"It's All Part of an Education":
Case Studies of Writing Knowledge Transfer Across Academic and Social
Media Domains Among Four Feminist College Students

by

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DEDICATION

To Sally Johnson,

for modeling survival;

and to Danny Bogert:

I started this voyage with you, and I finished it for you.

You seldom slip adrift from my thoughts.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists of four micro-case studies of intersectional feminist college students' experiences with writing across digital extracurricular and academic domains. These micro-case studies were selected from a longitudinal study of eight students' experiences. In response to ongoing questions about writing knowledge transfer generally and transfer between online and academic contexts more specifically, this study was designed to explore whether and how these writers made connections between digital extracurricular and academic contexts of writing. Data collection consisted of four interviews with eight participants over the course of two years and the ongoing collection of academic and online writing samples over the course of one academic year. Through the analysis of interview data, I present two main types of learning transfer across domains; the first type of learning transfer is also supported by analysis of students' online writing. Through these micro-case studies, I shed light on two previously under-explored types of writing knowledge transfer across these domains, moving in both directions: the transfer (and transformation) of genre knowledge from academic contexts into digital extracurricular contexts, and the transfer of content knowledge forged through online reading into academic writing assignments.

Participants in this study tended to confirm previous research suggesting that students generally compartmentalize their writing knowledge across these two domains. I illustrate this trend through a case study of a particularly salient example of such

compartmentalization provided by the experiences of one participant, Nora. However, among the experiences of the four participants who served as focal cases for the analysis I present in this dissertation, there were two main exceptions to the compartmentalization trend. For example, in response to unprecedented online rhetorical situations, three participants in this study reported selecting and transforming prior academic genre knowledge by infusing it with multimodal elements to meet the demands of the new rhetorical situation. This cluster of findings suggests a previously unexplored relationship between antecedent genre uptake as articulated by Angela Rounsaville (2012), and what Kara Poe Alexander, Michael-John DePalma, and Jeffrey Ringer (2016) term "adaptive remediation," thus putting in conversation two previously separate theories of writing knowledge transfer. Additionally, when faced with open-ended writing assignments in unfamiliar disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, all participants reported drawing on their expertise in intersectional feminism, forged in the digital extracurriculum, as a means of locating topics for academic writing assignments. Through two micro-case studies of writers enacting this strategy, I explore the relationship between reading, content knowledge, and writing knowledge transfer, an area that is as yet under-explored in the writing knowledge transfer literature.

Together, these two sets of findings suggest that in some cases undergraduate writers may transfer writing knowledge across online and academic domains, and that they can demonstrate considerable resourcefulness when doing so: when faced with an unprecedented, unfamiliar, or ill-defined rhetorical situation in one domain, four participants in this study drew on resources from another domain (e.g., academic genre

knowledge; extracurricular content knowledge) in order to support their performance. These participants' experiences reinforce models of writing knowledge transfer that emphasize adaptation or transformation, and they also suggest that more sustained attention should be paid to the roles of digital extracurricular writing, multimodal composition, and reading in future transfer research.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"It's all part of an education. I think the social media stuff is more of a voluntary education. Although these classes are also voluntary, just the readings are more for credit and stuff like that, whereas everything that I read online is definitely because I want to be reading it."
—Quinn

The rise of the information economy and the proliferation of digital, screen-based technologies have shaped the roles of reading and writing in society (Brandt, 2015). This shifting landscape has not only influenced the roles of reading and writing in academic and professional contexts, but also at home. Social media has increased the frequency of everyday extracurricular writing (Anson, 2017; Yancey, 2004), and even reading: in 2014, individuals in their twenties watched less television than their counterparts in 2004 did, but spent more time reading for pleasure, largely on computers ("How Young Adults," 2016). Social media, where online articles that are read for leisure are typically found and shared, has gained a particularly prominent role in contemporary extracurricular reading and writing practices. However, due to the rapid proliferation of these writing and reading technologies, individuals who have a stake in postsecondary education (e.g., instructors, researchers, administrators, and policy-makers) may not be fully aware of the breadth and depth of contemporary students' extracurricular social media reading and writing practices, or for that matter, the connections that students could potentially make between their online reading and writing and their academic performance and development.

In addition to influencing young people's engagement with extracurricular reading and writing practices, social media has had an impact on how people interact with political issues.[1] By making public forums accessible to previously unheard voices, social media has provided a platform for many regular citizens to share information about matters that affect their communities. As a result, the proliferation of social media has provided resources for individuals seeking to become more civically engaged (Bennett, 2008) and to resist oppression and enact social change (Castells, 2012). From the vantage of composition studies, Lauri Goodling (2015) explains the affordances of social media for activism as follows:

> … digital media… effectively disrupts the existing power dynamics in politics and media, making it an ideal situation for activists to do their work. This shift in dynamic puts the power in the hands of the user as one who transmits and circulates at her will, on her timeframe, and to the extent she desires. It levels the playing field to some degree, and it provides opportunity for voices to be heard that might otherwise be ignored… ("The New Public Sphere" sec., para. 11)

It is no mistake that Goodling uses female pronouns here: the disruption of power dynamics that she describes allows for the enfranchisement of individuals who have

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[1] While I recognize the negative effects of social media on political discourse, namely, the "echo chamber effect" that has been well-documented in research in communication, legal studies, psychology, and political science, this study seeks to explore writing knowledge transfer. As a result, I primarily focus on the role of social media in individual writers' writing development, rather than the wider-reaching effects of social media on a democratic citizenry (although this topic certainly came up in interviews with participants). In other words, I recognize that social media has been justifiably critiqued for a number of reasons, the gravest of which is the threat it has recently posed to U.S. democracy at this time of writing, but for the purposes of this dissertation I frame it as a platform for reading and writing used by intersectional feminist college students to develop activist identities, learn about current events and social theories, and practice rhetorical strategies while expressing their opinions and sharing their experiences online.

previously been excluded from or minimized within the public realms of politics and

media, such as women, and especially women of color.[2] Noteworthy manifestations of

this function of social media include Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and Black Lives

Matter—all movements in which young women have played a large (and often

unrecognized) role (Boler, Macdonald, Nitsou, & Harris, 2014; Garza, 2014; J. Keller,

2016; Newsom & Lengel, 2012). Additionally, some digital activist movements have

held explicitly feminist[3] goals, such as SlutWalk, which seeks to challenge rape culture

by raising awareness about consent, and the #yesallwomen social media campaign, which

sought to make visible the ongoing effects of systemic patriarchal oppression and

violence in the lives of women (Dixon, 2014). More recently, as Emmanuelle's online

writing demonstrates in chapter 4, the #sayhername movement has served as a response

to the elision of the deaths of black women at the hands of police officers (Brown, Ray,

Summers, & Fraistat, 2018; Williams, 2016). Additionally, shortly after the initial data

collection period for this study, the #metoo movement swept social media. This

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[2] Although decentered media practices might open up access to public forums for previously unheard voices, it is important to note that this media economy relies on unpaid labor, which is problematic given the historical exploitation of the unpaid labor of women and people of color in various contexts in our society. For a discussion of how the decentered media practices facilitated by the internet might problematically implicate women in yet another form of unpaid labor, see Jessalynn Keller (2016). Similarly, Lisa Nakamura (2015) discusses call out culture, the unpaid labor enacted by "women of colour, queer and trans people, and racial minorities who call out, educate, protest, and design around toxic social environments in digital media" (p. 106).

[3] As I will discuss in more detail shortly, among the digital activists associated with what has been called the emergent fourth wave of feminism, the term "feminist" is generally synonymous with "intersectional feminism," meaning that it is inclusive of individuals from all gender identity categories—including trans women, non-binary individuals, and men. In keeping with Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) definition of intersectionality, the digital activists whose discourse constitutes a site of knowledge production for this study consider "gender" as a category that does not and cannot exist in isolation from other identity categories such as race, class, ethnicity, disability, nationality, and age.

movement invited women to make their experiences of sexual harassment and sexual assault, which are often viewed as a private, individual, personal problem rather than as a social issue, more visible to a public audience (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018).

As I discuss in more detail in chapter 2, because online feminist discourse animates questions about technology, communication, identity, and society, it has been explored from a range of disciplines, including (but certainly not limited to) media studies, sociology, and gender studies. Additionally, due to the roles of rhetoric and writing in online feminist discourse, compositionists have explored many facets of this discursive practice and its relationship to rhetoric and composition pedagogy since the 1990s (see, e.g., Blair, 2012; Blair, Gajjalaand, & Tulley, 2008; Blair & Takayoshi, 2009; Haas, Tulley, & Blair, 2002; LeCourt & Barnes, 1999; Takayoshi, 1994). However, despite its proliferation, online feminist discourse may still remain invisible to many: sociologist Julia Schuster (2013) discusses the phenomenon of "invisible feminists," or the high volume of young people engaging with feminism on social media platforms that remain "invisible" to those who do not use social media. Because this population tends not to engage in feminist discourse through mainstream media channels or feminist organizations (J. Keller, 2016), Schuster notes that "invisible" (or online) feminism has sparked concerns in the broader feminist community about perceptions of young people's apathy regarding gender inequality, and has thus contributed to a generational divide among feminists. As a result, online feminist discourse as a site of digital extracurricular reading and writing may not be on the radar of many parents, instructors, administrators, policy-makers, and researchers. In the words of Olivia, a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Spanish who was an avid

reader and sharer of social justice-related content on social media: "My mom's always like, 'Shouldn't you be studying or something instead of being on Tumblr?' I'm like, 'I'm kind of learning stuff here, too.'"

In light of this shifting landscape, it is safe to assume that, to some extent, social media has shaped how many college-aged individuals—and specifically, feminist-identified individuals—interact with writing in their extracurricular and civic lives. Previous research has posited that the (at-times) sophisticated rhetorical and writing knowledge that is often cultivated by social media could potentially be productively leveraged by students to meet the demands of college writing (Anson, 2017; E.H. Buck, 2015; Fife, 2010; Head, 2016; Rosinski, 2017; Shepherd, 2015; 2018; Vie, 2008). Indeed, the promise of instantaneous feedback from friends and followers (both known and unknown) may cause social media writers to exercise extra care with their use of language and rhetoric (both textual and visual) in that particular context. Reflecting the attention that college students may pay to their social media writing, Alice (a senior majoring in Political Science with minors in German; Computer Science; and Law, Justice, and Social Change) stated, "The performance aspect [of social media]… makes me more careful in some instances of phrasing everything I want to say correctly and the way that I think will best reflect what I'm trying to get across." Additionally, as Ryan Shepherd (2018) suggests, social media may challenge composers to produce and consume multimodal texts, a finding that was confirmed by the sophisticated ways that participants in this study described the visual and video elements that populated the texts they read and wrote on a daily basis on social media. Similarly, social media may challenge composers to adopt flexible composing processes so that they may tailor their

writing for specific social media platforms, audiences, and purposes (E.H. Buck, 2015).

Prior research has suggested that the selection of specific social media platforms for

various rhetorical purposes may be particularly relevant to political discourse generally

(Weinstein, 2014), and feminist discourse specifically (DeLuca, 2015; Thelandersson,

2014). Participants in this study confirmed these findings, describing in detail how the

rhetorical purposes that informed their social media use varied greatly from platform to

platform, often shaped by their sensitivity to the audiences in different platforms as well

as the constraints of specific interfaces (e.g., Twitter's character limit, which was 140

characters at the time of data collection).[4] These areas of writing knowledge—attention to

language and rhetoric, flexible composing processes, audience awareness, selection of

appropriate contexts and genres—are well aligned with the goals of college writing

instruction as articulated by disciplinary outcomes statements such as the *WPA Outcomes

Statement* and the *Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing* (CWPA, 2014;

CWPA, NCTE, & NWP, 2011).

However, whether the writing with which feminist college students engage on

social media has any relationship with their learning in academic settings is unclear. The

emerging scholarship on the transfer of writing knowledge between social media and

academic contexts suggests that students tend not to perceive and/or act on connections

between the writing knowledge that they obtain in social media and in academic domains

(Anson, 2017; Cohn, 2016; Lenhart, Arafeh, Smith, & Macgill, 2008; D. Keller, 2013;

Shepherd, 2015; 2018). Chris Anson posits that this separation may be due to the fact that

these domains are so different and that transfer is notoriously difficult. Writing

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[4] For a more detailed account of this, see Nora's self-reports in the interlude micro-chapter.

knowledge transfer may be more difficult when learners perceive differences across domains (see, e.g., Bergmann & Zepernick, 2007; James, 2008), others, like Daniel Keller and Ryan Shepherd, have suggested that students tend not to consciously transfer writing knowledge across these domains due to perceived dissimilarities across the contexts of writing and students' felt sense that reading and writing online do not "count" as reading and writing. Writing knowledge transfer from academic contexts into social media contexts may be particularly challenging given that transfer in this direction also requires transfer across *media*, which previous research has suggested may be uniquely challenging for student writers (Alexander, DePalma, & Ringer, 2016; DePalma, 2015; DePalma & Alexander, 2015; Shepherd, 2018). However, the mechanisms by which compartmentalization of writing knowledge across social media and academic domains occurs are still little understood. Thus, more research into the transfer of writing knowledge across online and academic domains is needed as a means of a) testing whether this tendency toward compartmentalization holds true across a range of cases, b) understanding how it functions, and c) crafting strategies for helping student writers perceive and act on potential connections across domains. By exploring writing knowledge transfer through the experiences of a group of college students engaged in a specific, focused, and rhetorically rigorous extracurricular discursive practice—online feminist discourse—this study sought to shed light on some of these questions.

In recent years, questions about writing knowledge transfer have become central to composition studies research, with many scholars asking whether/how learning from first-year composition (FYC) courses transfers to upper-division coursework and beyond (e.g., Beaufort, 2007; Bergmann & Zepernick, 2007; Jarratt, Mack, Sartor, & Watson,

2009; Wardle, 2007; Yancey, Robertson, & Taczak, 2014). This uptick in research on writing knowledge transfer is perhaps best illustrated by the special issues published on learning transfer in *WPA: Writing Program Administration* (2007) and *Composition Forum* (2012), as well as the cross-institutional 2011-2013 Elon University Research Seminar on *Critical Transitions: Writing and the Question of Transfer*, which culminated in an edited collection (Anson & Moore, 2017). While discussions about writing knowledge transfer between academic contexts have become increasingly common in composition studies, questions about whether/how individuals transfer writing knowledge between academic and extracurricular contexts, such as social media, have received less attention (with a few exceptions, such as Reiff and Bawarshi [2011], and Rounsaville, Goldberg, and Bawarshi [2008]). Kevin Roozen (2008; 2009a; 2009b) has responded to this gap by offering case studies that illustrate what role individuals' print-based extracurricular literacy learning might play in their overall development. As I discuss in chapter 3, the rich case studies offered by Roozen provide fine-grained insight into how students' extracurricular literacies may interact with (and support) their academic writing, findings that would perhaps be less apparent in research among larger populations of students. When designing this study, I drew on Roozen's case study approach in order to shed light on extracurricular contexts that prioritized *digital* writing, since there is less case study research exploring the interactions between academic writing and digital extracurricular writing.

This study seeks to build on the prior literature exploring transfer between extracurricular and academic domains. In it, I draw from data conducted through a longitudinal study of a small (n=8) group of undergraduate feminist writers in order to

present case studies from four focal students who enacted two types of transfer across

digital extracurricular and academic domains. At the outset, the goals of this study were

threefold. First, I sought to explore whether/how participants in the study utilized the

internet to read and write about intersectional feminism and social justice. Additionally, I

wanted to learn about participants' experiences with academic writing and academic

writing instruction at the college level. Finally, I considered how participants enrolled in

this study understood the relationship between their social media writing and their

academic writing, including their self-reports of transferring writing knowledge[5] across

these domains coupled with analysis of their writing from both domains in order to

further explore their reports of transfer. Ultimately, I sought to understand some of the

writing practices enacted by a few representatives of this particular student population in

and across both domains in order to provide some insight into writing knowledge transfer

across domains more generally.

Rather than studying writing knowledge transfer between online and academic

domains among a general student population, I recruited college students from a specific

population: college students who regularly engaged in online feminist discourse. As I

have discussed above, in recent years, feminist discourse has flourished in online

contexts, a phenomenon that has been explored by researchers from a range of

disciplines, including composition studies. Overwhelmingly, contemporary feminists who

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[5] While the definition of "writing knowledge" that initially guided my research questions
consisted primarily of knowledge about genre(s), rhetoric, and writing processes, the
participants in this study prompted me to expand the scope of this definition to include
multimodal composition and visual rhetoric (chapter 4), as well as reading and rhetorical
invention (chapter 5). For more detail on how my definition of writing knowledge shifted
and expanding over the course of data analysis, see the discussion of my research
methods in chapter 3.

engage in the type of digital activism I am describing have embraced the term

"intersectionality" to describe the feminist approach with which they identify.

Intersectionality is a foundational theory of contemporary feminism that suggests that

"gender" should never be viewed a discrete category of analysis, and that instead it

should always be viewed in tandem with other identity categories, such as race, ethnicity,

class, caste, nationality/sovereignty, sexuality, disability, age, and religion. The term was

originally coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) to explore the intersections

between race and gender, noting how black women simultaneously face racialized sexism

and gender-based racism, for example. Similar ideas have been articulated by other

theorists in different language, such as "multiple jeopardy" (King, 1988), "interlocking

oppression" (Collins, 2000), "interlocking systems of oppression" (Combahee River

Collective, 1983), the birdcage metaphor (Frye, 1983), and more. Although

intersectionality was first theorized during the third wave feminist movement, it has been

taken up and debated extensively in the 21st century, especially in online contexts. From

the vantage of an array of disciplines, researchers have suggested that the proliferation of

intersectional feminism in digital contexts has signaled the birth of the "fourth wave" of

feminism (see, e.g., Munro, 2013; Schuster, 2013; Thelandersson, 2014). In other words,

online feminism is an emergent and at-times invisible realm of digital discourse in which

many young writers are engaged. As a result, I selected online feminist discourse as a site

for exploring the transfer of writing knowledge between academic and online domains.

Additionally, as I discuss in more detail in chapter 5, online feminist discourse is in itself

a hybrid extracurricular writing practice, sharing more in common with academic

discourse in terms of content and epistemological stance than most digital extracurricular

practices; for this reason, it provided me with insights into transfer between academic contexts and a specific site of digital extracurricular writing that may fit somewhat better with academic writing than most.

In light of the emerging scholarship from an array of disciplines exploring feminists' complex uses of social media (Crossley, 2015; Dixon, 2014; J. Keller, 2012, 2016; Rentschler, 2014; Schuster, 2013), in this study I set out to consider whether online feminist discourse may be another underappreciated site of learning. Despite negative public perceptions of social media, in feminist communities on social media platforms such as Instagram, Tumblr, and Twitter, individuals spend countless hours decoding, composing, and sharing content designed to spark conversations about feminism among followers and peers. In this context, social media may be a site of learning not only about a specific content area (e.g., feminist theory), but also about writing and rhetoric. As James Paul Gee (2003) suggests, digital extracurricular learning environments such as video games may encourage learning transfer by providing individuals with authentic learning experiences that offer "ample opportunity to practice… transferring what they have learned earlier to later problems, including problems that require adapting and transforming that earlier learning" (p. 138). Gee explains that players of specific games may constitute affinity groups, or a group of people within a shared semiotic domain that share "typical ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, and believing" (p. 27). When designing and conducting this study, I strove to explore how another affinity group in another digital extracurricular learning environment—online feminist discourse—might similarly support (or discourage) the learning of writing. Furthermore, through the lens of writing knowledge transfer I sought to explore whether the writing knowledge that

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participants obtained online might interact with the writing knowledge prioritized in academic domains.

In this study, I explored feminist college students' learning in online and academic contexts, striving to understand whether and how these students made connections between the various domains of writing with which they engage on a daily basis. By "feminist college students," I mean individuals who identify as *intersectional feminists* or *womanists*, meaning that they have adopted a political philosophy dedicated to critiquing and resisting systemic inequality based on intersecting identity categories such as gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, nationality/sovereignty, and religion. In addition to identifying with intersectional feminist or womanist philosophies, participants in this study were selected based on their involvement in feminist student organizations, their use of social media to compose or decode feminist content at least three times a week, and their enrollment in courses at the University of Michigan (U-M) in the fall of 2016. In my analysis, I considered how participants learned to write within both domains, and I strove to understand whether and how participants transferred writing knowledge across online and academic domains. Although I analyzed data from all participants,[6] the findings presented in this dissertation focus on a micro-case study of compartmentalization through the lens of one participant, Nora, and two specific types of writing knowledge transfer (adaptive re-mediation and inventional transfer, which I discuss in more detail shortly) demonstrated most clearly by four focal participants: Kate, Emmanuelle, Nora, and Quinn. While I found ample data evincing participants' tendency to compartmentalize learning across domains, for the purpose of presenting my findings I

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[6] In future research, I will present analysis of all participants' discussion of online reading and its relationship to their academic writing experiences, for example.

decided to focus specifically on a few instances where they *did* transfer writing

knowledge across domains. In doing so, I shed light on the particular conditions that

seemed to support transfer across domains among participants in this study—specifically,

an appropriate exigence associated with an ill-defined, unprecedented rhetorical situation,

combined with consonance (or a good "fit") of knowledge across disparate domains—so

that I could acknowledge the instances where participants *did* engage in transfer. Like

Melody Pugh (2015), however, I do view compartmentalization itself as a rhetorical act;

in my discussion of Nora's experiences with compartmentalization I hope to honor the

complexity and rhetorical sophistication of students' decisions to *not* transfer writing

knowledge across domains. In future research I will present in more detail my analysis of

instances where participants in this study chose to compartmentalize their learning from

the two domains relevant to this study.

While data collection and analysis focused specifically on *feminist* college

students, I sought to provide a rigorous exploration of the role of the online writing

practices of this particular population that might offer researchers, instructors,

administrators, and policy-makers insights that might help them better understand and

support writing knowledge transfer among a more general population of contemporary

college-aged individuals who have come of age in an era in which technological and

economic factors have coalesced to forge a new landscape of writing and rhetoric. Due to

their extracurricular exploration of a concept that is academic in origin (intersectionality)

and the appropriateness of this topic within many humanities and social sciences

disciplines, feminist college students' uses of social media may constitute an admittedly

exceptional case of the sophisticated rhetorical practices that can occur on social media.

As a result, the exact findings from this study aren't necessarily directly applicable to a more general student population. However, because of the focused, rhetorically rich, rigorous, and plentiful writing feminist college students enact online, online feminist discourse served as a fruitful vantage point for the exploration of online writing in this study. Although online feminist discourse constitutes just one example of the many sites of digital writing with which college-aged students may engage, I extract implications from these participants' experiences that may illuminate certain aspects of transfer that shed light on some previously under-explored facets of writing knowledge transfer with an eye toward pedagogical improvements that could potentially support a more general student population. For example, as I discuss in more detail in chapter 4, participants in this study revealed how students may transform antecedent knowledge of alphabetic, academic genres across new domains and even across media; in doing so, they provide a case study that might shed light on the conditions that prompt and supports writers in transforming academic genre knowledge to meet the demands of new media rhetorical situations in other non-academic domains, such as extracurricular, public, or professional writing. Similarly, participants' transfer of content knowledge obtained through online *reading* into formal academic courses highlights the role of reading and content knowledge in writing knowledge transfer. This finding highlights the need for more research on the transfer of *reading* knowledge, a topic that Ellen Carillo (2014) and Tara Lockhart and Mary Soliday (2016) have suggested is generally underexplored in the transfer literature in composition studies.

In the following chapter, I situate my study in the literature by reviewing scholarship on online feminist discourse, transfer between social media and academic

writing specifically, and writing knowledge transfer more generally. Next, in chapter 3, I

describe my research methods, explaining how I recruited participants, collected data,

and extracted findings through analysis. Before delving into my formal findings chapter, I

present as an "interlude" chapter a case study of the experiences of one participant, Nora,

with compartmentalization of writing knowledge across domains. In the following two

chapters (4 and 5), I present my two sets of findings through case studies of four focal

participants in order to describe and analyze two specific ways in which some

participants in this study forged connections between their learning in online and

academic domains. Specifically, in chapter 4, I view three participants' efforts to

transfer/transform/adapt their prior knowledge of alphabetic, academic genres in order to

respond to unprecedented challenges in academic contexts where they are required to

compose multimodal texts in the online domain. I view these three writers' experiences

through Alexander et al.'s (2016) framework of adaptive *re-mediation*,[7] wherein writers

transform alphabetic texts in order to meet the rhetorical demands of new rhetorical

situations and new media. As I discuss in more detail in chapter 4, Alexander et al.

combine Michael-John DePalma and Jeffrey Ringer's (2011) theory of adaptive transfer,

or "the conscious or intuitive process of applying or reshaping learned writing knowledge

in new and potentially unfamiliar writing situations" (p. 134), with media studies scholars

Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's theory of *remediation*, which explores how media

are transformed to meet the demands of new media settings; in doing so, I create a

synthesis across two theories of writing knowledge transfer in order to understand how

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[7] While Alexander et al. use the spelling "remediation," I draw on Shipka and Prior's
(2003) spelling of this word: "re-mediation." In doing so, I hope to distinguish the
concept, which is drawn from media studies (Bolter & Grusin, 1999), from the term
"remediation," which takes on very different meanings in the context of education.

writers transfer knowledge not only across contexts, but across media. While Alexander

et al. draw on data exploring students' responses to formal re-mediation assignments in a

composition course in order to establish this framework,[8] the participants in my study

were prompted to engage in adaptive re-mediation organically, in response to challenges

they faced in their digital extracurricular lives. Because they chose to re-mediate this

genre knowledge in response to similarities across rhetorical situations and genres, these

participants' experiences shed light on how adaptive re-mediation might occur in non-

academic settings, without an instructor's prompting or influence. In order to shed light

on the exigences that prompted these three writers to re-mediate their antecedent

knowledge of alphabetic, academic genres across domains, I draw on Angela

Rounsaville's (2012) theory of antecedent genre knowledge uptake (Rounsaville, 2012),

which considers how writers' prior genre knowledge may be activated or "taken up" in

response to apparently similar (or dissimilar) situations. In doing so, I seek to build on

Alexander et al.'s theory of adaptive remediation by revealing how it functions in non-

academic settings, suggesting that writers may draw on (and re-mediate) their prior genre

knowledge when faced with somewhat similar rhetorical situations in a quite disparate

domain (as well as across new media). While chapter 4 traces how writing knowledge

shifts as writers moved from academic to online domains, chapter 5 traces knowledge

that moves in the opposite direction, from online into academic domains. In chapter 5, I

describe how two writers in the study drew on content knowledge about social justice and

intersectional feminism they had developed through reading in the online domain as a

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[8] Re-mediation assignments are an increasingly common facet of composition pedagogy; in these assignments, students are required by instructors to revise their alphabetic texts into multimodal texts for a grade.

means of approaching open-ended writing assignments in unfamiliar disciplines. Drawing

on theories of rhetorical invention, I suggest that this approach, which I term "inventional

transfer," sheds light on how a consideration of digital reading and rhetorical invention

might build on existing theories of transfer. Finally, in chapter 6, I conclude by

discussing the implications of this study for research and teaching.

In many ways, this is a dissertation of *exceptions*: although in the two findings

chapters I focus on a few instances of two types of writing knowledge transfer across

domains enacted by four participants in the study,[9] overwhelmingly, participants tended

to compartmentalize their learning across online and academic domains.[10] For example,

participants in this study reported compartmentalizing the following types of writing

knowledge:

- Perceived appropriateness of experiential evidence (Nora)

- Argumentative strategies (Alice, Nora)

- Content knowledge from academic into social media contexts (Olivia)

- Purposes for reading (Quinn)

- Purposes for writing (Quinn)

- Source integration (Alice, Ava, Sonny)

- Source selection (Kate, Olivia, Sonny)

- Tone (Emmanuelle, Nora)

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[9] As I describe in more detail in chapter 5, the type of transfer I trace in that chapter, which I term "inventional transfer," was enacted by all participants in the study; however, for the purposes of this dissertation I present two main micro-case studies to illustrate the concept in detail. In future research, I will present more detailed cross-case analysis of inventional transfer that I did not include in this document.

[10] In the interlude chapter, I provide a more in-depth overview of Nora's experiences with compartmentalization.

- Uses of visual rhetoric (Emmanuelle, Kate, Olivia, Sonny)

Their reasons for compartmentalization were largely framed as differences across the two domains in terms of purpose, process, audience, and tone.[11] Sonny and Olivia both noted the comparative difficulty of transferring content knowledge between online and academic domains for feminist students studying in STEM fields; as I discuss in more detail in chapter 5, it seems as though the content of online feminist discourse transfers more readily into humanities and social sciences courses. For some participants, the separation of the two domains was extreme: when asked whether online writing has affected her writing overall, for example, as I discuss in more detail in the interlude chapter, Nora stated, "No, not my academic writing, because that's just a different brain." However, because I was interested in highlighting the instances where transfer *did* happen as a means of shedding light on the conditions that may support transfer across these two domains, I focused on detailed case studies of the exceptions to this trend rather than tracing out in more detail the trend itself. As a result, while the findings chapters seek to showcase instances where transfer did occur, these instances were not representative of the dataset as a whole. In other words, this study did, in many ways, confirm the findings of previous research noting the difficulty of transfer across social media and academic domains. As a result, my pedagogical implications section in chapter 6 focuses on how the findings from this dissertation may support students who tend to compartmentalize, rather than focusing on students who are more comfortable

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[11] While I chose to focus on detailed case studies of instances of transfer across domains in this dissertation, in future research I will explore in more detail self-reports of compartmentalization, as well as participants' responses to a question in their member-checking interview asking why writers tend to compartmentalize writing knowledge across these two domains.

transferring writing knowledge across domains, such as the micro-case studies highlighted in chapters 4 and 5.

Despite participants' overwhelming tendency to compartmentalize writing knowledge across domains, I did locate two main types of transfer in this study: in a few instances, when some participants encountered an ill-defined rhetorical challenge in one domain where the rhetorical resources needed to respond were not provided by the domain itself—for example, genre knowledge or content knowledge that writers did not previously possess and could not easily access within the domain—they drew on learning from another domain in order to support their performance. For example, as I discuss in chapter 4, when three participants were faced with a writing situation that called for a longer online genre, such as an online article, they drew on—and re-mediated, or transformed by enhancing with new media—prior genre knowledge from the academic domain in order to guide their writing in the new rhetorical situation. Similarly, in chapter 5, I describe instances in which two participants drew on their content knowledge of intersectional feminism and social justice obtained through online reading when faced with an open-ended writing assignment in an academic context as a means of narrowing the assignment and adding specificity to the task. The findings suggest that some participants did transfer writing knowledge across domains, demonstrating considerable resourcefulness and rhetorical savvy when doing so.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I situate three aspects of this study in the literature: the discursive practice that served as one criterion for recruitment (participation in online feminist discourse), and the two learning phenomena of interest to the study (writing knowledge transfer generally, and writing knowledge transfer between social media and academic domains specifically). First, I review the literature from multiple disciplines (namely, composition studies, gender studies, media studies, and sociology) on online feminist discourse as a stand-alone site of reading and writing. In this section, I highlight scholarship exploring the various ways that feminists have interacted with social media platforms in order to forge feminist identities and communities, to teach and learn about feminist issues, and to take action on said issues. In doing so, I provide a cross-disciplinary exploration of some of the scholarship that has documented the rise of online feminist discourse as a means of contextualizing some of the writing and reading practices that the participants in this study were enacting in online environments.

Next, after discussing online feminist discourse as a means of situating the writing and reading practices of the participant pool of this study in the literature, I discuss the research from composition studies on the transfer of writing knowledge between social media and academic contexts, which suggests that although social media may facilitate learning about writing and rhetoric, users tend to compartmentalize the writing knowledge they obtain online from their academic writing. By exploring this literature, I provide the scholarly literature that frames the exigence to which my research seeks to

respond: the tendency of students to not transfer writing knowledge between online and academic contexts.

Finally, to provide a lens for responding to the research problem I outlined in the section on writing knowledge transfer between social media and academic contexts, I discuss the composition studies research on learning transfer, the learning phenomenon I set out to explore through this research. Specifically, I explore in more depth theories of transfer that account for how students' transform (Brent, 2012) or adapt (Alexander et al., 2016; DePalma & Ringer, 2011) knowledge across contexts and that acknowledge the behind-the-scenes decisions that inform students' efforts to transfer (or not transfer) writing knowledge across contexts (e.g., Nowacek, 2011; Pugh, 2015). In doing so, I frame this study with the theories of writing knowledge transfer that have informed my thinking about this learning phenomenon as a means of setting the stage for the findings that follow. By exploring college feminist student writers' experiences perceiving and acting on connections across academic and online domains of writing, I sought to build on the scholarship that considers how students might make enact agency while selectively drawing on and transforming their prior knowledge when faced with rhetorical challenges in new contexts.

As I discuss in more detail shortly, online feminist discourse has emerged in recent years as a site of reading and writing in online environments focused on exploring and promoting specific ideals of intersectional feminism and social justice (e.g., identity categories cannot be viewed in isolation from each other; inequality is socially constructed, etc.), which are applied to current events as they arise (e.g., concern about the attention paid to women in the Black Lives Matter movement; awareness of the

prevalence of sexual harassment and assault in many spheres of public life, etc.). As a result, this site of online discourse helped me locate a group of college writers whose online writing and reading practices were purposeful, rigorous, rhetorically rich, and plentiful. These student writers provided unique insights into writing knowledge transfer between online and academic domains because the topic that they spent so many hours reading and writing about online (intersectionality) was bound up in goals that are consonant with the goals of academia and academic writing. Although this dissertation primarily focuses on its ascendance as a framework for social justice-related discourse in online contexts, intersectionality has also gained prominence in academia, where the concept was first forged (Crenshaw, 1991): since the early 1990s, intersectionality has been used as a topic or a theoretical concept in virtually every discipline housed within the humanities and social sciences. Even when academics in these disciplines aren't explicitly invoking the term "intersectionality," in their research and teaching they are likely to at least implicitly value one or more stances that are fostered by the exploration of intersectionality: e.g., critical analysis of social structures, an emphasis on multiplicity and a plurality of voices, the exploration of any given topic from a variety of angles and perspectives, etc. In other words, intersectionality as an extracurricular interest may foster content knowledge and epistemological stances or "ways of knowing" (Carter, 2007) that are particularly well aligned with the goals of college writing. Additionally, as Donna LeCourt and Luann Barnes (1999) suggest, since hypertextual composition problematizes the relationship between reader and writer and emphasizes multivocality and varied subject positions, it may be uniquely attuned to the goals of feminist writing and pedagogy. The texts explored by LeCourt and Barnes were composed under different

conditions than those analyzed in chapter 4 of this dissertation; however, the digital

extracurricular reading and writing that participants in this study engaged in similarly

disrupted reader/writer relationships and authorial stance due to social media's emphasis

on immediacy and the innovation of old media genres through multimodal composition,

which I discuss in more detail in chapter 4. In other words, because online writing may be

so well-suited to feminist discourse, the feminist writers whose experiences serve as data

for this research may provide an example of particularly sophisticated and/or complex

extracurricular reading and writing, thus creating ideal conditions for exploring the

existence (or lack thereof) of writing knowledge transfer between a specific site of online

discourse and academic domains. Specifically, online feminist discourse may foster

knowledge that is applicable to academic writing (see chapter 5), and the writing required

by online feminist discourse may be complex enough that it prompts student writers to

draw on their academic writing knowledge in order to face these rhetorical challenges

(see chapter 4).

Like Pamela Takayoshi (1994), I do not assert that technology is inherently

empowering to women or to any other marginalized group. As Kristine Blair and

Takayoshi (1999) state, early popular narratives about the internet "suggest that a blanket

acceptance or rejection of the Internet as an empowering site for women does not account

for the complicated relationships between women and technology in their personal and

professional lives" (p. 2). As a result, questions about whether technology is empowering

or disempowering were beyond the scope of this dissertation; I resist arguing one way or

the other since this line of argumentation would run the risk of promoting technological

determinism. Instead, I opt to view social media as a tool used for a specific purpose

during a bounded period of time in the lives of a specific (and small) group of individuals. For the specific group of writers profiled in this work, who had access to both mobile and laptop and/or desktop devices at home and/or at school, social media served (for all participants) as a site of learning (and sometimes teaching) about feminist concepts. However, since most reported withdrawing somewhat from social media by the follow-up interviews I conducted a year following data collection, it is my assertion that social media served more as a "gateway" to developing feminist identities for these students than as an indispensible tool for their ongoing development as activists and as writers. During the data collection phase, for example, both Kate and Alice reported learning about feminism on Tumblr before moving on to other, more reputable sources; as Kate (a first-year student majoring in Art History) said, "I think as I've grown up, I've found other places to learn about feminism." Similarly, Alice (a senior majoring in Political Science with minors in Law, Justice, and Social Change; German; and Computer Science) stated that she stopped using Tumblr in favor of more reputable sources such as journalism, newsletters, and podcasts: "Now when I'm looking for writings about social justice issues I might be interested in, I look to different places." Sonny (a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Gender and Health) also withdrew from social media during the data collection period, deactivating his Twitter account during due to the platform's "huge, huge influx of information," opting instead to get his news through the iPhone News application or through the websites of reputable news publications. The tendency among participants to move away from social media as they grew older only increased as time went on: a year after data collection, for example, Quinn (who, during the period of data collection, was a

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sophomore majoring in Women's Studies and Sociology) reported using social media less frequently for an array of reasons: her decreased need for validation; her concerns about the echo chamber effect; and her desire to focus more on what she called "real life," including the time she put into making pottery. Similarly, in the year following data collection, Olivia (who, during the time of data collection, was a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Spanish) reported that she had quit her avid Tumblr use because she wanted to focus on her hired and paid position with the on-campus sexual assault prevention and awareness organization, where she knew her activity had "real impact" versus sharing activist content on Tumblr, where she didn't "know whether [her] content [was] reaching anyone." In doing so, she shifted her focus from digital activism to more tangible, in-person activism.

Despite the fact that social media was perhaps a somewhat fleeting (or at least fluctuating) fixture in the writing lives of these specific writers, I recognized that by exploring online feminist discourse as a source or target domain for writing knowledge transfer among these particular students, I might gain some insights into the as-yet under-studied area of writing knowledge transfer between online and academic domains. Ultimately, by looking at this group of students who were engaged in online writing challenges and rigorous online reading practices, I did find two clusters of instances of transfer across domains: 1) what Alexander et al. (2016) term "adaptive remediation" (or re-mediation) of alphabetic, academic genres in response to new online writing challenges (see chapter 4); and 2) the use of content knowledge about intersectionality and social justice forged through reading in the digital extracurriculum as a means of approaching and navigating open-ended academic writing assignments in unfamiliar

disciplines (see chapter 5). By highlighting and analyzing the roles of these two types of

transfer in the experiences of participants in this study, I sought to provide insights that

can build on existing frameworks of writing knowledge transfer that might help identify,

name, and support transfer among students from other populations.

Cross-Disciplinary Research on Online Feminist Discourse as a Stand-Alone Site of Writing and Reading

As a means of locating a specific participant population to interview about their

experiences with writing in and across social media and academic contexts, I focused on

feminist college students due to the emergent practice of online feminist discourse. The

fact that the feminist-identified participants in this study used social media platforms to

engage with intersectional feminist discourse in a variety of ways was not out of the

ordinary: indeed, as I suggested in chapter 1, social media has provided a space for many

disenfranchised groups—including those advocating for intersectional feminist values,

such as awareness of inequality and systemic discrimination in its various forms—to raise

consciousness, create knowledge, and organize. Scholarship from a wide range of fields

(including composition studies, gender studies, media studies, and sociology) discusses

the ways in which people have used social media to explore feminist ideals, adopt

feminist identities, build communities, and, at times, take action on feminist issues.

Online feminist discourse is a complex subject of study that is not only massively

expansive, but is frequently shifting at this time of writing; as a result, my review of the

literature is modest in its aims: in this section, I describe some of the existing scholarship

on online feminist discourse as a means of describing in broad terms its aims, its

rhetorical sensitivity to platforms, and its relationship with technology as a means of situating this aspect of my study in some ongoing scholarly investigations into online feminist discourse.

As I have suggested in chapter 1, the internet has played a central role in what many are calling the fourth wave of feminism, which is characterized by discussions of intersectional feminism on social media. As a result, when I use the term "feminism" in this section, I am generally referring to intersectional feminism, which, in keeping with Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) definition of intersectionality, views "gender" as an identity category that cannot be viewed in isolation from other identity categories such as race, class, sexuality, disability, and many more. For many, social media has provided a space for the exploration of feminist identities and feminist communities. From the vantage of media studies, for example, Jessalynn Keller (2016), drawing on ethnographic study consisting analysis of girls' feminist blogs coupled with interviews and focus groups with young feminist bloggers, suggests that online forums allow girls to adopt feminist identities. Keller suggests that adopting feminist identities may be particularly difficult in today's "postfeminist" cultural climate in which feminism is increasingly viewed by the general public as obsolete. Social media platforms have allowed for users to cement these feminist identities through the construction and maintenance of feminist communities. Gender studies scholar Alison Dahl Crossley (2015) conducted participant observation research among feminist student organizations coupled with interviews (n=75) with feminist college students at three U.S. colleges: two major public research universities and one private women's liberal arts college. Her research suggests that Facebook and feminist blogs serve as sites for community building among geographically distant

feminists. Similarly, sociologist Kitsy Dixon (2014) analyzes existing social media conversations about feminism in order to highlight social media's affordances for community building among feminists; however, she also highlights consequences of this use of social media, which she lists as "online harassment, hate speech, disagreements, and a miscommunication in rhetoric" that may result in misinformation about feminism and feminist ideals (p. 34). As a more specific example of the affordances of online networks for building feminist communities to accomplish specific goals, writing in the pre-#metoo era, media studies scholar Carrie A. Rentschler (2014) analyzes specific social media discourse evincing feminists' uses of social media to develop informal networks to interrogate rape culture when more traditional institutions (e.g., the media, police, and schools) neglect to do so.

When it comes to feminist discourse on social media, platform matters. Discussing social media use more generally, media studies scholars such as danah boyd (2011) and Zizi Papacharissi and Emily Easton (2013) have suggested that the interfaces of social media platforms constrain the type of discourse that can flourish within specific online environments. Through a case study of one undergraduate student's uses of social media, for example, compositionist Amber Buck (2012) similarly notes that rhetorical awareness of differences across platforms in terms of audience may shape the ways in which writers write within and across platforms. Similarly, compositionist Elisabeth H. Buck (2015) draws on survey (n=65) and interview (n=6) data collected from first-year composition students to point out that students often engage in rhetorically sophisticated decision-making processes when they write on social media, especially in terms of how they use different social media platforms for varied purposes. One participant in her

study, for example, suggested that Twitter is a platform where she is most likely to post "random" thoughts than on other platforms like Facebook, such as "what is on [her] mind today"; participants in my study confirmed this perception of Twitter's purpose, stating that they used Twitter for "personal stuff" (Kate), or for showcasing "an inner monologue" or "a running commentary" (Nora). Both Kate and Nora showed further nuance and thoughtfulness in their descriptions of Twitter as a social media platform that required less polished personas due to their audiences within the platform, with Nora speaking of how she was more likely to express anger and her true political opinions ("I feel very comfortable talking about everything on Twitter"), and with Kate reporting that she was more likely to talk about negative personal experiences on Twitter than on Facebook ("People who know me on Twitter will see if I'm doing bad on my chem exam. People will see that I'm not over my ex-boyfriend").[12] These participants' reports that they modify their rhetorical performance according to each specific platform for which they write confirms findings by both Amber Buck (2012) and Elisabeth Buck (2015) suggesting that online writers demonstrate complex rhetorical decision-making processes when choosing which platforms to post on in response to various exigences.

This sensitivity to platform may be especially true for civic discourse generally and online feminist discourse specifically. For example, drawing on interviews with 70 U.S. civically engaged individuals (ages 15-25), Emily Weinstein (2014) confirms that this is particularly true when individuals use social media for the purpose of civic

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[12] Due to their characteristics as mostly upper-division students engaged in rigorous activism and extracurricular writing, participants in my study also reported using Twitter for reading the news (and reading commentary on the news from people they follow) (Alice, Ava, Kate, Sonny), sharing their own commentary on the news (Alice, Ava, Nora, Kate), and promoting their writing (Ava, Nora, Sonny).

engagement, with participants reporting that their decisions about whether and how to discuss civic issues online were shaped by the affordances of specific platforms. Drawing on examples and observations of feminist discourse on Twitter and Tumblr, media studies scholar Fredrika Thelandersson (2014) asserts that feminist discourse more specifically may be shaped by the interfaces of various platforms, suggesting that platforms that provide more space for longer posts and dialogues may foster more civil, productive dialogue among feminists. Similarly, from the vantage of composition studies, Katherine DeLuca (2015) analyzes textual evidence of the political debates that emerged on the primarily visual, lifestyle-oriented social media platform Pinterest surrounding the 2012 presidential election. DeLuca notes because the platform is primarily used by women to share recipes, crafting advice, and fashion tips, the sharing of an infographic from the Obama campaign directed toward women sparked heated dialogue surrounding not only politics, but the purpose of Pinterest itself.

From the vantage of composition studies, many scholars of cyberfeminism or technofeminism have asked questions about whether and how women[13] are encouraged to take ownership of the technologies that constitute online discourse, suggesting that information communication technologies often reinscribe problematic dynamics wherein men are positioned as the producers of technology and women are positioned merely as consumers. For example, in Kristine Blair, Radhika Gajjala, and Christine Tulley's edited collection *Webbing Cyberfeminist Practice: Communities, Pedagogies, and Social*

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[13] While the participants in this study were recruited based on their political identification with intersectional feminism rather than their identification as women, the majority of participants (seven out of eight) did identify as women; as a result, their experiences are conversant with some of the conversations about women and technology in composition studies.

Action, Claudia Herbst (2009) suggests that "In cyberspace, ownership of computer languages empowers men with authority over communication tools, as well as authority over the style and content of transactions" (p. 135). Similarly, Kristine Blair (2012) notes the need to "move women from the position of users of technological spaces to designers of them" (p. 67). Participants in this study reaffirmed this need: while all participants were avid users of technology who often moved within, customized, and negotiated the existing platforms of online writing environments in sophisticated ways, only one participant, Alice, a senior who was earning a minor in Computer Science, described manipulating social media through programming, using Python code to extract data from Twitter for her senior thesis in Political Science about politicians' uses of social media. Other participants worked within the constraints of specific platforms' interfaces to customize their profiles. The majority of participants primarily used Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, which provide for some customization in terms of profile pictures, header images, and (on Twitter) customized color themes. However, since Tumblr allows for more in-depth customization of pages, Olivia's discussion of her Tumblr use provided more insight into how some social media platforms give users more freedom in terms of customizing their own pages:

> Building your Tumblr is such a big project; people agonize over the theme for the longest time, and where to put the side bar, what links go on your side bar, whether or not to have an "About Me" page, but most people have a navigation page where they have all their tags.

Olivia's navigation page, for example, housed links to all of her social justice and intersectionality-related hashtags, thus providing an archive of the material she had re-

blogged relating to various aspects of social justice and intersectional feminism. As a result, her customization of her Tumblr page reveals one way in which technological savvy can help feminist users manipulate some social media platforms as a means of making their digital activist content more readily accessible to users for the purposes of educating others about social justice and intersectional feminism. As Olivia stated of her tagging and navigation system, "I just compile all this wisdom… hopefully someone comes across it, and they're like, 'Wow. I learned a lot today because I found this random tag that some random person has.'"

From an array of disciplines, scholars have demonstrated how the internet has fostered the conditions for the development of the fourth wave of feminism, which has revolved around the online dissemination of intersectional values, the formation of feminist identities and communities, and the use of technology to take action on feminist issues. As is true of social media use generally, activist and feminist uses of social media have illuminated the ways in which users interact with various tools and platforms in order to reach specific audiences and achieve specific rhetorical aims. While much existing research on online feminist discourse has provided rich insights into the constraints and affordances of social media for fostering feminist discourse and activism, social media is still in its infancy and platforms are still rapidly changing both in terms of their prominence (e.g., the move away from MySpace, the closure of Vine) and their interfaces (e.g., Instagram's revised newsfeed that organizes posts by algorithm rather than chronology; Twitter's expanded character limit from 140 characters to 240 characters). As a result, there is a need for ongoing research into how feminists learn to navigate the rhetorical and discursive demands of this domain. By conducting qualitative

research into the learning of feminists on social media, this study aimed to shed further light on the role of social media in contemporary feminism, as well as its connection to other social domains, such as postsecondary education and composition pedagogy.

Research on Transfer of Social Media Writing Knowledge Between Social Media and Academic Contexts in Composition Studies

As I have suggested in chapter 1, although social media may provide opportunities for individuals to engage with a wide range of literate and rhetorical knowledge, students tend to view social media writing and academic writing as being completely separate; this perception may present an obstacle to the transfer of knowledge across these domains. Despite these challenges, researchers have posited the affordances of social media for learning about writing. For example, compositionist Jane Mathison Fife (2010) draws on her own experience facilitating rhetorical analysis of Facebook in her own classroom, suggesting that social media can "complement [students'] learning of critical inquiry and traditional academic concepts like rhetorical analysis" (p. 555). Similarly, putting scholarship about social media and learning transfer in conversation with rhetorical theory, compositionist Samuel Head (2016) proposes a pedagogical approach to leveraging knowledge of social media as a means of teaching rhetorical analysis, suggesting that knowledge of social media can function as "a bridge to rhetorical analysis, particularly with audience awareness and appeal" (p. 28). As I have described in the above section, Elisabeth A. Buck (2015) draws on survey and interview data to understand students' uses of social media; Buck similarly suggests that students' rhetorical awareness of the appropriateness of content for various social media sites

might be recognized and explored in the writing classroom. Similarly, through surveys distributed to first-year composition students at an array of U.S. institutions (n=474) Ryan Shepherd (2015) found that participants reported enacting rhetorical strategies in social media that are certainly relevant to FYC, including "audience awareness, awareness of rhetorical situation, invention, and even process writing" (p. 86). Finally, through survey data, interviews, and writing samples collected from ten undergraduate students, Paula Rosinski (2017) found that in their digital self-sponsored writing, participants paid close attention to audience awareness, visual rhetoric, issues of medium, and sensitivity to language, all areas of writing that are well aligned with the pedagogical goals promoted by many college composition instructors and organizations.

While digital self-sponsored contexts of writing may promote types of writing knowledge that are consonant with the goals of college writing, such as audience awareness, sensitivity, and multimodal composition, evidence of writing knowledge transfer from social media contexts into academic contexts has remained somewhat elusive, possibly due to a lack of meta-awareness of similarities in terms of writing across domains on the part of students. Much emerging research on the relationship between social media and academic literacy development suggests that while students seem to find social media highly intrinsically motivating, they tend to view it as completely different from other types of literacy practices with which they engage. Though survey research among high school students (n=700), Amanda Lenhart et al. (2008) found that although adults frequently perceive teens as writing constantly in digital environments, the majority of respondents did not view digital literacy practices as "real" writing, but rather, as "communication," which they equate with casual spoken conversation and

therefore value less than writing. Given Mark James's (2008) finding that perceptions of

similarity among tasks may play a role in transfer, the fact that Lenhart et al.'s

respondents did not see their online writing as "writing" suggests that subsequent transfer

of writing knowledge obtained in this domain may be challenging. Perhaps

unsurprisingly, the vast majority of participants in Lenhart et al.'s study suggested that

internet-based writing has no effect on their academic writing; a smaller percentage

believed that online writing has actually harmed their academic writing (p. v, p. 44).

Meanwhile, these same individuals tended to place great value on what they considered

to be "good" or academic writing, recognizing that it would be an essential skill in their

careers (p. 42). Of academic writing, one participant even said, "It's like eating

vegetables" (p. 45). In other words, these participants demonstrated high levels of

extrinsic motivation toward academic literacy, but most of these respondents didn't

perceive their more intrinsically-motivated digital writing as being related to their

academic and professional goals. Similarly, in the study surveying first-year composition

students (n=474) discussed above, Ryan Shepherd (2015) found that despite engaging in

similar activities in terms of composing practices on Facebook and FYC, such as

rhetorical awareness, audience awareness, invention, and process, participants in his

study tended to view their Facebook use and their writing in FYC as being completely

separate. However, there is hope: in a subsequent study Ryan Shepherd (2018) found that

in surveys (n=151), first-year composition students reported little transfer across

domains, but that in follow-up interviews (n=10), the majority of respondents ultimately

did report seeing a connection between social media and college writing, suggesting that

the lack of transfer found by the prior study in 2015 may reflect the challenges of surveys to adequately capture this type of writing knowledge transfer.

Although reading is seldom considered as a central element of writing knowledge in the transfer research in composition studies (Lockhart & Soliday, 2016), through a interviews and observations with nine high school students (and a second phase of the study that followed four of these students into college), Daniel Keller (2013) was able to gain some insight into students' self-sponsored reading practices and their relationship with academic reading. Just as the participants in Lenhart et al. (2008) didn't view their digital composition as "writing," Daniel Keller found that students did not view their extracurricular reading practices as "reading." Of the participants in his study, Keller states:

> A few said they did not read much, negatively identifying themselves with the
> statement "I'm really not a reader." I expanded the range of what "reading" meant
> in the interviews by asking about specific media and genres: magazines,
> biographies, websites, e-mail, instant messages, etc. Suddenly, the non-readers
> described a lot of reading. (p. 46)

Students in Keller's study were likely to frame their online social interactions as "fleeting and shallow"; however, Keller suggests that his analysis of the same interactions "reveal[s] rhetorical choices that are sophisticated because of how they achieve continuous attention" (p. 75). While Keller sees these students as demonstrating "careful" reading and writing online (p. 139), he still highlights the tension between digital and academic literacy practices, noting that "…the educational context creates expectations and perceptions in their minds that can block the transfer of out-of school practices to

classroom literacy situations" (p. 40). Daniel Keller's research, coupled with the Lenhart et al. (2008) survey of teens and the two Ryan Shepherd (2015; 2018) studies of college students suggest that while students may be engaging in reading and writing practices online that are perhaps consonant with those that they are prompted to conduct in school, students perhaps lack the meta-awareness required to note the similarities and to be aware of transfer that may be occurring across domains. As Shepherd (2018) notes, perhaps academics, who are well-practiced in meta-awareness and high-road transfer, may struggle to understand how to support students in developing the habits of mind to perceive and act on connections across disparate domains.

Across this research, it seems as though the opportunities for students to make connections across domains are many, but that these opportunities are often either overlooked or intentionally bypassed. Further exploration into why students tend to compartmentalize their learning from social media contexts despite their great potential for facilitating learning might serve three purposes. First and foremost, continued research into these questions may provide insight into the full range of writing practices contemporary college students engage with, thus offering writing instructors resources for understanding the types of knowledge that incoming students may already possess. Additionally, further exploration of students' social media writing (and reading) practices may help instructors understand how they might more effectively leverage incoming writing knowledge from social media in the composition classroom. Finally, research into whether learning from formal writing instruction might transfer into non-academic contexts such as social media may provide insights into whether and how learning from

writing courses might transfer into other non-academic contexts, such as professional environments.

Beyond questions about what types of data might yield more evidence of transfer across domains (e.g., whether interviews may yield more evidence of transfer, as the two studies by Ryan Shepherd suggest), recruitment is one other aspect of the studies described above that is worth exploring. While the studies I have discussed in the above section sought to study transfer across social media and academic domains and thus recruited students who used social media, none sought out to understand transfer across domains among students engaged in a specific, focused online discursive domain. In other words, participants in the aforementioned studies were general social media users, and were not recruited due to their participation in any particular online affinity group, such as online feminist discourse. Because students engaged in a focused online discursive practice may be using social media in specific, rhetorically focused, and purposeful ways, they may provide insights into writing knowledge transfer across domains that a more general student population might not offer. While this student population is admittedly exceptional due to the consonance of their extracurricular interests with academic discourse, these participants shed light on how learners might bridge learning between academic digital extracurricular writing environments when the two sites of writing are comparably similarly. By exploring this learning phenomenon in the context of a specific population whose interests were well aligned with academic discourse—feminist college students—I sought to draw out specific types of learning with which individuals may engage on social media so that I could construct a detailed

portrait of whether and how the participants in this study viewed that learning as connected to their learning in college.

Writing Knowledge Transfer Research in Composition Studies

Due to the proliferation of social media generally and online civic discourse specifically, online feminist discourse served as the research site from which I studied a specific learning phenomenon that has gained a great deal of attention in recent composition studies scholarship: writing knowledge transfer. Writing knowledge transfer has been named and theorized in many ways within the field of composition studies. For the purposes of my study, I explored instances of transfer enacted by members of a specific population (intersectional feminist college students) as they moved between two specific domains of learning (college writing and social media) in order to understand whether college writers transfer writing knowledge between the digital extracurriculum and academic contexts. The majority of previous writing knowledge transfer research in the field of composition studies seeks to trace learning as it transfers out of FYC and into subsequent upper-division academic contexts, with more recent research seeking to consider whether and how students transfer writing knowledge across levels (e.g., K-12 to college) and domains (e.g., academic, extracurricular, professional) (see, e.g., Reiff & Bawarshi, 2011; Rounsaville et al. 2008; Yancey et al., 2014). By continuing to build on and expand this conversation, composition researchers might gain more insight into writing knowledge transfer generally, and they might develop a more rigorous understanding of how learning from academic contexts might extend into non-academic domains, such as students' civic and professional lives after college.

Due to the relationship between composition studies and FYC, which is on many campuses intended to prepare students for the types of writing that they will do in college, composition researchers have been understandably concerned with the following questions: Do students apply learning from FYC in future academic contexts? If so, how? If not, how can writing instructors better facilitate learning transfer? As a result of this pressing exigence, much existing composition studies research on transfer seeks to explore students' learning as it transfers out of FYC and into future academic contexts; most studies have reported modest (if any) evidence of transfer. For example, Anne Beaufort (2007) traces one student's efforts to move from first-year composition into his respective majors (history and engineering), ultimately noting the challenge of cross-disciplinary transfer; as Beaufort describes her research participant's transition from history to engineering:

> But along with the psychological adjustments required for this transition from one
> academic discipline to another came new varieties of critical thinking and writing:
> there were new genres to learn and the discourse community's values had to be
> discerned, as well as the demands of different rhetorical occasions, a vast new
> subject matter, and the constraints and rewards of collaborative writing processes.
> (p. 107)

Similarly, through focus group research among undergraduate students across levels, Janet Bergmann and Linda Zepernick (2007) found that students' perceptions of FYC as being detached from writing in the disciplines served as an obstacle to transferring writing knowledge into subsequent disciplinary contexts. Through interviews with upper-division undergraduate students (n=92), Susan Jarratt, Katherine Mack, Alexandra

Sartor, and Shevaun Watson (2007) also explored students' experiences writing across the college curriculum, proposing the term "pedagogical memory" to understand the discontinuities in students' narratives and ultimately recommending more pedagogical support for students attempting to make connections across writing contexts. Elizabeth Wardle (2007) conducted a longitudinal study of seven students throughout their first two years of college to determine whether students transferred learning from their FYC class into subsequent contexts; ultimately, she found limited evidence of transfer.

Because the transfer of learning is difficult to define and measure, our understanding of learning transfer is still relatively limited (Wardle, 2009), and as a result, theories of learning transfer are still being developed, challenged, and revised (e.g., Brent, 2011; 2012; Driscoll & Wells, 2012; Nowacek, 2011). One widely accepted implication of transfer theory, informed by educational psychologists David Perkins and Gavriel Salomon (1988), is that pedagogy should be designed with transfer in mind. For example, Anne Beaufort (2007), Douglas Downs and Elizabeth Wardle (2007), Elizabeth Wardle (2009), and Yancey et al. (2014) recommend specific pedagogical models for facilitating transfer, all of which are designed to promote "meta-awareness" of similarities and differences across learning environments. This research suggests that meta-awareness may enable writers to engage in what Perkins and Salomon (1988) would refer to as "far" or "high road" transfer—that is, the transfer of learning between disparate situations. When designing this study, I recognized that the since academic writing instruction and social media writing are often perceived as being dramatically

different, transfer between these domains may be an ideal site for exploring "far" or "high road" transfer.

As Ryan Shepherd (2018) suggests, students may need more support engaging in the types of high-road transfer that may become second nature to academics; in other words, if learners aren't prompted by curriculum to perceive connections between learning environments, they may be hindered from consciously transferring learning across domains (Bergmann & Zepernick, 2007; Wardle, 2009; Yancey et al., 2014). In response to this problem, the most common "mechanisms" (or facilitators) of transfer that are proposed in the research as possible means of fostering meta-awareness of connections across domains and thus facilitating transfer are metacognitive reflection (Reiff & Bawarshi, 2011; Rounsaville et al., 2008; Wardle, 2007) and genre/genre awareness (Clark & Hernandez, 2011; Nowacek, 2011; Reiff & Bawarshi, 2011; Rounsaville et al., 2008; Rounsaville, 2012; Wardle, 2009). Much writing knowledge transfer research in composition studies has asserted that by asking students to reflect on their learning processes, instructors may encourage them to become more adaptable writers and learners (Reiff & Bawarshi, 2011; Rounsaville et al., 2008; Wardle, 2007). However, Nowacek (2011) complicates the tendency of composition studies learning transfer research to emphasize metacognitive reflection by focusing instead on genre. Nowacek argues that genre might facilitate or impede transfer, suggesting that instructors should assign genres that appropriately "cue" prior genre knowledge. Although these mechanisms of transfer are constellated and prioritized differently across transfer research, metacognition and genre awareness have been posited in the literature as

avenues for increasing meta-awareness of rhetorical differences across contexts as a means of promoting transfer.

Adding to earlier composition studies research that investigates the transfer of learning from FYC into subsequent academic contexts, recent research has begun to provide insight into how learners experience the relationship between academic and non-academic writing. For example, reporting on different stages of the same multi-institutional study, Angela Rounsaville, Rachel Goldberg, and Anis Bawarshi (2008) and Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi (2011), asked how FYC students utilized prior genre knowledge from extracurricular, professional, and academic contexts. Drawing on surveys (n=64) and interview (n=18) with FYC students at the University of Washington (UW), Rounsaville et al. found that while students had extensive experience composing an array of genres within specific domains (academic, extracurricular, professional), their genre knowledge tended not to move across domains. In another stage of the study, Reiff and Bawarshi drew on surveys (n=116) and interviews (n=27) with FYC students at UW and at the University of Tennessee (UT) to confirm the findings of the previous study; however, they built on the previous research by proposing a taxonomy of "boundary guarders" and "boundary crossers" in order to explain the rare instances of high-road transfer they did find among participants. While boundary guarders tended to engage in more acts of low-road transfer of genre knowledge, even in situations where prior genre knowledge did not necessarily apply, boundary crossers tended to be more flexible and aware of how their prior genre knowledge and writing strategies did or did not apply to the current situation. Similarly, Roozen (2008; 2009a; 2009b) traced the ways in which individual students' out-of-school literacy practices interacted with their in-school

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literacy demands, providing three case studies of individual students drawing on their extracurricular literacy practices (e.g., stand-up comedy, poetry, journalism, fan fiction) in order to support their writing in academic contexts (e.g., developmental writing, graduate school in English, and undergraduate studies in English and journalism). Finally, drawing on ongoing interviews with six Canadian college students during their co-op work term (where they are still enrolled in college but working in an internship as novice professionals), Doug Brent (2012) found that although students seldom transferred isolated skills from academic contexts into professional contexts, they drew upon and "transformed" a general knowledge learned throughout their undergraduate experience in these new professional contexts.

While Reiff and Bawarshi (2011) and Rounsaville et al. (2008) found little to no transfer across domains, Roozen (2008; 2009a; 2009b) and Brent (2012) found something that *looked* like learning transfer, but that he chose to call by other names: Roozen refers to connections made by participants in his case studies as a "nexus of practice," "synergies," "tensions," "interplay of multiple encounters with literacy," "linkages," and "repurposing of literate practices." Similarly, Brent (2012) pushed back against the terminology of "transfer," instead referring to participants' activities as "learning transformation." Brent (2012) intentionally re-frames his participants' experiences as "learning transformation" because he views earlier theories of transfer, which suggest "that skills are modular entities that can simply be picked up from one situation and dropped down in another" as being too "narrow" (p. 562).

As Brent's work suggests, the challenge of locating transfer may be related to issues with theoretical constructs and assumptions, including competing definitions of

"transfer" and related terms, as well as the methodological approaches that have been

used to understand this complicated phenomenon. It is striking that among the studies

described above that acknowledge transfer between academic and non-academic

contexts, the researchers' ability to locate "transfer" (or something like it) had an inverse

relationship to the number of participants in each study: while Roozen's rich, longitudinal

ethnographies of single students' experiences yielded a wealth of instances of

connections across learning environments, Brent's six-participant study found more

modest—yet still compelling—evidence of transfer (or "transformation," in his terms),

and Reiff and Bawarshi and Rounsaville et al. struggled to find any evidence of transfer

across domains in their larger samples (64 for the UW study as reported by Rounsaville

at al., and 116 total for both sites of the study, UW and UT, reported by Reiff and

Bawarshi). In other words, it seems as though smaller sample sizes coupled with more

interviews and writing sample collection may yield more compelling evidence of writing

knowledge transfer, possibly because more in-depth interactions with fewer participants

may enable researchers to perceive deeper, more meaningful connections between

domains among participants. While interview-based methods may run the risk of

prompting responses that may not have happened organically, they may also surface

connections that were beneath the surface of participants' consciousness. When designing

this study, then, I operated under the assumption that more capacious theories of

"transfer," like those offered by Brent and Roozen, as well as ethnographic methods that

looked more closely at fewer learners, would support me in shedding light on the types of

connections learners are (and aren't) making across domains of writing. As a result of

this approach, I present micro-case studies of four focal cases in as examples of the two main types of transfer I describe in the findings chapters of this dissertation.

Recent scholarship that has informed my research complicates transfer theory in two main ways: by challenging the assumption that transfer is merely a means of "applying" prior knowledge across contexts, and by considering students' agency and decision-making processes as central to theorizing transfer. As Brent (2011) suggests, perhaps definitions of transfer and methodologies for measuring it in earlier composition studies writing knowledge transfer research were too narrow to catch the complexity of students' learning experiences: as Brent states, "In short, when transfer fails to happen neatly, we worry that it may not be happening at all. Worse, we worry that in theory it cannot happen, at least not in any meaningful way" (p. 403). Similarly, while proposing their framework of "adaptive transfer," Michael-John DePalma and Jeffrey Ringer (2011) interrogate the emphasis on "application" of skills across contexts,

> Rather than acknowledging what does happen as students move between contexts, this narrow notion of transfer leads writing researchers to look primarily at what writers are able to apply consistently as they move from one context to another. (p. 137)

In response to these concerns, recent transfer research in composition studies has pushed back against previous definitions and theories of transfer in an attempt to better capture the complexity and nuance of individuals' experiences transferring (or adapting, integrating, or transforming) learning across contexts (e.g., Brent, 2011; 2012; DePalma & Ringer, 2011; Nowacek, 2011; Pugh, 2015). Rather than just asking which discrete skills appear to "hold up" as learners move across contexts, these scholars have sought to

recast the study of transfer by foregrounding the agency of the learners (Nowacek, 2011; Pugh, 2015) and by reframing the *type* of learning that researchers might trace across contexts (Brent, 2011; 2012; DePalma & Ringer, 2011).

For example, by considering how students make connections across linked classes in several disciplines, Rebecca Nowacek (2011) posits a theory of transfer that foregrounds the role of genre and that takes students' intentions and experiences into account when assessing transfers. One of the main affordances of Nowacek's theory is that it accounts for moments when the student might have attempted to adapt prior knowledge to a new situation even when it isn't deemed "successful" by the instructor assessing the student's writing. Similarly, while studying the literacy practices of religiously-engaged college students, Melody Pugh (2015) suggests that the decision to *not* transfer knowledge across domains, which she terms "compartmentalization," is itself a type of transfer, although it may not register as a learning moment for the student making that decision (or for the instructor evaluating the work, to whom that decision is often invisible). In other words, when a learner recognizes or decides (consciously or unconsciously) that knowledge from one domain would not appropriate in another domain, this, too, is a sign of rhetorical sophistication and therefore could be construed as a type of transfer, or at the very least a rhetorical decision-making activity that is related to transfer. For deeper exploration of how compartmentalization functioned in this study, see the interlude chapter that describes Nora's experiences.

In place of the earlier frameworks of transfer he critiques, Brent (2012) offers the concepts of "boundary-crossing" and "learning transformation" in place of "learning transfer," suggesting that instead of expecting specific skills to neatly and easily transfer

across contexts, instructors should be helping students cultivate "wide-ranging and flexible general knowledge" (p. 565). In terms of research, he recommends that instead of searching for the obvious transfer of discrete skills, researchers might look instead at the ways in which individuals draw upon learning from many diverse contexts when adapting to a new rhetorical situation: "To determine whether students have been able to reuse higher level knowledge, we need to search for evidence of prior learning that has been transformed or used as platform for further learning rather than merely transferred" (p. 410). Similarly, DePalma and Ringer (2011) forward the framework of adaptive transfer, or "the conscious or intuitive process of applying or reshaping learned writing knowledge in new and potentially unfamiliar writing situations" (p. 141). As I mentioned in chapter 1, transfer across *media* may be uniquely challenging for writers (Alexander et al., 2016; DePalma, 2015; DePalma & Alexander, 2015; Shepherd, 2018); as a result, Kara Poe Alexander, Michael-John DePalma, and Jeffrey Ringer (2016) build on DePalma and Ringer's framework of adaptive transfer by synthesizing it with media studies scholars' Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's (1999) theory of *remediation*. Bolter and Grusin's theory explores how semiotic resources—both new and old—are absorbed into each other, detailing how new media environments strive to present *immediate* access to experiences through *hypermediated* features, which they term "the double logic of remediation." This framework, which Alexander et al. (2016) term "*adaptive remediation*" (or, in my spelling, adaptive re-mediation), seeks to trace how genre knowledge is adapted not only across contexts, but also across *media*; this framework is central to my analysis of the findings presented in chapter 5. Because digital extracurricular writing on social media emphasizes multimodal composition through the

creation, curation, and remix of visual and video texts, Alexander et al.'s framework is

particularly helpful for the analysis of transfer across online and academic domains. In

keeping with these frameworks of transfer that emphasize transformation and adaptation

(e.g., Brent, 2011; 2012; DePalma & Ringer, 2011; Alexander et al., 2016), when

designing this study I sought to explore how learners might *transform* or *adapt* prior

knowledge as they moved across domains (and across media) rather than looking for

portable "skills" that could be learned in one context and readily applied in another.

In light of these two recent movements in the transfer research—the emphasis on

students' agency and intentions and the turn away from the application of discrete

skills—I began my analysis by considering students' interview data as a means of

capturing their perspectives on their learning within and across multiple domains before

turning to their writing samples to better understand whether their self-reports could be

further confirmed (or complicated) through analysis of their writing.[14] Since ongoing

research into whether and how student writers transfer writing knowledge across

academic and online domains have overwhelmingly suggested that students tend to

compartmentalize their learning across these two domains (at least in terms of learners'

perceptions), I suspected that my research would benefit from a responsive, capacious

conception of transfer coupled with attention primarily paid to students' voices and

experiences, rather than an assessment of their writing. As a result, I strove to allow my

research to be guided by participants' voices rather than by my judgments as a researcher.

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[14] Due to the nature of the findings obtained from interview data analysis, analysis of
writing samples figured more prominently in chapter 4 than in chapter 5. The main theme
extracted through analysis of interview data showcased in chapter 5 involves aspects of
students' writing processes rather than the actual textual feature of their writing; as a
result, chapter 5 focuses solely on interview data.

Ultimately, the participants in this study pointed me toward two types of writing knowledge transfer that likely would have escaped earlier models of transfer: adaptive re-mediation cued by the uptake of antecedent genre knowledge, which I discuss in chapter 4; and what I am terming "inventional transfer,"[15] or the transfer of content knowledge obtained through online reading into the context of formal writing assignments, which I detail in chapter 5.

Conclusion

From the existing literature on writing knowledge transfer between social media and academic domains, we know that many students are engaging in rhetorically rich activities while writing in the digital extracurriculum that may help them cultivate knowledge that may be relevant to college writing. However, because they tend to see these two domains of writing as being completely separate, this well of writing knowledge may remain untapped by students as they strive to learn to write for college courses and beyond. However, prior composition studies research exploring the transfer of writing knowledge across online and academic domains has tended to focus on students engaged in more general uses of social media. While this scholarship provides insight into students' rhetorical uses of social media as well as students' perceptions of connections or transfer between the two domains, because it tends not to be tethered to a specific rhetorical activity it has yet to offer insights into whether/how students engaged in any given digital extracurricular writing practice may negotiate the relationship between these two domains of writing. The scholarship on online feminist discourse from

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[15]As I discuss in more detail in chapter 5, the term "inventional transfer" is drawn from theories of rhetorical invention.

an array of disciplines illuminates the specifics of one such online writing practice, and one that is already consonant and somewhat conversant with academic discourse. However, while this research—like the scholarship on writing knowledge transfer between online and academic domains—illustrates the rhetorically sophisticated writing practices contemporary writers may be engaged in online, whether the writing knowledge obtained through online feminist discourse has any bearing on students' academic writing is less clear. As a result, online feminist discourse constitutes a fruitful site for exploring online writing knowledge and its potential relationship with academic writing knowledge. Through putting these two areas into conversation by focusing on college students engaged in a specific online activity—online feminist discourse—I strove to gain insight into students' rhetorical uses of social media and the relationship between their learning in online and academic domains. Ultimately, by exploring writing knowledge transfer between two domains through the lens of a group of students engaged in a specific, focused, purposeful online writing activity, I put ongoing conversations about online feminist discourse and transfer between online and academic writing in conversation in order to generate new insights about writing knowledge transfer more generally. In the following chapter, I provide more detail on the methods that led me to these findings, and I provide a broad-strokes overview of the student writers whose perspectives led me to the conclusions I offer in chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

When I first initiated this study, I sought to explore individual students'
experiences of learning within and across online and academic domains. Due to my
interest in students' experiences, the interview data was most central to this study. Over
the course of the 2016-17 academic year, I conducted three interviews with all eight
participants in the study, whom I had recruited through mailing lists of feminist student
organizations at the University of Michigan (U-M), and during the spring of 2018 I
conducted member-checking interviews where I invited feedback on my analysis and
asked for updates about participants' ongoing writing development within and across
online and academic domains (and in the professional domain when relevant, for
participants who had graduated at that point and joined the workforce: Alice,
Emmanuelle, and Nora). Because I wanted the participants' experiences to guide the
analysis and because I wanted to capture a range of experiences in terms of level and
academic discipline, I decided not to locate my dissertation study within a specific
classroom context. Instead, I opted to recruit participants based on their participation in a
focused, rhetorically rigorous online discursive practice: online feminist discourse.
Additionally, because I recognized the need to test participants' self-reports of their own
learning against textual evidence, I constructed interview protocols guided not only by
my research questions and insights drawn from previous interviews, but also from my
ongoing analysis of writing samples composed in both online and academic domains.
Whenever possible, I asked participants to share versions of their academic texts with de-

identified instructor feedback so that I could get a sense of some of the contextual factors

shaping participants' learning experiences. Although the analysis for this study largely

focused on self-reports through interview data, the writing samples—from both social

media and academic domains—informed the ongoing construction of the protocols for

collecting interview data. Furthermore, textual analysis of students' writing samples

served as an opportunity for me to test the accuracy and locate further evidence of

participants' self-reports, especially in chapter 4. Because the findings in chapter 5 were

focused more on writing *processes* (online reading and invention/topic-selection) than

any particular textual feature of writing, I decided to solely focus on self-reports of

individual students' reading and writing experiences. In future research, I will consider

whether there are any textual differences between papers in this dataset written about

intersectionality or social justice and papers written about other topics. The focus

ultimately remained on the learners rather than on specific classroom contexts so that I

could explore in as much detail as possible the complex decision-making processes with

which these learners engaged as they navigated various domains of writing.

While designing and conducting this study, I asked how feminist college students:

a) learned to compose and decode texts online, b) learned to compose and decode texts in

college courses, and c) made decisions about utilizing (or not utilizing) writing

knowledge[16] learned in one of those domains while responding to the rhetorical demands

of the other. Through analysis of data from four interviews over the course of two years,

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[16] The construct of "writing knowledge" that initially informed my initial study design
and data collection included more traditional components of writing knowledge such as
process, genre knowledge, and argumentation, my analysis of the findings presented in
chapter 5 led me to include *reading* as a component of writing knowledge.

observations of social media activity, and texts composed in both online and academic domains, this inquiry was guided by the following research questions:

1. **How do feminist college students utilize writing knowledge in and across various domains (online and academic)?**

    a. *How do feminist college students learn to utilize writing knowledge when responding to the various rhetorical situations of social media?*

    b. *How do feminist college students learn to utilize writing knowledge when responding to the various rhetorical situations of college courses?*

2. **How do feminist college students describe their experiences of transferring, transforming, or adapting writing knowledge between online and academic domains?**

    a. *(How) do feminist college students transfer, transform, or adapt writing knowledge obtained online when writing in academic domains?*

    b. *(How) do feminist college students transfer, transform, or adapt writing knowledge obtained through formal writing instruction when writing in online contexts?*

    c. *What factors prompt or facilitate feminist college students' efforts to transfer, transform, or adapt writing knowledge across domains?*

These questions guided me as I explored the ways in which eight feminist college students transferred or compartmentalized knowledge obtained in the online domain in order to respond to the rhetorical demands of their college courses and vice versa. Through qualitative research, I sought to develop a holistic portrait of individual participants' experiences with online writing, their understandings of the various domains

of learning with which they engaged, and their experiences transferring writing

knowledge within and across online and academic domains. In this dissertation, I present

two sets of findings from this research, showcasing micro-case studies of four focal

participants' experiences with the two main types of transfer that I found through my

analysis.[17]

Research Methods

Through the interconnected stages of my approach to data collection, I sought to

be responsive to participants' experiences: the survey that I used for recruitment informed

the development of questions for the first interview; the first interview elicited additional

data (academic writing samples and observations of social media practices) that informed

the development of questions for the second interview; and preliminary analysis of all

data informed the design of a third interview protocol. For a graphical representation of

this plan, see Figure A. I built this flexibility into my study design so that participants'

experiences and emergent findings could shape the study. In order to capture the nuances

of individual participants' experiences while simultaneously forging more general

theories that would hold up across multiple cases, my analysis primarily entailed a

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[17] Because I collected four interviews from each participant over the course of two years as well as many writing samples from both online and academic domains, I was only able to present a small slice of my analysis in the pages of this dissertation. While there are many potential avenues that I plan to explore in future analysis of this data, my immediate research plans include two article-length projects. First, I plan to write about compartmentalization across online and academic domains, analyzing participants' experiences with compartmentalization, including their insights into why compartmentalization happens that they shared in their final and member-checking interviews. Additionally, I plan to write a manuscript about participants' online reading practices, including the range of ways in which they utilized social media platforms as a means of digital archiving, sometimes in order to support their academic writing.

combination of within-case and cross-case comparisons (George & Bennett, 2005) supported by grounded theory coding (Charmaz, 2014; Maxwell, 2013). After conducting cross-case analysis, I decided to present my findings as five micro-case studies of four individual focal participants representing the two types of transfer that I located through analysis.

SURVEY

INTERVIEW 1

ARTIFACTS OBSERVATIONS

INTERVIEW 2

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

INTERVIEW 3

INITIAL DATA COLLECTION

ANALYSIS

MEMBER-CHECKING INTERVIEW
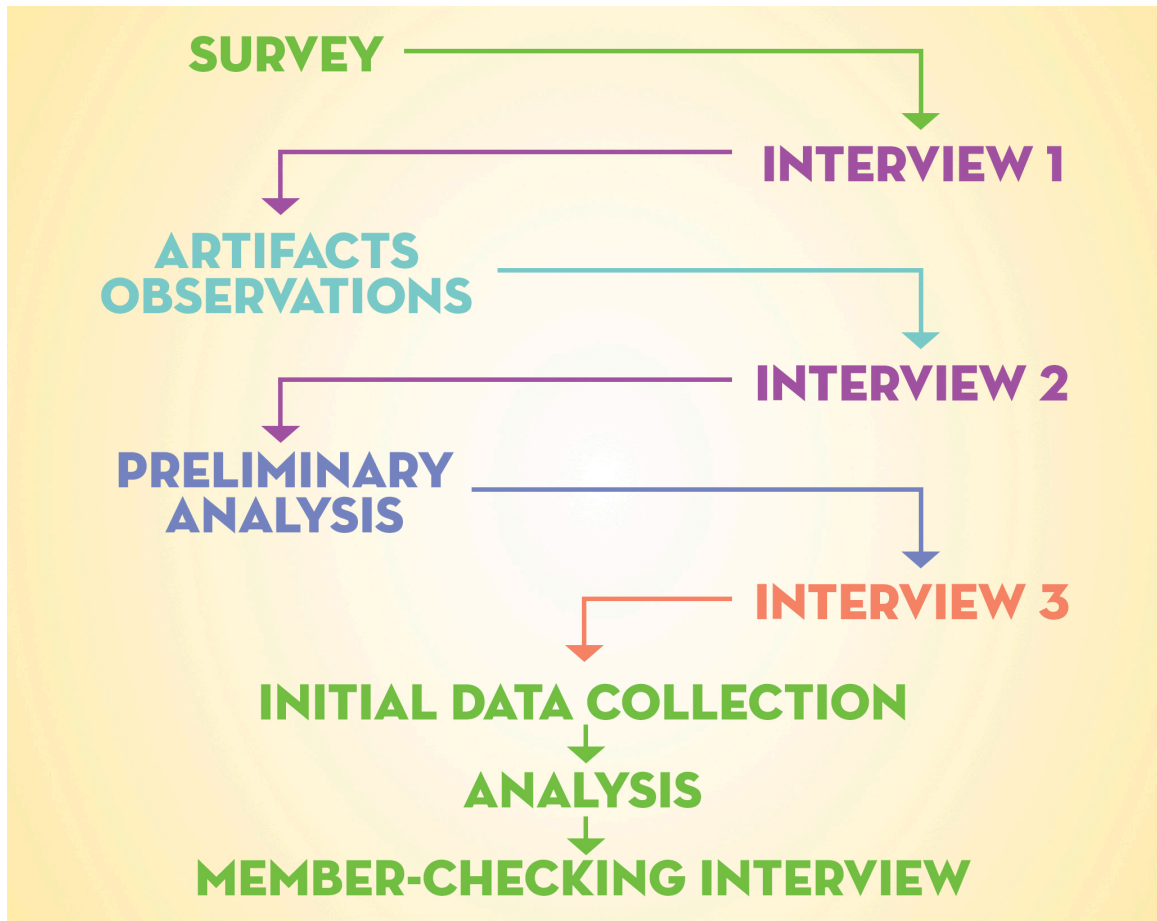
Figure 1: Graphical representation of data collection process

Participant Recruitment

This study focused on the writing experiences of individuals who identify as *intersectional feminists* or *womanists* who a) used social media to compose or decode feminist content at least three times a week during the time of recruitment, and b) were

enrolled in at least one college course at U-M in the fall of 2016. Since I was familiar

with the local curricular context, I recruited participants from U-M's Ann Arbor campus,

where I had spent three years completing coursework, teaching, and conducting research

at the time of data collection. My experiences at U-M helped me understand the

geographical, institutional, and curricular contexts that provided the backdrop for

participants' experiences as college students. For example, when participants discussed

current events specific to the campus (e.g., Nora's discussion of Twitter trolling she

experienced after tweeting in support of a new university policy that allowed students to

select their preferred pronouns during enrollment) or specific to the region (e.g., Olivia's

discussion of coverage of the Flint water crisis among various types of media), my status

as a denizen of the campus and of the region helped me better understand the contexts of

such events. By recruiting from a variety of feminist-oriented student organizations at U-

M, I found a wide range of students interested in feminism who would present a variety

of experiences with writing in and across social media and academic contexts.

　　　　After receiving IRB approval, during the summer of 2016, I initiated contact with

leaders of the student organizations via email (Appendix A), sharing with them 1) a brief

overview of the study, 2) a link to the recruitment survey (Appendix C), and 3) a request

that they send a recruitment survey to the members of their organizations. For a list of

student organizations that the recruitment survey was distributed to, see Appendix B. The

survey was clearly marked as a recruitment tool, informing respondents that by

completing this optional survey they were making themselves eligible to participate in a

compensated study. This survey asked respondents to describe their experiences with

writing in and out of school and to share their social media profiles with me so that I

could determine whether or not their social media activity was 1) frequent enough that I could harvest sufficient data, and 2) focused on relevant content (in this case, social justice and/or intersectional feminism). In total, 48 students responded to the recruitment survey. Through this survey data and observations of their social media presence, I obtained a rough sketch of prospective participants. After learning about their academic and demographic backgrounds, I looked more closely at prospective participants' descriptions of their learning in and across domains, as well as the social media accounts to which they had offered me access.

When sorting through prospective participants, I engaged in what Patton (2015) terms *operational construct sampling*, which involves selecting "case manifestations of a theoretical construct of interest so as to examine and elaborate the construct and its variations and implications" (p. 269). In other words, the goal was to select participants purposefully to illustrate a specific social phenomenon: in my case, the transfer or compartmentalization of writing knowledge across academic and social media. If survey respondents reported making decisions about transferring or compartmentalizing the learning that they were doing in online and academic contexts, then I considered them eligible for the study.

Given the capaciousness of this construct, it should not be surprising that the vast majority of survey respondents noted some degree of transfer or compartmentalization between their writing knowledge in academic and online domains; as a result, I needed to employ further sampling strategies to narrow my population to a manageable size. Since I planned to employ comparative case study methodology, wherein I conduct within-case and cross-case analysis in order to provide findings that shed light on trends across cases

while still allowing individual cases to stand alone, I reasoned that 5-10 participants would represent a substantial yet manageable data set, which would allow me to highlight individual cases while still drawing findings from an array of experiences. I engaged in maximum variation sampling (Patton, 2015, p. 267), maximizing variation in experiences by drawing from individuals enrolled in different majors, students involved in different organizations, students who used different social media platforms, students who came from diverse backgrounds in terms of demographics, students who had a range of professional goals, and students who came from diverse academic backgrounds in terms of major, year, and transfer status. By drawing on the knowledge of individuals from different groups, I reasoned that I would be well-equipped to construct a complex portrait of how a range of feminist college students learned to write within and across the two domains relevant to this study: online and academic writing.

After sifting through survey respondents' responses and their sample social media accounts, I contacted eight prospective participants from a variety of backgrounds to schedule interviews (see Appendix D for the email contacting recruited participants). Upon initiating contact with participants, I invited them to select their own pseudonyms; many of them chose pseudonyms based on cultural icons (e.g., Nora named herself after her writing idol, Nora Ephron) or characters in fiction (e.g., Ava named herself after a character in Karen Russell's novel *Swamplandia!*, while Kate and Quinn both named themselves after characters from comics—Kate Kane and Harley Quinn).

In the following section, I provide a brief overview of the characteristics of the individuals that I recruited to participate in the study. For a table breaking down the salient characteristics of the participant pool, see Figure B.

Pseudonym	Year, Age (at time of recruitment)	Major	Desired career	Social media platforms	Student organization	Race / ethnicity	Gender	First -gen	Transfer
Alice	Senior, 21	Political Science; minor in Law, Justice, and Social change; minor in German	Something in data science or research	Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Tumblr	Feminist campus magazine (Art Director)	Chinese-American	Female		
Ava	Junior, 20	English; Screen Arts and Cultures	Screenwriter, journalist, or film editor	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram	Residential College, Campus newspaper, Campus television station, Graham Institute, TedX	White, Jewish	Female		
Emmanuelle	Senior, 21	Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience	Public Health Hospital Program Manager	Facebook, Instagram, Tumblr	Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center LEAD Scholars, Henderson House	Black / African-American	Female		Yes—from a branch campus
Kate	First-year, 19	Art History	Something in art history or social activism	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram (two accounts: one personal, one photography)	Residential College, Take Back The Night / University Students Against Rape, Campus feminist magazine Helicon, Students for Choice	White, Jewish	Female		Dual-enrolled in a four-year in her home state during high school
Nora	Senior, 21	English	Journalism	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram	Residential College, Take Back the Night / University Students Against Rape, Campus feminist magazine (Editor-in-Chief)	White	Female		
Olivia	Junior, 20	Pre-med, Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience; minor in Spanish	Physician	Facebook, Instagram, Tumblr	Residential College, American Medical Student Association, Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, K-Grams	Chinese-American	Female	Yes	
Quinn	Sophomore, 19	Women's Studies; Sociology	Undecided; maybe non-profit rape prevention	Facebook, Instagram	Residential College, Students for Choice, Residential College Feminist Forum	White, Jewish	Female		Yes, from another four-year in the region
Sonny	Junior, 20	Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience;	Board Certified Psychiatric	Facebook, Instagram, Twitter (de-	Sexual Assault Prevention	South-Asian (Indian)	Male		

		minor in Gender and Health	Pharmacist	activated Twitter during data collection)	and Awareness Center ResStaff, Alternative Spring Break, Health Sciences Scholars Program, Senior Editor of "Michigan in Color" in the campus newspaper				

Figure 2: Table of participants' academic and demographic backgrounds at the time of data collection

Academics and Demographics

The participants represented a range of majors and all years in college, although they were concentrated more heavily in the upper-division years—Kate was the only first-year student in the study, and Quinn was the sole sophomore; the rest of the participants were juniors and seniors. I had learned through a pilot study that because upper-division students would have more experience with writing in their respective majors, as well as in multiple extracurricular and co-curricular contexts, they would be better equipped than lower-division students to talk in detail about the relationships between their various domains of learning. As a result, when designing my recruitment plan, I anticipated that the majority of recruited participants would be upper-division students, since they would have had more time to get involved in student organizations, and this proved to be true. Ultimately, while the reflections offered by Kate and Quinn offered useful contrast in terms of demonstrating how earlier-career students might negotiate the various sites of writing in their lives as they take on academic discourse for the first time, I learned a great deal from the upper-division students who had spent some time becoming initiated into the disciplines in which they majored, and who had begun to

look ahead to the careers they would pursue after college. All demographic information was originally collected through the recruitment survey, which consisted solely of "open-text" response questions, so academic information and demographic categories were all self-reported.

The participants included two lower-division students: a first-year student, **Kate**, who majored in Art History; and one sophomore, **Quinn**, a double-major in Women's Studies and Sociology, who was a transfer student from another four-year university in the Midwest. The study also included three juniors: **Olivia**, a pre-med student who majored in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Spanish; **Sonny** who majored in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Gender and Health; and **Ava**, who double-majored in English and Screen Arts and Cultures. Finally, the study included three seniors: **Emmanuelle**, who had transferred from U-M's Dearborn campus and who majored in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience; **Nora**, an English major; and **Alice**, who majored in Political Science with minors in German; Computer Science; and Law, Justice, and Social Change.

In terms of broad categorization of types of disciplines, the humanities and social sciences were well represented among participants, with Nora, Kate, and Ava representing the humanities and the rest of the participants, Olivia, Emmanuelle, Sonny, Quinn, and Alice, representing the social sciences. Three of these participants—Olivia, Emmanuelle, and Sonny—majored in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience, an interdisciplinary major housed in the Psychology department; through the experiences of these students, who were perched between the social sciences and science, technology,

engineering, and medicine (STEM), I was able to explore students' perceptions of STEM writing, as well.

All but one participant, Olivia, were continuing-generation college students; Olivia was not only a first-generation college student, but also a first-generation American. All participants were in the "traditional college-aged" range, falling between 19 years old and 21 years old at the time of recruitment. Generationally, these participants could be characterized as "late" millennials, falling just within the youngest age range for the millennial generation; when I asked them in member-checking interviews whether they identified as members of any specific generation, all participants stated that they identified as millennials except for Ava, who reported that she identifies more with Generation Z.[18] As can be expected, the vast majority of participants (Nora, Olivia, Emmanuelle, Quinn, Alice, Kate, and Ava) were female, although one participant, Sonny, was male. Four participants were white (Nora, Quinn, Kate, and Ava), and three of those four identified themselves as Jewish (Quinn, Kate, and Ava). Two participants, Olivia and Alice, were Chinese-American; Emmanuelle was African-American, and Sonny was of South Asian descent.

Extracurriculars: Student Organizations, Journalism, and Social Media Use

Given my recruitment strategy, it should come as no surprise that all participants in the study were involved in extracurricular activities on campus, in the community, and at home. By previewing the types of extracurricular activities in which the participants

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[18] I was 28-30 during the time of data collection, and I can be characterized as an early millennial; this aspect of my identity as a researcher is relevant due to the generational rift between prior generations and millennials best represented by the preponderance of think-pieces published about the laziness, solipsism, and entitlement of the millennial generation. The use of social media is certainly part of this ongoing conversation. I will discuss my generational positionality later as a component of researcher subjectivity.

engaged, I provide a rough sketch of the some of the extracurricular contexts that I discuss in my findings chapters.

While the Residential College, a living-learning community where students are able to take classes in the same building where they live, is technically a curricular organization, it supports a great deal of extracurricular and co-curricular engagement. The Residential College prioritizes interdisciplinary learning and fosters a culture geared toward social justice. In her initial interview, Olivia stated that the Residential College is "known for being full of people that are social justice warriors,"[19] partially due to its weekly student-led forums dedicated to discussing a range of issues, many of which pertain to social justice. Of the eight participants I recruited, five—Nora, Olivia, Quinn, Kate, and Ava—had lived and studied in the Residential College at some point in their undergraduate careers.

All participants were involved in at least one student organization dedicated to campus activism or campus journalism. The three Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience majors—Olivia, Emmanuelle, and Sonny—were involved in the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center (SAPAC), a student organization dedicated to promoting awareness of sexual assault on campus. The writing practices associated with this group involved "continuing education" meetings where participants would read articles about sexual assault on campus; additionally, members would facilitate workshops for various campus communities about sexual assault. Similarly, Nora and Kate were both involved with the student organization affiliated with the local Take Back

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[19] "Social justice warrior" is a term used to describe individuals committed to fighting for social justice and civil rights, and it has acquired negative connotations in the 21st century, becoming synonymous with "politically correct" in its most pejorative sense.

the Night chapter, called University Students Against Rape, which largely focused on organizing demonstrations.

Multiple participants in the study were involved with some form of journalism. Three participants were involved with a student-run campus feminist magazine that had been in publication since April 2012. Nora served as the editor-in-chief at the time of data collection; Alice was the art director; and Kate had just begun writing for the magazine's blog when I first interviewed her. In addition to serving as the editor-in-chief of the campus feminist magazine, Nora had engaged in a wide variety of journalistic writing: she had previously written feminist articles for two online news journals, and was, at the time of data collection, a paid blogger for a book blog. Two other participants were involved in journalistic writing: Ava, a junior, had written for the campus newspaper since her first year in college, and at the time of data collection, she was hired and trained as the Managing Editor. Ava was also involved with the campus television station, where she co-hosted a show about sexuality and relationships, and where she later directed a television show about music. Sonny was a Campus Editor-at-Large for a national news website, for which he had blogged regularly in the past. Additionally, during the semester of data collection, Sonny was hired as senior editor for the campus newspaper's "Michigan in Color" section, in which students of color share their experiences with race on Michigan's campus.

All participants utilized social media in a variety of ways: from Quinn, who casually used Instagram and frequently used Facebook to share many articles and memes, to Nora, who actively composed on three social media platforms, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, for varied purposes and audiences. Two participants, Olivia and

Emmanuelle, actively used Tumblr, which is well known for hosting many social justice

bloggers, so their insights on the uses of this particular platform for discussing issues of

feminism and social justice were particularly insightful. Similarly, among the participants

who actively used Twitter, Nora, Sonny,[20] Alice, Kate, and Ava,[21] there was a great deal

of discourse on politics and social justice on this platform. The Twitter users generally

used the platform to post commentary about current events or daily life; Nora, for

example, referred to her Twitter account as representing her "inner monologue." All

participants used Facebook, which was the most ubiquitous social media platform at the

time of data collection. However, some participants, such as Olivia, used it infrequently.

Additionally, most participants spoke about closely monitoring the content they posted on

Facebook due to the fact that their parents and extended family had access to that writing.

All participants also used Instagram, but due to the photography-based nature of the

platform, they were less likely to post political content on that platform, opting instead to

use the platform to preserve memories: Alice, for example, said she uses Instagram as "a

little photo album that I'm keeping for myself of just like things that I enjoy."

Data Collection and Construction

As I discussed in chapter 2, in his longitudinal case studies of three student

writers, Kevin Roozen (2008; 2009a; 2009b) draws on ethnographic methods, including

text collection, interviews, and observations of academic and extracurricular learning

environments in order to explore students' use of knowledge, skills, and experience

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[20] Sonny deactivated his Twitter account partway through the first semester of data collection because the "huge influx of information" was "too much to keep up with."
[21] It is worth noting that the Twitter users in the study all happened to be involved in journalistic writing in some way.

acquired in extracurricular contexts to support their performance in academic contexts. Drawing on this tradition, I reasoned that these methods, including interviews, observations, and textual analysis of student writing would yield rich data that could provide insight into students' experiences learning to write within and across academic and online domains. By interviewing students about their experiences with writing and their own compositions (from online and academic domains), I was equipped to better understand how students use various resources and prior knowledge while completing an array of writing tasks.

After recruitment, I conducted first-round interviews to obtain information about participants' prior experiences with writing across multiple contexts. In all interviews, I strove to learn from participants by positioning myself not as an expert but as a learner (Heyl, 2001; Weiss, 1994). In other words, I did everything in my power to ensure that participants knew that I hoped to learn from them and their experiences, and that they were encouraged to position themselves as experts of their own writing and learning. When designing and conducting interviews, I strove to prioritize emic meanings over etic meanings by listening thoughtfully and responding appropriately.

During the first round of interviews, I adopted what Heyl (2001) terms an "interview guide approach," meaning that the interviews were guided—but not dictated—by an outline or protocol. Because this approach allowed for preparation as well as deviation from a scripted interview, it provided me with an efficient strategy for capturing predetermined information while also improvising questions to fill in gaps as needed. For example, I asked each participant what led them to their major. By allowing for follow-up questions, I was able to pursue further information about their experiences

based on their responses. Nora described a long journey that led her to view herself as an English major, originating in family dynamics; her description suggested to me that her choice in major was deeply bound up in matters of identity. I wanted to learn more about this, so I asked a follow-up question about how her views of herself as an English major have evolved as she pursued the major; she provided more insights about how her identity as a feminist competed with her identity as an English major throughout her undergraduate years, revealing that although she had initially planned to double-major in English and Women's Studies, she had become "rejuvenated" and more focused in her English major in her junior year. This follow-up question helped me obtain information specific to Nora's academic trajectory, and it helped me deepen my understanding of her relationship to two different academic disciplines: English and Women's Studies.

In the first interview, I drew on participants' survey responses in order to construct more specific questions about their learning of writing in and out of school (see Appendix E for the first interview protocol). As I described in chapter 2, because various social media platforms offer varied affordances for communication (A. Buck, 2012; E.H. Buck, 2015), particularly when it comes to civic engagement (Weinstein, 2014) and online feminist discourse (Thelandersson, 2014), I asked participants to walk me through the various social media platforms that they used and to describe how they used them. Additionally, I asked them to share specific examples of genre awareness, purpose, and audience awareness that they had drawn on in these contexts, and I invited them to share writing that demonstrated evidence of the types of reading/decoding and writing/composing that they had done in both academic and social media domains. For academic writing samples, I asked that they submit samples with instructor feedback

when possible; however, because my study design did not offer instructors an opportunity to share their perspectives, I asked that participants anonymize their instructors' names.

Following the principles of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), I asked participants if I could "follow" them into the various digital sites in which they compose: if they agreed to friend me or let me follow them on their social media platforms, I gained access to these spaces. I documented and preserved social media data by taking screenshots of relevant text/images, and screen-capture videos of relevant video data (which I would then de-identify). If participants were not comfortable granting me access to their social media profiles, I relied on their first-person accounts of their use of these platforms. For example, Emmanuelle was active on Tumblr, but created a firm boundary between her "real" life and her Tumblr life. Since I was part of her "real" life as a researcher who had interviewed her for multiple studies[22] and as a classmate in a linguistics class that I was auditing during the semester of data collection, I was part of her "real" life, so she told me she did not want me to see her Tumblr. I assured her that this was completely fine; as a result, my understanding of Emmanuelle's use of Tumblr relies entirely on self-reports.

As Charmaz (2014) and Patton (2015) recommend, I conducted data collection and analysis simultaneously so that emergent patterns and themes could be captured while I was still collecting data. When collecting interview data, I audio-recorded all interviews, and interviews were transcribed primarily for content. While interviewing participants, I also took handwritten notes to guide my subsequent analysis of their

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[22] She was also a participant in a study exploring the writing transitions of transfer students published by the Sweetland Center for Writing, for which I interviewed her. See Gere, Hutton, Keating, Knutson, Silver, and Toth (2017).

transcripts, and to record contextual information, such as their demeanor, gestures, body language, and/or any political clothing or buttons they were wearing at the time of the interview. After the first interview, I engaged in initial coding (which I discuss in the next section), and I allowed my insights from my preliminary analysis, alongside my observations of the writing samples participants had shared with me, to inform the development of protocols for my second round of interviews. Since the second-round interviews were largely informed by my analysis and the preexisting data, they were what Heyl (2001) terms "informal conversational interviews," in which I asked participants to take the lead and talk me through the compositions that they had offered me before asking more follow-up questions regarding their writing and the processes by which their writing was completed (see Appendix F for the notes that I used as a checklist to guide these interviews). In these interviews, I also asked participants about themes that had begun to emerge in my coding of previous interviews across cases, including visual composition, rhetorical uses of humor, and source integration. The third interviews served as an opportunity for follow-up questions and member-checking: in these interviews, conducted at the beginning of the subsequent semester, I asked participants about their finals from the previous semester as well as several themes that had emerged in my coding of second-round interviews, including rhetorical uses of language and argumentation in specific disciplinary and extracurricular contexts. After writing drafts of findings chapter, I conducted in member-checking interviews in the spring of 2018 to ensure that participants had an opportunity to review my analysis and give me feedback to ensure that I was representing their experiences accurately and ethically. During this interviews, I also asked participants for updates on their writing in both social media and

academic domains, and in professional domains for students who had graduated and moved into the workforce at this point.

Data Analysis

In keeping with grounded theory coding, I allowed codes to emerge from the data before engaging in focused and theoretical coding to highlight salient aspects of the data and theorize relationships between codes and mechanisms operating in the data (Charmaz, 2014). My preliminary organizational categories, or the areas to which I sought to attend in data analysis (Maxwell, 2013), included several aspects of writing knowledge—drawn from the scholarship in composition studies—that could potentially be learned in either domain (e.g., analysis, argumentation, audience awareness, etc.) and connections between academic and social media writing development (e.g., transfer, compartmentalization). By selecting a relatively small pool of participants, in my analysis, I was able to simultaneously employ what Maxwell (2013) terms "categorizing strategies" (such as coding) in order to obtain a general sense of what was happening across cases alongside "connecting strategies" (such as narrative analysis) in order to understand the cases of specific participants. Across all cases, I utilized grounded theory coding (Charmaz, 2014) as a categorizing strategy in order to determine what this group of learners could show researchers about the transfer of writing knowledge between academic and social media domains. After collecting interviews and compositions, I began to develop initial codes as detailed by Charmaz (2014). In doing so, I focused on creating categories that represented participants' views and beliefs. For example, while I did not include issues of "access" in my organizational categories, which had largely

been drawn from terminology used in existing literature, Olivia raised compelling points about how visual rhetoric and metaphors made complex information more accessible in online contexts; as a result, I was compelled to include "access" as an initial code (for initial codes, see Appendix G).

While coding interviews, I looked for participants' reports of various aspects of learning how to write in online and academic domains, as well as connections (or the lack thereof) between their learning in these two domains. I also tracked moments where students evaluated social media and college courses in order to get a sense of how students' perceptions of these domains as learning environments might shape their experiences of learning and their decisions (conscious and unconscious) about transferring learning across domains. Since I recognized that the data would certainly yield nuanced themes and patterns as I moved forward with coding, I viewed my codebook as flexible and open to revision. I coded each first-round interview before meeting with the respective participant for his/her second-round interview, and as I moved forward with coding, I expanded my codebook by adding new codes before returning to previously coded interviews to incorporate the new codes.

While collecting data, I primarily focused on coding interviews, viewing writing samples (both from academic and social media contexts) as reference points for interview construction and analysis. By starting with participants' self-reported experiences before analyzing other evidence of their learning across environments, I sought to gain insight into how participants theorized their own experiences before seeking contradictory or confirming evidence in their academic and social media writing. For example, when exploring participants' reports of transferring academic genre knowledge into online

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domains when drafting chapter 4, I recognized that an exploration of participants' online writing would help me understand whether their self-reports would map on to the textual evidence offered by their online writing. In contrast, because the phenomenon explored in chapter 5 deals with writing *processes* rather than textual features, analysis of participants' writing samples was not germane to this chapter.

After conducting initial coding of the first two interviews and all collected compositions, I reviewed excerpts coded with specific initial codes in order to develop more detailed or "focused" codes in order to categorize the types of connections and compartmentalization that participants were engaging in (for focused codes, see Appendix H). The first set of data that I looked at was the intersections between the initial codes "Invention (Academic)," "Teaching and Learning on Social Media," and "Research or Evidence (Social Media)."[23] I knew from the analytical memos that I kept while conducting interviews and engaging in initial coding that the most apparent connection participants reported making across the two domains involved their efforts to import their content knowledge about intersectionality and/or social justice as a means of locating a topic for academic writing assignments, which guided me to look more closely at the excerpts coded with the aforementioned initial codes. After exploring these excerpts, I developed a focused code that I labeled as "Content knowledge / interest as transferable from social media to academic contexts; knowledge from social media motivating academic decisions and/or reading/writing." After putting the data coded with this focused code in conversation with the scholarship from composition studies on

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[23] Since I did not expect "Reading" to play a central role in my findings, I included all references to "reading" under the code "Research or Evidence," which was initially intended to indicate instances where participants talked about integrating evidence or outside sources into their writing in order to support their argument.

rhetorical invention, I decided to draft the findings chapter (5) detailing the instances of what I am terming "inventional transfer" as two micro-case studies of inventional transfer enacted by two focal participants: Quinn, whose reports of inventional transfer serve as a framing device for the chapter, and Emmanuelle, whose experiences writing a paper in her cross-listed Women's Studies and Psychology course serves as the main data within the chapter. While all participants reported some version of inventional transfer, as I discuss in the chapter, I decided that drafting a detailed case study of one participant's experiences with inventional transfer would help illuminate the concept and would dedicate adequate attention to the specifics of Emmanuelle's experiences. As I discussed in the literature review, my research process was informed by scholarship that emphasized case study methods as a means of detailing writers' experiences with writing within and across domains (see, e.g., Roozen, 2008; 2009a; 2009b); furthermore, as Kristine Blair (2012) suggests, technofeminist research in multiple disciplines has relied on qualitative methods—especially narrative—as a means of providing insight into the relationship between identity and technology. It felt natural, then, to present narratives of focal case studies as the primary data in my findings chapter as a means of centering participants' experiences. I selected Quinn and Emmanuelle as focal cases for this chapter due to the fact that their reports of inventional transfer were most robust and detailed among all participants in the study. Because the findings discussed in this chapter were focused on students' writing processes rather than any specific rhetorical or textual feature other than topic selection, I opted not to analyze specific papers in order to corroborate students' findings. In future research, I may compare participants' papers about intersectionality and social justice with their papers about other topics to see if

there is any textual evidence of increased levels of engagement in the papers about intersectionality; however, for the purposes of this project, I relied on participants' self-reports in order to illuminate the construct that I have termed "inventional transfer."

After addressing the type of transfer that seemed most salient and common in the data, I conducted focused coding of the initial codes "Relationships: Connections" and "Relationships: Compartmentalization" in order to determine what other types of transfer might be occurring in the data. By focusing in on codes that seemed to provide the most insight into my phenomenon of interest, writing knowledge transfer, and developing focused codes in order to specify exactly how connections and distinctions were being made between learning enacted in different domains, I hoped to continue to sort the instances of writing knowledge transfer that I had noted through initial coding into categories. Through this process, I found a great deal of examples of compartmentalization; while in future research I plan to conduct a cross-case analysis of instances of compartmentalization among all participants, for the purpose of this dissertation I looked more closely at Nora's experiences with compartmentalization as a means of illuminating some of the ways in which compartmentalization was functioning in the data.

Furthermore, while analyzing the excerpts coded as "Relationships: Connections," I began to notice commonalities among the three instances in the data that would ultimately serve as focal cases in chapter 4, on adaptive re-mediation of antecedent academic genre knowledge. As a result, I developed the focused code "Antecedent academic genre knowledge as a means of guiding writing in the online domain." My analysis of this data had a more complicated relationship with the existing literature;

while I struggled to understand why and how these participants seemed to be transferring academic genre knowledge to respond to rhetorical challenges in the online domain, I engaged with scholarly literature on an array of topics before contextualizing this chapter's three focal participants' within the existing frameworks of antecedent genre uptake, as detailed by Angela Rounsaville (2012) and adaptive re-mediation, as detailed by Kara Poe Alexander, Michael-John DePalma, and Jeffrey Ringer (2016). For this chapter, selecting focal case studies was easier: in contrast to the inventional chapter, where I had to select focal cases from all participants in the data set, in chapter 4, I drew only on the three cases where students seemed to enact any transfer of genre knowledge across domains. Through these theoretical lenses combined with the heuristics provided in their own self-reports of transfer, I then conducted analysis of participants' writing in order to determine whether and how their self-reports mapped on to their actual online writing.

After developing focused codes, I developed theoretical codes in order to theorize my data and explore the relationships between the focused codes that had emerged from my analysis (Charmaz, 2014). Ultimately, the theoretical codes that emerged from my data told a larger story about the types of writing knowledge transfer that participants were engaging with (for theoretical codes, see Appendix H). As I had suspected, the theoretical codes included "learning transfer" and "compartmentalization," but I was also surprised to find that they included codes that I hadn't anticipated, including "multidirectional learning" and "preparation for future learning / professional writing." (The phrase "preparation for future learning" is drawn from Bransford and Schwartz [1999]). In specifying the relationship between focused codes through theoretical codes, I

sought to reconstruct the data that had been fractured through coding in order to tell a larger story—a story about the complexity and (sometimes) struggle involved with transferring writing knowledge across disparate domains.

   Validity

   While designing and enacting this study, I took a number of measures to obviate threats to validity, primarily through focusing on local meaning and ensuring that participants' perspectives of their learning processes were honored and valued in interviews (through follow-up/clarifying questions), and in my analysis (through a prioritization of emic perspectives and member-checking). I recognized reactivity/researcher influence on setting/participants (Maxwell, 2013) as a particularly relevant threat in the context of transfer research given the proposed connection between metacognition and transfer. In other words, by asking participants about the connections they made or did not make between learning environments in the first or second interview, I could have potentially prompted them to reflect on their learning across these domains, thus influencing their learning trajectories and skewing the results of the study. I addressed this threat by accounting for it in my design and analysis; I designed interview questions that were meant to invite participants' input without leading them, and I made clear to participants that I was interested in learning from them and having their authentic experiences remain central my findings. In order to ensure that this study was not at risk of having inadequate evidence (Erickson, 1986), I collected multiple types of data over the course of the study (interviews, academic writing samples, social media observations) and consistently triangulated that evidence in order to test pieces of evidence against each other.

Ethical Considerations

I conclude my methods section by briefly discussing some ethical concerns I kept in mind while designing and enacting this study before providing some reflections my own subjectivity as a researcher, and considering how my identity may have influenced data collection and analysis.

Ethics

While designing and enacting the study, I anticipated three main ethical risks. First, I recognized that there was a chance that aspects of participants' learning narratives might be emotionally difficult, and that they could potentially disclose sensitive information to me. This ultimately ended up being true; over the course of the two semesters in which I collected interview data, participants disclosed sensitive information to me about the life circumstances that shaped their learning experiences within and outside of school. In response, I strove to be empathic, self-aware, and perceptive of my actions and participants' responses to them, and to show empathy and understanding as I interacted with participants. I attempted to position myself not as an objective researcher, but as a learner, a collaborator, and an ally. Additionally, I was concerned about compensating participants fairly for their time and ensuring that the study was conducted efficiently. Although I offered benefits to some participants in the form of writing and research resources and mentorship,[24] I also compensated them financially: I compensated each participate with $20 for each interview, and with $5 per writing sample (papers

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[24] For example, I provided participants with resources for literature reviews for academic writing projects on language ideology (Emmanuelle) and the effects of social media on political discourse (Alice). Similarly, when Nora began conducting interviews for her senior thesis, she reached out for me for advice on conducting qualitative research, and I happily sent resources and offered to meet with her.

written for past and concurrent courses, access to social media profiles, etc.) that they submitted as data. Finally, confidentiality breaches were, as with all research involving human participants, a potential risk; as a result, I de-identified all data by labeling it with pseudonyms chosen by the participants and stored it in a secure location. I concealed the identities of the participants in the study, and I gave them opportunities to read drafts of my work and provide feedback if they were concerned about matters of privacy and confidentiality.

Researcher Subjectivity

Several biases that I possess that have undoubtedly shaped this research, stemming from my experiences as an intersectional feminist and a social media user. In this section, I briefly describe these experiences before reflecting on whether and how they shaped my research process. In discussing some salient features of my experiences and assumptions, I intend to disclose to information that will provide rich contextual information for understanding the design and enactment of this study, as well as my role in it as a researcher.

First and foremost, I am an intersectional feminist. As a result, I shared many political beliefs with the participants in this study. My similarities to the participants in this study—that they, like me, identified as feminists and ostensibly shared many of my political views—provided benefits and potential drawbacks. On the one hand, my identity, experiences, and my feminist views provided opportunities for me as a researcher to build rapport with participants. On the other hand, the fact that I shared so much in common with many of the participants in my study presented the risk of me making assumptions about participants based on my own experience, which could

potentially result in me missing salient information. Additionally, I had to be aware of moments where my own understanding of feminist theory may have conflicted the feminist beliefs of participants in the study, and where our shared biases may have limited our perspectives on various issues. For example, when discussing the 2016 presidential election with participants I could have easily made assumptions about participants' perspectives based on their political views and generational position; instead, I made sure to ask about their experiences with the election and its aftermath without sharing my own insights.

Additionally, I am a millennial who came of age during the birth of social media. Throughout my high school and college years, social media began to gel: early social media platforms such as Friendster and LiveJournal first emerged while I was in middle school, followed shortly by Myspace as well as more current platforms such as Facebook and Twitter that were developed while I was in high school. In many ways, I grew up with social media. Since my adolescence and early adulthood was experienced through the lens of nascent social media platforms, I recognized that I was in a unique position to explore how younger millennials, who came of age during a more developed phase of social media, learn about writing in this domain. However, because the participants in this study were about a decade younger than me, I had to recognize that their experiences would differ from mine, and that I had to ask detailed questions in order to ensure that I obtained a full account of their experiences rather than imposing my experiences and perspectives on them.

Conclusion

Through grounded theory coding, I was able to locate two main threads of transfer across domains among participants in this study, which I discuss in the following two chapters. In chapter 4, I describe how participants in the study transferred academic genre knowledge when faced with new challenges in the online domain. In chapter 5, I consider how students' content knowledge about intersectional feminism, forged through reading in the online domain, informed their approach to academic writing assignments. By focusing on participants' voices, I grounded this study in their experiences before moving outward to situate these experiences in conversations relevant to the study of writing knowledge transfer. Although participants generally reported that they tended to compartmentalize learning across these two domains, the exceptions to this trend constitute the two following chapters. By suggesting that theories of genre knowledge transfer may benefit from a consideration of multimodality/re-mediation (and vice versa) (chapter 4) and by framing reading knowledge of a component of writing knowledge that might be productively examined through the lens of transfer (chapter 5), both chapters build on existing theories of writing knowledge transfer.

INTERLUDE: "THAT'S JUST A DIFFERENT BRAIN": NORA'S COMPARTMENTALIZATION ACROSS DOMAINS

As a means of illustrating one particularly salient case of compartmentalization in the data, in this interlude I discuss Nora's experiences with compartmentalization in more detail. After exploring in detail her mastery of specific genres of writing in the online and academic domains, I describe in detail Nora's self-reports of compartmentalization, exploring some of the reasons she provided for compartmentalization. Ultimately, I document the fact that Nora saw a very clear division between her academic and online writing, a division that had more or less crumbled when I spoke to her a year after our initial period of data collection. Nora's experiences do suggest that compartmentalization may be a result of the value (or lack thereof) ascribed to specific types of writing, and they also raise questions about whether students see academic writing as disconnected from all other types of writing. Finally, Nora's experiences suggest that more integration across domains may be considered a mark of development: while still in college, Nora reported that she was striving to "bridge" her online and academic writing, and a year after data collection and her graduation, Nora reported that the two "brains" she had previously associated with her online and academic writing had "merged." As a result, her experiences suggest that while compartmentalization is complicated and perhaps rooted in many causes, writers may overcome it with time and adequate mentoring from formal writing instructors.

Given that she was a senior during the time of data collection, Nora had already gained enough mastery over a set of genres in both domains that she was able to enact a degree of risk-taking: she reported taking advantage of being granted "permission to be weird" through topic selection in both domains, choosing to write about popular literature in her English classes and about feminist topics in her online articles despite the presence of more conservative members of her family in her social media audience. This rebelliousness and the joy she took in "be[ing] weird" characterized many of her writing decisions, not only in terms of her selection of topics in both domains, but also when it came to the venues for which she chose to write. She acknowledged, for example, that most students interested in journalism pursue positions at the campus newspaper, but she did not:

> [Working at the campus newspaper] is very prestigious; you're there until 4 AM working on your articles. It's like being in a real newsroom. And I don't do that, and I never wanted to… I'm still a writer, this is still going to be my life ideally, but I'm approaching it in this different way than the rest of my friends are. I have this unique thing going on.

Nora's sense of independence and her desire to depart from what was expected from her made her a particularly interesting case study for the exploration of writing knowledge transfer. Overwhelmingly, her story was one of compartmentalization—in most cases, Nora sought to learn the rules of a given writing context so well that she could break them, but she often resisted transferring that writing knowledge into other domains for a variety of reasons, including her anxiety about the effects of the internet on the quality of her writing, which I discuss in more detail shortly.

Nora's complicated relationship with compartmentalization was evidenced by the simultaneous joy and challenge that she found through her efforts to write about a non-conventional topic (popular fiction) in her literature coursework. At the time we met, Nora had considerable expertise in and comfort with academic writing in her English major. At this point in her undergraduate career, Nora demonstrated high levels of self-efficacy toward genres in the academic domain, responding with confidence and competence to any writing task with which she was presented. As she stated at the beginning of her senior year, "I feel like I can read a prompt and deliver exactly what the prompt is asking me," adding quickly, "but there is nothing necessarily personal about that action." This confidence was supported by the writing samples she submitted as data for this study; her academic writing was sophisticated, thoughtful, and effective. Although she was rewarded with high grades for her mastery of academic writing, she suggested that writing to the prompt felt impersonal, even transactional: "I feel like I turn in papers for classes that are kind of like, I did what I was supposed to do… and then, you know, I'll get a good grade on it." Nora had mastered writing within her chosen discipline so much so that she began to take risks by deviating from what was expected from her, asking her professors if she could begin conducting analysis of popular fiction (and, later, qualitative research of readers of popular fiction). She first decided to explore popular fiction in a literature course exploring love and marriage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; after she included an aside nodding to similarities popular romance fiction in a paper about a more canonical literary text, her professor praised the idea and urged her to further explore this topic. With the encouragement of a professor who she knew and trusted, she conducted a comparative analysis of the role of corsets in early

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modern literature alongside contemporary romance fiction. Nora, a writer who had previously adhered strictly to the guidelines of assignments, felt liberated because she had been encouraged to write about popular fiction:

> I felt like I'd been given permission to be weird, or… just kind of move away from what I've been told… I feel like I'm always afraid to stray too far from the rubric, but that was the first time that I felt like this was okay.

Of this experience, Nora reported that "it was so interesting and weird to be doing for that class" that it led to her being "rejuvenated in [her] major." Somewhat paradoxically, by departing from the conventions of her discipline, Nora gained enthusiasm and perhaps more of a sense of belonging as an academic in her discipline: indeed, as she continued to pursue this approach, she reported "I see myself more of an academic now than I did [at the beginning of the study]."

 Despite the enthusiasm—and rejuvenation—she derived from this approach, her integration of a less conventional topic—contemporary romance fiction—into her analysis proved to be a challenge: of this writing experience, she stated, "I couldn't make it sound like I was the same person talking about both of these books. It was very strange, because I just put on two completely different hats." Nora's attempts to reconcile the wearing of "two completely different hats" in order to "make it sound like [she] was the same person" in her paper foreshadows the tension that she would express about integrating her writing knowledge from online and academic writing. After successfully testing the boundaries of the English discipline by writing about popular romance fiction in this paper, she was inspired to pursue another popular fiction topic for her senior thesis. Despite this challenge (or perhaps as a result of overcoming it), Nora reported that

her experiences with writing this paper helped her develop her honors thesis topic, stating that she "just evolved naturally into thinking about body image issues" in chick lit novels. As her thesis project progressed, she pushed the discipline's boundaries even further by conducting qualitative research into readers' experiences, a methodological approach that is very uncommon in literary research. Nora's choice of topic seemed to stem in large part from her restlessness with the formal curriculum and her sense that she could do more, that she could "do something I never could do before because they don't teach a class on it." Explaining her reluctance to write about a more conventional topic, she stated that "The idea of writing a paper on Thoreau and then being like, 'I think I could spend another year with Thoreau after learning him in this class and getting an A on this paper'… to me, that's just not appealing at all." In short, Nora wanted to reach *beyond* the curriculum to create her own project; in doing so, she demonstrated an awareness of the boundaries of the discipline, but also a desire to test them by drawing in non-academic interests.

Although she seemed interested in testing the boundaries of academic writing, she felt anxiety about integrating her own voice into this writing, thus revealing a sign of compartmentalization. Despite the confidence suggested by Nora's choice of both unconventional topic and methods, while writing the thesis, she expressed a degree of anxiety about inserting her own voice and experiences into her writing, due in part to the fact that she was writing about a topic that she perceived to be "non-serious":

> I couldn't help but think if I'm writing about *Bridget Jones's Diary* for my senior
> thesis I have to be really academic and serious because this is a kind of a weird
> topic, or like a non-serious topic… I am having trouble navigating where to put

myself in my academic writing, which is something that I do not struggle with in

any other type of writing… At the bottom of this, it's like, I want to be taken

seriously by my professors.

In contrast, she felt much more comfortable drawing on her own experiences in the

online domain, where she took great joy in "making fun of myself, or using myself as like

an example for some greater issue." This tension or disconnect illuminates one of many

instances where Nora's approach to writing knowledge in academic contexts as opposed

to online contexts diverged: overwhelmingly, she tended to compartmentalize the writing

knowledge she had obtained in the academic domain from the writing knowledge

obtained in the digital extracurriculum.

Nora's writing expertise in the academic domain was paralleled by her writing

expertise in the online domain, which she demonstrated through her dedication to

developing a respectable archive of online writing, her management of identities and

audiences across multiple platforms, and her mastery of multiple online genres. In terms

of building an archive of online writing, Nora explained that while she frequently wrote

poetry that she would share on Tumblr in high school that would occasionally be

attributed to other writers, she ultimately decided that she would give up this type of

writing in order to establish a more serious online authorial identity:

I just got too caught up in it and I didn't like the intensity of it so much, and I

decided that if I was going to post my writing on the internet that I wanted it to be

attributed to me. I wanted to start building my own writing in a way that I can be

proud of.

By making intentional decisions about the type of writing that would be associated with her name, Nora demonstrated that she viewed her online writing as a scaffolded activity that would ultimately result in her development as a writer (and the development of her authorial ethos) in this domain.

Nora's mastery of writing in the online domain was also demonstrated through her heightened awareness to the conventions of various online genres. For example, Nora stated:

> There's a very accepted kind of like Twitter style guide in terms of what's funny… there's only so many formats that jokes have on Twitter… When I don't use punctuation or don't capitalize anything, for me, that's a clue that like, "This is a joke."

Similarly, Nora demonstrated keen awareness of argumentative strategies that are permitted on Twitter, describing a multi-tweet thread genre that was popular among activist journalists at the time of data collection:

> There are definitely argument formats on Twitter… you have the person that says like, "Let's get one thing straight, white supremacy exists," and then… that's like one tweet and then there's like 40 follow-up tweets… It's like there is kind of a thesis statement [in the original tweet]… but you have to go and read the whole thing… People like Roxane Gay and Shaun King will do that or people who are very established in talking about these things… you just can't make a point in 140 characters and obviously people do, but I think with stuff that's heavier and arguing political stuff, it's very hard to be confined because you just have all of these things to say.

Nora went on to describe in more detail the conventions of this multi-tweet argument genre, as well as variations on the form, such as the use of the phrase "Buckle up; I'm gonna tell you about this" to indicate the beginning of the thread. She also described writers' strategy of numbering tweets in a multi-tweet thread (e.g., "1/3" meaning "one out of three tweets"), as a means of advising readers to either wait for more tweets, or to expand the collapsed replies to the tweet in order to see the entire message. She also described how writers would anticipate and respond to opposing arguments through these extended threads ("They do all of their points and then they'll say, 'And don't come at me and say this because'… anticipating the counterpoint, in other words, and then defending themselves against that") and how these posts tend to conclude, in order to signal to readers that they can respond ("They'll be like, 'And that's all for now,' like, 'End rant,' or like, 'Drops mic'"). She noted that the interface of Twitter tends to discourage posters from referring to outside sources in these threads, since including a link in a multi-tweet thread would force the reader to click out of the thread, requiring them to return to the thread and find their place again; as a result, writers tend not to refer to outside sources when composing this genre. Although she associated this genre with more established journalists such as Roxane Gay or Shaun King, she described composing a shorter version of this genre. In describing her use of this argumentative structure on Twitter, Nora stated,

> I reply to myself and just do a shorter version of that because Twitter separates your original tweets from your replies even if you're replying to yourself, so when [readers] click on that tweet they will see the rest but they have to do that in order to see them.

Nora's detailed awareness of this online genre coupled with her selective and modified emulation of it demonstrate one facet of her rhetorical competence in the online domain.

Nora similarly demonstrated her mastery of online writing through her sophisticated and differentiated approaches to managing various audiences on the multiple social media platforms. Her purposes for using Facebook varied dramatically from her purposes for using Twitter, for example. Facebook, which she said was "kind of a bulletin board almost," was for "keeping in touch with family and friends," scheduling in terms of "manag[ing] student organizations, manag[ing] events for those [organizations], figure[ing] out what parties I'm going to," and "promoting stuff as well, including my writing, but also what I'm going on campus, and student orgs and things like that." While she used Twitter for some overlapping purposes, such as promoting writing and events, she also viewed it more as "an inner monologue" or a "running commentary" where she was able to express her true emotions and political opinions— due, in part, to the fact that her family members were not part of her Twitter audience:

> I get a lot more angry on Twitter than I do on Facebook. Like, I'll go on rants or something. On Facebook, I feel a lot more pressure to be eloquent, to be calm… It all comes down to who's going to see it.

While Nora ultimately attributed her reticence on Facebook to her audience on that platform, which included conservative family members, she also noted that the interface of Twitter's mobile application made the act of writing on Twitter feel similar to texting, an act that is synonymous with personal communication rather than public writing:

> I hardly ever use Twitter on the computer, but the way it is on your phone… it's almost like texting, but it's like texting to everybody if that makes sense. So… it

does feel more conversational and more to-the-minute, because… that's how it's

designed. But also when people reply to you, it's like they're really replying

directly to you, which, like, is… a bad thing when you get personally attacked by

random people you don't know… your name is in that reply, you know?

Nora's heightened rhetorical sensitivity to the expectations, norms, and audiences of

various social media platforms was perhaps most salient when she discussed her caution

about provoking her family members, to whom she was connected on Facebook. As she

stated,

If I were to write something about sex positivity, or being pro-choice or

something, in a non-academic context and post it on Facebook, the blowback

[from my family] would be incredible. I do get kind of irritated about that, but

until this is my whole life, until I am established enough as a writer to the point

where my parents are not telling me I should do something else, I feel like I just

kind of have to suck it up.

Despite the pressure she felt to self-censor her Facebook posts in order to avoid

controversy among her family members, Nora ultimately found that sharing her articles

for the book blog on Facebook mirrored her efforts to "be weird" through topic selection

in academic writing:

Before, I used to be very choosy about what I would share on social media in

terms of my outside writing. I always wanted to share and get hits, but with

Facebook it was a little dicey, just because of my family situation or whatever,

and I wasn't sure. But with [the book blog], I can imbue what I write about books

sort of with that same political attitude that I would have. Like, I can't post an

article about counter-protesting a Planned Parenthood protest at the Capitol,

which is an article that I wrote and am super proud of, but couldn't post

anywhere. But I can write about feminist, chick lit books that I like because the

main character's pro-choice, or whatever. I feel like I'm being sneaky, kind of, in

my extracurricular writing… like I'm tricking the system into being what I want it

to be, or writing what I want to write.

Nora's online articles almost served as a conduit for communicating her true political

beliefs to her family members. In some instances, this method of avoiding controversy

was more effective than in others, but overall, Nora found a workaround that enabled her

to talk about issues that were important to her on Facebook despite the sense that her

family members would not necessarily approve of this content. While Nora ultimately

reported compartmentalizing much of her writing knowledge across the two domains, the

fact that she engaged in such similar practices in both her online and academic writing

suggests that opportunities for transfer were present.

Despite her mastery of writing *within* both domains, Nora overwhelmingly did not

report the transfer of writing knowledge across online and academic domains, and with

good reason: due to the audience expectations for online writing, academic writing

knowledge was not always valued in online contexts. As Nora stated,

I feel like I'm constantly using skills from my English classes, but those skills

aren't always as effective on social media either, because… it's all about getting

things that are shareable. So people don't necessarily want to see you analyze a

quotation to death or even really cite your sources, they kind of want to take you

at your word, and either agree or disagree… In some cases, I've had to actively go

against my English major instincts.

And Nora's decision not to transfer these particular competencies—analysis of quotes

and source citation—makes good sense: as she suggested above, they are not germane to

the online environment. The high premium on "shareability" in online writing

environments, especially for the journalistic venues for which Nora wrote, may explain in

part why she decided that analysis and source citation were not rhetorically effective in

the online domain. While discussing her writing for an online news site where writers

were "paid by the click," Nora described shareability, or features of an article that

increase its likelihood of being shared on social media. The genre conventions embedded

in the concept of "shareability," Nora reported, involve "writ[ing] a headline that will get

clicks,… break[ing] up texts with pictures or GIFs, writ[ing] in lists whenever possible."

As I discuss in more detail in chapter 4, these are all textual conventions that are

supported by the scroll-and-click, skimming-based reading practices fostered by the

interfaces of social media platforms. Because writing shared via social media is designed

to be selected from a large pool of content and consumed for pleasure, often on mobile

devices, online writers must be acutely aware of their audience's needs and expectations

in order to ensure that their posts are easy to access and digest, employing strategies such

as conciseness, catchy headlines, lists, and eye-catching multimodal elements such as

pictures and GIFs (Graphic Interchange Format, or moving silent pictures) to assist

audiences in locating and consuming content.

In contrast, the genres that Nora had learned to write in her English major tended to encourage writers to make an extended argument over the course of multiple pages,[25] relying heavily on citation and analysis of appropriate sources, often without the support of visuals.[26] Shareability, then, is not conducive to "analyz[ing] a quotation to death" or "cit[ing] your sources]," both competencies that Nora had been explicitly taught in her English major: in her courses, she had learned "what is an appropriate source and what's not," and that "you have to unpack a quote if you put it in your paper and here's what unpacking means," which "has been drilled into my head a million times." These rhetorical moves—source citation and extensive analysis or "unpacking"—are highly valued in the context of disciplinary writing in literary studies; however, because the genre conventions of "shareable" articles emphasize scannable, accessible content that is broken up with visual elements, moves like "analyz[ing] a quotation to death" do not enhance the rhetorical goals of online articles. Given the very real rhetorical differences between the two contexts of writing, it makes sense that Nora generally did not transfer rhetorical strategies from her English major, which called for longer texts that hold the reader's attention over time, when composing for microblogging platforms, which demand writing that, in many ways, catches and releases attention rapidly as readers

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[25] The English term papers Nora submitted for this study ranged from 7-15 pages including references, and her senior thesis, drafted over the year of data collection, which was 71 pages long.

[26] When asked to reflect on an English class that required the use of visuals, Nora stated, "It never occurs to me; it always feels wrong. Like, why am I putting pictures in my essay?... I think I have a very strict picture of what an essay is supposed to look like... It's funny, because in general I think of myself as a visual person, but then in that class particularly we did all these things that involved, like, mapping out text and drawing pictures of our thought process and things like that. And I didn't vibe with that at all."

scroll through a vast sea of content; in many ways, compartmentalization between these two domains makes good rhetorical sense.

Beyond concerns about the rhetorical efficacy of specific moves such as analysis or source citation in the online domain, Nora also attributed her tendency to compartmentalize writing knowledge between her online and academic writing knowledge to the anxiety she felt about the effects of the online domain on writing and writers' attitudes. Specifically, Nora seemed concerned about the effects of the oversaturation of writing online on the quality and tone of writing, including her own. Nora expressed some anxiety about how the "egalitarian" nature of the internet encourages writers to adopt a "pigheaded" tone due to their entitlement to being published. When asked if social media writing informed her academic writing at all, for example, Nora stated,

> I think that if I really looked into it, maybe there are some things that have carried over… My instinct, my gut reaction is that no, [transferring knowledge from online writing to the academic domain] would never happen. Because as much as it is my whole life, I have kind of a disdain for this social media tone… Everyone's kind of pigheaded about their own stuff, and feels like it deserves a place on the internet, which it does. That's what's great about the internet, it's egalitarian, but… I think of it as two completely different voices, and that's important. I find it important to keep those [voices] separate.

In this instance, Nora's self-report of compartmentalization was tied to her disregard or "disdain" for the social media tone, which she associates with writers' entitlement to be published regardless of the quality or contribution of their writing. As a result, she

separates her online and academic writing—"two completely different voices"—and emphasizes how important that separation is to her, using the word "important" twice to describe the values she places on this strategy of containment, of compartmentalization.

Nora's disdain for this aspect of online writing seems to have been derived from her own experiences in editorial positions:

> I've really come to resent the internet… Anyone can write anything they want and put it up somewhere, and just have a byline and be on their way. Even though I'm clearly a beneficiary of that… working for a publication on the editorial side of things, it drives me nuts. That's kind of the double-edged sword of being a writer on the internet, I think. And I can't help but wonder: Is my writing being affected by the glut of writing on the internet? I don't know.

Nora's anxiety about the effects of oversaturation on her own writing seemed, at first, to extend to all domains of her writing. She stated,

> In a weird way, I feel like writing so much for the internet has completely changed my writing, and sometimes I feel like I'm getting dumber. Just in the sense that, I don't know, I don't want to say that. I feel like the bar is a lot lower for what I write on the internet.

Although this statement seems to allude to a type of transfer, one that earlier transfer researchers like Perkins and Salomon (1988) would have termed "negative transfer, when asked to clarify whether she meant that writing online has affected her writing overall negatively, she ultimately reinforced her narrative of compartmentalization, specifying that she did not mean her academic writing, stating, "No, not my academic writing, because that's just a different brain."

Nora's tendency toward compartmentalization—which she recognized as an area that she wanted to work on—seemed to be partially rooted in her sense of herself as a writer; she stated, "I feel like I have this weird disconnect between who I am in class and who I am elsewhere, including social media… and I'm trying to bridge it right now." Nora's separation of her authorial identity in academic contexts from her authorial identity in all other contexts suggests that her compartmentalization was not solely between her academic and online writing, but instead, she seemed to sense a separation between her academic writing and *all other* domains of writing. The seamless blurring between Nora's description of her social media writing and her online journalism supports this interpretation: when describing her social media writing and her more journalistic writing, there was a great deal of slippage that ultimately resulted in her talking about "online writing" as a larger domain that overlooked the differences in motivation and paid labor that shaped her social media writing as opposed to her paid journalistic writing. This suggests that she was not compartmentalizing writing from all domains, but rather, that she was compartmentalizing her academic writing from all other kinds of writing. While it is well-documented in the literature that students tend to compartmentalize their online writing from their academic writing—at least in self-reports—Nora's particular instantiation of compartmentalization suggests that the distinction may not just between academic and online writing, but rather, that in some cases, academic writing may be siloed from all other kinds of writing. This does not bode well for pedagogical approaches that are structured around preparing students for workplace writing, unless, like Nora, students seek out writing practice beyond the classroom that are intended to prepare them for professional writing.

Additionally, Nora's attempts at compartmentalization of her online writing specifically seemed to be tied to the value that she ascribed to online writing: if she believed that online writing was actively making her writing worse, then of course she wouldn't transfer online writing knowledge to the academic domain, at least not intentionally. Perhaps that is why the separation—even containment—of her online writing knowledge was so important to her. Furthermore, even if she *was* making great strides in terms of development in her online writing, which I argue that she was, her own disregard for online writing might have made it difficult for her to see the value of her online learning, or to consider whether any aspect of this writing knowledge could have subconsciously transferred into academic contexts. In other words, Nora could have been engaging in what Rebecca Nowacek (2011) terms "successful transfer," wherein a student successfully transfers writing knowledge without being aware of the fact that the transfer is happening.

Although Nora's self-aware reports of compartmentalization may be somewhat disheartening for instructors or researchers that would expect students to experience fluid, multidirectional transfer of writing knowledge from all domains in which they write, the progress that Nora reported in the interview I conducted a year after she had graduated was reassuring. In it, Nora described how the challenges she faced in her senior thesis ultimately resulted in her breaking down the boundaries between the various domains of writing in her life. Reporting a year after the initial period of data collection, Nora stated:

> Those two areas did feel very disparate at the time in ways that just they don't as much anymore, and I would say that's true of pretty much all areas of writing. I do some writing in my job right now that are very different from academic writing

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or even my articles and stuff and social media… I guess that I just see a lot more

overlap… My stance on my different brains, that changed completely over the

course of [my senior] year.

In other words, although her self-reports during college indicated a self-aware, thoughtful

struggle with compartmentalization, Nora ultimately did find more synthesis, more

"merging" of brains and of voices. However, during her time in college, there was one

main exception to her tendency to compartmentalize, which can be read now as a sign of

the development that she reported experiencing as a result of her writing efforts in her

senior year: in chapter 4, I describe one instance from the period of initial data collection,

Nora's senior year, where she did transfer her genre knowledge of the academic essay

across domains in order to respond to some of the challenges posed by writing for a

public forum online.

CHAPTER 4: "THE IDEA OF, LIKE, COLLEGE WRITING HAS DEFINITELY GONE TO THAT": ADAPTIVE RE-MEDIATION OF ACADEMIC ANTECEDENT GENRES

While previous research has shown modest evidence of writing knowledge transfer across contexts within the academic domain (e.g., knowledge cultivated in first-year writing transferring into upper-division coursework), it seems that the transfer of writing knowledge *across* domains[27]—such as academic, extracurricular, and professional domains—may be even more rare. For example, Reiff and Bawarshi (2011) and Rounsaville et al. (2008) report that while study participants may have had experience composing in a wide array of genres in academic, professional, and extracurricular domains, they tended not to transfer genre knowledge (one substantial component of writing knowledge) from one domain into the other. Similarly (and more specifically), researchers have found that young writers perceive few connections between their writing online and in academic domains (Cohn, 2016; D. Keller, 2013; Lenhart et al., 2008; Shepherd, 2015; 2018). In other words, there is scant evidence of writing knowledge transfer across domains generally and between academic and nonacademic online writing more specifically.

As I have discussed in chapter 1, in keeping with previous research, my cross-case analysis of interview data suggested that participants' reports of writing knowledge

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[27]I will discuss my use of the term "domains" shortly.

transfer across social media and academic domains were few and far between. Despite engaging in similar rhetorical practices across domains, participants overwhelmingly seemed to view their writing online and their writing in school as being separate. For example, when describing the relationship between her online writing and her academic writing, Alice stated, "It's a different way of thinking; what are you trying to do, and how would you write to best get that done?" Despite engaging in visual rhetoric in both domains, for example, Olivia reported disconnects between her uses of visuals online and in school: despite articulating the benefits of visuals for representing numeric data in the academic domain and for explaining complex social issues in the online domain, Olivia stated that her uses of visual rhetoric in both domains did not inform each other, explaining that, "I would never think to compare what I use in my STEM part of my life with my activism side of my life. They're just so different." Participants also described separation across domains in terms of audience awareness (and even containment), with Emmanuelle reporting, "I keep my [school and home] lives very separate." Similarly, Olivia reported disconnects between her online and academic writing in terms of tone, which she ultimately linked back to audience:

> I think what distinguishes my academic writing from social media writing is the tone I want to convey. It's more passive, more professional. In academic writing, I try to keep my tone as neutral as possible, and write with longer, more complex sentence structure. Most of my writing is done in the third person, with the exception of some first-person narrative when I want to include a personal anecdote, but even then, I try to avoid using personal anecdotes unless I believe

it's imperative in supporting my argument. Writing in the third person makes the

writing less personal, allowing you to speak to a greater population.

As Olivia's statement suggests, and as I discuss more through Emmanuelle's case study

in chapter 5, personal narratives and anecdotes are more appropriate as evidence

supporting arguments in the online domain. Emmanuelle reported that despite disliking

writing narrative assignments in formal academic contexts, personal narratives may be

particularly compelling in the online context: "When it comes to like personal

narratives… [They allow you to] just get… to know someone personally through their

experience." Alice also noted differences across the domains in terms of argumentative

norms, stating the distinction that prevents transfer as follows: "Social media is a lot

more arguing about normative things, like, 'Is this a good thing or a bad thing? Is

abortion moral or immoral?' I think that's something I would never write about in a poli

sci class." Participants also reported disconnects in terms of their uses of sources across

domains: linking source integration to audience expectations, Sonny stated,

> If I were to share a huge research article on my Facebook page people would be
>
> like, "What is this?," versus if I were to cite *The New York Times* all the time in a
>
> research paper for my class, my professor might be like, "This is not an
>
> appropriate citation form."

However, Sonny ultimately did note a parallel between the purpose of source integration

in both domains

> You use academia as a platform to argue for and draw attention to scholarly and
>
> literary sources, whereas you use social media as a platform to draw attention to

writing done about social issues or contemporary media writing. So I guess there

is a parallel in that.

Despite recognizing the connections between uses of source integration in the two

domains, though, Sonny still seemed to compartmentalize his writing conducted in each.

Reasons for compartmentalization were varied; while Olivia attributed her

compartmentalization to disciplinary differences, Sonny suggested that the different

purposes were the reason for compartmentalization. Regardless of the reason, the writers

in this study generally seemed to keep their online and their academic writing lives

contained.

However, there were three instances in the dataset in which participants reported

transferring genre knowledge across domains: Kate, Emmanuelle, and Nora all described

instances where they drew on academic genre knowledge to guide their writing in new

contexts in the online domain. Viewing their experiences through the combined lenses of

the uptake of antecedent genre knowledge (Rounsaville, 2012) and adaptive re-mediation

(Alexander et al. 2016), I describe instances in which these three writers were faced with

new, unfamiliar, or uncertain rhetorical situations in online environments where they

were called to make an extended argument over the course of multiple paragraphs. In

response to these unprecedented challenges, these writers' processes of uptake guided

them to engage in adaptive re-mediation of antecedent genre knowledge from the

academic domain in order to guide their process of online writing. As I discuss in greater

detail in the case studies that follow, knowledge of longer academic genres such as "the

essay" seemed to inform three participants' online writing, but only when they were

writing longer online genres, such as articles (Nora), blog posts (Kate), or an unusually

long Facebook status update (Emmanuelle). Bolter and Grusin (1999) suggest that the rhetorical context of online writing is shaped by what they term the double logic of re-mediation, wherein users expect *immediate* access to *hypermediated* content; the double logic of re-mediation explains how new media makes experiences and things seem immediately present by enhancing them with multimedia sensory experiences. In other words, while you can't reach out and touch the blogger whose blog you are reading, the images, design choices, and tone that the blogger utilizes in her blog post all work together to make this *hypermediated* experience feel more "real," more present, more *immediate*. Furthermore, this framework strives to trace how old media (such as alphabetic texts) becomes translated into new media (such as blog posts, online articles, and Facebook status updates); as Carolyn R. Miller and Dawn Shepherd (2009) suggest, the blog, for example, bears the traces of multiple antecedent genres, many of which are alphabetic texts. By infusing these genres with multimodal elements, bloggers can transform semiotic resources across platforms and across media, all the while making their presence feel as authentic as possible. From the vantage of composition studies, Kara Poe Alexander, Michael-John DePalma, and Jeffrey Ringer (2016) combine Bolter and Grusin's theory of re-mediation with the framework of adaptive transfer (DePalma & Ringer, 2011) in order to better understand the specific processes in which writers engage when transferring writing knowledge not only across contexts, but across media. As I discuss in more detail shortly, the writers whose work I discuss in this chapter engaged in adaptive re-mediation by tracking the similarities and differences across contexts in order to infuse their academic genre knowledge with features of online writing (e.g.,

conciseness, visual evidence, lists) in order to meet the demands of new rhetorical situations in online contexts.

As I discuss shortly in more detail in their respective case studies, the three writers I discuss in this chapter noted similarities in genres across domains that prompted them to transfer genre knowledge not only across domains, but across media. As a result, their experiences shed light on the overlap between the role of antecedent genre knowledge in uptake described by Rounsaville (2012) and the process of adaptive re-mediation posited by Alexander et al. (2016). Genre uptake, in Rounsaville's terms, is "a space of intergeneric and intertextual memory" that "not only translates new genres from memories and repertoires of genre knowledge, but also folds that translation into what is meaningful within that current repertoire through active knowledge construction" (Transfer and Uptake section, para. 3). Rounsaville argues that because uptake provides insight into how writers' perceptions of relationships among genres might shape the transfer of writing knowledge, this framework deserves a central role in transfer research. For example, as an example of within-domain genre uptake, within the academic domain, Emmanuelle demonstrates this process by aptly characterizing the final research paper in her Women, Psychology, and Gender class as "a glorified reaction paper," thus acknowledging the shared purposes between the genre called for by the longer final research paper and the genre called for by the shorter, scaffolded reaction papers assigned throughout the course of the semester. Because Emmanuelle's recognition of the similarities among the genres in this course guided her ability to transfer genre knowledge from one writing assignment to another, she demonstrated the successful use of uptake for transfer in this instance.

While uptake as a framework has been used to explore the relationships among multiple multimodal genres (see, e.g., Ray, 2013), there have been fewer explorations of how uptake might cue the transfer of alphabetic genre knowledge into the composition of new media genres. Michael-John DePalma (2015) notes the "dearth of empirical work on the ways writers perceive the transfer of their print-based writing knowledge and literacies when re-mediating written texts to suit a digital medium" (p. 618). The framework of adaptive re-mediation draws on Bolter and Grusin's re-mediation (1999) in order to extend DePalma and Ringer's notion of adaptive transfer (2011) to account for how writers "reshape prior knowledge to fit novel writing tasks" not only across contexts, but across media (Alexander et al., 2016, p. 34). Alexander and colleagues establish the framework of adaptive re-mediation through an exploration of students' experiences with re-mediation assignments—formal assignments that prompt writers to re-mediate their alphabetic texts into multimodal ones—a type of assignment that is increasingly common in composition pedagogy. Multimodal composition, or the composition of texts utilizing multiple semiotic modes, has gained prominence in composition scholarship and pedagogy, with multiple outcomes statements and position statements (see, e.g., the *Writing Program Administrators Outcomes Statement* [CWPA, 2014] or the position statement on *Multimodal Literacies* by National Council of Teachers of English [NCTE, 2005]) and scholars (Alexander & Rhodes, 2014; Palmeri, 2012; Selfe, 2009; Shipka, 2011; Yancey, 2004) advocating for this type of pedagogy. As a result, many instructors have developed assignments that challenge students to write alphabetic texts that they later re-mediate. While formal re-mediation assignments constitute an ideal case study for mapping out and exploring the mechanisms of adaptive re-mediation and its potential

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pedagogical uses, the three writers that I discuss in the following sections shed light on how adaptive re-mediation might occur in situations where writers engage in adaptive re-mediation *outside* the boundaries of a formal writing assignment. Because these writers engaged in adaptive re-mediation organically, without being prompted by a writing assignment, they reveal how adaptive re-mediation may be cued by writers' uptake of new rhetorical challenges rather than their uptake of writing assignments. In doing so, they demonstrate how uptake theory might be productively synthesized with adaptive re-mediation to more accurately theorize how adaptive re-mediation might work, in Prior's (1998) words, "in the wild." Specifically, these three writers suggest that when not cued by a formal writing assignment, adaptive re-mediation may be cued by perceived similarities across genres observed during the uptake process. Their experiences suggest that the framework of adaptive re-mediation could benefit from more sustained engagement with genre theory as a means of understanding the role genre might play in composers' organic or intrinsically-motivated decisions to re-mediate alphabetic texts to meet the demands of new rhetorical situations in the digital extracurriculum.

While adaptively re-mediating their academic genre knowledge to meet the demands of new rhetorical situations in online contexts, Kate, Emmanuelle, and Nora demonstrated rhetorical flexibility, strategically drawing on resources from one domain to meet demands in the other. Their strategy of drawing on academic genre knowledge in online contexts could also be viewed productively through the lens of Brandt's (1998) notion of misappropriation, wherein individuals "divert" the resources of formal literacy instruction "toward ulterior projects… of self-interest or self-development" (p. 179). In other words, by drawing on knowledge that they had been explicitly taught in formal

academic contexts while engaging in activist writing in online environments, the three writers discussed in this chapter harnessed their academic writing education as a means of developing their genre repertoire in the digital extracurriculum, and in activist discourse. Rounsaville (2017) posits the framework of *genre repertoires from below* to describe instances when students with marginalized identities draw on knowledge from their home communities to meet the demands of new situations; in some ways, by only drawing on genre knowledge from academic contexts to support writing online and never the reverse, the writers in this study reverse the approach described by Rounsaville by leveraging genre knowledge from a more privileged institutional context (college courses)—a genre repertoire from *above*—to advance their professional development and activist writing in a less privileged context (the digital extracurriculum).

The findings described in the below case studies illuminate the intersection between previous conversations about how writing environments may shape writing within a specific domain and conversations about the relationship between genre and transfer. Writing spaces—such as specific writing assignments (Bawarshi, 2003) or architectures of social media sites (boyd, 2011; Papacharissi & Easton, 2013)—might influence the types of writing and interactions that can happen *within* a given context. For example, students' reports of how they learned to write in specific academic contexts, such as courses in the disciplines, revealed how varied contexts may cultivate specialized and differentiated types of writing knowledge across domains. Writing assignment design may shape the types of writing that can occur in a given environment; as Anis Bawarshi (2003) states,

To treat the writing prompt merely as a conduit for communicating a subject matter from the teacher to the student, a way of "giving" students something to write about, however, is to overlook the extent to which the prompt situates student writers within a genred site of action in which students acquire and negotiate desires, subjectivities, commitments, and relations before they begin to write. The writing prompt not only *moves* the student writer to action, it also *cues* the student writer to enact a certain kind of action. (p. 127)

In other words, writing assignments create "genred sites of action," which support and constrain writing in multiple ways. While a writing assignment creates conditions for students to create, and to hopefully enact agency, it also creates constraints that less advanced or flexible writers (see, e.g., Reiff and Bawarshi's [2011] discussion of "boundary crossers") may struggle to work within. For example, Bawarshi provides the example of the literacy narrative as an assigned genre: when assigned in writing classrooms, this genre is often intended to give students voice and agency, and is thus meant to be "transformative and empowering" (p. 128). However, as Bawarshi notes, the same genre may also invoke ideologies that reinscribe dominant narratives about literacy that may paradoxically feel disempowering to students. Both online and academic contexts may foster very specific types of writing knowledge, and thus shape the types of writing that can happen locally in online or academic contexts; however, by locating rhetorical situations that called for similar genres across domains, the three writers who I will discuss in this chapter found a way to re-mediate their knowledge of academic genres in order to respond to unprecedented rhetorical situations in the online domain.

Similarly, although the interfaces of all social media platforms are guided, to an extent, by the double logic of re-mediation outlined by Bolter and Grusin (1999), which I discuss in more detail shortly, the interfaces of specific platforms also shape the types of communication—and as a result, genres—that can flourish *within* a given platform. As Kristin Arola (2010) notes, "Those of us who work with digital rhetorics understand that interfaces are value-laden and work to position us and relate us to information, ideas, and each other in particular ways" (p. 210). Similarly, danah boyd (2011) notes that although social media platforms do not "dictate participants' behavior… they do configure the environment in a way that shapes participants' engagement" (p. 39). For example, exploring online feminist discourse, Fredrika Thelandersson (2014) notes that social media platforms such as Tumblr that allow for longer character-limits and ongoing editing of posts may foster more civil dialogue than platforms with shorter character-limits such as Twitter. In other words, some key features of Tumblr's interface—the ability to engage in extended prose and ongoing dialogue within a post itself—may encourage a particular type of writing that promotes dialogue rather than attacks. Olivia, a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Spanish, confirmed Thelandersson's findings, stating that

> I see a lot of interesting posts on Tumblr where it's super long, and people are actually having a conversation… We don't know these people, and we're having conversations with them, and it's a productive conversation. It's not like we're putting each other down. We're respecting their opinions but also voicing our own.

Sonny, a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Gender and Health, also confirmed Thelandersson's assertion that, in contrast, Twitter's interface prevents dialogue, stating, "Because of the word limit on tweets, it might be harder to have an extensive conversation [on Twitter], versus in Facebook, you can easily put one giant comment." Through their nuanced, differentiated approaches to the various social media platforms in their online writing lives, participants in this study demonstrated how the spatial and social constraints and affordances of the interfaces of specific platforms may shape their writing within and across contexts.

The second body of scholarship engaged by the findings discussed in this chapter illuminates the role of genre in transfer. Genre may facilitate transfer *within* domains (Nowacek, 2011), and when rhetors are faced with an unprecedented rhetorical situation that appears similar to a prior situation, they may import prior or antecedent genre knowledge as a means of meeting the demands of the new situation (Dryer, 2008; Jamieson, 1975; Rounsaville, 2012).

The constraints and affordances created by the interfaces of social media animate and shed light on questions about the relationship between genre and medium: while social media platforms often constrain writing in terms of quantity, the affordances of many interfaces may allow users to enhance their shorter messages with multimodal elements. For example, as Ava (a junior double-majoring in English and Screen Arts and Culture) stated,

> On Twitter you have to be short and concise, and I think that's why we are relying more on like GIFs and pictures and stuff, because we can't say everything we want to say in words; it just doesn't allow for that.

Ava's reflection suggests that the interfaces of social media platforms may prompt users to look for semiotic resources beyond the written word that can communicate their message more efficiently. Thus, in the social media context, medium is a central component of genre, and the two terms can appear at times interchangeable; as I discuss shortly, Miller and Shepherd (2009) posit that blogs are a medium where the traces of many antecedent genres meet. Two of the focal cases that I discuss in this chapter— Kate's and Nora's—demonstrate the close relationship between genre and medium in the online domain.

This study builds on and connects the idea that interfaces or writing assignments shape writing within domains and the understanding that genre may cue transfer by suggesting that the constraints and affordances presented by the "genred discursive spaces" of academic writing assignments and the digital extracurriculum may not only inform the type of writing or writing knowledge transfer that can happen *within* a domain, but that they may also shape the types of genre knowledge that can transfer *across* domains, and across media. By drawing on antecedent genre knowledge from a different domain but of a similar length in order to respond to new multimodal rhetorical situations, the three participants discussed in this chapter build on previous discussions about the role of genre in transfer by revealing how writers may perceive and act on similarities across alphabetic and multimodal genres. While these writers' experiences might shed light on re-mediation more generally, it is possible that their orientation as intersectional feminists give them a unique position from which they might model adaptive re-mediation: as I stated in chapter 2, Donna LeCourt and Luann Barnes (1999) suggest that the multiplicity of hypertext is uniquely aligned with feminist perspectives

because it "alters reader-writer relationships and allows for expression of multiple positions," thus "validat[ing] feminine experience" and "politiciz[ing] the nature of textuality itself, calling attention to the way discursive contexts attempt to silence alternative perspectives" (p. 56).

As I discussed in chapters 1 and 2, in this study I sought to trace writing knowledge transfer across academic and extracurricular sites because transfer between academic and non-academic contexts is still relatively under-explored in composition studies. As a means of situating the various spaces of writing across which I sought to study writing knowledge transfer, like Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi (2011) and Angela Rounsaville et al. (2008), I refer to the broad clusters of contexts in which people write as "domains"; the two main domains relevant to this particular study are the academic and the extracurricular. Within those domains, there are differing contexts; within the academic domain, for example, one may encounter contexts such as a first-year writing seminar or an art history course, and within those contexts there are multiple types of rhetorical situations and genres (e.g., a reaction paper, an annotated bibliography, a research paper, etc.). Similarly, the extracurricular domain may include many different contexts, such as various social media platforms, and within those contexts exist multiple rhetorical situations, genres, and media (e.g., a text post, a GIF, a status update, a comment). The distinctions between these three layers (rhetorical situations, contexts, and domains) are significant to this study because due to the exigence of justifying the existence of FYC, much previous composition studies research on writing knowledge transfer has taken place within one domain—the academic domain—looking at relatively comparable contexts of writing (FYC and upper-division

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writing in the disciplines). In contrast, my study builds on research that seeks to trace

transfer across domains (e.g., Brent, 2012; Reiff & Bawarshi, 2011; Rounsaville et al.,

2008); as a result, a more detailed definition of domains and the realms of writing that

exist within them helps contextualize the sites that served as target and source domains of

writing knowledge within this particular study. In other words, because I am tracing

transfer across domains, I differentiate "domains" from "contexts" and "rhetorical

situations" in order to clarify the types of transfer that are at play in this study, in contrast

to other types of transfer research in composition studies. These domains do not exist in

isolation from each other; in other words, they are meant to represent individual sites, but

movement inevitably occurs between them. These domains are constellated differently

for each individual learner as they move throughout them. For example, for students

whose extracurricular interests align closely with their academic interests (like many

participants in this study), there may be less separation between the "extracurricular" and

"academic" domains. I do not, of course, view these spaces as static or unchanging, and

within the broad descriptions offered by these terms exist limitless possibilities. The

"academic" domain for example looks very different to someone who is homeschooled as

opposed to someone who goes to boarding school; it varies, too, at the postsecondary

level in terms of institution type. Similarly the "extracurricular" domain looks very

different from individual to individual due to preferences and habits in terms of the types

of media one seeks to encounter and/or compose in this space. Due to the scope of the

research questions guiding this study, I primarily explore two domains—academic and

digital extracurricular writing—with the exception of discussion of professional online

writing by Nora; however, the distinction between professional and extracurricular

domains blurs in her case because she used social media as a means of promoting her articles and therefore tended to view her professional writing as sharing significant overlap with her extracurricular writing.

Domain (e.g., academic; extracurricular)

Context (e.g., first-year writing seminar, art history; Twitter, Tumblr)

Genre (e.g., reaction paper, research paper; Tweet, Tumblr text-post)
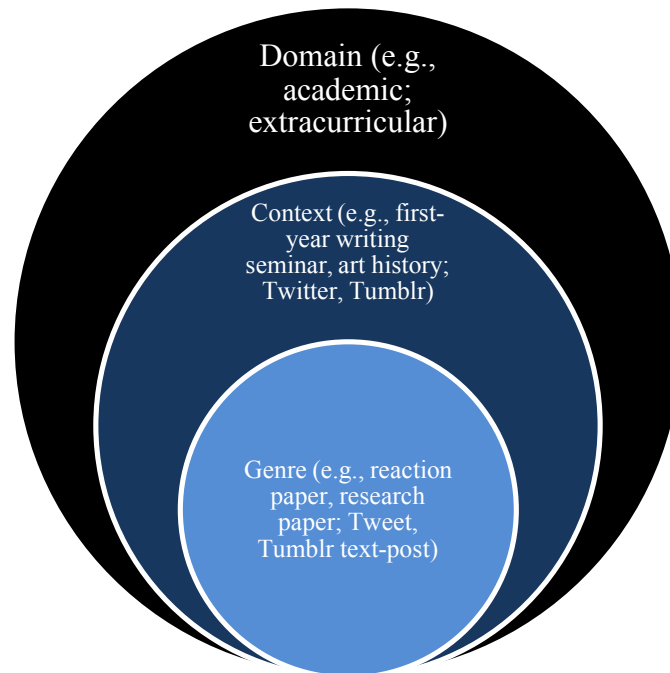
Figure 3: The nested relationship between domains, contexts, and genres composed in multiple media

Adaptive Re-mediation of Academic Genre Knowledge

The online writing contexts of social media can be productively viewed through Bolter and Grusin's (1999) description of the double logic of re-mediation, which simultaneously prioritizes *immediacy* (the sense that something is tangible, and present)with *hypermediacy* (the enhancement of media with multimedia elements). The sense of what Bolter and Grusin term *immediacy*—wherein the interface hides itself so that the people who populate one's newsfeed or timeline appear to be immediately present—is made possible by the scrolling, skimming, and selecting activities that are

central to reading in social media environments. In keeping with Bolter and Grusin's

exploration of the paradoxical relationship between immediacy and hypermediacy, these

activities simultaneously constitute *hypermediacy*: the content that makes one's social

media connections *feel* immediately present is only made accessible through a highly

mediated interface, populated by a confluence of new media artifacts, where text is

intermingled with other media, including digital images, GIFs, videos, and hyperlinks to

other sources. Due to the reading practices of social media, brevity is highly valued—and

tied to rhetorical efficacy—in online writing. This brevity, too, contributes to the sense of

immediacy in social media contexts: brevity renders a writer's passing thought or

developed argument immediately accessible and immediately present, thus creating the

illusion that the writer, too, is immediately present. The brevity called for by the

immediacy of social media platforms creates a boundary between the types of writing

valued online and writers' knowledge of the longer, more extended genres fostered by

academic writing. When asked which arguments are effective on social media, for

example, Emmanuelle started by noting the arguments that *aren't* effective: "Well, if [the

argument is] almost made like, 'Here is the intro, abstract, whatever' on Facebook, I'm

like, 'Okay, bro. I'm not reading that.'… I don't need a whole research paper." Similarly,

Ava (a junior majoring in English and Screen Arts and Cultures) explained that longer

posts in a writer's own words aren't as effective on social media: "I don't really care

when someone posts like a super long status, being like, 'These are all my political

thoughts from forever.' I'm like, 'Congratulations.'" Quinn, who I will discuss in more

detail in the next chapter, echoed these statements, noting that "Social media caters to…

shorter, more impactful paragraphs." These participants all agree that social media tends

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to favor more brief, concise approaches to writing as opposed to longer pieces of writing or those associated with more academic genres, as Emmanuelle's listing of academic genre conventions such as introductions and abstracts suggests. This emphasis on conciseness helps foster a sense of immediacy, wherein "the medium itself should disappear and leave us in the presence of the thing represented"—in this case, the "thing represented" being the person with whom one is connected through social media (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p. 6). However, as Ava suggested in the quote I offered previously, the immediacy created by conciseness is only reinforced and supported by the platform's visual affordances, thus highlighting the slippage between genre and medium in this particular context.

As a result, social media writing environments favor writing that is brief and concise, thus limiting the types of writing knowledge that may be cultivated in this domain. Both Kate and Ava did report transferring conciseness as one feature of writing knowledge across online and academic domains (specifically, between Twitter and academic genres that value shorter, more concise language and argumentation); however, with the exception of the three case studies described in the following sections of this chapter, participants in this study reported that knowledge of specific genres did not transfer across domains. There might be many reasons for the lack of transfer of genre knowledge across domains, such as the brevity of social media, or even the purposes or values ascribed to social media writing: as Sonny, a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Gender and Health, stated, "On social media, I'm not necessarily thinking about, 'Is this an opportunity to improve my writing?'"

However, there were three cases in the dataset where participants did report transferring genre knowledge across academic and online domains. In the following case studies, I will unpack instances where three participants reported drawing on antecedent genre knowledge associated with longer academic genres, such as the essay, when responding to rhetorical situations online that allowed for more extended writing than a microblog post such as a Tweet. As I have suggested above, I will view these instances through the combined lenses of antecedent genre uptake and adaptive re-mediation. Ultimately, I suggest that the somewhat unstructured nature of the longer online genres these three writers set out to write—blog posts (Kate), an admittedly unusually long Facebook status update (Emmanuelle), and online articles (Nora)—evoked for these three writers genre knowledge of more extended forms of argumentation learned in academic contexts, which then prompted them to engage in adaptive re-mediation of this genre knowledge into newer, re-mediated forms. As Alice (a senior majoring in Political Science and minoring in German; Computer Science; and Law, Justice, and Social Change) noted, when compared to academic writing, many online contexts give writers more flexibility in terms of how to develop, structure, and support their arguments: "The fact that social media writing is just so much more unstructured kind of, is kind of helpful… [With] academic writing I feel like… the class structure kind of in some ways provides what arguments you should be making, then, like, what you're going to back it up with." As the experiences of the three writers described in the following cases suggest, when writers are faced with new challenges in these unstructured and hypermediated contexts, they may draw on—and re-mediate—antecedent genre knowledge from other domains as a means of responding to the new rhetorical situation at hand. As Nowacek

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(2011) states, "Because they serve as the nexus between stability and change, genres are powerfully positioned as a means of identifying and responding to a sense that there is a need that must be met or an opportunity that can be realized by making connections between various contexts" (p. 20). The writers discussed below build on and complicate our understanding of antecedent genre uptake by revealing how genre knowledge may not only transfer across domains, but across media: as Bolter and Grusin (1999) note, the immediacy privileged by new media is only made possible by the borrowing or refashioning of other media. Alexander et al. draw on Bolter and Grusin to theorize how student writers transform their prior writing knowledge across media, which they term "adaptive remediation." By importing academic genre knowledge into unstructured online contexts where audiences expect longer pieces of writing, such as articles or blog posts, the three participants in this study suggest that in organic, everyday writing situations, the process of uptake may signal opportunities for writers to engage in adaptive re-mediation of alphabetic antecedent genre knowledge from the academic domain.

The Influence of "The Idea of College Writing" on Kate's Blog Posts

During her first year of college—the year of data collection—Kate, an artist who planned to major in Art History, started blogging. Although she stated that she "hated" writing before she discovered feminism through reading on social media, her interest in online feminism and its attendant discursive practices helped her "develop a love for writing" that extended into multiple domains—both academic and extracurricular—and prompted her to begin composing a wide array of genres, including speeches, comics, and

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blog posts. In her blog, which she started upon arriving at college, she wrote about her

experiences in college, social issues, politics, mental health, her experiences with

modeling, and her other new extracurricular writing activity, writing comics. Her blog

was hosted by WordPress, a platform that allows more or less unlimited space for posts,

and that supports the integration of multimodal artifacts. Given her extensive background

in the analysis and production of art, Kate was dexterous with visual rhetoric, and as a

result, her blog included images in all posts, including images of her modeling

photoshoots, her comics, and visual evidence to support her narrative arguments. All

posts in her blogs were also tagged with hashtags in order to sort the pages by content,

and many of them also included hyperlinks to relevant content, evidence, or related

online texts (e.g., if she posted a photographs of herself taken by a friend, she would also

include a link to her friend's photography portfolio). Of the blog's scope, Kate said, "I

make a bunch of different kinds of blog posts, which is maybe a problem. I don't really

have like one thing I specifically write about on my blog… I incorporate visuals a lot of

different ways." The "kinds" of blog posts described by Kate are likely a byproduct of the

somewhat flexible, unstructured nature of the genre of blogs; as Carolyn Miller and

Dawn Shepherd (2009) suggest, the genres that flourish on blogs are so diverse and bear

the mark of so many different antecedent genres that it makes more sense to categorize

"the blog" as a medium rather than as a genre. As a result, this is a particularly fruitful

site for investigating the relationship between medium and genre: while many bloggers

use blogs, for example, to write about their personal feelings, thus invoking the

alphabetic genre of the diary, the interface also permits them to enhance or transform this

antecedent genre knowledge to suit the multimodal context of online writing. This

complicated relationship between genre and medium in the context of the "blog" may create an ideal discursive site for feminist discourse and women's writing: as Deborah S. Bowen suggests in Kristine Blair et al.'s (2009) collection *Webbing Cyberfeminist Practice*, "…the combination of genre and medium—the diary and the Web, in this case—permit the genesis of this new discursive tradition" of women's online autobiography (p. 311).

Despite the many purposes that flourish within blogging platforms, Kate's purposes for blogging seemed to align with the dominant model of personal blogging that Miller and Shepherd recognize as the primary use of the medium. Although she seemed concerned about the wide span of topics covered in her blog, she did note that the topics in her blog were unified by one theme—passion: "My blog is always stuff I'm really passionate about. I'm posting about the rallies, the clubs that I'm going to. I'm posting about these photo shoots, or my art, or my photography… they're all ways of expressing myself."

Despite her success at achieving an informal, personal, engaging tone complemented artfully by visuals, both features that are typically associated with successful online compositions generally and blogs specifically, Kate felt that her writing on her blog could be further improved. Although she demonstrated considerable flexibility through her comfort with exploring a range of topics and incorporating visuals into her early blog posts, she expressed some uncertainty about this new genre in terms of establishing a writing style consistent with the rhetorical situation of blogging. Toward the end of her first year in college, of her new blogging practice, Kate stated,

I'm kind of bummed out with some of my recent blog posts… Every one is, like, just photo shoots, and I love photo shoots… Or like, I posted my comics… It's hard to combine like a really formal style of writing or really interesting post just with photo shoots and art… Because I have a lot of ideas, so I just have to figure out how to word them, really sit down and find the time to do it.

Although Kate was confident with integrating visual artifacts, such as comics or portraits of her taken by her photographer friends, she felt less equipped to compose a "new," "innovative," or "interesting" post integrating "a formal style of writing" with visuals. Her interest in adopting a more "formal style" is curious, given the typical informal prose common among blog posts; elsewhere in the data, she further emphasized this concern:

My last blog post was very casual. I used a lot of curse words. I used a lot of slang, 'cause it was supposed to be about my experiences, and just like, my raw emotions, so I didn't want to keep it academic, but I'm guessing that in the future, my writings on social media will be more professionally written.

For Kate, more formal or "professional" prose (meaning less casual language, which she defined as curse words and slang) seemed to be aligned with a construct of writing to which she aspired in this domain. While Kate had begun to adopt and develop an approach to blogging that fulfilled many of the genre expectations of blog posts by writing about her experiences in an informal voice, complemented by visual aids, it seems as though the capaciousness of the "blog" genre (or medium) left her wondering whether she could further elevate her posts in terms of the style of writing, perhaps to establish her ethos as an activist and a writer.

To respond to the challenges and uncertainties she experienced while composing for this new online context, Kate ultimately turned to the re-mediation of her antecedent genre knowledge of academic writing to guide her composition of this unfamiliar and ill-defined genre:

> …taking the philosophy course, and in my writing seminar, I think that applies to my blog posts now. Like, in the beginning I usually have the anecdote or what I'm talking about… and then expanding on that idea, and then again coming back to the original message… All the ways of constructing an argument and the ways of constructing a longer writing… the idea of like, college writing has definitely gone to that.

Kate adapted an approach to writing that she had learned in her dual-enrollment college philosophy course and in her writing seminar—integrating a main idea before expanding it and then returning to the original idea—to the composition of "a longer writing": a blog post. In listing the rhetorical strategies that she had previously learned through writing print-based essays in academic contexts (opening with an anecdote, expanding on that idea, coming back to the original message), Kate appeared to engage in what Alexander et al. refer to as "charting," where composers seeking to re-mediate an alphabetic essay into a multimodal text create "action-oriented descriptions that accurately describe the kinds of work each portion of the text performs" (p. 34). This practice, they suggest, may help facilitate the type of meta-awareness that may support transfer across media. The approach that Kate described—introducing a text with an anecdote before "expanding on that idea" (e.g., providing additional complicating claims) and returning to the "original message"—was evocative of the five-paragraph essay, but could also be aligned with

more argument-driven writing that is typically taught in the early years of college, especially considering that she identified her philosophy course and first-year writing seminar as the origins of this academic genre knowledge. This approach, which favors extended argumentation over the course of multiple paragraphs, would not have been possible in a shorter, microblogging platform; in contrast, the blog interface supports the composition of longer texts, offering users more room to engage with complex, extended forms of argumentation that are more akin to the academic genres that Kate had learned in her philosophy course and her first-year writing seminar. As Angela Rounsaville (2012) suggests, "Being able to locate what about a new genre or new writing task connects with prior experience provides a starting point for understanding how prior knowledge is being used in a new situation" (Implications section, para. 5); for Kate, the recognition that both college writing and blog posts prompted her to craft an extended argument over the course of multiple paragraphs seemed to prompt her to engage in adaptive transfer (and subsequent re-mediation) of the rhetorical strategies she had associated with academic genres, namely establishing an introductory anecdote, expanding or developing her main idea, then returning to the original argument.

In addition to the flexibility the blog interface supports in terms of allowing for extended online writing, this interface also provides more flexibility in terms of the integration of visuals, a feature of which Kate took full advantage. By enhancing her posts with images, such as her own photographs and the comics that she had drawn, she re-mediated the older genre of the alphabetic essay into the multimodal genre of the personal blog post, enhancing her narrative arguments with complementary visual evidence. In doing so, she engaged in the facet of adaptive re-mediation that Alexander et

al. refer to as "inventorying," wherein writers "take stock of the range of semiotic resources at their disposal in various modes" as they re-mediate a text (or in this case, genre knowledge) to meet the demands of a new, multimodal situation (p. 35).

For example, in her final blog post of the academic year, entitled "Last Photo Shoot of First Year and Reflections," Kate seized on the three rhetorical features of academic writing that she had listed when describing how her academic genre knowledge informs her academic writing—providing an anecdote, expanding on her main idea, and returning to her original message—in order to provide an overview of her reflections on her first year of college while simultaneously gripping the reader with hypermediated elements such as visual design, photographs, and a more personal, inviting tone than is found in most academic writing. Although the majority of the post seems to be addressed to a general audience, in her conclusion she addresses a more specific audience: high school students, to whom she was giving advice about college. Before the main thrust of the post, she provides a paragraph explaining the visuals accompanying the text, photos of her taken by her friend (whose Facebook photography page was included as a hyperlink attached to her friend's name in the text) from her last photo shoot of the academic year. She describes the experience, which had resulted from her friend reaching out for one last photo shoot before leaving town for the summer, as "a lovely way to wrap up the year." After describing the photo shoot (which I discuss in more detail below) as a means of contextualizing the images woven throughout the reflective, end-of-year post, Kate, as promised, starts her post with an anecdote:

When people asked me how my first year of college went, I often did not know how to respond. I knew I was supposed to say "I've had the best year of my life!"

"Everything is amazing!" "I've never been happier!" And sure, I feel that way

sometimes to some extent. But battling through final exams, struggling with

mental health, and going through the biggest transition of my life: how am I

supposed to say it's that simple, that easy?

In her introductory anecdote, Kate sets up the central tension of the narrative argument

that she sets out to convey through the post: while she knows that she is expected to

present her first year in college as "the best year of [her] life," her experiences have not

all been positive, thus complicating cultural narratives of the college experience, as well

as social pressure to adopt a generally positive, polished tone in online writing. Her

confessional tone, however does adhere to the genre conventions of blog posts alluded to

previously; long-form posts supported by blogs tend to be subjected less to the

expectations of positivity imposed on more performative social media platforms such as

Instagram. Her personal tone, however, reveals how she is deviating from academic

genre knowledge in order to adhere to the expectations of online writing: by adopting an

informal, confessional tone, she increases the sense of immediacy in her writing, thus

demonstrating even through this seemingly alphabetic portion of the blog one re-

mediated element.

After her introductory anecdote illustrating the tension that unifies her post, Kate

"expand[s]… on that idea" by further developing the conflict in her second paragraph,

where she contrasts some specific downsides of her college experience with her friends'

supposedly positive experiences in their first year of college: "And seeing everyone

around me talk about how perfect they claim to be doing combined with my older friends

saying 'Oh I wish I could be a freshman again… those were the days,' didn't help much

either." This paragraph serves to further develop the point established in the introductory anecdote, thus "expanding on that idea." She continues to develop and complicate this idea in the following paragraph, where she does acknowledge her positive experiences in her first year of college, such as participating in activism, publishing and showing her art, and learning about art and activism. She ultimately "come[s]… back to the original message" in her conclusion by reemphasizing her main point, that her first year experience was not perfect, but that it was still worth it:

> It's complicated, and I don't want to stand here and tell you it's all been perfect. But overall, today I am able to say I am proud of myself and for what I've done during my first year of college, and yes, I would take it over high school any day. So high schoolers, don't worry.
>
> With Love,
>
> Kate Kane

The immediacy of Kate's blog post is primarily conveyed through her informal, personal tone and her photographs (which I discuss in more detail shortly), but in this passage she connects with her audience, giving the sense that she is directly accessible. She "[doesn't] want to *stand here* and *tell you* it's been perfect," suggesting her physical proximity to her audience, who she addresses directly in this instance: high schoolers. This sense of immediacy is further emphasized by Kate's use of direct address and the imperative to drive home her final point before signing off ("With Love"): "So high schoolers, don't worry."

Over the course of the four paragraphs, the first introducing the photo shoot and the three expanding on her reflections on her first year of college, Kate crafts a narrative

argument for a targeted audience sharing the wisdom that she has obtained through the college experience. Clocking in at 423 words, this post is considerably shorter than a typical essay in a first-year writing course; however, Kate does deliver on the rhetorical structure from academic writing that she suggested tends to guide her composition of blog posts, supporting her assertion that she draws on her antecedent academic genre knowledge when composing blog posts in this new and unfamiliar domain.

Beyond the textual elements of the post, Kate harnesses the hypermediated features of the blogging platform's interface in order to project a sense of immediacy; in doing so, she demonstrates her engagement with adaptive re-mediation. She did not merely trans*port* genre knowledge across domains, she trans*formed* her antecedent genre knowledge across media. The hashtags that Kate selected are displayed to the right of the post, for example, rendering her content more immediately available for a user searching for content like this among the other posts on her blog. The hashtags categorizing the post are based on visual, aesthetic content showcased in the photographs ("art," "fairy," "model," "modeling," "photo," "photo shoot," "photography," "spring," "style," "summer") as well as the thematic content discussed in the text of the post ("college life," "mental health," "personal"). Upon clicking a hashtag, the user is directed to other posts on Kate's blog tagged with the same descriptors. These hashtags, then, network and connect Kate's posts by theme, allowing users to seamlessly flip between posts labeled "art" in order to see her other posts tagged as such. This aspect of the hypermediated nature of her blog thus reinforces its immediacy: her content is sorted, organized, and made immediately accessible to the interested reader.

Similarly, the simple template that Kate selected for the blog is primarily pink, teal, and seafoam, a color palette that is consonant with the colors typically showcased by her physical appearance, wardrobe, and the props selected for her photo shoots. For example, in the series of photographs showcased in this post, the template's colors are mirrored by the long pink hair she sports, the pink flowers blooming on the tree behind her, and the flower petals surrounding her as she poses on the ground. In aligning the color palette of the template with the colors showcased in her images, Kate's design choices for the blog reinforce the immediacy presented by the photos themselves.

In this blog entry, Kate's immediacy is perhaps most viscerally communicated through her modeling photos woven throughout the post. In these photos, she is depicted posing in outdoor settings on campus, among various props: trees, fallen flower petals on the ground, and LED string lights. These photos render the author (and her argument) immediately present, not only through her written voice, but represented in her physical form. Using the university's campus as a backdrop, Kate collaborated with her photographer friend to produce eight[28] published images of herself interacting with the campus's natural features; these images ultimately convey a range of emotions. The message of the post, in which Kate's main argument is derived from how she as a learner and a person interacted with the college experience, is supported and made more immediate through the images of the author herself physically interacting in many ways with the built environment of the university. Through the hypermediacy of WordPress's interface, Kate reinforces and echoes her argument—that her relationship with college has been complicated, but ultimately worth showcasing and celebrating, just as she

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[28] In the post, she included nine photos in total, but two were copies of the same image flanking a centered image to create symmetry.

showcases her modeling photos in her blog post. However, at its core, the content of her message in the post follows the rhetorical structure she learned in her philosophy course and in her writing seminar. By infusing this core content with visual elements reinforcing her argument, she adapts, enhances, and re-mediates her antecedent genre knowledge of the academic essay in order to support her composition in this new, unfamiliar, and multimodal rhetorical context.

Emmanuelle's "Super Academic" Facebook Status Update

In this section, I provide an overview of another instance of adaptive re-mediation in the dataset: Emmanuelle's experiences drawing on her academic writing knowledge to craft an unusually long and formal Facebook status update advocating for the recognition of the lives of women and LQBTIA individuals in the Black Lives Matter movement. As I suggested in the introduction, the immediacy promoted by social media generally and Facebook specifically encourages users to compose shorter posts to gain attention and hook readers quickly. This is likely due in part to, in Bolter and Grusin's terms, the simultaneous immediacy and hypermediacy of Facebook: Facebook users, who tend to utilize social media for brief, immediate access to social interactions and leisure reading, tend to scroll through hypermediated, multimodal content, selecting items to read and respond to relatively quickly before moving on to the next immediate experience. The reading practices promoted by the platform—reading for pleasure, in one's free time, often on a mobile device—shape the length and media of posts that flourish in this particular context. It is not surprising, then, that participants in this study described almost no instances of knowledge of longer academic genres transferring to Facebook

status updates: the brevity called for by the immediacy encouraged by the platform tended to discourage the transfer of longer academic genres to this particular online context.

Although these expectations may *guide* how most writers approach this rhetorical situation, this particular interface does not dictate whether readers adhere to them: Facebook's interface does allow for status updates that are up to 63,206 characters long. However, the interface does modify access to longer posts, reinforcing users' access to immediately accessible content by automatically truncating status updates at the 477-character mark; this feature requires readers to click a link that reads "See More" to read the full status update if a post exceeds 477 characters. In doing so, the interface makes itself scarce while simultaneously regulating how users consume content on that particular platform, thus adhering to new media's emphasis on immediacy. This feature allows readers to scroll rapidly through their Facebook newsfeeds, which feature an algorithmically-curated collection of posts from profiles and pages that they follow, without being burdened with reading entire status updates of unusual (i.e., excessive) length. This feature does incentivize writers to be concise and immediately available, as many readers, drawn to the hypermediated array of content in their newsfeed, will not read past the "See More" link, as the quotes from participants earlier in this chapter regarding the value of conciseness on social media suggest. Some readers, noting that a status update is so long that it needed to be truncated, will not even bother to *begin* reading the post, because they perceive that it will take too much time.[29] However, in

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[29] On forums such as Reddit, users frequently get around reading constraints like those discussed here by including a section at the bottom of a longer text post called the "TL;DR," meaning "Too Long; Didn't Read" where the writer summarizes the post in no

spite of genre conventions and reader expectations, users *can* opt to write status updates

that are longer than eight words, up to 63,206 characters, with the caveat that after 477

characters, readers will be required to click the aforementioned link in order to to expand

the post. In rare cases, users do choose to write longer posts, especially if they have an

extended and detailed argument that they would like to communicate to their Facebook

audience.

For example, shortly after the murders of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile at

the hands of police officers in the summer of 2016, Emmanuelle, a junior majoring in

Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience, wrote a powerful Facebook status update

challenging her readers to recognize that black women and black LGBTQ individuals

should be included in the discourse surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement. In the

post, Emmanuelle, who is a black woman, provided a call for the Black Lives Matter

movement to attend to the killings of black women and LGBTQ individuals in addition to

the killings of heterosexual, cisgender, black men. In this status update, Emmanuelle

stated,[30]

> After taking some time to process, I've realized something that has been upsetting
>
> me about the recent events regarding police brutality.
>
> Why is the notion that only cis black men suffer from police brutality so prevalent?
>
> Whenever a post says something along the lines of "We must pray for our sons"
>
> etc., I'm just so perplexed because it's not like the police are rolling out the red

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more than two sentences. This practice is rhetorically similar to an abstract in an
academic article.

[30] The status update is fully reproduced in text here so for accessibility purposes, but also
displayed below—in truncated and full versions—as screenshots to demonstrate how it
appeared within the desktop version of Facebook's interface.

carpet for our black daughters or black LGBTQ siblings. Statistically, those populations are more likely to face abuse from the police. The police have no qualms about killing us as well, plus, we also have to deal with the ever present threat of sexual assault on top of physical abuse (not to say that they are mutually exclusive to any identity). The hashtag, #sayhername is so important because the erasure of our experiences under the guise of "solidarity" helps no one.

One of the biggest reprocussions of this rhetoric can be explained by this example. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised in Alton Sterling's name because of his murder. That represents tangible relief for his family that has to deal with the financial burden. But when black people with other marginalized identities get murdered by the police, and don't receive nationwide attention and money, they have to deal with it all by themselves.

Figure 4: Emmanuelle's #sayhername status update, truncated

Figure 5: Emmanuelle's #sayhername status update, full

Emmanuelle's subversively long status update does bear many genre conventions of

academic writing: Emmanuelle opens with an introduction that sets up the rhetorical

problem to which she is responding ("After taking some time to process, I've realized

that something has been upsetting me about the recent events regarding police brutality")

before presenting the line of reasoning that she intends to critique ("We must pray for our

sons"). Although she does not directly quote another source as she would in academic

writing, by describing and providing an example of the line of reasoning she is critiquing,

this post does seem to echo and draw on academic writing's emphasis on source integration

and responding to ongoing conversations. She goes on to respond with an opposing

argument ("it's not like the police are rolling out the red carpet for our black daughters or

black LGBTQ siblings") and facts to support that argument ("Statistically, those populations are more likely to face abuse from the police"). She even hedges one of her sub-claims: after addressing the fact that black women and LGBTQIA individuals "have to deal with the ever present threat of sexual assault on top of physical abuse" she adds a parenthetical to acknowledge the limits of her claim, that these are not types of trauma that are solely experienced by women or those from the LGBQTIA community: "(not to say that [these threats] are mutually exclusive to any identity)." Hedging is a hallmark of development in academic writing; more advanced academic writers tend to use more hedged claims as they become accustomed to academic discourse (see, e.g., Aull & Lancaster, 2014). Emmanuelle also acknowledges current efforts to respond to this issue (the hashtag #sayhername), and concludes with implications, namely, an example illustrating the financial and material consequences of the rhetorical problem to which she has drawn attention. Structurally, this status update does resemble a longer academic argument on a smaller scale—almost a micro-essay.

When discussing the status update in interviews, Emmanuelle noted how unusual it was in its length, stating that it was exceptionally long, "especially for writing on the internet." Emmanuelle, who uses Facebook, Instagram, and a completely anonymous Tumblr account, understood well the constraints of social media—both in terms of social norms and restrictions imposed by its interfaces—and was keenly aware of the purposes of specific social media interfaces. For example, of Instagram, Emmanuelle states,

> I don't know if there's a character limit; I'm sure there is. But like you don't go to
> Instagram to have like a bunch of stuff written. You mostly use it for the visuals.

And so, like, you know, you make your short little caption and stuff and get your

likes.

Even though she was unsure about whether Instagram captions have a character limit[31]

(likely because she had never attempted to exceed that limit), she recognized that the

purpose of Instagram is not to be wordy, but to provide audience members with

immediate access to images of your life so that you can receive positive feedback—or

"get your likes." This purpose is supported by the interface through the hypermediated

visual emphasis of the platform, which draws on the digitized version of the "old media"

of photography, as well as its capacity for supporting user "likes" in order to signal

positive feedback to the original poster. Similarly, Emmanuelle recognized that longer

posts would not typically be considered appropriate for Facebook, and that the only

platform she used where a longer post would be acceptable is Tumblr:

Tumblr… I don't write things on there; I just look. But people can write a lot of

stuff, and… sometimes it could be super informational, but if you're scrolling it

can take a while before you reach the bottom of it. And that's the only kind of

social media [where] I feel like that would be acceptable, because if someone

wrote that big long post on like Facebook, it's like, "That's annoying. I don't feel

like scrolling forever."

Emmanuelle recognized Tumblr as the only social media platform where writing a "big

long post" would be "acceptable," and she was keenly aware of the "unacceptable,"

"annoying," and perhaps impolite nature of posting a longer status update on Facebook;

however, in the status update described and excerpted above, she explicitly defies this

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[31] At the time of writing, the limit for captions and comments on Instagram is 2,200
characters.

rule. In doing so, she elevates the post, making it stand out among the other, shorter text-based posts that are typically shared on Facebook users; presumably, the length of the post not only makes it stand out, but draws the attention of her audience to her message.

The unusual—and (self-professed) "unacceptable"—length of this status update could potentially be explained by Emmanuelle's efforts to be "super academic" when composing original status updates on Facebook. As Emmanuelle stated in interviews,

…when I write, like the post… I did for the shootings that happened [of Philando Castile and Alton Sterling], I was super academic on Facebook. And I feel like when I write [original] things on Facebook… it's like super academic… it's the things that I would write for class, where it's like a lot of information… I feel that a lot of Facebook is super informal. And so, if I'm going to write something, I want my ideas to be super concise and focus on what I really, really do want to say. Whereas, if I just have a general idea I can just like reblog it or share it from someone else.

Emmanuelle described this post as being like "the things that I would write for class," suggesting that in this instance, she productively engaged in adaptive re-mediation of academic genre knowledge in order to compose this (subversively) longer social media post. Emmanuelle, who rarely posted original content on Facebook, opting instead to reblog or share posts composed by others when she wanted to express a "general idea," sought to elevate this rare original status update by making it "super academic" and conveying "a lot of information," thus setting it apart from other content on Facebook, which she perceives as being more "informal." As in Kate's case, by listing the rhetorical features of her academic genre knowledge that informed her composition of this post

("the things I would write for class," which are characterized by including a lot of information to support a concise, focused argument—in other words, an extended argument that builds over the course of multiple sentences), Emmanuelle engaged in what Alexander et al. would describe as "charting," or listing the rhetorical features of an alphabetic text before engaging in adaptive re-mediation, an act that facilitates the meta-awareness that supports adaptive re-mediation. The "super academic" features that Emmanuelle emphasizes when writing original content for Facebook involve providing "a lot of information" in a way that is "super concise" and "focus[ed] on what [she] really, really do[es] want to say." Her decision to write such a comparatively lengthy, formal post seems to have been informed by the fact that this type of writing is actually *less* "acceptable," appropriate, or applicable, to the domain and the genre, and would therefore make the status update stand out among other content on Facebook. Although the immediacy of the platform emphasizes brief, readily accessible content, in this post Emmanuelle sought to provide her Facebook audience with immediate access to a rather complex argument, thus requiring her to work within the affordances of the interface to engage in more extended argumentation for this particular purpose. Because it was important to her to communicate this argument to her Facebook friends, she put a great deal of thought, effort, and planning into the status update: in other words, her defiance of the genre conventions was intentional.

Unlike Kate, Emmanuelle did not seek to re-mediate her genre knowledge by enhancing it with a visual element; although visual documentation—especially video—has provided a great deal of evidence of the commonality of murder of black people at

the hands of police, she noted that the consumption of these images may have adverse effects for both white and black audiences:

> I think that's really traumatizing for black people to see your own people die. But then for everyone else it kind of like numbs them, and so when it happens again, it's not tragic… I do my best to not watch those videos.

While Emmanuelle's post possibly could have called attention to a specific instance of police violence against a black woman or LGBTQIA individual by posting an image of one or more of those individuals while they were still alive, she would not have posted an image or video documenting that violence due to her concerns about its traumatizing and/or numbing effects on various audiences. However, an image of one woman or one LGBTQIA individual who had been killed by police perhaps would have worked against her overall argument about a rhetorical pattern rather than a call to attend to one specific case of police brutality against a specific individual. Ultimately, Emmanuelle's adaptive re-mediation of this genre knowledge focused on the argument itself rather than support from multiple modes; the only substantial changes that she made when re-mediating this genre knowledge across contexts was shortening it somewhat, perhaps to adhere to the brevity enforced by the immediacy of Facebook's interface, and choosing to refer to more general ideas and examples rather than citing outside sources directly.

Indeed, Emmanuelle sought to provide immediate access to this specific argument to people she knew in real life: when asked who her imagined audience was for this post, Emmanuelle stated, "It was my friends on Facebook. It's kind of like if you were to stand in the middle of the lunchroom and be like, 'Hey, I have something to say. Here it is. I'm done.' Step off, leave." Her Facebook friends occupied a very specific place in her life:

they were mostly friends from school whom she knows in person (thus rendering the analogy of the school cafeteria quite apt). In contrast, Emmanuelle kept an anonymous Tumblr, not allowing anyone she knew in real life to access her Tumblr account: "I don't know anybody. It kind of gives you the freedom to do what you want and say what you want because no one knows my Tumblr in my real life." Although Tumblr, as Emmanuelle discussed above, does support longer posts ("that's like the only kind of social media I feel like [longer posts] would be acceptable"), the audience of her Tumblr account did not include individuals that she knew in real life, who were the intended audience of her post: when discussing the #sayhername Facebook post, Emmanuelle revealed that her post had not only been motivated by general discourse around Black Lives Matter, but that she had sought to respond to specific Facebook friends of hers who were re-inscribing this rhetoric:

> What kind of motivated me to say something is that it was people who I follow that were perpetuating this. It wasn't to call them out on it; it was just like, "Hey, guys. You're forgetting something super important"… because they'll have those pictures of the birds and the bees and for white people that's what they talk about with the kids; black parents have to talk to their black kids about police brutality, but they only have a black son there. What about their daughter? I was sick of seeing those posts, and so I said something.

Facebook's platform made (painfully) visible to Emmanuelle that her own friends and acquaintances were reiterating a problematic line of reasoning common among public activist discourse. She described the hypermediated arguments posted by her friends, which rely on "pictures of the birds and the bees for white people" and "police brutality"

for parents of black sons, to which she had immediate access in her own newsfeed. To these status updates, which she read in her Facebook timeline, she felt the need to respond, and to respond in a way that would stand out among other content on Facebook. As a result, she defied the genre conventions of Facebook status updates by leveraging her antecedent knowledge of academic genres in terms of length, register, and argumentative strategies as a means of confronting this rhetorical erasure of black women and LGBTQIA individuals who had been subjected to police brutality. In fact, the fact that she didn't integrate visuals at all into this post further elevates its oddness; while other posts in friends' newsfeeds were most likely shorter posts supported by visual media such as images, videos, or GIFs,[32] Emmanuelle's longer, text-based post likely would have stood in stark contrast.

In this instance, Emmanuelle worked within *and against* the simultaneously immediate and hypermediated interface of Facebook to make her voice heard in her community's conversation about racialized police brutality. In addition to her strategic subversion of the reader expectations of Facebook status updates in order to make her voice heard, Emmanuelle recognized how specific tools and technologies may have shaped (or, in this case, constrained) her composing process:

> My process for writing that kind of stuff, it's kind of difficult because I don't really like to use social media on the computer; I prefer to use it on my phone, so texting that is kind of a lot [of work] and that's why I don't really post so much, because it's just a lot of work to type that out with my thumbs.

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[32] The content of Emmanuelle's friends' newsfeeds, with the exception of posts written or shared by Emmanuelle, was not part of the dataset.

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Emmanuelle's attention to the embodied nature of her relationship to this composing technology ("it's just a lot of work to type that out with my thumbs") sheds light on the convergence of tools, technologies, and human bodies that occurs when writers engage in adaptive re-mediation in organic settings. The physical, embodied labor required to post original content on Facebook influenced how frequently Emmanuelle posts, thus making her status updates infrequent, and shaping her decision to craft a rare Facebook post to make her voice heard in this instance. Furthermore, her use of the verb "texting" to describe composing a post suggests a conflation of more public-facing social media posts with interpersonal communication, such as texting; elsewhere in the data, Nora similarly noted how the interfaces of social media platforms can make posting public or semi-public content feel akin to private, personal modes of communication such as texting.

Additionally, the autocorrect feature of the Facebook application on her phone[33] shaped—in part—her decision to use sentence-level features that align with what she terms "academic" writing:

> I write those little things, like, really academically, so, you know, everything's capitalized, everything's punctuated… I don't make my grammar into internet speak 'cause it takes more work to like, not capitalize the "I" than to just capitalize it. It already capitalizes it for you!

In other words, the iPhone autocorrect feature reinforces "standard" language features, which contributed to her choice to write her posts, in her words, "academically." This

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[33] Elsewhere, Emmanuelle discusses how the phone application interface of Tumblr guides what she chooses to *read* on that specific platform: "With Tumblr, I really don't read a post where it takes me to an external site… I really don't click on those because I don't want to exit out of the app on my phone… [The external links] are there; I just don't want to leave."

aspect of Facebook's interface supported her decision to re-mediate her knowledge of features of academic genres when composing this unconventionally long status update.

Ultimately, Emmanuelle's experiences of writing this post suggest that when she was faced with an exigence that responded an extended argument over the course of multiple paragraphs to reach her Facebook audience, her process of uptake guided her to select and re-mediate her knowledge of an academic genre to respond to this challenge in the digital extracurriculum. While adapting academic genre knowledge to this context may have seemed odd at first glance due to the vastly differing expectations across both contexts, Emmanuelle seemed to achieve the desired effect of the post: to respond to a line of argumentation that she found troubling, and to do so in a way that would stand out in the social media setting. By selecting and modifying genre knowledge from the academic domain in order to achieve this goal, Emmanuelle's experiences suggest a productive relationship between antecedent genre uptake and adaptive re-mediation.

Nora's Re-mediation of the Essay Genre to Guide her Composition of Online Articles

During the time of data collection, Nora was a senior majoring in English who was actively writing for two journalistic venues, a book blog and the campus feminist magazine (of which she was the editor-in-chief), and who had extensive experience writing for another online news site. As I discussed in the interlude chapter, while Nora had gained expertise in both academic and online writing (as the thoughtfulness of her interview data suggested, as well as the quality of her academic writing samples), she generally reported compartmentalizing the two types of writing, with one main exception:

her discussion of drawing on her knowledge of the academic essay genre when writing online articles. Due to the lack of stability of the rhetorical terrain in the online domain—both in terms of the lack of explicit (and explicitly taught) rhetorical norms, as well as the unpredictable and at times volatile nature of the audience—Nora drew on the academic essay to guide her writing. In this section, I explore this instance, suggesting that when faced with an unfamiliar rhetorical situation with a potentially volatile audience, Nora's process of uptake guided her to locate—and re-mediate—an antecedent genre that was more structured and that she had been explicitly taught through instruction and feedback from a known and ostensibly friendly audience: her instructors.

Although I will ultimately describe an instance where Nora reported re-mediating her antecedent academic genre knowledge to respond to challenges in a new online rhetorical situation, Nora did note the differences between writing valued in these two domains as one potential barrier to transfer. As Nora stated,

> Skills from my English classes… aren't always as effective on social media either, because… it's all about getting things that are shareable. So people don't necessarily want to see you analyze a quotation to death or even really cite your sources, they kind of want to take you at your word, and either agree or disagree… In some cases, I've had to actively go against my English major instincts.

In this instance, she engaged in a version of "charting" that highlights the rhetorical differences rather than similarities across domains, ultimately resulting in her decision not to transfer specific aspects of academic writing knowledge (analyzing quotations and citing sources) into the online domain. Nora's decision not to transfer these particular

competencies makes good sense: as she suggested above, they are not germane to the online environment. The high premium on "shareability" in online writing environments, a feature of online writing that illustrates Bolter and Grusin's (1999) theory of re-mediation, may in part explain why analysis and source citation were not rhetorically effective in the online domain. While discussing her writing for an online news site where writers were "paid by the click," Nora described shareability, or features of an article that increase its likelihood of being shared on social media. The genre conventions embedded in the concept of "shareability," Nora reported, involve "writ[ing] a headline that will get clicks,… break[ing] up texts with pictures or GIFs, writ[ing] in lists whenever possible." These are all textual conventions that are supported by the scroll-and-click, skimming-based reading practices fostered by the immediacy of social media platforms: because writing shared via social media is designed to be selected from a large pool of content and consumed for pleasure, often on mobile devices, online writers must be acutely aware of the expectation that readers expect content that is immediately accessible, employing hypermediated strategies such as conciseness and ease of access (catchy headlines and lists) and eye-catching multimodal elements such as pictures and GIFs (Graphic Interchange Format, or moving silent pictures) to assist audiences in locating and consuming content.

In contrast, the genres that Nora had learned to write through courses in her English major tended to encourage writers to make an extended argument over the course of multiple pages,[34] heavily relying on the citation and analysis of appropriate sources,

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[34] The English term papers Nora submitted for this study ranged from 7-15 pages including references, and her senior thesis, drafted over the year of data collection, which was 71 pages long.

often without the support of visuals.[35] "Shareability" or immediacy, then, are not

conducive to "analyz[ing] a quotation to death" or "cit[ing] your sources]," both

competencies that Nora had been explicitly taught in her English major: in her courses,

she had learned "what is an appropriate source and what's not," and that "you have to

unpack a quote if you put it in your paper and here's what unpacking means," which "has

been drilled into [her] head a million times." These rhetorical moves—source citation and

extensive analysis or "unpacking"—are highly valued in the context of disciplinary

writing in literary studies; however, because the genre conventions of "shareable" articles

emphasize scannable, accessible content that is broken up with visual elements, moves

like "analyz[ing] a quotation to death" do not enhance the immediacy or the rhetorical

goals of online articles. Given the very real rhetorical differences between the two

contexts of writing, it makes sense that Nora generally did not transfer rhetorical

strategies from her English major, which called for longer texts that hold the reader's

attention over time, when composing for microblogging platforms, which demand writing

that, in many ways, catches and releases attention rapidly as readers scroll through a vast

sea of content.

Despite these dissimilarities, Nora's process of uptake did signal to her some

rhetorical similarities between her academic genre knowledge and one of the genres she

was tasked with composing online:

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[35] When asked to reflect on an English class that required the use of visuals, Nora stated,
"It never occurs to me; it always feels wrong. Like, why am I putting pictures in my
essay?... I think I have a very strict picture of what an essay is supposed to look like…
It's funny, because in general I think of myself as a visual person, but then in that class
particularly we did all these things that involved, like, mapping out text and drawing
pictures of our thought process and things like that. And I didn't vibe with that at all."

The first thing you learn in high school English is how to convince someone of your argument, and that all essays are kind of arguments. That's something that I always apply to articles where I'm trying to persuade someone of something that's my opinion… it's just always been in my mind, I suppose.

According to Nora's reports, her process of uptake guided her to engage in adaptive re-mediation of her antecedent knowledge of an academic genre—the essay—while composing *articles* for the various online journalism venues for which she wrote as a college student. Her knowledge of "how to convince someone of your argument, and that all essays are kind of arguments" appeared to be genre knowledge that could traverse the boundary between her academic writing and her online writing. Drawing on her comfort with and expertise in academic genres, Nora apparently developed a strategy for re-mediating the genre knowledge she had mastered in school as a roadmap for approaching a new rhetorical situation in another domain where she has received little explicit writing instruction: the task of writing longer online articles for unknown—and at times, hostile—audiences.

However, despite suggesting that her knowledge of the rhetoricity of the essay genre "always" applied to her articles, she followed her description of her strategy for transferring genre knowledge across domains with a quick caveat noting the differences between domains: "But what's weird about social media is that the tone is very different, and the way that people consume things is very different." Even when describing how her knowledge of the genre of the academic essay guides her online writing, Nora was keenly aware of the dramatic difference between the rhetorical situations of online and academic writing, suggesting that despite her statement that she does apply this academic

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knowledge in the online domain, she does so with the understanding that the two domains are very dissimilar. The genre, perhaps, held enough similarities, though, both in terms of structure and document length, that it was able to bridge the divide between the domains.

Faced with a rhetorical situation that was newer to her, and that was somewhat ill-defined both in terms of rhetorical expectations and intended audience, Nora drew on her knowledge of the more structured, explicit academic "essay" genre that she had learned in academic contexts. The online article is a genre that is less explicit than academic genres in terms of argumentation; as Nora notes, "You're trying to convince someone of something in an academic paper. Whereas with [articles for the book blog], I feel like I'm always trying to convince people that I'm not trying to convince them of anything." The argumentative norms in this domain, then, are less explicit, as are the expectations for source-integration, as I discussed earlier. Additionally, the rhetorical situation of online articles varies dramatically from academic writing in terms of audience: while academic papers are generally written for an instructor, given the public nature of online articles and the at-times vitriolic nature of online discourse, the rhetorical situation of online writing is more ill-defined—and perhaps riskier, higher-stakes—than academic writing. The "very active" audience of the book blog was large: "It's the biggest platform I've ever written for in terms of monthly visitors and things like that, and active commenters," which "can be intimidating in that sense, because if I'm writing about a genre that I've only recently delved into, and there are all these people that have been reading these books for 30 years, and they want to see the latest news on that, then they might be a little harsh." She went on to state that

People in [the book blog] are very intense, and it's the most intense comment

section situation I've ever been in… I get nervous when I talk about, or dare to

criticize things like romance novels or chick lit novels, or things that people tend

to get very passionate about defending… I've had negative reactions in the past,

and it's been weird.

Hinting at the vulnerability that she felt in face of criticism in her comment section, Nora

added, "People are so passionate that they don't realize there's a person on the other end,

and she's 21." In contrast, in the academic realm, the audience—who she viewed more or

less solely as her immediate instructor—was both known and friendly. The two

professors who figured most prominently in Nora's interviews—the professor who

encouraged her to write about romance fiction, and her thesis advisor—were both

familiar, encouraging, and kind. Of her thesis advisor, Nora stated,

My advisor is like the single most important person to me at this point like… I

completely trust every comment she makes… I don't know if that's because I just

admire her so much as a person or what's going on there, but… she lets me talk

things out actually. She'll say, "Okay, so what you need to do here is decide the

claim you're supposed to make," then she'll read it out loud and say, "What is the

claim?" Then I can ramble for like two minutes and then she can pick something

out from that that was like the most significant thing or like what she feels like is

right. That kind of one-on-one where I really feel like she's paying attention to me

and like knows like what I'm doing has been just completely valuable.

The rhetorical situation of online articles, however, depended on less explicit

argumentation and less supportive, less familiar—and even potentially hostile—

audiences. In response to this ill-defined and precarious situation, Nora re-mediated the

genre knowledge that she had obtained through formal writing instruction, where argumentation was straightforward, more cut and dry—so much so that she notes that she could "deliver exactly what the prompt is asking [her]"—and where the audience, her instructor, was familiar and ostensibly friendly.

When faced with a new genre in this somewhat unfamiliar domain, Nora's process of uptake helped her locate and re-mediate an antecedent academic genre with which she was more comfortable. Because the genre of the online article is relatively flexible, Nora was able to impose organizational strategies learned through academic writing onto this less familiar yet flexible genre. Building on her previous quote, Nora stated,

> The first thing you learn in an English class is the five-paragraph essay format, and it's sort of the same idea in social media. You have the intro, you have to get someone hooked, and then prove it, and then conclude.

Here, like Kate and Emmanuelle, Nora engages in what Alexander et al. term "charting" by narrating the rhetorical features shared between the original and re-mediated genres. In locating and acting on the similarities between these two disparate genres, Nora demonstrated rhetorical awareness, resourcefulness, and a keen sense of rhetorical agility. Despite the differing exigences and contexts of these two genres, the essay genre served as an antecedent genre to the online article: Nora adapted her knowledge of a genre from a disparate domain in order to meet the demands of the new situation. In fact, Nora's description suggests a seamless blurring of genres: she had learned that "all essays are kind of arguments," which she "always appl[ies] to articles," implying that her knowledge of the essay genre was broadly generalizable to the online article genre.

However, because "the tone is very different, and the way that people consume things is very different" in online contexts, Nora necessarily had to follow her uptake of the antecedent genre knowledge with subsequent re-mediation in order to meet the rhetorical demands of the online domain. For example, many of her articles for the book blog were framed as lists; as she mentioned in an earlier excerpt, online articles are frequently framed as lists as a means of increasing shareability. Because a list is easy to consume selectively and skim, it enacts what Bolter and Grusin term immediacy; however, because articles framed as lists, or "listicles" (a portmanteau of "list" and "article") are often enhanced by other design features that could be categorized as hypermediated, such as images or hyperlinks. For example, in an article for the book blog entitled "Books for Fans of My Favorite Murder," Nora provides a list of reading recommendations for listeners of a cult-like, feminist, true crime comedy podcast called *My Favorite Murder*. This article contains the elements that Nora described when outlining the similarities between academic genres and online articles: "You have the intro, you have to get someone hooked, and then prove it, and then conclude." Nora opens with an introduction where she "hook[s]" the reader: an anecdote explaining how a close friend's recommendation of the podcast had tapped into Nora's longstanding interest in crime. Nora's detailed description of the setting in which this conversation took place ("an overpriced taco place in New York") and the verbatim recommendation that her friend gave ("'It's these two California girls, and they just talk about their lives for like, the majority of the episode, and then at the end they just talk about murders,' said my friend. 'It's hilarious. You'd love it'") both provide the reader with immediate access to intimate details of this exchange, thus inviting the reader to share these

overpriced tacos—and this conversation—with these two best friends. Furthermore, the details of her meeting with her friend coupled with the intimate, confessional (and slightly sarcastic) tone of this anecdote actually taps into the tone of the podcast she is discussing, thus appealing directly to the audience base who would be interested in these book recommendations.

Nora then describes her immersion into the podcast's many episodes before explaining how the host tapped into her longstanding interest in crime to quickly make her an attentive fan of the show; her background in crime makes her a trusted source of information about the podcast and related content, such as books. For the intended audience of the article, fans of the *My Favorite Murder* podcast, this introduction and subsequent details about the author's background in crime hooks the reader while simultaneously proving and solidifying her ethos as a fan of true crime generally and of this podcast specifically. The conversational, engaging, and personal tone of the anecdote combined with Nora's author photo give the reader the sense that Nora is immediately present; through these hypermediated features of the article, the reality of Nora's role as a geographically and personally distant book blogger is obscured, and the tone and immediacy of the article instead positions her as a trusted friend with a shared interest in crime whose avid reading habit renders her an ideal source of book recommendations. In other words, the distance between the reader and the author is elided by the hypermediacy of the text.

Nora concludes the introduction by previewing the content of the second section of the article, an annotated list of five book recommendations accompanied by images of the book covers and hyperlinks to purchasing information (both hypermediated features

that render the books immediately present, and immediately accessible). In the final paragraph concluding the introduction, she creates the exigence for the list: since the avid followers of the podcast (known as "Murderinos") are hungry for similar content, her book recommendations will help satisfy this need:

> Given that I've now binge-listened to the whole show, I decided to compile a list of books about murder that my fellow Murderinos and I could read as we wait for new episodes (or the upcoming live shows!). Only a couple of these are books that have been referenced on the show, but they do recommend a lot of true crime titles throughout the episodes—I haven't read many of those, but since I live two blocks away from a mystery and crime bookstore, I may have to check them out and report back. Stay tuned.

While this section only concludes the narrative component of the article preceding the list, it does serve as a conclusion of sorts, one rhetorical feature that Nora had reported transferring from the academic domain to guide her composition of online articles. Through the use of community-specific language ("Murderino") and connecting her list to the content of the podcast's episodes, Nora further reinforces her ethos as a fan of the podcast. She concludes by providing personal information ("I live two blocks away from a mystery and crime bookstore") and a cliffhanger promising more information to come ("Stay tuned"), thus increasing the sense of immediacy of the article, demonstrating how Nora successfully re-mediated her antecedent academic genre knowledge in order to meet the demands of the online domain. Nora's use of a phrase ("Stay tuned") associated with an older aural media (radio) in a new media venue (a blog) to describe recommendations of old media texts (books) for fans of a new media version of radio (a podcast)

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demonstrates the complexity of how older and newer media speak to and across each other in the process of re-mediation. Furthermore, in concluding by suggesting that her readers "Stay tuned," Nora nods toward the future, further reinforcing the sense of immediacy in the article. Overall, through her "charting" of rhetorical features of the essay genre that guide her composition of online articles coupled with the transformation of these features to embrace some of the available semiotic resources of the online environment, Nora's online articles provide a comprehensive example of the intersection between antecedent genre uptake and adaptive re-mediation.

Conclusion

There were, of course, many differences among the three cases presented in this chapter. For example, Kate was able to engage in more extensive re-mediation of her antecedent academic genre knowledge than Emmanuelle and Nora due to the comparative flexibility and customizability of WordPress as compared to Facebook and the interface of the book blog for which Nora wrote. As a result, she was able to more thoroughly customize the template of her blog, choosing fonts, layouts, colors, and navigation of the blog as a whole in addition to drafting the content (both textual and visual) of individual posts. In doing so, she was able to engage with a wider range of semiotic resources as she re-mediated her antecedent genre knowledge to meet the demands of the new situation. In contrast, Nora's process of re-mediating her antecedent academic genre knowledge to meet the rhetorical demands of her book blogging activities was somewhat more constrained. The design of the website's interface was out of her hands; however, despite these constraints, she was able to include some multimodal

elements (images, links) that adhered to the genre conventions of the listicle or, in Nora's words, "shareable posts." Finally, Emmanuelle's post only contained textual elements, with the exception of one hashtag (#sayhername), the thumbnail of her profile photo, the "See More" tab, and the capacity for comments and likes. Although she could have potentially integrated more visual elements into her post, such as videos, images, GIFs, or emoji, Emmanuelle ultimately decided to only re-mediate the textual elements of her antecedent genre knowledge, adapting and condensing elements of an academic genre to meet the demands of the new situation.

Overall, though, the three writers discussed in this chapter drew on their knowledge of academic writing to support their efforts to appeal to an audience broader than the comparatively narrow audiences of their academic papers: as Nora stated of the academic domain, "I never imagine the audience when I'm writing academic papers. The audience is my professor." Although Kate's efforts to write about the issues that she is passionate about for a public-facing audience was only one arm of her activist work in her first year of college, her blog provided her with practice communicating in writing (and visuals) with a public audience. Similarly, Emmanuelle's Facebook status update, although semi-private due to its privacy settings being restricted to only her Facebook friends, helped Emmanuelle practice speaking out about the inequities promoted by discourse in activist movements. Her ability to speak up about oppression will hopefully continue to support her in the advocacy work she plans to pursue in her chosen field of public health. Finally, Nora's agility in writing online articles for a public audience, supported and scaffolded by her genre knowledge of the academic essay, has ostensibly prepared her for writing in her current position in publishing, and for her desired career as

a journalist. The findings discussed in this chapter reaffirm Thomas Rickert's (2015) assertion that "context is irrepressible" (p. 136), as well as Collin Gifford Brooke's (2009) suggestion that "the mutability of new media means that we should be shifting our focus from textual objects to media interfaces" (p. 6). The contexts of writing germane to this study—academic writing assignments and the interfaces of social media platforms—shape many aspects of genre; the writers discussed in this chapter reveal that apparent similarities between genres may serve as a conduit for the uptake and subsequent adaptive re-mediation of genre knowledge across domains. These participants' experiences reinforce one "Working Principle in Development" of *The Elon Statement on Writing Transfer* that suggests that "Some physical and digital space designs afford learning and transfer better than others" (Anson & Moore, 2016, p. 353): the spaces permitted for writing in various contexts, whether dictated by interfaces (such as character-limits) or audience expectations (such as page-length requirements), may make opportunities for the transfer of genre knowledge across domains visible to learners. By engaging in this process organically rather than in response to a writing assignment, these writers shed light on the role of genre in writers' efforts to engage in adaptive re-mediation. Ultimately, the three writers discussed in this chapter demonstrated a degree of resourcefulness and rhetorical flexibility by moving deftly between both domains of writing, drawing on resources in one domain to respond to unmet needs in the other. In the following chapter, I describe a similarly resourceful movement of writing knowledge from one domain to the other, but this time, in the opposite direction: from social media into academic contexts.

CHAPTER 5: "I KEEP ON ADDING IN IDENTITIES": DIGITAL READING, CONTENT KNOWLEDGE, AND INVENTIONAL TRANSFER INTO ACADEMIC CONTEXTS

"A lot of projects teachers give you are fairly open-ended… The thing I have issues with, when professors are so open-ended, is that you're not quite sure *where to go* with it and you get *lost*. Of course, the first thing I start thinking about is… 'How can I put gender into this? Let's start thinking about that.' For everybody else, where they may not know *where to start*… It helps me *narrow down* what I would want to talk about and *get more specific* with it… When I *care* about something that much, it's really nice. It's like, 'Figure out how to connect it to that.'"

—Quinn, emphases added

"topos, τόπος -ου, ὁ:
A place, region, district…
E subject, material
rhet. commonplace."
—The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek, "topos"

As she suggests in this chapter's epigraph, Quinn, a sophomore transfer student in her first year at U-M who planned to double-major in Women's Studies and Sociology, found open-ended writing assignments challenging. In high school, she had encountered writing prompts that were more straightforward, defined, and narrow:

In high school… [the teacher would] give you five different prompts, and you'd choose between them, you know? All those five are going to be easily provable, because they just gave you those five prompts.

In Quinn's view, the tasks presented by the available prompts were so narrowly defined that the papers seemed to write themselves. In contrast, as she described in the epigraph, the open-ended prompts she encountered in college, such as the photo ethnography

project in her cultural anthropology course, create a situation where it is easy to get "lost" because you're "not quite sure where to go." Quinn's status as a sophomore and as a first-year transfer student may explain, at least in part, why she felt lost at first: she had yet to acquire expertise in the academic disciplines where she encountered these open-ended prompts. Disciplinary writing, of course, tends to be characterized by specialized norms, values, and conventions (Carter, 2007), and even within disciplines, genre expectations are not always consistent across individual courses or instructors (Anson, Dannels, Flash, & Gaffney, 2012). As a result, although Quinn was interested and engaged in her two prospective majors, she was still navigating the various contexts of academic writing: as she entered courses in new disciplines, she found herself, like Lucille McCarthy's Dave (1987), learning rhetorical expectations anew in each disciplinary context. Without having internalized the disciplinary norms of cultural anthropology or gaining access to the writing expectations of this specific instructor, it seems as though she felt some anxiety about knowing *where* to start when responding to an open-ended assignment like this.

In response to this challenge, Quinn displayed considerable rhetorical savvy and ingenuity by drawing on her expertise in intersectional feminism—knowledge that she developed through reading in the extracurriculum—as a means of narrowing the scope of the writing task at hand. A voracious reader (and sharer) of online articles about social justice and intersectional feminism, Quinn recognized that her extracurricular passion was an appropriate (and even encouraged) topic within many academic disciplines. As a result, she drew on her passion for (and expertise in) intersectionality and gender as a means of narrowing the daunting open-ended writing assignment (the aforementioned

photo ethnography assignment) with which she had been tasked. In doing so, she located

a topos, or a starting place, and she also found a foothold that helped her increase her

motivation toward the academic writing assignment: "When I *care* about something that

much," she says, "it's really nice." In doing so, she demonstrated the power of drawing

on reading from another context as a means of rhetorical invention in the context of

academic writing assignments. She resourcefully repurposed her extracurricular passion

as a specialized topos for disciplinary writing, thus utilizing her content knowledge about

intersectionality as a steppingstone toward writing expertise in a given academic

discipline.

As I discuss in more detail shortly, the approach described by Quinn in the

epigraph was echoed by many participants in this study: as I describe in more detail, all

eight participants in the study reported leveraging content knowledge about social justice

and intersectional feminism, which they had learned about through online reading, as a

means of locating topics for academic writing assignments.[36] Some, like Quinn, drew on

a topic like intersectionality as a means of narrowing a specific assignment; as I describe

in more detail shortly, others, like Emmanuelle, used intersectionality as a heuristic for

mining their own lived experiences as inspiration for their academic writing. In doing so,

they circumvented some of the documented barriers to transferring knowledge across

domains while simultaneously exerting agency (and locating motivation for academic

writing) within the "genred discursive spaces" created by academic writing assignments

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[36] As I have suggested elsewhere in this dissertation, participants generally tended to compartmentalize learning across domains; the two exceptions to this rule are the types of transfer presented in the two findings chapters of this dissertation. While inventional transfer is just one type of transfer reported by all participants, in order to present a detailed account of it I focused on the reports offered by Quinn and Emmanuelle.

(Bawarshi, 2003, p. 127). In this chapter, drawing on theories of rhetorical invention, I suggest that these writers' approach of drawing on content knowledge obtained through online reading as a means of invention for academic writing can productively be viewed as a type of writing knowledge transfer. Arguing that a consideration of reading might expand and complicate our existing theories of learning transfer, I refer to these reading-writing connections across domains as *inventional transfer*. In drawing on content knowledge forged through reading in the extracurriculum as a means of invention in the context of academic writing, the two participants discussed in this chapter, Quinn and Emmanuelle, were better equipped to approach and navigate open-ended academic writing assignments.[37] Furthermore, because intersectionality is a lens that enables student writers to reflect on their own identities and experiences, many participants' experiences suggest that drawing on their extracurricular interest in intersectionality and/or social justice enabled them to locate authentic exigences for their writing and increase their levels of motivation and engagement toward academic writing. Recently, Ellen Carillo (2014) and Tara Lockhart and Mary Soliday (2016) have suggested that transfer research, much like the rest of composition studies as a discipline, should be more attentive to reading. My findings suggest that this may be especially true for transfer research seeking to trace the transfer of writing knowledge between digital and academic contexts.

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[37] I opted to focus on Quinn and Emmanuelle in order to provide a more detailed account of inventional transfer. I selected these two participants because of the level of detail that they provided when describing in inventional transfer; while other participants described experiences that could be productively categorized as inventional transfer, Quinn and Emmanuelle offered the most detailed and compelling accounts of this approach. In future research I will present a more detailed cross-case comparison of inventional transfer among all eight participants.

By considering students' online reading as a source domain for invention in the context of academic writing in specific disciplines and/or courses, we may further develop our understanding of writing knowledge transfer as a whole. Furthermore, this may net us a more thorough understanding of the role of reading in writing knowledge transfer and writing development, areas that multiple authors in composition studies suggest are as yet under-explored (Carillo, 2014; Gogan, 2013; Lockhart & Soliday, 2016). The writers discussed in this chapter moved strategically and flexibly between academic and non-academic spaces, deftly wielding the texts, technologies, and knowledges they engage with online as tools for approaching and navigating academic writing environments. When writers in this study, such as Quinn and Emmanuelle, were faced with a rhetorical challenge in the academic domain, such as an open-ended writing assignment in a new discipline, they strategically drew on their learning from another domain in order to select a topic for the assignment, thus revealing how this approach[38] to invention is bound up in their online reading practices. Much in the same way that digital rhetors may engage with a variety of texts and tasks simultaneously (Leon & Pigg, 2011), these students moved between sites of academic and online learning, drawing on resources—specifically, content knowledge—from another domain when the tools inherent to the domain they were working in did not suffice. In the pages that follow, I situate this conversation in the scholarship on invention and transfer before giving a brief overview of the various ways that inventional transfer surfaced in the cases of all

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[38] In this chapter, I use the term "approach" to describe inventional transfer in order to highlight the fact that it is a heuristic process by which writers may import meaning from one domain into another in order to navigate—approach—a new rhetorical challenge. By using the term "approach" rather than "strategy," I hope to draw attention the spatial, directional nature of three terms central to this research: *invention*, *transfer*, and *intersectionality*.

participants. Finally, I will explore Emmanuelle's case in more detail. Ultimately, I suggest that although prior research has traced very little transfer of writing knowledge between social media and academic contexts, by expanding our definition of writing knowledge to include content knowledge developed through online reading practices, we may be better equipped to perceive the connections that undergraduate student writers might make between disparate domains of writing.

Inventional Transfer

The relationship between subject matter or content knowledge and academic writing is central to the findings presented in this chapter: as Beaufort (2008) suggests, experts in a given discipline generally draw on specific heuristics for invention. As a result, undergraduate writers faced with open-ended writing assignments in unfamiliar disciplines may struggle to locate a topic for their writing; or, in Quinn's words, they may "get lost." Quinn's experiences speak directly to the role of *content* in college writing assignments, and how selecting a *subject* or *topic* relevant to a specific disciplinary context might relate to invention. In broad terms, Janice Lauer (2004) defines invention as

> a process that engages a rhetor (speaker or writer) in examining alternatives: different ways to begin writing and to explore writing situations; diverse ideas, arguments, appeals, and subject matters for reaching new understandings and/or for developing and supporting judgments, theses and insights; and different ways of framing and verifying these judgments. (pp. 6-7)

Central to "invention" is the idea of locating a *topic* and an angle as a means of approaching a rhetorical situation. *Topoi*, meaning places, subject matter, or rhetorical commonplaces, serve as the starting point for a rhetor seeking to make an argument (Brill). Exploration of the role of subject matter in invention dates back to Aristotle, who outlined general or *koina topoi* and topoi relevant to specific areas of discourse, or *idia topoi*; the *idia topoi* serving as the springboard for most arguments (trans. Kennedy, 1991, p. 46-7). As Nowacek (2011) suggests, this distinction runs parallel to conversations in the transfer literature insofar as the *koina topoi* require generalizable knowledge and that *idia topoi* involve local contextual knowledge (p. 13). In other words, idia topoi consist of the specialized discursive strategies of a particular context or discipline. Quinn and Emmanuelle both demonstrate that when presented with a *general* or open-ended writing assignment in an unfamiliar academic discipline, undergraduate student writers who are not yet thoroughly immersed in a disciplinary discourse may leverage their extracurricular expertise in a specialized area such as intersectional feminism in order to locate what Aristotle termed specific—or *idia*—topoi from which they may develop a more persuasive position. Central to invention is the act of locating the "available means of persuasion" in a given rhetorical situation; the experiences of participants in this study suggest that when students don't have access to the *idia topoi* of a given discipline, they are challenged to create—or locate and import—their own.

In addition to the connection to spatiality embedded in the term *topoi*, which quite literally means "places," it is thought that this term originated from spatially-oriented strategies for memorization that were common in classical rhetoric: by memorizing ideas as places, as Cicero and Quintilian outlined in more detail, a rhetor could create a mental

map of ideas that would then be easier to memorize and retrieve (Zalta). Contemporary

investigations of invention similarly touch on the spatial, navigational aspects of this

rhetorical canon; for example, Anis Bawarshi (2003 suggests that "…invention is less an

inspired, mysterious activity and more *a location* and a mode of inquiry, a way of

positioning oneself in relation to a problem and a way of working through it" (p. 6,

emphases added). Others have problematized the forward-facing nature of directional

approaches to transfer, with Debra Hawhee (2002) positing "invention-in-the-middle" as

"a simultaneous extending outward and folding back" (p. 19). Similarly, Doug Brent

(1992) notes that "invention is traditionally seen as a forward-looking process… When

rhetoric is situated in an epistemic conversation, however, we can see that it also involves

another *movement*, from the rhetor back into the vast network of conversation that

precedes in time that particular exchange" (p. 11, emphasis added). In keeping with

Hawhee and Brent, the experiences of the participants discussed in this chapter suggest

that invention itself can be an act of transfer, an act of reaching back into one's prior

knowledge to locate a topic or an idea before moving forward to synthesize that topic

with a new disciplinary context.[39]

    The spatial, navigational nature of Quinn's description of the challenge of open-

ended assignments and her subsequent response is worth noting: "you're not quite sure

where to go with it and you get *lost*." Faced with "open-ended projects," or in Wardle's

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[39] In some ways, the conversation about directionality in the invention scholarship runs
parallel to the distinction between forward-reaching and backward-reaching transfer.
Donna Qualley (2017) recasts this distinction, noting how the framework offered by
Yancey et al. (2014) might offer another perspective on complicating the direction of
learning transfer. In future research, I will explore the findings discussed in this chapter
as well as participants' reports of simultaneous or multidirectional transfer described in
the introduction through a proposed lens of "transfer-in-the-middle."

(2012) terms, "ill-structured problems," many college students find themselves *lost*, stranded without the roadmap provided by the narrower prompts that they may have encountered in high school or, for that matter, the roadmap provided by expertise in any given academic discipline. Fortunately, Quinn was not lost for long: she found a *topos*—a place—within which she is comfortable, knowledgeable, and engaged: gender and intersectional feminism. From the specialized expertise that she had developed from reading about feminism online, Quinn began to cobble together her own map: "Of course," she said, "the first thing I start thinking about is… 'How can I put gender into this? Let's start thinking about that.'" She noted that while her classmates may still "not know *where* to start," her focus—gender and intersectional feminism—helped her "narrow down what [she] would want to talk about and get more specific with it." By consulting her expertise in gender and intersectional feminism, which was forged outside of school and deepened through reading on social media, as a means of approaching academic writing assignments, Quinn enacted a strategy for invention: she drew on content knowledge obtained through her online reading to locate a topic that would help her narrow the open-ended assignments that she found so challenging. Quinn and Emmanuelle's use of intersectionality as a topos for invention invokes a spatial metaphor: like "transfer" and "topoi," *intersectionality* also relies on a spatial metaphor intended to visualize the intersections of oppressions faced by those whose identities are multiply marginalized (Crenshaw, 1991); given the spatial metaphors implicit in Quinn's account of invention as well as the spatiality of both classical and contemporary theories of invention, it is fitting that participants in this study seized on intersectionality specifically

as a topos for invention that facilitated transfer (another spatial metaphor) across domains—or spaces—of writing.

In synthesizing their prior extracurricular knowledge with current academic rhetorical challenges, Quinn and Emmanuelle both seemed to enact the synthesis across texts and contexts advocated by research (Anderson, Anson, Gonyea, & Paine, 2015) as well as disciplinary outcomes statements such as the *Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing* or the *Writing Program Administrators Outcomes Statement* (CWPA, 2014; CWPA, NCTE, & NWP 2011). The act of reaching back to draw on prior knowledge forged in the digital extracurriculum seemed to help both participants locate topics appropriate for discussion in new (and perhaps unfamiliar) disciplinary contexts. In doing so, they demonstrated considerable resourcefulness and rhetorical savvy: by identifying and seizing on their extracurricular expertise as a topic for writing in academic contexts, they made use of their prior knowledge while simultaneously locating a steppingstone toward writing expertise in a given academic discipline.

In other words, early-career undergraduate students are generally (and understandably) in early stages of developing expertise in the subject matter knowledge of a given academic discipline. However, as I discuss in more detail shortly, all participants in this study had developed a level of expertise in social justice and intersectional rhetorics in online contexts, which many then drew on as a means of navigating academic writing assignments. Although participants in this study learned about intersectionality in the extracurriculum, it is, of course, a theory that was originally forged in academia (Crenshaw, 1991). Many participants in this study artfully recognized this as a framework that would be welcomed in many academic contexts, and thus

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strategically drew on intersectionality as a tool or a heuristic to generate topics for

academic writing assignments. As Beaufort (2008) suggests, experts in specific domains

have "mental schema, or heuristics, with which to organize knowledge and aid problem-

solving and gaining new knowledge in new situations" (p. 17); many participants in this

study seemed to recognize intersectionality as an appropriate heuristic they might draw

on in the context of many humanities and social sciences disciplines, thus importing a

heuristic associated with their extracurricular content knowledge into academic contexts.

This type of knowledge is key to invention within specific contexts; as Yameng Liu

suggests, "rhetorically significant 'topics' or 'commonplaces' have to be authorized by

dominant political, institutional, or cultural formations" (p. 53). Participants in this study

like Quinn and Emmanuelle located a topic or commonplace (intersectionality) that was

welcomed in the context of academic writing; in doing so, they recognized "content

knowledge [as] a *means of invention*: a sense of the *idia topoi* of the classroom"

(Nowacek, 2011, p. 101). Quinn and Emmanuelle reveal that while *academic* reading

may play a central role in disciplinary writing development, expertise forged through

extracurricular reading may serve as a surrogate for disciplinary expert knowledge. As

Anne Beaufort suggests, disciplinary expertise may provide writers with a heuristic for

selecting an appropriate topic in academic writing.

It is perhaps telling, then, that the two writers whose narratives feature most

prominently in this chapter are students who for various reasons were new to the

disciplines in which they were writing: Quinn, for example, as a sophomore and first-year

transfer student, was navigating cultural anthropology for the first time at the time of data

collection. Similarly, because Emmanuelle, a senior majoring in the interdisciplinary

Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience program, found herself drawing on courses from a range of disciplines, she often approached disciplinary contexts anew, creating a mental schema of genres that corresponded to specific courses rather than clusters of academic disciplines. This schema consisted of three main types of writing: "writing for a purpose;" "reporting" or "regurgitating" prior research; and "personal" or "creative" writing. While these schemas helped her note and act on similarities across genres, they were more or less untethered to specific academic disciplines, revealing how Emmanuelle's interdisciplinary undergraduate education perhaps helped her develop rhetorical sensitivity *across* rather than *within* contexts. In other words, the voices of participants in the study who were graduating seniors immersed in specific disciplinary (and professional) writing contexts, such as Nora, Alice, and Ava, are less prominent in this chapter; while their experiences do show traces of inventional transfer in some ways, the most salient examples of this phenomenon were found among students who were less immersed in a single disciplinary context. While strands of this approach may be perceived among more advanced writers, Quinn and Emmanuelle reveal how powerful this approach may be for student writers navigating a new discipline.

In some ways, these participants' recognition of an academic theory that they had located in a non-academic context and their subsequent use of this theory as a heuristic for invention in academic writing contexts could be interpreted through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) "cultural capital," which is (among other things) knowledge forged in prior contexts (typically home settings) that may help students gain access to educational

contexts.[40] Although most participants first encountered intersectionality online, many of them recognized its currency within academic contexts and utilized it as a framework or a heuristic for generating topics or content for their academic writing assignments. In doing so, they demonstrated that they recognized their extracurricular expertise in intersectionality as a resource for navigating college writing: they understand that it is an academic or at least academic-friendly framework that may help them further engage with academic writing tasks. As Stacey Pigg (2014) suggests, understanding discursive norms in a given social context is a prerequisite to invention, and social media may play a role in bridging discursive knowledge across domains; whether consciously or not, Quinn and Emmanuelle located and seized on a heuristic that is valued in academic discourse, thus supporting their processes of rhetorical invention.

As I discuss in more detail shortly, invoking Tara Yosso's (2005) work on community cultural wealth, Emmanuelle took this approach one step further by using her understanding of intersectionality as a framework for drawing on her own experiences as a woman of color while approaching academic writing assignments. In response to more reductive uses of Bourdieu, Yosso suggests that students from marginalized groups may draw on resources from their communities of origin when navigating (and transforming) postsecondary institutions. Students of color, in particular, may bring six different types of cultural capital, which she describes as "community cultural wealth," to the context of higher education: aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital,

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[40] While reductive and inaccurate interpretations of Bourdieu's theories have been used to suggest that historically underrepresented students are not capable of succeeding in school (see critiques of these interpretations in Ruecker, 2015; Yosso, 2005), I draw on Bourdieu here with the full understanding that his work sought to critique the exclusionary practices promoted by educational systems.

navigational capital, and resistant capital. Emmanuelle's use of intersectionality as a springboard to write about her experiences as a woman of color specifically suggest a seventh type of community cultural wealth that could be added to Yosso's framework: experiential capital. Furthermore, students like Emmanuelle who draw on their own experiences when writing for disciplines like women's studies, where experiential knowledge is not only permitted as evidence, but welcomed, show a keen awareness of the epistemological norms, or the "ways of knowing, doing, and writing" (Carter, 2007), of that particular discipline.

In addition to supporting writers in their efforts to locate a topic for academic writing, *inventional transfer* may also help writers develop motivation and engagement toward academic writing assignments. Quinn's intrinsic motivation toward intersectional feminism helped her increase her engagement with the writing assignment, despite the fact that she doesn't "particularly enjoy writing": "When I care about something that much that it's really nice… I end up liking [writing]." Quinn also stated that she uses an intersectional lens to

> … make myself be more interested in [writing assignments], because it's a lot easier to write an essay, especially a final essay that has to be twelve pages or something, about something that you're interested in rather than something you're just kinda like trying to bullshit through… So even though I may not enjoy writing it at the time, because you're writing an essay for a school project, so there's always some stress about it, I'm still more invested in it and I want it to be good. I want to learn about it.

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In this context, Quinn explains how she used knowledge forged in the extracurriculum not only to locate a topic and generate content to meet page-length requirements, but to increase her intrinsic motivation toward academic writing assignments: even though she didn't always love writing, noting stress as a cause, by seizing on a topic that she is committed to, she develops motivation to *learn* about her topic, and to produce quality work: "I want it to be good."

Furthermore, by selecting a topic that is deeply tied to their identities and experiences, such as intersectional feminism, many participants in this study seemed to find authentic—and urgent—exigences within their academic writing assignments. While "authenticity" is an oft-debated concept in composition pedagogy (see, e.g., Gogan, 2014; Wardle, 2009), by drawing on intersectionality as a framework for locating topics for academic writing assignments, many participants in this study seized on exigences that were real, pressing, and urgent, thus bringing their own public concerns to the classroom. In doing so, they worked to create what Eberly (1999) terms a "protopublic" space, where students are positioned "as actors in different and overlapping publics," which "can help them realize the particular and situated nature of rhetoric and the need for effective writing to respond to particular needs of particular publics at particular times" (p. 167). By drawing on the topoi presented by intersecting systems of oppressions that fall along the lines of identity categories, Emmanuelle and Quinn positioned the academic context as a site from which they could respond to exigences located in non-academic publics such as their personal lives, their lived experiences, and their home communities.

Both Quinn and Emmanuelle, among other participants in this study, also revealed sophisticated online reading practices, including engagement with online

sources as well as the creation of digital archives using social media platforms. In this chapter, I suggest that when content knowledge developed through online reading informs writing in academic contexts, this can be viewed as a type of writing knowledge transfer. However, this form of transfer may escape existing theories of writing knowledge transfer because it so heavily emphasizes reading: as Ellen Carillo (2014) and Tara Lockhart and Mary Soliday (2016) have suggested, writing transfer research has tended not to explicitly discuss reading or reading transfer. Similarly, Brian Gogan (2013) has noted that research utilizing the framework of "threshold concepts" has tended to overlook the role of reading in disciplinary writing development. Relatedly, since the development of subject matter expertise is largely dependent on reading practices (Beaufort, 2007), research exploring how content or subject matter knowledge transfers across contexts of writing is still emergent. Bound up in genre knowledge is writers' understanding of appropriate topics in a given genre (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1993); yet topic-selection has not received much attention as a component of genre knowledge that may transfer across domains. Since students' content knowledge within a specific course may support their processes of invention (Nowacek, 2011, p. 101), invention may constitute a generative site for the exploration of the transfer of content knowledge across domains.

Furthermore, an exploration of students' experiences with engaging prior extracurricular knowledge in college writing assignments integrates student voices into ongoing debates about the *content* of writing curriculum. Previous research has suggested (compellingly) that designing writing curriculum around *instructor* interests (such as literature or popular culture) is not always beneficial to student learning, and that

curricula focusing on writing and academic discourse as subjects of study might yield deeper and more transferable learning (Adler-Kassner, 2012; Adler-Kassner et al., 2017; Downs & Wardle, 2007; Yancey et al., 2014). While this scholarship has nodded to the role of student interests in curriculum, less research has rigorously examined how students' extracurricular prior knowledge might shape and inform the content of writing curriculum. The debate about the content of writing curriculum is still ongoing, and as Quinn's experiences suggest, in courses across the disciplines, instructors often leave writing prompts fairly open-ended as a means of encouraging agency and creative thinking among student writers. Quinn's response to this challenge and its echoes among a few other participants in the study suggest that despite the documented challenges of transferring writing knowledge between academic and online contexts, students might engage with knowledge forged through extracurricular *reading* in order to narrow the scope of their academic writing assignments. As Nowacek (2011) suggests, much of our prior scholarship on writing knowledge transfer relies heavily on the assumption that transfer can be perceived and acknowledged by an instructor (or a researcher). Due to the invisibility of online reading practices (Jolliffe & Harl, 2008; D. Keller, 2013), when students transfer knowledge from reading in the extracurriculum that instructors may not even be aware of, we may remain unaware of a powerful form of writing knowledge transfer.

While the existing scholarship on writing transfer research has generally tended not to explicitly name reading as type of knowledge that may transfer across domains, this research has also tended to resist naming skills that may transfer, and it even questions the notion of readily-transportable "skills" that can be moved across domains.

As a result, it is not uncommon for transfer researchers to redefine or reframe "transfer." As I discussed in chapter 2, many have advocated for more expansive definitions of transfer; my findings align more closely with this scholarship that considers how learners "adapt" (DePalma & Ringer, 2011), "recontextualize" (Nowacek, 2011), or "transform" (Brent, 2011; 2012) learning as they move across contexts. Doug Brent (2012), for example, considers learning transformation, or "writers drawing on a large repertoire of mental schema and applying them in a variety of situations" (p. 589). These more expansive definitions of transfer could potentially encompass reading competencies or reading-writing connections across domains, which will serve as the subject for this chapter. When we expand our theoretical lens to consider the role of reading in writing knowledge transfer, we can see, as Quinn demonstrates, how students may draw on reading in one domain as a means of invention in another. I argue that this approach can be productively viewed as a type of learning transfer. Borrowing a term that study participant Emmanuelle uses to describe her own inventional strategies (which I will discuss shortly), the framework of inventional transfer provides a "lens" for perceiving one pathway that students may forge between their learning on social media and their college writing assignments.

I recognize, of course, that progressive ideologies such as those associated with social justice and intersectional feminism may be particularly welcomed as topoi in college writing classes, whereas other extracurricular interests may not be considered appropriate in this context. For example, some of the participants in Melody Pugh's (2015) research on Christian college students suggested that while they perceived potential connections between their religious literacies and their academic literacies, they

chose to compartmentalize this knowledge because they perceived that their religious knowledge would not be appropriate in the academic context. In other words, the specifics of these findings—students drawing on reading about social justice and intersectional feminism in particular—may not be generalizable to a broader student population. As Quinn stated a year after data collection, "I'm privileged to be studying something I'm so passionate about." However, these particular students do provide insights into how students engage with inventional transfer when their extracurricular topics of interest *are* permitted in college writing assignments, thus shedding light on how college instructors might allow—or even encourage—students from all populations to leverage the connections between their extracurricular interests and their academic writing. For example, a neuroscience major may leverage his personally-held interest in athletics to write a research paper about the effects of concussions on athletes, converting the prior knowledge he has obtained from countless hours spent watching Red Wings games into research for an academic writing assignment. Similarly, a business major who grew up in the Motor City might draw on his personally held passion for cars in an academic writing assignment by researching factors shaping consumer preference for automobiles. In other words, while the specifics of these findings are particular to this student population, this framework may provide language for exploring how inventional transfer could potentially flourish among a more general student population.

Although this chapter focuses primarily on Quinn and Emmanuelle, some degree of inventional transfer was enacted among all eight participants. Both Sonny (a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Gender and Health) and Alice (a senior majoring in Political Science and minoring in German;

Computer Science; and Law, Justice, and Social Change), for example, reported drawing on their interest in topics related to social justice and intersectional feminism that they developed online as a means of approaching academic papers; Sonny described taking criminology courses and writing about sexual violence in his coursework as a means of pursuing these topics he had learned about online more formally in an academic setting. Similarly, Alice drew on her passion for social justice and intersectional feminism, which she had initially discovered through Tumblr, while pursuing academic research into school integration in her political science coursework. Olivia, a junior majoring in Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience with a minor in Spanish, reported enjoying writing if it was a topic that she cared about, such as intersectional feminism, and also described instances where content knowledge about feminism that she had obtained through reading on Tumblr shaped her contributions to her courses. Even Quinn described other papers where she drew on her own interest in intersectional feminism and social justice as a means of locating topics for academic writing assignments, such as her writing seminar paper in which she explored the role of women in the Black Panther Party. Of this paper, she stated that because she was "not a huge history person," she had difficulty finding a topic that was "enough for [her] to write an eight-to-ten page paper" about; however, her focus on the intersections of race and gender in the Black Panther Party provided her with ample material to fill those pages. Nora also reported drawing on her extracurricular commitment to feminism to locate topics for academic writing, explaining that her commitment to engaging in a more sustained analysis of chick lit reflected her efforts to conduct feminist analysis that went beyond questions of whether popular texts were "good" or "bad," "feminist" or "sexist," instead considering in more

nuanced detail how women readers actually take up notions of femininity in popular texts marketed to women.

There were also instances in the data where students reported less successful examples of inventional transfer, where their attempts to engage in inventional transfer were blocked or met with negative feedback by instructors. Emmanuelle, for example, received negative feedback for writing about African-American Vernacular English in a psycholinguistics course, a paper that she referred to as a "social justice paper": "I thought the paper went well, but… it turns out that I was writing the paper from kind of a sociolinguistic perspective, instead of… more scientific-based." Both Ava and Kate reported instances where they attempted to draw on their own experiences of coming out (Ava) or experiencing homophobia (Kate) in their academic papers to be met with resistance from professors who suggested that these issues weren't significant in contemporary society, despite the experiences suggesting otherwise in the day-to-day lives of these two writers.

In order to animate the cases of inventional transfer that I located in this study, I explore inventional transfer in more detail in the case of a paper that Emmanuelle wrote for her Psychology, Women, and Gender course. In her account of drafting this paper, Emmanuelle provided a particularly detailed and complex iteration of how inventional transfer might function; as a result, for the analysis in this chapter, her data provided what Patton (2015) terms an "exemplar of a phenomenon of interest" (p. 266), wherein a single case demonstrates a phenomenon in sufficient detail for extended analysis.

Emmanuelle: Intersectionality as Heuristic for Experiential Arguments in Women's Studies

Emmanuelle's approach to what I am terming inventional transfer builds on the approach outlined by Quinn above. Like Quinn, she leveraged her expertise in intersectionality from online contexts in order to generate a topic, content, or motivation in academic writing assignments. However, she took this approach one step further by leveraging her own *experiences* and *vantage* as a black woman as a topos for invention in her college writing assignments. In this section, I describe in more detail how Emmanuelle came to understand the effects of social inequality on her own identity through online reading before leveraging her understanding of the multiplicity of identity—and oppression—as a means of locating a topic, generating content, and increasing her motivation toward an academic writing in her cross-listed psychology and women's studies course. By reading about racial oppression in personal narratives written by people of color in an online environment, Emmanuelle drew on her online learning in order to fill a gap in her high school curriculum: exposure to the voices, experiences, and art of black people. Furthermore, by drawing on her online learning about intersectionality as a means of integrating her own experiences as a black woman in her college writing assignments, Emmanuelle responded to another missing element in the formal curriculum: the voices of women of color in her classes at U-M. In doing so, Emmanuelle moved seamlessly between the two domains of learning, drawing on voices and resources in the digital extracurriculum in order to respond to gaps in the formal education, such as the voices of people of color or the presence of a diverse student body.

Emmanuelle initially learned about intersectionality through reading about others'

experiences in online environments; this learning helped her understand her own

positionality and the effects of systemic oppression on her life. Her description of

learning about intersectionality through reading on social media when she was in high

school, perhaps the most emotionally evocative moment in this dataset, was deeply

connected to her own understanding of her place in the world:

> When I first started learning about intersectionality [as a teenager], I was young
>
> and I was feeling really bad about myself… because I'm like, "Why is everything
>
> wrong with me? Why was I born black? Why do I have the hair that I do? Why
>
> am I here if it's just going to be pain?" Then I… went to Tumblr, they're talking
>
> about all this stuff, and I'm like, "Oh, like, there's a reason for this." I saw other
>
> people with hair like mine; I didn't even know my hair could do this. It would be
>
> relaxed… When I learned about institutionalized oppression, it really helped me
>
> because it was just like, "It's not just bad luck." It's like, "Oh, there's a force
>
> that's acting upon me to cause me to feel this way that I can push back from," not
>
> just like, "The universe doesn't like Emmanuelle." I learned about that I would
>
> say high school-ish, like freshman, sophomore year.

Here, Emmanuelle explains that the texts that she read online helped her learn that

systemic racial oppression was the cause of her troubles, not some random misfortune or

individual failure. This came as a relief: once she realized that her problems had their root

in social structures, she realized she could "push back" on the oppression that caused her

to feel this way. My discussion of her online writing about the role of women and

LGBTQIA individuals in the Black Lives Matter movement in chapter 4, for example,

showcases her engagement in activist discourse at the intersection of race and gender. Emmanuelle's reading on Tumblr was instrumental to her finding her voice—and her ability to resist—in this way.

As she suggested in the above excerpt, through her online reading, Emmanuelle had mastered a concept that holds currency in many academic contexts: the understanding that oppression is systemic could be productively viewed as a threshold concept—a transformative concept that one takes on as they enter a discipline (Adler-Kassner & Wardle, 2015)—for the discipline of women's studies (and several other academic disciplines). Emmanuelle, however, seemed to have mastered this academic threshold concept on her own through online reading. Elsewhere in the dataset, Quinn reinforced the fact that this concept is an academic threshold concept when describing learning this same concept through formal women's studies classes that she took at her previous university, ultimately suggesting that this academic learning influenced her choice of major and intended career:

> It made my worldview so much clearer and so much freer of internalized
> discontent. Because it did so much for me, and because I was so interested in it, it
> seemed like something I would want to study… It was just so liberating…
> learning about patriarchy and about capitalism and how it all works together to
> make you hate yourself, because it's easier to make money off you that way.
> Depress you and use you. It was just so liberating to hear that, because I'm the
> kind of person that when I found that out I was like, "Fuck that. It's not something
> I'm going to be part of." I started trying to do some radical self-love because it's
> just a revolutionary act. I wanted to share that with everyone else and I wanted to

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get involved in rape prevention centers and stuff. I thought women's studies

would really be a good major to get into those kind of fields where I can do the

kind of social change that I want to do.

Like many students who choose to major in women's studies, Quinn came to understand

that oppression is systemic—rooted in specific, far-reaching social structures—through

her women's studies coursework. In contrast, through her online reading, Emmanuelle

gained access to the same concept, which ultimately informed her academic writing; this

reveals the opportunities presented by online reading on social media for the co-

construction of knowledge that is, in this case, relevant to academic contexts.

Emmanuelle went on to explain the importance of learning about intersectionality

at that moment: since she was the only black person in her classes in high school, she

stated that "topics that would pertain to me didn't get talked about [in class]; they weren't

acknowledged." However, she filled this gap in her formal high school curriculum

through online reading; by locating a range of perspectives, experiences, and voices of

others through reading on social media, she "learned that [she] wasn't the only one."

Emmanuelle learned primarily through *reading* rather than writing; she reports

"lurking"—a term used to describe reading content on an online forum without

contributing: "I didn't really talk to people online, I would just kind of lurk and read their

stuff, and I gained the information from that." Through online reading, Emmanuelle

gained information about intersectionality as a framework through the experiences of

others; this ultimately helped her understand her own experiences, demonstrating one

potential function of social media: sharing political knowledge through personal

experiences. In doing so, she fulfilled a need that was not being met by her formal

educational experiences: access to the voices of other black people, and, furthermore, access to *writing* by black authors. With the exception of Gwendolyn Brooks, Emmanuelle reported, her high school curriculum was largely dominated by the voices of white men:

> When I was younger, in grade school, I hated English class, because if I read one more Shakespeare, one more Robert Frost… My favorite poem was by Gwendolyn Brooks… "We Real Cool." 'Cause, like, that *pertained* to me… I don't care about Robert Frost… it doesn't apply to me.

Online, she was granted access to the voices and experiences of other black people, which were missing both in the formal curriculum and in the student body of her high school. The information she located through online reading on social media helped her understand the role of systemic racial oppression in her own experiences. Personal narratives in online contexts helped her reevaluate her understanding of her place in the world, and helped her realize that she could actively resist systemic oppression, which is reminiscent of the Second Wave feminist adage that "the personal is political."

In class discussions, Emmanuelle had practiced the approach of leveraging her lived experiences as a strategy for rhetorical invention. Although the curriculum of her Psychology, Women, and Gender course strove to acknowledge the perspectives and experiences of women of color, the demographics of the students in the class rendered her perspectives unique in class discussions:

> When I got to my discussion, it would be like 95% white women… so I brought it upon myself to be like, "Hey, let's consider this: [this author] talks about body image. What about women [of color] that have to conform to the dominant

culture's body image, but also their culture's body image as well?" That's kind of

a test that I put on myself… If you only have one lens…, and you only see that

through that one lens… [The white women in the class] weren't trying to speak on

other people's issues, so here's where I come in… It's just a different viewpoint

that I would introduce to our topic of the day.

Due to the overwhelming majority of white women in her class, Emmanuelle recognized

that her experiences had lent her another "lens" or "viewpoint" besides gender through

which she might see the content of the course—race. As feminist theory has suggested

(e.g., Hartsock, 1983), oppression is most visible and salient to the oppressed, and as

result, those who have privilege must work harder to understand oppression. While the

white women in Emmanuelle's class possibly understood somewhat intuitively how

patriarchal oppression works, they did not have the "lens" to understand racist oppression

in the same way that Emmanuelle did. Her statement that her classmates "*only have one

lens*" (thus implying that she has multiple *lenses*) is evocative of the role of *plurality* of

many theories proposed to describe the multiplicity of interconnected systems of

oppression: "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1991); "interlocking systems of oppression"

(Collins, 1990); "manifold and simultaneous oppressions" (Combahee River Collective,

1977); "multiple jeopardy" (King, 1988). Furthermore, like "intersectionality" and

"interlocking systems of oppression," Emmanuelle's "lenses" metaphor is, in a way,

spatial: just as one lens covers another to produce a new effect and to offer a new way of

seeing the world, intersectionality acknowledges that oppression can only be understood

at the interstices of identity. By suggesting that she had more than one "lens" for

exploring oppression due to her position as a black woman, Emmanuelle reaffirmed these

theories. By offering another lens to shed light on the complexity of systemic oppression, Emmanuelle challenged herself to provide her perspective to class discussions in order to illuminate her experiences and to give life to some of the intersectional ideals embedded in the curriculum. The *lenses* that Emmanuelle brought to class discussion ultimately served as an approach to invention when she approached writing assignments in the same class.

In her writing assignments, Emmanuelle built on this approach by transferring her extracurricular knowledge about intersectionality as a strategy for invention in terms of locating a topic, generating content, and increasing her own motivation toward academic writing assignments. Much like Quinn, she didn't always enjoy academic writing: Emmanuelle stated that writing "stresses [her] out," explaining that "I enjoy talking more than writing, so I would much rather give a presentation." Specifically, Emmanuelle noted that the invention phase of writing was most stressful: "Getting started with writing is super stressful for me. Like, I'm really good at writing papers. I get good grades on all of them. But I hate doing them, because… it's really hard to really know where to start." When describing her approach to her final research paper in a cross-listed women's studies and psychology class (Women, Psychology, and Gender), Emmanuelle stated,

> I'm a procrastinator, so I'd think, "I really don't need a plan; I got it; it's handled," but it doesn't really work out in the end. I know what I'm going to say. If someone were to hand me that topic and say, "Go to the front of the class and talk for five, ten minutes about it," I could easily, but I just have to translate [that] into writing which is the part I look forward to the least. What I do is I get a small notepad of paper and I'll be like, "Here's my thesis, and then here's my three

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paragraphs," and I'd have like two bullet points per topic, and then I can create a

paper off of that, because then I'll just add in my own thoughts.

In this moment, Emmanuelle seemed to already be enacting transfer: this appears to be a

strategy for rhetorical invention drawn from prior writing instruction in a formal

academic context. As she described the next step—"I'll just add in my own thoughts"—

in more detail, she revealed that this is where she enacts inventional transfer by drawing

on her own experiences as a black woman as a means of complicating and nuancing the

content (as well as her peers' perspectives) in her course.

Her method for planning her contributions to class discussions is consonant with

Emmanuelle's approach to locating a topic for academic writing assignments: in order to

generate content for writing assignments and increase her engagement with academic

writing, she draws on her perspective and experiences as a black woman as a topos for

invention. Describing her final research paper, Emmanuelle stated,

That big research paper was just basically a glorified reaction paper, which is

what we've been doing the whole semester… just, like, on a bigger scale. The

purpose was to talk about something related to the class, so related to Psych,

Women, and Gender, and then have an opinion on it basically. That was [the

instructor's] purpose. Mine was to take a topic in that class and kind of make it

more intersectional… What about *these* women? How does that fit for *them*?

That's what I did for myself.

In responding to these two heuristic questions in the end of this excerpt, Emmanuelle was

able to locate a unique vantage point from which she could branch away from the original

"topic" of the assignment and make the assignment her own. Elsewhere, she discussed

this approach as a means of discovering an original idea, so as not to "regurgitate" the class curriculum: "I might as well kind of tie [my writing] back into my own life or something beyond the class, so that way I have something to talk about instead of just regurgitating the text that we had to read." Emmanuelle developed this approach as a means of creating original content and inventing an original argument while still adhering to the parameters of the assignment; in doing so, she reveals how her extracurricular reading about intersectionality and identity helped her locate a heuristic for invention in the context of academic writing, and simultaneously helped her locate a position of expertise and authority within the context of the course: although she is arguably a novice writer within the field of psychology, she has gained expertise in intersectionality through online reading that helps her position herself as an authority in her own experiences, thus serving as a steppingstone toward disciplinary expertise in this particular rhetorical situation.

Emmanuelle's approach to inventional transfer was detailed, elaborate, and, due to the multiplicity of intersectionality, had the potential to expand exponentially. Elaborating on her process of outlining a paper and "add[ing] in [her] own thoughts," Emmanuelle stated,

> You get a prompt… It's like, "Talk about body image."… If I didn't add my own spin, what would I talk about? Because there's only so much you can write about something without you becoming redundant, or you just don't have anything else to say. I can talk about body image and then have a sub-point: it'll be like "intersectional body image," and then have another sub-point being like, "people with multiple identities have to adhere to both body images, not one or the other,"

then that's like two more paragraphs I could add to it, so I just keep on thinking. I keep on adding in identities and stuff to those kinds of papers and then make it more comprehensive, which will also add some length in and everything.

Emmanuelle sought out a way to "add her own spin," so as not to "becom[e] redundant"; in doing so, she embarked on her process of invention. The sub-points to which she referred earlier were informed by intersectionality: instead of just talking about "body image" generally, as the relatively open-ended prompt she has described suggests, she was able to narrow the assignment. As a result, she was able to generate a topic— intersectional body image—and, as a result, length: "that's like two more paragraphs I could add to it." For someone who didn't enjoy academic writing, and who had in the past struggled with adapting to the page-length requirements common to writing assignments at her university, this approach to invention was critical: it enabled her to leverage the knowledge she has obtained through reading online and through reflecting on her own personal experiences to satisfy the requirements of the paper, both in terms of meeting page-length expectations and posing an original argument.

When Emmanuelle discussed "adding in identities" to her academic papers in order to "make [her writing] more comprehensive" and "add some length," she revealed the power of leveraging intersectionality as a heuristic for invention. Since intersectionality strives to illuminate the multiple intersecting identity categories and systems of oppression, it provides multiple avenues for expanding and complicating a topic based on different identities: not only race and gender, but class, sexuality, disability, and so on. In the previous example, Emmanuelle described leveraging the intersection between race and gender in order to locate a topic and an argument, and to

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generate length. She then revealed another identity category, and thus, another avenue that her extracurricular content knowledge of intersectionality could provide for her invention process in the context of academic writing:

> Something that I learned online that I didn't really learn about in real life was about colorism… No matter what race you are, throughout the world, darker people suffer the most… I kind of incorporated that into my writing, because it's kind of different… it's like a subset of racism. I can talk about being a woman, I can talk about being black, but then I can be like…, "Oh, I'm a middle-tone black woman, or I'm a light-skinned black woman, or I'm a multiracial black woman." It was just something else to add… The way that I use intersectionality in my writing is like mostly just to add substance and nuance to the topic… so I just add it as I see fit.

This is a salient example of how "add[ing] in identities" might have served as an inventional strategy for Emmanuelle; beyond race and gender, she could consider how colorism influences her own experiences and the experiences of other black women, thus complicating her claims and "add[ing] substance and nuance to the topic." This feature aligns well with the style of writing that is generally desired by many contexts of college writing instruction, where students are expected to develop their topics, hedge their claims, and consider multiple perspectives (see, e.g., the *Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing* and the *Writing Program Administrators Outcomes Statement*; CWPA, 2014; CWPA, NCTE, & NWP, 2011). In addition to helping her locate a topic for writing, she drew on her extracurricular learning and her personal experiences in order to enrich the course—the formal academic environment—with a perspective that

has previously been lacking: the perspective of a woman of color. Emmanuelle's approach to drawing on her extracurricular content knowledge and her personal experience in order to locate a topic for academic writing, I contend, can be viewed as a form of writing knowledge transfer. Her experiences are consonant with research that highlights the link between identity and transfer (Beach, 1999; Nowacek, 2011; Wardle & Clement, 2017); Wardle and Clement, for example, suggest that research exploring the link between identity and transfer in writing studies is "long overdue" (p. 163).

Just as Quinn suggested that drawing on one's extracurricular expertise may increase their levels of motivation toward academic writing, Emmanuelle recognized that in leveraging intersectionality as a topos, she made the assignment more approachable; she almost framed it as a favor she did herself, rather than as a challenge: "That's what I did for myself." She went on to describe how this strategy for invention helped her increase her motivation and engagement with academic writing assignments. Despite not enjoying academic writing, Emmanuelle stated that she "loves" writing about social justice and "identities," specifically because these topics allowed her to engage with the learning that she found so liberating when she first discovered intersectionality through online reading:

> I love writing about social justice. I love writing about people's identities, my identities… I think it's just writing about, like, the human factor… I just like those types of topics because you know, when I was younger, I didn't read stuff about that. So those phenomena would be, like, happening to me, but I wouldn't have a name for it. So I'm like, "Why am I suffering and not knowing what's going on?" But now at least I know.

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Clearly, Emmanuelle's approach to inventional transfer was closely tied to the learning that she did through online reading in high school that helped her understand the social, systemic origins of the hardships in her life: she noted that when she was younger she wasn't given opportunities to read about issues pertaining to social justice, a problem that she ultimately rectified through seeking out these readings in online environments. In contrast to high school, she recognized in college that she was not only able to engage with topics relevant to her experiences as a black woman, but that she was rewarded for drawing on this experiential knowledge to develop topics and content for her writing, and to increase her enjoyment, or "love," for academic writing assignments. In other words, she increased her levels of motivation toward academic writing despite the fact that she didn't enjoy it.

To be clear, Emmanuelle did not advocate for assignments that explicitly ask students to write about their personal experiences: while she artfully leveraged her understanding of intersectionality initially forged in the extracurriculum as a heuristic for drawing on her own experiences in the context of academic writing, she was not a fan of open-ended personal writing assignments. Emmanuelle reported negative experiences with personal writing assignments in grade school and earlier in her college career:

> When I was in grade school and I had to take my English class my freshman year, the prompts they would give, it's like…, "Tell me about a time when you did 'blah, blah' as a child." I'm like, "Why is the professor so nosy? Why do they need to know what happened in my childhood?"… I'm not creative; I like to write with a purpose and kind of have a point I'm trying to prove, and so I feel like if

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that is what I have to do then that's okay but if I have to think off the top of my

head and be creative and think of a plot line then it's very daunting for me.

In other words, while Emmanuelle valued drawing on her own experiences as a means of

generating content for what she sees as *purposeful* writing, she did not advocate for

personal writing assignments. She viewed such assignments as invasive and, due to their

emphasis on "creativity," perhaps misaligned with the goals and purpose of formal

educational environments; her belief that these assignments are completely subjective and

graded based on whether the instructor "likes" the student are reminiscent some of the

concerns expressed by participants in Linda Bergmann and Janet Zepernick's (2007)

study of learning transfer from FYC into upper-division academic contexts that I

discussed in chapter 2. While Emmanuelle's experiences do not necessarily suggest that

writing instructors should design assignments that explicitly seek out students' personal

experiences, they do suggest that writing assignments that allow for students to *elect* to

draw on their personal interests, identities, or experiences may support inventional

transfer.

Conclusion

The similarities across the two cases explored in this chapter are plentiful: both

Quinn and Emmanuelle were avid readers of online content about social justice and

intersectional feminism; they were both relatively new to the disciplinary contexts of

writing discussed in the chapter; they both identified as decent writers that didn't enjoy

academic writing and tended to face challenges with getting started with academic

writing assignments. Their differences, however, are instructive. First and foremost, their

interactions with the concept of intersectionality differed somewhat. Quinn was an outlier among study participants in that she first encountered feminism as a concept in her home environment rather than online. However, like Emmanuelle, she did first discover the concept of intersectionality specifically on Tumblr. Furthermore, as I described above, some of her early learning about systemic oppression originated in an academic context; both Emmanuelle and Quinn did develop and deepen their knowledge of intersectionality through their coursework, since Quinn majored in women's studies and Emmanuelle was able to take women's studies through the psychology requirements of her Biopsychology, Cognition, and Neuroscience major. Quinn and Emmanuelle's approaches to inventional transfer differ somewhat insofar as Quinn drew on gender as a category of analysis for her cultural anthropology assignment, whereas Emmanuelle used intersectionality as a heuristic for drawing on her own experiences as a black woman to "add substance and nuance" to the topics presented by the course reading. In other words, for the assignment discussed in this chapter, Quinn used gender as a category of analysis while conducting ethnographic research into the experiences of others, while Emmanuelle used her own experiences as a starting point to make an argument about a social issue. However, in other papers, such as her women's health paper exploring maladaptive coping mechanisms of survivors of sexual assault, Quinn reported drawing on her own experiences as a woman and a survivor to locate a topic and engage with the research on her chosen topic. The main difference between these two cases, overall, involves the differences in terms of their academic levels, disciplines, and types of writing assignments. Both participants had transferred from other universities in the region as sophomores; however, during the year of data collection, Quinn was a sophomore and

Emmanuelle was a senior. Although the nature of Emmanuelle's interdisciplinary major

did require her to become immersed in an array of academic disciplines, thus requiring

her to learn disciplinary expectations anew as she navigated the writing requirements of

the courses in her major. However, overall, Emmanuelle had more experience with

college-level writing, which perhaps explains the depth and extent of her engagement

with inventional transfer. In keeping with their respective levels, the assignment

described by Quinn was assigned in Anthropology 101, whereas Emmanuelle's paper

was written for Women's Studies 291: Psychology, Women, and Gender. As a result, the

assignment described by Emmanuelle involved more sustained engagement with

scholarly research, whereas Quinn's photo ethnography assignment focused on the

collective of primary data as a means of applying the methods discussed in the course.

Despite the differences across the two writers and assignments, however, both provide

textured insights into how student writers who engage with intersectional feminist

content through online reading might leverage this knowledge as a means of approaching

academic writing assignments in unfamiliar disciplines.

In this study, the instances of what would be traditionally called "writing

knowledge transfer" between academic and social contexts in this study were, as I

discussed in chapter 4, few and far between. In order to perceive the powerful and

resourceful ways that many participants in this study *were* transferring writing knowledge

from social media to academic contexts, I had to, like Emmanuelle, use another "lens."

Through the lens of inventional transfer, I was better equipped to understand the

sophisticated ways in which they leveraged their extracurricular online reading—which

often remains invisible to instructors—as inventional topoi in the context of academic

writing assignments. When faced with a vague, uninspiring, or daunting writing

assignment, student writers like Quinn and Emmanuelle turned to their content

knowledge about social justice and intersectionality forged in the digital extracurriculum

as a means of narrowing their assignments and locating topics with which they had both

motivation and expertise. Like the participant described by Rounsaville (2017), in doing

so, these students "infuse [academic writing assignments] with outside intentions, values,

and actions" (p. 332). Transfer *was* happening, but most existing frameworks for

studying transfer would not have captured it. Perhaps these students' rigorous online

reading practices as well as their keen attention to the intersections of identities might

inform how we view writing knowledge transfer: transfer is a phenomenon, like identity,

that is endlessly and impossibly complex, thus justifying researchers' ongoing efforts to

define and redefine "transfer," and to map and re-map its terrain.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS

In the analysis I have presented in the two findings chapters of this dissertation, I highlight the two main types of transfer across online and academic domains I found through this research: adaptive re-mediation of antecedent academic genre knowledge, and participants' strategy of drawing on their reading about intersectionality and social justice when faced with an open-ended writing assignment in an unfamiliar academic discipline. As I have suggested in chapter 1 and in the interlude chapter, though, these instances of transfer were exceptional; for the most part, participants in this study confirmed previous research highlighting the challenges students experience when attempting to make connections across these domains. Instances of writing knowledge transfer were so few and far between in the data that in order to locate a type of transfer that all participants reported enacting, I had to expand the scope of my definition of "writing knowledge" to include reading, as I discuss in chapter 5. By looking more closely at the instances where participants did transfer writing knowledge across domains, however, I shed light on 1) future directions for research, especially in terms of how the specifics of my findings may inform future writing knowledge transfer research, and 2) some of pedagogical features that may support students who tend to compartmentalize writing knowledge across domains in perceiving and acting on potential connections across domains.

In chapter 4, which explores participants' adaptive re-mediation of antecedent academic genre knowledge, I draw on Angela Rounsaville's (2012) discussion of

antecedent genre knowledge uptake in order to highlight the ways that participants in this study located academic genre knowledge as a tool that could potentially be drawn upon in order to respond to unprecedented rhetorical challenges in the online domain. To trace how the three participants described in this chapter transformed their academic genre knowledge of "the essay" to meet the new, multimodal demands of three different rhetorical situations in the online domains, I draw on Kara Poe Alexander, Michael-John DePalma, and Jeffrey Ringer's (2016) framework of adaptive re-mediation (drawn from DePalma and Ringer's [2011] "adaptive transfer" and Bolter and Grusin's [1999] "remediation"): the blog post, the Facebook status update, and the online article. For all three participants, I consider how they located their academic genre knowledge of the "essay" as a tool to help them to respond to three unprecedented situations in online contexts, noting how they adapted this genre knowledge into multimodal texts in order to fit the demands of the new domain. For Kate, who decided to take up blogging as a means of documenting her experiences throughout her first year of college, the rhetorical structure that she had learned through her academic writing helped provide guidance as she began to structure blog posts, a longer online genre than she was used to writing. However, she transformed this genre knowledge by infusing in with her visual rhetorical skills, including the design of her blog's template, the integration of modeling photos of herself, and the integration of a close, personal (even confessional) tone. Similarly, when compelled to speak out against a problematic line of reasoning implied by her friends on Facebook (that only straight, cisgender, black men are killed by police, overlooking the black women and LGBTQIA individuals who are subject to the same systemic oppression), Emmanuelle drew on her knowledge of the academic essay to craft a

subversively long Facebook status update, which (due to its length) would have stood out among most other Facebook status updates, thus elevating and drawing attention to her argument. While Facebook provides fewer opportunities to customize posts, Emmanuelle did re-mediate this genre knowledge by adapting the tone and length in order to meet the demands of the new rhetorical situation. Finally, when faced with less predictable (and known) audiences in a context where argumentation and genres aren't as explicitly taught, Nora reported drawing on her genre knowledge of the academic essay to provide structure for her online articles. She transformed this genre knowledge to fit the demands of the new situation by integrating her writing with images, a personal tone, and allusions to other media. As I will discuss in more detail shortly, the perspectives of these three participants build on previous discussions of writing knowledge transfer by revealing how the writing knowledge transfer may be cued not only by genre, but by similarities across genres in terms of *length*, a previously under-explored convention of genres.

In chapter 5, I trace transfer in the opposite direction—from social media into academic contexts. In my analysis, I draw on the self-reports of Quinn and Emmanuelle in order to illustrate a larger trend across the experiences of participants in this dissertation: the approach of drawing on content knowledge forged through reading in the digital extracurriculum as a means of locating a topic for open-ended writing assignments in unfamiliar academic disciplines. While I was able to find instances of this "type" of transfer across participants, in order to find a near-universal mode of writing knowledge transfer across domains I had to expand my definition of "writing knowledge" to include reading and content knowledge. While the experiences of participants in this particular study aren't necessarily generalizable due to the near-seamless fit between their

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extracurricular interests and the academic context (at least in their courses in the humanities and the social science), they do shed some light on how students may be drawing on their extracurricular reading practices as a resource in the academic context, which may remain visible for many instructors. Specifically, their experiences point to the need for composition studies transfer research to attend to the transfer of reading; this builds on prior work by Ellen Carillo (2014) and Tara Lockhart and Mary Soliday (2016) suggesting the same. By considering "reading" and the content knowledge that is closely associated with reading (see, e.g., Beaufort, 2007) as a component of writing knowledge that may transfer across domains, future researchers may be better equipped to perceive less tangible or readily apparent forms of writing knowledge transfer across domains.

The experiences of the three writers discussed in chapter 4 are heartening: their reports of transferring academic genre knowledge into subsequent contexts reaffirm the implied goals of many composition curricula—that formal academic writing instruction can prepare writers for future rhetorical challenges in college (and hopefully beyond). In many ways, Kate, Emmanuelle, and Nora's experiences suggest that this is true; when faced with a rhetorical challenge outside of school, they resourcefully drew on rhetorical strategies they had learned through explicit writing instruction in order to support their performance in the new domain. However, this type of transfer was comparatively rare; outside of these three examples, no other participants in the study reported genre knowledge across domains. In other words, it is a step in the right direction, but the fact that this type of transfer was so rare, even among a group of students that were so exceptional in their digital extracurricular writing practices, suggests that composition instructors might more effectively prime students to transfer writing knowledge across

domains. Furthermore, while virtually all participants in this study reported at least some degree of transferring *content* knowledge from social media into academic contexts, reports of more traditionally recognized forms of writing knowledge (e.g., genre knowledge, argumentation, etc.) from social media contexts into academic contexts were much more rare. In other words, while a few participants seemed to be transferring genre knowledge from academic into online contexts, there were no reports of genre knowledge in the opposite direction—from online contexts into academic contexts. As prior research suggests, high school-aged students may not view their online writing as writing (Lenhart et al., 2008), or their online reading as reading (D. Keller, 2013); and finally, and most relevant to this study, college students may continue to not see their online writing as writing (Shepherd, 2018). In other words, while researchers may view digital writing as actual writing, students may attach less value to the reading and writing they do in online spaces. As a result, it's not surprising that participants in this study were more likely to transfer *genre* knowledge obtained in academic contexts into online contexts: their academic writing knowledge may be supported by their perceptions of it as being more prestigious or valuable, and thus applicable to other situations. In contrast, their own perceptions of their online writing may prevent them from viewing that writing as writing, much less writing that may support their efforts to write successfully in other, more prestigious domains. In light of some of the questions and problems raised by the findings reported in this dissertation, I provide some recommendations for future research before offering some pedagogical recommendations that may support students in transferring writing knowledge across domains.

As a means of concluding this dissertation, I highlight five areas that merit more exploration in composition research: the transfer of genre knowledge from online into academic contexts; the relationship between document length and genre; the transfer of reading knowledge; students' efforts to write beyond the classroom; and the role of contexts in shaping or facilitating writing knowledge transfer. I conclude by offering a few pedagogical recommendations intended to support the types of transfer I found in this research, such as an approach to adaptive re-mediation that emphasizes genre (chapter 4) and coaching students on selecting topics of personal interest in writing assignments across the disciplines (chapter 5). Perhaps more importantly, I offer strategies to support students whose voices aren't as well-represented in the analysis presented in this dissertation: those who tend to compartmentalize learning across domains. As I mentioned in chapter 1, the majority of participants' self-reports suggested that they primarily tend to compartmentalize (at least consciously, since I gathered this data primarily in terms of their self-reports rather than through comparative analysis of participants' writing in both domains) the types of learning with which they engage in both domains. Throughout the study, I was pleased to find that the participants were engaged in sophisticated writing in both domains, and that, as chapters 4 and 5 suggest, several participants transferred learning across domains in rhetorically savvy ways; however, in many instances in the data I was struck by the wealth of rhetorical resources these writers had in the online domain that they could potentially draw on while facing writing challenges in other domains. However, like in previous research, it seemed as though often, they did not: as Nora stated of her online writing, "That's just a different brain." As a result, this pedagogical implications section draws on what I found, but also,

what I did not find: evidence of ongoing and readily available writing knowledge transfer across domains, even among members of this admittedly exceptional and sophisticated student population. As a result, I focus in my pedagogical implications not on the exemplary cases of transfer I have showcased in my findings chapters, but the other data in the study that confirms other scholars' findings that cast doubt on whether students can perceive the connections between their writing online and their writing in school. In order to facilitate transfer among students who tend to compartmentalize, I recommend fostering meta-awareness across domains through a writing-about-writing (WAW) approach featuring literacy narratives and reflection.

Research Implications

Adaptive Re-mediation as Methodological Tool

As I discussed in chapter 4, multimodal composition has become a central component of composition pedagogy among many researchers, teachers, and professional organizations (Alexander & Rhodes, 2014; CWPA, 2014; NCTE, 2005; Palmeri, 2012; Selfe, 2009; Shipka, 2011; Yancey, 2004); as a result, assignments that challenge students to write alphabetic texts that they later infuse with multimodal elements (named "remediation" assignments after Bolter and Grusin's [1999] term) have become popular in composition classrooms. While Alexander at al. primarily explore the re-mediation of alphabetic texts into multimodal ones, they do note that the framework could work in the reverse, suggesting that multimodal texts could be re-mediated into alphabetic texts. Although participants in this study reported little to no transfer of writing knowledge from social media into academic contexts, the framework of adaptive re-mediation

provides a heuristic framework for exploring the duplication or adaptation of rhetorical features across media. In order to complement research (like mine) that draws on self-reports and thus primarily highlights instances of transfer that are readily apparent or conscious to writers, future researchers may engage in what Alexander et al. term "charting," or "the practice of examining a text to determine its rhetorical moves" (p. 34), when searching for textual evidence of transfer from students' everyday digital extracurricular composing. By comparing elements of texts composed across different domains, researchers may be better equipped to detect evidence of subconscious transfer of rhetorical knowledge that otherwise might be obscured by differing surface features of the media used in the original and re-mediated texts. For example, while participants in this study reported using visual rhetoric in both domains, they did not report the transfer of such competencies across domains. Perhaps adaptive re-mediation as a theoretical lens could help uncover some of these connections in their texts, since they are not readily apparent in participants' self-reports. This approach could help respond to ongoing questions about why learning from everyday social media composition does not seem to transfer into academic writing despite increased levels of writing in young writers' daily lives.

The Relationship between Length and Genre

While exploring the instances when genre did seem to transfer across domains in chapter 4, my textual analysis of their writing samples from both domains suggested that similarities in terms of *length* seemed to be one overlap between alphabetic and multimodal writing that signaled possibilities for transfer for these writers. Although the interview data didn't definitively point me at similarities in terms of document length as a

facilitator of transfer, this observation does point to the need for more research on the relationship between document length and genre in both composition studies and applied linguistics.

The discussion of document length here may seem odd at first glance, since there are virtually no discussions of the relationship between genre and document length in the literature on genre—neither in rhetorical genre studies nor in linguistics. In contrast, in our classrooms and in the documents that guide and support our teaching (e.g., learning outcomes statements, course descriptions, syllabi, assignment prompts), page-length requirements are a pressing concern with great consequences for students, and in some cases, for administrators and instructors. Document length is a commonplace topic in teaching artifacts such as popular teacher-training textbooks (e.g., Bean, 2011), writing textbooks (e.g., Devitt, Bawarshi, & Reiff, 2004), first-year composition rubrics (Dryer, 2013), and academic writing assignments (Melzer, 2014). Formatting issues are often framed as being of great importance in formal writing curriculum: as Dylan Dryer (2008) notes, writing syllabi are often riddled with "severely worded proscriptions about placement of staples, width of margins, location of titles, number of pages, or size of fonts" (p. 524). In the first-year writing program at the institution where this research was conducted, for example, incoming graduate student instructors were at one point advised to assign "no fewer than three, no more than five" "formal essays," with page-lengths specified ("students should learn to write essays of varied lengths"), culminating in "25-30-pages of polished, peer-reviewed prose" over the course of the semester (EDWP "Composition Workshop" Memo, 2013). Like their instructors, students feel the pressure imposed by this attention to page-length requirements in writing assignments, as Quinn

and Emmanuelle both suggest in chapter 5. Dryer's (2013) corpus analysis of rubrics from 83 writing programs suggests that document length is only explicitly named when it is insufficient: while the descriptor "short" is applied to failing papers, the corresponding terms for *successful* papers, terms like "thoughtfully," "thoroughly," "beyond… requirements," focus on quality rather than quantity (pp. 21-2). In other words, not meeting page-length requirements (quantity) is often viewed as a mark of failure, while meeting or exceeding them is a mark of excellence (quality). It is understandable, then, why students tend to place so much value on how *much* they write as an indicator of how *well* they write—this is the message that is often communicated through curricular materials.[41]

Despite the inordinate attention paid to document length in teaching, less attention has been paid to this rhetorical feature in research: there is scant research in rhetorical genre studies or linguistics that considers the relationship between genre and document length. This could be for a number of reasons. On the rhetorical genre studies side, for example, it is likely that researchers might resist exploring facets of genres that could be construed as formulaic or, in Peter Medway's (2002) terms, "ossified," opting instead for conceptions of genre that are sufficiently "fuzzy" (p. 141).[42] Researchers may also be concerned that attention to document length implies that "length" is more rhetorical than it actually is; concerns about *quantity* of writing seem rather superficial and associated

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[41] Furthermore, as Les Perelman (2008) suggests, to even initially gain access to universities that require the SAT Writing section (such as the university where this research was conducted), students may be asked to master a writing task that highly rewards quantity (length) over quality (in terms of honesty and accuracy).

[42] I do not mean to undercut the field's tendency toward viewing genres as "fuzzy"; in fact, this dissertation points toward the benefits of fuzzy genres, as both findings chapters reveal instances where fuzzy or ill-defined genres and rhetorical situations prompted and enabled students to transfer writing knowledge across disparate domains.

with "answer-getting dispositions" (Wardle, 2012) and the curriculum structured around them (e.g., standardized tests). However, as any technical writer will tell you, rhetorical efficacy in many environments hinges on the understanding of what constitutes an appropriate length for a given document. Social media, as well, troubles the dichotomy between quantity and rhetorical quality of writing: as I have detailed in chapter 4, in this context, document length and rhetorical efficacy are inextricably bound, and there is a possibility that similarities in terms of length may signal opportunities for transfer. Even in the academic domain, various academic disciplines tend to value genres of varied lengths, with the sciences generally publishing shorter articles, for example. High stakes academic genres such as personal statements and grant applications further demonstrate the rhetorical weight of document length in many situations. At any rate, there is a disproportionate amount of attention paid to document length in pedagogical materials as opposed to in research and theory, which raises questions about whether pedagogical attention to (and even obsession with) document length is grounded in empirical evidence. Perhaps de-emphasizing the importance of writing quantity in academic contexts or conducting more research into the relationship between length and genre may balance these scales somewhat. Since document length does have an effect on the time it takes to consume the text, future researchers might productively think about the rhetoricity of document length similarly to the distinction between chronos (quantity of time) and kairos (rhetorical quality of time). In other words, in order to obviate concerns about length emphasizing quantity at the expense of rhetorical quantity, future research may explore instances where rhetorical quality is linked to specific lengths that allow for extended argumentation, or, in contrast, brevity, succinctness, and conciseness.

The disconnect between emphasis on page-length requirement in pedagogical contexts as opposed to in research and theory suggests that our pedagogical emphasis on quantity of writing may lack grounding in empirical evidence, especially given the fact that writing has been found to contribute to overall development only when writing assignments emphasize quality over quantity (Anderson et al., 2015). I recommend that future research explore the relationship between length and genre in order to account for how much emphasis is placed on page-length in teaching artifacts (training manuals, textbooks, rubrics, etc.). This may balance the scales between pedagogy and research in order to ensure that our pedagogical decisions are grounded in research and theory. Future research on the relationship between genre and document length in teaching and research could potentially emulate recent efforts to consider whether/how teaching artifacts such as textbooks (Knoblauch, 2011; Schiavone, 2017) and rubrics (Dryer, 2013) map on to the theories of our discipline.

Although I am reluctant to provide pedagogical recommendations about page-length requirements, in future research I may experiment with calling for a cumulative page length and letting students decide where to "spend" those pages. For example, if every student has to write twenty-five pages by the end of the semester, some may decide that for their first two papers they will write seven pages and for the final paper they will write eleven pages. Although the emphasis would still remain on counting pages (probably even more so, for both students and the instructor), students would have more flexibility to decide when papers of a certain length are most rhetorically effective for a specific situation.

While my findings regarding length are still somewhat tentative since they were

obtained through comparative textual analysis rather than participants' self-reports, the

fact that participants seemed to transfer genre knowledge only when cued by rhetorical

situations calling for genres of similar lengths, this finding contributes to the research on

writing knowledge transfer by 1) illuminating the need for more research on genre and

length, and 2) providing another avenue for exploring the aforementioned "Working

Principle in Development" in the *Elon Statement on Writing Transfer* which suggests that

"Some physical and digital space designs afford learning and transfer better than others"

(p. 353): if writers are presented with ill-defined rhetorical situations where they are

called upon to write unfamiliar genres of similar lengths to genres they already know

well, the physical space permitted by the writing environment (e.g., a longer blog post)

may support them in transferring writing knowledge in ways that other contexts of

writing may not.

Reading as Writing Knowledge

In recent history, reading has been overlooked in composition studies generally

(Donahue & Salvatori, 2012) and in transfer research specifically (Carillo, 2014;

Lockhart & Soliday, 2016). Yet academic reading plays a significant role in writing

development, as it supports students in becoming acclimated to the norms and

conventions of academic disciplines, both in terms of content knowledge and writing

(Beaufort, 2007; Gogan, 2013; Lockhart & Soliday, 2016). However, the participants in

this study reveal that in some cases, extracurricular reading may similarly contribute to

students' writing development over time, especially as they transfer content knowledge

learned through reading in the extracurriculum as a means of locating topics to write

about in academic contexts. Because students' digital extracurricular reading practices

typically remain invisible to instructors (Jolliffe & Harl, 2008; Keller, 2012), we still have much to learn about how students' extracurricular reading practices might influence their writing in academic contexts.

The participants in this study illuminate the centrality of reading to writing knowledge transfer: all participants in this study reported reading, particularly about social justice and intersectionality, on social media. Most indicated that they had initially discovered feminism through social media, and all stated that they deepened their knowledge of intersectionality and social justice through their online reading. This practice supported the types of writing knowledge transfer that I have documented in chapter 5, and it also calls attention to the role of reading in writing knowledge transfer. Future writing knowledge transfer researchers may adopt my definition of writing knowledge that accounts for reading and content knowledge as components as a means of expanding the scope of the kinds of knowledge may transfer across domains.

Looking beyond the Academic Domain

Much transfer research has been motivated by concerns about whether or not first-year composition (FYC) actually had a bearing on students' subsequent writing experiences in college. This concern is completely understandable, especially from an administrative perspective: a required course on college writing should ostensibly prepare students to write in college classes. However, this research tends to create a very specific trajectory that privileges students' writing and student writers in two contexts, with knowledge moving from point A to point B, with both points being located in the academic domain. Even research that explores other pressing transfer problems that affect the teaching of first-year composition—the misalignment between high school and

college writing, for example—is concerned with what students learned in high school (an academic context, point A) and whether/how they import that knowledge to point B, which in this case is FYC (another context within the academic domain).

Both types of research are, of course, grounded in very pressing exigences from the perspective of people teaching college writing and/or serving in administrative positions in writing programs. Additionally, it is perhaps tidier, more compact, and easier to be methodologically sound and academically rigorous when researching whether a specific kind of knowledge transfers between two specific of contexts within one specific domain. This approach removes many variables from the equation, and it responds to the issue at hand, whether that issue is students' apparent inability to write for their upper-division coursework, or students' challenges to adapt to college writing. Furthermore, both types of research are necessary. In fact, the next major research project that I plan to take on explores both by considering whether a FYC curriculum that methodically acknowledges and engages with students' prior knowledge from high school results in learning that is subsequently more transferable into upper-division coursework. Through the process of conducting this research I realized that this is an assumption that informs my own curricular design for FYC; as a result, I would like to explore whether this assumption can be supported by empirical research.

However, that said, in my experiences as a high school dropout, a community college student, a first-generation college student, a transfer student at a major research university, an undergraduate writing consultant, a writing instructor, an assistant writing program administrator, and a writing researcher, I have learned that in many cases, what students are willing to share with their instructors about their prior knowledge and non-

academic writing (and reading) practices is just the tip of the iceberg. This may be especially true when a student makes the assumption that their non-academic writing might be irrelevant to the academic context. For example, as a foil to the findings of chapter 5, when I was collecting data for this study, one of my own students, a prominent recruit for our football team, was struggling to locate a topic for a literacy narrative assignment. He had been admitted early, and, at 17, with what constitutes a full-time job beyond a full schedule of classes at one of the most rigorous public universities in the world, he felt understandably overwhelmed by the first major writing assignment in the course, which was also his first major writing assignment in college. When we sat down in a conference to try to develop a topic and an approach for his paper, he mentioned in passing, "Well, how I learned to write was similar to how I learned to play football, but I can't write about that." I asked him why not. He had assumed, based on his perceptions of my identity as an academic, and perhaps other identities he had gleaned from my appearance and self-presentation, that I wouldn't care about sports and that any discussion of athletics would be completely irrelevant to the assignment. While this assumption was perhaps a savvy reading of a certain "type" of person, he was ultimately wrong about what I expected from him as a writer, or what kinds of topics were permitted—even encouraged—in my course. I was thrilled that he could connect the assignment to his own experiences, and that he could draw on the work he was doing outside of the classroom to add texture and structure to the writing he was required to do in my course. For him, football was a productive topos from which he could craft a narrative about learning, development, and eventual success. If he hadn't mentioned this idea in passing, I never would have known that this was a generative topos for him, and

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the sophisticated paper he wrote in response to this prompt wouldn't have been the same. In other words, this knowledge—that comparing his learning in different contexts could be a generative starting place for him—would have stayed beneath the surface, beyond my perception.

As I have suggested above, research on students' digital extracurricular reading practices similarly suggests that much of the reading that students do outside of the classroom may remain invisible to instructors (Jolliffe & Harl, 2008; D. Keller, 2013). For the most part, participants in this study seemed to compartmentalize or contain their online and academic reading and writing practices, keeping part or all of their online reading and writing private from their instructors. This makes good sense, since their social media writing often involved presenting different identities or personas that may be in conflict with the persona that they strove to present in academic settings.

However, by exploring their online writing environments as one possible source or target domain for transfer in this study, I was able to gain some insight into how this domain of writing, one that is often beneath the surface, out of detection of the instructor, might interact with their writing that these writers were doing in the academic domain. For example, in chapter 4 I discussed the ways in which three participants—Nora, Kate, and Emmanuelle—did seem to draw on academic writing knowledge when faced with new rhetorical challenges in online environments. While it may be disheartening when we find little evidence of transfer within the academic domain, from FYC to upper-division coursework for example, there may be some solace in the fact that students are drawing on their learning from academic writing instruction to guide their rhetorical performances in domains very different from the source domain, and in social media, a

domain they particularly value. Furthermore, many participants in this study valued the learning that they did online; for example, Alice seemed to value online writing environments as a site of learning, suggesting that social media may be better preparation for workplace writing than academic writing assignments due to the authentic exigences and audiences in social media environments, ultimately stating, "There's a little bit more ownership of it on social media versus academic writing." Even if we find limited evidence of learning from formal writing instruction transferring into subsequent academic contexts, we should be reassured by the fact that a few writers in this study at least found the occasion to transfer genre knowledge from formal writing instruction into non-academic domains, such digital extracurricular writing. Continued engagement with these participants as they move from college into the workplace will reveal whether they subsequently transferred academic writing knowledge into professional writing contexts; based on the fact that the three participants discussed in chapter 4 already reported transferring academic genre knowledge into the digital extracurriculum, a non-academic domain, I would not be surprised to learn that they similarly transferred genre knowledge into the non-academic domain of professional writing. After all, they are only undergraduate college students for four or so years; they will exist as rhetors in extracurricular and professional domains for much longer, so the stakes of whether they transfer writing knowledge from academic contexts into these other domains are perhaps higher.

Contexts Shape Not Only Writing, but Transfer

When taken together, chapters 4 and 5 both suggest that ill-defined genres and rhetorical situations may enable the transfer of genre knowledge across disparate

domains, and may even motivate writers to seek writing knowledge from other domains in order to respond to the ill-defined rhetorical situation at hand. While previous research has suggested that contexts of writing may shape the kinds of writing that may flourish within specific domains, such as writing assignments (see, e.g., Bawarshi, 2003) or the interfaces of social media platforms (boyd, 2011; Papacharissi & Easton; 2013). My research builds on this prior scholarship by suggesting that contexts of writing may not only shape the writing that can happen *within* domains, but that contexts of writing may play a role in determining what kinds of writing knowledge can transfer *across* domains. In other words, when faced with a context of writing that was receptive to specific conventions of genre knowledge cultivated in other domains, such as length (chapter 4) or content knowledge (chapter 5), participants were enabled (and even encouraged) by the writing context to import genre knowledge from another domain. This finding lends credence to the "Working Principle in Development" offered in the *Elon Statement on Writing Transfer* which suggests that "Some physical and digital space designs afford learning and transfer better than others" (Anson & Moore, 2017, p. 353).

Pedagogical Implications

Fostering Meta-Awareness Across Domains Through Writing About Writing, Digital Literacy Narratives, and Eportfolio Reflection

As I have suggested in previous chapters, the exigence that motivated this research involved the overwhelming consensus in previous research that while today's college students are writing more than ever, they rarely perceive the connection between their online and academic writing. The findings chapters in this dissertation showcase

two different types of transfer between domains that participants in this study *did* seem to enact; however, overwhelmingly, despite engaging in complex, rhetorically sophisticated writing in both domains, as I discussed in chapter 1 and in the interlude chapter, the interview data suggested that participants in this study generally tended to report not transferring writing knowledge across these domains. In other words, the findings that I offer in this dissertation are the exception to the rule, both when it comes to prior research on writing knowledge transfer between online and academic domains and my own study. In order to support students in transferring writing knowledge across domains, which prior research and my own has suggested is both challenging and rare, my primary pedagogical recommendation involves collaborating with students to foster meta-awareness across domains through three main curricular interventions: WAW, digital literacy narratives, and reflective writing assignments.

Like Anson (2017), I suggest that WAW approaches to FYC that recognize students' prior knowledge from the digital extracurriculum may support students in bridging this gap between domains of writing:

> In light of the considerable overlap we can discern between the discourse of self-sponsored digital interaction and the demands of academic writing tasks, more intentional bridging of the two promises to strengthen students' knowledge *about* writing in addition to their meta-awareness of various rhetorical, stylistic, and genre-based strategies. (p. 325)

Because WAW seeks to introduce students to writing as a subject of study, this curricular approach provides an ideal vantage from which students may reflect on the role of digital extracurricular writing alongside alphabetic texts, reflecting on the role of digital texts in

the overall landscape of their writing lives. A version of WAW that emphasizes the rhetoricity of social media and online writing could help students explore the writing knowledge that they have obtained in this environment, and it could also prompt them to consider whether their academic writing knowledge has informed their online writing. Through an exploration of their digital writing alongside other types of writing in their lives, students may be coached on evaluating the similarities and differences between their digital extracurricular and academic writing, similar to the activity that Alexander et al. (2016) refer to as "charting," where rhetors evaluate rhetorical moves within a text in preparation for re-mediating it for an online context (p. 34). In doing so, they may be primed to search for connections across the domains and to act on these connections when appropriate and/or effective, thus encouraging the type of meta-awareness that Ryan Shepherd (2018) suggests may support students in transferring writing knowledge across these domains.

Assigning digital literacy narrative assignments may also facilitate reflection across domains within a WAW approach, which could support students who tend to compartmentalize their writing knowledge in noting and acting on potential connections across domains. While Douglas Downs and Elizabeth Wardle's (2007) article proposing WAW as a pedagogical approach does not explicitly suggest integrating students' prior digital writing knowledge into the curriculum, they do propose assigning literacy narratives as a means of helping students locate problems in their writing past that they can further explore through research:

> We also assign literacy narratives or auto-ethnographies in which students take
> stock of their literacy educations, experiences, and habits. We encourage students

to think historically and to identify sources of their current attitudes and approaches to literacy, and we help students clarify their open questions, problems, and skepticisms regarding writing. What do they like and dislike about writing? What problems do they have with writing? What do they sense they do not know that they would like to? (p. 561)

This type of literacy narrative may be particularly fruitful because it doubles as a reflective activity, inviting students to reflect on their own experiences with and beliefs about various types of writing. Explicit attention to students' prior digital writing experiences may support them in conceptualizing of their digital writing as *writing* and reflecting on its potential connections to their curricular writing. Additionally, assigning digital literacy narratives may help instructors better understand what students bring *in* to the classroom, thus creating a more holistic understanding the digital aspects of students' writing lives. Wardle and Downs's textbook (2014) does include an array of readings that could support such assignments, such as Emily Strasser's sample student text about bridging extracurricular literacies with curricular literacies, Marissa Penzato's sample student text about the connection between fan-fiction and academic writing, as well as the readings included in the final chapter of the book, entitled "Multimodal Composition: What Counts as Writing?" Additionally, the sample writing assignments in this textbook could be adapted to explore digital extracurricular writing and its relationship to academic (and even professional) writing. Although other approaches to digital literacy narratives have certainly been discussed in the literature, this is one concrete approach that could be modified to facilitate rigorous exploration of the relationship between students' digital writing knowledge and their academic writing knowledge in the context

of FYC. Such assignments may help them recognize and act on potential similarities across the writing knowledge valued within and across both domains.

Like literacy narratives, reflection, particularly when assigned as a component of eportfolios, may support students who tend to compartmentalize writing knowledge across domains in fostering meta-awareness about the relationship between writing knowledge within and across domains. As I have suggested in chapter 2, metacognitive reflection has been recommended by many writing knowledge transfer researchers as a means of facilitating connections across domains. Given that many students tend to view their academic and non-academic writing as disconnected, be particularly important for fostering connections between academic and non-academic domains. As one "Working Principle in Development" in the Elon Statement on Writing Transfer states, "The transfer of rhetorical knowledge and strategies between self-sponsored and academic writing can be encouraged by designing academic writing opportunities with authentic audiences and purposes and by asking students to engage in meta-cognition" (Anson & Moore, 2017, p. 353).

Specifically, instructors may invite students to include their writing from online contexts alongside their academic writing samples in their eportfolios and to address the links between this writing and their academic writing in their reflections. Given the link between reflection and transfer posited by previous scholarship, inviting students to include samples of their social media writing in their FYC eportfolios could potentially help them conceptualize and build connections between their online and academic writing, perhaps even creating visual maps representing such connections. In these reflections, they could be prompted to reflect on how various interfaces and media afford

and constrain specific genres as a means of fostering critical literacy skills for academic contexts. Conversely, they could consider moments when knowledge learned through their formal academic writing instruction could help them respond to rhetorical challenges in the online domain. By challenging students to systematically map their experiences learning within and across various contexts of writing, instructors could strive to coach students in cultivating more meta-awareness that might promote transfer both within and across domains.

Topic Selection and Coaching

As the participants in chapter 5 suggest, open-ended writing assignments can be quite challenging for college students, especially those who are relatively new to a specific academic discipline. However, despite their challenges, open-ended writing assignments may foster deeper learning: although Quinn states that it "makes it easier [for the student] if it's narrow," she states that "it's probably like a better tool [for teaching] to be more open-ended because… you learn more about the students and they have to try harder." In her view, not only do these assignments encourage learning, but they provide instructors with insight into students' interests, values, experiences, and identities. Elaborating on the value of open-ended prompts, Quinn states,

> We're in school to get an education, and that stays probably more educational
> when you have to *think of your own prompt* and *where you want to take it*
> yourself, as long as you're filling the parameters of whatever your professor
> wants. (Emphases added)

Essentially, Quinn has suggested that when faced with an open-ended writing assignment, the student is required to collaboratively *invent* their own prompt and locate

their own direction, within the boundaries (of course) of the instructor's expectation. Quinn posits of view of invention that is more complicated than a student writer coming up with a response to a prompt: she suggests that open-ended assignments require the student to participate in designing the assignment by inventing a topic and an approach. In doing so, she suggests that these open-ended assignments put more responsibility— and perhaps more agency—on the student writer for creating the task at hand.

Quinn's description of "narrow" and "open-ended" prompts runs parallel to Wardle's (2012) distinction between well-structured and ill-structured problems: well-structured problems, Wardle suggests, "have a single correct answer that can be identified"; in contrast, ill-structured problems "do not have certain or specific answers." Real-world rhetorical problems, those which academic writing instruction is ostensibly designed to prepare students for, tend to be ill structured:

> Rhetorical problems as encountered in every day life are rarely well structured. School problems, particularly in school systems with extensive focus on standardized testing, are more often well-structured problems. (Repurposing section, para. 2)

Similarly, Quinn suggests that open-ended college writing assignments, although difficult, require more effort on the part of the student and are overall more beneficial, thus affirming the pedagogical decisions of the college instructors whose open-ended prompts she finds so challenging. Quinn values the challenge, albeit begrudgingly; in response, she draws on knowledge forged through reading in the extracurriculum as a means of overcoming this academic hurdle.

In other words, I am not recommending that courses in the disciplines completely do away with open-ended prompts, opting more for the overly-prescriptive, narrow prompts Quinn had described earlier; instead, more open-ended assignments that allow students to grapple with the complexities of the content area of the field would perhaps meet some of the learning goals that both Quinn and Wardle recommend. However, perhaps these prompts at times assume a level of content expertise that students just don't have yet. Below, I describe one approach that instructors might take to obviate students' challenges with selecting topics and to ensure that students are aware of the full range of possibilities of selecting topics relevant to their own interests in both academic and extracurricular contexts.

As the findings presented in chapter 5 suggested, online reading may be one powerful site where students can locate intrinsically motivating topics. Many students may have extracurricular content expertise that they aren't tapping into in our classes because they feel it is not welcome in the context of academia, especially if it's tied to an identity that is marginalized or historically excluded in the academy, or a literacy practice (such as social media) that is often derided in both academic and public discourse. As a result, I suggest that instructors spend more time coaching students on locating topics for open-ended assignments, making it clear to them that in many cases, they may be able to draw on personal interest to locate a topic. However, students who have less relevant or obvious extracurricular interests may need more scaffolding and support when locating these topics.

While assigning open-ended writing and research projects in the disciplines, instructors might scaffold in formative, ungraded pre-writing activities where they coach

students on selecting topics relevant to a particular discipline. For example, an instructor could design a handout with three columns: one for topics discussed in the course; one for topics that the student learned about online that may be relevant to the course; and in the third column, the student could collaborate with the instructor or another member of the teaching faculty to determine whether and how the online topics drafted in the second column could be made appropriate/generative research/writing topics for this particular course. This conversation could also include discussion of where to find germane sources, especially if this is a topic a student has read about a great deal online. A comparative analysis of an online source and an academic source would support the pedagogical goal of source analysis and source integration, and it would help students engage more critically with the rigor and veracity of sources found in various locations. Not only would this help students bridge their knowledge and interests across domains, but it would support students in learning about the boundaries and expectations of this particular academic discipline, which hopefully would then support their writing in this class and beyond.

However, there are some caveats worth mentioning here. First and foremost, as I mentioned in the introduction, students may bring in interests that don't align with the values promoted by many academics, and as a result, they might not feel comfortable sharing these interests with their instructors. By being frank about topics that cannot be made applicable in the academic context (e.g., the classic "you can't write about abortion, gun control, or gay marriage" disclaimer), instructors might help students narrow down the range of topics they might bring into the classroom. For many students, there is a risk that their intrinsically-held interests might be coopted by the academic context, and that

writing about one's own interests in school may defang the intrinsic motivation that caused the student to select this interest in the first place.

Despite these concerns, I do recommend, however, that to whatever extent is possible, students are encouraged to write about topics that motivate them in academic writing assignments as a means of bridging these two domains of learning. As I noted in previous chapters, Lenhart et al. (2008) suggest that writers experience higher levels of intrinsic motivation when writing for digital extracurricular purposes; however, they don't seem to view this writing as "writing," and therefore perceive it as being completely disconnected from academic writing. This may explain to some extent why so many researchers have found little to no transfer between social media and academic writing. However, when writers are able to write about their own passions and interests, formal writing curriculum might build a bridge between extracurricular and academic writing assignments, thus enhancing motivation and engagement, and providing the student *something to write* about that sparks their passion (e.g., the case of "Nicole" described in Adler-Kassner et al., 2017). The strongest evidence of this in this study's dataset can be found in six documents submitted to me by Olivia in a folder titled "Papers not for a class." After receiving this folder and noting that they were all papers that appeared academic in nature, I asked Olivia about their origins. She explained to me via email that her cousin had taken a women's studies course at another local college and had asked her for help with his papers; after viewing the prompts, she decided that the content of the course was so interesting to her that she would also write responses to the assignments, for no reason other than her own interest:

My cousin was taking a women's studies class at his school during the winter

semester and came to me for help with his writing assignments because he was

doing poorly on them. Afterwards, I thought that it would be interesting to write

about them myself—it was just kind of for fun, and also to get me thinking about

these topics in an academic way… Other than showing my cousin to help him

understand the concepts better, they've just been sitting in a folder on my desktop

collecting (electronic) dust.

Intrinsic motivation is powerful, and can move students to write in ways that they

otherwise would not. As Dana Lynn Driscoll and Jennifer Wells (2012) suggest, future

research might explore the relationship between motivation and writing knowledge

transfer; in future research I will explore more rigorously the role of motivation in the

dataset from this study.

Allowing learners to leverage their intrinsically-held interests and commitments

in the context of academic writing may not only enable students to integrate disparate

learning environments, but it can also foster a sense of agency and motivation toward

academic writing that is unparalleled: it gives them a *reason* to write. Intrinsically

motivated interests that are closely tied to their identities and experiences, such as

intersectionality, may provide writers with authentic and urgent exigences beyond

receiving a grade or fulfilling a course requirement. Like the participant described by

Angela Rounsaville (2017), in doing so, these students "infuse [academic writing

assignments] with outside intentions, values, and actions" (p. 332). Furthermore, by

synthesizing their personally held interests with academic disciplines, they may gain

valuable practice in aligning their interests with their academic and professional

pathways. Finally, this practice also affords writers opportunities to practice writing about their extracurricular passions in more formal contexts, thus lending these topics the prestige or value that is typically not awarded to learning in online environments: recall Olivia's lament, quoted in the introduction, "My mom's always like, 'Shouldn't you be studying or something instead of being on Tumblr?' I'm like, 'I'm kind of learning stuff here too."

Conclusion

Overwhelmingly, the writers in this study pointed to the complexity of students' writing in both domains and illuminated multiple avenues that might guide future researchers. In many ways, their insights were so rich that they raised more questions than answers; as a result, I look forward to exploring through future research textual evidence of transfer, length and genre, reading as writing knowledge transfer, writing beyond the classroom, and the ways in which contexts of writing may afford or constrain transfer. While I highlight exceptional instances of writing knowledge transfer in the findings chapters of this dissertation, ultimately the scarcity of transfer across domains in this study and in prior research on writing knowledge transfer across online and academic domains points to the need for more pedagogical support for students who tend to compartmentalize their learning across domains. As a means of supporting such students, I recommend pedagogical approaches that are designed around the goal of increasing students' meta-awareness across disparate domains of writing. As Paul Kei Matsuda (2006) states,

Behind any pedagogy is an image of prototypical students—the teacher's imagined audience. This image embodies a set of assumptions about who the students are, where they come from, where they are going, what they already know, what they need to know, and how best to teach them. (p. 639)

By building curriculum that encourages students to make connections between their extracurricular and academic writing, instructors might reaffirm and reinforce a vision of students that pays adequate attention to the sophisticated rhetorical practices that may be invisible to instructors. Furthermore, by encouraging students to engage in what David N. Perkins and Gavriel Salomon (1988) would term "high-road transfer"—that is, transfer across domains that appear to be very different—we may help students cultivate habits of writing that will support them as they strive to transfer the academic writing knowledge they obtain in college into disparate future situations: not only into their workplaces, but into their civic lives.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT EMAIL TO STUDENT ORGANIZATION

LEADERS

Dear _____,

My name is Anna Knutson, and I'm a doctoral candidate in the Joint Program in English and Education here at U-M. I'm currently preparing to write my dissertation, which explores how undergraduate college students who are engaged in social justice activism and online writing understand the relationship between their in-school writing and the writing they do on social media. Given the focus of your student organization, I suspect that many members might be excellent candidates for this opportunity. I would be really grateful if you would be willing to forward this message out to your group's email list.

Participation in the study would entail three interviews and collection of writing samples, and selected participants could earn up to $100 in compensation if they participate in all aspects of the study. If you or any members of your organization are interested in participating, please feel free to contact me via email at aknutson@umich.edu to ask any questions, or complete this survey. From responses to the survey, I will select 5-10 individuals to participate in the study.

Thanks so much for your time! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Best,
Anna

APPENDIX B: LIST OF STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH THE

RECRUITMENT SURVEY WAS DISTRIBUTED

- Body-Peace Corps:

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/bodypeacecorps

- I Will: https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/iwill

- Pretty Brown Girls Club of Ann Arbor:

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/PBG

- Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center:

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/SAPACNPA

- Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center Bystander Intervention and

  Community Engagement,

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/BICE/about

- Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center: Peer Education,

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/sapacpe

- Students for Choice:

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/studentsforchoice

- University Students Against Rape (USAR):

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/USAR

- What the F: Your Monthly Periodical:

  https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/whatthef

- Yoni Ki Baat: https://maizepages.umich.edu/organization/yonikibaat

APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT SURVEY

This is a recruitment survey for a study about how college students who are interested in **social justice**, and/or who identify as **intersectional feminists** or **womanists** read and write on **social media** and in their **college classes**. The researcher, Anna V. Knutson (aknutson@umich.edu), is using this survey to find students over the age of 18 who are interested in **social justice**, **feminism,** and/or **womanism** and are willing to participate in a **compensated research study**. If you are willing to participate in three interviews and to submit up to eight writing samples (including **college writing** and **access to some of your social media profiles**) to the researcher, please take this survey to apply to participate in the study. Selected participants may earn **up to $100** during this calendar year in compensation if they complete all aspects of the study. The researcher may present findings from the study in conference presentations or academic publications, but your identity will be kept anonymous.

If you are not interested in participating in such a study, please disregard this message.   This survey is completely voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. At the end of the survey, there will be an opportunity for you to connect with the researcher for future paid research opportunities.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

- Which college do you currently attend?
- What year are you in college?
- Have you attended any other colleges? If so, which colleges have you attended?
- What is your intended major?
- What is your intended career?
- What is your first and most comfortable language?
- How old are you?
- Which gender(s), if any, do you identify with?
- What is your racial and/or ethnic background?
- Do you have one or more parent who has a bachelors degree?
- Which courses are you taking this coming semester?
- Which, if any, student organizations are you involved with on your campus?
- Briefly, which social media platforms do you use (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tumblr, etc.), and how often do you use them?
- Do you read or post about feminist, activist, or social justice issues in social media contexts? If so, how often do you read or post about these issues on social media?
- For what other purposes, if any, do you use social media?

- What other types of reading and writing activities do you do outside of school (i.e., at home, at work, in a student organization, in your community, online, etc.)?
- Would you be willing to share one or more of your social media accounts with the researcher so that she may preview the content you post in this forum? If so, please share your social media handles in the box below, indicating which handle is associated with which account (e.g., "Twitter: @twitterhandle; Facebook: FirstName LastName, etc.). If your profiles are private, she may request access to them.
- To your knowledge, have you ever used skills that you have learned while reading or writing for social media in your college classes? If you select "yes," please briefly describe an experience that you have had with this.
  - No (1)
  - Yes (2) _____
- To your knowledge, have you ever used skills that you have learned while reading or writing for college classes in your social media posts? If you select "yes," please briefly describe an experience that you have had with this.
  - No (1)
  - Yes (2) _____
- If there is any other information you think would help the researcher understand how you have learned to write in and across social media and academic contexts, please include this here.
- Please leave your name and email address in the box below so that I may contact you for a follow-up interview if you are selected to participate in the study.
- Thank you so much for your time and insights!

APPENDIX D: EMAIL TO RECRUITED PARTICIPANTS

Dear _____,

Thank you for responding to the survey regarding participation in a research study on the ways in which feminist/womanist college students understand the relationship between their college writing and their social media writing. In the survey, you indicated that you would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview. If you agree to be interviewed, I would like to learn more about the kind of information that you provided in the survey you took: in other words, I would like to learn more about how you read and write in school and on social media. The compensation for an interview for this study is $20 dollars per interview, and there will be more opportunities for compensation (up to $100) if you are willing to provide me with writing samples (including access to social media profiles) and/or opportunities to observe places where you write outside of school. Your participation in the study would be completely anonymous, and if you decide at any time to leave the study, it will not affect your relationship with me or the university.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please respond to this email and provide me with your availability for an hour-long interview.

Thank you so much for your time.

Best,
Anna

APPENDIX E: INITIAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- Thank you so much for agreeing to talk with me today. Before we start, I want to give you a moment to look over your consent form, which basically outlines your rights as a research participant. Please remember that if I ask you any question that you don't feel like answering, you can decline to answer it, and if at any time you decide that you don't want to participate in the study, you are free to leave.
- As a researcher, I'm interested in learning more about how college students who are interested in feminist issues write on social media and in their college classes. As a result, I would like to learn from your experiences. I'm going to draw on some of your responses to the survey you took and ask you for more details about your experiences with writing in different contexts. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?
- **Academic contexts**
- What year are you in in college?
- In your survey, you told me that you are majoring in _____. Can you tell me what led you to this major?
- You also indicated that you would like to have a career in _____. How did you pick that pathway?
- Do you enjoy writing for school?
- What kinds of reading and writing have you done so far in your major?
- And outside of your major?
- Which courses are you taking this semester?
    - o Probe: What kinds of writing activities are required by these courses?
- What is the most recent writing assignment that you completed for school?
    - o Probe: What process did you use while writing this assignment? Analysis?
    - o Probe: What was the purpose of the assignment?
    - o Probe: Who was your audience for this assignment?
    - o Probe: What kind of evidence did you use?
    - o Probe: What kind of feedback did you get on this assignment?
    - o Probe: What did you learn from it?
- **Extracurricular contexts**
- You are involved in _____ student organizations. Can you tell me how you got involved with them?
- What kinds, if any, of reading and writing tasks do you complete for this organization?
- Do you use social media to promote your organization at all?
- **Social media contexts**
- Which social media platforms do you use, and what do you typically use them for?

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- What role, if any, has social media played in your understanding of social justice and/or intersectionality?
- Do you enjoy writing online, in social media contexts?
  - If yes: Can you tell me about a time when you had an enjoyable experience with this?
  - If no: Can you tell me about a time when you had an unpleasant experience with this?
- Which communities do you feel that you are part of on social media?
- What are the most recent posts that you posted on your ___ social media account?
  - Probe: What process did you use while writing this post? Analysis?
  - Probe: Who was your audience for this post?
  - Probe: What kind of evidence did you use?
  - Probe: What kind of feedback did you get from your followers?
  - Probe: What did you learn from it?
- Do you see any connections between the reading and writing that you do outside of school (including social media) and the reading and writing you do in school?
  - If yes: What are they?
- In your survey, you indicated that you use ____ to post about your academic writing while you are working on it. Can you tell me about the most recent time that you used ____ to talk about writing, and how it influenced your writing process?
- **Next Steps**
- There are future components of this study, including opportunities to pieces of writing from your classes, as well as providing me with access to view any social media profiles that you feel comfortable sharing, and follow-up interviews. If you don't feel like doing these things, this is completely fine. Additionally, if you would like me to follow up with you at a later time via email to see if you are interested in participating in these parts of the study, that is completely fine.
- Would you feel comfortable sharing academic writing with anonymized instructor comments?
- Would you feel comfortable granting me access to your social media profile(s)?
  - Would you be willing to keep loosely structured notes of salient moments in your social media practices that you might send to me in advance of our next interviews, including important moments of reading, writing, and interaction?
- Would you be willing to schedule a follow-up interview with me in _____?
- Thank you for your time and your insights!

APPENDIX F: SECOND INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- What's new?
  - With academic writing?
  - With social media writing?
  - With student orgs?
  - With [other extracurricular writing]?
- What is the role of humor in your social media writing?
- What is the role (if any) of humor in your academic writing?
- How do you use outside sources in your academic writing? How do you attribute them?
- How do you use outside sources in your social media writing? How do you attribute them?
  - Do you see other people's identities connected to yours when you share their words in either context?
- Do you think spend more time on social media surrounding current events? If so, which platforms and how?
- How to the various interfaces of social media platforms (on desktops and on the phone) shape the kind of writing you can or can't do?
  - Profile customization
    - What goes into selecting a profile pic, cover photo, or bio in different contexts?
    - Do current events and/or personal events influence this process?
  - Prompts for writing (e.g., "what's on your mind")
  - Capacities for interactions (liking and or commenting), communicating, or sharing
- How do you use cross-platform sharing (if at all)?
- What kinds of identities does social media allow you to enact in different contexts? Academic writing?
- Do you consider whether/how teachers perceive social media? Older generations more generally?
- What, in your view, are the effects of digital activism?
- Plural audiences across social media platforms vs. plural audiences in school?
  - Can this flexibility transfer?
- Do you leverage political interests when writing for school and if so how?
  - Social justice as a means of invention: in social media? In school?
- (How) do you use visuals in social media
  - How do you use emoji?
  - How do you use pictures?
- (How) do you use visuals in academic writing

- o Visual representations of data, etc?
- (How) do you use hashtags?
- Does anything in school serve a similar purpose?
- Community in social media contexts? Academic contexts?

APPENDIX G: INITIAL CODES

Please note: Bolded codes are **parent codes; italicized codes are *child codes*. For example, **Audience** – *Academic* will be applied to any time a participant discusses their audience in an academic setting. By having child codes that differentiate the context in which the knowledge/activity is engaged with, I am able to aggregate or separate excerpts discussing academic contexts and social media contexts for any given code. Codes that are neither bolded nor italicized are standa-lone codes.**

Code	Description	Examples
Access	Discussion of the accessibility of information	"I feel like people on social media make it a lot clearer. Instead of using huge words to describe what the difference is, they use images or they use metaphors that are easy to understand. I think I learned a lot from online, honestly." (Olivia)
Analysis		
Academic	Discussion of analysis of sources in academic contexts.	"The best thing the courses have taught me is that feminist analysis. Where you're not taking things at face value. You're trying to see what's fucked up. You're trying to see whose perspective things are from. I think I've used that in the rest of my classes too and extrapolated that even if it's related to gender… In a course I'm taking here, it's my first year writing seminar. We were reading a report and I was reading it, I was like, 'Okay. This is an interesting analysis.' It was about riots and police in the 1960s. I was trying to look at it. I was like, 'Okay, but who's writing it?' It sounded a little bit like a white savior complex. The person who was writing it seemed supportive, but also they kind of understood. They're giving all this advice and input for what black

		people should do in these situations.” (Quinn)
Social media	Discussion of analysis of sources in social media contexts.	“…if I’m reading an article I want it to know it’s from a good source. I won’t just be like, ‘I can’t believe Donald Trump is saying this.’ If the only source I get is some independent, very unrecognized website. And you know not checking sources, actually reading the articles, and making sure they’re you know speaking truthfully, they’re not just speaking really biased. Because I found even the New York Times can be biased sometimes to degrees I don’t like.” (Kate)
Archive		
Academic	Discussion of archiving or curating content in academic contexts.	“Like, I have like four ... Okay, here’s my Psych 494 class; here are like the two… kind of assignments that I have to do for them… Here are like any essays that I have to write. So, I kind of like do subfolders.” (Emmanuelle)
Social media	Discussion of archiving or curating content on social media.	“[The purpose of reblogging is] to teach others, to learn myself, to archive it, so I can go back and look at it because people make really good points that I could never imagine making myself.” (Olivia)
Argument		
Academic	Discussion of argumentation in an academic context.	“You’re trying to convince someone of something in an academic paper.” (Nora)
Social media	Discussion of argumentation in a social media context.	“I feel like I’m always trying to convince people that I’m not trying to convince them of anything.” (Nora)
Audience		
Academic	Discussion of audience in an	“I never imagine the audience when I’m writing academic papers. The

	academic context.	audience is my professor. Because I never considered being an academic, so that's difficult." (Nora)
Social Media	Discussion of audience in a social media context.	"But what's weird about social media is that the tone is very different, and the way that people consume things is very different." (Nora)
Authorship		
Academic	Discussion of authorship in an academic context.	"In classes, I guess, it's almost the opposite. It's that they're ignoring the nearer generations, but they're focusing on published people and well-known people and their work. That was definitely the case in my sociology class when we touched on feminism. I think we read Harriet Martineau, and she's long dead. I think it would have been interesting to bring in a more modern perspective." (Olivia)
Social media	Discussion of authorship in a social media context.	"I decided that if I was going to post my writing on the internet that I wanted it to be attributed to me. I wanted to start building my own writing in a way that I can be proud of." (Nora)
Community		
Academic	Discussion of "community" in academic contexts.	"Yeah. I, I mean I feel like ... (laughs) There's only seven of us, uh, in my cohort, and we're all women. And, I want there to be, like ... It kind of reminds me of high school and, 'cause like, I went to an all girls school and tiny classes and things like that. So like, I ... But I think I want it to be more like my high school. (laughs) Like I want to be friends with everybody there." (Nora)
Social media	Discussion of "community" in social media contexts.	"Or if something is happening in the news, like the presidential election, then like, a lot will be talking about feminism on Twitter and like, I'll be retweeting feminists and my friends will be, my friends and I will be looking to each other to be sources of

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		support, and like, and like, creating a safe space on the internet where there are a few amount of truly safe spaces." (Ava)
Consciousness-raising* *Note: I'm still looking for an emic term.		"Something that really helped me was learning about feminism and learning about valuing myself as a human being, that kind of thing… Every time I was learning about something [in Women's Studies classes], it just made me see the world differently, in such a better way, and made me hate myself so much less." (Quinn)
Content		
Academic	Discussion of the topics central to academic writing.	"My thesis now is something that, I find it weird to talk about it, because I feel like people are like, "What do you mean?" Everyone else is doing poetry of Langston Hughes, or whatever, but that's not at all the case either. I don't know. It's weird, we're sitting in our thesis cohort and I'm whispering my topic, because I think it's too different, but I like that. There's room for that." (Nora)
Social media	Discussion of the content of social media writing.	"Like, I can't post an article about counter-protesting a Planned Parenthood protest at the Capitol, which is an article that I wrote and am super proud of, but couldn't post anywhere. But I can write about feminist, chick-lit books that I like because the main character's pro-choice, or whatever." (Nora)
Definitions of feminism	Discussion of how participants define and understand feminism.	"I had only been exposed to white feminism and mainstream feminism, like 'Taylor Swift is a feminist.' That is just not what feminism is. We [in the Residential College Feminist Forum] talked a lot about homelessness and feminism and a bunch of other LGBTQ, like a lot of intersectionality. That just opened up a whole new world here, like what feminism is. I'm really glad that I got to experience that." (Olivia)

Discipline	Discussions of disciplines and disciplinarity.	"So I was at this point where I was kind of like, I'm reading the same books over and over again, they're all kind of the same ... I don't know. And I was like, I'm good at it, but it's not ... It's kind of just what people expect English to be. I like that, but it's not exciting necessarily." (Nora)
Dispositions	Motivation, passion, interest, self-efficacy toward a type of writing or a writing environment	"I always enjoy it, because I'm good at it. So, that's... even if I'm writing something and I'm like, "I don't care about this topic" or anything, I would much rather be sitting there and just banging out an essay than like doing anything else. So yeah, even when I don't enjoy it, I enjoy it." (Nora)
Election 2016	Discussion of the 2016 presidential election.	"…on the day of the election, like, right after it became apparent to me that, like, Trump was going to win, I wrote a post; and I feel like it was just, like ... It felt really, like, cathartic to just, like, get something out there to, like, just like have said something about it." (Alice)
Emoji		"I love that, the crying-laughing emoji, it's probably my most used emoji, it's always my used emoji, most used. Uh, and I used that a lot to kind of convey like being very amused at something. I think it's like, it's symbols, you know? It's an easier way to communicate." (Quinn)
Feedback		
Academic	Discussion of feedback given in an academic setting.	"My professor was basically like, yeah all of that is interesting about history, but this is the part that it seems like is the most interesting and unique to this assignment. That was definitely where she kind of zeroed in on, and influenced the direction, for sure." (Nora)
Social media	Discussion of feedback given in a social media setting.	"There's a lot of likes. A lot of likes for me is like 40 or something. There's people that get hundreds and I'm like, 'Eh.' That doesn't really happen. I get two comments. One was a person that tagged another person, like they

		wanted them to read that post, and I got a comment or two being like, 'I totally agree,' something like that. No one messaged me personally or hit me up after to talk about it." (Emmanuelle)
Feminist identity	Discussion of one's own feminist identity.	"My first article for Slant was called A Crash Course in Picking Your Feminism Battles, and it was like, here's where you don't have to engage with people about feminism if you don't want to. So it was a bunch of mini-arguments, I guess. That one felt kind of academic in nature because I guess the main idea would just be that you don't have to be someone's touchstone for feminist issues, which felt weird to write as a feminist writer on the internet." (Nora)
Feminist themes in academic writing	Discussions of feminist themes/content when written about in academic contexts.	"I chose my French classes based on what I could do in my English classes, so I tended to choose like literary studies in French, or like gender studies in French. So I was essentially writing the same paper, but in another language. So yeah, I took... I did my proficiency interview in French about feminism and all-girls education and things like that. So yeah I sort of did that deliberately." (Nora)
Flow		
Academic	Discussion of flow and/or organization in academic writing.	"I think that… structure was really important to the essay, so like, making sure that things flowed naturally, because there were a lot of like, flashbacks." (Ava)
Social media	Discussion of flow and/or organization in social media.	N/A
Generations	Discussion of generational perspectives on social media.	"I know a lot of people from… generations prior to mine who don't necessarily either understand social media, in terms of just how it works. Like, they, they might just generally not understand how to use Facebook or Twitter… but they also might not

		understand how it can be very relevant to a person's life, whereas a person in my generation who was ... I was almost born in the age of social media, for the most part, so ... or the age of the internet. So for me, that's a very central part of my life. I've grown up knowing that it existed. I've never known what it's like to grow up having it not exist." (Sonny)
Genre		
Academic	Discussions of genres in academic contexts.	"I had done academic writing, but I hadn't done a lot of creative writing. That was a mixture of an academic/creative writing assignment. I think I learned about creativity and the creative writing aspect of it. I think I learned how to integrate things that I had read in our assignments into it." (Quinn)
Social media	Discussions of genres in social media contexts.	"I think, you know, you move there to talk about more articles, and kind of different types of articles, and about how you get people to read those articles, um ... Think it's interesting to kind of think about the posts that people write themselves, versus the posts that people share that're like from, you know, sources, that are from articles from uh, you know, Everyday Feminism or something. Any of those sites versus more personal statements. I think probably more personal statements are more impactful, and probably more far-reaching, 'cause you know, with an article, you have to click it to read it, where as with somebody sharing somebody else's status, you get at least the very beginning of it without having to click anything. So you start reading right away, and they're shorter and more personal, so they kind of reach more people, a more broader audience." (Quinn)
Hashtags	Discussions of hashtags/tagging in social media.	"I went canoeing the weekend after the election, and my caption was like, 'Recharging,' then I put the hashtag, #puremichigan. And I'm not going to

		write, 'Recharging. I also just really love Michigan's nature resources.'" (Alice)
Humor		
Academic	Discussion of uses of humor in academic writing.	"I put sarcastic comments in the sidebar because it makes it funny, it makes you remember so it's not so dry." (Emmanuelle)
Social media	Discussion of uses of humor in social media contexts.	"Most of my social media is just a little more on the lighthearted side and having the little jokes and things help it be that way, I guess… When you're talking about a more serious issue, like, having a little humor to, like, take the edge off is useful." (Alice)
Identity within and across contexts		
Academic	Discussions of one's identity (usually writerly identity) in academic contexts.	"There was never really any doubt going to college that I was going to be an English major." (Nora)
Social media	Discussions of one's identity (usually writerly identity) in social media contexts.	"But overall, [social media has] been instrumental in helping me become more of an activist, and considering myself more of an activist." (Nora)
Interface	Discussion of the affordances and constraints offered by the interfaces of social media.	"…[on] Twitter you have to be short and concise… and I think that's why we are relying more on like gifs and pictures and stuff because we can't say everything we want to say. In words, it just doesn't allow for that… On Instagram you have to like… some things just are not going to photograph well and are not going to be as engaging." (Ava)
Journalism	Discussion of journalism	"…we need to be going back to small, local reporting, and going to local town halls and going to that sort of thing… Small journalism sucks… It's not interesting, it's uncomfortable, and not a lot of people are going to read it,

		but it's important… I'm really frustrated with the state of journalism… And I think we need to look at [the 2016 election] as a learning opportunity." (Ava)
Invention		
Academic	Discussion of strategies of developing an argument in academic contexts.	"You get a prompt. Let's say it's like, 'Talk about body image.'"… I feel like if I didn't add my own spin, what would I talk about, because there's only so much you can write about something without you becoming redundant or you just don't have anything else to say. I can talk about body image and then have a subpoint, it'll be like 'intersectional body image,' and then have another subpoint being like 'people with multiple identities have to adhere to both body images, not one or the other,' then that's like two more paragraphs I could add to it so I just keep on thinking, I keep on adding in identities and stuff to those kinds of paper and then make it more comprehensive which will also add some length in and everything." (Emmanuelle)
Social media	Discussion of strategies of developing an argument in social media contexts.	"That whole week [when Alton Sterling and Philando Castile were killed] I was kind of numb to it, it happened on Monday or something, but then by Friday I got home from work and my parents asked me, "How's your day?" and I was super cranky and I just wanted to tell them to shut up. I knew in myself, I'm like, "Why am I so cranky?" I was like, "I need to just take a nap. Maybe I'm cranky like a child so I need to take a nap." Then I started crying and I'm like, "Oh, I'm actually really pissed." I made a post on Facebook, and it wasn't really about the shootings… It's like when people talk about Black Lives Matter they make it so black male-centered." (Emmanuelle)

Language		
Academic	Discussion of uses of language in academic contexts	"… because the way that [my professor] used verbs was like unlike anything I'd ever seen in my life… She never used the passive voice. It was always like this is reinforcing this or this is subverting this, and she just said it so eloquently. So, basically what I did was I would just type what she said all class, and then I would be like, 'I liked this word she used and this word she used,' so I have a list on my computer. I was like, 'Phrases I Like,' and like when I'm stuck in an essay I'll be like, 'What would [my professor] say?' And I would just go there and there are all these great words." (Ava)
Social media	Discussion of uses of language in social media contexts	"I think I tend to write on social media, like, mostly in lower case. It's a technical thing… When you're texting, using a period just seems very aggressive… If you say, like, 'Yes, period,' that seems like you're angry versus just saying 'yeah..'… Extreme informality with language can to some extent be a sign that you feel comfortable with someone else." (Alice)
Meme	Discussion of meme or meme culture	"I think a lot of people would see humor as being, or like making jokes being like, 'Oh, now you don't care. You're just selling out, you're not actually like fighting the good fight.' But, you can still have funny jokes and try to live your life when you're dealing with these really hard topics. So I think, yeah, I think these memes made people laugh, and like you know you're still talking about politics sometimes, but you're at least having a good time." (Kate)
Perspectives		
Academic	Discussions of the role of different perspectives in	"[In college classes] it's that they're ignoring the nearer generations, but they're focusing on published people and well-known people and their work.

	academic discourse.	That was definitely the case in my sociology class when we touched on feminism. I think we read Harriet Martineau, and she's long dead. I think it would have been interesting to bring in a more modern perspective." (Olivia)
Social media	Discussions of the role of different perspectives in social media discourse.	"...on social media it's what I experience is only of our generation. I don't see very much of the perspectives of people of older generations, which might be kind of limiting." (Olivia)
Private - Public		
Academic	Discussions of the private or public nature of academic writing.	"…the prompts they would give [in FYC] it's like I don't really care about like, 'Tell me about a time when you did blah, blah as a child.' I'm like, why is the professor so nosy? Why do they need to know what happened in my childhood?" (Emmanuelle)
Social media	Discussions of the private or public nature of social media writing.	"Everyone's blog is so personal, and I know so many of my friends that would have Tumblrs but not tell anyone what their Tumblr was. That was the big thing in high school. Because it's like, this is where I post my private stuff publicly. You have a different persona." (Nora)
Process		
Academic	Discussions of one's academic writing process.	"…but something that I've always had trouble with is drafting papers, because I tend to just write them, and then turn them in. I always have trouble with people are like, give me a first draft due, and then revise it and give me a second draft, and they grade based on how much you've revised, kind of. It's the worst, because it was fine in the first place." (Nora)

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Social Media	Discussions of one's social media writing process.	"Personally, when I share social media posts, a lot of it is I'll read a great article and I'll try to include quotes from the article that I think are the best. I know a lot of my people that follow me are not going to go, claim the article, and read the entire thing. What I'll try to do is I'll try to provide the best points." (Quinn)
Professional goals	Discussions of one's professional goals	"I tell people my dream job would be like Vanity Fair, Harper's Bazaar, and writing big, long narrative pieces that I can imbue with my opinion, and like things like that. And yeah, I also now want to write memoirs and essays and things like that, so I've gotten way more into non-fiction, but still always just kind of my own perspective." (Nora)
Purpose		
Academic	Discussions of the purpose (either assigned by the professor or self-determined) of an academic assignment.	"…the professor, had us pick from a list of symbols, we were all supposed to track an object; people did like gloves, someone did blushing, and supposed to track those symbols through all of the books that we read." (Nora)
Facebook	Discussions of the purpose of Facebook.	"Facebook I use primarily to either keep in touch with family and friends… Or increasingly, to manage student organizations, manage events for those things, figure out what parties I'm going to. It's more schedule-focused. It's very useful in promoting stuff as well, including my writing, but also what I'm going on campus, and student orgs and things like that." (Nora)
Instagram	Discussions of the purpose of Instagram.	"Instagram is mostly just… I feel like it's a little photo album that I'm keeping for myself of just things that I enjoy I guess, like a lot of travel photos." (Alice)
Social media	Discussions of the purpose of social media more generally.	"I think social media is crucial to social justice at this point. I think it's a main battleground for it in this day and

		age, which is a very good thing, because people have more protection, in a way." (Nora)
Tumblr	Discussions of the purpose of Tumblr.	"The second something happens, it shows up on my [Tumblr] dash, which is kind of the same thing with Facebook, but I think it's more of a community on Tumblr. I enjoy that aspect a lot more. There's posts that are really old that are still circulating, that people are trying to raise awareness for things that were hot a year ago but have fallen off the face of the world in other social media platforms." (Olivia)
Twitter	Discussions of the purpose of Twitter.	"Twitter is, to some extent, some of the same, but not really. It's just kind of an inner monologue, but I promote my writing on there too, and some events. A lot of my followers don't go here, or are people I don't know. Not that I have so many, but that's a reasonable proportion of them. So yeah, it's more just like my running commentary." (Nora)
Race and racism	Discussions of race and racism	"I guess I realized that in some ways I'm pretty privileged, but at the same time there are things holding me back, like being a woman versus being a man, or being Asian versus being white. They're not things I think about every day because it doesn't really play a huge impact or play a huge role in my life, but they're just things I think about occasionally…. People expect you to be smart because you're Asian. I have a tutor for this class. I'm not perfect in everything." (Olivia)
Relationships* ***Note: This is the initial code that served as the basis for all four of my theoretical codes: transfer, multidirectional learning, compartmentaliz**		

ation, and professional goals		
Connections	Discussions of similarities or transfer between different domains of writing.	"It's weird, because the first thing you learn in an English class is the five-paragraph essay format, and it's sort of the same idea in social media, I guess. You have the intro, you have to get someone hooked, and then prove it, and then conclude. So that's obviously very similar…" (Nora)
Compartmentalizat ion	Discussions of disconnects between domains of writing.	"So, yeah, despite my love for pulling social justice into pretty much everything, in my recent papers… on this specific artist, I haven't really found a way to tie it in." (Kate)
Research or evidence		
Academic	Discussions of locating research and/or integrating evidence in academic writing contexts.	"Something that was interesting with my secondary sources, were, there was kind of this debate over the corset about ... Fashion historians sort of debate whether or not they were actually oppressive of a woman's body, if they were actually that dangerous or if that's something that's been conferred upon them in ensuing decades. There was this one argument between these two fashion historians that I was reading where there was a male scholar who was saying that corsets weren't actually that uncomfortable, and women tended to make the choice to wear them in order to empower themselves, and take control of their own sexuality." (Nora)
Social Media	Discussions of locating research and/or integrating evidence in social media writing contexts.	"Certainly you don't have to say your sources [in a book blog], or integrate them in the same way you would in an academic paper. You can just say that 'So-and-so asserts this in this book, and that's why I like it,' and everyone will kind of take your word for it, or they'll buy the book themselves and disagree. But I don't have to quote anyone." (Nora)

Sharing or Reblogging		
Facebook	Discussions of "sharing" or reblogging on Facebook.	"I posted [the article I had written] on Facebook, I always post [book blog] articles on Facebook, and each time is kind of an exercise in what's interesting to my Facebook audience, and what they share. My mom will share anything, and then her friends are adults who may or may not know me, who just react to the article as its own sort of thing, which is always interesting." (Nora)
Tumblr	Discussions of "sharing" or reblogging on Tumblr.	"It was an image with a lot of notes, which is a combination of both the reblogs and the likes. I noticed how it increases every time I reblog it. I'm really glad that it's reaching more people even if it's the same people over again, like me. It's still circulating because people are still impacted by it. They think that it's something that's worth being shared." (Olivia)
Twitter	Discussions of "sharing" or retweeting on Twitter.	"Yeah, um and Twitter it's cool how, I think a re-tweet is cool. You can get your point across to people, like people you don't even know can post your opinion just by re-tweeting it." (Kate)
Student organizations	Discussion of student organizations that the participant is involved with.	"SAPAC I discovered when I first came here, but it was in the back of my mind. I was like, 'Oh, this is a cool organization. Maybe I'll think about it later.' I became a volunteer. A big thing with that is it's sexual assault awareness, and prevention, and stuff. It also ties back to not only the campus here, like rape culture is a real thing. It also goes back to identity. As an Asian we don't really talk about sexual assault. It's not really a real thing. We don't discuss it in my family or anything. I don't know. It's just something that I feel like it's very restricted to the white community. There's more social justice and activism from the white community, but other races and other identities are

		being ignored in these problems which is kind of the case for everything, I guess. I was just hoping that I could learn a lot more by becoming a volunteer, which I did, and add another face to the activism, so it's not just a bunch of white people. I don't know." (Olivia)
Teaching and learning on social media	Discussions of teaching and/or learning experiences on social media.	"[The purpose of reblogging content on Tumblr is] to teach others, to learn myself, to archive it, so I can go back and look at it because people make really good points that I could never imagine making myself." (Olivia) Nora: "But overall, it's been instrumental in helping me become more of an activist, and considering myself more of an activist. Anna: "Just through exposure to ideas, or ... ?" Nora: "Yeah, and providing platforms for my own writing, and reading other people's writing, and that's helped me evolve. Being more dialed in, I would say."
Trigger warnings	Discussion of trigger warnings on social media.	"Then there was also an article, it was actually one of the leaders of SAPAC. She wrote about Mayor Bloomberg's commencement speech, I think. He was talking about how trigger warnings shouldn't be a thing and how safe spaces are dumb. She wrote an open letter to him, and I shared that on Facebook. I think that's the extent of what I've done on social media that's public to people." (Olivia)
Views of writing		
Academic	Perspectives on academic writing.	"I always enjoy it, because I'm good at it. So, that's... even if I'm writing something and I'm like, 'I don't care about this topic' or anything, I would much rather be sitting there and just banging out an essay than doing anything else. So yeah, even when I don't enjoy it, I enjoy it." (Nora)
Social media	Perspectives on social media	"I'm very skeptical of people who are very critical of social media, because I

	writing.	think at this point, it's real life. It's an extension of who we are." (Nora)
Visual		
Academic	Discussion of the use of visuals in social media contexts.	"… A lot of us find it really helpful to put our main hypothesis or what we believe is happening, in the form of a diagram or a chart. And… not just I guess our hypotheses, but just thinking about, what's happening in general. Just, like, putting that in the forms of diagrams, and flow charts, and things like that." (Alice)
Social media	Discussion of the use of visuals in social media contexts.	"When this issue first came about I wasn't really sure what the distinction was. I feel like people on social media make it a lot clearer. Instead of using huge words to describe what the difference is, they use images or they use metaphors that are easy to understand." (Olivia)
Voice		
Academic	Discussions of "voice," "tone," or "style" in academic contexts.	"People can, when they read my, peers will be like, 'I definitely know that you wrote this paper. I can hear your voice in it.' … I feel like you can be smart and know what you're talking about but still be funny and not bore the reader to death." (Emmanuelle)
Social media	Discussions of "voice," "tone," or "style" in social media contexts.	"Because as much as it is my whole life, I have kind of a disdain for this social media tone… there's this sort of lack of editing. Everyone's kind of pigheaded about their own stuff, and feels like it deserves a place on the internet, which it does. That's what's great about the internet, it's egalitarian, but ... I think of it as two completely different voices, and that's important. I find it important to keep those separate." (Nora)

APPENDIX H: THEORETICAL CATEGORIES AND FOCUSED CODES

Code	Description	Examples
Theoretical category: **TRANSFER FROM SOCIAL MEDIA TO ACADEMIC DOMAINS**		
Social media as a site of teaching and learning about feminism and social justice	Multiple participants stated that they discovered feminism through social media and that this learning shaped their academic/career goals and their political identities.	"Starting in high school I began to be more interested in politics. I enjoyed my AP U.S. government class and I started reading more stuff online about feminism and other political issues on Tumblr and things like that. When I got to college, I knew that I wanted to do something related to that and I thought political science would be a good fit." (Alice)
Content knowledge / interest as transferable from social media to academic contexts; knowledge from social media motivating academic decisions and/or reading/writing	The main type of knowledge that participants seem to be transferring from social media into academic contexts is content knowledge about and interest in feminism, not specific literacy or rhetorical skills.	"I hated writing for pretty much all of my life, until I got really involved with feminism… I was very much a STEM person… And until I found art history and I found feminism through social media, I really developed a love for writing. I was recently assigned a paper, and a research project on the contemporary, or modern artist, Wayne Thiebaud, and I find that researching him is—and writing about him, isn't even work for me. It's just fun. So, I also keep journals, or I used to. I write poetry. I've written feminist speeches to give at organizations and schools. So, I definitely have found a love for writing, maybe, and especially for art history and writing papers on artists or art theories. I have enjoyed a lot more than I ever expected." (Kate)

Transfer of learning about argumentation and language from social media to academic contexts	For some, the interface of Twitter, which only allows for 140 characters per post, challenged them to learn to write concisely, which helped them with academic argumentation (Kate) and screenwriting (Ava).	"Because on Twitter, you are limited to a very specific amount of characters, and so I think, if I want to get a point across, I really have to make sure it's concise, and so I think that combined with the philosophy course I had taken at University of Delaware, I was not expecting to gain that knowledge or skill from the class or from Twitter, but I think, I do think **I can structure an argument because of social media.** Cause on social media, you—nobody has an attention span. You have to… and so many sites have character limits that you do have to get your point across, and I think that does probably subconsciously go into when you're writing for academic papers." (Kate)
Archiving of evidence or rhetorical models on social media as a means of saving them for academic writing.	Some participants reported archiving evidence (Emmanuelle) or rhetorical models (Olivia) on social media with the intention of saving these materials to support their academic writing.	"I think I just compile all this wisdom, I guess, so that I can look, hopefully someone comes across it, and they're like, 'Wow. I learned a lot today because I found this random tag that some random person has.'… [The purpose is] to teach others, to learn myself, to archive it, so I can go back and look at it because people make really good points that I could never imagine making myself… I pull ideas to use these arguments in class." (Olivia)
Theoretical category: **TRANSFER FROM ACADEMIC DOMAINS TO SOCIAL MEDIA**		
Antecedent academic genre knowledge as a means of guiding writing in the online domain	For some participants, antecedent genre knowledge from the academic domain served as a guide for writing in the online	"…taking the philosophy course, and in my writing seminar, I think that applies to my blog posts now. Like, in the beginning I usually have the anecdote or what I'm talking about… and then expanding on that idea, and then again coming back to the original message… All the ways of constructing an argument and the ways of constructing a longer writing… the idea of

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		like, college writing has definitely gone to that." (Kate)
Content knowledge / interest as transferable from academic contexts to out-of-school contexts; academic learning and communities motivating decisions about social media reading/writing	For some participants, academic communities and academic learning about social justice-related issues also seemed to inform the kinds of reading that they are motivated to pursue outside of school.	"I think courses that I have taken such as Women's Studies have led me to follow more feminist-based accounts on Twitter and Facebook and things like that. Or if the class I've taken talk about websites that are related to social justice, I may check those out every once in awhile." (Sonny)
Transfer of learning about argumentation and language from academic contexts to social media	Participants described many instances of transferring academic literacy and rhetorical knowledge to social media contexts, including sentence-level concerns such as conciseness and formality, but also larger rhetorical concerns such as argumentation.	"I feel that when I write, like the post I did for the shootings that happened [Philando Castile and Alton Sterling], I was super academic on Facebook. And I feel like when I write things on Facebook… it's super academic. It's the things that I would write for class, where it's a lot of information. I don't cite things, I don't take outside data, so it's mostly my thoughts but it's very, uses a lot of academic jargon stuff… I feel that a lot of Facebook is super informal. And so, if I'm going to write something, I want my ideas to be super concise and focus on what I really, really do want to say. Whereas, if I just have a general idea I can just re-blog it or share it from someone else." (Emmanuelle)
Theoretical category: **MULTIDIRECTIONAL LEARNING**	Many participants described the relationship between their social media and their academic learning and writing experiences as somewhat bidirectional,	

	holistic, or simultaneous.	
Multidirectional learning of language: conciseness	Some participants described learning conciseness in terms of language use in social media and applying this knowledge in academic contexts, and vice versa.	"…so I've taken things from writing and social media and applied it to my writing for classes, but then I've also had my writing for classes and the techniques we use there apply to when I'm just writing for my blog or when I'm writing something on Instagram." (Kate)
Multidirectional learning of analysis	Some participants described learning analytical skills simultaneously in school and in social media, which were then applied in other contexts.	"I think they definitely inform each other. There are things that I've learned in school that I haven't learned online. There's things I've learned online that I haven't learned in school. I think both have really helped me learn to analyze the other more thoroughly. For awhile you learn to take things at face value. Whereas they both taught me, especially school…, taught me to analyze things from a feminist perspective where you're like, 'What is left out? What is missing? Where's the agency?' All those kinds of things. When I'm reading my online social media articles, I read them and analyze them a bit more thoroughly I think and a bit more critically. There's some really great ones out there and there's some one's you're like, 'I agree with part of this, what you're saying, and I don't agree with this part of what you're saying. That's fine.' I think I used to really just take a lot of things at face value for posts on social media. You have to beware of somebody's perspective for their writing." (Quinn)
Theoretical category: **COMPARTMENTALIZATION**		
Compartmentalization of authorial identities; deliberation about the relationship between social worlds and writing worlds	Many participants described intentional deliberation about compartmentalizing their social media writing lives and specific social	"I keep my lives very separate, which I don't know if it's a good thing or bad thing. It's not like I'm reblogging or saying really off-the-wall offensive dumb things on Facebook that I don't want my parents to see. If a job were to look at my Facebook they'd think okay, so I don't know why I want to keep it separate from my family but I do… I have my school life

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	contacts.	and then my home life." (Emmanuelle)
Compartmentalization of argumentation	Alice described compartmentalization in terms of the types of arguments appropriate in social media contexts as opposed to academic contexts.	"I think, social media is a lot more arguing about normative things, like 'Is this a good thing or a bad thing? Like, is abortion moral or immoral?' Like, I think that's, like, something I would never write about in a Poli-Sci class, but on social media while I guess you might argue about detail-level stuff, like, you know, there is a research study that shows that, like, most women aren't psychologically affected by having an abortion… And so like, I mean, you might argue about, like, does abortion hurt women more than it helps them or something like that. But the thing that you're really arguing is it an immoral thing? And I think that happens more around social media than it does in academic writing." (Alice)
Compartmentalization of rhetorical uses of affect	Many participants described differences between their academic and social media writing in terms of rhetorical uses of affect, suggesting that personal writing and humor were available as rhetorical tools in the social media context whereas use of these tools would not be appropriate in the academic context.	"Maybe with my academic writing it's less personal because with that one post that I made after the shooting, it was like, 'I feel sad,' and in my academic writing I won't be like, 'I feel sad,' I'll just talk about, 'Isn't it funny how when black men get killed they get this and then when black women get killed they get 'blank'?' I'll just take my emotions out of it but you can tell what I'm feeling with my word choice… I feel like if I say my emotions then it'll be taken less seriously instead of very objective." (Emmanuelle)
Compartmentalization of rhetorical uses of visuals	Although some participants described using visuals in social media and in academic contexts in order to assist in communicating complicated ideas,	"I would never think to compare what I use and like my STEM part of my life with like my activism side of my life… They're just so different… I feel like science just doesn't change, like you learn more about it, but what's already known doesn't really change… With activism there's opinions and different points of views and you can't look at a compound and be like, 'Oh, I think it's this compound when it's actually

	they viewed their uses of visuals in both domains as being inherently different.	this compound.' Like it's already concrete, like you can't change it… So I would never let those parts cross into each other." (Olivia)
Compartmentalization of academic content from feminist concepts		"The main criticism of my [Wayne Thiebaud] paper was… that I didn't talk about anything with American society or culture. I just, I did a deep visual analysis. I thought that's what I was supposed to do… And they were like, I wish you'd talked about American society or how this reflects American people. And I was like, 'Oh, I didn't even think that I was supposed to do that.' And with Wayne Thiebaud, I think the main thing is that he wasn't really trying to make a statement… So, yeah, despite my love for pulling social justice into pretty much everything in my recent papers, I've ... on this specific artist, I haven't really found a way to tie it in." (Kate)
Theoretical category: **PROFESSIONAL GOALS / PREPARATION FOR FUTURE LEARNING**		
The development of generalizable knowledge through academic learning	Discussion of academic knowledge that could potentially be applicable in future professional settings.	"I feel like I've gained so many skills [from majoring in English]… From not just like, writing. Like, multi-cultural awareness… And understanding how to critically think about issues." (Ava)
Professional identities	Discussion of the development or expression of professional identities through writing.	"Yeah, I mean I guess I would see myself more of an academic now than I did whenever I talked to you the first time… just because I am so deeply entrenched in this project right now." (Nora) "[Twitter] is kind of branding in a way. I have a lot of followers that I've gotten who know me through [the book blog], or recently authors or book bloggers have started to follow me on Twitter or Instagram. That's cool and I want to encourage that, so I like posting stuff about the writing process or me as a writer, because I think

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		that's something that potentially they can relate to." (Nora)
Extracurricular writing as preparation for professional communication	Discussion of how out-of-school writing may prepare one for disparate professional contexts.	"I think journalism is founded upon the idea of telling a story and I think it's based on the idea of telling somebody else's story and using the resources that you have to make that story public and make that story known. I think that as a health professional, every time you step into a room when you work with a new patient, that's a new story that you're dealing with. That's a new environment that you're stepping into. When you're stepping into an interaction with a new patient, every patient brings a different set of values, identities, and background to the table. As a health professional, you may only see that patient for a very small period of time, but you have a role in how their story within their experience of health is told. It's really important that as a health professional, you use a lot of skills that good journalists use: listening." (Sonny)
Social media as preparation for unstructured rhetorical situations and uncertain audiences	Alice described social media as an environment that offered practice dealing with unstructured rhetorical situations for less pre-determined audiences than academic writing.	"I think that the fact that social media writing is just so much more unstructured kind of, is kind of helpful. So [in] academic writing I feel like, there is always just a very formulaic way of… the class structure kind of in some ways provides, what arguments you should be making, then what you're going to back it up with… but I feel like in—not that I really write essays for social media—but it's a different way of thinking: what are you trying to do, and how would you write to best get that done?" (Alice)

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