell phones at the ready in their laps or under their shirts and tap at the keys while holding the cell phones below their terminals out of clear site of the coaches (if you've been in an undergraduate classroom in the last few years you've likely observed this technique from your students who think you're oblivious to the purpose of their arms below the desk).

Third, in the fieldnote scene we see Clint and Jeremy collaborating. Jeremy and Clint are not in the same class. But Jeremy has done well on the assignment and he is coaching Clint on how to enhance his performance on the same assignment. Clint's *actual* zone of development is slightly below that of Jeremy's actual zone of proximal development. The collaboration taking place is an example ZPD: the social nature of learning that takes place among peers one of whom is slightly more advanced than the other. In the image above it is likely (due to the proximity of Coach Danny) that Clint is consulting with Mario about something that is school related. There are other examples of this as well such as when Phil or Clint or Byron would consult with Will or Jeremy on how to start a paper or a speech or look at their work to see a model (more on this below). Creating group study halls facilitates this type of social-collaborative learning and literacy practices. Compelling the players to work in such close proximity can be very

distracting and at times unproductive (e.g. when they're showing each other high school clips on YouTube of them playing ball). However, the compulsory group study hall and the proximity facilitates comfort in asking for help because they serve as such quick and easy references for one another.

Generating Transferable (Literacy) Habits in the Athletic Domain

The domain of athletics is at the center of this section. I start with a scene from my fieldnotes; it is of a January 15, 2008, basketball practice. It's a brief look at only a few minutes of a practice wherein we see Coach patrolling and commanding and watching and (constantly) correcting. What stood out to me as I was in the field was the intensity of Coach's body language and his actual language. He was always intense. When he walked it was as though he was trying to smash small anthills with every step. When he communicated (with his voice) he always spoke as though he was trying to drill information into the heads of his players with the sound waves. In part I include the following scene to illuminate a bit of Coach's personality. While this is important and itself played a role in the effects of his surveillance, I am more interested in his interpersonal interactions, his way of "teaching," controlling and demanding from the players minor actions such as yelling or the precise choreography of a play. I discuss these after the scene.

At 2:35, 110 minutes into practice, the players, dripping with sweat and sporting energy-sapped postures, take their last sips of water for the break. Filling the gym and rattling their ear drums are the loud barking commands of Coach. He is marching around near half court with his head bent towards the ground, eyes trained on the eight and a half by 11 sheet of lined note-book paper between his fingers that he's pulled from

his shorts. They are his hand-written notes that script the schedule minute by minute for each practice.

Coach is using the down time of the water break to segue into the next activity. Next on the list: full-speed, game-situation scenarios. The remaining seconds of the water break tick away and the head manager, John, rushes to the control panel to stop the large score clock – Coach's method of keeping time for each drill – from buzzing. The six members of the Blue squad huddle up at the top of the key. The six members of the White squad huddle up at half court. Coach approaches the White huddle and softly conveys instructions. Same for the Blue huddle. Then he moves over to the sideline to patrol the action about to ensue. "PLAY HARD! GO!"

Devonte had been injured and has yet to participate in any games or practices. Today is his second day back. He is running the point and is trying to learn the offensive plays, learn the movements he's supposed to make within the precisely choreographed composition. After about seven seconds, two passes into the offensive set, Coach blows his whistle, dramatically drops his head and shakes it back and forth. With wide eyes and mouth slightly agape, Devonte shoots a glance at Coach then quickly at Coach Danny. Coach Danny tells him the appropriate place to go after he passes the ball to his teammate on the wing. Devonte goes back to half court to start the play over.

Devonte dribbles to the appropriate place and makes the appropriate pass and cut. As the ball is passed back to the top of the key and then over to the opposite wing Coach again blows his whistle and stops play. "CHARLES! TALK!! You're not TALKING!!" Whenever a player picks up his dribble the defensive player has been trained to press up on the body of the offensive player and yell, "Dead! Dead! Dead!"

indicating that the ball can no longer be dribbled; the offensive player has surrendered his ability to move about. Charles, who is on defense, has failed to communicate "Dead! Dead! Dead!" Communicating at such high decibels is not his personality and has been and will continue to be an issue for Coach for the duration of the season. Charles's personality is more subdued, quiet. The exact opposite of Coach. Devonte, on the other hand, eagerly puts in extra time before and after practice. So enthused to be back on the court, back in action, Devonte eagerly does whatever is asked.

Central in this scene is Coach's lurking about, his watchful gaze, imposing voice/presence and the players' responses to him. This scene offers a glimpse into how Coach interacted with and circulated around the players. Even during the players' break time he imposes himself and his script (i.e. the practice plan – which dictates the activities of the basketball practice) onto the players. Second, Coach is generating his "expectations" (see Will's opening epigraph), coaching them how to execute those expectations, and disciplining them when they don't. The scene sheds light on Coach's method of instructing, the effects of his methods, and the players' responses to this method. These are exemplified by how he yells, the eagerness of Devonte to get it right, the conflicting learning/teaching styles and personalities of Coach and Charles. Also of interest are Coach's specific movements: he moves in close to the huddling players for specific instructions then backs away towards the sideline to holler generic commands. At one moment he provides feedback at another he transfers authority (with a glance) to an assistant coach to represent his instructions. Also prominent in this scene is, again, the practice schedule. As we have seen elsewhere (e.g. Chapter Three), this simple text, and

others like them, played enormous roles in determining the activities of the subjects of this study.

The scene opens with Coach barking instructions. When on the court Coach consistently communicates at a very high decibel level. I could usually sit anywhere in the gymnasium, dozens of feet away – even a hundred feet away – and still clearly here him. That's because Coach doesn't talk; he yells: "PLAY HARD," "GO," "TALK." So we enter the scene with an authority figure who is overbearing in many of his actions. Even during the water break there is no break. During the down time of the water break Coach both reviews previous drills/lessons and mentally preps the players so they can more quickly transition into the next lesson or drill.

Coach circulates from midcourt to one huddle then to the next and then finally over to the sideline. At one moment he is near the players, and the next moment he may be 20-30 feet away. The only time his voice lowers is when he pokes his head into each huddle to give specific strategies about the pending action. He moves in and out. At one moment he is physically, immediately present. The next moment he hovers from a distance. This approach, this systematic method, applies across domains: sometimes he directly interacts with the players, and other times his assistants interact on his behalf (e.g. Coach Danny in study hall); sometimes there is yelling/disciplining, and other times there is the perceived presence of yelling/disciplining. The efficiency of Coach's method, of his being on top of the subjects at one moment and then far away at the next, is that it generates a sense of constant watchfulness, that he is constantly present. When Coach is near them the players know they are being watched. When Coach is far away the players assume they are being watched. That is, maybe Coach is watching or maybe

he isn't. And since the players cannot be sure, they are conditioned to behave as if Coach is in fact watching. This is the Foucauldian panopticonics that Foster talks about in his article. Just as the aberrant behavior of the prisoners in Foulcault's panopticon is disciplined and normalized so too are these student-athletes.' And part of what is directing this method and charting the activities is the practice plan, which makes this scene a literacy event – shaped by the text that is always in Coach's hands. The practice plan and Coach's movements shape the players' behaviors.

Though we've closely examined a practice schedule already (Chapter Three), the unexceptional practice schedule continues to highlight everyday literacy events and literacy activities and how text shapes physical activity. This habitual text is demonstrative of a system of control and surveillance that is not only embodied in the literacy activities of writing out schedules (and reading them); texts such as the practice schedule also shape literacy practices. The practice schedule is an example of a system of scheduling. The academic counterparts to the practice schedule are the athletes' class schedules (which had been condensed into one master schedule) and their syllabi (which had been systematized and made into daily lists/schedules which were consulted on a daily basis). These recurring and repeating acts of scheduling generate an habituated way of being. Student-athletes become accustomed to having the hours of their day regimented. This is one of the reasons why I would frequently see them in the study hall area of the library during normal study hall times even when there was no officially scheduled (team-sanctioned) study hall for that day/time.

The practice schedule makes each basketball practice a literacy event. The players don't engage in literacy activities. However, they do talk about the text that

Coach brings into the scene; they engage in activities as determined by the text Coach carries with him.

Coach's personality and presence (both his perceived and actual) affect the players in disparate ways. Interviews suggest that at least two of the players liked Coach's approach (e.g. Jeremy, Mario, Brad). On the other hand, one of the players quit the team because of conflicts in personality. Also important, the system of surveillance/control is received by the players in different ways based on the domain. In regards to the system of surveillance/control in the domain of athletics, the players were largely reticent *as long as they were members of the team* (which is telling in various ways). In regards to the system of surveillance/control in the domain of academics the players were more vocal. But in the domain of academics Coach's control/surveillance often went beyond the scope of just study hall. In some cases Coach took on the role of adviser telling players what classes to take and even what majors to choose.

My discussion of the fieldnote scene is beginning to allude to other instances that are not apparent in the scene itself. The effect of Coach's approach, the players' insights into and awareness of the surveillance system and Coach's role as advisor: these three things provide some depth and breadth to my discussion of the data. Below are some further examples from the database of the relationship between surveillance and literacy and how this controlling technology directly impacted the subjects' literacy activities.

This system of surveillance is not a closely held secret. Far from it. And for all its benefits, this system is not without its problems. Mario offers some problematizing and disconfirming thoughts on the relationship between the watcher and the watched:

MARIO: During the game, the stat sheets don't really do anything other than the fact that I guess you could say it exposes if we're playing good or not. It's on all the stats. That'll affect us, tell us, "Oh, we made eight turnovers and only four assists." From just the coaches telling us what's going on in the stat sheet, it affects us that way. But during practice, the practice plan is funny because we always try to get a glance at the practice plan before practice or whatever, to see where we're at or how long it's gonna be. Actually, I think that affects us in a negative way because we see a hard practice and we're like, "God, fuck." So we have a hard practice coming up then, "God, dang." But if we see an easy practice, we're like, "Oh, it's gonna be easy," and that still affects us negatively 'cause we're like, "Oh, this is gonna be a breeze," and it might not come out and we was thinking it's an easy practice and we might not even come out and go that hard. But I always like to know, even though I know seeing it, it's probably gonna affect me negatively, I always still wanna see it, just to see what's ahead and see what's going on. It's funny, the practice plan.

Mario is talking about the impact of the documents that circulate around the team. He begins, for a moment, by dismissing the impact of practice plans and stat sheets. As he talks his way through, though, his reflections steadily and forcefully clarify just how central are these documents and the practices that emanate from these literacy events. If the team turns the ball over too much in a game, the next day in practice they will do drills related to protecting the ball. If they get outrebounded in a game, the next day in practice they will work on rebounding drills. The stat sheets from games are used to shape the activities of subsequent basketball workouts. A game with a 2:1 turnover to assist ratio will result in practices where ball handling and passing drills are emphasized.

As well, the practice plan immediately impacts the players' attitude and motivation. The players, according to Mario, will see a practice schedule and gauge how much effort they will have to exert: "[we] might not even come out and go that hard." This demonstrates a clear connection between the documents and the players actions and behaviors.

At one point in the interview, while talking about a specific day in basketball practice, Mario confesses to "not stealing the ball" when he realized that playing harder and getting the steal would actually work against his teammates (as well as himself) in a particular drill. Within a matter of seconds he processed the rules for the drill and the scoring system associated with it (based on what he read off of the practice schedule – thus making this act a literacy event). And, while in the midst of the drill, he made a conscious decision *not* to perform up to his abilities; he made the decision *not* to do a positive thing; he made the decision *not* to steal the ball from the other team. Stealing the ball would have meant a grueling sprint drill for his teammates. Whether or not Mario himself would have had to run was a moot point for him because, as he explained it, his teammates "couldn't take" another sprint. A seemingly small act (or inaction), Mario's decision to not steal the ball in this situation may tell us something about the "true north" of these athletes' moral compasses. Most of the time the players made decisions like this as a way of protecting their teammates. In terms of what he *should have* done (i.e. steal the ball), Mario made the wrong decision. He was looking out for his teammates. Such circling-of-the-wagons acts was a constant ethics of behavior that played out in all domains. And, in this case, the rightness or wrongness of Mario's behavior is not black/white. On the one hand he should have stolen the ball. On the other hand he has been explicitly trained to protect his teammates. As we see in small examples such as

Mario's (and Phil's and mine in the study hall above), the system of surveillance also inspires ways of behaving *within the belief system of the Discourse community* that go against the mainstream values of this Discourse community.

While some might consider an analysis of such a small act as cherry-picking, the fact that Mario's teammates were on his mind is an indication of the hierarchy of values that these athletes have. Not to be lost in all of this is the fact that Mario's decision was a literacy event. Mario read and processed the practice schedule and performed an act that was directly shaped by the text of the practice plan for the day. The concrete, observable actions performed by Mario were both an act and a literacy event. Mario's actions demonstrate that he has read, comprehended and thought critically about a text; thus it is a literacy event. Mario's actions also demonstrate that he understands the group value of sacrificing oneself for The Team and/or for teammates (and here I distinguish between the two because, as this example makes clear, they are not always one and the same). Thus Mario's action is also a literacy practice. Remember, Barton explains that "practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships" (Barton *Local Literacies*, 6). Though technically Mario's act was "observable," what we cannot see, and therefore have to guess at, is the "values, attitudes, feelings, and social relationships" that motivated Mario's actions. Protecting his teammates from grueling sprints was to Mario more important than making the steal (i.e. behaving rightly according to Coach).

As for the players' perceptions of the control and surveillance – especially in relation to the role of study hall, not all the players had positive attitudes (however they did in some ways respect the *value* of the technology), in part because not all of them

benefitted from being so closely watched. Though all eight of the interviewed subjects agreed that study hall was beneficial, not all of them agreed that they personally benefited from this element of oversight and control. Mario, who is one of the only two examples of such an attitude, offers some discomfirming data:

Mario: Because I've always liked doing work. Only time when I feel like doing work, I'll do work and I get my stuff done. I find myself in study hall going on Facebook or something like that because I'm just – 'cause this second semester I've been right from class, actually two classes in a row. I'll come right from class to study hall and I'm kinda tired of doing work and I feel like messing around. And then we have workouts right after that, so I'm kinda just relaxing at the other stuff.

So for me study hall's never been an issue 'cause I'll get my work done anyways. But for some of these other players it's good to actually get in the library and get 'em working.

Me: 'Cause you take care of business and it's not –

Mario: Yeah. I mean I'd rather not even have study hall at all because I'm gonna get my work done anyways.

Mario takes care of his school work. He, along with Will and Jeremy, is one of the players that the coaching staff doesn't watch as closely when it comes to school work. Mario had a track record of getting good grades and making honor roll. His teammates *need* study hall; Mario does not need study hall. Mario is academically successful without study hall. Still, he was required to attend study hall. Comparing himself to his teammates he says, "for some of these other players it's good to actually get in the library and get 'em working." Mario, clearly, is not among these "other" players. Mario's

comment is not disparaging his teammates. He is simply being factual. In a separate interview Jasen confirms Mario's insights about their teammates needing study hall in order for them to accomplish their academic goals. Jasen, for one, says that he would not go to class or otherwise accomplish his schoolwork without the study halls.

Consider Mario's position on study hall in relation to what Jasen has to say about study hall and the system of surveillance:

Jasen: I think there's more have to do – a lot has to do with… a lot of people is individually trained to do a lot of things on their own. But I think the [graduation] rate [of athletes] is so high [76%] because you have coaches that is constantly, "Well, you didn't do this." They constantly looking up everything that you haven't done yet. So that's like your mother and father had like, "Well, you didn't go to class this day. You need to do this. You need to do that."

Where the regular students [graduation rate 34%], they pretty much on they own. You get to wake up. [Rregular students] ain't gotta worry about nobody checking your classes and you don't have to get up and run – like you don't have to get up at 6:30 and running. It's kinda like that's why. You [the athletes] might not wanna do it, but it's like you have to do it. Where regular students it's like, "I'll go to class if I feel like it. If I don't, oh well. I'll make it up another day." So I think that's why the rate is probably so high, higher than the regular students.

Me: Do you like that, having the coaches –?

Jasen: When it boils down to end, I like it because me, I'm not – if it was up to me, I probably woulda missed a thousand classes. But just because I know my coach is

gonna check it and I don't wanna let him down and I know it make me a better person, even though I don't wanna get up at 6:30 in the morning –

Me: (Laughs)

Jasen: So it makes you wanna go to class.

There are several elements of Jasen's comments to consider. First, he knows himself and his weaknesses. He would have "missed a thousand classes" if it weren't for this system of surveillance. Jasen is one of those "other players" that needed to have, for the sake of academic success (i.e. eligibility), a system of surveillance and control in place. He needs study hall. For Jasen, this system of surveillance is more like a support system. For him, and at least six of his teammates, this system of surveillance and support was necessary for keeping their grades up.

Second, Jasen further recognizes a deeper value (deeper than simply helping him make his grades) of the work ethic (ethic of behavior) that is being drilled into him and his teammates. "It makes me a better person," he says. How does study hall, going to class, doing homework, showing up to appointments on time, getting passing grades, etc. make one a better person? This work ethic, the discipline it takes to work hard at something he doesn't necessarily want to do, is not something Jasen possessed. In Jasen's case this sense of being a better person means developing an academic work ethic and acquiescing to the mores of this particular university culture. He assents to the system of control because he recognizes that on his own he would not adjust his behavior (whether or not he *could* – i.e. whether or not he had the ability – is another issue). And to be successful within this specific milieu he needs the help that the system of surveillance provides.

Third, Jasen comments that this system puts this group of athletes at an advantage over regular students at Richardson University. Regular students will "go to class if [they] feel like it. If [they] don't, oh well." The players reported in their interviews that a significant portion of the Richardson University not-athlete student body had very nonchalant attitudes about their academics (which is supported by the 24% graduation rate over the course of four years and a freshman attrition rate of 39%). Such flippant attitudes towards class, schoolwork, 6:30 a.m. conditioning, etc. are not an option for athletes. The players are held to higher academic standards than their non-athlete peers. The paradox lies in the fact that the athletes do not enjoy study hall. The athletes certainly do not enjoy 6:00 a.m. conditioning. Yet they value both. The athletes know they need to develop physical stamina through the endurance drills of 6:00 a.m. conditioning. The athletes know they need to go to class to get the best grades possible. Being above average is part of the work ethic that is drilled into their heads. And being above average, being excellent, applies to activities and events regardless of the domain.

The players appreciate being made to do these things to the extent that some of the players, such as Mario, consider study hall and the surveillance of the coaching staff as "special treatment."

Mario: I feel like I get special treatment, and I feel that – obviously, not gonna be as much as like any big-time athlete at a Division 1 school. But at the Division II level I think we get special treatment. I mean it's obvious when you see from the coaching staff, we get study halls that other kids – we get directed to do special things, so that's special treatment right there.

This "special treatment" of compelling, forcing, students to study even when they do not want to creates positive habits. Study hall habituates the players to going into a space, stilling their bodies, focusing their attention and engaging in literacy activities (e.g. reading, writing, studying with note cards and study guides, putting their cell phones away, etc.). Study hall and the surveillance/control are not something the players particularly like –e.g. "You might not wanna do it, but it's like you have to" – but in relation to the graduation rate of the athletes at this institution, in relation to getting the job done, the system of surveillance and control that is in place has very positive results. At this institution the athletes graduate at a rate of 76%; regular students at this institution graduate at a rate of 34%. The athletes don't necessarily like it, but they all universally, value it. As a model for academic success, the one element of this system of surveillance that curriculum designers may want to consider is the compulsory study hall.

The Social Domain: Controlling Behavior and Organic ZPD

In this section I examine the social domain and look at three pieces of data that demonstrate the effects of a literacy of surveillance on behavior, and I demonstrate how the social actions of the players facilitate literacy and learning. The players are not social exclusive of either academics or athletics. Mostly this has to do with who they are: they are *student-athletes*; they *are* academic and athletic. The social lives that they have are because of this identity/status. They are at Richardson University as student-athletes. The players know each other and have become friends because they are student-athletes. In these ways the social domain cannot be extricated from the other two. We get a glimpse of this reality in the data and discussion that follows. At the same time, we see how surveillance combines with a literacy event to determine social behavior (e.g. Kirk).

And we see how social behavior impacts or is a part of their literate behavior (e.g Clint and Charles).

While Will's interview excerpt above clearly and articulately embodies the close connection between surveillance and literacy events (the role of paper and pen and consequences), there is another event that vividly reflects the connections between the literate surveillance and the effects on the subjects' behavior. The data comes from my fieldnotes and from a conversation with Kirk. In the following fieldnotes excerpt I have made a note of a pattern of behavior I've seen from Kirk. He goes on to explain this pattern of behavior.

Walking out of the cafeteria from lunch, Kirk interrupts our conversation. Glancing over his shoulder he notices the tables and chairs where the team was sitting were in slight disarray: there were three unused napkins and two wadded up napkins on a couple of tables, and not all of the chairs were pushed in. His teammates are gone and Coach is on the other side of campus. He walks back, picks up the napkins and pushes in the chairs. I've seen him do this at the conclusion of study hall, too – hang around to make sure the galley is in order, pushing in chairs and picking up empty wrappers – even after the moderating Coach has left the building.

"Why do you pick up after your teammates?"

"I don't want to have to run. Coach is always telling us to leave things how we find them and to be a positive image in people's minds. He says if we're not we have to run. And I don't want to have to run because somebody left a napkin, left some trash. So I just check to make sure."

It is very clear to Kirk what Coach's expectations are. It is also equally clear what the consequences are for not meeting those expectations. Yet again we observe the blurring of domain boundaries: social actions are disciplined or enforced in the domain of athletics. But this isn't the only way the social and athletic domains are linked. Being a "positive image in people's minds" is part of the Athletic Financial Aid Agreement (AFAA; i.e. scholarship) that they sign when they make the commitment to matriculate to the university. Part of the conditions of the AFAA state that:

I am aware that the amount of this aid may be immediately reduced or canceled during the term of this award if:

I become ineligible for intercollegiate competition (for example, by carrying less than 12 credits for an undergraduate term).

I give false information on my application, letter of intent or financial aid agreement.

I engage in serious misconduct that brings disciplinary action from this institution.

I voluntarily withdraw from the sport for personal reasons before the first competition in my sport (If I voluntarily withdraw for personal reasons after the first competition, this aid cannot be reduced or canceled until the end of the semester).

And, in the same document, under the "FINANCIAL AID POLICY STATEMENT: Addendum to Athletics Financial Aid Agreement," it states that:

Athletics aid can be reduced or canceled if student-athletes:

- *Intentionally provide fraudulent information on their letters of intent, admission applications and/or financial aid agreements.*
- *Fail to meet eligibility requirements;*
- ***Engage in serious misconduct,*** *or*
- *Quit the sport for personal reasons (If the student-athlete withdraws after the first competition in that sport, the aid can be reduced or canceled at the end of the semester).*
- ***Does not perform to the best of their ability athletically, and socially at all times as a representative of Richardson University.***

The three statements that I've highlighted in bold that are most pertinent to controlling their non-athletic and non-academic behaviors are relatively vague – especially the second two, "Engage in serious misconduct" and "perform to the best of their ability…socially." Such ambiguity leaves a lot of room for interpretation, room that empowers the coaches and the system of surveillance and control.

The effect of Coach's gaze is what determined Kirk's actions. But Coach's gaze is only part of it. An outsider may think that it is perfectly within reason for a coaching staff to have charge over academic and athletically related elements of student-athletes' lives but not their social lives. However, student-athletes are contractually obligated to behave in public and in their social lives as representatives of the university. So says the document that they have read and signed. Technically speaking, then, picking up napkins and trash is a literacy event. Kirk's behavior was influenced most immediately by the

reach of Coach's (perceived) gaze. But Coach's surveilling gaze is sponsored and supported by extension of the ambiguity of the scholarship contract that players sign.

This agreement is one that is renewed and signed each year. This contract is accompanied by the "Richardson University 2007-2008 Intercollegiate Athletics Student-Athlete Handbook" (one of the cultural artifacts I collected). At places it clearly outlines student-athletes' rights, responsibilities, and expected codes of conduct. At other places the handbook is sufficiently vague so as to further empower the various coaches. And it articulates 15 separate examples of "Prohibited Conduct" – including "Unethical Conduct." These 15 examples of prohibited conduct, along with the seven "Possible Sanctions" for engaging in prohibited conduct, extend the reach of Coach's power. A couple of examples of unclear standards for Prohibited Conduct are the "Disrespect" and "Poor Sportsmanship" clauses (13). Both sate that "[Poor Sportsmanship or Disrespectful] conduct will be reviewed by the head coach and director of athletics and may result in disciplinary action" (13). Ambiguously stated expectations generate a gray area for Coach to operate in – a gray area that allows him to make these players pick up napkins for example.

Each student-athlete is responsible for reading the handbook, because the content of the handbook is an important part of what they agree to when they sign their Athletic Financial Aid Agreement (AFAA). Thus, the signing of AFAA is an important literacy event that has far reaching consequences for the student-athletes' behavior – one that the athletes do not soon forget.

Curfew is another example of the ways these student-athletes' personal time, personal *lives*, are surveilled and controlled. Insights into the social contractual

obligations and the regulated personal/social lives of these student-athletes is interesting; it is useful knowledge for educators to have about the student-athletes that flow in and out of our classrooms. The pertinence to educators rests in the work lives and obligations that impact how, when, where and why student-athletes do their academics the way they do them. What I find even more significant and of more pedagogical value than this insight is the way that these student-athletes were social *despite* the control exerted on their time and personal/social lives. One of the effects of the surveillance is the bond that occurs as a result of being in the trenches together. Sharing a foxhole builds trust and camaraderie through shared experiences. They consult each other about classes and assignments. They use each other as models and as tutors. As I point out below in the interview excerpt with Clint, I frequently noticed activities where the players would be looking at each others work. Clint quickly disabuses me of what he thinks I may be suggesting by this line of questioning (i.e. that they are copying each others work).

Me: [W]hen you sit down to read or write describe the process to you go through to read or write. Like you mentioned the thing about the headphones…

Clint: When I'm writing? If I'm just like doing homework when I'm like copying stuff, outlining chapters and stuff and all that I prefer headphones cause I can sit there and focus and write away. But like as far as like writing and sitting there and trying to think or write an essay it would take me forever to just sit there and just try to – cause I'm not a good writer – so it would take me forever to just there and just put everything together in a good way. For reading, I just read.

Me: What do you mean it would take you a long time to put things together?

Clint: Like an essay, if I have to write an essay, say, about like, a couple of my last essays were for film and I had to write about editing in film and other stuff. And it would take me a while to get started. So sometimes I aks somebody if I can read theirs and see how they did theirs. And then I'll be like, "Okay, this is how I'm supposed to do it. Then I could just start writing. Kind of like what you said with physically doing it and having somebody show me. I'll just look at their papers and see how they kinda did it and I can – that'll give me a better start to my paper.

[…]

Me: Back to what I was going to say about being interested in how you look at somebody else's thing to see how you do it – cause sometimes I would be sitting in study hall noticing you players looking at each other's screens looking at pictures on Facebook but also looking at each other's work. And I never thought about it that that's what you players might be doing…

Clint: Not like copying. Like as far as, I still wrote the papers. Like if I gotta write a essay and one of my, like if somebody had written it or knew how to do it and I gotta do it, then I'll look at they paper and try to look at it and see how they did so I can get started on mine so I can get an idea of how it's supposed to go and what type of form it's supposed to be in and all that.

Unprompted, they recognize strengths and weaknesses among the group (see Clint and Jeremy above as they work together on a speech). Trust is important. Access is important. The fact that they consult each others as peers is important. The convergence of these three things – trust, access, peers – makes the educational exchange a low-stakes encounter. The impetus for my line of questioning with Clint (and with Charles below)

was my observations. As I note in the interview with Clint, "*sometimes I would be sitting in study hall noticing you players looking at each other's screens…"* The question is motivated by what I had observed on numerous occasions. The players are being social. Their movements towards each others terminals are quick encounters, the responses they get are quick and to the point, nonchalant. It's a quick social interaction that happens to be related to academics or, as you see below, athletics. The players seek help and they know that once they get what they need from their teammate, that's it. They won't be harassed or harangued beyond that brief look at a model/exaple. Once Clint "asks somebody if I can read their and see how they did theirs," that's it; he goes off to do his work until he runs into another bump in the road.

Elsewhere I asked Charles why he and the other players felt more comfortable consulting one another as opposed to asking teachers, tutors or Coach for help:

Me: Do you feel more comfortable going to teammates than you do Coach or any of the coaches? Or if there's something that you don't understand, do you go to coach, or do you go to one of the assistant coaches, or do you go to one of your teammates?

Charles: I would go to one of my teammates.

Me: Yeah?

Charles: Yeah.

Me: Yeah? Why do you think that is?

Charles: It's not because coach is intimidating or anything like that. I'm not scared of coach or anything. I feel like in that situation, Kirk, he's 24 or something like that, 23 or 24. He's fresh off the bat. He's been there and he's been there recently, him

being young and everything. I just feel the same thing. I just feel more comfortable just going to him than I would with the coach.

I don't know what it is. I always get more information out of going to Kirk than I would with coach. I don't know what it is. I just feel more comfortable just going to [inaudible] going to Kirk than I would going to coach. I don't know what it is. If I had an idea, I mean I would tell you, but I don't.

Charles cites two reasons for consulting with peers: "I feel more comfortable" and "I always get more information." I've already discussed some of the reasons why I think they are more comfortable consulting with peers: because they are friends, equals. Issues of power dynamics are, largely, not a factor. There are fewer risks involved in terms of appearing unprepared in front of a teacher/coach or as lazy or whatever. As for Charles' remark that he "always gets more information," I don't think it's necessarily true that he gets *more* information, but more the fact that he gets exactly the information he needs, and it's expressed to him in a way that he can clearly understand. "Being young and everything" and having "been there recently" suggest that Kirk functions as a conduit for this translation. Kirk is young, yet he is older than Charles: Kirk is in between Coach and Charles. Having "been there recently" Kirk can communicate an idea or principle by using shared experiences as analogies, examples or by acting them out. Charles' peers, in this case Kirk, translate or simplify the principles into usable nuggets of information for one another. So, when the players are interacting in what appears to be social ways, they are sometimes using these brisk encounters to get a quick tip, a glance at a model, a concrete explanation of something.

Discussion

The educational technology of surveilling instilled positive literacy habits. Surveillance also generated some subversive behaviors from the players and paternalistic behaviors from the coaches. The subjects in this study were constantly watched, their behaviors were controlled and their activities were disciplined to be of a certain type. The objectives of this system were to facilitate success for the student-athletes in both academics and athletics. Because their participation in athletics was dependent on their ability to achieve certain academic benchmarks as determined by both Richardson University and the NCAA, the athletics department had a vested interest in making sure the players were doing their school work. For these athletes – and I would say all NCAA student-athletes – success in academics and athletics go hand-in-hand. The educational technology that has developed over the years on a national level within the Discourse community of collegiate athletics is the type of support system that has been elaborated in this chapter. On both a national level and at Richardson University, student-athletes graduate at higher rates than non-student-athletes. As I pointed out above, at Richardson University student-athletes had a graduate rate of 76% over the course of six years from 1999-2006. Non-student-athletes at Richardson University had a graduation rate of less than 35% over the same time period. Obviously there are other factors that impact these numbers, but two things that cannot be overlooked are the educational technology employed by the athletic department to surveil and control the literate activities of the student-athletes as well as the commitment that these team members had to their social group and identities *as* student-athletes. The second of these two variables is what made the educational technology of surveillance and control possible in the first place. These student-athletes agreed to be part of and subject to surveillance and control by their own

choice and free-will. More or less these players knew what they were committing to when they decided to sign their letters of intent with Richardson University.

The strong group/social bond that developed as a part of their experiences within this educational technology should also be of interest to composition, literacy and education scholars. The way these players engaged in acts of reading, writing and talk about text demonstrate the highly social nature of literacy *even in the face of controlling mechanisms that would stifle social collaboration.* Study halls, for example, were in spirit designed to be asocial academic events. Above I mentioned the subversive behavior that Phil and I had to engage in in order to ask other players questions. Socializing was not completely banned, but too much socializing or moving throughout the study hall space was actively discouraged by the coaches. Yet the players still managed to steal quick conversations about assignments or dart over to a teammate's computer terminal to glance at an example of a PowerPoint presentation or essay.

In this data there was a direct connection between the system of surveillance and the ways of engaging in physical literacy activities. By and large, the effects of surveillance technology affected literacy habits in positive ways. Based on my analysis of the data for this study, my impression, like Foster's, is that the surveillance technology used to discipline and control the literate behaviors of these subjects could be beneficial to non-student-athletes as well. Generating or taking advantage of a centralizing identity, social group or team-oriented activity in which a group of non-student-athletes are deeply invested would be the key to facilitating a similar surveillance technology. Compliance with or submission to such a system is key. The effectiveness of the system of surveillance that these subjects experienced was dependent upon the subjects'

commitment to being and identifying as student-athletes. Replicating the intensity of commitment to The Team would be an important part of creating an effective educational technology like the one these players experienced.

Team sports are not the only place where intense bonds and team mentalities are formed. Two examples that come to mind are the military and fraternities. Both have initiations that individuals must experience with their fellow in-coming classmates. The intense and challenging experiences of being initiated into these groups are purposely designed to instill strong bonds, group chemistry and teamwork. The concept of initiation could be applied to academics just as easily – after all, there are models for this in the business world (e.g. pharmaceutical sales reps have to go through intensive 6-8 week training sessions with their cohort before they are fully hired and allowed to go off into the field). And of course, just as with the players in this study, the people in all of these examples are also surveilled and/or controlled to some degree. The surveillance technology is in place to ensure certain standards and for accountability purposes. Applying a version of surveillance and control to non student-athletes is possible. There are models of this educational technology that could raise non student-athletes' academic performance.

CHAPTER 5

BREAKDOWN

ME: There's all these texts that are around you players. Like when you see coach with his little practice schedule over his belt or in his hand or whatever, is he using that? Or is he just carrying it around? How do texts, in that sense, how do they function with you players?

WILL: I think as far as that goes, it's kinda like a safety device. I think that they – 'cause what that is, is it's just a breakdown *of every single drill that we do in practice and how long we're gonna do it for, the times of each. And I think that the coaches basically know what we're gonna do, but it's almost like a reference just if someone gets off track or if he's busy yelling at someone and he kinda forgets what's happening next, he can just give it a quick glance and just get back on track and figure what we have to do next. (emphasis mine)*

Illustrative in this interview excerpt are two key points that highlight the theme of Breakdown. First, Will describes the text, the practice plan, as a "breakdown of every single drill that we do in practice and how long we're gonna do it for, the times of each." That is, the text provides a list of smaller activities that are scheduled in a way that builds up to and feeds into a larger objective. The practice plan is breakdown incarnate, in document form. The practice plan contains the entire scheduled basketball workout in one place; it is a whole event in itself. The actual basketball practice and the practice plan mirror one another. The plan contains the objective; the activities are the enactment of those objectives within (or upon, rather) the context that they will later be played out in their contests. The material they learn is not decontextualized from its application. In

the same way that an English professor teaches her class to analyze a text by breaking the larger whole into smaller chunks, Coach instills constituent skills that will be put together to become a whole team performance – the basketball practice (and eventually the contests).

Second, Coach writes the plan before practice as a way of mapping the activities. Throughout the workout he reads the plan. "The coaches basically know what we're gonna do" because they've written it out beforehand. Will points out that this particular document directly shapes the activities of the basketball practice. Thus, basketball practice is a literacy event. But even if Coach didn't carry around and read from the plan still it would be a literacy event because of the before-the-fact process of composing that confirms and determines the agenda and the objectives of the day's activities. Documents such as the practice plans circulated in abundance around the players; these documents had a direct impact on their literacy activities and on their other activities (such as in basketball workouts). The composing of and reading from the practice plan is obvious to all who participate or who are present. The connection, then, is this: reading and writing facilitate an analytical, "breakdown," approach to learning and practicing.

In addition to demonstrating the connection between breakdown and reading-writing, and in addition to articulating the principles of the method of breakdown, this chapter argues that the physicality of the breakdown method emphasizes the essential nature of mind-body unification in all processes of composing and reading. This method, which I identify as an educational technology, is of interest to practitioners and scholars of composition and literacy because it allows us to imagine the possibilities for syncretic

classroom training. Students, especially these student-athletes, are already employing non-traditional literacy practices (that engage, among other things, their bodies).

Breakdown as "educational technology"

Breakdown is a training concept or, rather, a method of training that is bonded to specific and concrete acts of (experiential) learning. In the case of the data for this project, breakdown is also always a literacy event. The objective of breakdown is for the subjects to *learn* a very specific and basic activity or skill. Breakdown takes the constituent parts of a larger and/or more complex whole and presents them in smaller, more manageable chunks. A secondary expectation of breakdown is that the subjects will come to embody, they will *acquire*, the abstract, elements such as the values, beliefs and norms that are embodied in the broken down lesson. Breakdown goes a step farther. In the context of this study, the subjects both acquired and learned (see Gee, 1989 p. 20) values, attitudes and social relationships through explicit instruction. The Breakdown concept, then, presumes to be able to teach "intangibles." Through an explicit method, breakdown has as its goal the learning *and* acquisition of specific content as well as details of forms of behavior and mores. Breakdown, in other words, is a method of training habits of body and mind; it is an educational technology. In the 21st century, when we hear the word "technology" we automatically assume hi-technology – i.e. computers, iPhones, SmartBoards, etc. The literal definition of technology is "systematic treatment," "a method," the scientific study and application of practical arts. Breakdown is a systematic treatment of content, a physical method of training. If we take this definition of technology and apply it to the concept of breakdown what we have is an educational technology. The value of this terminology, the value in thinking of

breakdown as an educational technology, lies in its ability to critique popular conceptions of "technology." When a school or a demographic is denied access to the latest educational technologies it is not just computers or SmartBoards that they may be lacking. After all, what good does it do to have access to hi-technology if there is not a method or system of instructing how to use these tools. The value of this terminology, then, is that it critiques demands for access by broadening the question about what "technology" access might mean.

At the heart of the educational technology of breakdown – especially as it relates to the data from the domain of athletics – are acts of reading, writing and talk about text (i.e. literacy acts and literacy events). This project is an examination of how the physical learning and material conditions influenced the literacy practices of these subjects. In breakdown the literacy practices affected the physical learning of the subjects.

I emphasize three terms that have a significant relationship with breakdown as an educational technology: acquisition, learning and teaching. James Gee has discussed each of these – specifically acquisition and learning – in relation to Discourse (Gee 1989). Using Gee's concept of Discourse as a way of understanding the semiotic domain of basketball assists us in understanding the relationship between literacy and learning as it relates to breakdown and these subjects. It helps us understand the players' reading and writing and talk about text without calling basketball itself a "literacy." After all, basketball is *not* a literacy. However, reading and writing skills were core tenants of the academic *and* athletic training methods of these student-athletes. Reading-writing deeply affected their basketball training and the methods of their basketball training deeply affected their reading-writing practices.

Principles of "Breakdown"

The concept of Breakdown is defined as a training method that mediates the learning of concrete skills; Breakdown likewise instills values, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of social relationships through systematic performance of concrete activities. The data from this study suggests that, as a method, Breakdown is a training method that can explicitly teach all the elements of a Discourse community – including those that have heretofore been labeled as "abstract" (c.f. Gee, Street, Barton's respective theories of Discourse and/or Literacy argue that certain elements of Literacy cannot be taught explicitly). Breakdown functions as an effective training method because of six key principles. Those principles include: *Context, Reduction, Performance, Repetition, Feedback,* and *Build-up*.

Context. The term context indicates the larger whole from which constituent parts are to be taken. These smaller constituent parts are the elements of the larger context that get broken up or broken down into more manageable parts. The context is the complex. The context has numerous content elements. It is these individual elements that are extracted for closer examination and attention. Therefore, "context" could include an offensive play in the domain of athletics, a chapter on the Civil War from the domain of academics, or learning how to use Facebook in the social domain.

Feedback. Feedback is an important principle that weaves in and through the entire breakdown process. Feedback is instruction about or clarification of an activity. A player performs some motor-movement and a coach or teammate provides a critique about how poorly or how well the action was performed. Feedback is ever present. One of the reasons Will cites for the function of the practice plan is to keep practice on track

when Coach gets "busy yelling at someone" – i.e. providing feedback – a frequent occurrence. There was always a lot of feedback.

Reduction. Reduction is actual breaking-down into constituent parts. Here I refer to it as "reduction" to avoid confusion. But reduction/breakdown is the act of taking a whole (e.g. an offensive strategy) and breaking it into smaller and smaller parts. The purpose of reduction is to narrow the focus on nuances and precise elements of the complex whole. It is here that attention to the finest details occurs. Breakdown is, essentially, analysis. The subjects do not call it analysis, though. They call it Breakdown. To avoid confusion I have opted for the similar but different term "reduction."

Performance. Performance is the enactment of both the constituent parts and the whole of the context. Performance is when the players are doing the content – whether it's a defensive drill, an accounting worksheet or surfing YouTube for videos. Educational theorists might refer to it as "experiential learning," "learning by doing," "kinesthetic learning." Whatever you want to call it, the subject is practicing the content and method; they are literally *doing* the material.

Repetition. Repetition of the material is the component of breakdown where habituation occurs. Discipline is instilled through this principle (along with the principle of feedback) more than any other. Repetition is also a major theme in this study. Repetition was so prevalent throughout the data that it merited attention for the manifestations and effects that it had on the players throughout the study.

Build-up. Build-up is the principle wherein all the parts that had been broken down (reduction) are put back together. It is at this stage that precise execution is

expected. The principle of build-up is the culmination of the process wherein the content and method is reassembled and *applied*.

A presentation of the principles of breakdown looks like this:

- Context
- (Feedback)
- Reduction
- (Feedback)
- Performance
- (Feedback)
- Repetition
- (Feedback)
- Build-up

There is a certain linearity to the principles of breakdown. There must first be a context of complex content from which smaller constituent parts can be extracted. From there, though, the principles might be applied in various manners. For example, above, feedback is repeated three times to indicate how that particular principle might manifest recursively (as it usually did for the players in the domain of athletics) throughout the breakdown process.

Connecting Breakdown to Gee's Discourse and semiotic domains

In relation to ideologically ensconced literacy practices, I'm relying on Gee's concept of Discourse, which I discuss and define in Chapter One, to make connections between the physicality of traditional and non-traditional acts of literacy. Gee defines Discourse as the combination of "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing

combinations" (Gee "Literacy, Discourse, and Linguistics" 6*)*. And Discourse is similar to Barton and Hamilton's definition of literacy practices in that it includes abstract components, things you cannot necessarily see, such as values and beliefs. If Discourses are ways of being in the world, the ways that literacy practices manifest within a Discourse provide specifics on how "words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities" are integrated. Gee's Discourse functions, here, as a unifying concept for illustrating the mind-body connect that occurs in the examples of these subjects physical ways of being.

In the years since Gee published this original definition of "Discourse" the definition has been edited and revised in subtle ways (cf. pp 2-4 in the third edition of *Social Linguistics and Literacies*). In his 2003 book *What Video Games Have to Teach Us about Learning and Literacy* Gee foregoes the term Discourse in exchange for the term "semiotic domain." "By a semiotic domain I mean any set of practices that recruits one or more modalities (e.g. oral or written language, images, equations, symbols, sounds, gestures, graphs, artifacts, etc.) to communicate distinctive types of meaning" (Gee *What Video Games* 18). In terms of connecting the training methods of student-athletes to a theory of critical literacy, "semiotic domains" carries an advantage over "Discourse." And I juxtapose the two terms as a means of establishing a theoretical connection to the significance of Breakdown as it relates to literacy and learning: Through acts of Breakdown the subjects were *acquiring* and *learning* (two terms that I discuss below) the Discourse of their basketball and academic community. Especially as it relates to the domain of athletics, this basketball Discourse community was a semiotic domain that recruited numerous modalities for knowing.

The signs that one might read in a Discourse must be done so within a cultural totality. Semiotic domains are less abstract, more concrete in the same way that "discourse" (with a little "d") is more concrete. "discourse" with a little "d" is about isolatable exchanges of conversation. Semiotic domains are akin to discourse because there are printed, material signs or specific physical actions/symbols to be read/written. "If we think first in terms of semiotic domains and not in terms of reading and writing as traditionally conceived, we can say that people are (or are not) literate (partially or fully) in a domain if they can recognize (the equivalent of "reading") and/or produce (the equivalent of "writing") meanings in the domain" (*What Video Games* 18). Basketball is a semiotic domain; cellular biology is a semiotic domain; postmodern literary criticism is a semiotic domain, first-person-shooter video games is a semiotic domain; high-fashion advertisements is a semiotic domain; Roman Catholic theology is a semiotic domain (18). There are specific ways of "reading" (broadly construed) and "writing" (broadly construed) within semiotic domains. And the emphasis here is that in some form or another reading and writing are taking place; to be able to function within a semiotic domain you must be able to read and write that semiotic domain. While I'm hesitant to call basketball a "literacy" (per my objection to the overuse and abuse of the term "literacy" in general), it is, nonetheless, a practice in reading and composing. Basketball, though, is no more a practice in reading and composing than is breakdancing or playing in a symphony. Literacy is a requisite part of competency within these Discourses, but these Discourses are not defined by reading-composing alone. Therefore to call basketball or a symphony or breakdancing a "literacy" is to elide the abstract components and other physical acts that comprise these things. Still, the semiotic domain of

basketball itself, according to Gee's notion, could be subject to a literacy studies analysis. The players' on-the-court performances are acts of reading-composing. As well, as this study demonstrates, the reading and composing that the players do on the court are fundamentally affected by traditional conceptions of reading-writing. There are ways of talking about the types of "multiple-literacies" that Gee's semiotic domain calls attention to (e.g., see the work of the New London Group). But the focus of this project is on the relationship between physicality and traditional notions of literacy. Gee's concepts allow for another layer of analysis and way of understanding the literacy and learning of these subjects.

Breakdown (of the) Data – Pt. I

A collection of data chunks such as Will's interview excerpt are the basis for the claims that develop in this chapter. In addition to interviews, other examples of data include observational fieldnotes, documents, and photographic literacy logs.

Major Instances of Breakdown in the database

Practices observed	Practice Plans	Scouting Reports	Statistics – Photo Lit Logs	Statistics – Interview
30	20	3	6	9

(Chart 5.1)

Observed practices, practice plans, scouting reports, stats (internet and interview) are all listed in the Instances of Breakdown chart because they are examples of breakdown literacy events that structured the subjects' behaviors. As Will's opening interview excerpt makes clear, there was a direct relationship between the subjects' physical activity and the content of these documents. Each of these five data categories

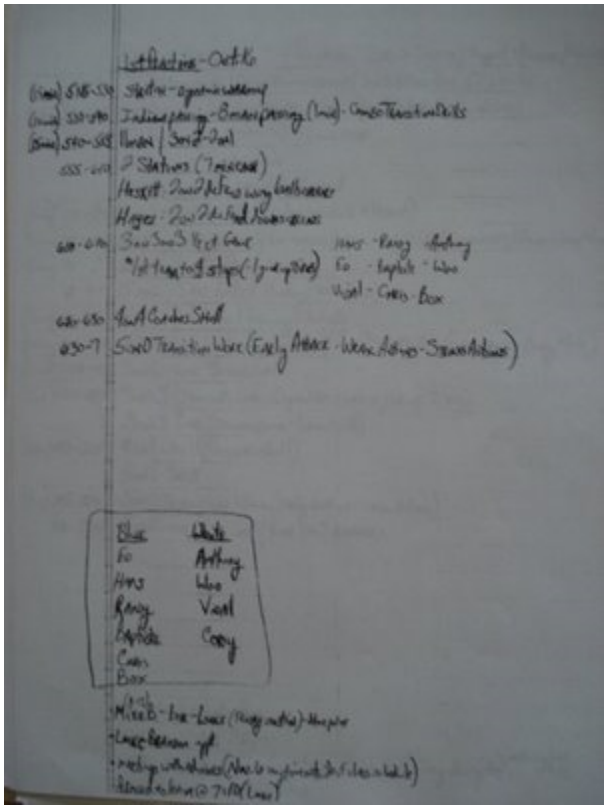
represents a slightly different manifestation of breakdown. Those differences may be as slight as the difference between viewing stats online versus on paper, or the differences may be as great as actual breakdown in actions (e.g. a basketball practice) and the representation of that breakdown (e.g. basketball practice plans). Though basketball practice and the practice plan are closely linked, they are two separate examples of how breakdown occurs. Breakdown is one of the three major themes of this project because of its near ubiquity throughout the database. Below is an explanation of the data represented in the Instances of Breakdown chart.

Breakdown (of the) Data – Pt. II: Instances of Breakdown

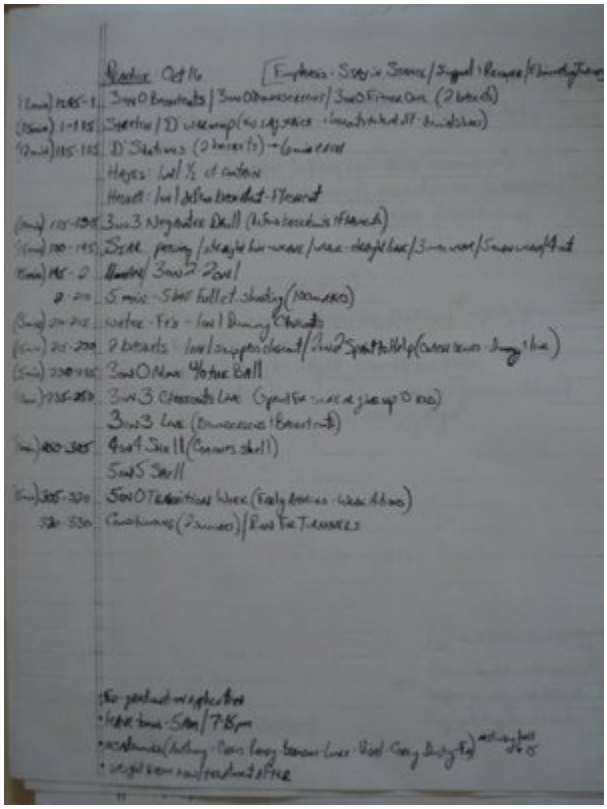
Practices observed. I have observational fieldnotes for 30 practices. There are 30 entries documenting the goings on in practices wherein I observed breakdown in action. However, this does not include the practices I attended where I did not record my observations. The first practice plan I have is dated August 28, 2007, and it was for an "individual workout" (i.e. basketball workouts where groups of three or four, as opposed to the whole team, work on various skills and drills). The first official day of practice was October 16, 2007 (see image below). The last practice plan that I collected is dated March 7, 2008. The dates of August 28 and March 7 are separated by 190 days. During those 190 days they had to have, by rule, a minimum of 69 days off. In other words, I took notes of approximately 25% of the team's potential 120 practices. I should point out, however, that the notes only represent full practices that I observed. I was on campus every day. And I would frequently (usually four days per week) stop by to watch practice for 20 or 30 minutes. I actually attended far more than the 30 practices noted in my database. I discuss the details of this particular piece of data because it is in the

basketball workouts, the practices, that breakdown was observed and/or recorded with the most frequency. When coding for "breakdown," there were relatively few instances of the words appearance. Paradoxically, Breakdown was everywhere. Breakdown is how they practiced. The literate activity of composing, reading, talking about, thinking about and doing the content on the pages of the practice plans was how they did their work. They broke down into drills and then pieced the drills back together, all for the purpose of doing the "meaningful work" of the game-day contest.

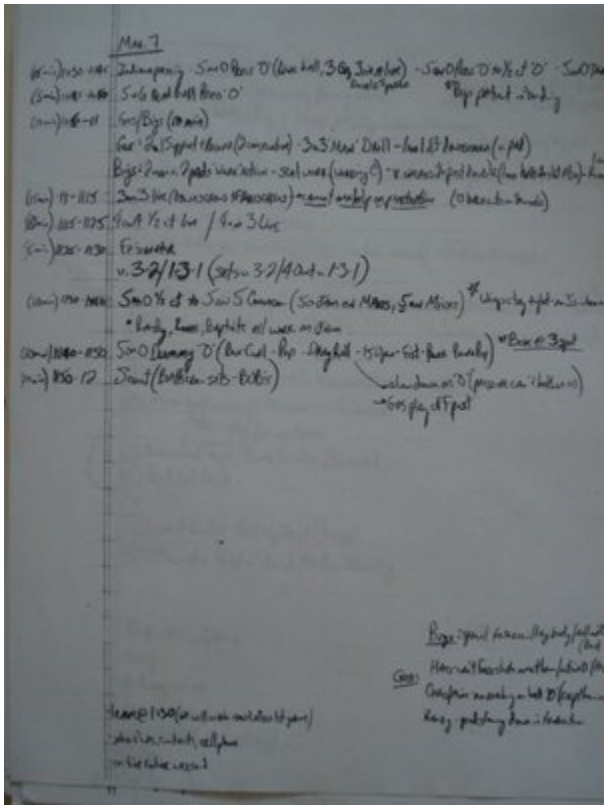
Practice Plans. The six principles of breakdown that I've identified are based at least in part on the language employed within the milieu (breakdown, buildup and repetition). In four different practice plans the words "breakdown" and "buildup" occur. The practice plan documents that I collected offer a textual visualization of the concept of breakdown that I've defined. Here is a juxtaposition of three practice plans to demonstrate breakdown in action. The three practice plans are from October 16, 2007 (two practices: 5:15 a.m. – 7:00 a.m. and 12:45 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.), and March 7, 2008 (one practice: 10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.).



(Image 5.1 – Practice Plan)



(Image 5.2 – Practice Plan)



(Image 5.3 – Practice Plan)

The 12:45 p.m. practice on October 16 was the second practice of the day. There are several features of these texts that need explanation. First, in the images above, but the players' day begins at 5:15 a.m. (actually, they have to be at the gym by 4:45 a.m. to begin getting dressed and taped). When practice ends at 7:00 a.m. they shower, eat and head to class. Because of scheduling and facility issues the players have to take all of their classes between 8:00 a.m. and noon or from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. The exceptions are the juniors and seniors who have classes in their majors that may go later than 6:00 or that may begin before 4:00. If they have a class that gets out at noon (on Mon, Wed, Fri) or 12:30 (on Tues, Thurs) the players have to rush to the cafeteria to eat quickly and then rush to the gym for the 12:45 start time. The second practice of the day officially

concludes at 3:30 p.m. However, the note at the bottom says "weight room now/treatment after." They head to the weight room to lift weights. Anybody who needs ice or to see the trainer for an injury will then head back to the gym (the weight room and gymnasium are in separate locations on campus). These two activities represent upwards of 60 minutes. Then, for about an hour or so, the players will have their first free hour of the day; this is the first time of the day where they *might* have some down time. During this time they all head back to their dorms to nap or watch TV. Then at approximately 5:30 p.m. they have to make it to the cafeteria to eat before they head to the mandatory 6:15 p.m. study hall, which lasts until 7:15 p.m.

There are variations of this demanding schedule depending on what point of the season they are in. This grueling schedule does not persist throughout the entire season. From September through the end of Winter break (i.e. second week of January) is when the players experience these extreme demands. From the middle of January to the end of the season (early March) they will only practice once a day and those practices are shorter in duration – sometimes only an hour and a half long. Throughout the course of the academic year these student-athletes only get about four weeks off: the first week of classes in August, approximately three days for Christmas, approximately ten days after the season ends, and the last week or so leading up to and during spring semester final exams.

As for the format of the practice plan texts, all of them were composed on lined notebook paper by hand using a pen. On the top line towards the left margin the date of the practice is identified (e.g. "1st Practice – Oct. 16). To the left of the left margin the times are listed identifying precisely when each event or drill will occur. In parentheses

is the amount of time each will last, e.g., (12 min) 12:45-1; (15 min) 1-115. For the most, the times and the duration will be mathematical matches. The discrepancies were often incorporated to allow for small bits of wiggle room in the early practices as the players – especially the new players – were learning new things. To the right of the left-hand margin are the names of the drills along with short descriptions of the guidelines or other details for explaining/reminding them of the objective of the drill (e.g., "2 baskets: 1 on 1 skip pass close out/ 2 on 2 sprint to help (coach drives – dummy & live)"). At the bottom of the page to the right of the left-hand margin is always a list of housekeeping items, important things that needed to be accomplished, but were nonetheless subordinate to the important activities of the actual practice. Basketball practice activities were broken up and kept separate from such reminders as "Ryan – graduation application" or "leave tomm-5 am/7:15pm" or "meetings with advisors (Nov. 6 any time outside of class schedule)." Usually the items listed on this portion of the practice plans were discussed at the end of practice to remind the players of important tasks to be tended to (e.g. meet with advisors) or required team activities (e.g. study hall) or other miscellany. Other features that appeared frequently but not regularly included: boxes with the white squad and blue squad; diagrams of plays; point systems for keeping score during drills.

Scouting Reports. The reason there are so few scouting reports in the database is because scouting reports were hard for me to get my hands on. Each player received his scouting report at least one day in advance of the game. And he was expected to have it with him at any team gathering all the way up until the time of the game. As one of the team managers explained when I asked if I could get a copy of a few scouting reports, the

players were not allowed to leave them laying around or forget them; if they did, they would get in big trouble. These were closely guarded documents.

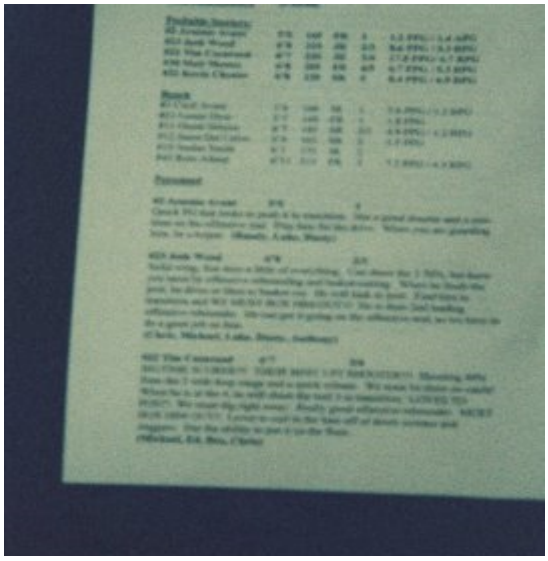
It is interesting to note that there were only two photos in the subjects' photo literacy logs. Devonte and Charles were the only two to take a photo of a scouting report. The other 55 photos from their collective literacy logs include images of literacy that range from team signage to screenshots of their Facebook pages to textbooks to leisure reading to the school newspaper. The seven subjects who submitted photo logs (all eight of them did, but one was destroyed at the photo mat) took pictures of a wide range of texts. But only two of them captured images of scouting reports. The scouting reports were highly valued texts used to prepare for games. To be more precise, scouting reports were highly valued by the coaches. These texts determined game strategies and determined the focus of practices and walk-through sessions. The process of researching for and composing the scouting reports was very time and labor intensive for the coaches, and the players all recognized this fact. However, only four of the eight players reported reading (read: studying) the scouting reports. This is a little deceiving, though, because they *all* read the documents when they reviewed them as a team.

The two images below (5.4 and 5.5), which come from Devonte and Charles's photo literacy logs respectively, are pictures of scouting reports. Scouting reports are documents produced by the coaches that discuss individual opposing players as well as the opposing team's strategies (Reduction). Usually the copies of scouting reports that the players receive consist of three to four pages (the coaches' editions are sometimes up to 20 pages in length). The purpose of scouting reports is to provide something of a "study guide" for the players to review before their tests (i.e. games). These texts keep

fresh in the players' minds the content and methods they've covered in practices in the days leading up to the competition. The documents are themselves another method for delivering content. Scouting reports were regularly handed out one to two days before a competition. The scouting reports were always presented in the same format. Scouting reports were part of the rhythm of the training method (Repetition).

In the scouting reports below you can see how information about opposing teams is broken down into different sections. At the top is a list of each of the opposing players. The five starters are listed at the top, followed by the substitutes. The information includes players' numbers, names, height, weight, year in school, position and brief stats (average points per game and average rebounds or assists per game).

You can also see in the second section of the images, below the list of players, the "tendencies" of those players who are most dominant and get the most playing time. Usually the descriptions include the offensive tendencies of the opposing players (e.g. "Solid point that shoots the 3 and can put it on the floor"; "Their most explosive scorer"; "Has ability to drive but is not a threat to shoot it from the perimeter"; "He is a role player that does a lot of screening and passing in the offense"). Other components of the scouting reports (not pictured in the images) include notes from the coaching staff regarding strategies as well as motivational thoughts (Feedback). Also, not picture here, there are diagrams of the opponent's offensive plays and defensive strategies that have been extrapolated by the coaches from game film. The information is presented in four different sections (Reduction). (The size of the images has been shrunk to obscure the clarity of the images so as to conceal identifying information per the demands of IRB.)



(Images 5.4 – Devonte's Photo Log and 5.5 – Charles' Photo Log)

The scouting report is part of the method of breakdown in two ways. One, the reports compartmentalize the information in easily digestible segments. Two, these four segments (player list, tendencies, strategies and diagrams) are compiled and grouped into one place, one document. The various parts of the whole game strategy that have been broken down in practices in the days leading up to the competition are being put back together and presented as a whole (Build-up). The game is the event where the players pull together the training and execute the skills and knowledge that have been drilled into them (Context).

In addition to the various other texts that circulated about the subjects these scouting reports contributed to making the basketball contests literacy events. These scouting reports, these specific literacy events, were an important element of the athletic training. The coaching staff usually prepared the scouting reports several days before the competition. The research done by the coaching staff (in the form of viewing game tape, researching statistics posted on the web, calling other coaches, etc.) manifested in the text of the scouting report. And this research as well as the resulting texts guided the

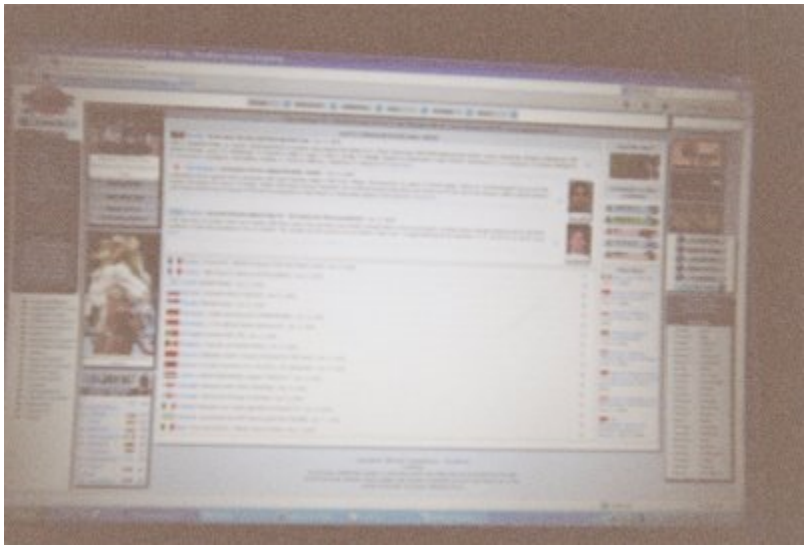
preparation and basketball practices leading up to the contest. In addition to using the scouting reports in practices, the coaching staff conducting locker-room meetings with the team to review the content of the reports. The players were expected to take the reports home with them and study them the night before and the day of the game. The scouting report, then, is both a text and a literacy event that determines a multitude of activities that culminate in the playing of the game (Build-up, Performance).

The participants had mixed reactions to the scouting reports. Some of the players, e.g. Jeremy, Mario and Devonte, reported that reading about their opponents' tendencies sometimes worked against them. These three student-athletes reported that they could only really know their opponents' tendencies by actually getting on the court and competing against them. The analyzing and thinking, for these three, led, in their opinions, to guess-work as opposed to instinctual basketball responses. What they indicated in their interviews was that the scouting reports caused them to over-think situations on the court. All the work they had spent habituating certain motor-movements so that they didn't have to think about those motor-movements were in effect undone by the studying.

Statistics – Photo Lit Logs & Interviews. Statistics are included in the Instances of Breakdown chart because stats are a breakdown of individual actions from within the whole of the contest. Statistics are presented for individuals, and statistics are aggregated for the team. And this is done for both Richardson University and all their opponents. Stats are a numerical way for trying to understand the progression and/or outcome of a contest; it's a way to analyze the performance of individuals and the team. Coaches keep stats on everything from points to rebounds to steals to turnovers to "hustle points" to

blocked shots, etc. They do this for each player and the entire team. Stats appear in my database in three different places: scouting reports, photo literacy logs and interviews (since scouting reports are already a category of breakdown data I do not count the stats in the scouting reports twice). The players looked up their own stats online. They also looked up the stats of opposing teams in the conference as well as the stats of their friends and ex teammates playing overseas or on other teams across the country (e.g. Jeremy's photo). Stats are an objective measure of game productivity; it's a way for coaches, players and fans to measure performance. Stats are a way for fans, players and coaches to analyze the play of a basketball player. As the chart above indicates, there were six instances where a player photographed a computer screen or a document that had statistics on it. In the interviews statistics or "stats" were mentioned a total of nine times.

Stats are also a way of assessing, holding people accountable and determining corrective actions (i.e. addressing weaknesses). The clearest example of the presence of stats that I can provide from the database is as a part of the scouting reports. However, there are other examples from fieldnotes, interviews and the photo literacy logs. The two examples of the circulation/presence of stats below demonstrate a slightly different function.



(Image 5.6 – Jeremy's Photo Log)

(Image 5.7 – Jasen's Photo Log)

In the two images Jeremy and Jasen, respectively, snapped photos of literacy events where they are reading stats for their own edification. In the first image (image 5.6) Jeremy has captured an event wherein he is on the internet checking the stats of friends and fellow countrymen. It's one of the ways Jeremy and his teammates' keep up to date on how friends are doing. Though it's difficult to see on the page, in the second image (Image 5.7) Jasen has captured several ongoing literacy events – the bulletin board and

the motivational placards that hang throughout the locker room. On the bulletin board in the background, as a part of an article about University of North Carolina star forward Tyler Hansborough, there are stats that demonstrate his court prowess (i.e. high scoring average and rebounding average). The players can look at these stats and they can get a breakdown of how much playing time a player gets, his productivity during that time, and, in general, a sense of a players status on a team, in a league and even in the country. Basketball statistics are an objective, mathematical method of analyzing players and teams. The subjects of this study constantly performed such analyses in both Coach-sponsored situations and in self-sponsored situations. Such are the data that was analyzed for this chapter.

Terms

In talking about *how* one comes to master Discourses (20), Gee distinguishes Acquisition from Learning as follows:

> *Acquisition* is a process of acquiring something subconsciously by exposure to models and a process of trial and error, without a process of formal teaching. It happens in natural settings which are meaningful and functional in the sense that the acquirers know that they need to acquire something in order to function and they in fact want to so function. This is how most people come to control their first language. (Gee "What is Literacy?" 20)
>
> *Learning* is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching, though not necessarily from someone officially designated a teacher. This teaching involves explanation and analysis, *that is, breaking down the thing to be learned into its analytic parts*. It inherently involves attaining, along with the

> matter being taught, some degree of meta-knowledge about the matter. (Gee "What is Literacy?" 20 – emphasis mine)

Lessons are embodied in people (models) that perform the lessons:

> Within a Discourse you are always teaching more than writing or reading. When I say "teach" here, I mean "apprentice someone in a master-apprentice relationship in a social practice (Discourse) wherein you scaffold their growing ability to say, do, value, believe, and so forth, within that Discourse, through demonstrating your mastery and supporting theirs even when it barely exists (i.e., you make it look as if they can do what they really can't do)." That is, you do much the same thing middle-class, "super-baby" producing parents do when they "do books" with their children. (Gee "Literacy, Discourse, and Linguistics: Introduction," 11).

Doing books is a performance. Playing video games is a performance. Both involve reading signs. The purpose for quoting Gee at length is to demonstrate the links between Discourse and semiotic domain. In each of these, whether we call it Discourse or semiotic domain, acquisition, learning and teaching occur through the same processes. In other words, Gee's Discourse evolves into semiotic domains. The two terms a quite similar

Acquisition, learning and teaching are terms that developed in closer relation to Gee's work on Discourse and Ideology as a theoretical linguist. Starting in the late 1990s and early 2000s Gee's work moved more towards the field of education and learning theory. This is the work that talks about semiotic domains and the learning principles of video games and other multi-literate and multi-modal ways of reading/writing the world. So, while acquisition/learning/teaching have always been a part of his conversations

about literacy and language, these topics have moved more towards the fore of his scholarly agenda. Take, for example, his explication of "active learning":

> Three things, then, are involved in active learning: *experiencing* the world in new ways, forming new *affiliations*, and *preparation* for future learning.
>
> This is "active learning." However, such learning is not yet what I call "critical learning." For learning to be critical as well as active, one additional feature is needed. The learner needs to learn not only how to understand and produce meanings in a particular semiotic domain that are recognizable to those affilitated with the domain, but, in addition, how to think about the domain at a "meta" level as a complex system of interrelated parts. The learner also needs to learn how to innovate in the domain—how to produce meanings that, while recognizable, are seen as somehow novel or unpredictable. (*What Video Games* 23).

Breakdown is a method, an educational technology, that enacts Gee's (and Vygotsky's) theoretical concepts. Breakdown manifests within a Discourse, within a semiotic domain, and it systematically facilitates both learning *and* acquisition. An educator who employs Breakdown intends for her pupil to both learn and acquire in a critical way. Coach operates within formal structures to "teach" the players *how* to read/write the complexities of their system by explicitly teaching them. With Breakdown Coach employed a method for understanding a semiotic domain/Discourse. Breakdown generated an understanding of the system. It facilitated *acquisition* by establishing zones of proximal development (see Vygotsky's *Mind and Society*), social situations and other informal opportunities for their charges to *acquire* primary and secondary discourses,

literacies and domain proficiency. The social situations and other informal opportunities allowed the players to acquire the values, beliefs and norms of The Team. Coach didn't explicitly teach the players everything he wanted them to know or do. Two examples were Kirk picking up napkins and Mario not stealing the ball. Breakdown is meticulous and demanding of both Coach and players. It is both explicit and subtle.

Writing down, breaking down

In the following interview excerpt we enter a crossover domain of athletics and academics to discus breakdown as it occurs in relation to basketball through the players' writing activities. Below Jeremy talks about how he breaks down content from the domain of athletics by means of writing. He describes how he manages basketball information by use of writing activities. In the following interview excerpt Jeremy discusses one of his writing activities. He describes how he keeps a basketball journal in which he writes after a game or a practice or a film session or a meeting with a coach. Jeremy writes in it nearly on a daily basis. In the journal he records, usually, the advice or lesson that a coach has explicitly told him (e.g. "get quicker," "work on footwork,"). The journal is broken up into different sections so he can keep track of individualized (as opposed to team) weaknesses and areas for improvement. Here is the exchange:

CD: So if there is something you want to know or get better at or whatever, what do you do to do that?

Jeremy: I keep a basketball diary. And have it broken up after every game. And when we go through a new play, I write it up. Coach will say something in practice, you know, he's a tough player to [inaudible] out—do [quick feet], for example. I'll describe that, make a note. Maybe go through it a couple of times. You know, go do what I have

to do to become more athletic, become quicker. If a man goes like that, if I lose track, I always go back to the diary and see what I have to do.

And, I mean, it could be easy stuff like become quick, which I know, but if I for some reason lose track [inaudible] which you get burned out, I always go back to the notebook and say hey, I got to get quicker. That's what I have to do. That's what I wrote down a week ago, so I get into the gym and exercise.

CD: You actually – do the other players do that? Where did you pick that up from? Did the whole team do that?

Jeremy: Coach gave them [notebooks] to us in the beginning. I know Charles does it for a fact, and Devonte does it, but I can't think of other people that do it, actually. But I've never done it before.

CD: Do you like that?

Jeremy: I really like that. It really helps me a lot. What I did before was that after every game back in Europe, I would—after a game I would write down five things that I could improve after a game. Like, [inaudible] and the next week me and coach would work on it. And then if I started, you know, getting tired or unmotivated he brought up the list, saying this is what you want to do. This is the list you gave. And, you know, that kept on motivating me. And the basketball diary is the first that I've done, and it really helps me out. I'm going to continue doing that next year, too.

We see the principles of Context, Reduction, Feedback, Performance, Repetition in action in this excerpt. Jeremy himself labels the diary writing activity as Breakdown: "I have it *broken up* after every game." He describes also how he uses the broken up notes/information: he takes this information and through repetitious activities he works to

strengthen his weaknesses. These notes come from a larger context: he must refine the requisite skills to achieve the level of excellence he is striving for.

It is not insignificant to note the role of literacy in Jeremy's mission. The act of recording, in writing, these things creates a reference guide that keeps him on his path towards basketball excellence. "I have it broken up after every game," he says. Compartmentalizing, or breaking it up, helps Jeremy remember and process information. He also uses his writing as a motivational text: he's able to see it and be reminded not just of his areas of weakness but of his larger goal of being a professional basketball player. Honing and perfecting these smaller skills/activities helps him to become a better all-around basketball player. Refining such basics as quickness and footwork come together to shape a better whole. Jeremy's strategy for accomplishing this is to breakdown larger issues into manageable portions.

Basketball diaries are not unusual. Coach, in fact, did try to get the entire team to keep individual basketball diaries. But according to Jeremy, only three players kept basketball diaries. Jeremy tells of two other players on the team (Charles and Devonte) who also keep a basketball diary. And Jasen confirmed that he kept the types of notes that Jeremy inscribed. Jasen was the only one to show me some of the remarks he recorded in his journal. Altogether four of the players on the team – Charles, Devonte, Jasen, Jeremy – kept a basketball diary. This would be in addition to all the other writing they did on a regular basis.

In the domain of academics the act of breaking down or maintaining records of academic tasks (e.g. quiz dates, test dates, paper due dates, speech dates, finals, etc.) was the primary job of whichever coach (usually the assistants) was moderating study hall

(see Chapter Four discussion of Surveillance as a literacy event). The players would also check their BlackBoard pages to track grades on various assignments if not for their own edification then to report to the coaches so they could monitor their grades. And for those student-athletes whose GPAs were less-than-exceptional, the task of recording dates and maintaining a calendar became a mandatory weekly (if not daily) exercise. Jasen was a specific example of this:

Yeah. I got a school planner right here. What I do is I write down – like when I go to class, I just write down everything that I have to do for that week while I'm going in that class or that next following week so I won't forget it. 'Cause you know how you have papers due and then you go hang out on the weekend and you forget and Monday comes up, "Oh." So what I do is I'll write it down in my planner so that every time I go in my room, I just check my planner to see what I got to do for Monday or Thursday or whatever day it is and then I'll get it done so I don't forget it over the weekend _____ days.

Those for whom these calendars were mandatory the coaching staff would check these texts on a daily basis. Part of what Jasen and the other players were supposed to do was break up and compartmentalize all of their academic tasks into smaller, more manageable jobs. Breakdown made the overwhelming task of "studying" more manageable because breaking this large task into smaller jobs made the work appear more manageable and easier to accomplish. Such an approach was one the players were accustomed to. The school planner was used within the domain of academics; it allowed the players to reduce larger tasks into smaller ones; the players had to perform the plan they laid out; they planned and executed the plan and got feedback(/surveillance) on the plan repeatedly.

Again, this system consisted of the principles that made Breakdown an effective method, an effective educational technology.

Breakdown and the urgent demands for perfection

In the following interview excerpt Will talks about how the scout team (i.e. the players that enacted the opposing teams' strategies to help the starters prepare for games) is able to learn opposing teams' material so quickly. The learning occurs at an accelerated pace with the principles of Breakdown at work. The players are expected to learn the new material in half an hour. And a lot of pressure is put on them to do this. However, the players do not come to this material as *tabula rasa*; they have a base, or scaffolding, from which they are working. Already the players have practiced and performed constituent parts of their opponents' material: they have set fade screens, double screens, single-single screens, made skip-passes, played man-to-man defense, zone defense, made back-door cuts, etc. They know how to dribble, pass, shoot, play post defense, trap a dribbler and so on. They know this because these are common within the Discourse/semiotic domain, and the players on the scout team learned them in their practices. Having these basics under their control allows them to engage with advanced materials – opposing practices, strategies, goals, philosophies. They know the basics so they can invest in higher order thinking and performing. Since they know the motor-movements for the basic maneuvers, the scout team members can more easily grasp the new and complex content with comparative ease. Again, this is what Shaughnessy was talking about in her discussion of having mastery of the tools of literacy (see Chapter One): being practiced at manipulating a pen, keyboard, mouse, etc. means that a composer does not have to invest her focus on the finer motor-movements that are

required to generate a composition. Instead, the composer's mind-body is free to think and enact the more complex elements of the composition. So it is with our scout team in this example.

The scout team consists of all the non-starters. The day before each game, sometimes two days prior, the scout team is charged with the task of imitating the players, plays and game-strategies of upcoming opponents. In addition to knowing all of the plays, drills, strategies, etc. of their own team, the scout team must learn and perform those of their opponents. The starting players, and the two or three others that play significant minutes in games, rehearse against these opposing plays and strategies in preparation for upcoming contests. The foundation on which scout team performances are built are the basic skills and the general basketball applications that they've been practicing all year. They are based on their own team's strategies, strategies the players have repeatedly rehearsed in scores of basketball practices and individual workouts. Will explains the process and then discusses the classroom equivalent.

Will: Yeah, well with the scout team you have to you know, sometimes if the practice starts at 12:00 p.m. you know, we'll start doing our scout team at 11:30 a.m. So, we just have half an hour to memorize everything.

CD: That's it?

Will: Yeah. I mean, sometimes that's the very first thing we'll do in practice, is go over some of the scout team stuff.

CD: So, how do you learn it in 30 minutes? How do you -?

Will: We just – the coaches will just show us the plays, and we'll walk through them a couple times, and then the next time through we'll go through them full-speed and

– sometimes some of the players will mess-up while we're doing it, but for the most part after running through all the plays three or four times we'll get them down. But, it's also – I think it's – there's more of a sense of urgency when we're with the coaches and you know, they're yelling and screaming and we have to make sure everything is perfect. Whereas in the classroom you know, we have a couple of weeks to memorize all the material, so a lot of the times it's less stressful 'cause you have so much more time to learn the stuff.

CD: That's interesting.

Will: But, I also think that you know in the basketball setting being under more stress will also – it'll help you learn the stuff quicker.

CD: Really?

Will: 'Cause just, in your mind you know that you have to – you know, you only have 30 minutes to do this, so you better be sharp and listen to every single thing that the coaches are saying, and absorb every single thing. So, you know when it's time to do it, you know how to do it.

Will talks about the "sense of urgency" and the "stress" they are put under to have to "make sure everything is perfect" in relation to basketball. In the classroom, though, his sense is that there is less at stake; there isn't a game pending; the classroom content isn't needed right away. Will juxtaposes the temporally drawn-out approach to learning classroom "stuff" with the hyper-compressed time-line he has to work under as a member of the scout team. And, even in this time-compressed moment, the breakdown methodology is still present. "*We just – the coaches will just show us the plays* (Context), *and we'll walk through them a couple times* (Reduction, Repetition), *and then the next*

time through we'll go through them full-speed (Build-up, Performance) *and – sometimes some of the players will mess-up while we're doing it, but for the most part after running through all the plays three or four times* (Repetition) *we'll get them down. But, it's also – I think it's – there's more of a sense of urgency when we're with the coaches and you know, they're yelling and screaming* (Feedback) *and we have to make sure everything is perfect.*" All six principles of Breakdown are present during the walkthrough. The coaches first provide for them a model: the coaches give them an overview and show them the component parts. Then they breakdown the whole into portions. They do this as the players walk through the plays at slow speeds. Walking through the play and then going through it again at full speed is an application – performance – of the information. Coursing through the entire process is constant feedback and instruction on how to properly execute the material. The coaches "yell and scream" to "motivate" the players to execute with precision (based on interview data, though, his constant yelling and screaming aren't as motivating as Coach assumes).

A distinct element of the athletic training that was ubiquitous was the "sense of urgency" concept articulated by Will. At no point in the data collection were the student-athletes put under any "stress" to "make sure everything is perfect" for their academics. There are examples of the players missing due-dates, writing research papers the day before they were due, composing speeches the day before, and so on. These examples are a stark contrast to the skills-building that creates the foundation from which the scout team works. The scout team is able to learn and perform new materials with such a rapid turn-around time because of the careful attention to detail, over time, to the little things. In my fieldnotes I referred to this as a "literacy of execution." That is, the players have

become highly competent reader-composers of the meaning-making elements of this semiotic domain/Discourse. Composing assignments in a rush, to fulfill a deadline, is an opposing activity to the slow-roasted nurturing and refining of specific skills in the domain of academics.

The idea of instilling a sense of urgency harkens back to the surveillance issues in the preceding chapter, and it's an idea that circulated constantly in the domain of athletics, but the data does not indicate that teachers in the domain of academics spoke of such urgency. The coaches did work vigilantly to ensure that the players had completed their schoolwork. But the coaches never "ma[d]e sure everything [wa]s perfect." The data reveals no instance of a suggestion being made that the players proof-read a paper. No suggestion of practicing a speech. For some of the players the coaches never expected more of them than to be eligible (cf. Jasen and Clint). In relation to instilling discipline, the inconsistency in the actions that supported the demands for excellence creates a rupture. That is, the coaches – and, in fact, many of the players themselves – demanded high levels of performance in *every* domain of their lives. But the support in the form of activities that aligned with the stated values of the milieu weren't always present. This rupture undermines the disciplining of an ethics of behavior where attention to detail becomes a way of being. Acts for training of the whole person are inconsistent. The demands for "perfection" are only made in relation to athletics. Will's comments about the effects of being put under this stress to perform emphasize that the players rise to the occasion. With the demands, feedback and support, why couldn't there be an application of this mentality in the form of supporting activities that would facilitate the same or similar results in non-athletic domains?

Discussion

Breakdown emerged as a central method of training in the domain of athletics. Several of the principles of breakdown were easily identifiable in the domain of academics as well. As a unified, systematic, consciously crafted and carefully applied method of training, breakdown belonged more thoroughly to the domain of athletics. The players applied breakdown principles to other areas of their lives, but these principles emerged from the domain of athletics. In a sense, the way these players carried principles of breakdown from the domain of athletics into the other domains of their lives reflect the way they thought about their lives. Because it was repeated over and over and over, breakdown was a way of being in their basketball lives that became a habitual behavior and it carried over into the way they functioned in non-athletic domains.

In this chapter I talked about breakdown as an educational technology. By talking about it as an *educational* technology as opposed to simply an athletic training method one of the implications for breakdown is that it is a transferable concept. You might argue that a pedagogically sound classroom already incorporates the six principles of breakdown and that the findings developed from these subjects' activities generally offers educators nothing new. However, breakdown embodies a different attitude about educational training. Which is to say, breakdown is physical, highly interactive, agonistic and applied – four characteristics often not associated with classroom pedagogy. Breakdown is a highly physical educational technology. It engages the body and the mind in ways that traditional classroom methods do not. Students sit in classrooms, their bodies largely dormant. On the court (and off), these subjects demonstrated highly collaborative and shared reading-composing strategies known as teamwork. Interaction

in the form of feedback and performance was crucial to being able to know the material and enact it. Through repetition and performance in the context of a competitive environment these subjects trained agonistically – pushing and pulling and struggling with one another in constant contests to improve their skills. And these breakdown skills they learned were built back up and applied to high stakes games where they were held accountable for being able to execute the material they had learned.

This *sounds* a lot different than what is possible for a classroom, yet the players unconsciously transferred several of the breakdown training principles into their academic domains. In study halls and in their dorm rooms they modeled literate behaviors in ways that challenged and/or instructed their teammates. Jeremy felt challenged by Will, his roommate's, excellent grades. Jeremy reported that whenever he say Will studying or heading to the library, he too would study or head to the library. Jeremy and Charles had a speech class that they did well in; they could be seen mentoring Clint and Bart, both of whom had the same class but were less accomplished speech givers. They applied successful principles such as physical repetition to their studying techniques. They sought and received constant feedback from each other. Breakdown, in other words, was a part of the consciousness and ways of being for this Discourse community of players. So for the subjects these principles flowed more or less naturally from one domain to the other. There is reason to believe that such an explicit and systematic could help support the learning and literacy practices of some non student-athletes as well. Of course an important key to the success of this educational technology was the subjects' deep commitment to their Team. Being able to replicate a similar sense

of commitment to a group or a system would be an important part of enacting systemic breakdown.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the day there are at least four things that I know for sure about these student-athletes' literacy practices based on the data from this study. These primary findings allow me to state that (1) these student-athletes' training methods influenced their literacy, (2) student-athletes have highly sophisticated literacy that reflects their highly sophisticated cognition, and (3) these student-athletes liked their training regimens. The fourth finding can be split into thirds based on the three themes organizing the data of the study. And, each of these attests to the highly physical nature of these student-athletes' academic and athletic training; they also indicate the extent to which reading-writing was infused in this training.

Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown as Key Findings

Each of the three themes represents concepts that have pedagogical implications for literacy and learning. The first theme, Repetition, is *not* a rote, skill and drill activity. Basic critical cognitive elements are habituated through repetitive performance. In fact, for these student-athletes, *repetition was performance*. It is for this reason that Repetition does not suggest a pedagogy of skill and drill for Compositionists and Literacy practitioners. Traditional skill and drill, or rote, exercises are defined by mindlessness. No matter how basic or minute, each drill was a part of both an immediate and an eventual, contextualized performance where the players were either imagining or acting within a larger performance.

"Sense of urgency" is a concept that doesn't receive much attention in the chapters above. But a sense of urgency pervaded much of what they did in their athletic training. The players talked about "sense of urgency" and this sense was embodied in

their dedication and in their actions. Despite the fact that the players received little if any pleasure from practice and games, they maintained their devotion to their regimen. They maintained their dedication to something larger than themselves – The Team. Repetition had this sense of urgency because there were very real consequences for the players' performances as individuals and as a team. Their performances were evaluated in practices and in games. And how they performed – whether it was in drills in practice or during the heat of a game – impacted them in terms of the rewards of a day off from practice or the punishment of a three hour practice to further drill the appropriate performative elements that were viewed by the coaches as deficient. So, shooting 200 jump shots was not necessarily viewed by these players as "repetition" but as a performative element of a larger collection that makes up the game of basketball. Shooting 200 jump shots is a core part of the game. Such drills are inseparable from the game itself.

To a lesser degree, this translated into their educational domain as well. And it likely translated more as a result of their ways of being as athletes than it did because of a deep sense of urgency for academics. Tests, quizzes, papers, speeches were "contests" they had to perform well on because there were athletic consequences from Coach if they didn't. But even then the stakes weren't as high in the academic domain as it was in the athletic domain. This can be attributed, again, to their dedication to something larger than themselves in the domain of athletics. In their academics the effects of their training was limited almost exclusively to themselves. But still they "got their reps" by studying their vocabulary or repeatedly reviewing study guides as a matter of their habits of

training. Such was their concept of how to train in both the academic and athletic domains.

Surveillance, the second theme, is not simply Coach's invigilation of the players' every move. I call it an educational technology because the method had an impact on their learning. Surveillance instilled positive literacy habits and a sense of value for the prescribed training methods of the Discourse community. At the heart of this educational technology was literacy. Texts were instruments of surveillance. And the reading-writing of the players was shaped by surveillance. Surveillance, then, was not simply a theme. Just as Foster promoted the value of Surveillance for the positive effects it had on the educational and athletic success of the black female athletes in his study, I too attribute a number of benefits to Surveillance. Among those benefits were the installation of positive literacy habits, a positive and lasting training method that crossed the domains of academics and athletics, and a 100% eligibility rate. The discipline that Surveillance instilled cannot be overstated, and value that these players came to have for their acquired methods of training should not be undervalued. Both were the direct result of Surveillance. Despite some of the drawbacks of Surveillance, overall this educational technology was a net gain for these players.

The final major theme, Breakdown, is also one of the major findings of this study. That is, Breakdown is not simply one of the organizing themes for this study but it is an educational technology that reveals these student-athletes' highly physical method of training. *This is a significant finding because it demonstrates an effective bodily system for coming to know content*. The Breakdown method exhibited by these players illuminates how body and mind work syncretically in literacy and learning in the semiotic

domains of both basketball and school. As a whole, the principles of Breakdown in action reveal how at nearly every turn the method of learning is a bodily endeavor. The highly physical nature manifests in the principles of Breakdown as the players first see the whole; they then reduce constituent part or actions as they physically separate actions from the whole; there is physical doing in the performance of the content and in the performance of their repetitions; feedback circulates throughout via the physical acts of speaking and hearing, talking and listening; finally, there is the physical reassembly, or buildup, of the parts back into a unified performance of the material. The physicality of Breakdown was highly visible and quite clear in the domain of athletics, but we saw it also in such examples as Charles' use of the note cards. *These student-athletes relied primarily on their bodily ways of being as an integral part of their literacy practices.*

In chapters three, four and five Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown served as themes that helped organize the presentation of the data. I revisit these concepts here, in the conclusion, to be explicit about the fact that these concepts also represent key findings. That is, Repetition, Surveillance and Breakdown further illustrate and give depth to two of the things I can say for certain about what we know from these players: (1) their training methods impacted their literacy practices and (2) the highly sophisticated nature of these student-athletes' literacy in turn reflects their highly sophisticated cognition.

Student-athletes' Training Methods Influence Their Literacy

Basketball was these student-athletes' way of being; it was at the core of their identities. They were at the same time always both student and athlete. As such, their ways of being were not confined by domains. So their training methods and their values

for a hard work ethic and their regimented processes, all of which were tied to literacy, impacted their literacy practices in all three domains. These players trained by using Repetition; they trained by Breakdown. Repetition and Breakdown affected how they read-wrote. To separate these players' training practices from their literacy practices would be as unnatural as separating body from mind. If you were to imagine an image of a double helix, with two strands interweaving one with the other to make an image of a single object, such would be the image of their literacy and training practices.

Student-athletes Have Highly Sophisticated Literacy that Reflects Their Highly Sophisticated Cognition

In case I haven't stated it clearly enough elsewhere: These student-athletes revealed highly sophisticated and complex literacy practices. Their sophisticated and complex ways of interacting with, making sense of, and bringing texts to life in their performances (i.e. their demonstrated understanding of the content) demonstrate sophisticated thinking and highly developed cognitive processing of their respective texts. Will's discussion of how the scout team can so quickly and competently memorize and perform opposing teams' play books is one vivid example of this sophistication. Another example of the complexity of their literacy and their sophistication emerged within the system of Surveillance. Surveillance made it necessary for the players to develop subversive behaviors that allowed them to be social and take advantage of the know-how of their peers. This was demonstrated in study halls when the players would collaborate under the radar of the coaches' gazes and on the basketball court when they would undermine the rules of the drills such as when Mario didn't steal the ball from his teammate. Mario was an example of how these players recognized the nuances of texts,

processed them with an understanding of the consequences of their actions and consciously made decisions based on their knowledge of the rules and values of the respective domain in which the text + performance was situated. Each of these is representative of the complexity of these student-athletes' reading, writing and thinking.

These Student-athletes Valued Their Training Regimens

These players were constantly doing things they didn't want to do. They were constantly engaging in physically, mentally and emotionally demanding activities. The coaches demanded a lot from these student-athletes, and the players always found it within themselves to respond. Why would a group of teenagers and young 20-somethings willingly do difficult, joyless work? There are at least three reasons. First, they valued the work they were doing. More importantly, they valued *how* they were doing the work – i.e. the training methods. The players most often articulated this in relation to study hall. They didn't enjoy study hall, but they valued it. Second, to slack off or to do less than their individual best was not only detrimental to the individual, but a half-hearted effort negatively impacted their friends and Teammates. These student-athletes were deeply committed to something greater than themselves, The Team. And the concept of the Team as being greater than any one individual was something the players held close to their heart. I'd suggest that this, too, was a part of their ways of being, their individual identities. This brings me to the third motivating reason: identity. Being a student-athlete, specifically, being a basketball player, was what these guys were; it's how they defined themselves in all of their domains. In their social, academic and athletic worlds these guys were basketball players. Unless they quit, they could never *not* be basketball players. And when a player did quit, he was effectively ostracized. A

crucial part of being a member of The Team meant acquiescing to and accepting specific values, ways of being, codes of behavior. It also meant acquiescing to and valuing the training regimens. These three reasons are what made the difficult, joyless work meaningful to these student-athletes. Having a positive work ethic, achieving goals, competing to be the best they could be as a team and as individuals – all of these reasons explain how and why these subjects could commit with such vigor to the things they did.

Contribution to English Composition and Literacy Education

In this final section I take a somewhat personal approach to explaining the contributions of this study to the field. Weaving through this final discussion are statements about pedagogy and literacy learning that this study allows me to state with a high degree of certainty. I mentioned in the introduction that during the course of conducting the research for this study I began to turn my scholarly attention more towards K-12 literature. I explained that one of the motivations for this shift was due to my perceptions of the inherently more practical, less abstract nature of K-12 education literature. One of the effects of my immersion in this literature was that it merged with what I was learning from the subjects of my study. The result was that I began to apply the two to the construction of an innovative vocabulary curriculum targeted at Pre-K – 12th grade students. The name of the curriculum I have developed is Meta-threads®, "Smart clothes for smart kids."

Meta-threads is an educational curriculum and clothing line. At the moment there are three separate editions: (1) toddler line, (2) anatomy line, (3) advanced vocabulary line. Each edition has developmentally appropriate content incorporated onto the garments. First I'll describe Meta-threads, then I'll explain the connections to this study.

Meta-threads are designed to be wearer-centric – i.e. "kid-centered." So, for example, all of the words printed on the shirts are upside-down so the person wearing it can read it right-side up. For the toddlers there are blue shirts with the word "blue" printed on the front. As well, on the inside, on the bottom of the shirt, also printed upside-down so the wearer can read it, the word "blue" is used in a sentence. The words used for the toddler line are age-appropriate and are based in part on such sight word lists as the Dolch Word List. For the advanced vocabulary line, which are primarily targeted at 9^{th}-12^{th} grade students, the words increase in difficulty. An example of a word that would appear in the advanced vocabulary curriculum is "permeate." The word would, again, be printed upside-down. And, like the toddler line, would have the word "permeate" used in a sample sentence to demonstrate correct usage. On the advanced line, however, there is also a definition included. So, the inside bottom of the shirt would read: "v. to diffuse through or penetrate (something); to pass through the pores or interstices of. 'The stench of sweaty socks permeated the air of the boys locker room.'" An example of a shirt from the anatomy line is the clavicle shirt. The word "clavicle" is printed on the collar bone of the shirt. This identifies the appropriate anatomical part of the body to the wearer and those around her. There are "deltoid" shirts, "sternum" shirts, "pectoral," "oblique" and so on.

The Meta-threads curriculum is created for individual wearers, but the objective is to have them incorporated by the dozens so that they can circulate throughout a milieu as a way of heightening "word consciousness," to "teach individual words" and to help provide "rich and varied language experiences" for all the students in the school or class. Michael Graves has written that there are four essential strategies for teaching vocabulary

effectively: providing rich and varied language experiences; teaching individual words; teaching word-learning strategies; and fostering word consciousness (Graves 4-8). Meta-threads implements all four of these strategies. One of the most important, though, is heightening word consciousness. By having scores of different words circulating throughout a school, throughout the day, and beyond the walls of language arts classrooms, word consciousness is heightened in a more efficient manner than traditional content delivery. This is accomplished by putting the words on the students' bodies. It is estimated by Nagy and Anderson (quoted in Winters, 685) that the average fifth grader will be exposed to approximately 10,000 words during the fifth grade alone. It is nearly impossible for a teacher to teach each of these words. Therefore, Meta-threads can supplement the vocabulary curriculum by providing words that teachers are unlikely or unable to cover. Heightening word consciousness, along with providing word learning strategies through explicit lessons on prefixes, suffixes and roots, provides students and kids with the power to figure out new words, to self-teach.

How exactly does this relate to my research on student-athletes' literacy practices? The most important way that Meta-threads is connected is through the body. Meta-threads puts the vocabulary on the students' bodies. The lesson plans include highly physical interactions and activities – events with lots of performance, gesturing, movement.

Second, many of the principles from the findings of my research manifest in the Meta-threads curriculum – especially Repetition and Breakdown. The objective with Meta-threads is to get kids and adults to interact frequently and in natural exchanges (i.e. feedback). Such exchanges encourage the student to use the word (i.e. performance). By

discussing the words that are describing the very clothes on which the word-lessons are printed Meta-threads facilitates both of these things. Here the principles of Feedback and Performance (from Breakdown) are consciously channeled. The design feature makes the word accessible and convenient for the child wearing the clothes so they and their peers can view their word easily and use it repeatedly. Student interaction is encouraged because the words are clearer to the wearer than they are to others, so when adults or peers ask one another what their shirts say/mean the performative nature of these exchanges increases the likelihood of appropriation through repeated performances of individual words.

The Meta-threads curriculum is designed to have scores of words circulating throughout an environment. In addition to the other objectives, the idea here is to flood the *habitus* with rich and varied language to demonstrate how a teacher or school or parent values vocabulary building and language play. In theory, Meta-threads would instill in students a similar value for vocabulary, for language play and language exploration. And this is accomplished by incorporating it onto the body. Just as certain norms and values were instilled in the student-athletes by way of modeling (i.e. *hexis* of individual actors), so too does Meta-threads silently model values and desired norms.

Another crucial feature that borrows from the training methods of the student-athletes is that Meta-threads breaks down and blurs domains. The shirts are worn throughout the day and the language or vocabulary lessons on the shirt are with the wearers whether they are on the bus to school, eating lunch in the cafeteria or discussing the Civil War in a history class. The literacy event travels with them across academic,

social and other domains. The student-athletes' basketball literacy practices traveled across domains, which is one of the reasons their training was so effectively ingrained.

Finally, I would be remiss if I wasn't explicit about the fact that Meta-threads are a text; Meta-threads are circulating literacy events. The shirts are designed to be read, written about and, especially, talked about. Meta-threads is explicit about how it combines literacy and physicality by putting words and lessons on students' bodies so that they can, at best, repeatedly perform the content or, at the very least, be silently immersed in literacy events and vocabulary lessons.

Part of the Meta-threads curriculum still being developed includes bracelets and temporary tattoos. I've created a curriculum that is based on and revolves entirely around the body. Putting words on students' bodies and immersing them in language by having their senses constantly exposed to words and word-based interactions seems pedagogically sound. At least it does to me, an educator convinced of the knowledge-making power of the body. Am I too much imposing on the practical, concrete research of K-12 the abstractions and philosophical texts with which the research for this study began? For example, always on my mind, engraved onto my skull, has been a single passage from French phenomenologist, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "I am the absolute source…for I alone bring into being for myself…the tradition which I elect to carry on, or the horizon whose distance from me would be abolished…if I were not there to scan it with my gaze" (Merleau-Ponty ix). From his lengthy treatise on phenomenology Merleau-Ponty is talking of the sense-perceiving body. We know the world through our experiences as sense-perceiving subjects. It is with our bodies that we have consciousness. Our being in the world is not mediated by our senses; we know *with* our

senses, because of our bodily senses, our physical-ness. I always turn back to the sense-perceiving body. Filling students' horizons with vocabulary or anatomy lessons necessarily fills their gazes. Of course they can elect to not carry on or take in the particular lessons, but increasingly, that would be a challenging task for them if they are surrounded by these words. The Merleau-Ponty passage may have less relevance in support of Meta-threads than it does for its relevance as an influence on me and how I've thought these past few years about a body-centric consciousness and about highly physical literacy pedagogy. In line with my body-centric consciousness are activities where students can apply to their bodies temporary tattoos with vocabulary. This literate activity is a flurry of sensory excitation.

The student-athletes of this study had highly physical methods of reading, composing, knowing. For me, an approach to literacy education such as Meta-threads is logical because it makes language learning physical. Clearly we cannot have our students running sprints or doing push-ups or shooting hoops in a classroom. But we can make concerted efforts at reconnecting the body to the mind. There are ways to include and even value the body. In fact, though it's often neglected and undervalued, the body is already a central part of our students' training. I've cited Shaughnessy and Emig and Pearl and others who have argued likewise. I have alluded to Bakhtin's notion of appropriation. Both implicitly and explicitly, these theorists argue that physically performing material – even in the smallest, most subtle ways such as manipulating pen and paper – are integral to literacy and language learning. Whether it's hearing new sounds with one's own ears or tracing new letters with one's own hand or attempting to

annunciate a new word with one's own tongue, lips and mouth – language and literacy happen syncretically.

Like I said, this is a personal interpretation of the contribution that this study makes to Literacy Studies and Composition. To speak in broader terms, this study highlights a very physical method of training. A highly physical method of literacy training was illustrated by the Surveillance technology and in the Breakdown technology. The way the players socio-physically interacted in study halls also offers a window into how literacy training can mind the body more. Perhaps exploring team-like pods or cells for students could replicate the type of social bonding and group dedication exhibited by these players. In some places there are models for this already, where students enter as a horde and take the same block of classes and share a common advising or mentoring team.

What I Have Learned About Teaching

One of the things this study taught me about teaching, or, rather, what it has reminded me about teaching, is that there needs to be a sense of urgency with each lesson I present and an increased level of demand put on my students. Somewhere in between the end of my first years of teaching underprepared students from inner city Chicago and in the midst of writing up this study I lost that sense of urgency. On a daily basis Al, Brittany and Devon, the Chicago students whose passions and needs motivated me to pursue this line of work, would impress upon me the importance of being able to translate their home dialects into mainstream dialect. They needed help with the basics of the English language. *They* demanded from *me*. It was the most inspirational experience I've had as a teacher. In the process of pursuing a Ph.D. I lost touch with the Al's,

Brittany's and Devon's in our schools. And for various complicated reasons that I won't go into here, my teaching grew increasingly uninspired. As I reflect on what this study has taught me about teaching I keep coming back to two things: (1) Al, Brittany and Devon and (2) the sense of urgency with which the players and coaches of this study functioned. Both groups trained, or wanted to train, as if their lives depended on it. Al, Brittany and Devon believed that they could not achieve high levels of success in a predominantly white corporate world or justice system (their respective career goals) unless they had the white man's tools – i.e. standardized English vernacular. We would have vigorous conversations about this, especially when I would try to teach the value of a Students' Right to Their Own Language. The coaches' and players' worlds revolved around winning and losing. An accumulation of too many loses, in the world of competitive NCAA sports especially, means death – not a literal death, but, for the coaches it could mean getting fired or for the players it could mean getting kicked off the team (such as the seven players from the season before I began this study who were dismissed because they didn't produce enough wins). Both of these groups trained with a sense of urgency that you imagine in life and death struggles. Because, in very real ways, how each of these two groups performed directly impacted their existence in society.

I used to believe that my work as a literacy and language educator, and what I did in my classrooms over the course of a semester, had important consequences for the lives of the students in my classes and, indeed, consequences for our society. I believe that still. But apparently my belief is not self-sustaining, because I think what I've learned about my teaching is that I need, that I thrive off of, students who have a sense of urgency for how they train. I think what I've realized is that I need students with a sense of

urgency, students who recognize – whether they can articulate it or not – that what they're doing has consequences for themselves and for something larger than themselves. It should not be overlooked that the *habitus* for each of these two groups played an important role in instilling this sense of urgency. The program that Al, Brittany, Devon and myself were a part of had an extensive interviewing process and an elaborate set of rules, standards and support mechanisms that didn't just *state* the importance of the program, but enacted that importance. In this way, the *habitus* sponsored and supported a sense of urgency.

But to return to the students (and players), they, the students, have a responsibility for making a good teacher (or coach). Hawhee talks about this quality in her chapter on "*Phusiopoiesis*: The Arts of Training" (86-108). "Indeed," she says, "*phusiopoietic* practices depend on dynamics of submission and seduction that manifest themselves in a number of ways" (93). Elsewhere she explains that "a major requirement for transformation is the 'seeking out' motivated by a desire to cultivate strategies that will produce oneself differently. Such a seeking is, however, accompanied by a concomitant submitting: active submission is thus a necessary first step for transformation" (87). The student-athletes of this study and my students Al, Brittany and Devon all share this phusiopoietic characteristic. A teacher or coach can only expect a response to their demands to the degree that her students/players are *willing* to submit. To state it another way, students are as responsible for their transformation as are the educators. I won't generalize to say that this is a neglected consideration within education systems. As well, there are other factors that do well or ill to influence both *phusiopoiesis* and a sense of urgency. It would be an oversimplification to suggest that either of the two

characteristics emerge independently and without some influencing or sponsoring agent. I shall stop here and simply say that what I've learned about my teaching, or what I have been reminded of, is that a sense of urgency and at least a small bit of *phusiopoiesis* are necessary for transformative experiences. And this is equally true regardless of the domain in which the training is taking place.

There are a few other lessons I have learned, such as my realization from observing K-12 teachers and reading K-12 literature of how technical good teaching can be, but those lessons will have to mature elsewhere, in later conversations.

Research: What's To Follow?

These student-athletes' training has many aspects that need to be further explored in more detail. The one that stands out the most about their training is their dedication and desire to train so intensely. A reader recently posed a question to me about the relationship between pleasure and training. It went something like this: "How might the field learn from these subjects' pleasure to train?" Imagine the shock when I explained, "There was no pleasure." These guys didn't enjoy what they were doing. They did not think of their basketball training as fun. And even the games – the events for which they trained – were relatively joyless. Don't get me wrong, a few of the guys enjoyed basketball. But the majority of them expressed being burned out physically, mentally and/or emotionally before the season had even ended.

This, to me, is an interesting issue to consider, one for which I have no simple or ready answer. I could speculate about how being a basketball player is a core tenant of their identities, or I might be able to suggest that basketball is so thoroughly a way of being in the world for these student-athletes that they can barely imagine any other way

of operating. But these and other conjectures are insufficient. What is the payoff? Why did these players, why *do* these players, invest so much intensity and vigor in things that do not bring them pleasure? Or at least not very much pleasure? Granted, I did not pose this question to them. But I suspect that even if I had their responses would have inspired more curiosity. I think there is something fulfilling about the challenges they faced and overcame (with varying degrees of success). And, of course, "joy" and "pleasure" can be defined so many different ways. What looks like pleasure to me may not be the same as Will's or Charles' or Mario's versions. Perhaps they were pleasure-filled and I simply did not recognize it.

I think my interest in this idea of pleasure vis-à-vis intensely challenging training is related to motivation: how do we inspire students or student-athletes or whoever to train and study with the intensity of these subjects? Are the factors larger than any one teacher or coach? That is, does motivation come more from our contexts, from *habitus*, than from individuals? Is it possible to recreate the factors and characteristics displayed by Al, Brittany, Devon and these players? What are the costs? I suspect there are yet unseen answers to such questions in my own data.

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