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Re-visiting the Reluctant Writer: Exploring the writing-composing behaviours of boys and girls in a Year Two class, contextualized through the use of pupil perspectives.

Laura Catherine Hadley

(PGCE Early Primary, 2015-2016)

email: lauracatherinehadley@gmail.com

Abstract

Disparities between the performance of boys and girls in school writing assessments continues to be a focus in current discourse (Alexander, 2016). Following on from an earlier study with Reception children (Hadley, 2015), this project sought to investigate the cognitive-behavioural implications for next-level boy and girl writers of the 'multi-conscious manoeuvring of content and form' involved in composition (Meek Spencer, 2001, p.10). Three boys and girls in a year two class were observed engaging in independent writing. Focus group discussions before and after this activity contextualized the children's performances via 'reflective conversation with the situation' (Schön, 1983, p.77). Findings broadly suggested a lack of reluctance on the part of the boys who exhibited the 'rapid-switcher' writer-profile more commonly associated with the most successful writers (Jones, 2007). Transcriptional considerations were pre-eminent in the mindsets of all the writers with minimal negative impact on ideation for either gender.

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Introduction

The so-called ‘gender gap’ in literacy attainment in primary schools has been a leitmotif in discourse for many years (Millard, 1997, p.24; McGuinn, 2000; Alexander, 2010). As a Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) in the Foundation Stage I witnessed at first hand the apparent ‘magical disappearance’ of boys’ ideational drive ‘on the carpet’ when it came to sitting at a table to write (Maynard & Lowe, 1999, p.6). Performance data from numerous sources also seems to suggest the existence of ‘reluctant boy writers’ (Gardner, 2011, p.16), with even the latest figures, while claiming a slight narrowing of the gap, still lamenting the fact that ‘girls are continuing to outperform boys at all levels’ (DCSF, 2009; Ofsted, 2011; DfE, 2013; DfE, 2015, p.5). This study seeks to explore an aspect of this debate using the perspectives of a group of Year 2 pupils on writing in school.

Importantly, this is not a paean to ‘pupil voice’. Whilst conforming in spirit to the widely-held beliefs of the benefits to educational research of pupils ‘making a positive contribution’ to that which effects them (Tickell, 2011, p.12), I have used their perspectives as research tools rather than catalysts for change, as befits the true meaning of the concept of ‘pupil participation’ (Alexander, 2010, p.154). The children were considered the ‘experts in their own lives’ (Clark & Moss, 2001, p.8) and their views meaningful insights on their experiences as writers.

The aim of this study was to re-examine the conceptualisation of some boys as ‘reluctant’ writers by investigating the composing processes of both the genders and exploring the children’s views of independent writing in school. The following research questions were used as foci:

1. Does an analysis of writer-behaviour shed any further light on the notion of some boys as being 'reluctant' writers?
2. What role, if any, do transcriptional considerations and teacher expectations play in the formation and rationalisation of these behaviours and the attitudes of both the genders towards writing in school?

Literature Review

Context: The Problem of Gender

The issue of gender and children's writing development in educational discourse has, historically, been couched within the socio-cultural perspective, which places a child's development as a product of the social and cultural context within which it occurs (Holdaway, 1979; Brice Heath, 1983; Meek, 1988; Baren-Cohen, 1995; Gardner, 2010, 2014). Before any gender-bias can be claimed a distinction needs to be made between development and *performance*. In the former case, neuroscientific evidence posits no sustainable link between the development of boys' and girls' brains and their dexterity – intellectual or otherwise – with a pen and paper (Goswami & Bryant, 2010). As Watson and Kehler (2012, p.45) point out, 'gender is a poor predictor of any individual student's performance' in early literacy, and thus posit environmental factors as a key shaper of gender gaps in literacy attainment. But what is it that we - teachers and society - are doing differently in terms of our messages and provision to influence boys and girls into such apparently differing literary routes? It is here that the issue of performance is relevant. Statistics seem to argue the case for a superiority on the part of the girls when it comes to formal assessments in writing: Ofsted (2009) noted with concern the 'continuing trend for girls to outperform boys' in writing assessments at KS2, and this is a trend apparently supported by succeeding and current data across the key stages (DCSF, 2009; DfE, 2011; Ofsted, 2011; DfE, 2013; DfE, 2015). Six Ofsted investigations into the teaching of literacy from 2003 to 2012 consistently refer to teacher assumptions and gender-influenced decisions relating to provision as possible reasons for this disparity (Ofsted, 2003, 2009, 2012b). It is revealing that governmental guidance to address this problem, such as 'more books about monsters for boys' (2012b, p.5) may chime with 'fashionable' favouring (Alexander, 2011, p.270) of the 'feminised schooling' debate (Watson & Kehler, 2012, p.47) but is suggestive of the very stereotypical assumptions about boys and girls it is designed to

address. Equally contentious is the notion of boys' apparent preferences for 'physicalized activity' (Hirschheimer, 2002, p.65) – explaining their reluctance for the 'sedentary act' of writing – and their perceived favouring of social contexts for writing (Graves, 1983, Ofsted, 2012a). They are seen as 'weaker' (Higgins, 2002, p.25), 'reluctant' (Barrs & Pidgeon, 2002, p.12) 'running out of strength' on longer writing (Higgins, 2002, p.27). Girls too, are recipients of this generalised approach: they apparently favour 'empathetic, descriptive' styles (McGuinn, 2000, p.53) and can work largely independently (Maynard & Lowe, 1999). But neither gender are 'a homogenous group they bring different social and cultural backgrounds to the literary classroom and these need to be given serious consideration' (Alloway, Freebody, Gilbert & Muspratt, 2002, p.7).

Curricular pressures and the 'transcriptional strain'

For policy makers, however, such insight does not always prevail (Alexander, 2011). Gardner (2012) envisions this as a 'socio-political perspective' (p.136) in which current teaching and assessment methodologies for writing in primary schools are constrained by a predominantly skills-based 'hegemonic' (Kuzich, 2011, p.155) policy discourse. D'Arcy (1999, p.19) conceptualises 'skills-based' to mean the privileging of technical accuracy at word, sentence and text level over the more creative 'process approaches' (Graves, 1983, p.32) involved in writing, as the writer articulates meaning through content or expressions of thought or feeling (Gardner, 2012). This elevation of the 'transcriptional' over the compositional aspects of writing is seen to stem from internal pressures of current assessment methodologies for SATs and Year One phonics testing (Jones, 2007; Alexander, 2011; Gardner, 2014) and the increasingly data-driven models of school management (Alexander 2011; Whitebread & Bingham, 2011).

The implications of this for children's writing development crystallize in the so-called 'transcriptional strain' (Wyse, 1998, p.53; Kelly, 2010) - a preoccupation with spelling, punctuation and presentational aspects of writing in a young writer's mind set which can stymie the development of emerging writers. D'Arcy (1999) views this as hijacking the creative process, a view supported and extended by Gardner (2011, 2014) who laments what he sees as the narrow assessment criteria in writing (privileging the secretarial) which is at odds with the expectations of teachers to 'immerse their pupils' in the 'rich oral and literate environments' such as those idealised in the Rose Report (DfES, 2006) and the Cambridge Primary Review (Alexander, 2010, p.252). To

crib Alexander (2010, p.213), perhaps teachers are not just ‘teaching to the test’ but also, however unintentionally, *not* ‘testing what they teach’?

As to the existence of any gender bias in the challenges posed by transcriptional pressures, the literature is more ambiguous. Baker’s (2002) assertion that fine motor difficulties favour boys over girls is constrained by its greater application to the early years (Kelly, 2010) and the narrowness of her sample. Furthermore, in Hirschheimer’s (2002) study, motor difficulties were an experience of both sexes, and in both Glynn, Wearmouth and Berryman’s (2006) and Johnson and Sulzby’s (1999) studies such a bias was de-legitimised by the multiplicity of factors affecting pupil pencil grip such as home literary experiences, exposure to ICT (McGuinn, 2000) and accessibility to soft play and other resources. Some studies into pupil self-perception, however, have highlighted the weaker self-efficacy of male writers when compared to the responses of females (Maynard & Lowe, 1999; Ofsted, 2012b). It is hinted that transcriptional issues may play a part in such negative self-perceptions but that this is an experience of both genders (Wearmouth, Berryman & Whittle, 2011).

The Writer-Composer: the role of ideas generation

Hall (1987, p.31) explained: ‘writing is not transcription alone’. The ideational aspect then, the process by which writers generate ideas for their writing, has a key role in the act of writing but is apparently de-prioritised by policy-makers (Alexander, 2011; Whitebread & Bingham, 2011; Gardner, 2014). What have been termed ‘writer’s profiles’ have been presented as one way of addressing this omission, but are not panaceas. Quite apart from the caution which must be exercised when judging any individual according to prescriptive developmental or socio-cultural categorisations such as gender (UNCRC, 1989; Siraj-Blatchford, 1995; BERA, 2011), analyses of writing behaviours in some profiling studies have encountered two key constraints. Firstly, Van Waes and Schellens’ seminal (2003) study compared the pausing and revision behaviour of experienced writers composing at a screen or with a pen and paper. Five behavioural profiles emerged: (1) initial planners (who spent a significant time pausing); (2) non-stop writers; (3) ‘fragmentary stage 1 writers’ (little planning, significant revision); (4) stage 2 writers (pre-planning, infrequent pausing); (5) ‘average writers’ (synthesising all 4 profiles). Stage 2 writing behaviours characterised pen and paper writers and was the least common profile amongst the ICT-writers. Whilst beneficial in its elucidation of the implications on the composing process of the differing editorial possibilities offered by ICT compared to pen and paper, Van Waes and Schellens’ study

did not distinguish between the genders and, crucially, was not concerned with the writers' own reflections on his/her written product. If, as Hall (1987, p.44) and Holdaway (1979) assert, children are the 'principal meaning-makers', then research which fails to capture a writer's views on his/her own work is surely missing a key insight into the decisions 'behind the pupil's responses' on the page (Alexander, 2010; Browne, 2011, p.192). Just as art cannot exist without its author (Sartre, 1946), so can authorship not be divorced from text by disallowing the writer's *intention* to be used as a tool to explain the written product (Alexander, 2010; Kelly, 2010).

Secondly, writer-profiling research does not take into account 'the wealth of literary encounters children have before they can [even] read' (Brice Heath, 1983, p.183; Jones 2007), and much has been discussed about the role of children's reading repertoire in shaping the way they write (Clay, 1975, 1991, 2000; Millard, 1997). The cognitive load for writers posed by the competing aims of ideation and transcription is encapsulated by Meek Spencer (2001, p.10) in the 'multi-conscious manoeuvring of content and form' which challenges the writer to be both composer, editor and fortune-teller in any single piece of writing. Add to that the need for transcriptional accuracy apparently prioritised in teaching assessments and many young writers come to equate 'success' in writing with quantity and 'how many connectives used!' rather than ideational fluency (Larson & Marsh, 2005, p.88; Wyse & Jones, 2008). So-called 'Reader-response' theorists have taken this further, with their articulation of the interaction between the text and the reader as central to the reading-writing process (Iser, 1980; Rosenblatt, 1994).

Teacher expectations

What then, should practitioners expect of young writers and what should they assess? Jones' (2007) study used observations of children writing and 'writing conference' discussions to address what distinction, if any, could be made between boy and girl writers. Whilst her early teenage participants were more mature in writer identity (Gardner, 2014), and many claimed to have felt 'pressure' by being observed (Jones, 2007, p.109), data seemed to suggest that the boys of the sample exhibited writing behaviours 'more in common with the most successful writers' (Jones, 2007, p.110). 'Rapid-switching' (writing/pausing) and 'brief pausing' were their most common writing profiles, suggesting a degree of ideational fluency at odds with the notion of boys as 'struggling' writers (Jones, 2007, p.105). The girls in the sample were mostly 'long-pausers', a profile more commonly associated with less able writers (Van Waes & Schellens, 2003). Another

challenge to the prevailing orthodoxy came in the form of more girls than boys professing the use of visual strategies in ideation, subverting Millard's (1997) argument of male tendencies towards visual literacies. This has led Jones (Jones 2007, p.111) to hint at the possible role of testing methodologies as perpetuating the notion of boys as 'struggling' writers, because 'explanations for their underperformance cannot be found in their composing processes.'

Perhaps, then, there is a need for a wider acknowledgement from teachers of writing that they consider the whole writer in any judgements on writing ability – the 'writer', 'composer', and 'editor'. A framework recently published by the CLPE (2016) offers an interesting alternative to current assessment methodologies with its reconceptualisation of writing development as a process through various stages of fluency across multiple developmental domains, and includes in its remit some aspects of fine motor development, the ideational process and the ability of the writer to verbally articulate meaning. Whilst not yet an official assessment framework it raises important questions about 'renegotiating the case for the writer and for teachers of writing' in how writing is taught and assessed in primary schools (Alexander, 2014, p.361).

Methodology

Couching this study in the reflective practice tradition of Dewey (1933) and Schön (1990) seemed apposite given the use of pupil perspectives 'wherein reflexive thinking is required' (Roberts-Holmes, 2011, p.127). A reflective journal was also kept during the project to aid data analysis, as recommended by Pollard (2014). Given the small-scale nature of the research, the case study was considered the most efficient paradigm– as Yin (2009, p.27) describes, my aim was to explore 'what is already in place' rather than to effect change.

Population

The research population, comprising six Year Two pupils (3 boys, 3 girls), the class teacher and Head was selected using purposive sampling informed by my position as a teacher in the class (Sharp, 2012). I also hoped that my status as 'trainee teacher' might offset any initial 'socio-cultural bias' (Mukherji & Albon, 2010, p.151) which might emerge from my being more closely acquainted with the children and the school itself. Mukherji and Albon (2010, p.150) speak of the 'lenses' of the researcher (through which participants and data tools are selected) which can

unintentionally lead to researcher bias. Using key arguments from the literature and member-checking of my focus group prompt questions I ensured that my questioning was accessible to all participants and any ambiguities ‘in wording or meaning’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p.113) were clarified prior to data collection.

Triangulation and Focus Groups

Triangulation was provided by the interplay between two qualitative and one quantitative method of data collection, as recommended by Bell (2010). Focus groups with the six writers took place before and after each child had completed a period of ‘free writing’ (independent writing in specially-designated books upon a subject of their choice). The rationale for the focus groups was based upon Dewey’s (1933, p.120) notion of the ‘mental elaboration of the idea’ upon which differing views can be gathered. My prompt questions (Appendix 1) were influenced by Gardner’s (2011) research into the motivations of apparently ‘reluctant writers’ and included questions such as ‘what makes good writing?’ and ‘what do you find easy/ hard about writing in school?’ Whilst it is true that my presence as co-participant in the discussion could limit the validity of their responses (Bell, 2010), or that some pupils may have been motivated to ‘tell the teacher what they think she wants to hear’ (Roberts-Holmes, 2011, p.124) I endeavoured to mitigate this by emphasising that there were no right or wrong answers and that this was an opportunity to share ideas about the process of writing. Whilst not exactly ‘ecological validity’ (Tobin, Wu & Davidson, 1989, p.190) this did allow the children to speak freely and it is fair to posit that my status as relative ‘visitor’ suggested to the children that ‘they had no incentive to dissemble’ (Mukherji & Albon, 2010, p.156).

Timed Observations

The timed observations of the children’s ‘writing behaviours’ as they composed their ‘free writing’ was the central spine of the study and was adapted from Jones’ (2007) methodology. Her approach was to observe the children composing a piece of writing and discuss any findings with them afterwards.

The categories of ‘writing behaviour’ upon which Jones focussed owed much to Clay’s (2000) taxonomy and were:

- (1) Writing (defined as ‘pen composition’)
- (2) Editing (checking/altering work already produced)
- (3) Pausing
- (4) Re-reading

An absence of clarity over the assessment criteria for ‘re-reading’ arguably limited the validity of these findings in Jones’ (2007) study: in my project I made no distinction between this category and pausing, as both were observably ‘not’ writing. Jones’ (2007) behaviour taxonomy and model of pupil discussion were adopted. Each child was observed writing on their own for 10 minutes and time spent exhibiting each behavioural ‘trait’ recorded. Whilst this method – the capturing of ‘snapshots’ - can lend itself to oversimplification of some behavioural dynamics (Sharp, 2012), the format of my observations was designed for the capturing of objective information and the second focus group discussion helped to contextualise this data.

Assessment Data

Finally, the pupils’ current assessment data in Writing was used to offset the ‘inherent subjectivity’ of the qualitative data (Cohen et al., 2000, p.246) (Appendix 2). This was also designed to be a foil to the children’s ‘naturalistic behaviours and dispositions’ (Mukherji & Albon, 2010, p.166) witnessed in the observations and focus groups: to posit ‘two contrasting views of writer-identity: according to the writer, and according to the curriculum’ (Gardner, 2014, p.19).

Ethics

As enshrined in BERA (2011), ethics in research involving young children is appended to their rights of agency as individuals (UNCRC, 1989) and is even more pertinent in educational research given the ‘disparities in power and status between adults and children’ (Roberts-Holmes, 2011, p.154). A robust overview of the ethics of my project was conducted by myself and my personal tutor in accordance with the University guidelines, and consent was gained. These considerations also featured in my original research proposal which was reviewed by the Headmistress prior to consent being obtained.

Permission was gained prior to data collection from the class teacher and Head, as Gatekeepers, and in accordance with existing permissions in the school charter. A letter to parents explaining fully the

purposes of the research was also sent out in advance of the study so that all participants could offer ‘fully informed consent’ (BERA, 2011, p.10). Only children returning the permission form took part in the study and all were offered the right to withdraw at any point during the project (Clark & Moss, 2001; BERA, 2011). Given the potentially novel context of the timed observations, a pilot was undertaken the week before data collection and children’s views taken: whilst the ‘clicking of the stopwatch’ was mentioned as ‘unusual’ the children agreed that it was superseded by the pleasure of ‘being able to do some free writing.’ It is likely this piloting also aided the qualitative reliability of the study, that is, its ‘fidelity to real life, context and situation’ (Cohen et al., 2000, p.120).

BERA (2011) also stipulates the right of participants to confidentiality. Whilst a researcher can never guarantee full confidentiality (Robert-Holmes, 2011), I made clear in my letter to parents and in my initial discussions with the class teacher and Headmistress that the destination of my data was a small research project and would not be in the public domain. Any data I had collected would be destroyed by the end of the academic year. Anonymity of participants, a scion to confidentiality (Bell, 2010) was more challenging given the nature of the research focus, and during the data collection period was not observed since the children’s names were integral to the distinction of their identities as writers (Gardner, 2014). However, in this report and all official publications of this study (including all appendices) the children’s names have been replaced with pseudonyms or redacted where necessary. Any reference to the school or any teaching staff has received the same treatment; in this way I have endeavoured to counter the lack of anonymity in fieldwork with ‘a sensitive masking of participants’ identity’ in the final report (Denscombe, 2010, p.27).

Presentation of Data

First Focus Group Discussion

Using key aspects of the writing experience identified in the literature review, an open discussion was had about the children’s experiences of writing (see sample of prompt questions presented in Appendix 1). Responses were recorded against the children’s names. Table 1 presents the key themes that emerged, with the number of children mentioning them in brackets.

Theme
Transcriptional pressures (6)
Preference for 'free' writing (5)
Need for writing to reflect personal interests (4)
Need for others to be able to read work (4)
Use of reading repertoires in writing (3)

Table 1: Key themes from the first focus group discussion

Transcriptional issues such as capital letters and full stops were mentioned by every child with a total of 18 statements taken relating to this area. Preoccupations centred on a fear of the teacher's disapproval (9 responses), not meeting the learning objective (5 responses) and either themselves or the teacher not being able to read what they had written (4 responses).

The number of responses to the question 'what makes good writing?', further illustrating a preoccupation with transcription, is presented in Table 2.

Theme
Transcriptional aspects (5) Capital letters, full stops, finger spaces
'Wow' words (4) Connectives, adjectives, adverbs
Clear handwriting (1)
'Good ideas' (1)

Table 2: Responses to the question: 'what makes good writing?'

Observations of writing behaviours

The following behaviours were timed and recorded:

- W - Writing (highlighted in orange)
- E – Editing (+ve blue)
- R/P- Reading/Pausing (-ve blue)

Time spent either writing or editing was awarded a positive value; pausing or re-reading was awarded a negative value. For example, 10 seconds of writing would be ‘10 seconds’ and 3 seconds of pausing would be ‘-3 seconds’ in order to produce the following bar charts (Figures 1-6).

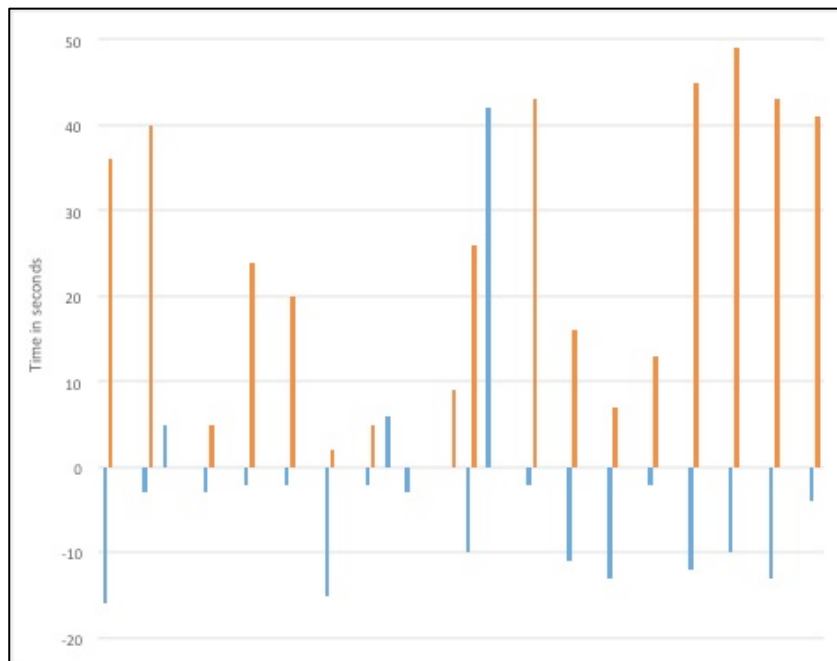


Figure 1: Ryan’s profile – a ‘rapid-switcher’ with some editing

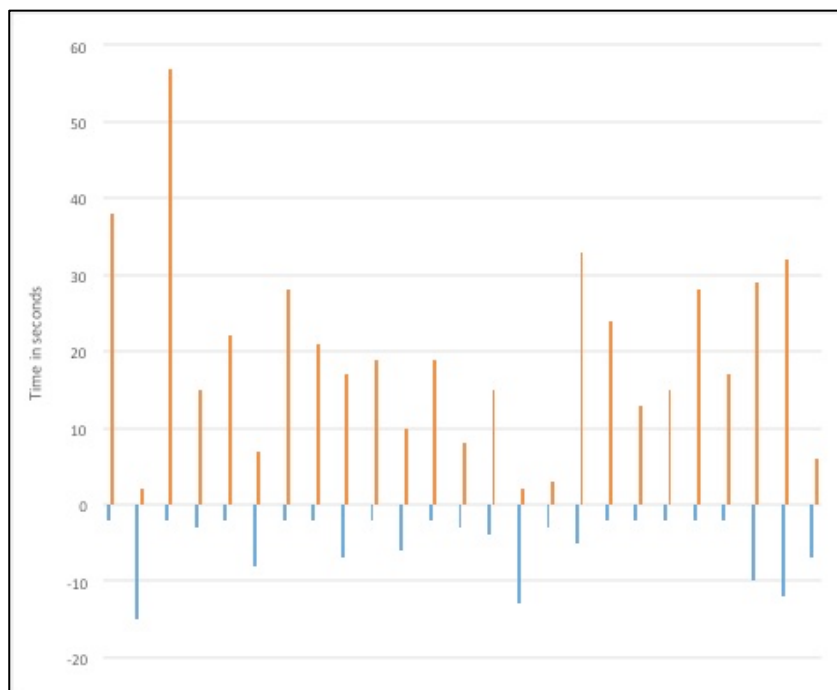


Figure 2: Callum – a ‘rapid-switcher’ with no editing

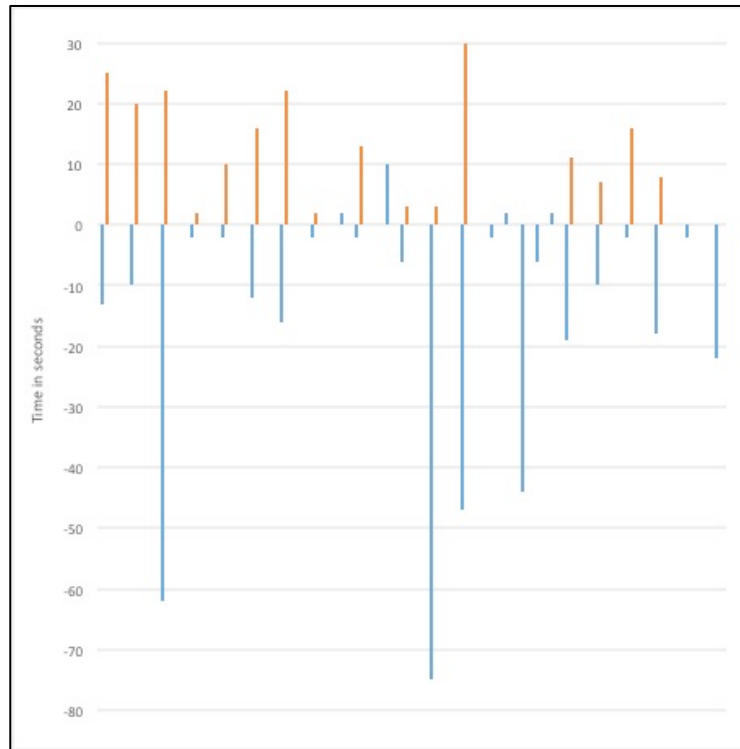


Figure 3: Leo – a ‘long-pauser’

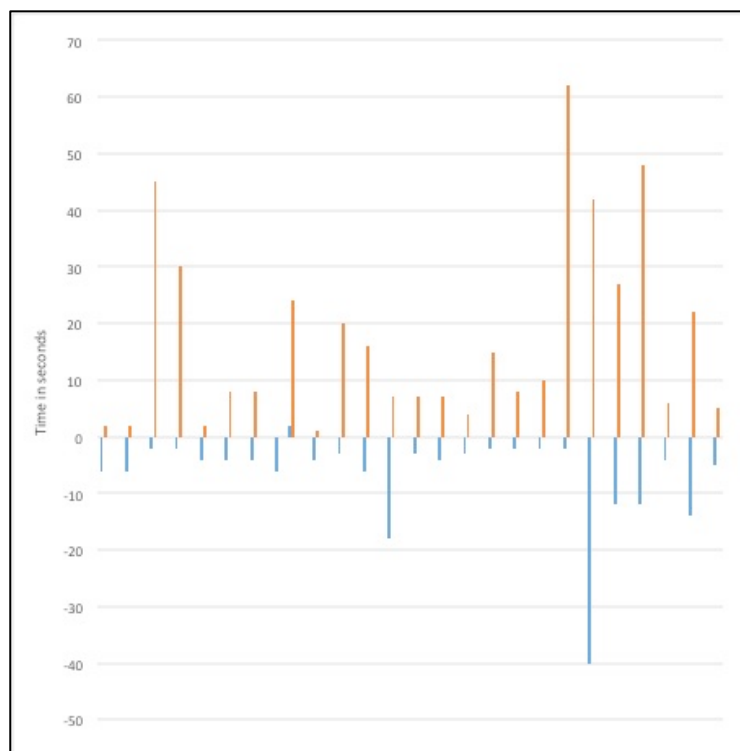


Figure 4: Alice’s profile – a ‘writer-pauser’ with some prolificacy?

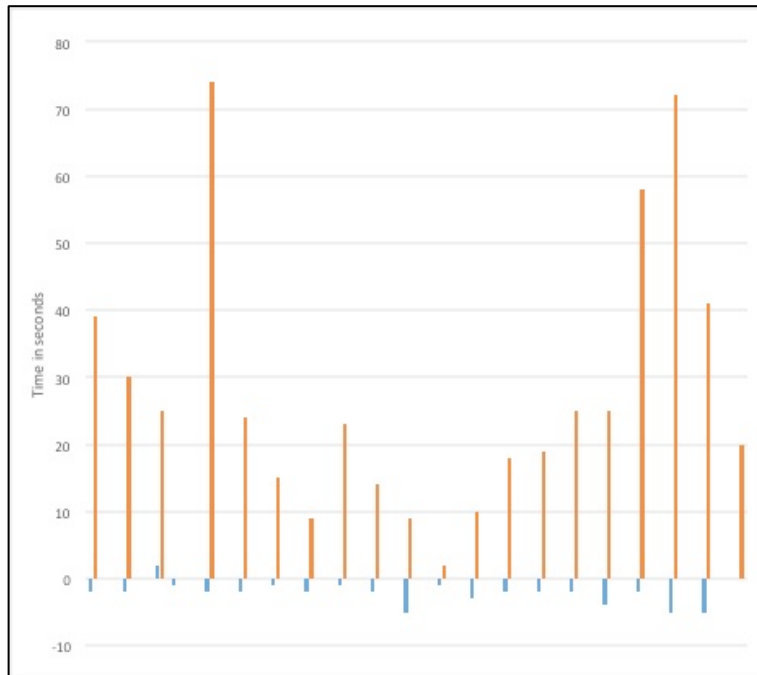


Figure 5: Nell – a ‘prolific writer’?

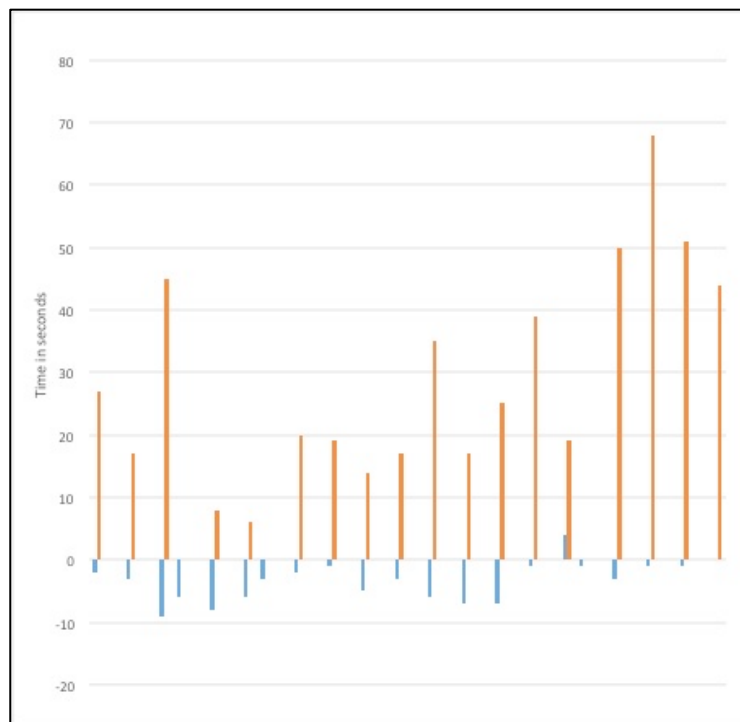


Figure 6: Delia – a ‘pauser-prolific writer’?

Table 3 details the time each child spent writing, editing and pausing or re-reading.

Name	Writing (secs)	%	Editing (secs)	%	Pausing or Re-reading (secs)	%
Ryan	424	71	53	8.9	123	20.1
Leo	210	35	16	2.7	374	62.3
Callum	480	80	0	0	120	20
Alice	428	71.3	2	0.4	170	28.3
Nell	552	92	2	0.4	46	7.6
Delia	521	86.8	4	0.7	75	12.5

Table 3: Observed ‘writing behaviours’ - Table of Totals

Table 4 below displays the number of continuous incidences of writing and pausing or re-reading. The write-to-pause ratio compares the numbers of these two types of incidences for each child. Also shown is the total time each child spent writing and pausing or re-reading and their write-to-pause length ratio.

Name	Total incidences of writing	Total incidences of pausing/re-reading	Write-to-pause Ratio (WPR)	Total time spent writing (seconds)	Total time spent pausing/re-reading (seconds)	Write-to-pause Length Ratio (WPLR)
Ryan	17	17	1	424	123	3.5
Leo	16	21	0.7	210	374	0.5
Callum	25	25	1	480	120	4
Alice	25	25	1	428	170	2.5
Nell	20	19	1.1	552	46	12
Delia	18	19	0.9	521	75	6.9

Table 4: Comparative analysis of pupils' writing vs pausing times

The **WPR** identified frequency of incidences of either writing or pausing/re-reading, and was calculated using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total writing incidences}}{\text{Total pausing incidences}}$$

The **WPLR** refers to length of time spent either writing or pausing, and was calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Total seconds spent writing}}{\text{Total seconds spent pausing}}$$

Second Focus Group Discussion

Using the preceding bar charts and the children's original writing samples (see Appendix 3) discussions were had as a group concerning the children's experiences of free writing. The prompt questions were as before. Table 5 displays the themes that emerged:

Theme	<i>Some exemplifying anecdotes</i>
Need for ideational fluency (6)	'Being able to get my ideas down in time' (Callum) 'I love free writing because you can use your own ideas ... they just come' (Nell) 'Whenever I finished a sentence, I had to check it, then I forgot what I was saying' (Delia)
Transcription (5) <i>(Totalling 11 statements)</i>	'Yeah, connectives and stuff have to go in' (Callum) 'I got loads of sentences down ... look at my capitals and full stops!' (Callum) 'It still has to be good writing, with spellings, full stops, capital letters and finger spaces – all the 'non-negotiables'' (Ryan)
Importance of ownership of writing (5)	'I loved writing my story! It felt good to do something for me' (Alice) 'My story was all about what I wanted to write about – it is special because it is mine' (Nell)
Affective aspects of writing (5)	Staying calm vs pressure: 'I just took deep breath and got some sentences down' (Caleb) but 'I felt pressure to write something good so I thought for a while' (Alice) 'I felt kind of happy' (Leo)
Suitability for a teacher-audience (4)	'It still has to be good enough so Miss [-] can read it' (Leo) 'If you edit it, you have better writing so teachers can read it' (Ryan)

Table 5: Key themes from the second focus group discussion

Discussion of Findings

A lack of reluctance: boys' versus girls' behavioural profiles

Observational data broadly suggested a lack of writing reluctance on the part of two boys, Ryan and Callum, whose profiles were of the same 'rapid-switcher' presentation as was witnessed in the boys in Jones' (2007) study, the only exception being a disparity in editorial behaviours (see Figures 1 and 2). Both boys had an WPR of 1 indicating they wrote as often as they paused (see Table 4), both had their longest pause at the start of the writing session and their average pausing and writing durations were also similar – for writing: 25 and 19.2 seconds respectively; for pausing 7.2 and 4.8 seconds (calculated by dividing the total time for each behaviour by the number of incidences of it – see Tables 3 and 4). In the second focus group discussion, Callum rationalised this by explaining he 'wanted to get all my ideas sorted so I could get them down', although Ryan suggested this was not so much of an issue for him 'because I already knew what I was going to write'. Ideational fluency then, for these boys, was premised on being able to think either before or during their writing about its content and form. Interestingly, transcription was not perceived by either boys as a barrier to ideation – an analysis of their writing (see Appendix 3) shows that, whilst neither ideas were original there was evidence of some development and only Ryan had spent time editing his work. During discussions, both boys said they were 'happy' with their ideas and Ryan explained his 53 seconds of *transcriptional* editing was 'so Miss can read it', not to help him with the idea. Both were also emphatic in their enjoyment of 'free' writing, with Callum's comment in particular, that 'it's only annoying when you are having to check, write and think at the same time' more redolent of Meek Spencer's (2001) admission of the cognitive load inherent in the composing process than a negativity towards the process itself.

The girls' profiles, however, were less in line with Jones' (2007) revisionist stance and more akin to conventional representations of girl writers as 'quiet and industrious' (Maynard & Lowe, 1999; Higgins, 2002; Watson & Kehler, 2012, p.47). Nell and Delia utilised the briefest of pauses and all three girls presented with a WPR at or near 1 (see Table 4) suggesting near-parity in frequency of writing and pausing. Despite the inherent ambiguity in Jones' (2007) writer categorisations (such as the criteria for 'prolificacy', for example), all three girls had elements of 'fluency' in their profiles (see Figures 4 to 6) and an analysis of their written work (Appendix 3) suggests the presence of a defined narrative arc (Nell and Ava in particular). Whilst the boys' apparent preference for non-

fiction (Ryan) and computer-game influenced texts (Callum) might be more redolent of certain stereotypes (Graves, 1983; Hirschheimer, 2002; Ofsted, 2012b), equally plausible is that it reflected the timbre of their reading experiences (Brice Heath, 1983; Clay, 2000; Meek Spencer, 2001). Leo was the only pupil who showed any form of writing ‘reluctance’ as far as his profile and focus group comments could measure. Pausing 5 more times than he wrote (see Figure 3 and Table 4) and for a total of 164 seconds more than any time spent writing (see Table 4) he also had the longest editing incidence after Ryan yet his finished work showed minimal evidence of this (self-correction of a ‘t’ only - Appendix 3). Comments during the second focus group suggested transcriptional pressures were a significant constraint on his production of writing: of the 29 total statements on this issue from both focus groups, 11 were from Leo including ‘I hate this writing because I can never get all my spellings, finger spaces and full stops down in time.’ The fact that Leo’s transcription was arguably the better of the three boys’ (Appendix 3) suggests a low self-efficacy in writing in line with many current concerns (Wearmouth et al., 2011).

Transcriptional considerations were pre-eminent in the writers’ mind sets

The dominance of transcriptional concerns in the writers’ mind sets was suggested in the data and conforms to many lines of argument in current discourse (see Tables 1, 2 and 5). The impact of such concerns on the written product may be indicated by Leo’s smaller output (Appendix 3). No gender bias could be detected in transcriptional preoccupations (comments regarding this were equally spread across the genders) and pupils were generally agreed on the timing implications of checking work for spellings and other transcriptional ‘non-negotiables’ (see Table 5). Taking Jones’ (2007) premise that ideational fluency can be shown by longer periods of writing to pausing times (a view supported by the CLPE, 2016, p.4), then the WPLR was a pertinent tool to define how ‘embedded’ the skills of writing were in the writers. Table 4 indicates that, by this measure, the strongest girl writer was Nell (who wrote for 12 times the amount of time she paused), and the strongest boy was Ryan (who spent 3.5 times as long writing as he did pausing). The disparity in their relative writing times (and those of the boys and girls in general – see Table 4) would support a gender distinction in writing stamina, however, the narrowness of this study limits the reliability of this finding somewhat.

In the children’s perceptions, however, the status of ideation appeared linked to the writing context. It was revealing that the role of a good idea in ‘good writing’ was barely mentioned in the first

focus group (see Tables 1 and 2) but was a leitmotif in the second (see Table 5). Possible reasons for this include the constraints of time (often taken up with transcriptional checking) and perceived expectations of teacher disapproval for ‘inappropriate’ ideas, and the more open-ended medium of ‘free’ writing which liberated the children from the need to conform to any one medium or genre (as Delia said, ‘it is better when I can make up my own stories ... because it is *my* writing’). In the second focus group the words ‘my writing’ were mentioned by each child at least once, with ownership and agency in ‘free writing’ a key theme (see Table 5). In the first discussion ‘free writing’ was a clear preference with all but Leo, with Nell’s comment that it was ‘special because it is ours, we can do whatever we like’ summing up this notion of ‘the need for choice and ownership in written product’ (Gardner, 2014, p.19).

‘What will Miss think?’ The Teacher as Audience

Ryan’s comment (above) exemplified what seemed to be an awareness on the part of the writers of the needs and perceived expectations of the teacher-reader (and marker) of their work. The idea of what was ‘suitable’ content (or issues reflective of the ‘conventional canon’ - Kelly, 2010, p.142) as perceived by the teacher; the need for effective transcription in order to obtain legibility or ‘marks’ (see also Leo’s comment in Table 5); and the understanding that their written work would be used as part of a wider judgement of their capabilities were key factors influencing the children’s experiences of and motivations for writing. The fact that even in their ‘free writing’ (to which many had already assigned a special status as being more ‘theirs’ than other types of writing) the children were still preoccupied with potential transcriptional barriers goes some way to suggest the entrenchment of the transcriptional agenda in the minds of the young writers, for which the teacher is an inevitable mouthpiece (Alexander, 2010). An analysis of the children’s current ‘levels’ in writing (Appendix 2) is equally ambiguous: Nell’s measure as ‘strongest’ writer (according to the WPLR) was superseded by the higher ‘official’ level awarded to Alice, and Leo’s status as a ‘2b+’ seems at odds with the indications of reluctance witnessed during this study. To claim that these assessments fail to represent the true abilities of this particular group of writers is beyond the scope of this small study but is certainly hinted at in the data and would confirm the suspicions of many current studies (Jones, 2007; Gardner, 2014).

Methodological constraints

The short time frame of each writing observation (10 minutes) was arguably not long enough to gain a full picture of the writers' behavioural habits and was a key limitation of the study. In part a response to the small scale nature of this project, in which a researcher has to 'compromise in structure but not in form' (Denscombe, 2010, p.13), I was also guided by Jones' (2007) original study: whilst she observed her writers for 20 minutes, the first 10 minutes were considered indicative enough of emerging writers' profiles.

A more robust scrutiny of a greater number of examples of the pupils' written work to support an elucidation of their observed 'writing behaviours' might also have been profitable. One could surmise that the lesser output of Leo, for example, whilst apparently not due to transcriptional editing (despite his own remarks) was indicative of deeper ideation, though without at least one other example of writing from him in which he performed in a similar context, such speculations are spurious at best.

The narrow time frame of this study was by far its main constraint, and was also a factor in the decision to consider both 're-reading' and 'pausing' as one category. It is arguable that this overlooked the possibility that 'editing' could be a cognitive rather than transcriptive process, and therefore redolent of Sharp's (2012, p.91) caution of 'oversimplification'. This might have shed light on Leo's verbal preoccupation with transcription, though apparent negligible evidence of this in his written work, but the difficulties inherent in measuring such a nuance are manifold.

Finally, a more detailed breakdown of the children's current attainment 'levels' in writing would also have provided more data on their competencies in the different aspects of the writing process; whether there were any differences in their performance as 'composers' or as 'editors' (Jones, 2007, p.108). This data could also have been used to contextualise their observed 'writing behaviours' and to elucidate their perspectives on the writing process, with the caveat clearly made, however, that the context in which the writing was produced in school assessments was very different to the self-chosen 'free writing' used in this study (Graves, 1983; Hall, 1987; Gardner, 2011). The nature of the written genre of the 'free writing', then, was also a possible limitation: broadly narrative in style (with the exception of Leo), the children's comments about their enjoyment of this experience could possess only a 'local validity', in their exclusive relevance to this style of writing (Mukherji &

Albon, 2010, p.160). If I were to repeat the study I would like to explore the children's responses in different genre contexts, such as poetry or non-fiction writing.

Conclusions

Given the aforementioned caveats, the following conclusions were drawn:

- **Writing behaviours alone cannot define 'reluctance'**

The presentation of all but one boy as enthusiastic writers, and the general positive attitudes towards writing of the group as a whole, suggest the uniqueness of the writing experience for each child and a possible need to re-define what is meant by 'reluctance' in writing. The affective implications of the writing process are a factor to consider (see Table 5).

- **Transcriptional considerations were greater in mind than in actuality**

Data from the focus groups indicated these considerations were uppermost in the minds of all the writers (see Tables 1, 2 and 5) but no gender bias was detected. Some disparity in the frequency of comments regarding transcription and the actuality of writers pausing to check their transcription indicates that this was perhaps a greater issue in their minds than it was in the practical act of writing. The link between the need for transcriptional accuracy and the children's perceptions of what the teacher expected of them hints at a possible reason for this mismatch.

- **Insufficient data to explore ideational process**

Data from the WPLR showing girls on average writing for longer periods of time than the boys would conform to some arguments in the literature. However, whether this suggests a greater stamina on the part of the girls, or differences in ideation, is unclear.

Implications for future practice

Undertaking this study has revealed to me the importance of considering the whole child in any analysis of writers and their writing. And who better to consult than the writers themselves, who, with their 'differing voices and experiences' can offer insights into their encounters in the classroom which cannot be surpassed by any curricular or other measure, 'however robust or research-based' it may be (Clark & Moss, 2001, p.68). I wish to reflect this in my teaching by more

consciously applying the principles of Assessment for Learning (AfL) through peer- and self-evaluation, and by using a more open whole-class discussion on strategies for writing. This could be incorporated in a 'We are Writers' Learning Wall, for example, in which children can display their work and record their verbal responses to it on sound buttons, for all to share.

The need for all writers, regardless of gender, ability 'or any other category' (Siraj-Blatchford, 1995, p.49) to be offered choice and agency in their writing is another key reflection. Whilst curricular pressures may constrain this, as a practitioner I can empower my pupils as authors of their own writing through offering more choice in written genres and contexts for writing (such as through role play), and by providing them with opportunities to discuss their responses to *their own texts* with each other and the teacher. 'Talk for Writing' is a favoured trend, but deals with texts written by others. If I can train my pupils that, through talk (and perhaps pictorial representation) we can look at the whole process of writing, then it can be seen that writers are 'composers, editors', fortune-tellers and 'imagers' (Gardner, 2014, p.12) and not just 'secretarial machines' (D'Arcy, 1999, p.24). The language I use and the spaces I create can also convey to the children the message that all aspects of writing are equally valued, and that the compositional process is equally, if not more instructive than the written outcome.

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Appendix 1

Prompt Questions for First Focus Group – 25/01/16

Let's have a chat about writing in school:

- How do you feel about writing in school?
- What parts of it do you find tricky/easy?
- What could teachers do to help you?
- What could you do to help yourself?
- What makes 'good' writing do you think?

Appendix 2

Spring 1 Target Tracker Assessments in Writing

Using the school's current assessment framework 'Target Tracker' (based on NC descriptors) the following data were obtained. There are three levels in total: b (beginning); w (working within); s (secure). The additional '+' indicated a sub-level within this tripartite structure.

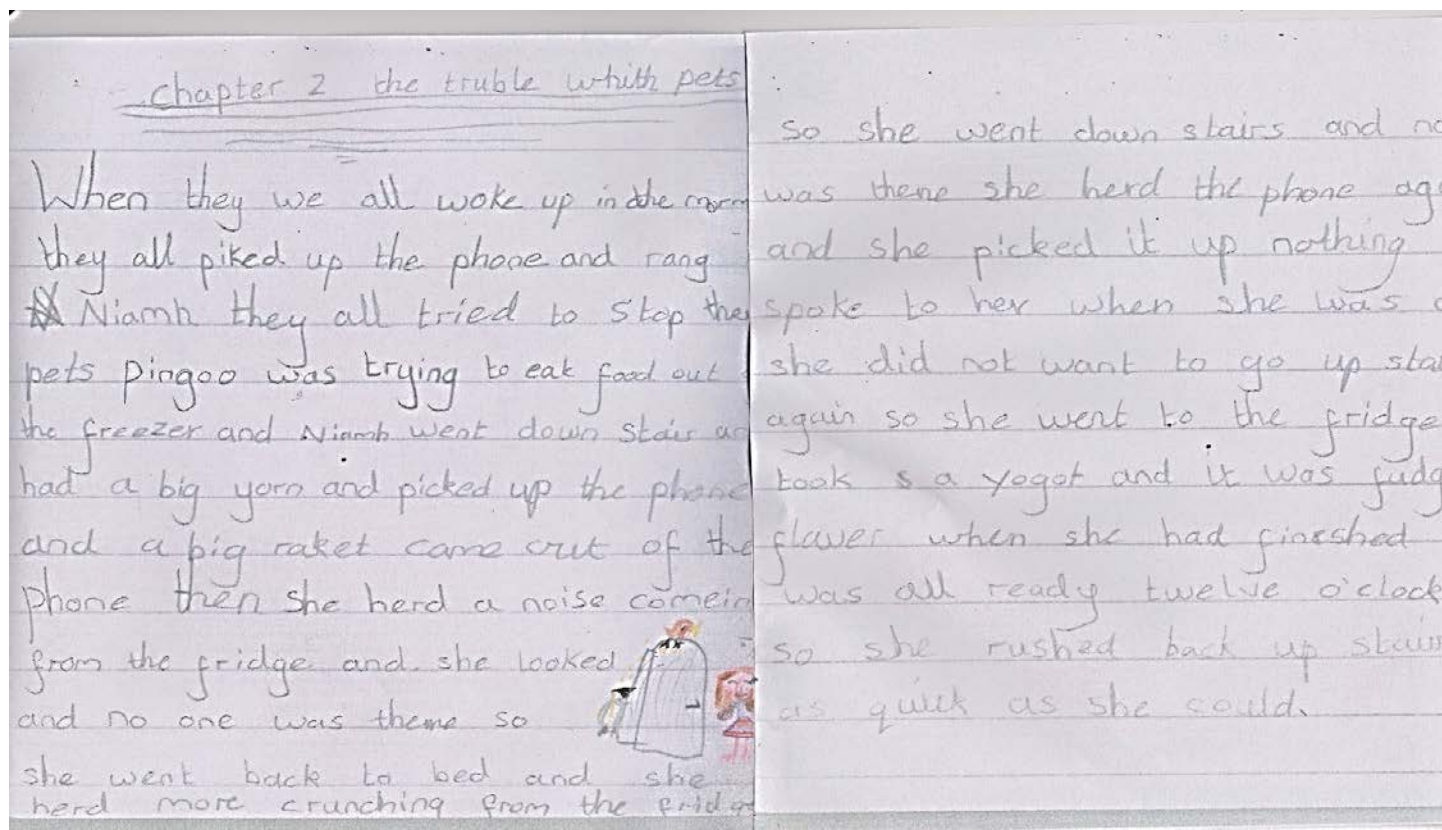
All children were scoring in line with age-related expectations with the exception of Alice who was **exceeding** these expectations.

Spring 1 Assessment data

Boys	Level	Girls	Level
Ryan	2b+	Alice	2w
Leo	2b+	Nell	2b+
Callum	2b	Delia	2b+

Appendix 3

Scanned copies of portions of the children's 'free' writing produced during the 10 minute observations



A portion of Nell's writing

JoTTER Vol. 8 (2017)

<p>Tabitha is a nice witch and she is going to help super Stuart Ava and Ines after that they all sat down for tea while Ines and Ava played the magical instruments. After they went to Wales to see Avas cousins they went for a walk with a scary story and Ava, Ines and Jacob and Tabitha jumped in the sea. Then they went to Eves Turn</p>	<p>party in a caravan and a frozen cake after they finished they went to the club house</p>
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Part of Alice's writing

and then he fell a sleep in
till the morning.
He was so tired that he couldn't sleep!
he could only shut his
eyes. Then he opened his eyes and
it was nearly morning so he went
on. Then he got it for his
mum but it was only a grey
sese. he was sad because
he mist his mum so he had a
brake. He got a kind looking
mum he got she could help

him looked for his mum.
he walked other and she
looked like she could help

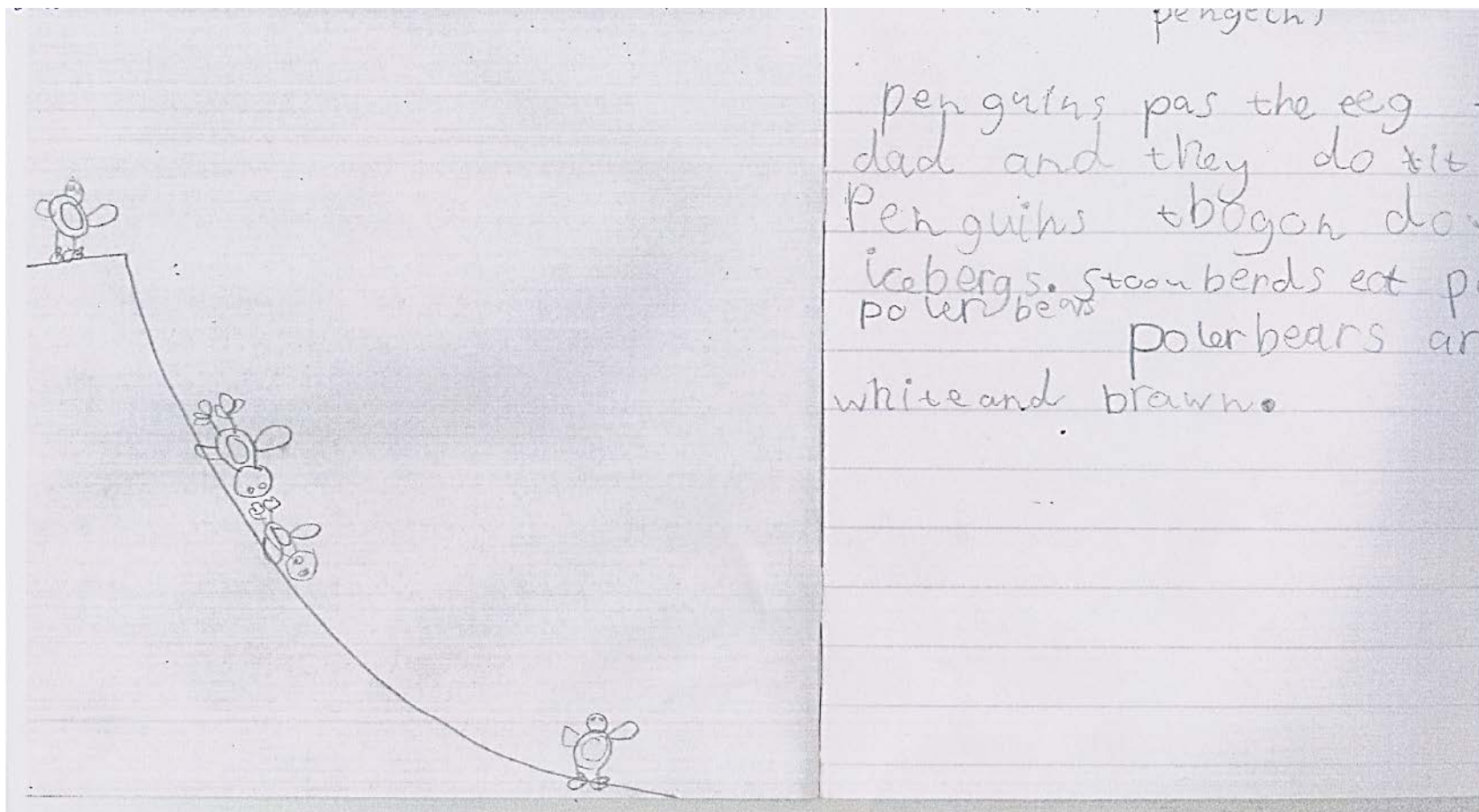
Delia's sample

once upon a time there was a polar bear
called Luke ~~and~~. He was very strong
and he was good at swimming
and ~~was~~ tumbling, and ~~the~~ climbing
ice bergs, and he was the king of all the
polar bears. and his servant was
called Foxy because he was
a Arctic fox. he was very snugly
and did you know that he
had the warmest fur it was
white ~~fur~~ and it help him to keep
warm. but he was ~~very~~ ~~small~~.

Sample of Ryan's writing

Steve went into a mien shant
there was a zombe it was a after
zombe it was a frenle zombe
it was call and he was were cwickat
cl eening w9 he could tel fune goce s
he was ve pee fune he could count to
1000 he could contin ps he could
flie a oiet as hgi as a hous he
could stand stuu afa stachoe
he could froa tenis blaas hie as a
hous.

Sample of Callum's writing



Leo's writing (complete)