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Writer Motivation: Beyond the Intrinsic/ Extrinsic Dichotomy

Cover Page Footnote

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Writer Motivation: Beyond the Intrinsic/Extrinsic Dichotomy

Bradford A. Barry

Perhaps two of the most frustrating questions for writing teachers to hear are “So what do I have to do to get an ‘A’ on this paper?” and “Can’t you just tell me what you want?” As frustrating as these questions are, they are valid questions for students who lack intrinsic motivation when attempting to complete the assignments we give them. Yet so often these questions seem to be *invalid* questions because they miss more important elements of education in composition classrooms: to be immersed in writing tasks which teach students about themselves and the world around them, all the while enabling them to think critically and write clearly. For many teachers, our assignments elicit respect, effort, stress and sometimes even intimidation and frustration. Yet how often are these reactions accompanied by (or overshadowed by) enthusiasm and interest in meeting the rhetorical challenges we set before our students?

The primary goal of this article is to articulate and develop a much needed theory of writer motivation which can be applied to a broad range of composition courses. In the process of doing this, I will offer an expanded vocabulary with which to name and understand the many factors that contribute to motivating and demotivating students’ desires to learn and write. How, I will ask, can we nurture in our students *rhetorically-based intrinsic motivations*? I hope to begin resolving the tension between the fact that essays are indeed required by teachers and the fact that those teachers desire for students to momentarily forget about such mandates in order to become immersed in the excitement and challenge of writing. Ultimately this essay is for teachers who want their students to be more concerned with audience than with grades, more concerned with communicating ideas than perfecting commas, more concerned with the transformation of ideas than the propagation of ideas.

Although I will draw extensively upon the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, my primary purpose is to show that such a distinction is an inadequate dichotomy from which to view writer motivation. While intrinsic motivations are certainly beneficial to learning, we all know that students can be thoroughly immersed in writing tasks (because of intrinsic interest in a topic), but can have little sense of rhetorical purpose or audience and thus fail miserably at the task of *communicating*. While the development of intrinsic motivation is an important goal for teachers, we must consider that a student writer can be very

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much intrinsically motivated—yet altogether uninterested in whether or not rhetorical, communicative goals are being met. Imagine, for example, a student writer who is thoroughly immersed in the process of expressing his or her ideas, as well as transforming those ideas through writing and revising. Such a writer might be in the thick of a meaningful process of self-revelation. This, most of us would agree, is good for any writer. Yet a comprehensive theory of writer motivation must extend beyond student-centered, intrinsic motivations in order to account for writing as a *communicative* act. We must go beyond the realm of intrinsic in order to develop a theory of rhetorical motivation that will help teachers improve the quality of student texts.

Thus, rather than replacing notions of intrinsic motivation, I will simply fuse them with notions of rhetorical communication. Ideally, rhetorically-based intrinsic motivation consists of internal *and* rhetorical motivations, such as a writer's desire to:

- be effective in the context of classrooms
- express thoughts, feelings and perspectives
- see ideas transformed during the writing process
- connect with and/or persuade an audience
- achieve *self-defined* goals set (or agreed upon) by the individual writer (or group of writers).

I will preview two motivational theories from the field of cognitive psychology: self-determination and autotelic flow. As Donald Keesey notes in *Contexts for Criticism*, "Disciplines are ways of seeing, not things to be seen. . ." (267). I will thus utilize cognitive psychology as a lens through which to examine rhetorical purpose and motivation. I will then propose and develop a new theory of writer motivation called *rhetrinsic introphy*. Rhetrinsic motivation, I will argue, synthesizes self-determination and flow theories from the field of cognitive psychology with predominant theories and practices of rhetorical purpose. *Introphy* is a word I developed from the scientific term *extrophy*, meaning the process of externalization. Introphy is akin to the word *internalization*, yet it denotes a circular process rather than a strict linear process of movement from external states to internal ones. *Internalization* implies that motivational transformation can eventually be finalized in an intrinsic state. Alternatively, *introphy* implies a continuous process of negotiation between intrinsic states and extrinsic ones, never entirely factoring extrinsic out of the motivation equation. It exists when writers become both internally *and* externally motivated. Introphy represents more of a protean process existing among many shades of internal and external, at times capable of reversing its direction in order to allow for an emphasis of external over internal. Finally, I will examine this notion of rhetrinsic motivation through the pedagogical lens of publishing-oriented pedagogies.

Motivation Theory from Cognitive Psychology

In *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human Behavior*, Edward Deci and Richard Ryan argue that self-determination is an essential ingredient to intrinsic motivation. They write that even "a modest opportunity to be self-determining in relation to one's learning appears to enhance intrinsic motivation and

facilitate learning" (257). In other words, the more students are able to determine for themselves their own challenges, tasks, goals and outcomes within the entire contexts of their educations, the more intrinsically motivated they will be.

What specifically are the components of self-determination? People are naturally inclined, they write, to succeed and to be competent in their endeavors. Deci and Ryan draw upon White's effectance theory, saying that "the feeling of effectance that follows from competent interactions with the environment is the reward . . . and [it] can sustain behaviors independent of any drive based reinforcements" (5). In terms of pedagogy, this is crucial because it implies that students come to classes already, always motivated to succeed in one manner or another.

In addition, Deci and Ryan argue that extrinsically motivated people tend to choose easier tasks while intrinsically motivated people tend to choose tasks which challenge them because the intrinsic rewards increase when success is achieved (27, 245). For example, in order to save time and energy, an extrinsically motivated student might choose to write a paper on the same topic he or she has explored in past courses. Yet an intrinsically motivated writer might instead choose an unfamiliar topic because he or she wants to learn more about it, thus risking the loss of time and energy in order to grow as a thinker, researcher, and writer. Such conceptions of intrinsic motivation are still based upon rewards, but not in the traditional behavioristic sense. Rather, the rewards are created and discovered by the individual rather than provided by an outside person attempting to intervene in the motivational process. In other words, the extrinsically motivated student who simply rehashes an old paper may only learn if a teacher requires him or her to re-see the topic from a new angle, thus imposing the external "reward" of intellectual growth on that writer. Yet the intrinsically motivated student would, in essence, seek out and create intellectual rewards by nature of his or her enthusiasm about learning something new—even if she or he were not required by the teacher to write or speak about a new topic. As Deci and Ryan note, intrinsic motivation is "persistence in the absence of immediate extrinsic contingencies" (39).

Throughout their text they also make a central distinction between controlling and informational learning structures, arguing that the more informational an environment is, the more it will allow one to be self-determining and thus intrinsically motivated. While controlling environments over-prescribe and over-define people's courses of action, informational environments give people more freedom, all the while providing feedback on how to better achieve their goals. Informational environments give students the greatest opportunity for self-determination, as opposed to encouraging in them compliant, pawn-like behavior (249). Consider teachers who are having students write movie reviews in order that they might learn about evaluation and critique. If such teachers were operating within a controlling structure, they might require all students to write about the same film, perhaps even determining for students the specific criteria to utilize in their evaluations. Yet, if the teachers desired to create a more informational learning structure, she could allow students to each write about a movie of their own choosing. In order to provide informational feedback which would help students achieve their goals, teachers could help them see how different genres call for different

criteria and how some movies might be more appropriate to a first-time movie review.

Ultimately, informational environments provide and encourage multiple and flexible courses of action rather than strict, predictable behavior. Deci and Ryan note that informational, self-determining environments clarify for individuals what the options are for increasing effectiveness in meeting flexible goals (38). In accord with the notion of *introphy*, informational environments acknowledge the flexibility of (and interchange between) internally and externally constructed goals, unlike controlling environments which tend to focus on externally constructed criteria and requirements. In other words, the teacher who allows students to write on movies of their own choosing acknowledges that students' *extrinsic* goals of earning a strong grade can flexibly interchange with their *intrinsic* goals of learning more about a movie—which can also flexibly interchange with their *rhetorical* goals of persuading readers to see their favorite movie. A teacher who requires all students to write about a single movie risks having them write with only the extrinsic motivation of earning a strong grade.

Each of the above issues—self-determination, effectance, and controlling and informational structures—are of extreme importance to motivational theory and pedagogy. So many of our students are young adults attempting for the first time to exercise significantly greater responsibility and control over their lives. Many are no longer surrounded by the behavioristic environments of mandatory public high schools and parents who seek to make their choices along with them (if not for them). Their everyday college experiences, academic and otherwise, entail the challenge of self-determination and most desire immensely to be effective in college's relatively new and free environment. The structures that we as teachers provide for them—structures which span the informational-controlling continuum—play central roles in their abilities to achieve their goals of academic and personal self-determination.

Much of what Deci and Ryan propose correlates with the task immersion studies of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. In his article, "Literacy and Intrinsic Motivation," he writes that the primary impediments to learning are not cognitive in nature but rather motivational. He distinguishes between extrinsic motivations (which he considers to be such factors as money, grades, and degrees) and intrinsic, autotelic motivations that are rewarding in and of themselves. He acknowledges that, while extrinsic, behavioristic motivation can greatly influence students' desires to learn, the *quality* of that learning does not necessarily increase. Only intrinsic motivation can create an atmosphere where students learn for the sake of learning, and thus carry with them skills which extend beyond their initial extrinsic reasons for study. Csikszentmihalyi argues that, rather than trying to improve the teaching of our various disciplines (which implies a teacher-centered approach to pedagogical problem solving), we instead ought to focus on better stimulating students' desires to learn (a more student-centered approach to pedagogical problem solving).

Csikszentmihalyi also explores some of the "universal characteristics associated with enjoyable activities" (131). He views enjoyable activities in terms of meaningful "flow" experiences. In short, these are optimal experiences in which

a participant in an activity becomes so immersed in that activity that she or he rises above the constraints inherent in that activity. An example might be a student who becomes so immersed in persuading an audience that she or he momentarily forgets that the writing process is mandated by a teacher who will eventually grade her or his persuasive essay. During most flow experiences, there exists what Csikszentmihalyi calls *optimal challenge*, the correct matching of challenges with skills (131). In the window of optimal challenge, participants are neither overwhelmed or bored by the flow activity. A fine and delicate balance must be created and maintained in order to constantly exist just beyond comfort zones and into the realm of optimal challenge. In connection with this, Deci and Ryan tell us that, in order for individuals to be spurred by effectance motivation, they must constantly be learning new skills:

[T]he reward for competency-motivated behavior is the inherent feeling of competence that results from effective functioning, yet the motivation is such that the feelings seem to result only when there is some continual stretching of one's capacities. With each new acquisition of a skill there is some room for playful exercising of that skill, but boredom soon sets in when one merely exercises the same skill over and over. (27)

This is perhaps the most difficult factor for writing teachers. We must seek to understand the capacities of each *individual* student within a class and how we can best enable them to reside in what is often a small window of optimal challenge.

Reed Larson's essay, "Flow and Writing," recounts the findings of his study which examined the role of Csikszentmihalyi's ideas in the writing process. Poorer writers, he notes, "wrestled with expectations for their papers that were greater than they could meet" (154). They therefore lost control of the writing process and developed "worry, frustration and internal anger." Their "psychic energy," Reed writes, "was wasted in trying to order. . . feelings rather than. . . thoughts" (157). Skilled writers, on the other hand, closely monitored their energy levels and adjusted challenges accordingly. Larson says of one skilled writer, "he seems to have been deliberately adjusting the challenges to his abilities. By moving cautiously through hard parts, by stopping when overexcited, and by monitoring his energy, he regulated the balance of challenges and skills, creating conditions for enjoyable involvement" (165). Unfortunately, Larson seems to posit good writing experiences as pain free (166), which is contrary to the findings of both Linda Bannister and Alice Brand who each acknowledge that there are *positive* anxieties in writing processes.

As noted earlier, Deci and Ryan elaborate upon White's effectance theory, which states that people naturally desire to excel within any given personal and social framework by way of competent interactions. Deci and Ryan argue that feelings of reward and satisfaction can be enough, in and of themselves, to continue intrinsically motivating people in their pursuits (5). Often with students—indeed, with any writers—the simple yet satisfying feeling of a job well done is enough to internalize those writing activities and continue in them,

even in the absence of any external, drive-based reinforcements. As Deci and Ryan explain it:

The development of competencies—walking, talking, manipulating abstract symbols, or formulating a story—are in part maturational, according to White, yet they are in large measure learned, and the learning is motivated. The need for competence provides the energy for this learning. Effectance motivation is broader in its scope than learning, however. Whereas the biological aim of competence motivation is survival of the organism, the experiential aim is the feeling of competence that results from effective action. (27)

Unfortunately, a central problem teachers have is that some students do not necessarily want to be competent; they simply want to get credit for a course or an assignment in order to receive a grade which will allow them to advance to yet other courses. Fortunately, this does not describe the majority of college students because most who don't like writing or speaking soon realize after a few weeks into a course that they don't want to spend the entire term just "getting by" with a bare minimum of work. Instead, most want to at least become minimally effective, regardless of how difficult it might be to attain that effectiveness. Whether or not students *enjoy* that process is usually secondary to their desire for effectiveness. Even some students who disdain writing are strongly driven by their desire to be competent, effective human beings in college's many academic contexts.

It is important to note that we can over-prescribe for our students the rhetorical contexts in which they write and speak. Writing teachers, for example, can controllingly tell students to "Write to the director of university planning in order to argue for better commuter parking" or "Show portfolio readers that you are proficient in grammar, organization and development." Such writing prompts imply stone notions of rhetorical purpose and exigence which can sap writer motivation. Deci and Ryan's notions of informational learning structures suggest that we instead provide students with the information they need in order to create their own rhetorical contexts. Rather than stone notions of rhetorical purpose, we can instead acknowledge clay and protean notions with comments such as, "So you want to write about the parking problem on campus? Then together we will find out who is involved in that issue, what their stances are on the matter and how you can best communicate your position to them (whatever it turns out to be after you've researched the issue and reflected on it)." We can acknowledge and encourage their self-determination in the learning process with comments such as, "So you want to impress portfolio readers? Together we'll research who these readers are, what they are interested in, how those interests can mesh with yours, and what you can do to best insure a passing grade." Here, the impetus for learning and communicating becomes more centered around matters of rhetorical audience and purpose.

As students operate within such informational learning structures, their increased opportunity to define their own rhetorical contexts will create a *rhetorically-based intrinsic motivation*. The more students can define rhetorical con-

texts and the more they can see that they have significant control of those boundaries then the more they will understand those contexts and the more likely they will feel effective as they operate within them. As the above classroom scenarios convey, informational learning structures can encourage protean notions of rhetorical purpose in writing classrooms.

Rhetrinsic Introphy: Toward a New Theory of Writer Motivation

While Deci and Ryan, as well as Csikszentmihalyi, seek to give a complex view of human motivation, there is nonetheless a trend in motivational texts and conversations to view dichotomously the matter as either intrinsic or extrinsic. Yet extrinsic motivations (such as grades, teachers, and parents) cannot always be neatly categorized as external and detrimental to learning processes. Nor can intrinsic motivations (such as desires to learn and communicate) always be categorized as solely internal. Notions of extrinsic and intrinsic cannot be so neatly separated and distinguished from one another. Such dichotomies are far too simplistic to accurately represent the complex phenomena of writing, speaking and human motivation. And while intrinsic motivations in writing can safely be considered more beneficial than extrinsic, there is nonetheless a need for a more comprehensive view of writer motivation—one which acknowledges both the legitimacy of external motivations, as well as the interdependent relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Indeed, most rhetorical motivations are a combination of extrinsic *and* intrinsic motivations which skilled writers continually negotiate and transform.

The distinction between internal and external can prove to be a useful starting point from which to explore writer motivation. It enables us to ask questions that are, perhaps, all too familiar to us: What are our students' motivations for taking part in the tasks we assign them? To earn an A and maintain their GPAs? To pass a semester's end evaluation and not have to retake our class? Or are our students' reasons for writing to please us, the teachers? Or perhaps their exigencies revolve around parental expectations? At first glance, each of these motivations may appear to be extrinsic in nature. They are external factors which can impose themselves on students' reasons for taking part in a given writing assignment. Yet, more accurately speaking, they are *arhetorical* motivations—having little or nothing to do with writing or communicating.

For some students, grades always remain in the external realm. Perhaps their desire for an A stems from a desire to please parents. Yet other students might have more of a personal investment in grades. Perhaps their desire for an A stems from an individual goal to reach a certain GPA. Or perhaps it stems from a strong inner desire to prove to someone that they can indeed earn an A. In such a scenario, is the desire for an A only external in nature? While it may be arhetorical, it may very well be an internal desire and goal. In this latter scenario, grades can and do serve as internal motivations (as opposed to a student whose parents' goal is for the student to earn an A). While much of this has to do with the tension between wanting to please others and wanting to be self-determining, the point I want to highlight is that *it is beneficial to view external and internal motivations as always working in conjunction with one another.*

Because external and internal motivations are always in flux, I have developed the concept of *motivational introphy*, a process by which individuals transform external motivations into internal ones. As Csikszentmihalyi notes, people who continually experience autotelic flow don't seem to relegate extrinsic motivations so much as they *transform* them into more intrinsic states. Recall the previous scenario of an instructor who controllingly requires all students in a writing course to compose a review of the teacher's favorite movie, all the while expecting students to use predetermined and fixed criteria. Students who experience motivational introphy might be those who are able to momentarily adopt the teacher's enthusiasm for the movie (the extrinsic motivation) in order to find elements of the movie which they genuinely do admire (intrinsic factors). Students might then be motivated by a desire to write about elements of the movie which the teacher may not have previously noticed (a rhetorically-based, intrinsic motivation). Still another way students might transform the extrinsic demand is by using the required criteria to argue against the teacher's favorite movie rather than for it. Students might be able to transform the controlling, external motivation—the teacher's passion for the movie and the mandate to write about it with predetermined criteria—into the more meaningful rhetorically-based, intrinsic motivation of showing the teacher why a particular movie is flawed.

While this notion of transformation is important to motivational introphy, it is not necessary. Introphy also takes place when external reasons become overshadowed and subsumed by internal ones—retaining their original nature, yet simply less significant in relation to internal motivations. For example, if a given student needs to earn a B in a class to stay on a swim team, then that arhetorical motivation will be foregrounded when she or he writes about topics of little interest. When that same student suddenly writes about a topic she or he genuinely cares about, the need for a B does not disappear; it is instead subsumed and overshadowed by the writer's genuine immersion in the topic.

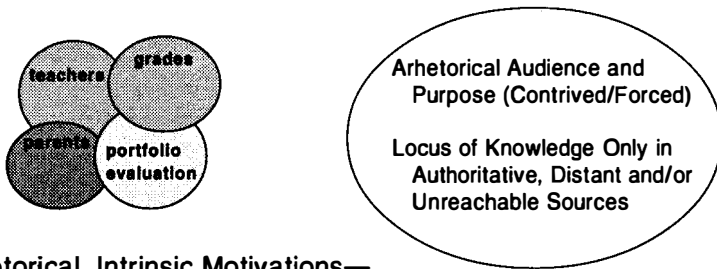
Introphy implies a continuous process of negotiation between intrinsic states and extrinsic ones, never entirely factoring extrinsic out of the motivation equation. Introphy exists when writers develop an agency in regard to both internal *and* external motivators.

Ideally, external motivations such as grades and the desire to please a teacher can be overshadowed by *rhetorical* motivations. Rhetorical motivations might, for example, be any of the following: the desire to communicate clearly and effectively with an audience, the desire to move a group of readers to action or to a new perspective, the desire to understand sources in order to represent accurately and expand upon someone else's ideas, or the desire to problematize constructively or to empathize with another's ideas. Such rhetorical motivations are most often very much *intrinsic* in nature. They reflect the intentions of a learner who has taken a kind of "ownership" of his or her learning process in the writing classroom. Although the focus of each of these motives involve audiences and sources that are in many ways external to individual students, the desire to operate effectively as constructive members of a discourse community is very much an internal desire. Thus, to represent rhetorically-based intrinsic motivations, I propose the theory of *rhetrinsic* motivation. Rhetrinsic motivations can increase as teachers allow for protean models of rhetorical purpose to flour-

ish in their writing pedagogies. Such protean models of purpose can encourage a greater level of self-determination in the formation of students' rhetorical contexts.

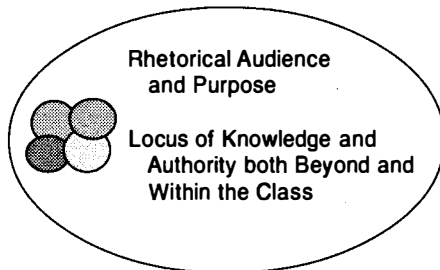
Certainly our students will always, to one extent or another, care about grades, GPAs and teachers' opinions of their texts—it would be unreasonable to expect any student *not* to care about these factors. But such factors are secondary to students who write because they have messages they care about and want to communicate effectively to an audience. Figure 1 illustrates the dynamic relationship I'm positing. The top half shows the relationship that intrinsic motivations have with students who write within contrived, arhetorical contexts. Both sides of the top half of this figure—the motivations on the left and the arhetorical context on the right—are listed above an *intrinsic* label. This is because even the most external exigencies can have internal elements. If the reason for doing well on an essay is because a parent says to get an A (external exigence), then the *internal* factor is that the student has a genuine desire to please (or accommodate) the parent. If the reason for doing well on an essay is to please a portfolio committee (external exigence), then the *internal* factor is that the student genuinely wants to be perceived by the committee as a passing student ready to exit the class.

Figure 1. Rhetrinsic Introphy: A Revision of the Intrinsic/Extrinsic Binary



—Arhetorical, Intrinsic Motivations—

Motivations are primarily tied to students' concerns with the arhetorical purposes on the left. Although the motivations on the left appear to be extrinsic, students may genuinely care about such matters, and they can therefore be considered internal in nature.



—Rhetrinsic Motivations—

Motivations are primarily tied to students' concerns with rhetorical matters. Although students now have audience and purpose as their primary concerns, "external" factors do not disappear; they are instead diminished and subsumed.

Both of these scenarios give exigencies that, on the surface, may seem external in nature; yet in reality, they can be very much internal to the student. Hence, the top half of the figure shows arhetorical, intrinsic motivations—or student-based intrinsic motivations. A transition from the top half of the figure to the lower half (Rhetrinsic Motivations) represents the process of rhetrinsic introphy. In this lower portion of the model, incentives stem primarily from the rhetorical context itself, all the while shrinking, relegating, and even subsuming some of the more “external” exigencies. If we view the Intrinsic-Rhetrinsic model conveyed by this figure as a continuum of processes rather than as a binary, it becomes a clear improvement over common internal-external dichotomies. It is also an improvement because it integrates *rhetorical* factors into the motivation equation.

Motivation Theory and Composition Pedagogy

Many scholars and teachers in the field of composition have examined ways in which we can increase student involvement in writing tasks by increasing the authenticity and relevance of the contexts in which they learn. Publishing-oriented pedagogies provide rich ground from which to view rhetrinsic motivation because they attempt to provide students with writing exigencies primarily through rhetorical purpose and audience. In his essay, “Why We Need to Publish Student Writers,” Paul Sladky writes that the effects of process-oriented publishing pedagogies are quite specific: “Writing for publication establishes a genuine purpose for the student writers by establishing a genuine audience to write for. Consequently, the outcomes are tangible: publication motivates students to write, creates a strong sense of self-validation for students as writers, and contributes importantly to the improved quality of their written texts” (3). In essence, publishing pedagogies attempt to develop rhetrinsic motivations for student writers by foregrounding matters of audience, purpose and even self-determination.

An example of a publishing-based pedagogy from which we can see an implicit motivation theory is Wilma Clark’s “Writing for Publication in an Advanced Course for Undergraduates.” In this article, Clark recounts the experiences of having her advanced students write for an editor of a Sunday supplement journal. A primary goal of the course was to actually publish an essay in the newspaper’s magazine insert. A month before the end of the course, she sent to the editor each of her students’ essays (which were geared specifically towards the insert). The editor then came to their class to respond to the essays and discuss how they were (and were not) applicable to the journal’s readership. Clark writes:

Knowing that an editor would actually read and discuss the papers with us added an exciting dimension to this class. It changed *writing for publication* from an abstract, school-time exercise to a concrete real-world challenge. It energized the class, making students and instructor alike stretch and grow to a degree that would not ordinarily occur in a school-contained writing course. (129-30)

Here the impetus for writing is a rhetorical purpose and audience which extends

beyond the structure of a single classroom. And, within this impetus, we can see the process of rhetrinsic introphy at work. Specifically, Clark's students learned how to create angles that would cause readers to want (if not need) to read their essays. They learned how to delay closure in order to globally revise towards rhetorically captivating angles. A key element with such a publishing-based pedagogy, Clark notes, is the contact with a real-world editor, and that *even rejection from an editor* can help students grow in their understanding of audience awareness (135-6).

Sladky insightfully notes that, in the end, "the principle behind publishing student writers is far more important than the form [the] publication takes" (8). What exactly are the principles implied in publishing-oriented pedagogies? For one, they help students along in the process of shifting from the status of pupil to writer (5). Such a shift in status reflects a shift towards rhetrinsic motivations as well: from one concerned with classroom matters to one concerned with rhetorical matters. Publishing pedagogies can enable students to see themselves as communicators in truly rhetorical contexts. They also provide, as Sladky says, "a rhetorically situated model of composing where students engage in discourse that invites socially purposeful utterance and response and, thus, initiates them into the larger academic discourse community" (9). In other words, publishing pedagogies call for writing and learning purposes which extend beyond the fulfillment of what are often the arhetorical mandates of our traditional classrooms. They can also call for writing audiences which extend beyond the student-teacher rhetorical context, and even beyond the immediate members of single classrooms.

Yet another strength of many publishing pedagogies is that they often seek to show students that multiple choices exist in meeting classroom writing tasks. The more choices writers have in accomplishing goals—whether those goals are writer-centered or audience-centered—then the more self-determined they can become. Even better, the more students' writing choices revolve around matters of rhetorical audience and purpose, the more their motivations will shift from intrinsic to rhetrinsic.

Ultimately, writers are best motivated to communicate by opportunities for self-determination and immersion in the rhetorical elements of the writing process. The more rhetrinsically motivated students' writing tasks are, the more such students will be able to immerse themselves in those tasks and the better their texts will be. Writing instructors can thus benefit from a knowledge of projects which help students along in this process of rhetrinsic introphy. As well, an understanding of rhetrinsic motivation can enable teachers to better guide students towards introphic modes of learning and writing—modes whereby motivations are transformed and negotiated. ☺

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