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DIVERSE COLLEGE WRITERS AND THE CONVERSATION ON ERROR AND STANDARDIZATION ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

By

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B.A., English, University of Science & Arts of Oklahoma, 1990 M.A., TESOL, University of New Mexico, 1995

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy English

The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, New Mexico

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For Sunyoung, Bridget and Dylan. Your encouragement, love, and support have sustained me through the dark ages and into the enlightenment.

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ABSTRACT

Standardization and the treatment of error is a central concern in the increasingly diverse college composition classroom. Writing teachers who wish to prepare students for success in the disciplines, but do not wish to be gatekeepers or guardians of a privileged variety of English, face a dilemma. This dissertation points toward an approach to error and standardization that avoids the prescriptive vs. descriptive dichotomy of whether to treat or not to treat error through. I also advocate bringing a perspective informed by sociolinguistics, second language writing, and discourse studies to the forefront of the WAC conversation on diverse student writers and error.

In Chapter One, "Beyond the Tipping Point," I illustrate the ever-increasing diversity of pre-college and college writing classes, and consider the key characterizations of developmental and second language writers. In Chapter Two, "Theories and Approaches to Diversity and Standardization," I discuss the current college writing context as part of the historical trend toward the democratization of higher education. This consideration of previous influxes of diverse groups into higher education lays the groundwork for considering current notions about diversity and standardization. Chapter Three, "The Contested Terms of College Writing," outlines my research methods. I use qualitative research methods within a hermeneutic approach in order to describe attitudes toward diverse student writers and standardization prominent among writing across the curriculum scholars. Chapter Four, "What We Talk about When We Talk About Diverse Student Writers," provides a description of my analyses. A prominent tendency in the field of Writing Across the Curriculum is to construct diversity through the lens of error. *The WAC Journal*, as the premiere journal in the field, is indexical of this representation, and so was the logical choice for sampling the conversation. In Chapter Five, "A Reasonable Approach to Error," I present the range of responses most prominent in the group of texts that were analyzed for this project, and outline my key findings, which suggest that many researchers interested in WAC support an approach to error that balances the need for correctness with the need for innovation. Finally, Chapter Six summarizes my key findings, and points to Sophistic tendencies in the WAC conversation on diverse student writers and error.

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	X
Chapter One: Beyond the Tipping Point	1
Discussing Difference in College Writing	
The Terms Used to Described Diverse Student Writers	
Organization of Study	
Chapter Two: Theories and Approaches Addressing Diversity and Standard	lization 49
Theories and Approaches Addressing Linguistic Innovation	61
Theories Addressing Standardization and Error	
A Correctness Continuum	
WAC as a Convergence of Conversations	
Chapter Three: The Contested Terms of College Writing	
Method of Analysis	
Results	107
Chapter Four: What We Talk About When We Talk About Diverse College	Writers 111
The Mythology of Diverse College Writers and Error	
Dichotomous Pedagogies: the Range of Responses	128
Johns on Pedagogy for Transitional College Writers	139
Peripheral Analyses	
Concluding Thoughts	146
Chapter Five: A Reasonable Approach to Error	
The Range of Responses to Error	

A Reasonable Approach to Error	
Possibilities for Expanding the Sophistic Approach	
Implications of Implementing a Sophistic Approach	
Conclusion	175
Chapter Six: Summary of Key Findings	
Introduction	
Appropriating the Sophists	
The Innovative Tendency	
The Kairotic Tendency	
The Contextual Tendency	
The Instrumental Tendency	
Conclusion	
Works Cited	

viii

List of Figures

Figure 1. The College Writing Context.	
Figure 2. Re-Characterization of Error.	9
Figure 3. Ratings of Native/ Non-Native Speaker Passage.	
Figure 4. Balancing Approaches to Error.	
Figure 5. Qualitative Methods Glossary.	
Figure 6. Range of Responses	
Figure 7. A Sophistic Approach to Error.	
Figure 8. Poulakos' Theory and a Sophistic Approach.	
Figure 9. Linguistic Diversity in the United States	
Figure 10. Educational Attainment in the United States	

List of Tables

Table 1 Summary of Qualitative Analysis Process.	
Table 2 Themes from Initial Coding of "WAC/WID in the Next America"	
Table 3 Emerging Themes from Axial Coding	101
Table 4 First Scan of Texts	104

Chapter One: Beyond the Tipping Point

"As a student's language use changes, the person changes, while the person's worth remains stable."

-Horner, Necamp, and Donahue, "Toward a Multilingual Composition Scholarship," 280

It is the first day of fall semester, and I have just taught the first session of a basic writing class that focuses on essay writing. I stand in front of my desk smiling and saying goodbye as students file out of the room in groups of twos and threes— many speaking either Spanish or some combination of English and Spanish. A student named Ling¹ who had been quieter than most of the other students stays behind. She looks worried, and I assume she is either concerned about her ability to handle the class or feels intimidated as the only Asian student in a group that is largely Latino/a. It is common for non-native speakers of English to express concerns about the ability to handle academic writing in a second language, but that is not why Ling has remained to talk with me. She is worried but not about the difficulty of the class or the demographic makeup of the group. Ling is a PhD student in the Mathematics department at the nearby university, and she is scheduled to teach an undergraduate math class during the spring term. She explains that she has enrolled in my class so that she can improve her English and that she is worried that I will not spend adequate time teaching grammar.

Another anecdote further illustrates the concern many students have about the importance of error and standardization in college level writing. I have just spent the better

¹ All student names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

part of a semester asking students to write essays that respond to a number of pre-selected issues as laid out in the text for our college writing course. We have conducted rhetorical analyses, and worked on stating and supporting our ideas in clear, logically organized prose. We have explored the process students go through when composing, and have considered a variety of rhetorical strategies that can be employed to build an argument. Three weeks before the class ends, I schedule a computer lab and hold writing conferences with individual students, while the others work to complete a final paper. While talking with Alex, he shares a concern that surprises me. I know a lot about Alex, because during the term he has produced some very personal first person essays. He has written about his father who was murdered when Alex was only nine, his mother whose life has been ravaged by alcoholism, and his own personal struggles to come back to school after seven years of working low skilled, low paying jobs after high school. The worry that Alex expresses comes as an answer to the following question: "what would you change about this class?" Alex says, "Well I would have learned more writing." I am more than a little surprised by this comment, thinking back about the four major assignments with multiple drafts required—all those papers I have already graded, and this final essay that students are working on now. Alex has expressed a fear that he will struggle with academic English in his college classes because, in his opinion, his college composition class has had too little focus on the conventions of Standard Written English (SWE).

Though it is possible to dismiss both Ling and Alex as rare if not anomalous, they represent an increasingly important part of the makeup of college writing classes—second language writers and basic writers who have acquired literacy skills later in life, and who demand a focus on the acquisition of SWE. The growing number of students who shift

between languages, discourses, and communities necessitate pedagogical, programmatic, and theoretical responses in college composition. For many, the first step in more effectively responding to the needs of students from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds is to begin by examining and altering our assumptions about the typical student in college composition. As Horner, Necamp, and Donahue assert in a 2011 College English essay, there is "huge value in shifting our assumptions," and the possibility "of huge loss if we do not" (272). After more than a decade of working with diverse student writers such as Ling and Alex, I have to assume my classes will be populated by a wide range of students with a variety of first languages, a variety of ability levels, and a variety of needs.

These brief conversations outlined above are representative of dozens of conversations I have had over the many years I have spent teaching basic writing and second language writing at a two-year college, and I have included them to illustrate a problem that many teachers of college writing face. When students demand help with grammar and usage conventions, instructors can feel conflicted about the place of teaching what are presumably low-level skills. Most would agree that effective academic writing is more than producing grammatically correct sentences, and yet without a reasonable level of standardization students will face difficulty excelling in college courses that include writing. Those of us with training in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) and experience working with basic writers know that the acquisition of a second language or a second dialect is a long and difficult process, and many of us have seen research that claims teaching grammar has no appreciable effect on students' acquisition of grammar (Flood et al. 1991). The job of helping students acquire SWE is no simple matter, and to be successful both second language writers and basic writers, who have acquired academic literacy skills later in life, will need to go beyond the one or two composition classes required of first and second year students. Certainly composition classes cannot do the job alone, but composition programs, and more specifically Writing Program Administrators (WPAs), do have a central role to play in the process of acculturating all students to academic discourse. As college composition classes become more and more socially and linguistically diverse, creating conditions that enhance discourse acquisition becomes more and more difficult and simultaneously more and more important to the health of our schools and our society. And so, as a teacher of writing, I find myself on the horns of a dilemma about how best to support the acquisition of academic discourses among students from diverse backgrounds, and this dissertation furthers the discussion of some of the more important questions arising out of this dilemma, particularly among those who administer writing programs. Dana Ferris expresses this dilemma most succinctly when she says, "writing teachers...wish to prepare students for success in the disciplines, but do not wish to be gatekeepers or guardians of a privileged variety of English" (Ferris 2002).

Instructors who work with basic writers and second language writers in college writing classes are likely concerned about whether or not their program's curriculum, or even individual pedagogical approaches, adequately prepare students from diverse backgrounds to produce effective college writing in the disciplines. Many of the authors included in the group of 86 articles that were analyzed for this dissertation express concern about increasingly diverse college writing contexts, and the ability to prepare the full range of students for successful disciplinary writing. The desire to learn more about attitudes toward diverse student writers and error within the field of Writing Across the Curriculum provided the motivation for this dissertation research.

A number of studies focusing on error have been conducted over the last thirty years: (i.e. Shaughnessy 1977; Hairston 1981; Bartholomae 1990; Sloan 1990; Horner 1992; Beason 2001; Ferris 2004; Micciche 2004; Sheen 2007; Lunsford 2008). Shaughnessy, and Bartholomae both attempt to get at the underlying causes that result in deviation from standard usage, and Shaughnessy, in particular, tries to learn from the patterns of error. However, most of this research either considers the problem of error and standardization based on an assumed monolingual norm, or fails to discuss responses to error and implications for pedagogy. The lack of scholarship on error and standardization that takes diversity into account, and the need for studies of error and standardization that make useful suggestions for responding to error represent a gap in the literature.

Several key questions related to second language writers and basic writers in college composition classes have guided my research. 1) What are the dominant attitudes toward error and standardization among Writing Across the Curriculum scholars? 2) How are the ethnolinguistic backgrounds of students in college writing classes taken into consideration in Writing Across the Curriculum research? 2) What recommendations for responding to error in an increasingly diverse context can be derived from the analysis of the professional conversation in Writing Across the Curriculum?

Through qualitative analysis and the application of a hermeneutic lens, I learned about and described a range of approaches to error; and I synthesized this research into a taxonomy of attitudes toward standardization. In the end, I offer suggestions for an approach to error that is based on a hermeneutic analysis of an important segment of the WAC professional conversation. My research is useful to WPAs and WAC Directors, and others who need to explain a complicated range of theoretical approaches to new teaching assistants and less experienced teachers.

Looking closely at the discussion of error and standardization in the WAC professional conversation, as represented by a five-year span of WAC Journal articles, reveals much about attitudes toward error, standardization and diverse student writers in the mainstream WAC community. Because WAC scholarship influences the administration of both first year writing programs and writing across the curriculum initiatives, understanding the attitudes of prominent scholars in the field supports predictions about future directions in college writing, including WAC/ WID. A deeper understanding of the professional conversation in Writing Across the Curriculum—which is furthered here through the use of qualitative analysis and framed with a hermeneutic approach— is also useful for scholars who want to understand how to more effectively position their own research on WAC and error and standardization.

Before going further, I will discuss the importance of context in responding to error and outline my conception of error. The idea of re-characterizing error is based on the work of several scholars who argue that the effects of a particular syntactic or lexical difference must be considered in context. This scholarship also urges teachers to examine tacit assumptions about the treatment of error (Williams 1981; Horner 1992; Gee 1996; Anson 2000). Again, the dilemma is how to formulate appropriate responses to error while recognizing the value of both standardization and innovation. A certain adherence to norms builds ethos, and relatively accurate use of lexicon and syntax are essential for intelligibility. However, the richness and power of highly effective texts emanates from the author's ability to say the right thing at the right time, to use language purposefully, and to apply rhetorical strategies that might at times conflict with standard usage conventions. As outlined by Susan Jarratt, the concept of *Nomos* is very helpful in understanding how the Sophistic tradition allows for balance between overly prescriptive and overly permissive approaches that are based on context:

If the mythic world is based on an uncritical acceptance of a tradition warranted by nature (physis), then a sophistic interest in *nomos* represents a challenge to that tradition...If, on the other hand, logos in its ultimately Platonic form signifies a necessary system of discourse allowing access to certain Truth, then *nomos* stands in opposition as the possibility for reformulating human "truths" in historically and geographically specific contexts (42).

If we apply Jarratt's ideas about tradition and the reexamination of norms to the teaching of writing, we can use the concept of nomos in a way that allows teachers and WPAs to rethink traditional notions of correctness within their own "historically and geographically specific contexts" (Jarratt 42).

These specific contexts are of course contained within the broader institutional, regional, and national boundaries common to most writing programs. Figure 1 below illustrates the path that the majority of students follow from college writing (and in some cases pre-college writing) into writing in the disciplines. Figure 1 also illustrates some of the facets of diversity as well as the terms most commonly used to categorize diverse student writers. In addition to the specific historical and geographical contexts that Jarratt's ideas urge us to consider, the work of writing teachers and WPAs is always situated within a particular institutional context. Both geographic and institutional realities must be taken into consideration when formulating approaches to error.

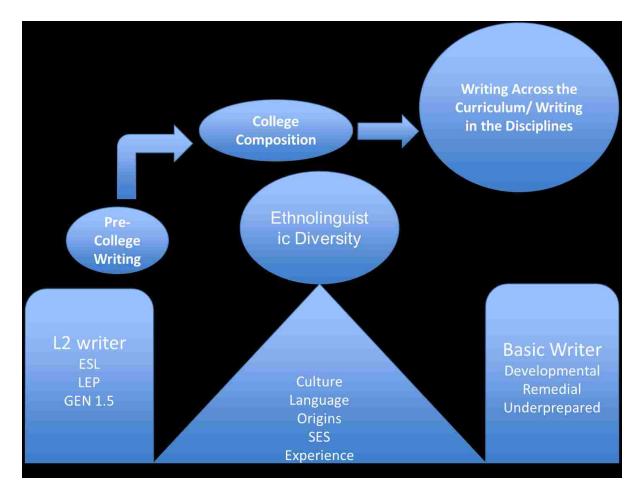


Figure 1. The College Writing Context.

Keeping both the national and the local context in mind is challenging when making decisions about standards of correctness in a writing program, or making decisions about responding to the work of an individual student. One part of the difficulty arises from the way that diversity is constructed as error in WAC scholarship. If we think of any variation from standard usage conventions as an error, then the process of responding to error is simplified for the instructor, but one has to wonder about the implications for students and the diminished possibility for the production of innovative thoughtful writing. Figure 2 illustrates a way of characterizing error that allows instructors to think about linguistic

variation in a principled way, but also in a way that remains open to innovation, without disavowing the importance of correctness.

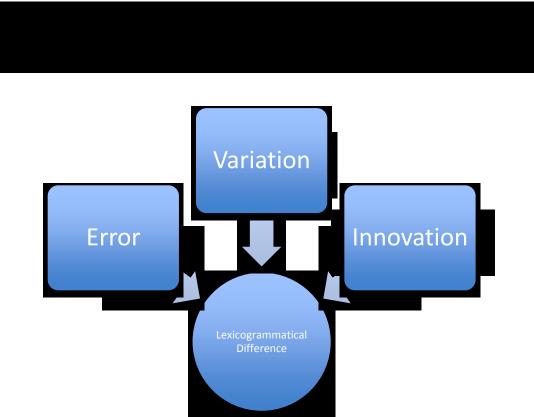


Figure 2. Re-Characterization of Error.

Mutual concern about perceptions of error beyond first year composition led me, and a group of fellow graduate students, to undertake a study in which we investigated expectations for writing in the disciplines across three institutions in the southwest. As a result of long-term participation in this study of writing in the disciplines, I had access to a great deal of information about perceptions of error within one regional context. One of the most notable results of our study was the realization that college faculty across the disciplines place a significant amount of importance on error and standardization, and this led to our assertion that basic writing and first-year writing programs should address sentence level correctness in order to respond to these expectations (Ives et al. 2013). A section of a survey of more than 50 faculty members from across the disciplines asked participants to rate the effectiveness of two passages. A native speaker of English wrote the first passage, and a nonnative speaker of English wrote the second passage. Though both passages were roughly the same in content, the passage written by the native speaker was rated significantly higher in content as well as mechanics, suggesting that sentence level errors negatively impact overall ratings of student writing. Figure 3 illustrates this.

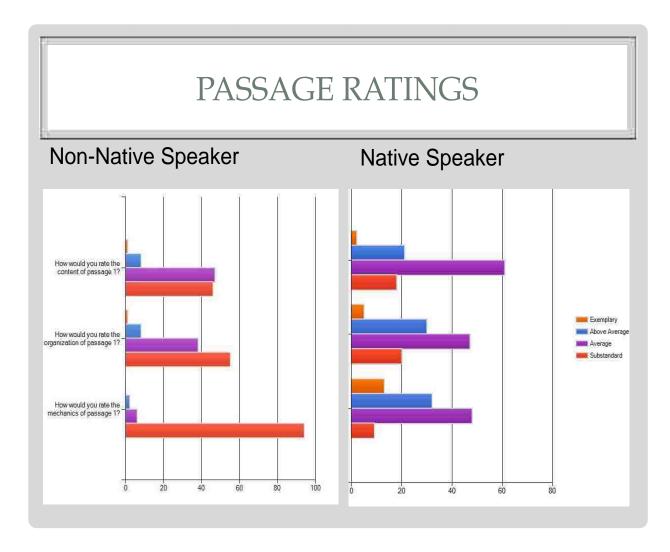


Figure 3. Ratings of Native/ Non-Native Speaker Passage.

Over the last thirty years, studies have looked at patterns of error and the frequency of errors in student writing (Hairston 1981; Bartholomae 1990; Sloan 1990); the way certain types of errors affect judgments about writers and their texts (Horner 1992; Beason 2001; Lunsford 2008); as well as students' perceptions about the appropriateness and the prominence of error and standardization in college writing classes (Ferris 2004; Micciche 2004; Sheen 2007). Though the aforementioned studies provide substantial data regarding the importance of error and standardization in composition classes, most of this research either considers the problem of error and standardization based on an assumed monolingual norm, or fails to discuss ways that college writing teachers are addressing these important concerns in their classrooms.

After considering the above mentioned research on error, I began to wonder how professionals in the field of Writing Across the Curriculum were suggesting college writing programs prepare second language writers and basic writers for success in disciplinary writing, and so I wanted to look at the work of a range of scholars that was broadly representative of the WAC field beyond the regional level, and that would potentially discuss pedagogical solutions to the challenges presented by an increasingly diverse group of students in college writing classes. In order to accomplish this, I decided to examine all issues of the WAC Journal from 2006 to 2012 in order to learn more about attitudes toward second language writers, basic writers, and standardization as expressed in one influential national conversation.

I wanted to look at a range of at least five years, beginning with 2006. I chose 2006 as a starting point because several articles were published in that year that signal to WAC scholars the important demographic shifts underway, including Preto-Bay and Hansen's "Preparing for the Tipping Point: Designing Writing Programs to Meet the Needs of the Changing Population." The WAC Journal was chosen as a site of exploration because of its presence as a convergence point of several key national conversations on transitional college writers—specifically the conversations on both basic writers and second language writers. In order to trace key themes appearing in the WAC conversation from 2006 to 2012, I also included key sources drawn on by WAC Journal authors. This expanded my group of texts from an initial 41 articles to 86 articles. This expansion further allowed me to trace key ideas across more than forty years of composition scholarship and reveal much about the way ideas were transported across sub disciplines.

Though I explain my process of analysis and interpretation in detail in chapter three, I will briefly outline that process here. After an initial reading of each article, I used the following process to begin my exploration of the conversation: 1) coding the articles produced a catalog of key terms; 2) those articles were read, and twenty categories related to research questions were identified; 3) theoretical sampling was conducted, which meant that the articles were coded a second time with intent to define the boundaries of the categories.

Once the initial coding, categorizing, and theoretical sampling were completed, I began an attempt to understand and interpret the group of texts. This was accomplished through: 1) writing memos to explain key terms; 2) looking for and taking note of saturation of key ideas; 3) and, axial coding, which is a method of coding that works to specify the dimensions of categories.

In brief, my examination of this segment of the professional conversation among WAC scholars proceeded in the following way: scan of all 85 articles for key terms used to describe diverse student writers; close reading and coding of articles with mention of key terms; and, axial coding and memo writing in order to describe the conversation. Table 1 Summary of Qualitative Analysis Process

Summary of Qualitative Analysis Process

Scan chosen articles for terms used to describe diverse student writersCode all articles that contained key terms for common themes (20 themes)Close reading of passages with key termsAxial coding of articles, consolidating and combining to create grounded theory of attitudes toward diverse student writers in the WAC professional conversation

The study of this group of texts revealed a great deal about attitudes toward second language writers, basic writers and error and standardization. Many teachers of writing view the treatment of error as less important than the teaching of discursive or rhetorical features—certainly less popular—and others, as this dissertation and other research suggests, are conflicted about the place of error and standardization in college writing. It is this tension between a healthy recognition of the importance of standardization and a disdain for the gate-keeping role so often ascribed to English teachers that is troublesome. And this drives me forward to find out more about what professionals in the field of writing across the curriculum have to say about basic writers and second language writers and the importance of error and standardization. As stated earlier, there is a great deal of dissension and discussion about how best to prepare students from diverse backgrounds for college level writing (i.e. Matsuda in press; Costino & Hyon 2011; Elder, Knoch, & Zhang 2009; Truscott 1996; Brown 1991).

One can see examples of disagreement about second language writers and basic writers by considering the range of terms used to describe, to place and to evaluate students from diverse backgrounds; and, as Ruecker reminds us, it is important that we "consider the labeling of students" and the impacts these labels may have on student placement and student success (Improving Placement, 94-95). The various attitudes represented by different terms used to describe diverse student writers is something that WPAs should be aware of when designing or revising courses and programs, so that the language incorporated accurately represents the values of the faculty members involved.

The dilemma Dana Ferris has highlighted related to standardization in college writing, described earlier in this chapter, is particularly salient for writing program administrators who are well aware of the difficulties second language writers and basic writers face as they struggle with academic writing, but are also aware of the "realities and expectations of the world outside" first year writing (Treatment 92). Through a synthesis of important scholarship in the field of WAC I will outline a model for a reasonable approach to standardization—one that acknowledges the importance of correctness but does not over-emphasize error. As figure 4 illustrates, attempting to balance approaches to error is fraught with difficulty.

There is an enthymematic quality present in many of the texts I examined. While the idea that we should work to serve an increasingly diverse group of students seems a highly palatable concept and is foregrounded in much of the research I examined, there is a failure to explicitly discuss the importance of error and standardization in college composition. The unstated premise is that error is, in fact, more problematic for diverse student writers, and in many of the texts I examined there is often an awareness— just below the surface of the

primary argument— that the treatment of error is crucial to the successful preparation of diverse student writers.

There is a continual tension in writing classes, whether spoken or unspoken, about the importance of error and standardization. I think of this often-unexpressed tension as the shadow side of teaching writing. In many ways, this unwillingness among many researchers to discuss the gritty realities of sentence structure and usage conventions parallels the tendency of most people in our culture to keep the shadow side of the personality hidden. In much the same way that Thomas Moore suggests one must come to terms with, and drawn on the strengths of one's own dark or shadow side, we as teachers of writing and WPAs must acknowledge and come to terms with this shadow side of teaching writing (Moore 16-18). Just as an integrated personality must have both its light and dark aspects acknowledged, a healthy and balanced approach to teaching writing and administering writing programs must include the light of openness and innovation as well as the darkness of error and deviance.

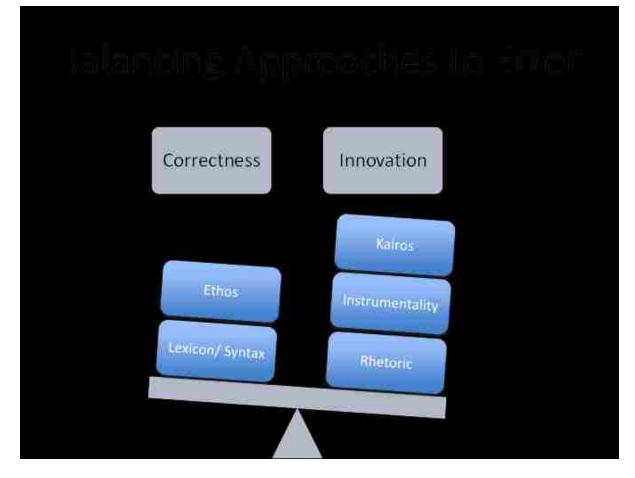


Figure 4. Balancing Approaches to Error.

Writing in the edited collection *Organic Writing Assessment: Dynamic Criteria Mapping in Action*, Linda Adler Kassner and Heidi Estrem suggest a "place based" model that could help writing program administrators conduct assessments that are responsive to and descriptive of students at the local level (Broad et al. 17). Adler-Kassner, Estrem, Broad and others writing in the same volume have suggested program assessment practices that are capable of "generating accurate and useful accounts of what faculty and administrators value in their students' work"(5). While this shift in assessment practices is critically important, the work done so far in Dynamic Criteria Mapping (DCM) has not taken specific account of second language writers and basic writers as different from 'mainstream' writers. My dissertation adds to the important work Broad, Adler-Kassner and others have done to forward locally based assessment practices by presenting a perspective on second language writers and basic writers informed by sociolinguistics, second language writing, adult literacy, and discourse studies.

The changed demographic makeup of America's schools, from K-12 to college, has been well documented in recent years— with marked increases in the numbers of second language learners, speakers of non-standard dialects, and students from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds. In the face of an increasingly diverse student population, many researchers have urged teachers of English to explore pedagogies that take diversity into account (McNenny and Fitzgerald 2001; Hebb 2002; Carter 2007; Roberge, Siegal et al. 2008; Horner, Lu et al. 2010; Peckham 2010). Approaches to the teaching of college writing that address the needs of non-native speakers and others who struggle with Standard Written English are particularly salient, as more and more students enrolled in college composition are engaged in second language or second dialect acquisition.

Writing in a special issue of the WPA Journal in the fall of 2006, Anna-Marie Preto-Bay and Kristine Hansen draw on Malcolm Gladwell's *Tipping Point* in order to illustrate how national demographic shifts will affect college writing programs (37-39). Now, more than six years later—and after a plethora of publications have marked this momentous demographic watershed— we are certainly living beyond the tipping point. In current scholarship, there is much evidence for the need to evolve first year writing programs. As Horner & Trimbur point out in their work "English Only and U.S. College Composition," the landscape of college composition has shifted, but the model we teach by has not been adapted in most U.S. colleges. Instead the teaching of writing in most colleges, according to Horner and Trimbur, clings to a "chain of reifications of languages and social identity [and]...a tacit policy of unidirectional English monoligualism" (594). The direction we should be heading, the authors assert, is toward "an actively multilingual policy" (597). The edited collection *Cross Language Relations in Composition* edited by Horner, Lu and Matsuda, which points to the need for composition pedagogy that is responsive to linguistic diversity, is further evidence of the growing awareness among leaders in the field for the need to align college writing programs with demographic and social realities.

College composition classes are unmistakably more diverse than ever before, and because both second language writers and basic writers tend to produce writing that has more sentence level errors than their mainstream peers it is important to consider ways in which composition classes can support diverse student writers in their attempts to acquire Standard Written English. Though many writing teachers may prefer to focus on discourse level features and content rather than sentence level concerns, these syntactic variations can seriously damage a writer's ethos in most disciplinary writing situations. By examining the conversation on error and standardization among Writing Across the Curriculum specialists, this dissertation responds to exhortations from leading scholars to pluralize and localize notions of correctness within the increasingly diverse context of college composition (Kells and Balester 1999; Preto-Bay and Hansen 2006; Hall 2009).

As Preto Bay and Hansen explain, "When the population for whom instruction is designed changes, the whole system often needs to be re-envisioned...[and] Since we lack reliable national data about what actually happens in today's composition programs, such an examination must rely on indirect methods" (43).

The subjects of this research—students from diverse backgrounds— have been characterized in a wide variety of ways in the professional literature, which are outlined later in this chapter. There has been a great deal of research on student writers whose first language is not English, and this tends to be published in journals such as the Journal of Second Language Writing, the Journal of Applied Linguistics, and the TESOL Journal, among others. Similarly, there has been much research into students in pre-college writing classes, which is often published in journals such as the Journal of Basic Writing, the Journal of Developmental Education; and, in some cases both of these groups of students are written about and published in specials issues of more mainstream journals such as *College English*, the Journal of College Composition and Communication, and the Journal of the Council of Writing Program Administrators. However, the two groups are not normally conflated, and it this separateness as Paul Matsuda points out in his 1999 College Composition and Communication article "Composition and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor" that continues to contribute to the second-class status of both the students themselves, and also those who teach them (701).

Though much of the research into more appropriate pedagogy and assessment methods for college writing classes has focused on pre-college writing and first year composition, a more recent movement has been to suggest approaches that are responsive to diversity across the curriculum. In 2009 Michelle Cox edited a special edition of *Across the Disciplines* that focused on bringing research on second language writers and research in writing across the curriculum into conversation. Michelle Kells has also suggested changes in writing programs that respond effectively to student demographic shifts, specifically preparing students to move successfully beyond first year composition and into the disciplines. Kells urges the reconstitution of WAC as Writing Across Communities, an update to the movement that is at once rooted in the "values of community and sustainability" and is at the same time responsive to broader national conversations on the teaching of writing (Kells, Writing Across Communities 89). In his article "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority," Jonathan Hall argues that "the future of WAC . . . is indissolubly tied to the ways in which higher education will have to, willingly or unwillingly, evolve in the wake of globalization and in response to the increasing linguistic diversity of our student population" (34). Learning more about what happens to students after first year composition, as Hall suggests, is vitally important to the health of college composition, and WAC is poised to be at the center of this conversation.

What is at once apparent in a survey of the literature on academic writing and diversity is that research on second language writers and basic writers focuses primarily on pre-college writing and first year composition. However, for many teachers of writing the salient question is, "what happens to these students after they leave the college composition class?" There is a need for college writing instructors and writing program administrators to better understand the kinds of disciplinary writing these students may be asked to complete once they move beyond first year composition. Since the early 1970s specialists have studied writing across the curriculum and writing in the disciplines (WAC and WID respectively). This tradition of analyzing disciplinary writing contexts in WAC/ WID scholarship provides both a rich national conversation, and also a window on attitudes toward second language writers and basic writers after they leave first year composition. I chose to look at five years of issues of the WAC Journal— arguably the premier venue for the publication of WAC/

WID related articles— because I wanted to learn more about the conversation of ethnolinguistically diverse students in writing across the curriculum over the last five years.

Discussing Difference in College Writing

There are a variety of ways to describe students from diverse backgrounds. Use of the adjective transitional, which appeared in several of the key texts that I drew on for this dissertation, provides one way of describing all students in college writing classes who struggle to produce effective academic prose. A recent article from the *Journal of Developmental Education* calls for coherence in the way developmental educators refer to students in writing classes. Authors Eric Paulson and Sonya Armstrong suggest use of the term "transitional" as a way of suggesting growing abilities which can occur as "the learner moves from one academic context…to another" (8).

Mike Rose, in "The Language of Exclusion" suggests we, as teachers of college writing need to "define our work as transitional or as initiatory, orienting, or socializing to the academic discourse community" (Language 358). Some have argued that the term transitional forces students to give up or to extinguish their home discourses. However, the way Armstrong and Paulson use the term— to describe different kinds of writers and their 'growing abilities' to move among discourse communities—does not call on students to give up their identities. In fact for Rose, "this redefinition…would require us to reject a medical-deficit model of language, to acknowledge the rightful place of all freshmen in the academy, and once and for all replace loose talk about illiteracy with more precise and pedagogically fruitful analysis" (Language 358).

The term transitional college writer is discussed here as one way to think about students in pre-college and college writing classes who struggle to produce Standard Written English without focusing on the deficits. And while it is a term with fewer negative denotative meanings, given time and use it, like all other well-intentioned recharacterizations of diverse students, would eventually take on negative connotations. Considering the term transitional also led me to the conclusion that there is no term that would allow for conversations about diverse student writers without leading toward essentializing students, and so it then becomes necessary to think about all students as constituting one diverse group, and it further becomes necessary to discuss linguistic ability rather than identity. Discussing a student's ability to produce effective Standard Written English provides one option for avoiding labels.

Because college writers are attempting to transition to writing in the disciplines and writing across the curriculum contexts—and because there has been a great deal of interest over the last decade in WAC scholarship and how well writing across the curriculum programs are responding to the needs of students from diverse backgrounds (Cox 2011; Ruecker 2011; Hall 2009; Kells 2007; Johns 2001) —I have focused on an analysis of the conversation in one insider discourse community, the Writing Across the Curriculum Journal. By looking into the conversation within the field of Writing Across the Curriculum it is possible to learn more about the ways second language writers and basic writers are characterized. These characterizations—particularly as they concern error and standardization—suggest a great deal of disagreement in the field, and wherever disagreement exists about second language writers and basic writers it seems there is disagreement over terminology.

In some sense all students in college writing classes are transitioning from one set of discursive practices to another, however, diverse student writers are often working to

overcome the discursive and rhetorical issues experienced by most students enrolled in college writing classes, and are also working to overcome significant difficulties at the sentence level. It is this double bind that complicates and prolongs the efforts of those struggling to attain competence with SWE. The need to understand college writers' struggles with the discursive and syntactic features of SWE is certainly a prominent concern. However the danger associated with placing yet another label on students who may already feel stigmatized is an important reason to proceed with caution.

It may indeed be a subtle difference, but I am attempting to avoid affixing new identities to students by the recreation of terms used to describe second language writers or basic writers. Instead, I have chosen to describe the context the students inhabit and each individual student's current level of skill in handling both the syntactic and discursive functions of SWE. In this way, discussing students who struggle with SWE does not fix the student's identity, but only describes a developmental stage in the student's progress toward proficiency with SWE. The focus here is a discussion of students who find the entrance to academic, civic, and professional discourses problematic. Anyone reading this dissertation with enough experience as an instructor of college writing could easily make the claim that all students enrolled in first year composition (FYC) classes are engaged in acquiring a new discourse(s) and could therefore be seen as struggling. It could also be argued that though the written accents of second language writers may obscure the content of ideas and the organizational and rhetorical features of texts, asking students to change their written accents is similar to discriminating against students' spoken accents (Lippi-Green 1997).

It may be true that most students in FYC are engaged in acquiring the basics of academic discourse, and it may also be true that the prose of second language writers is often

markedly different from the prose of native speakers of English. However, for the average or mainstream student who is a skilled user of English this acquisition process is primarily confined to acquiring discursive practices. This is not to say that mainstream writers will produce error free prose. Most do not. However, the writing produced by many mainstream students does not include errors that are significant enough to obscure meaning or damage the writer's ethos. Many second language writers and basic writers make errors that are sufficient to obscure meaning or to damage the writer's ethos. I assert that those who lack a basic control of the syntax of English, and who are involved in acquiring these features, while at the same time acquiring discursive features of English can be seen as struggling with SWE. It is this group of students—many of whom have English as their second language, or have had insufficient exposure to and practice with standard English—that I want to focus on.

In a recent *College English* essay, Stephanie Kirschbaum discusses those labeled as "different" in college composition classes (616). Though I am not explicitly discussing difference as Kirschbaum uses the term in her insightful article, I will build on Kirschbaum's nuanced model of describing and researching diversity in writing classes. Two of Kirschbaum's main points are intriguing and useful to this study: She first points out the ways in which researchers interested in diversity often try to fix difference into static categories, and then try to address diversity within this "fixity" by either "taxonimizing difference" or "redefining categories" (620). Both of these approaches fail to produce rich, individual descriptions of students, and it is only through what Kirschbaum calls "marking differences"—an approach that avoids the "categorical orientation... [with its]... broad label[s]" and argues for viewing and responding to difference as something that is "shaped

through interaction" (628) and is intensely individual—that we might move beyond the essentializing tendency so common in descriptions of diverse student writers. Discussing each student's ability to use SWE allows for a discussion that can include first language and first dialect influences. Within this framework, an instructor would never assume a student was struggling, or likely to struggle, based solely on linguistic or cultural traits, and instead would only discuss a writer's struggles and successes with both discursive and syntactic features of SWE.

In order to illustrate this type of description, let us imagine two students enrolled in a first year composition class at a university. These two students are amalgams of different students I have known over the years, and not based on actual persons. We will call the first student Jen. Jen is an international student from Korea in her second semester. The teacher could simply label the student as an ESL student and assume the student will struggle with English because of interference from her native language. However, let us assume Jen has experienced some success with academic writing, has perhaps learned strategies for succeeding with academic discourse such as giving herself extra time on assignments, meeting with a helpful tutor in the writing center, and practicing editing strategies. Though she may have some difficulty with surface features, she is, in fact able to produce strong academic prose and does not struggle with discursive features of SWE.

Let us now imagine a second student—Jonathan. Jonathan is a native speaker of English, who transferred to the university after two semesters at a nearby community college, where he completed many prerequisite classes, including two semesters of basic writing. Jonathan has some explicit knowledge of English grammar, acquired mainly from his basic writing classes. However, he often makes sentence boundary errors. He further struggles with discursive features of English such as the ability to construct a logical argument, and the ability to maintain objectivity. Jonathan struggles to produce SWE. By avoiding categorizing students by linguistic or cultural traits, instructors can discuss students in terms of successfully meeting outcomes, instead of in purely linguistic or social terms.

The value of bringing second language writers, basic writers, and mainstream writers under one umbrella is that this type of description provides an expedient way to discuss all college writers at once. And with the realization of the transitional nature of college writing in general, it is easier to discuss solutions (pedagogical and programmatic) that are applicable to the entire group of students we face as we move into an increasingly diverse college context, which Jonathan Hall has labeled the "next America" (Next America 34). By examining closely the poles of difference we may arrive at solutions that are workable for this new multilingual and multicultural majority, without detracting at all from the success of other more traditional students. Thomas P. Miller has suggested that major changes to mainstream English language conventions during the eighteenth century were inspired by those on the linguistic margins of society in what he terms the "cultural provinces," and it is very possible that those speakers of English currently thought of as linguistically provincial will drive significant changes to mainstream English language conventions during this century (2).

The crucial function of terminology and its role in the formation of student identity is probably self-evident, but it is important to remember the extent to which terminology actually works to create the conditions under which students labor. Armstrong and Paulson refer to Charles Sanders Peirce's "The Ethics of Terminology" in order to support their assertion that the terms we choose to discuss a subject not only affect the discussion, but in Peirce's words "are the essence of" that discussion (6).

If we agree with Armstrong and Paulson about the critical nature of the terminology used to describe students, it is then necessary before moving on that this study consider the ways in which second language writers and basic writers have been labeled, and are described in the literature related to college composition. It is also important to look closely at some of the important disagreements over the appropriateness of terms used to describe students in college writing classes. The next section briefly outlines the primary descriptions of second language writers and basic writers in several fields, in order to reveal that the terminology is truly contested, and to suggest that anything receiving this much discussion and controversy is obviously important to teachers and scholars. Moving into an era in which most all college writing classes will include some level of diversity— and many classes will continue to present teachers with students who defy labeling because of their demographic idiosyncrasies— we come to the question of whether or not any term, or set of terms, can adequately account for all of our students.

The Terms Used to Described Diverse Student Writers

This section analyzes the ways in which current terms for students from diverse backgrounds focus on students' linguistic or social backgrounds, rather than on the individual student's ability to produce Standard Written English. In order to be more useful to teachers of writing and writing program administrators, terms for discussing students should hinge on student abilities. This is particularly true in the current college composition context in which the types of diversity are increasingly varied.

In the introduction to his 2012 publication Redesigning Composition for Multilingual Realities, Jay Jordan outlines the current situation for second language writers in U.S. higher education. He describes the composition classroom as a site where "multilingualism is a daily reality" for all students, and as a place that functions as "an entry point to tertiary education across the United States" (1-2). Because of the important dual role in the higher education system Jordan ascribes to the composition classroom—that of "preparing as many [students] as possible for entry" while at the same time "standing guard at the gate"— it is critical that composition pedagogies be realigned to respond to the needs of all students (5). Jordan draws on six fields/ subfields in order to look at best practices for ESL students: 1) applied linguistics, 2) literacy studies, 3) foreign language teaching, 4) rhetoric, 5) second language acquisition, and 6) composition. I borrow Jordan's useful disciplinary framework but consolidate these to three fields for my purposes: 1) Rhetoric and Composition, 2) TESOL, and 3) Adult Education. I leave out foreign language teaching, because unlike Jordan I am not looking for best practices that may be applied to composition from other fields, but I am instead looking for characterizations of ESL students in fields that intersect with composition teaching. Influential and long standing conversations on second language writers exist in each of these fields.

The terms describing second language writers in college composition classes are complicated. Recently, composition scholars have used the term multilingual writers, though, as one recent example of the contested nature of that term, several sessions at the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) 2012 in St. Louis used the term translingual, and Bruce Horner forwarded this term in a recent Journal of Basic Writing essay "Relocating Basic Writing". During a CCCC 2013 panel, Michelle Cox outlined a range of

"terms used to identify * students," and expressed a preference for the term second language writer (Hall et al.). Twenty years ago the term English as a Second Language (ESL) student was more in vogue than it is now, though this term is still commonly used. The term limited English proficient is also in use, as is English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). Three Journals likely to publish articles that relate to second language writers in the field of Rhetoric and Composition are the Journal of College Composition and Communication, College English, and the Journal of Writing Program Administration. Most of the controversy around which term to use in referring to students, whose first language is not English, has focused on attempting to find the least derogatory term. The term Limited English Proficient was long ago abandoned by public schools for this reason. ESL it has been suggested implies a deficiency because it simply states that a student has learned English after his or her first language, and makes no allowance for the possibility of more than two languages. Multilingual is now widely used, ostensibly as a reaction to previous terms that focused on deficiency.

In Second Language Acquisition and Applied Linguistics the term second language (L2) is commonly used in research studies. ESL and EFL are both terms also commonly used. The former term is used to describe students who are learning English in the country where the language is predominantly spoken (i.e. in the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom), and the latter term is used to describe students who are learning English outside of a country where the language is spoken (i.e. South Korea, Mexico, or Saudi Arabia). Some of the major journals likely to publish research on second language writers, specifically from one of these perspectives, are the TESOL Journal, the Journal of Applied Linguistics, or the Journal of Second Language Writing. While the Journal of Second Language Writing focuses

on second language writers, the other journals often publish studies in the context of English as a Foreign Language, and occasionally on subjects beyond higher education, or at the elementary or secondary school level. There is much overlap in terms of scholarship that is published by those thought of as TESOL experts and those thought of as Second Language Writing experts. For example, A. Suresh Canagaraja, Paul Matsuda, and others have recently published in one of the TESOL related journals above as well as in one of the major rhetoric and composition journals. In fact, it could be argued that these 'crossover scholars' have through initial explorations of 'ESL Writing' such as those discussions found in *Negotiating Academic Literacies, Land Mark Essays on ESL Writing*, and *Second Language Writing in the Composition Classroom* initiated both a new term and a new field – Second Language Writing. In general the field of TESOL presents a more unified terminological front than rhetoric and composition. The terms are less contested, perhaps because the aims and practices of the field are more unified and directly linked to one professional organization— TESOL International.

The field of Literacy Studies encompasses both first and second language learners and people of all ages who are developing literacy skills. The subfield of second language literacy includes research into student literacy practices at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels. I am especially focusing here on second language literacy at the postsecondary level of instruction. As a program director for an adult education program since 2010, I have become intimately familiar with characterizations of adult learners of English, labeled ESL students within the Office of Vocational and Adult Education's National Reporting System. These students are carefully classified from "literacy" to "advanced" levels based on scores from one of a handful of approved standardized assessments, including the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE), and the Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment (CASAS). Among the adult literacy community, ESL is still the dominant term used, though adult English language learner is a term that is also commonly employed. It is important to note that the field of adult education does not generally serve students beyond the high school skill level. So students may move from an adult education ESL class into an adult basic education class for those seeking a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), but beyond the GED (12.9 grade level) these students are deemed beyond the field of adult education focusing on either first or second language learners are most likely to appear in journals such as the Journal of Research and Practice for Adult Literacy, Secondary, and Basic Education, The Adult Education Quarterly, or the College Reading and Learning Association Journal.

Horner, Trimbur, and Lu, in their edited collection *Cross Language Relations in Composition*, forward a vision of a multilingual America that is becoming harder and harder to ignore. As Horner states in the introduction, "multilingualism, rather than monolingualism is taken as both the historical and the ideal norm" (570). As it becomes increasingly likely that all those involved in teaching college English will be instructing some second language writers, it becomes increasingly urgent to form some pedagogical and programmatic response. It is interesting to note as well that even the semi-sacred term Native Speaker is contested (Trimbur, Geohistory153; Ruecker, Challenging 442).

In a 2003 article from the Journal of Basic Writing, Paul Matsuda suggests, "it is important to recognize the problem of disciplinary division and make conscious efforts to include ESL issues in the discussion of basic writers and basic writing" (Division 83). In order to bridge the "disciplinary division" Matsuda suggests clearly defining basic writers, though he allows this "has always been a tricky business." However, without some kind of shared or bridging terminology, or a systematic way of describing ability, one wonders whether college writing instructors— from adult and developmental education to first year composition— will be able to communicate effectively with colleagues about the students from diverse social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds increasingly found in all writing classes.

As Andrea Lunsford reminds us "the growing foreign student population and the even faster growing number of students whose native language is not English greatly complicate definitions of both basic writing and of literacy" (Lunsford 211-12). Actually, even among those who work with second language learners, the terminology is fraught with controversy. And rightly so, because the terminology has deep meaning, and there are deep divisions around how students from diverse backgrounds are classified. In her insightful essay "From the Good Kids to the Worst: Representations of English Language Learners Across Educational Settings" Linda Harklau reminds us, perhaps most importantly, of two things: "representation is inevitable" (127) and "labels have consequences" (105). There is no way to avoid terms that characterize students. Teachers will certainly want to find ways to discuss and learn about the students in their classes, and the terms they choose will be a factor in how each individual student's identity is constructed within the institutional structure of the college. For Harklau, the problem is not so much the fact that terminology exists and is being used to describe students. The problem is that these "representations are largely out of conscious awareness" (105). One important challenge resulting from this tendency among educators to remain unconscious of the impact of terms used to describe students, is the need for teachers and administrators to become aware "of how student identities are shaped by

institutional labels" by raising the awareness of these "institutional representations" from tacit to explicit (127). Harklau was closely involved in contesting the terms used to describe ESL students through her research into Generation 1.5, a term that revealed layers of variety in the types of ESL students in U.S. schools. The publication of *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition* illustrated this richer description within the college writing class. However, this term has since been hotly debated.

A further concern expressed by Jonathan Hall is the danger in making assumptions about students based solely on their ethnolinguistic backgrounds. As Hall explains, "we must be careful not to lose sight of the particular experience of MLLs [Multilingual Learners] as they move through our writing courses—but we must also be careful not to essentialize or stereotype their supposed cultural presuppositions" (Next America 39). By focusing intently on the ability of a particular student to produce effective SWE, we move beyond essentializing students based on either cultural or linguistic prejudices and move toward creating rich and meaningful descriptions of students in our classes and programs.

Students who are placed in pre-college writing classes have also been characterized in many ways, but in the last twenty years three different professional communities have exerted continued influence over the way we discuss underprepared students: basic writing, developmental writing, and adult education. The following section briefly discusses terms used in these three overlapping fields.

In the early 1970s with increases in the enrollment of writers who had poor command of SWE conventions as a result of the City University of New York's decision to open enrollment, Mina Shaughnessy penned the seminal *Errors and Expectations*. Shaughnessy's book and the work of others such as David Bartholomae ushered in a new field—that of basic writing. Basic writing as a term still has currency as evidenced through the publication of the Journal of Basic Writing, but there are indications that the term is fast becoming defunct. The fact that many programs that offer pre-college writing classes have taken up the term developmental writing to refer to its courses, and the fact that many of these same programs have affiliations with the National Association of Developmental Education signal that the term at the very least is under scrutiny. The students Shaughnessy and others described are still very much evident; however, among their ranks we now find not only students struggling with SWE conventions attributable to socioeconomic factors, but also those who struggle because of a first language and its effects, as well as those who struggle with literacy issues caused by low levels of ability.

Though basic writing as a term is contested, there are those who have long argued for the relevance of basic writing through a redefinition of the field. In their 1998 Journal of Basic Writing article "The Dilemma that Still Counts: Basic Writing at a Political Crossroads" Susanmarie Harrington and Linda Adler-Kassner look closely at the term itself to understand how it has been constructed. In their search to define basic writers and basic writing, Harrington and Adler-Kassner argue for a return to error as the defining characteristic of the basic writer—not for a return to "skill and drill pedagogy that divorces language from context" (20). They argue instead for a method that takes the "social view of error advocated by Horner and Williams" (20). As the title suggest the "dilemma that still counts" for basic writers is the fact that error is still what often counts most in their writing beyond first year composition. Further evidence of the contested nature of terms for basic writing can be found in Paul Kei Matsuda's 2003 Journal of Basic Writing article "Basic Writing and Second Language Writers: Toward an Inclusive Definition". In this essay, Matsuda historicizes the characterization of second language writers within the field of basic writing in order to highlight the importance of inclusiveness when defining and describing basic writers.

The term basic writing has lost currency with huge numbers of college faculty who work with what many composition specialists would describe as basic writers. The National Association of Developmental Education (NADE) membership list includes thousands of educators and hundreds of programs across the country engaged in teaching writing to Shaughnessy's target population, but calling these students developmental writers. Developmental is a term that is also used in mathematics and reading, though differences in terminology in these disciplines will not be explored. Publications related to developmental writing can be found in the Journal of Developmental Education, the Journal of College Reading and Learning, and Teaching English in the Two Year College Journal. The terminological fault lines for teachers of writing, however, seem less attributable to divisions between academic disciplines within institutions and more attributable to hierarchies within and across institutions. For example, two-year colleges tend to be more conversant with the term developmental writer, whereas faculty from four-year colleges and universities tend to acknowledge the term basic writer.

One piece of evidence supporting this hierarchy is the second edition of the book *Teaching Developmental Writing: Background Readings (1999).* The book has the term developmental writing in its title, and yet most of the articles contained within focus on basic writing. One could conclude that basic writing and developmental writing are synonyms. However useful this simple solution may appear, it is interesting to problematize this difference in terminology. Though the editors of the edition felt developmental writing was the appropriate title of a book being marketed to teachers of pre-college writing, the dearth of articles with the term developmental in their titles suggests a lack of prestige and therefore possibility of publication for articles that eschew the term basic writing. Whether or not it is possible to attribute these differences in terms to a hierarchy, it is a least possible to say the way we characterize pre-college writers is not agreed upon across the variety of institutional contexts where pre-college writing may exist.

And further, even among members of the National Association of Developmental Education, there seems to be a concern that the field lacks, and desperately needs, unity in terms of its theoretical base, its teacher preparation, and especially its way of referring to its student body. A recent article from the Journal of Developmental Education calls for coherence in the way developmental educators refer to students in writing classes. Authors Eric Paulson and Sonya Armstrong suggest use of the term "transitional" as a way of suggesting growing abilities which can occur as "the learner moves from one academic context…to another" (8). Though this term makes a great deal of sense to me, as is obvious from the title of this dissertation, it is unlikely that the average practitioner in either mainstream composition, K-12 literacy, or those who specialize in second language writing will come into contact with the concept within their respective flagship journals or conferences (College Composition and Communication, National Council of Teachers of English, or the Journal of Second Language Writing), and that is one of the reasons why in a later section of this dissertation the argument is forwarded for cross-disciplinary scholarship.

Depending on which of the fifty states you examine, you may also find adults enrolled in writing classes, which are designed to help them attain basic literacy skills. Adult basic education in New Mexico, for example, houses programs in colleges for the most part; whereas, in Texas these programs are offered through local high schools. There is a great deal of overlap between the higher levels of adult basic education (ABE) and lower levels of developmental education, and it is in these overlapping contexts that a great deal of terminological controversy arises.

The field of postsecondary literacy or adult basic education is a subfield of literacy studies. As mentioned in the previous section, the Office of Vocational and Adult Education's (OVAE) National Reporting System (NRS) defines levels, which are used as a foundation for the programs that serve adults with defined low-literacy skills. Students who enter community colleges that have both adult and developmental education programs could theoretically begin in either area. At Central New Mexico Community College (CNM), for example, students who enter the Adult Basic Education program are assessed using the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE), and students who enter the college via developmental education will be assessed using the ACCUPLACER exam, which is used for all new college freshmen at CNM. This means that a student with low literacy skills might be termed either developmental or basic by virtue of which door she walks through. A student who is persistent and moves through the system quickly might be labeled basic, developmental, and mainstream within one calendar year or less. Articles on adult education topics related to writing can be found in many of the journals that publish on adult education topics for second language learners, such as the Journal of Research and Practice for Adult Literacy, Secondary, and Basic Education, The Adult Education Quarterly, or the College Reading and Learning Association. There is some evidence that instances of terminological disarray such as the community college system described above affect students negatively. The struggles of adult basic education and developmental students have been well documented. In fact, as

Garvey and Grobe report, while nearly half of all GED holders eventually enroll in postsecondary education, only 4 percent persist to earn a degree (1).

In the same article Garvey and Grobe go on to report that approximately 60 percent of community college students take at least one developmental education course, and fewer than 25 percent of community college students in developmental education earn a degree or certificate within eight years of first enrolling (7). The fact that the number of students moving beyond adult and developmental education and into the mainstream of college is statistically small, suggests serious problems in the system, of course, but within the framework of this study it also suggests a need to consider how these students are classified and then served within a system that may have little understanding of their needs. One way to examine and to further consider these students is to look at how they show up in various conversations on the teaching of writing. In the case of this study, I have looked for characterizations of adult basic education students in the WAC conversation, and in the literature on college composition and diversity.

In a recent survey conducted jointly at the University of New Mexico and Central New Mexico Community College, professors from across the disciplines were asked, among other questions, to rate a student-writing sample. Their answers suggested, not surprisingly, that faculty from across both colleges see the need for students to produce Standard Written English, but that they are conflicted about how to respond to student writing from second language writers and basic writers. Other studies have reported similar findings, and have suggested, not surprisingly, that those who speak a first language other than English or who speak a non-standard dialect of English are more likely to struggle with SWE (Ives et al. 2013). While many scholars have argued for a more flexible approach to assessing the work of second language writers—most notably Land and Whitley's 1994 article "Evaluating Second-Language Essays in Regular Composition Classes: Toward a Pluralistic U.S. Rhetoric"—others tend to view the influx of greater diversity as a mandate to more clearly define and articulate expectations for student writing (Matsuda et al. 261). Though the focus of this dissertation is on attitudes toward sentence level errors, the contested nature of the conversation on standardization can be seen in discussions of the acceptability of certain genre conventions, discursive features, and rhetorical constructions, as Land and Whitley's article illustrates.

Even if we assume no disagreement about whether or not we should hold all students to a strict monolingual standard of perfection, there is ambivalence among teachers of writing about whether or not instruction in grammar is useful. Attempts to define and teach grammar are often viewed as either futile (Hillocks xxv) or simply the most current manifestation of the long tradition of complaint among composition instructors that students come to college un-prepared and fail to learn to write in composition classes (Rose, Language of Exclusion 359). The tone of Land and Whitley's work, as that of others, has been criticized as sounding suspiciously like a call for lowering standards and 'dumbing down' the curriculum. Though this does not seem to be the intention of Land and Whitley's work, articles such as this can lead to a false dichotomy and debates about the merits of either teaching grammar or ignoring grammar. In Lucy Ferris' recurring blog 'lingua Franca' on the website of the Chronicle of Higher Education, a post from the fall of 2011 about the merits of adhering to strict grammar rules illustrates the dichotomy. Of the numerous responses, the posts tended to include a great deal of uncertainty about the role of college instructors in the process of helping students acquire grammatical competence. There was a trend among the college composition instructors posting of not wanting to be considered a "Grammar Visigoth" (one who ignores all rules of grammar), but also not wanting to come across as a "Grammar Nazi" (one who adheres too strictly to standards of correctness) (Ferris 2011).

This concern for grammatical correctness, coupled with uncertainty about where to draw the line, is a common refrain among college writing instructors. The blog mentioned above is offered as one piece of anecdotal evidence suggesting that most teachers at the college level do care whether or not their students can produce Standard Written English, but are uncertain about their role in promoting conformity to norms. There is also a great deal of difficulty in defining norms and in deciding how strictly adherence to norms should be enforced.

In order to succeed in most college writing tasks—to build ethos in particular— all students need a level of grammatical competence that allows for fluent and reasonably correct expression. The question seems less whether or not grammatical competence is useful to students, and more a question of what might constitute reasonable expectations for college writers, and how instructors can help all students achieve adherence to such norms. It is important to consider the ways that college-writing programs could come to an understanding of a 'reasonable conformity' to grammatical norms, and possibly begin to foster reasonable conformity among all students in college writing classes without negatively impacting persistence and success. A reexamination of standards for grammatical competence in college writing is necessary if the needs of students are to be met effectively in the coming decades. And it is important that this false dichotomy of 'to teach grammar or not to teach

grammar' is analyzed. A close look at the conversation among WAC professionals is a starting point for a discussion of standards of correctness in college composition.

The term "grapholect" coined by Einar Haugen to account for individual deviations from the prescriptive norms of written language is useful because it allows us to consider written linguistic variation as separate from spoken linguistic variation, and also provides a way of thinking about the need to balance overly prescriptive and overly permissive approaches to the treatment of error. If dialect is essentially the way groups of people innovate linguistically, and if idiolect is the individual person's specific way of innovating with language, then grapholect is a term that explains the way individuals innovate in writing. Haugen discusses grapholect in the context of language planning and stresses the importance of balancing prescriptive linguistics and descriptive linguistics. Drawing on the work of P.S. Ray, Haugen suggests we might characterize "prescriptive linguistics as "the search for reasonableness in the discrimination of linguistic innovations" (52). For Haugen, the linguist has the ability to create for any individual "an accurate and exhaustive record of the idiolect in the form of a standard linguistic description...[and this] precise record of his idiolect" is the individual speaker's "GRAPHOLECT" (53). Haugen outlines several ways that grapholect differs from idiolect in that it is "edited... analyzed... delayed... and stabilized" (53). Though Haugen allows that one function of language is to provide for "individual expression" (59), he also considers the importance of the normative role, when he references the work of the linguist Adolf Noreen, who "proposed a set of criteria for "wrong" language based on what he considered a *reasonable approach*" (Haugen 60 emphasis mine). Haugen thereby clearly articulates the need for a compromise between overly prescriptive approaches and approaches to innovation that are merely descriptive.

Because this dissertation focuses on standardization and error, and because the terms to describe diverse students have been so thoroughly problematized, I will attempt to avoid the controversy of any of the contested terms. I will refer to students in writing classes who speak a first language other than English and to those who have less developed linguistic skills as diverse student writers.

Any new term that might be suggested would eventually stigmatize students; however talking about diverse student writers does not create a new term or a category. It is simply a way of talking about a variety of students, and because this designation spans several different fields it rejects the notion of the need for a strict disciplinary division of labor. This responds to calls to accept both basic writers and second language writers as a normal part of the classroom and to find ways to work with these students as part of a new mainstream, and not as separate or unusual.

By focusing on the key factors interfering with an individual student's successful use of SWE, we can create rich descriptions of all students enrolled in college composition classes without the need to rely on any one of the disputed terms mentioned above, and without stigmatizing students based on linguistic or social descriptors.

Though for many composition scholars the urgency for writing programs to adapt to current realities is quite real, as Mike Rose notes demographic shifts are not unprecedented in U.S. higher education. In "The Language of Exclusion: Writing Instruction at the University," Rose explains the reaction of the academy to linguistic variation among students of previous eras: "Each generation of academics facing the characteristic American shifts in demographics and accessibility sees the problem anew, laments it in the terms of the era, and optimistically notes its impermanence" (355). David Russell borrows and elaborates on Rose's 'myth of transience' in *Writing in the Academic Disciplines: A Curricular History.* For Russell, the problem stems from viewing writing as an "elementary transcription skill" that tends to "marginalize writing instruction" and which also "masks the complexities of the task" (7). If, as Russell cautions, we were to look at writing as a basic skill with finite and clearly defined boundaries and limits, then it would be possible to imagine a future in which *all* students have adequate writing skills by the time they reach college. This utopian future would of course depend on teachers in elementary and secondary schools providing the necessary and rigorous program of writing instruction. When this plateau of preparedness was finally reached there would theoretically be no need to offer pre-college writing classes at colleges and universities. Indeed, even first year writing would be phased out once this general acquisition of college readiness was reached. Although those engaged for many years in the teaching of writing have seen the complexities un-masked, the popular view of writing is often steeped in mythology and ideology, much as both Rose and Russell have described.

Russell goes on to discuss a "120-year tradition of complaint" that has occurred whenever "students' writing failed to measure up to the local, and largely tacit standards, of a particular social class" (6). The recognition that standards of correctness are tacit and culturally based, reveals inherent discrimination against students from working class backgrounds as well as students from non-English speaking backgrounds. The failure among the general public and within the academy to recognize both the recurring nature and the tacit foundations of these "literacy crises" that both Rose and Russell point to contributes significantly to either apathetic or apocalyptic attitudes toward ethnolinguistic diversity in schools.

Though there is certainly a history of increasing diversity and a history of writing instruction that fails to respond adequately to changes in student demographics, the kinds of diversity that both Rose and Russell describe in their historical depictions are not on par with the scale of change we are today witnessing. Over the last 150 years there have been several periods in which students who were previously unwelcome or unwanted were allowed to enter American higher education in mass. The 1890s, for example saw a rise in students from upper-middle class *nouveau riche* backgrounds attending elite institutions such as Harvard and Yale, which resulted in the famous Harvard English A being devised by Adams Sherman Hill and others in response to the perceived under preparedness of students (Berlin 1987; Paine 1999; Murphy 2001). The GI Bill of Rights brought an increase in first generation college students in the 1950s, which also sent ripples of change through higher education in the U.S. The early 1970s witnessed the expansion of undergraduate opportunities for those from working class backgrounds; and, in institutions with truly open admissions at the time, such as City University of New York, Mina Shaughnessy and others forged basic writing in response to a system that seemed unable to grapple with large numbers of students whose writing was deemed insufficient for college. However intensely these shifts in population may have affected higher education, the changes were generally applied to a relatively small group of students because these were incursions by minority groups into the mainstream. Today, though, what we are seeing is a redefinition and a reconstitution of the mainstream through these demographic shifts that Kells and Balester, Preto-Bay and Hansen and Hall have identified. In the wake of these changes, composition scholars, such as John Trimbur, Bruce Horner, Suresh Canagaraja, and others have begun to advocate not for practices that

support not only islands of diversity within the main, but new pedagogies that take ethnolinguistic and socioeconomic diversity as the norm.

Because the changes to the college student body over the last twenty years have been more extensive than in previous generations, changes to writing programs must be bold, far reaching, and broadly applied if they are to address the situation adequately. If, as Rose and Russell have suggested, changes to writing programs are often fueled by the tacit assumptions of those in charge, then making some of these tacit assumptions more explicit for those who teach and administer writing programs is an important step in supporting a more diverse group of students as they move through and beyond transitional college writing classes.

Though as Minh-Zahn Lu reminds us in "Representing the other: Basic Writers and the Teaching of Basic Writing" the process of gaining a new or enhanced linguistic competence is never "politically innocent," and may in fact cause the learner to struggle with previously comfortable and familiar discursive spheres (105). Discussions of "institutional representations" that unfairly label second language writers and basic writers could lead toward a diatribe against educational administrators, policy makers, and even state and federal legislators involved in higher education related legislation. However, this dissertation is concerned with the discursive practices that create representations of students within the varied professional communities, not with the political ramifications of terminology, but with their practical applications. We are interested, then, in investigating what Foucault has called "discursive formation" (Foucault 38), but not with the formation of any entire discourse, of say second language writing, or basic writing, or of transitional college writers, but specifically with representations of second language writers and basic writers in the field of Writing Across the Curriculum. There are no illusions that this will be an exhaustive or definitive study, but merely a description of one very specific "plane of emergence" (Foucault 41), which, however, has potential to reveal a great deal about current attitudes toward diverse college writers.

Organization of Study

As mentioned earlier, this study is framed around the following research questions. 1) What are the dominant attitudes toward error and standardization among Writing Across the Curriculum scholars? 2) How are the ethnolinguistic backgrounds of students in college writing classes taken into consideration in Writing Across the Curriculum research? 3) What recommendations for responding to error in an increasingly diverse context can be derived from the analysis of the professional conversation in Writing Across the Curriculum?

There are several limitations, or exclusions, that should also be explained. First, I have chosen to focus on the WAC Journal as a mainstream journal of Writing Across the Curriculum. Though journals such as The Journal of Second Language Writing or the Journal of Basic Writing would certainly include more discussion of transitional college writers, I wanted a more mainstream focus in order to gauge attitudes among those who are not specialists in second language writing or basic writing. Second, most studies tend to treat second language writers and basic writers separately. I wanted to include these two groups under one umbrella because I believe there are many good reasons for doing so. For example, if mainstream composition instructors are going to learn how to more effectively work with diverse groups of students, it is necessary that they, at minimum, have some basic understanding of the challenges these students face and how best to approach them as writers. By looking for the common ground, we can begin to explore pedagogical and

programmatic strategies for the emerging American mainstream. Third, though I undertook some quantitative analyses of the recurrence of certain terms in WAC Journal articles, the primary research method has been qualitative. I have drawn on Charmaz in particular and James Paul Gee to create rich descriptions, using discourse analysis, of those WAC Journal articles that include mention of transitional college writers. Discourse analysis has been used to build grounded theory related to the professional conversation of TCWs within the field of WAC, and so there is little quantitative data reported.

The chapters are arranged in the following way: In Chapter One "Beyond the Tipping Point" I illustrate the most important strands of the ever-increasing diversity in pre-college and college writing classes, and go on to consider the key characterizations of second language writers and basic writers. I suggest the term transitional college writers as a way to frame a discussion of students from a variety of backgrounds who all share a need to bridge primary discourses with secondary discourses. In Chapter Two "Theories and Approaches to Diversity and Standardization" I begin by placing the current college writing context on an historical continuum in which college writing classes have become more diverse, as part of the democratization of higher education. This consideration of previous influxes of diverse elements into higher education lays the groundwork for considering current notions about diversity and standardization. In considering research from rhetoric and composition, TESOL, and adult and developmental education two approaches stand out in the survey of the literature, which we can refer to as either foundational or antifoundational approaches to error. These two categories serve as leitmotifs that organize the discussion of approaches to error and standardization throughout the rest of the dissertation. Chapter Three "The Contested Terms of College Writing" outlines my research method. I used discourse analysis

to examine five years of WAC Journal articles, with particular emphasis on characterizations of second language writers and basic writers. I have drawn on Charmaz and Gertz to build a grounded theory, which has been used to categorize attitudes toward transitional college writers and standardization prominent among writing across the curriculum scholars. Chapter Four "What We Talk about When We Talk About Diverse College Writers" provides a detailed description of the analyses. The core that connects the many ideas I observed about error and standardization is a description of a range of approaches to error and standardization. Chapter Five "A Reasonable Approach to Error" looks at the implications of a sophistic approach to standardization, and suggests some possibilities for further research. I argue for a compromise between anti-foundational and foundational approaches to the treatment of error. David W. Smit labeled these "non-foundational" approaches because of the recognition of the importance of conventions, but also the acceptance of positive innovation in student writing (Smit 141). I think of this approach as reasonable or sophistic, and I will outline a range of approaches to error, including a sophistic approach, in chapter five. Finally, Chapter Six "A Summary of Key Findings" discusses the overall approach to error and standardization that can be derived from a survey of the group of texts analyzed for this dissertation.

Chapter Two: Theories and Approaches Addressing Diversity and Standardization

"Most of what we do with Discourse is unconscious, unreflective, and uncritical."

James Paul Gee, Social Linguistics and Literacies, 190

The previous chapter discussed various terms used to describe diverse college writers. By outlining the contested terms within college composition circles this chapter provides a necessary backdrop for the rest of the dissertation. This section begins with a brief history of diversity in the context of teaching writing in US colleges, and moves on to explain the theoretical framework that has been used to analyze one segment of the conversation on transitional college writers.

By combining work being done in TESOL, second language writing, basic writing world Englishes with that being done in composition studies, including WAC, WPA, and even broadening the context to include adult basic education and developmental writing, we might move efforts forward in order more effectively support transitional college writers. We need to draw on research from a variety of fields in order to address the increasingly diverse context that we, as college writing teachers at all levels, will face in the coming years.

Though the United States has a long history of diversity, recently— as we have moved through various watershed moments in our shifting demography— many have expressed concern that writing programs are not doing enough to effectively serve college composition students from diverse backgrounds. This chapter, therefore, begins by outlining previous incursions of the diverse into the US college composition context. Because this dissertation re-characterizes error in terms of the impact error has on the writer's ethos, it is important to summarize previous attitudes and approaches to innovative uses of language. The second section of this chapter surveys the history of approaches to error and standardization in US college composition from the late 19th century through the early 21st century. I then discuss the epistemological and theoretical assumptions and positions that underlie a range of approaches to error. After that, I show how the current discourse on error and standardization is the most recent enactment of a longstanding debate over whether or not innovation is an acceptable rhetorical practice. Finally, I suggest writing across the curriculum as the logical place for a convergence of scholarship that supports diverse groups of students.

The history of teaching writing in American colleges is often presented as beginning at the turn of the 20th century. Connors, Paine, Murphy and others have discussed the English A course, which began at Harvard, in response to the perceived poor writing skills of Harvard's entering freshmen (Connors 1997; Paine; 1999; Murphy 2001). The idea surrounding each subsequent literacy crisis that it could be resolved in a relatively short time and that professors could then get back to doing more important work is discussed in David Russell's history of teaching writing in the disciplines (Russell 2002). The notion that writing skills, and the problems with poor writing skills, can be 'fixed' or eradicated has greatly influenced the teaching of writing for most of the twentieth century. Mike Rose describes this mistaken notion as the "myth of transience" (Exclusion 355). In his seminal work *Lives on the Boundary* Rose asserts that many of the most powerful forces in the field of composition during the twentieth century—those that actually changed the trajectory of how writing has been taught—were responding to perceived literary crises of one kind or another (199-200). I would add that these so called crises were largely driven by influxes of diversity into a college climate unprepared to handle students who did not fit established norms in terms of language and cultural background.

Before briefly tracing the history of diversity in the composition classroom it is important to define what is meant by error within this dissertation, because I do not want to confine discussion of error to overly prescriptive notions of written linguistic variation. In order to make a distinction among error types, I draw on several key articles on error and standardization spanning the 1980s to the 2000s: David Bartholomae's "The Study of Error" (1980); Joseph William's " The Phenomenology of Error" (1981); Bruce Horner's "Rethinking the "Sociality" of Error: Teaching Editing as Negotiation" (1992); Larry Beason's "Ethos and Error: How Business People Respond to Errors;" (2001) as well as Jennifer Jenkins' monograph *The Phonology of English as an International Language* (2000).

Based largely on the works listed in the previous paragraph, I assert that any time a student writer produces an instance of lexico-grammatical, generic, or rhetorical difference (something outside the acceptable norms of the class, genre, or social context) this can be seen as either supportive of the writer's ethos or damaging to the writer's ethos. Looking at these variations as part of a range or continuum can be useful. For the purposes of a more exact discussion of error and standardization, I suggest the following taxonomy as a way of re-characterizing notions of correctness in college composition: 1) *error* is an instance of difference that damages the writer's ethos, 2) *variation* is an instance of difference that has no appreciable effect on the writer's ethos, and 3) *innovation* is an instance of difference that is supportive of the writer's ethos. Looking at error (or 'difference') in this way frees us from

the false dichotomy of 'to treat error or not to treat error,' which has been argued within and between various composition approaches and their adherents.

The so called current traditional rhetoric (CTR) Approach to teaching writing was founded on 18th century theories of Psychology which—based on the works of George Campbell, Hugh Blair, David Hume, and others— led to an emphasis on clarity in language and the teaching of rhetorical modes, which were thought to correspond to certain faculties of the mind. The development of this approach, interestingly, happened away from the educational and cultural dominance of London, in what Thomas P. Miller calls the cultural provinces, mainly Scotland. These developing centers of trade, hungry as they were for education and status, called for an approach that would socially and professionally level the playing field for their sons. Teaching that responded to linguistic diversity (primarily Scottish as opposed to English accents), is closely linked with the beginnings of English studies. According to Miller, it has often been the case that the margins of society have more profoundly affected the changes within English studies than the dominant mainstream of society has (4).

The foundation of current traditional rhetoric (CTR) as the dominant method of teaching writing, as mentioned earlier, was accomplished during the expanding years of the U.S. economy, and hence the expanding years of the US University System (late 19th and early 20th century). Begun at Harvard and other major eastern schools, the current traditional approach focused primarily on clarity of expression, including paragraph unity and coherence, a very prescriptive approach to lexicon and grammar, and rhetorical modes or patterns of expressions, such as narration, description, and cause and effect. To vilify the founders of CTR has been easy, and many have used the foundational aspects of CTR as a

straw man to react against. Peter Elbow, Donald Murray and others who espoused a more expressive approach to the teaching of writing during the 1970s and 1980s have derided the overly prescriptive nature of the approach. Though some compositionists see the founders of CTR as villains, Paine paints a different picture of those, such as Edward T. Channing and Adams Sherman Hill, who are credited with initiating this approach as simply doing their best to respond to a different type of student, and responding to the exigencies of the times (Paine 37). This aspect of the current traditional approach—as a reaction to an influx of difference—is interesting, as it is in line with the idea that it is those on the margins of society who actually have the greatest ability to affect changes in how writing is taught. To be certain, the diversity of the British cultural provinces or the diversity of freshmen at Harvard in 1900 was not the kind of diversity we think of as existing in 21st century America, but it did represent a difference from the norms of the day, and there were very important responses to these influxes.

The teaching of writing in US colleges during the post-world war II period was driven by several important realities. First, large numbers of returning veterans, now able to attend college on the GI Bill of Rights, populated many classrooms. These returning soldiers represented, in many cases, the encroachment of working and middle class Americans into the realm of higher education. Universities and the educational programs they offered grew and diversified exponentially during this period, and college for the first time was an expectation for an increasingly larger segment of society (Russell 239-240).

Of the many schools of thought that influenced the teaching of writing in US colleges during the postwar years—including literature and composition, linguistics and composition, and communication and composition— the push to help returning veterans and their families readjust and return to normal was perhaps the most powerful. As James J. Murphy reminds us in his *Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Modern America*, "adjustment, conformity, and a stable system of values" were focal points of the postwar years in college composition (265). Veterans were clearly absorbed into the fabric of the expanding system of higher education in the postwar years, and yet with increased access to education and rhetorical training, one wonders if this was not a period of social germination, which began to flower only as the children of these benefactors of the GI Bill began to come of age in the mid 1960s. Though it is difficult to speculate about the larger social implications of a more literate populace and a more diverse group of college students, it seems clear that college composition during this period played a generally normative role in society.

With the enormous amount of social change occurring during the late 1960s, colleges and their writing programs were again impacted by an influx of diversity. Mina Shaughnessy, who was then working at City College of New York (CUNY), began a study of student writing, based on entrance essays of under prepared students. Her response contained in a few essays, conference presentations and her monograph *Errors and Expectations: A Guide for the Teacher of Basic Writing* represented a beginning for the field of basic writing. Others in the field such as Mike Rose, Charles Bazerman, and David Bartholomae contributed ideas related to social class and the nature of composing in unfamiliar discourses. All four of these luminaries of basic writing have argued that basic writers are not cognitively deficient, but simply lack experience with academic prose. Though it seems almost commonsensical now, at the time the notion of social factors as primary determinants of educational attainment represented a substantial challenge to the academic status quo, and this line of thinking was also an important part of attempts to further democratize higher education during the period.

It is arguable that the movement toward open admissions, which has been partially or fully rescinded in most colleges including CUNY, was the outer limit of a wide scale experiment to educate all Americans regardless of race or social class, and as a representation of an overzealous democratic ideology the open admissions experiment was doomed to fail. Walter Benn Michaels in his work from 2006 *The Trouble with Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality* has made a convincing argument that the cause of addressing economic inequality was easily, even joyfully, cast aside in order to address racial inequality. For Michaels the focus on "celebrating diversity is now our way of accepting inequality" (199). Though one might accuse Michaels of committing an either or fallacy by so sharply contrasting racial and economic inequalities, it is clear that educators, including college composition instructors, began to talk less about income inequality and more about racial and cultural identity in the 1980s and 1990s.

The multicultural education movement, which gained an enormous amount of adherence among public school teachers and college professors alike during the 1980s, was based on the work of John Dewey, James Banks, and others. Banks and Banks provide a definition for multicultural education that includes skill development and the acquisition of knowledge, not as ends in themselves, but as prerequisites for membership and participation in a democratic society (Banks and Banks 1995). Though there were many articulations of a multicultural approach to education, the underlying tenets promoted among educators in the US supported equality among students by promoting awareness of the contributions of Americans from diverse backgrounds, and attempted to support students from diverse

backgrounds, without requiring assimilation. Some have placed multicultural education at the heart of the so-called cultural wars of the period, with figures such as E.D. Hirsh and Alan Bloom rejecting a multicultural orientation to education and culture, and arguing for the retrenchment of traditional Eurocentric content and standards (Hirsh 1987; Bloom 1988). As someone who went through a college of education in the late 1980s and began teaching in public schools in the early 1990s, personally, it often seemed a false dichotomy to pit the western tradition against the diverse cultures of the world, which had become a central part of American society. As with hot wars, cold wars, and even culture wars, it seems, are often fought under erroneous and counterproductive premises. Further, having studied ancient western and non-western rhetoric during my PhD program, I have come to see this rift between traditionalists and multiculturalists not as problematic but as an opportunity. Contrastive and comparative stances to rhetoric and culture can provide a fruitful way of analyzing texts. This will come up in more detail in chapter five, but the core of this dissertation is an attempt to synthesize to some productive end the ideas of those who argue for pluralistic standards and those who argue for narrow homogeneous standards in college writing classes and programs. In chapter five, I refer to this as a reasonable approach to the treatment of error in order to suggest the utility of drawing on the range of approaches to error and standardization as we search for ways to adequately prepare all students for success with college level writing tasks.

In their very provocative WPA Journal essay "Preparing for the Tipping Point: Designing Writing Programs to Meet the Needs of the Changing Population" Preto-Bay and Hansen outline the coming wave of ethnolinguistic diversity poised to wash over campuses across America. They claim that while two-year colleges and other open admissions institutions have been awash in diversity for many years, demographic shifts over the next decade will force all institutions to find more effective ways of working with large numbers of multilingual, bi-dialectal, and first generation college students. Those institutions accustomed to working with large numbers of students from diverse backgrounds have often provided separate classes for second language writers and basic writers, and this may continue at those institutions. For smaller or less diverse colleges the idea of separate classes or programs is often not logistically possible. Ironically, it could be the less diverse and the smaller programs that find innovative ways to effectively serve all students in one class, out of sheer necessity.

Many have begun to recognize the realities of the current increasingly diverse college writing context, and it seems that once again the margins may drive meaningful change in how writing is taught in American colleges. In a chapter from a recent edited collection by Lu, Matsuda, Horner and Trimbur Cross *Language Relations in Composition*, Kells argues for a "mapping of the cultural ecologies" of our students (204). This, in my estimation, involves an expanded notion of what is considered traditional academic discourse, in much the same way that Gloria Anzaldua has advocated for *mestiza* or mixed rhetoric, and others such as Land and Whitley have called for a more pluralistic rhetoric. The synergistic possibilities of drawing on rhetoric, composition, writing across the curriculum, and teaching English to speakers of other languages scholarship is enormous, and it seems that a method of working with 21st century college writers has to respond to Kells and Balester's reassertion offered more than a decade ago that "the margin has become the core" (xix).

Though smaller less diverse institutions may indeed produce innovative solutions to the challenges associated with teaching ethnolinguistically diverse students in the coming years, as we move forward in seeking solutions to the challenges presented by this societal tipping point, it makes some sense to look at classrooms, programs, and colleges that have been working to serve diverse students for some time. The University of New Mexico (UNM) as a flagship research institution in a minority-majority state has for many years been grappling with the struggles of serving a diverse group of college students. I have benefited greatly from my enmeshment within the fabric of this institutional and regional culture, and both the failures and successes that have occurred here can teach others just now beginning to cope with this level of diversity.

Chuck Paine summarized UNM's pioneering role in the education of students from diverse backgrounds during an interview for the spring 2012 issue of the WPA Journal, when he said that New Mexico "already look[s] like what America will look like in the coming decades" (162). Judging from a spate of articles appearing on May 17, 2012 in a wide variety of publications—from the New York Times, to Fox News, to the popular blog Politico—which all proclaim 2011-2012 as the year that "white births [are] no longer a majority in the United States" (New York Times A1), the time has come in which the rest of America is beginning to look more like New Mexico. According to the politico blog from the same day, New Mexico is one of four Minority-Majority states, including California, Texas, and Hawaii. These articles were all presented with a sense of urgency and fear that our society is not ready for this, suggesting, in one way or another, that the "United States has a spotty record educating minority youth" (New York Times A 1). The tone of the day's news items seemed to suggest that it is common sense that the main challenge facing our increasingly diverse society is the challenge to educate minority students.

Beyond the diversity of the four minority-majority states mentioned above there is another kind of diversity—that of open admission institutions. This is a context I have known as a teacher of developmental writing and an administrator in an adult basic education program in a two-year college in New Mexico since 2002. The level of diversity that Paine has pointed out as being present in New Mexico is only magnified within the radically open admissions context of the two year college. Central New Mexico Community College has a policy of attempting to serve all students who want to attend college by admitting any student who is a resident, and then providing math, reading, and writing classes for students at any level, including those in need of basic literacy skills. California has recently turned away from this mission to serve all students in two-year institutions, and four year colleges and universities that engaged in experiments with completely open admissions during the 1970s and 1980s-those storied days of Mina Shaughnessy, Bazerman and others at CUNY-have long since adjusted admissions requirements. Though New Mexico and the other three Minority Majority states have in common the fact that they each demographically prefigured what is now happening across the rest of the country, each state has taking a vastly different approach to working with linguistically and socioeconomically diverse students. Open Admissions two-year institutions in California have begun to turn away from their mission to serve students from widely ranging backgrounds by following what more traditional fouryear institutions are doing. In Texas and Hawaii, other minority majority states, the approach is somewhat different but is consistent in tone with California. Developmental education, which serves large numbers of diverse students in basic writing, reading, ESOL, and math classes, has been receiving intense pressure to accelerate, streamline and cut or dramatically alter its classes and programs (Jenkins, Zeidenberg and Kienzl 2009; Jenkins 2010; 2011;

Jenkins and Cho 2012). This pressure on developmental education and the possibility of fewer options for transitional college writers to receive remediation prior to college composition classes increases the likelihood that the number of transitional college writers in composition classes will continue to grow.

The "next America" as described by Jonathan Hall in his 2009 WAC Journal article is an America that includes three rapidly expanding categories: "The New Linguistic Majority', 'The New Latin' and 'The New Student'"(34). If we are indeed moving toward a much more pluralistic society in terms of race, linguistic background, and ethnicity, then our education system, including the teaching of writing in college, should reflect that diversity to every degree possible. And so the question guiding this study is, once again, what are people in the Writing Across the Curriculum field (arguably one of the most influential conversations on how writing is taught in our colleges) saying about these students that I am calling collectively transitional college writers? The work of many leading scholars in rhetoric and composition looks at the American academic landscape through a lens that focuses on the burgeoning plurality of our society and our educational institutions. Over the last ten years, an increasing amount of scholarship has forwarded the position that diversity is the norm, and that monolingual or monocultural classes are neither the reality nor desirable. It is important to consider some of these perspectives before diving into an analysis of the conversation that has been emerging in the WAC Journal on second language writers, basic writers, and error and standardization. Because many of these ideas about the normalcy of diversity have been widely discussed, they present a theoretical baseline to which others in the field of rhetoric and composition and WAC have reacted.

Theories and Approaches Addressing Linguistic Innovation

As a longtime teacher of basic or developmental writing, I have fallen prey, in some ways to a reliance on methods that do not emanate from my philosophical convictions about what is best for students. Susan Miller describes an itinerant, overworked, and under-trained composition faculty in her work Gypsy Academics and Mother Teachers. Others, such as Bruce Horner in his Materialist Critique of composition, and James J. Murphy in A Short History of Writing instruction outline the ways time constraints and mountains of papers to mark can lead many instructors to rely on an outmoded current traditional approach (Miller 1991; Horner 2000; Murphy 2001). The hallmark of the current traditional approach, and one of the reasons it has drawn so much fire from later 20th century theorists, is its emphasis on rhetorical patterns, genre constraints, and what Michael Halliday terms "lexicogrammatical" correctness (7). From the perspective of a sometimes-overwhelmed teacher of composition, I believe, we go this direction not because we necessarily believe in it, but because it is expedient. Dealing with error is perhaps the easiest way to quickly mark a group of texts, and so it is often chosen as an approach, or a prominent facet of an approach, because it works on some level.

There is another tendency among composition teachers, which is to ignore surface error in favor of a focus on global issues, such as content. This somewhat lenient reaction to surface level correctness often emanates from an expressivist approach similar in tone to the method of teaching writing that Peter Elbow describes in *Writing Without Teachers* and *Writing With Power*. It can also be seen in much of Donald Murray and Lucy Calkins' work on process approaches to writing, which guides teachers toward "cultivating surprise, writing for discovery, and encouraging risky failures" (Tate et al. 2). Techniques in classes such as

these will often exhort students to "stop worrying about correctness...play with words...[and] rely less...on doubting and more on believing" (Tate et al. 2-3). Other vital elements of process approaches to teaching writing include working with others to improve writing in peer reflection sessions, and an emphasis on "freewriting, voice, [and] personal narrative" (Tate et al. 9). The expressivist arm of the process approach is founded epistemologically on what James Berlin calls a subjective philosophy, which sees truth as residing in the individual, whereas, the current traditional approach is epistemologically based on what Berlin terms the objective philosophy, which suggest a truth that resides in the world, or in the world of forms, that must be located and understood outside the self (Berlin 7-19). Taking up either of these philosophies of teaching writing with earnestness, means throwing oneself into a longstanding debate over whether or not human beings can say anything with any degree of certainty, and leads to questions about what constitutes knowledge. I would argue that one's epistemological stance, whether consciously held or tacitly held, affects one's attitude toward standardization at both the discursive and the syntactic level. The next section presents a broad historical survey of approaches to the innovative uses of language at both the discursive and the syntactic level.

I will begin by discussing the history of the treatment of innovation in the realm of the rhetorical. I intend rhetorical to be taken in an Aristotelian sense—the ability "to see the available means of persuasion" (Kennedy 81). The debate about using rhetoric in innovative ways goes back to at least the 4th Century B.C.E., when philosophers such as Plato often held the Greek Sophists in suspicion. In the *Gorgias*, Plato attacks rhetoric as a mere flattery and not a techne, in the sense that dialectic is considered a techne. For Plato, rhetoric, or the innovative use of argument, is a trick and not to be trusted. Rhetoric is deceptive and

discouraged in the *Gorgias*, as an "agent of the kind of persuasion that is designed to produce conviction, but not to educate people, about matters of right and wrong" (Plato 17; 455 A). Much of the disagreement about the merits or evils of rhetoric rests on epistemology. For Plato Truth is knowable, and can be apprehended in dialectical exchange. For the Sophists, truth is unknowable, contingent, and heavily reliant on kairos (Jarratt 8-16). Protagoras expounds on the necessity of examining a problem from multiple perspectives to find a probable truth, which he labels "dissoi logoi," (Bizzell and Herzberg 23) and Gorgias, in his *Encomium of Helen*, explains why it is so crucial to learn rhetoric. Whether moral or not, mastering rhetoric unleashes immense sources of power for the rhetor, and for Gorgias "speech is a powerful lord" (Gorgias 79; 8). What we can see in the disagreement about Rhetoric's utility is a dichotomy of innovation as a trick versus innovation as a realistic reaction to one's situation. In his work *Gorgias and the New Sophistic Rhetoric*, Bruce McComiskey claims the Sophistic approach is extremely relevant to the so-called Global Village because of its acknowledgment of Kairos, or the exigencies of our time (108-113).

It is also interesting to note an analogous relationship to the Sophistic/ Platonic debates about the necessity or evil of rhetoric that is present in the Attic and the Asiatic oratorical traditions in the late Roman Republic—as evidenced especially in Cicero's attention to the importance of rhetoric, in administering the state. Quintilian takes a similar tack when he argues that rhetors must be trained from the cradle, and that an orator must be a morally good man. And the debate over the usefulness and the morality of rhetoric are still very present in contemporary college composition contexts. In diverse early 21st century America, those who teach writing should examine the epistemological underpinnings of their attitudes and approaches to error and standardization.

Moving the discussion forward several centuries, we can begin to discuss the nature of the debate over the innovative use of language in a textual or generic sense. Bishop Thomas Sprat in the 17th century argues strongly against the innovative use of language, in much the same way that Plato had in the 4th Century B.C.E. Sprat contended that language should be as "clear as glass," and even went as far as to suggest the abolition of eloquence in a paper for the British Royal Society (Bizzell & Herzberg 795). Sprat's condemnation of rhetoric as trickery, was followed by John Locke's ideas on the evils of rhetorical obfuscation, in his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" Locke called for perspicuity and simplicity. Locke states that "men must love to deceive and be deceived" judging from the number of people learning rhetoric (Bizzell & Herzberg 827). This Lockean philosophy led many 18th century rhetoricians to the search for a plain style and a clear use of language. Hugh Blair's Lectures of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres combines very prescriptive ideas about style—many in line with Longinus's ideas about achieving sublimity in writing—and a systematic approach, which made his work very successful in its time; Bizzell and Hertzberg have called him the Quintilian of his time because of his ability to combine rhetorical system and pedagogy (947). Together, with George Campbell's hugely influential *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, the 18th century has had a profound influence on the teaching of discursive practices down to the present day. Another of the elements of Locke's philosophy that is translated and made more palatable are ideas from faculty psychology, which put forward notions of mental operations that correspond to certain ways of arranging information. Through a variety of textbooks published in the 18th century, and continuing through the works of Whateley, Bain, and later A.S. Hill, many ideas related to perspicuity and specific ways of arranging texts based on faculty psychology became part of the initial freshmen

writing classes around the turn of the 19th century. The tradition of asking students to arrange their texts in certain prescriptive ways, which are often called rhetorical modes, is a direct result of Campbell and Blair's grounding in faculty psychology, and emphasis on perspicuity and sublimity of style (Crowley 16-21).

In his work *The Resistant Writer*, Pain focuses on Adams Sherman Hill and others who essentially began the tradition of teaching writing to college freshmen. Mike Rose and others have discussed the myth of transience—the notion that teaching writing is a temporary business, designed to relieve the masses of their inability to write in narrowly defined ways. Hill and others were likely anxious for a quick cure for what they say as ailing writers, probably hoping that within a generation, at most, the problems of writing in American Colleges would be solved, and people could go back to studying and teaching more important things.

Though these founders of freshman composition may have been laboring under some illusions, in his historical account of the early days of college writing *The Resistant Writer: Rhetoric as Immunity, 1850 to Present*, Paine reminds us to consider Edward T. Channing, A.S. Hill, and others within their temporal and social context, and to make judgments in the light of the exigencies of 19th and early 20th century America (36-37). In some ways Channing and Hill's design for inoculating students from the evils of rhetoric, which Plato called "a branch of flattery," (Gorgias 34; 466A) is not dissimilar to attempts made in many college classrooms today, whenever an instructor attempts to "prevent students from buying designer jeans" (Bartholomae & Schilb 272). The idea that writing instructors can inoculate or indoctrinate students through rhetorical training is an important consideration when discussing the possibilities for innovation in college writing. Whether at the rhetorical or the

syntactic level, prescriptive standards of correctness have a long history, and are evident in the textbooks, syllabi, and outcomes of many composition programs.

A discussion of attitudes toward the innovative use of language in terms of the lexicogrammatical dimensions of writing could not begin in earnest until writing became codified. This occurred largely during and after the time of William Caxton, who as a printer did much to assure that "spelling was maintained and, as it were, stereotyped" (Pyles & Algeo 165). Others responded to this call, Such as Samuel Johnson with his dictionary of English, and within a short time there were standards of propriety in writing much as there had been since ancient times for spoken language. Thomas P. Miller discusses the nature of standardization and the effects of standardization on the hinterlands—Scotland and other parts of Britain- and in turn how the hinterlands affected the commercial and cultural center of the time, London (1-5). In many ways it was the necessity of professionals from Edinburgh and other cities that created the drive toward standardization and strict prescriptivism. Professionals needed to survive and thrive in social and professional circles without linguistic embarrassment, and these hinterland professors offered a course of study designed to meet the need (Conley 211-217). This initiated a long tradition of responding to diversity by designing programs of study, which attempted to relieve students of socially stigmatizing linguistic behaviors, whether spoken or written.

This response to error continued in the 19th century, and was a hallmark, as mentioned earlier, of current traditional rhetoric. It can be argued that A.S. Hill and others were responding to diversity by requiring freshmen to take English A. Certainly, diversity did not mean to Hill or Channing what it means to us today. It was a very relative form of diversity—moving from an educational system designed to provide an elite, liberal education to one that—more and more in line with the German model—focused on educating a new professional class for the burgeoning United States economy (Russell 78-83). The diversity of college freshmen has been moving on a sliding continuum since the early 20th century when diversity meant that one was not from a wealthy, elite family, but was still male and white. By the late 1960s, when diversity took on a new meaning, which is its current meaning, that includes the ethnic, racial, linguistic and social characteristics of individuals.

The 1960s civil rights movement and other social changes cleared a new path for access to education. At the City University of New York, an open admissions policy instituted during the early 1970s allowed thousands of students to enroll who would previously have been barred. Responding to this wave of under prepared students, Mina Shaughnessy crafted her seminal work *Errors and Expectations: A Guide for the Teacher of Basic Writing*, which was built on her analysis of over 4,000 student essays. *Errors and Expectations* fostered the creation of a system for understanding and responding to student error, and also spawned work, which led to a new field—basic writing. Because Shaughnessy was perhaps the first to recognize the logic in writing that was normally viewed as simply flawed, her work is an important touchstone for understanding the modern history of responding to error in student writing in US college composition.

Bruce Horner and John Trimbur, in their 2002 CCC Article "English Only and US College Composition" point to a "chain of reifications" that has supported monolingualism in the age of the modern nation state (596). As Horner and Trimbur explain, the myth of a monolingual America was forged in the late 19th century's "high tide of imperialism" as expanding universities dropped the classics in favor of the vernacular and moved toward strengthening the position of English as a national language. As much as educators might like

to believe otherwise, these colonial attitudes "have become sedimented in the way we think about writing pedagogy and curriculum" (608). Horner and Trimbur insist that our "tacit language policy of unidirectional English monolingualism" must shift toward "an actively multilingual language policy," if we are to avoid the stultification inherent in attempts to resist the natural tendency of languages to change (597). English is already changing, and is always changing, and by clinging unreflectively to one standard version of the language writing teachers risk irrelevance in the eyes of our students, and also risk hampering the natural benefits of the cross-pollination of English from the multitude of languages and dialects already spoken on our campuses and in our communities.

Much has changed since Paul Matsuda—while still a doctoral candidate at Purdue bewailed the lack of concern about the nation's many international students. In fact, Matsuda has been a major force in bringing that concern to the fore of composition scholarship. He has written extensively on the subject of second language writing and has made particularly salient points concerning what he terms the "myth of linguistic homogeneity" (Matsuda, Myth of Linguistic 638) as well as the challenges posed by an institutional structure that reinforces a "disciplinary division of labor" (Matsuda, Disciplinary Division 700) between those who teach writing to native speakers and those who teach writing to non-native speakers. Though awareness has been raised about the special challenges of working with a more diverse group of learners, as of yet few new teaching assistants or junior faculty at most institutions—in other words those who will certainly work with large numbers of multilingual writers and basic writers—have any guarantee of receiving any training in how to work with a more diverse student body. And few graduate programs in rhetoric and writing have even a course, much less a concentration, specifically designed to prepare future teachers of college composition to work with transitional college writers. In most instances the 'division of labor' is still in full force.

John Trimbur goes further to question the significance of the native non-native speaker dichotomy in his paper "The Dartmouth Conference and the Geohistory of the Native Speaker," which in his estimation ushered in the current era of monolingual English hegemony as a codified policy supported and regulated by agencies such as the British Council (159-162).

It is important to ask where we are going from here. What are the models in place that might support enthnoliguistically and socioeconomically diverse students? I believe WAC has the greatest potential for serving these students effectively, and as diversity in composition classrooms become more and more the norm, the need to serve transitional college writers only grows. As Michelle Kells says, "to be successful WAC program development... need[s] to be organic... systemic... and sustainable" (Kells, Deliberation 89). A movement toward what Kells calls "WAC with a difference" has begun at the University of New Mexico, and with the formation of the National Consortium on Writing Across Communities, the WACommunities approach appears to be gaining momentum. This is exciting because in Kells words, there is great interest in "moving beyond traditional WAC perspectives" toward a new WAC model that "is first and foremost a context-based initiative serving enthnoliguistically diverse student populations" (Kells, Deliberation 92).

Suresh Canagaraja writing in *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching* cautions that the teaching of English not become a form of neo-colonialism, or 'linguistic imperialism" (40-43). Though Canagaraja is referring primarily to the context of English as a second or foreign language, the argument that there is room for different varieties of English,

or Englishes, is something that is transferrable to the context of college composition. He explores this in detail in his 2006 College Composition and Communication article "The Place of World Englishes in Composition: Pluralization Continued." This article goes beyond current ideas about World Englishes, which have cast these non-standard regional varieties as mere adjuncts of the prevalent "Metropolitan Englishes" such as those spoken in London, New York, or Toronto (588). Canagaraja asserts the possibility of the use of a non-standard variety of English as a viable option for students learning English, and asks composition teachers to consider the possibility of integrating world English vernaculars into academic written English. Canagaraja distinguishes this practice of actively drawing on one's first language or dialect for linguistic resources from the well know practice of code switching, in which learners of a language switch between the first language and the target language or a home dialect and the prestige dialect. He calls this more integrative practice "code meshing" (598). By asking our students to consciously draw on the strengths they bring to our classrooms because of a multilingual or multidialectal background, we are authorizing the students' linguistic, cultural, and social resources, and we are also strengthening students' ties to and ownership of academic discourse.

Braj Kachru traces the evolution of English, and points to not only longstanding varieties of English but also to the emerging World Englishes (WE)—significant to the topography of English today. From Kachru, to Matsuda, to Canagaraja, to Horner, all of these voices, and others, have one thing in common—a calling to task of the status quo where language is concerned, and a special consideration for language and its uses and abuses in cases where power dynamics are critically important, such as school, work, and government. It is important to analyze the conversation about the diverse context of college composition,

with the hope that a clearer understanding of the tacit language policy now in force may inspire a cross-disciplinary conversation aimed at creating language policy and classroom practices based on the diverse reality.

Many doing research into World Englishes have suggested a method of teaching English, particularly in overseas (EFL) contexts, that sets standards based on communicative competence rather than an imposed native speaker standard, so that students aspire not toward perfection but what Hymes and others have called a facility with the language. Though much of this research has been undertaken in EFL contexts in countries outside the U.S., many of these works have a great deal of relevance as U.S. college composition is increasingly a part of the globalized 21st century landscape, and as the English language becomes what David Crystal calls a "genuinely global language" (130).

Jennifer Jenkins has done a great deal of work in World Englishes, and her studies related to Phonology are particularly valuable in that they could serve as a model for creating flexible, localized, and practical standards for the improvement of written communication among diverse groups of students. Though phonology may seem unrelated to college composition instructors, Jenkins' concepts related to phonological conformity are useful as a guiding metaphor for the teaching of writing in diverse contexts. She calls for those teaching English pronunciation to recognize that standardization is only necessary to the extent that deviation from phonological norms impedes communication. If we extend this as a metaphor for both rhetorical and grammatical conventions, then we could say standard usage and deviations from standard usage are only relevant to the extent that they impede successful written communication. I refer to this conception of standardization as "reasonable conformity," and I connect the notion of reasonable conformity to a sophistic approach that relies on kairotic appropriacy rather than foundational standards. A sophistic rhetoric, as I forward the notion in chapter five, is concerned first and foremost with knowledge of and adherence to locally determined norms, so that even "truth is...particular to cultural contexts" (McComiskey 25).

Though the idea of drawing on a theory from a specialist in world Englishes may at first seem a dubious proposition for a writing program, this is exactly what Jonathan Hall suggests when he asks that compositionists "start looking for a more sophisticated model of writing pedagogy for MLLs in the voluminous literature in the field of second language studies" (Hall, Next America 43). Other scholars have already hinted at the concept of a "written accent" or what Valdes calls a "non-phonological accent" as being a critical concern when assessing the writing of second language writers and basic writers (Zawacki & Habib 57; Valdes 47). When we combine ideas from Jenkins regarding reasonable correctness with Valdes' ideas about a non-phonological accent, we can begin to discuss the importance of flexible standards of correctness in diverse college writing contexts.

Theories Addressing Standardization and Error

Several researchers studying both first and second language writing have attempted to grapple with the problem of error, though none has strictly approached this by forwarding a particular theory of error. I believe it is important that teachers of writing carefully examine theoretical underpinnings that support attitudes and approaches to error and standardization. Gee alludes to this when he discusses "naïve social beliefs" often held by those who claim to have no theory underlying their beliefs (Social Linguistics 13). Gee goes on to say that, "people holding the 'naïve' social belief are stopped from overtly considering the generalizations that would ground their claim by their feeling that their claim to know is not

theoretical, but simply a statement of an obvious fact" (13). Decisions about the importance or non-importance of standardization and error in student writing are based on theory of one kind or another, though perhaps these theories are often held at the unconscious, or vaguely conscious, level. Gee goes on in the same work to assert his belief that the "job of explicating such tacit theories...[is] the job of discourse analysis" (17). This dissertation simply connects Gee's call for the explication of tacit theory via discourse analysis and applies it to an examination of the nature of attitudes toward standardization and error in the work of basic writers and second language writers. To begin the discussion of a theory of error, I will outline the most relevant literature on error and standardization in college composition, second language writing, and basic writing.

In his influential 1981 College Composition article, "The Phenomenology of Error" Joseph M. Williams pointed to a "variation in our definition...emotional investment...[and] in the perceived seriousness of individual errors" (155). Williams argues that we need more robust "categories of error" that go beyond school book grammars, and he suggests that any effective response to error in student writing requires "some system whose presiding terms would turn on the nature of our response to violations of grammatical rules" (159). The question is not entertained as to whether or not standardization is ultimately positive. For Williams, there is great utility in attending to error; however, the question becomes which errors have the most negative impact on the reader and which errors are noticed by the "significant majority of careful readers" (164). Whether or not we attempt to build a taxonomy of errors based on their effect on the reader, teachers of writing can easily begin to introduce the idea to readers that some errors do matter more than others. In his 1992 Rhetoric Review essay "Rethinking the 'Sociality' of Error: Teaching Editing as Negotiation" Bruce Horner claims that the social aspects of error extend beyond any effect the error may have on the reader, to also include the social aspects of the creation and the correction of error. Horner cautions teachers of writing not to "dismiss the real significance of error," but to teach editing as a way to "engage them in negotiations with readers about error in their writing and in theorizing about error" (188). Horner outlines an approach to teaching writing that is cognizant of the importance of error, but that is also aware of the way in which all concerns about standardization must be worked out in conversation with the student, and further must always be addressed in the context of meaning. Horner, thereby, leads teachers away from a purely prescriptive approach to error, and toward an approach that is contextual and reflective.

In his essay from Assessing Writing "Response and the Social Construction of Error," Chris Anson discusses the need for a more nuanced approach to the treatment of error in college composition. Anson alludes to the social constructivist paradigm, by examining the relationship between socially constructed norms and teacher response to error, and also suggests "many teachers…feel torn between denying attention to error…and experiencing the unavoidable effects of error as they read their students writing" (6). In Anson's eyes, striking the right balance between encouraging innovation and adhering to the norms of SWE seems to be a very delicate balance.

In their 2008 essay "'Mistakes are a Fact of Life': A National Comparative Study," Andrea Lunsford and Karen Lunsford examine a study of student error from the 1980s in comparison to a more recent study. By comparing their current study both to their own study from the 1980s and also to studies conducted in the 1920s and 1930s, the authors argue that the overall number of errors of college student writers has not increased significantly, though the type and patters of errors have shifted. The study seems to be another indication that our current literacy crisis is more hype than reality, as perhaps can be said about past crises as well. Lunsford and Lunsford also cite studies of error that have followed their mid1980s study, such as Gary Sloan's 1992 "Frequency of Errors in Essays of College Freshmen and by Professional Writers," as further proof that student error is not on the rise. However, they do notice a difference in the types of writing currently assigned, with much less focus on personal narrative and more focus on researched writing. Lunsford and Lunsford also note that teachers in their study tended to mark fewer of the overall errors present compared with previous studies. This suggests that some shift in attitudes toward standardization among college writing teachers may have taken place since the 1980s.

Dana Ferris has, over the last ten years, made several key contributions to the study of error related to second language writing. In her monograph *The Treatment of Error in Second Language Writing*, she affirms the important debates that have taken place about whether or not error correction has any appreciable effect on the writing of second language learners (6-9), but at the same time urges instructors working with second language writers to continue "grappling with error response issues"(ix). Ferris suggests "error feedback may be most effective when [it]... focuses on patterns of error... distinguish [es]...between errors and stylistic differences... [and is] spent on...issues about which rules can be taught and learned" (50-51).

Though Ferris provides a great deal of guidance on how instructors can work with error, she goes further by suggesting the need to "raise awareness of the importance of editing, provide both strategy training and supplemental grammar instruction, and teach students peer and self-editing techniques" (Ferris, Treatment 77). In acknowledgment of the lengthy and difficult second language acquisition process, Ferris provides strategies for second language learners that may be employed far beyond the ESL or the composition class.

Ilona Leki's Understanding ESL Writers: A Guide for Teachers provides practical and clear advice about working with ESL writers for those who are non-specialists. In a chapter dedicated to sentence level errors, Leki makes several important points: the most relevant comments to this dissertation relate to response to error and the possibility that students may draw on their first language as a support for producing the second language. Leki suggests that a "reasonable response to errors would seem to be to correct or point out errors that disturb meaning" (107). Leki further asserts "L1 transfer can be positive," thereby presenting the argument that the effect of a student's first language on the target language is not necessarily negative (111). Both of Leki's ideas are important to consider when working with either second language writers or basic writers, as they present an alternate way of looking at the work of writers from diverse backgrounds. While Leki clearly opens up the possibility of responding to student writing from a strengths perspective rather than a deficiency perspective, she does not seem to be advocating for lowering standards or ignoring the need for the eventual production of adequate SWE among her students. Instead, she urges us toward what might be called pluralistic standards of correctness.

In her 1993 Journal of Second Language Writing essay "The Sociopolitical Implications of Response to Second—Language and Second—Dialect Writing" Carol Severino outlines an important continuum of approaches to second language writing. Writing teachers can, in Severino's view, take one of three approaches on the continuum: a separationist approach that "ignores [and accepts] differences;" an accommodationist approach that "explains differences;" or, an assimilationist approach that works to "correct differences" (337). This continuum is a useful tool for classifying approaches to error among second language writers and basic writers. Mina Shaughnessy's work attempts to explain the differences found in the writing of underprepared students.

Shaughnessy famously characterizes basic writers, not as "handicapped" or "disadvantaged," but as being impacted by patterns of error brought on by insufficient or ineffective exposure to academic English. As she explains, her seminal work Errors and *Expectations* is "mainly an attempt to be precise about the types of difficulties to be found in basic writing (BW) papers...and beyond that, to demonstrate how the sources of those difficulties can be explained" (4). Shaughnessy, however, goes beyond an attempt to understand the sources and the patterns of the errors of basic writers and moves toward a recognition of "the intelligence of...mistakes" and the possibility that teachers of basic writing may "harness that intelligence in the service of learning" (11). The argument that the grammar of non-standard English is in every way as sophisticated as that of Standard English has been well documented (Pyles & Algeo 11-13; Gee, How to 2-4), and Shaughnessy's point is well taken. We cannot assume anything about a student's intelligence based on the usage of standard or non-standard English. If a student produces impeccable Standard Written English we simply know that this student has likely had prolonged and meaningful exposure to Standard Written English. Likewise, a student who writes non-standard English is not necessarily lacking in intelligence, but has likely not had prolonged and meaningful exposure to Standard Written English. The idea that one's primary discourse affiliation does not directly equate with one's intelligence has been widely conceded among educators in recent years, but Shaughnessy urges us to go further than acquiescence to the falsity of the

equation 'Standard English equals intelligence'. She also points out that asking students to become members of an academic discourse community is asking them at the same time to potentially give up "their distinctive ways of interpreting the world" (292). Whether we are discussing diversity of social class, race, or language, asking students to become members of an academic discourse community always brings with it the threat of losing membership in a primary discourse community, or simply "acquiring just enough mastery that they mark themselves as outsiders (Gee, Social Linguistics 146). Completely eradicating one's written idiolect would be tantamount to cancelling one's identity.

Writing in College Composition and Communication just three years after the publication of "Errors and Expectations," David Bartholomae states that, "[errors] are the only evidence we have of an individual's idiosyncratic way of using the language and articulating meaning, of imposing a style on common material...[and] the task for both teacher and researcher...is to discover the grammar of *that* coherence" (Bartholomae, Study 255). By studying errors and patterns of error in student writing Bartholomae suggests the possibility of uncovering some common "interlanguage" which might point to "generalized stages in the acquisition of fluent writing for beginning and adult writers" (Bartholomae, Study 256). And by using terms such as "interlanguage" and "target language" Bartholomae appears to be consciously connecting the acquisition process of basic writers and second language writers (Bartholomae, Study 257). The second language for basic writers, however, is a formal version of the language he or she already speaks, and the "lexicon, grammar, and rhetoric are learned...[through a] process of acquisition [that] is visual not aural" (Bartholomae, Study 259). With this assertion, Bartholomae prefigures Joy Reid's categorization of "Eye [and] Ear learners" (Reid 77-79) as an important distinction among

basic writers that is in common with second language writers. Bartholomae suggests an innovative approach to the treatment of error, which consists of "chart[ing] the patterns of error" and attempting to determine whether or not particular errors represent either errors of "performance" or errors of "competence" (Bartholomae, Study 263). For Bartholomae, errors of performance tell us relatively little about a student's abilities— though they may obscure meaning— and should therefore be given less attention than errors that provide clues about a student's "general linguistic competence (Bartholomae, Study 264). By designating "mistake[s]" from "deep error[s]," Bartholomae suggests that some errors matter more than others, which is a theme that has been repeated many times over the last three decades (Hairston 1981; Sloan 1990; Beason 2001). If this is indeed true, then an approach to teaching writing to students from diverse backgrounds should include some training in understanding the relative effects of error types.

In "Remedial Writing Courses: A Critique and A Proposal," Mike Rose explains why he views so many of our attempts to help "remedial writers...[as] ineffective, even counterproductive" (109). Rose outlines an approach to basic or remedial writing that still sounds progressive some 27 years later. But what is most interesting to our discussion in Rose's article is his depiction of teachers and their collective response to standardization and error. Rose discusses the way the various "'back to basics" movement[s] and the misinformed..."pop grammarians"" cause teachers of writing to feel guilt about not addressing error as a primary component of writing instruction. Rose believes this is at least partly because the field does not have "a comprehensive theory of error" (116). In an earlier article from 1979, Rose discusses a project at California State University at Sacramento that has defined "miscues as errors which interfere with meaning" (Rose, Faculty 278). For Rose this is significant, but difficult because it is easy to see that what might be an interfering miscue in one field or for one professor, might not be a source of miscommunication for another.

The need for a grounded theory of error seems evident after examining the many approaches to the treatment of error and standardization in college composition. Informed by the various approaches to the treatment of error— and indeed to one's ideological stance toward error and standardization— this dissertation provides an analysis of one segment of the conversation on transitional college writers and error and standardization. The hope is not to create a unified theory of error within the limited space of this project, but to suggest that tacit theories of error must be made explicit before teachers and researchers, and writing program administrators can discuss standardization and error in a meaningful way. Of course, it is seemingly impossible to make all tacit theories explicit, but it is possible to bring dominant, guiding paradigms closer to the surface of consciousness within the limited space of a specific academic conversation (in this case, the conversation on transitional college writers and standardization and error contained within WAC Journal Articles published during the five years from 2006-2011). It is also possible to discuss both tacit and explicit theories of error within the context of an individual program's assessment process. Bob Broad et al. have outlined this in Organic Writing Assessment. WPAs could find vigorous descriptive powers residing within the synergistic space between global quantitative data and local qualitative data by bringing together a richer understanding of the conversation on standardization and error and locally devised and staged assessment processes.

Before colleges can make programmatic, curricular, or even individual course changes, instructors must examine theoretical models that serve as a foundation for the treatment of error in the composition classroom. It is true that college composition classes are increasingly diverse places, but the type and scope of response to ethnolinguistic diversity that is needed cannot be taken for granted. Do we need to provide more explicit instruction in grammar to those students who have a primary language or dialect other than English? Should colleges employ academic coaches to help first generation college students survive the critical freshman year? Would a different kind of learning/ tutoring center positively impact students who have been labeled basic or developmental writers? How do different kinds of feedback and error correction affect different types of students? It is important to consider these often debated questions, but attempting to find answers without looking closely at what Berlin describes as "epistemological assumptions" is fruitless as best, and possibly damaging (Berlin, Rhetoric 4).

Berlin explains that teaching writing in American colleges has been primarily based on three epistemologies—"Objective...Subjective... [and]... transactional" (Berlin, Rhetoric 7-19), and each epistemological foundation has created vastly different approaches to the teaching of writing. Though epistemology often comes to the fore in discussions of how best to teach argument, the notion of an epistemology of error and the treatment of error is not something broadly represented in the literature of the field of composition studies. I would argue that any new approach to the treatment of error must be based on a consciously held theory of error. This does not necessarily imply that all writing teachers be able to articulate a complete and unified theory of error, but simply that we begin to critically analyze tacit theories of error represented in current writing pedagogies, as well as the practices and policies of writing programs. For those interested in researching the treatment of error in composition classes it is very useful to build a theory of error that is grounded in some sort of relevant data. The alternatives to creating a grounded theory of error from which to respond to student writing would be to simply borrow a theory of error from linguists, or to do what Gee suggest many teachers do—rely on one's own tacit theory of error.

I have analyzed a collection of articles with the intention of theorizing about standardization, and the ways that composition instructors respond to error in the work of diverse student writers. By drawing on Kathy Charmaz and other qualitative researchers, I "focus... on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive analysis from the data" (Charmaz 187). Analyzing articles from the WAC Journal over a five-year period and creating categories and generalizations about attitudes composition faculty hold toward error and diverse student writers, strictly limited to that five year sliver of the professional conversation, assures that the "analytic categories are directly 'grounded' in the data" (Charmaz 187). By analyzing these articles through a hermeneutic lens, I interpret the understandings, attitudes, and theories of the composition scholars represented. This hermeneutic interpretation, of a limited but highly influential group of scholars, is the foundation from which I describe the conversation on diverse student writers and error and standardization in writing across the curriculum.

A Correctness Continuum

A method that can help second language writers build grammatical competence is needed, but an inflexible approach to grammatical correctness rooted in a Platonic foundational certainty is discouraging to many students in the current ethnolinguistically diverse context of college composition. The kind of grammar work associated with current traditional rhetoric, which involves 'skill and drill' should not occupy a central place in college composition classed made up of both native and non-native speakers. This sort of rote learning of grammatical terms; emphasis on rhetorical modes as inflexible patterns; and, teaching genre 'by the numbers' is rooted in what Berlin calls an objective epistemology with a lineage back through the 19th century in America, to the 18th century Scottish Commonsense Realists who emphasized the functioning of the brain's faculties and how these might be drawn on in pursuit of effective discourse (Berlin, Rhetoric 9-11).

However, a rejection of current traditional rhetoric's form focused approach does not absolve composition programs of the responsibility of teaching language. I hypothesize a more effective approach to the treatment of error, both in terms of improving student writing and in terms of retention of students, could be founded on a Sophistic notion of virtue or goodness rooted in a relativistic epistemology, which would allow for context-driven standards of correctness, and lead toward a more functional approach to instruction. Though the idea of a Sophistic epistemology in many ways mirrors Berlin's "Transactional Epistemology," it is also different in its disavowal of any existent truth to be found, whether in the "environment... the individual [or] within the interaction of the elements" (Berlin, Rhetoric 7-15). Instead, a Sophistic epistemology assumes no a priori truth, and would lead toward basing decisions about the treatment of error on whatever is expedient to the rhetorical task at hand.

I use the concepts of Platonic certainty and Gorgianic relativity as leitmotifs that represent positions on a continuum— ranging from instructors *demanding grammatical perfection* in student writing to instructors *having no standards of correctness* for student writing. A Platonic approach to error would demand grammatical perfection of all students, based on prescriptive notions and highly conventional standards. To represent a position of compromise between the poles of absolute standards and no standards, I draw on a sophistically derived concept, which I term Reasonable Conformity. In order to illustrate the concept of Reasonable Conformity, we can return to Williams, Rose, and Beason who all argue for the utility of treating error in terms of its effect on the writer's ethos. A reasonable approach would draw on a Sophistic approach to error, which would measure the relative importance of error by the amount of miscommunication or damage to ethos it seemed to cause. These ideas on a range of responses to error, and the possibility of a reasonable approach to the treatment of error will be taken up in detail in chapters four and five.

WAC as a Convergence of Conversations

The WAC clearinghouse has become a recognized center of the conversation on the Writing Across the Curriculum movement, as evidenced by its publication of several prominent WAC related journals. The WAC Journal is arguably the most mainstream and most influential to the broadest readership of any of the journals found on the WAC clearinghouse. For this reason I have chosen to analyze the last five years (2007-2011) of WAC Journal articles with two questions at the forefront of my reading. 1) What do these writers have to say about standardization and error? 2) What do these writers have to say about Transitional College Writers?

Many scholars have argued for bringing second language writing and basic writing research together with research in Writing Across the Curriculum. Michelle Cox and Terry Myers-Zawacki edited a special issue of *Across the Disciplines* in 2011, which forwarded the necessity of second language writing research informing research and practice in WAC. Several key articles analyzed in this dissertation argue for the need to bring both second language writing and basic writing scholars together (Matsuda & Jablonski 2000; Johns 2001; Wurr 2004; Hall 2009).

The remainder of this work outlines one segment of the professional conversation in Writing Across the Curriculum in terms of how the needs of second language writers and basic writers are considered, as well as how the topic of error and standardization is addressed. Cox, Myers-Zawacki and others have urged the convergence of WAC and second language writing scholarship, and I would add the need to include Scholarship on basic writing and to continue to move toward a conversation on the needs of all students in college writing that converges in writing across the curriculum scholarship and practice.

Chapter Three: The Contested Terms of College Writing

"Every true statement, therefore, necessarily leaves out what is downplayed or hidden by the categories used in it."

George Lakoff-Metaphors We Live By, 163

The intention of this dissertation has been to undertake a cross-sectional examination of the conversation on diverse college writers in order to potentially reveal attitudes toward second language writers and basic writers within the professional conversation on writing across the curriculum. Attitudes toward standardization and error were kept in the foreground during all analyses. In order to trace key themes appearing in the WAC conversation from 2006 to 2011, I also included key sources drawn on by WAC Journal authors. This expanded my data set from an initial 41 articles to 86 articles.

This chapter outlines the two primary phases of my analysis of the 86 articles: 1) analyzing data, and 2) theorizing based on the data. I will explain these two phases in detail in the following chapter, but briefly I followed these steps for analysis of the articles: *Coding*: produced a catalog of key terms; *Categorizing:* the articles with terminology present were read, Identified 20 categories related to research questions; and, *Theoretical Sampling:* articles were coded a second time with intent to define boundaries of categories. In order to attempt to ground my theorizing about the attitudes revealed by the conversation, I did the following: *Memo writing:* explained key themes; acknowledged *Saturation:* themes appearing across a range of texts; and, conducted *Axial coding* in order to specify the dimensions of the categories. The unit of analysis for this study is the group of selected articles related to diverse student writers and standardization. A set of discourse markers—common words used to describe or characterize diverse student writers— guided initial readings of the selected articles. In particular, close readings, a variety of coding methods, memo writing, and then axial coding have created descriptions of attitudes toward six key themes identified in the initial scan of articles. I index attitudes toward error in the writing of diverse students by placing all discussions of diverse student writers and error on a continuum spanning two theoretical poles—prescriptive to permissive.

The WAC Clearinghouse has been chosen as a site of exploration because of its presence as a convergence point of several key national conversations on transitional college writers—specifically the conversations on both basic writers and second language writers. I initially considered looking at articles in the Journal of Second Language Writing (JSLW) and the Journal of Basic Writing (JBW). These two journals are of course natural choices since they regularly include academic discussion of the two major groups of interest to this study. However, reviewing articles from the JBW or JSLW tells us very little about the more mainstream attitudes toward transitional college writers in writing across the curriculum contexts, as both journals are clearly addressed to specialist audiences. It is quite telling that there have been very few WAC Journal articles with even a passing mention of basic writers or second language writers, in Volumes 17 to 22 (September 2006 to September 2011). It is also important to take into consideration those articles that do mention basic writers and second language writers, and particularly those that go beyond merely mentioning to engage with issues related to these students. It is also efficacious to explore the ideas that are being borrowed and 'filtered' into the mainstream conversation on writing across the curriculum, as a secondary concern of this research is an examination of the discursive practices employed to achieve this movement of ideas from one discourse community to another. It is inherently interesting to notice how certain ideas get taken up within an academic discourse community, such as writing across the curriculum, but beyond this general curiosity about this sort of intellectual circulatory system, it is useful also to notice and to attempt a description of the process. As with any process that one hopes to replicate, a description of the way in which ideas are carried from one field to another, and a clearer understanding of one instance of this importation of ideas, might be useful for those hoping to either trace this phenomenon in other fields, or to those hoping to borrow, initiate, and bring new concepts into a particular conversation. To carry out this research, qualitative methods have been used. I have chosen to draw first on discourse analysis methods as an analytical tool, while attempting to build grounded theory, particularly drawing on Kathy Charmaz's *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. Figure 5 outlines the primary methods I drew from Charmaz.

Qualitative Methods Glossary

- Coding: "defining what the data are about"
- **Categorizing:** "selecting certain codes as having overriding significance"
- **Theoretical Sampling:** "seek[ing]...information to illuminate and define the boundaries and relevance of the categories"
- Memo Writing: "analyzing ideas about codes and emerging categories"
- **Saturation:** "point at which gathering more data...reveals no new properties..."
- Axial Coding: "treats category as an axis...brings data back together after researcher has fractured data..."

Charmaz, Kathy. Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2006. Print.

Figure 5. Qualitative Methods Glossary.

James Paul Gee's methods of discourse analysis provide the foundational theoretical concepts for this study. Namely, Gee's notion of filtering is being employed here. Filtering parallels Foucault's conception of "transfer...from one field of application to another," and also relates to the way in which ideas get "taken up into new logical structures" (Foucault 59-60). As both second language writing and basic writing have drawn on a wide variety of other disciplines—as emerging fields inevitably do— in order to construct their own discourses, the notion of filtering or transferring is an invaluable tool for thinking about the ways this particular "discursive formation" are enacted (Foucault 60). Neither the work of Gee nor Foucault seems to suggest that these borrowings are primarily about the content of

the message or a particular concept, but more a transfer or a filtering into one discourse the discursive practices of another discourse (Gee, Social 158-159).

Because the focus of this dissertation is not concerned with ethnomethodological or linguistic conversation analysis, I chose not to analyze tight transcription features in a manner associated with Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). My focus is on using discourse analysis to reveal more clearly the conversation on transitional college writers and standardization and error, and I have therefore chosen to draw primarily on James Paul Gee and somewhat less so on Cameron for a model of discourse analysis, as well as Barbara Johnstone and Norman Fairclough (Gee 1999; Cameron 2001; Johnstone 2002; Fairclough 2003).

Barbara Johnstone in her monograph *Discourse Analysis* urges discourse analysts to use a "heuristic: a broad set of questions" in order to create "multidimensional and...sensitive" analyses of texts (27). Johnstone outlines a heuristic that includes attention to "the world... language.... participants [in the discourse], medium... and purpose" (20). Johnstone stresses the necessity of creating a "clearly articulated research methodology" and not simply interpreting data on one's own. This framework for doing discourse analysis is critical if researchers hope to avoid the "focus narrowing effects of theories" (237). Johnstone further recommends allowing "analytical categories to emerge in the analysis" (127). By creating a heuristic for analysis and allowing the data to speak for itself, discourse analysis in this study has sought to identify ideological and epistemological underpinnings of the data set—the so-called "patterns of belief" (3). Of course, I have also sought, in this research, to understand the surface features of the conversation, and to be able to describe with some specificity the overarching themes expressed in the texts that I have examined.

Norman Fairclough and others have forwarded a notion that discourse is ideological, always, and that therefore discourse analysis should always be framed with that in mind (Fairclough 9). In Fairclough's words, "we must take account of the institutional position, interests, values, desires etc. of producers; the relations between elements at different levels in texts; and the institutional positions, knowledge, purposes, values etc. of receivers" (11). Fairclough has published several works on his particular version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Because of Fairclough's reliance on the linguistic theory underlying Systemic Functional Linguistics— particularly a focus on the social aspects of language represented in the work of Michael Halliday— his approach is useful to those hoping to describe the ways in which discourse can both bolster and critique power structures in society (3-5). Further, his focus on "grammatical and semantic analysis" in his 2003 work Analysing Discourse lends itself to a microanalysis of select parts of texts under consideration here (6). Though Fairclough, in Analyzing *Discourse*, seems to emphasize the micro scale of grammatical and semantic analysis, he also concedes that the most ideal and effective form of discourse analysis is one "oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and a focus on...the 'order of discourse" (3). It is this balance between micro and macro analyses of texts that I have attempted in my analyses. In particular, I analyzed texts in a variety of ways, some of which led to identifying recurring themes across the entire group of texts, and others that led to lineby-line analyses of identified sections within key texts.

Drawing on the work of Kathy Charmaz, this dissertation uses a method of analysis that is flexible, and has been altered within the context of the research. Initially, my intention was to simply conduct discourse analysis of all articles appearing in Volumes 17-22 of the WAC Journal. However, as only two articles with significant attention given to second language writers or basic writers were uncovered, I quickly realized that a discourse analysis of two articles was certainly not going to yield anything statistically significant. While a very detailed analysis of even one article might be rich and reveal a great deal about one author's views, my intention was to reveal some general attitudes as expressed in the conversation on transitional college writers within the influential field of writing across the curriculum.

What became apparent through multiple readings and a discourse analysis of the one article that focused on transitional college writers-Jonathan Halls "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority"— was that this author was attempting to bring ideas into the WAC community that were being drawn from many other fields, many closely related to the teaching of college writing, but nonetheless outside the realm of most writing across the curriculum scholarship, as represented in the WAC Journal. In noticing this, I became interested in structuring my analyses so that I could try to trace the 'genealogy' of some of the dominant themes found first in Hall's 2006 article, and later in his sources, and finally in his sources' sources. All analyses were based on a framework that I constructed using the work of Gee, Johnstone, and Fairclough, so I have not followed a strict genealogical discourse analyses method such as that suggested by the work of Michel Foucault (Graham 5-8). Instead, I have literally tried to trace ideas and build a sort of family tree that follows the path some of these key ideas have traveled as they have filtered into the WAC conversation on diverse students and error. Further, by drawing on work in qualitative analysis, particularly Kathy Charmaz, I have used a range of techniques to create a grounded theory that accounts for the range of responses to error in the writing across the curriculum professional conversation.

Method of Analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to describe the conversation on transitional college writers within the field of writing across the curriculum, with particular emphasis on attitudes toward standardization and error. The intention is to describe the conversation in two separate but related contexts: the conversation among experts in the field of writing across the curriculum related to second language writers, and the conversation among experts in the field of writing across the curriculum related to basic writers. The unit of analysis is the collection of 84 articles stemming from my research into the WAC Journal from 2006 to 2011.

The search for two discourse markers guided the analysis of the data: locating instances of discourse that address standardization and error, and locating instances of discourse that address students whose first language is not English and students whose literacy skills and limited experience with academic discourse negatively affects their ability to produce standard written English. This second group of students, as encountered in the texts I analyzed, was often composed of those whose primary discourses were not supportive of acquisition of any of a variety of secondary discourses needed in college writing contexts (Gee, Social Linguistics 141-144). The most detailed analyses have taken place where these two categories intersect—discussion of these enthnoliguistically diverse students and discussion of standardization and error.

In order to locate my group of texts, I began by downloading all articles from the WAC Journal from Volumes 17-22 (September 2006 to November 2011, 42 articles and interviews). I started collecting data in the spring of 2012, and so Volume 22 was the last

issue available at the time of my data collection. I downloaded these articles to a flash drive and backed them up on an external hard drive, and on Google Docs.

I first read all article from the group of texts, paying attention to terms referring to diverse college writers. I then used the search feature in Adobe Acrobat to scan all articles for mention of terms related to, or describing, second language writers or basic writers (see table 4 for details of searches). After locating articles with instances of mention of either second language writers or basic writers, I read these selected articles (those with mention of transitional college writers) again and highlighted all relevant terms and themes in the articles with mention of diverse college writers, and tallied the number of mention of each term in each article.

Over five years only eight articles had any mention of second language writers or basic writers. These were: 1) "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority" by Jonathan Hall, 2) "Toward a Unified Writing Curriculum: Integrating WAC/WID with Freshman Composition" by Jonathan Hall, 3) "Terry Myers Zawacki: Creator of an Integrated Career" by Carol Rutz, 4) "A Review of Engaged Writers and Dynamic Disciplines: Research on the Academic Writing Life" by Jacob Blumner, 5) "Richard H. Haswell: A Conversation with an Empirical Romanticist" by Carol Rutz, 6) "The Intradisciplinary Influence of Composition and WAC, 1967–1986" by Chris M. Anson, 7) "Exploring Response Cultures in the World of WAC" by John Eliason, and 8) "Unsettling a Metaphor We Teach By: A Hybrid Essay on WAC Students as "Immigrants"" by Stephen Sutherland. I conducted close readings for important themes in these articles that had mention of diverse college writers. During his close reading phase of analysis, I coded the passages containing relevant terms. Charmaz explains coding in the following way:

Coding [is] the process of defining what the data are about. Unlike quantitative researchers, who apply preconceived categories to the data, a grounded theorist creates qualitative codes by defining what he or she sees in the data. Thus, the codes are emergent—they develop as the researcher studies his or her data. The coding process may take the researcher to unforeseen areas and research questions. Grounded theory proponents follow such lead; they do not pursue previously designed research problems that lead to dead-ends (186-187).

Once the articles were coded themes began to emerge, and I wrote initial memos. I realized that only eight articles had any mention at all of second language writers and basic writers, and that among these articles only one had significant discussion of these students. At this point, somewhat discouraged with the amount of attention being given to second language writers and basic writers in the WAC Journal, I considered changing my focus from the WAC Journal to the Journal of Basic Writing or the Journal of Second Language Writing. However, as I was intent on learning about the attitudes of mainstream college writing professionals neither of these journals seemed a good fit. They are both published for a more specialized audience—professionals who are presumably already interested in issues related to second language writers and basic writers. It was at this moment, that I found an idea that led me forward. Foucault, in discussing the formation of discourse communities says that there are actual "*rules of formation*" that guide, regulate, and modify the ways in which

discourse communities form and function (38). Because these rules that govern discursive formation are largely tacit, the idea of describing them suddenly became very interesting.

Because only one article had any substantial discussion of diverse college writers and standardization, I decided to attempt to trace key ideas from this central article (Jonathan Hall's "WAC/ WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual majority") as far back as possible. I in essence went 'down the rabbit hole' in search of Hall's sources and his sources' sources. I not only hoped to learn more about the conversation on transitional college writers in the WAC Journal, but also hoped I would learn more about how these attitudes were formed and spread within the discourse community.

I did close readings, which included line-by-line coding of "WAC/WID in the Next America," and through this process I began to identify important themes related to L2 writers and basic writers in the professional conversation in the *WAC Journal*. Though these were preliminary themes, based on a fairly broad system of coding, they did reveal some of the key ideas in the conversation that would later merge and change during the process of axial coding and memo writing. Some of these initial themes went nowhere, in the sense that I did not find substantial discussion of these ideas beyond Hall's "WAC/ WID in the Next America". The initial themes that Hall seemed to be filtering into the conversation are represented in table 1.

	Themes
1.	Native speaker of English as a minority
2.	Slow response to change pedagogy
3.	Which standard
4.	World Englishes
5.	Increased importance of English
6.	Disadvantage of monolingualism
7.	Advantages missed by monolinguals
8.	Colleges already are comparatively diverse (demographic early adopters)
9.	Growth of ELL population
10.	A wide variety of types of multilingual learners
11.	Local context needs to be examined by WAC programs
12.	Gap between the previous and the next America
13.	Global/ local interaction (negotiating the local)
14.	Loss of ownership of English
15.	English as true lingua Franca cannot also be a vernacular language
16.	Assimilation means loss of native language/ subtractive bilingualism
17.	Subtractive/ additive dichotomy
18.	Additive bilingualism
19.	Monolingual pedagogy
20.	Monolingual myth

Table 2 Themes from Initial Coding of "WAC/WID in the Next America"

In an effort to explain the finding represented in table 1, I will briefly describe how each of these themes introduces an important idea that will be explored in the analysis of the others texts in the group of texts. All of these concepts go beyond Hall's article, but for this study they were first identified in Hall's work and then traced through the other texts included in the group of texts that were analyzed.

Native speaker of English as a minority is the idea that "more people in the world speak English as second language than as a first language," and that this imbalance is an important thing to consider when thinking about the possibility of a more flexible approach to the treatment of error (34). *Slow response to change pedagogy* is an idea borrowed from David Graddol's report "The Future of English" from 1997. Hall suggests that we have known about the changing demographics in higher education for some time, but "have not yet come to terms with the implications for our pedagogy" (34). *Which standard* we should adhere to is an important question, and this questioning of the authority of any one version of English comes up many times and in many places in the group of texts I analyzed. *World Englishes* as a concept is increasingly important as we increasingly discuss Englishes rather than one monolithic English. There is a need to consider the interplay among the varieties of English that may interact within a particular context.

Increased importance of English as a concept places English in the position of being more important to success in college and careers than ever before. *Disadvantage of monolingualism* as a theme suggests that those who speak only English are at a disadvantage in the global marketplace. *Advantages missed by monolinguals* as a concept suggests that those who are multilingual enjoy cultural, social, and cognitive advantages. *Colleges already are comparatively diverse (demographic early adopters)* is simply iterating the idea that many colleges already have very diverse populations due to international students and resident students from diverse backgrounds that are increasingly enrolling in college. *Growth of ELL population* is a theme that highlights the fact that English Language Learners are a growing segment of our population. *A wide variety of types of multilingual learners* as a theme focuses on the "new student" as a group that includes students from diverse backgrounds who defy rigid demographic descriptions (35).

Local context needs to be examined by WAC programs is the idea that because the "exact mixture [of diverse students] will be different on every campus" it is important to consider the local context carefully when designing programs and courses to meet the needs of students. *Gap between the previous and the next America* is an idea expressed by Hall that there is a "gap between a system of higher education that was founded for the previous America, and the one that needs to work in the next America" (36). *Global/ local interaction (negotiating the local)* is a theme suggesting that there is a strong tension between the economic need to learn English and the desire to retain one's local language and culture. *Loss of ownership of English* is the idea that suggests English is being overrun and taken over by those outside the native English speaking group. *English as true lingua Franca cannot also be a vernacular language* is the notion that if English is truly a lingua franca, then it cannot also operate as a vernacular language.

Assimilation means loss of native language (subtractive bilingualism) is the idea of a subtractive bilingualism, in which learning English means losing one's own language and possibly giving up one's own culture. Subtractive/ additive dichotomy is the concept of additive and subtractive bilingualism operating in a dichotomous relationship. Additive bilingualism is discussed by Hall in a way that assumes there is a class-based component to

additive bilingualism. Those with resources and education are able to add languages to their repertoires. *Monolingual pedagogy* as a theme states that we need to question whether or not students who learn in more than one language learn differently, or better. *Monolingual myth* represents the still pervasive assumption that today's college student is a monolingual native English speaker.

Next, I conducted axial coding in order to describe key themes more closely. Charmaz defines *axial coding* as "a type of coding that treats a category as an axis around which the analyst delineates relationships and specifies the dimensions of this category" (186). There were six themes that emerged from axial coding. I then identified the sources these *WAC Journal* authors used to forward the key themes related to second language writers and basic writers. I focused on four key scholars used to build the major arguments: A. Suresh Canagaraja, Ann Johns, Paul Kei Matsuda, and Vivian Zamel. At least one important article from each of these scholars was reference in my original group of *WAC Journal* articles. The six themes that emerged are listed in Table 2 below, and the page numbers that correspond to discussion of each theme within each scholar's work are given. The important point to highlight about each of these themes is the way in which they all related to issues of diversity in colleges, and yet do not directly address what I have referred to as the shadow side of teaching composition. It is only through drilling down into each of these themes that we begin to see the specific way that diversity is represented as error.

Emerging Themes from Axial Coding						
1.	Division of labor between composition and ESL (Hall 33) (Matsuda 700) (Zamel					
	515; 509)					
2.	Next America/ a multilingual mainstream (Hall 34, 39) (Matsuda 699) (Canagaraja					
	199-201; 211) (Johns 141) (Zamel 507)					
3.	Comparison of local and global (Hall 36; 38) (Canagaraja 197)					
4.	Transfer of skills (academic) (Hall 41) (Canagaraja 208-209) (Johns 149) (Zamel					
	510)					
5.	Literacy myths and ideologies (Hall 38) (Matsuda 703) (Zamel 510)					
6.	Intersection of L2 and Writing pedagogy (Hall 44) (Matsuda 707) (Canagaraja					
	208) (Johns 145-148) (Zamel 515-516; 518-519)					

I collected and read the articles by each of the four identified scholars that were most important to Hall's essay. The works I read were chosen because of being referenced by Hall, and because each one is thematically connected to one of the six emergent themes from the discourse analysis of "WAC/ WID in the Next America." The article I analyzed by A. Suresh Canagaraja was "Negotiating the Local in English as a Lingua Franca." The article I analyzed by Ann Johns was "ESL Students and WAC Programs: Varied Populations and Diverse Needs." The article I analyzed by Paul Matsuda was "Composition Studies and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor." The article I analyzed by Vivian Zamel was "Strangers in Academia: The Experiences of Faculty and ESOL Students Across the Curriculum." After reading these articles, I wrote memos explaining the way Hall's key themes were represented in these 'parent' articles, especially where it seemed Hall had altered or obviously reinterpreted the ideas. I then attempted to trace key themes back one more generation, to the articles I called 'grandparents' of the major ideas Hall attempts to introduce into the conversation on transitional college writers in writing across the curriculum. I accomplished this by looking at the sources each of the four scholars drew on in their attempts to discuss the six key themes that had emerged from my axial coding (see Table 2).

I next wrote memos explaining key terms and themes—drawing on Glaser, Straus, and Charmaz. In an attempt to build grounded theory, I used memo writing as a feature of my discourse analysis process. Once all the articles had been read, coded and discourse analyses had been conducted, I used memo writing as a way to further "develop... codes into categories" (Charmaz 188). Chapter four is based largely on these memos, and the chapter attempts to both analyze and synthesize in order to present what I learned about the conversation on transitional college writers and standardization. The next section details the steps of my analysis process, including information about the mention of key terms in my initial scan of articles from the WAC Journal, the decision to look at Hall's sources, and a table that shows all mention of transitional college writers and standardization across the five years of WAC Journal articles considered in this study.

The first step was to analyze the data set with the intention of finding reference to standardization and error and code all references to students whose first language is not English and all students whose literacy skills and experiences with academic discourse limit ability with standard written English. Initially I screened all WAC Journals (Vol. 17-Vol. 22) for key terms used to describe basic writers and second language writers. I use these terms

because they are the most widely accepted terms in usage; these terms are discussed in some detail in chapter two of this dissertation. Once the existence of key terms was found, the articles in each journal with the terminology present were read using a global level heuristic based on the work of Barbara Johnstone.

I Coded articles in order to find all occurrences of any of the terms used to describe transitional college writers. I initially coded the data set for any mention of certain key terms: basic writer, basic writing, developmental, remedial, transitional, ESL, ESOL, TESOL, multilingual, second language. I found a considerable mention of basic writer and basic writing in Vol. 17 (Sept. 2006) and some mention of developmental in the same volume, though not in the sense normally associated with developmental writing. I found one mention of basic writer in Vol. 18 (Sept 2007), and I found one mention of ESL and one mention of developmental in Vol. 19 (August 2008). In Vol. 20 (Nov. 2009), I found six mentions of ESL; two mentions of ESOL/ TESOL; eleven mentions of second language; one mention of basic writer or basic writing; seven mentions of developmental (one of these was 'developmentalists'); and one mention of remedial. In Vol. 21 (Nov. 2010) I found two mentions of ESOL/ TESOL; one mention of multilingual; two mentions of basic writer or basic writing; and, two mentions of developmental. In Vol. 22 (Nov. 2011) I found one mention of ESL; two mentions of ESOL/ TESOL; three mentions of second language; two mentions of basic writer or basic writing; and, two mentions of developmental. After the initial coding, I used memo writing as a grounded theory technique in order to attempt to make sense of the initial coding.

Table 4 First Scan of Texts

First Scan of WAC Journal Articles for instances of key terms (*basic writer/writing; developmental; remedial; transitional; ESL; ESOL/TESOL; multilingual; second language; native/ non-native speaker, error, Standard English*)

Term	Vol.17/ Sept 2006	Vol. 18/ Sept. 2007	Vol. 19/ August 2008	Vol. 20/ Nov. 2009	Vol. 21/ Nov. 2010	Vol. 22/ Nov. 2011
ESL			(p. 91)	(p. 6), (p. 38), (p. 40), (p. 43), (p. 44), (p. 45)		(p. 55)
ESOL/ TESOL				(p. 44), (P. 45)	(p. 35), (p. 87)	(p. 56), (p. 57)
Multilingual				(p. 35)	(p. 67)	
Second Language				(P. 34), (p. 37), (p. 39), (p. 40), (p. 41), (p. 42), (p. 43), (p. 44), (p. 46), (p. 47), (p. 48)		(p. 42), (p. 55), (p. 57)
Basic Writer/ Basic Writing	(p. 06), (p. 19), (p. 60)	(p. 60)		(p. 11)	(p. 66), (p. 62)	(p. 69), (p. 111)
Developmental	(p. 06), (p. 09), (p.10), (p. 15), (p. 19), (p. 22),		(p. 85)	(p. 43), (p. 7), (p. 8), (p. 9), (p. 13), (p. 43) (developmentalists- p. 43)	(p. 18), (p. 54)	(p. 97), (p. 112)
Transitional						
Remedial				(p. 7)	(p. 57x2) (p. 64)	
Native/ Non- Native Speaker	(p. 38)			(p. 34) (p. 43)		
Standard English				(p. 34)		
Error		(p. 74)	(p. 15)	(p. 20) (p. 21) (p. 25x2) (p. 29x3)(p. 41x6) (p. 43) (p. 55) (p. 56x2) (p. 58x3) (p. 85) (p. 108)	(p. 28) (p. 35)	(P. 26)

Looking at table three, it is easy to see that a great deal of perceived interest (at least if we can judge by mention of key terms) clusters around Vol. 20 from November of 2009. Looking at the page numbers, I found most of the mentions of relevant terms occurred in one article—Jonathan Hall's "WAC/ WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority". As the aim of Hall's article is clearly to encourage a "transformation of WAC" that is more responsive to multilingual learners (33), it is not surprising that the key terms are included in his article. However, I was somewhat surprised by the dearth of any mention of the key terms related to transitional college writers and standardization and error in the other articles— five years worth of WAC Journal Articles.

One question that immediately sprang to mind, considering the scant attention paid to these important issues (again, assuming the absence of these key terms means lack of attention), was whether or not the issues related to transitional college writers and standardization are of great concern to teachers and scholars in the WAC field. Certainly there are other important journals that must be considered. For example, *Across the Disciplines* published an issue entirely dedicated to WAC and second language writers in the Fall of 2011, guest edited by Michelle Cox. But the WAC Journal seems to be the most accessible and the most widely disseminated Journal specifically focusing on WAC, and so again the question arises as to whether or not the leaders in the field, beyond a few special interest niches, are broadly interested in, what many would suggest is the most important demographic shift and social change in the last fifty years (or perhaps the last century). If the field of WAC is not generally interested in transitional college writers and standardization and error, is Jonathan Hall attempting to do what Gee calls filter? I believe Hall, in his article "WAC/ WID in the Next America," is attempting to filter ideas into the WAC conversation

from a variety of fields— including teaching English to speakers of other languages, second language acquisition studies, basic writing, and second language writing. The primary strategy I employ in my discourse analyses is to analyze the way in which Hall filters these other voices, from other fields into the WAC conversation. Early in his article, Hall mentions the "work of Paul Kei Matsuda, Vivian Zamel, Ann Johns," and several pages later mentions the work of A. Suresh Canagaraja. These four scholars who have each published widely on issues related to multilingual writers together comprise the cornerstone of Hall's efforts to filter new ideas into the WAC conversation. It is important to look at how Hall has drawn on these researchers, and to look as well at the multiple ideas and influences each of these writers has filtered (in many cases from some other professional conversation beyond the realm of second language writing) into their own works— in essence tracing the genealogy of ideas.

After coding all articles, I conducted focused readings and line-by-line analyses of passages that contained instances of the key terms to describe basic writers and second language writers. After completion of line-by-line coding, I again used the grounded theory technique of memo writing in order to reflect and analyze categories more carefully. The memo writing, beginning with the Hall article from Vol. 21 took me 'down a rabbit hole,' and led to some interesting discoveries and analyses as I followed the path that these key concepts had traveled from sources primarily in TESOL, applied linguistics, basic writing and second language writing.

My initial data set was a collection of WAC Journal issues, from 2006 to 2011. I chose this data set in order to consider the conversation among Writing Across the Curriculum specialists in regard to second language writers and basic writers. However, my analyses went beyond this initial data set because there was limited discussion of second language writers and basic writers within the selected journal issues. To attempt a richer description, while maintaining connection to the WAC Journal, I included the four primary sources drawn on by Jonathan Hall, and then also include those sources' primary sources. Detailed memos were created based on this expanded data set.

Results

This section presents in detail the mention of key terms found in the analysis of the initial data set. The key terms and the articles that include their mention are also represented in table three above.

From Volume 17 of the WAC Journal published in September of 2006, only one article had any mention of the key terms. Jonathan Hall's "Toward a Unified Writing Curriculum: Integrating WAC/ WID with Freshman Composition" included the terms "basic writer" and "basic writing" on page six. The term "developmental" was also included on the following pages: six, nine, ten, fifteen, nineteen, and twenty-two.

From Volume 18 of the WAC Journal published in September of 2007, one article had mention of key terms. An interview by Carol Rutz "Terry Myers Zawacki: Creator of an Integrated Career" included the key terms "basic writer" and "basic writing". These terms appear on page sixty of the article.

From Volume 19 of the WAC Journal published in August of 2008, a book review by Jacob Blumner entitled "A Review of Engaged Writers and Dynamic Disciplines: Research on the Academic Writing Life" includes mention of the key terms of this study. The term "developmental" is used on page 85. It has to be said that this usage is in the context of a developmental model of instruction and so not directly related to the focus of this study. From Volume 20 of the WAC Journal published in November of 2009, two articles include some of the key terms of this study. Carol Rutz' interview "Richard Haswell: a Conversation with an Empirical Romanticist" includes mention of four key terms. The term "ESL" is mentioned on page six. The term "basic writer" is mentioned on page eleven. The term "developmental" is mentioned on pages seven, eight, nine, and thirteen. The term "remedial" is mentioned on page seven. Also from Volume 20, Jonathan Hall's "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority" includes mention of four of the key terms. The term "ESL" is mentioned on pages thirty-eight, forty, forty-three, forty-four, and forty-five. The term "ESOL or TESOL" is mentioned on pages thirty-four, thirty-seven, thirty-nine, forty, forty-one, forty-two, forty-three, forty-four, forty-six, forty-seven, and forty-eight. The term "developmental" is mentioned on page forty-three. With nineteen instances of key terms being mentioned, this article included the highest number of key terms out of all the articles surveyed.

From Volume 21 of the WAC Journal published in November of 2010, three articles include mention of some of the key terms of this study. "The Intradisciplinary Influence of Composition and WAC, 1967-1986" by Chris Anson mentions the term "developmental" on page eighteen. John Eliason Gonzaga's "Exploring Response Cultures in the World of WAC" includes mention of the key term TESOL on page thirty-five. Finally, the article "Unsettling a Metaphor We Teach By: A Hybrid Essay on WAC Students as Immigrants" written by Stephen Sutherland includes mention of several key terms. The term "multilingual" is used on page sixty-seven. The term "basic writing" is used on pages sixty-two and sixty-six. And the term "developmental" is used on page fifty-four.

From Volume 22 of the WAC Journal published in November of 2011, key terms were mentioned in three articles and in the Notes on Contributors section of the journal. "What Difference Do Writing Fellows Programs Make?" by Dara Rossman Regaignon and Pamela Bromley includes five mentions of key terms. On page fifty-six and page fifty-seven the term "ESOL" is mentioned. On pages forty-two, fifty-five, and fifty-seven the term "second language" is mentioned. In their article "Genre Awareness, Academic Argument and Transferability," Irene Clark and Andrea Hernandez include mention of one of the key terms. The term "basic writing" is mentioned on page sixty-nine. In Jacob Blumner's article "Building Better Bridges: What Makes a High School-College WAC Collaboration Work?" one key term is mentioned. The term "developmental" is mentioned on page ninety-seven. In the Notes on Contributors section of the journal the following key terms are mentioned. The term "basic writing" is mentioned on page 111, and the term "developmental" is mentioned on page 112.

The most noticeable feature of the initial coding was the concentration of terms in one particular Volume of the WAC Journal—in fact, in one particular article. Jonathan Hall's "WAC/ WID in the Next America: Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Reality" contains 21 of the 27 instances of terms referring to second language writers and standardization in that Volume. In other Volumes (Vol. 22 being the highest with 10 mentions), the combined total is 29. So just a little less than half of all instances of the terms describing diverse college writers over a five-year span of WAC Journals occur in one article. This suggests that overall writing in the WAC Journal, the flagship journal of the Writing Across the Curriculum movement, has not paid significant attention to diverse student writers during the last five years. Hall and others are attempting to bring a concern

for transitional college writers to the forefront of the WAC conversation, and by including the sources of the few articles in the WAC Journal from 2006 to 2011 that discuss diverse student writers we can begin to see the traces of important ideas from other fields that are filtering into the conversation on diverse student writers in Writing Across the Curriculum.

Chapter Four: What We Talk About When We Talk About Diverse College Writers

"Human worlds are shaped by discourse."

Barbara Johnstone, Discourse Analysis, 10

This chapter presents and interprets an analysis of the conversation on diverse college writers contained within the last five years of Writing Across the Curriculum Journal (WAC Journal) articles. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the most thorough discussion of transitional college writers appeared in volume twenty-one of the WAC Journal. Because Jonathan Hall's article "WAC/ WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority" includes the only substantive discussion of second language writers and basic writers contained in the WAC Journal articles that were analyzed, Hall's article has been used as an entry point into the conversation on error and standardization in current writing across the curriculum scholarship. I used the method of discourse analysis outlined in chapter three of this dissertation in order to describe Hall's key assertions related to second language writers and basic writers and to illuminate the conversation within the primary sources Hall used to build his arguments. I then traced the conversation by conducting analyses of each of these foundational works— in essence creating a genealogy of prominent ideas that Hall is effectively filtering into the conversation on transitional college writers in the field of writing across the curriculum. I also looked at all other articles within my data set that had any mention of second language writers or basic writers. Because the analysis of the other articles was not particularly rich, I did not attempt

to trace the genealogy of the ideas contained in any other articles. I have included a brief analysis of these peripheral essays at the end of this chapter in a separate section.

The initial scan of five years of WAC Journal articles surprisingly revealed a dearth of attention being paid to the burgeoning diversity of the college composition context. The one notable exception was a 2009 article "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority" written by Jonathan Hall and appearing in volume twenty of the WAC Journal. Because this article constitutes nearly all mention of second language writers and basic writers over the last five years in this flagship journal, I began with a very close analysis of this article. Through examination and coding, six key themes emerged. These were: 1) division of labor between those engaged in teaching L1 and L2 learners of English; 2) what Hall terms the "next America" or a multilingual mainstream; 3) a dichotomy between local and global contexts; 4) possibility of transfer of skills from the first language or first discourse (L1 or D1) to the second language or second discourse (L2 or D2); 5) a plethora of literacy myths; and, 6) the intersection of language and writing pedagogy.

Certain key articles in Hall's bibliography provided the background for importing these primary ideas into the conversation. By going backward from Hall's sources and analyzing each author, it became clear that Hall's "WAC/ WID in the Next America" is serving as a catalyst for filtering concepts from other disciplines into the WAC conversation. In turn each of the authors that Hall cites has previously moved ideas from an even wider variety of disciplines, such as TESOL, applied linguistics, world Englishes and basic writing. In continuing to go backward into the bibliographies and references—tracing the original six key terms— I conducted what Charmaz calls theoretical sampling and thereby achieved a saturation of categories. As Glaser claims, "Saturation...is the conceptualization of comparisons of ... incidents which yield different properties, until no new properties of the pattern emerge" (qtd. in Charmaz: 113). I have attempted to stay close to the original six key themes that were identified, but as with all qualitative analyses, the original categories have shifted and merged during analysis of other texts. Saturation was not apparent after analysis of the articles that Hall draws on directly, as new categories continued to emerge during these analyses. However, during the second generation of analyses— in which I looked closely at key sources drawn on by Canagaraja, Matsuda, Johns, and Zamel-saturation began to occur, in the sense that new categories related to the key themes did not appear. This saturation suggests that the three primary themes described below are representative of prevalent attitudes contained within the group of texts analyzed for this project. Because of the wide acceptance, circulation, and discussion of the key theories discussed below-within several subfields and across an array of scholarly journals— it is possible to conclude that these themes represent widely held attitudes in the field of college composition, including the branch of college composition research specializing in Writing Across the Curriculum.

In the next section, I outline how these key concepts related to transitional college writers and standardization appear repeatedly, and how these important ideas circulate from one discourse to another. What I have attempted, then, is a analysis of the key ideas being filtered into the conversation on transitional college writers in writing across the curriculum, and I have drawn on hermeneutics as a way to offer a consistent explanation of what I perceive to be the three most important areas of discussion within the WAC conversation: diversity, mythology, and pedagogy. In the simplest terms, my analysis reveals consistencies

and inconsistencies surrounding the conceptualization of error, and attitudes toward diverse writers across a range of WAC related texts.

The fact that America is a very diverse country and the idea that our schools and classrooms would necessarily mirror the general population is something that most of us teaching in US colleges take for granted. However, the way in which we respond to this diversity, and the attitudes we hold toward an increasingly diverse group of learners is not a settled matter. This section outlines attitudes toward diversity as represented in my group of texts I analyzed. In support of his assertions about the diverse nature of America's college composition classes, Hall cites many well know scholars in the field of TESOL and second language writing—most prominently A. Suresh Canagaraja, Ann Johns, Paul Matsuda, and Vivian Zamel.

Citing Suresh Canagaraja allows for the filtering in of ideas from a variety of subdisciplines. For example, Canagaraja draws heavily on the work of Jennifer Jenkins in his article "Negotiating the Local in English as a Lingua Franca". Jennifer Jenkins is perhaps the most cited and well known of those undertaking research into World Englishes (WE) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). In her article "Current Perspectives on Teaching World Englishes," Jenkins keeps her focus squarely on English usage in international contexts, and yet there are areas of her argument that overlap and are relevant to American college composition faculty. To mention just two examples, the contrasting concepts of "Englishization...[and] nativization" provide a valuable way of making comparisons between the effect English has on local cultures and the effect local cultures have on English (Jenkins, Current 163). Jenkins' suggestion that students "need to learn not a variety of English, but about Englishes" is also relevant to college composition students engaged in navigating a world increasingly affected by diverse ways of communicating (Jenkins, Current 173). The need for "accommodation skill[s]" is also recognized. Though Jenkins calls for the acquisition of skills in spoken English, it is not difficult to imagine a set of accommodation skills for written English, which in fact Canagaraja alludes to. Jenkins also argues for the abandonment of the "native speaker yardstick" to assess successful pronunciation in English, and envisioning an end to the "standard English speaker" is in line with recent scholarship on teaching composition through a translingual approach (Horner et al. 305).

Canagaraja also draws on Barbara Seidelhofer's 2004 article "Research Perspectives in Teaching English as a Lingua Franca." In this article Seidelhofer outlines research into English as an International Language (EIL) and ELF, and draws heavily on Jenkins. Again, though Seidelhofer is writing primarily for a TESOL audience there is much for compositionists to consider-as Hall's "WAC/WID in the Next America" article suggests we should. The notion that teachers of writing might begin to rely on a "difference perspective with an acknowledgment of plurality" as opposed to a "deficit" model is an idea that would have great transformative potential if applied to composition pedagogy (Seidelhofer 213). Seidelhofer also suggests, as Jenkins has suggested, the need to separate those phonological features that cause loss of intelligibility in spoken English from those phonological features that do not cause loss of intelligibility. Jenkins groups these more critical phonological features under the term Lingua Franca Core (LFC). It is possible to imagine an LFC for the most troublesome rhetorical and lexicogrammatical features of written English. However, a rhetorical core—realized perhaps through a contrastive analysis process—would likely be useful only if linked to a specific community, much as Jenkins suggests for her LFC of phonological elements. Another important feature of Seidelhofer's article is the possibility

that native speakers may need to learn English as an International Language, as professional and academic communication increasingly occurs in an international context (Seidelhofer 228).

Canagaraja also cites "Textual Identities: The Importance of Being Non-Native" by Claire Kramsch and Wan Shun Eva Lam. In this article, Kramsch and Lam forward the possibility of multilingual students creating a hybrid textual identity via appropriation strategies and through contact with English texts as an alternative to native or non-native dichotomies. If we accept the idea forwarded by Kramsch and Lam that "difference is the source of creativity" than we may also accept the idea that language change does not signal the death of English, but guarantees the continued health and vitality of English through the infusion of ethnolinguistic diversity. Kramsch claims, "written texts [also] offer non-native speakers opportunities for finding textual homes outside the boundaries of local or national communities" (Kramsch & Lam 71).

The idea of an encroaching and potentially challenging demographic shift, which Hall characterizes as the "next America," is prominent in most of the articles that Matsuda draws on, and certainly is prominent in Matsuda's "Composition and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor." In the introductory paragraph of this 1999 article, Matsuda laments the lack of attention being paid to the "over 457,000 international students in colleges and universities across the nation." To forward this point about America's changing demographic landscape, Matsuda brings in scholarship from Jessica Williams.

Jessica Williams discusses the US as an increasingly multilingual and diverse society in her 1995 Journal of Second Language Writing article "ESL Composition Program Administration in the United States." After administering a survey of 78 college and university ESL programs the author surmises that the core of ESL students in the programs that were surveyed are made up of a "growing and, in some cases, at risk population." Williams outlines many of the facets of second language composition instruction in colleges, including the prevalence of contingent labor; programs often separated from the mainstream; little training or support for faculty; and, a higher than average turnover for ESL composition faculty. In short, according to Williams, writing in 1995, the situation is fairly dire. Again, it is easy to see how Matsuda draws on Williams to assert the negativity of L1 and L2 composition being separated—a situation that seems in William's essay particularly negative for teachers of second language writers and for the second language writers themselves.

I also found evidence of what Hall refers to as the 'Next America' in Zamel's "Strangers in Academia: The Experiences of Faculty and ESL Students across the Curriculum," and the accompanying key articles she cites are grounded in an attempt to respond to both the existent and the encroaching diversity in US colleges. Zamel begins by noticing the fact that discussion of diversity is often cloaked in fear. When she quotes a fellow faculty member's mention of the "ESL Problem" images of the "Yellow Peril" and "The White Man's Burden" simultaneously sprang to my mind (Zamel, Strangers 507). And it is this negative vision of diversity— not as resource or source of national strength to draw on, and not even as a neutral "otherness" but an absolute fear of diversity— which Zamel highlights here.

One other point Zamel makes is the idea that student diversity while of paramount importance is not the only kind of diversity that demands a response. For Zamel the diverse voices of faculty are also important to consider. She draws first on Patricia Laurence for the concept of "polyphony" and the diversity of "faculty voices" (Zamel, Strangers 507). She

chooses to discuss the views of two faculty members who represent "divergent views on language, language development, and the role faculty members see themselves as playing in this development" (Zamel, Strangers 507). While I will say more about this article as it pertains to mythology in a later section, for now it is important to comment on Zamel's characterizations of these two faculty members as representative of somewhat polarized positions about appropriate responses to both faculty and student diversity. As Zamel goes on— drawing on John Trimbur, Bruce Horner, Janice Neulieb, and Min-Zahn Lu in order to discuss the needs of students— it becomes apparent that she is simultaneously considering the diversity of opinion among faculty and the diversity of needs among students. The real crux of the problem for Zamel is the fact that teachers and students may not understand each other due to differing cultural perspectives. For illumination, Zamel draws on Neulieb's "The Friendly Stranger," which forwards a conception of faculty members as initiates into the academic community and as somewhat at a loss about the best way to connect with students who do not readily fit into this community.

As this section has illustrated, finding an appropriate pedagogical response to increasingly diverse college composition classrooms has been a much-debated topic since at least the mid-1980s. By the end of the 1990s, with the waning of multicultural education, the focus on serving students from diverse backgrounds diminished somewhat. Juan Guerra, in a recent panel presentation at the 2013 MLA Convention argued that the publication of *Writing in Diverse Settings* was ill timed (ahead of its time), because it was published at the end of the multicultural education movement. I agree with Guerra's suggestion about the work he co-edited with Carol Severino. In re-reading this collection recently, it seems as if we are still struggling with the very same issues—all closely related to diversity. When Guerra and Severino compiled this volume working with diverse students was only a challenge in some institutions and in some departments, but today most institutions and most departments are struggling to deal with a very real and very tangible demographic shift. As the next section suggests, one problem with responding to the needs of students from diverse backgrounds is the fact that the conversation is often couched in terms and descriptions that inaccurately represent transitional college writers.

The Mythology of Diverse College Writers and Error

The analyses conducted for this project reveal an enshrouding mythology, which presents an impediment to positive change, or even reasonable discussion, concerning diverse students in college composition classes. In this section, I outline key ideas related to the descriptions of transitional college writers and the conversation on error and standardization.

In "Negotiating the Local in English as a Lingua Franca," A. Suresh Canagaraja discusses a common myth surrounding the conversation on error and standardization and transitional college writers. The myth Canagaraja discusses is the notion that English, as the only truly global language, will overwhelm all borders and become the de facto language of business and education around the world. Because of this predicted dominance, so the myth goes, there should be no concern about the current monolingual English environment in US college composition, because soon every place will be an English dominant zone. Canagaraja considers Steven Barbour's article "Language, Nationalism and Globalism: Educational Consequences of Changing Patterns of Language use" in order to examine the possibly false assumption about English language dominance in the European context. Barbour offers a rationale for the study of languages other than English. In a slightly different way Barbour

also argues for a balance between the demands of the local and the global, and states his position that in many contexts such as Germany "the view of English as the global language is over-stated" (Barbour 15). According to Danny Dor, many global businesses are opting to sell in the local language in order to reach the greatest potential number of customers. In some ways this stems the ebbing tide of "Englishization" because it may be more profitable for businesses around the world to use local languages for marketing. This could, according to Dor, bring forward a pattern of "imposed multilingualism" in which "linguistic variability is imposed and controlled by the economic center" (Dor 98). With these examples, Canagaraja reminds us that in many parts of the world English is not a dominant language, and that the local language continues to exert a powerful influence.

In the essay "Composition Studies and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor," Paul Matsuda argues for the integration of the teaching of first and second language writing. He frames the discussion by pointing out the presence of an array of literacy myths and ideologies, which in many cases dictate policies that affect linguistically diverse students. By describing important contributions from the work of Mike Rose, Vivian Zamel, and David Russell, Matsuda illuminates many of these myths that affect policy decisions.

In "The Language of Exclusion," for example, Mike Rose powerfully points out the key mythologies that have guided the teaching of writing in U.S. colleges and asks us to reimagine how we view writing and the teaching of writing. Particularly important is the notion of the terminology that seems to hold many of the myths in place. For example Rose suggests "transitional" as an alternative to the clinical "remedial" (Rose, Language 358). However, Rose's most quoted idea, and the idea with perhaps the most staying power, has been his "myth of transience." The myth of transience essentially states that "the [literacy or writing] problem can be solved" (Rose, Language 355). For Rose this is the most dangerous of all the literacy myths he outlines because it allows academics and educational policy makers to see that "the source of the problem is elsewhere" and that it can thus "be ignored or temporarily dealt with until the tutors or academics or grammar schools or high schools or families make the changes they must make" (Rose, Language 356). David Russell and others have engaged in discussion of this myth, and it is a key element of Matsuda's argument for the integration of first language and second language writing.

Matsuda borrows from Vivian Zamel in order to addresses the "ESL problem" myth. In her 1995 College English article "Strangers in Academia" Zamel approaches the myth from the faculty perspective by drawing on two particularly divergent faculty responses to a survey she administered to instructors in the disciplines about their experiences working with non-native speakers (507). Zamel offers the position that it is in fact a "static view of language" that exists among many disciplinary faculty members. This view of language as static, according to Zamel, limits the views faculty members have of non-native speakers' language use, and upholds the "gatekeeping" function in their minds (509). It is also this view of language that keeps the ESL specialists, and indeed the L1 composition specialists separated from each other and from disciplinary instructors, who can look at teachers of writing as providing instruction in what Rose calls a "tool subject" (Rose, Language 346). For Zamel it is of the utmost importance that teachers of writing "critique approaches that are reductive and formulaic, examine the notion that the language of the academy is a monolithic discourse...and argue that this attempt to serve the institution in these ways contributes to our marginal status and that of our students" (Zamel, Strangers 516).

Ann Johns also brings up a variety of literacy myths surrounding discussion of transitional college writers and error in her article "Too Much on Our Plates: A Response to Terry Santos' "Ideology in Composition: L1 and ESL."" Johns draws on an essay by Basham, Ray and Whalley in order to describe the most strongly stated and original of these myths. In their article, "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Task Representation in Reading to Write" the authors present a qualitative study of three distinct cultural groups—native speakers of Chinese, Athabaskan, and Spanish—all studying in U.S. Universities. Though there does seem to be some danger of essentializing these three groups due to the small data set, the descriptions of culture and its effects on multilingual students who are attempting to draw on readings in order to support their writing is very powerful. Johns used this study in order to support her position that "many students [particularly ESL students] do not "naturally" share an understanding about the values that underlie the discourse of a particular academic subject" (Johns, Too Much 150). As is pointed out in Basham, Ray and Whalley's article "these underlying assumptions are often left implicit," and this creates problems for students from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds (Basham, Ray & Whalley 299). The myth at work here could be labeled the myth of understanding; and, this tendency to take discursive knowledge for granted among multilingual writers, and others, is perhaps more prevalent across the academic disciplines than in the composition classroom.

Johns uses Diane Belcher's 1989 article "How Professors Initiate Nonnative Speakers into their Disciplinary Discourse Communities" to further explore the myth of understanding. The Belcher article begins with the author questioning Ruth Spack's recommendation that ESL teachers should not teach discipline specific writing. Belcher traces the history of teaching ESL writing from the late 1960s to the late 1980s including studies of ESL students writing in the disciplines, including interviews she conducted with ESL graduate students to find out about disciplinary initiations. In large part, Belcher seems intent on debunking Spack's notion that ESL teachers cannot teach discipline specific writing because it might be both "uncomfortable" for teachers and ineffective.

A third theme that emerged clearly in the Johns article was a concept similar to Hall's "Next America," which describes the ethnolinguistically diverse college classroom. Johns draws on two authors from a collection of essays called *Diversity as Resource: Redefining Cultural Literacy*. In the first essay, Welaranta makes a case for understanding a particular group of students (Khmer students in a California college), as a means of broadening and enriching the dominant culture. Johns draws on this essay as a way of illustrating the deeply diverse and idiosyncratic nature of American culture, and thereby argues against the myth of linguistic homogeneity. The other essay from this collection that Johns refers to is Keith Walters' "Whose Culture? Whose Literacy?" While this essay is used by Johns to point out some of the pedagogical possibilities of drawing on students' strengths, it is also used to again suggest the necessity of approaching the teaching of writing with more awareness of diversity in the current era of increasingly diverse colleges.

The mention of myths, ideologies and metaphors about the teaching of writing and specifically the teaching of writing to transitional college writers is something prevalent in many of these scholarly 'parent' and 'grandparent' articles connected to Vivian Zamel. She begins with Villanueva's recollection of his own schooling in which "bad language [and] insufficient cognitive development [were]...conflated" (Zamel, Strangers 507). In the same essay, Zamel goes on to discuss perhaps the most often mentioned commonly held belief about teaching writing—Mike Rose's "myth of transience" (510). In this view, as mentioned

earlier in this section, all that is wrong with student writing will one day disappear and the structure designed to temporarily support underprepared students will finally be allowed to wither away. Another important ideological stance that Zamel notes in "Strangers in Academia" is the "deficit model of language," which is closely adhered to by one of her faculty participants in this study (510), and which for Zamel is "shaped by an essentialist view of language" that emphasizes "students' deficiencies" (510). Another myth that is brought out through work by Hull and Rose is termed the "myth of coverage," which assumes that "covering course content necessarily means it has been learned" (Strangers 517). For Zamel this view leads to a focus on "efficiency and coverage" that can detract from a student's ability to take part in "intellectual work" (517).

Zamel cites Min-Zahn Lu's 1992 College English article "Conflict and Struggle: The Enemies of Preconditions of Basic Writing" in which Lu critiques some of the pioneers of basic writing—Shaughnessy, Bruffee and Ferrell. Zamel draws on Lu in order to suggest the need to move beyond the limiting myth of linguistic homogeneity, and toward a pluralistic orientation to teaching writing. Lu cautions us against several ideological views of education and language (acculturationist and accommodationist and essentialist and utopian views respectively). Lu argues that there is much to be gained in the psychic borderlands inhabited by Anzaldua (Conflict and Struggle 888) and in Howe's "tension of biculturalism" (898).

Zamel introduces the 1993 article "Rereading Shaughnessy from a Postcolonial Perspective" in which Pamela Gay asks teachers of writing to reread Shaughnessy through a postcolonial lens and acknowledges the need for teachers to change the way they see students and the way they teach. Students are too often seen as a savage group that needs discursive civilizing, and for Gay this dichotomizing idea leads only to further divisions between the dominant discourse and the students' home discourses. In the end, Gay argues for pedagogy that sees "difference as a source of strength"(34). These ideas related to difference as strength and the possibility of drawing on students' home discourses are closely related to the WACommunities movement as Michelle Kells and others at the University of New Mexico have been developing it. We should be looking for ways to not only welcome students from diverse backgrounds, but to actually foreground the negotiating strategies of all our students, not as a way of celebrating diversity, but as a way of helping students build on existent rhetorical strengths. I will say more about the possibilities of this approach in chapter five.

Zamel discusses "Rescuing the Discourse of Community," in which the author Gregory Clark proposes to rescue the "discourse of community from domination and exclusion" (Clark 73) and to do so he first critiques current so-called "discourse(s) of pluralism" (Clark 64) by drawing on the ways ethics studies constitute community and practice. He suggests that any communal/ pluralistic approach that hinges on agreement is ultimately coercive and damaging toward difference. He therefore suggests we must construct systems of teaching writing on difference, the acknowledgement of difference and a respect for "rhetorical openness," (Clark 72) so that students can learn to call their own beliefs into question through the differences of others. Clark's ideas about pluralism, rhetorical openness, and a system of teaching writing constructed on difference are important contributions that will surface again in chapter five as part of my discussion of the range of response to variation in student writing.

By referencing Bruce Horner's 1994 article "Mapping Errors and Expectations," Zamel forwards two metaphors that can be derived from reading Errors and Expectations that of initiation and that of growth. Horner claims that these metaphors have dominated the conversation on basic writing. He suggests that instead of seeing basic writers as in need of either initiation or growth, we need to see basic writing as a borderland and we need to see a pedagogy of negotiation as potentially fruitful. Several unfortunate reifications and dichotomies have arisen from these mythical terminological screens, such as the idea that teachers either commit "cultural genocide" by killing the home discourse, or "abandonment" by failing to teach what students need to know in the academy (Horner, Mapping 37). For Horner, this is a false dichotomy, resolvable through negotiation and a borderland pedagogy (Horner, Mapping 47). Those who have lived successfully in a borderland become adept at moving among and between different languages, dialects, and communities. If this ability to move and shift across a wide range of rhetorical situations could be recognized by students as valuable, it might be expanded and leveraged as a tool for gaining a higher level of rhetorical agency. The idea of a borderland pedagogy is another important concept that will be discussed in chapter five.

Zamel introduces three different texts from Mike Rose, and also brings in a variety of sources that borrow from *Lives on the Boundary*. It is clear that Rose is a major influence on Zamel's work. From the opening pages of *Lives on the Boundary*, in which Mike Rose conjures images of the "goddess Grammatica" and "Talismans" (2) we are aware that we have entered a contested space in which opposing forces grapple rhetorically in attempts to define the national conversation on literacy. Rose traces the history of the culture wars from the 1880s, when diversity meant "males from the upper crust" whose writing did not conform to Harvard standards (Rose, Lives 6), to the 1980s when Newsweek wondered "Why Johnny Can't Read" (Rose, Lives 5). However, where conservative social critics and pundits see a decline in our society brought on by increasing cultural illiteracy, Rose paints a picture of an

incredible experiment – the results of an ambitious attempt to provide education for the teeming masses of a populous and diverse nation. Rose shows us a great democratic experiment that has had both tremendous failures and dramatic successes.

Rose's *Lives on the Boundary* is filled with other mythological allusions: the "abyss of paradise" (13); "Fairy tale[s]" (19); Mythic females (45); the "dark American mythology" (114); "American meritocracy" (128); and, "magical vision[s]" (137). Rose urges us to respond to and reveal these myths and assumptions about literacy and the ways they drive decisions about schooling. These myths of "self-reliance and individualism" are curious because as Rose explains "we find it hard to accept the fact that they are serious nonsense" (Rose, Lives 47).

Though the entirety of *Lives on the Boundary* is enclosed in a sort of mythopoetic mist, Rose manages to interject carefully crafted observations about American education. In particular, he talks about what it means to be literate and describes key moments in his own personal story of the apprentice's journey to mastery. For example, he discusses "the botched performances [of]...developing writers" and characterizes these as "linguistic growth," which seems parallel to Selinker's concept of interlanguage (Rose, Lives 54). Certainly, as Matsuda and Jablonski have warned the L2 metaphor can be problematic when applied to basic writers, and yet the notion of an interlanguage or a transitional status for basic writers makes a great deal of sense to those who, like Rose, have spent substantial time with both second language writers and basic writers. This concept of the transitional status of basic writers and second language writers is another important concept that will be taken up in chapter five. For now, it is important to consider the concept of interlanguage as a potential metaphor for the developing language abilities of both native and non-native speakers. While

keeping Matsuda and Jablonski's reservations about an L2 metaphor to describe L1 students in mind, we can nonetheless look at which aspects of learning to produce standard written English (SWE) are similar among all students. I would argue that preparing students for college writing is more dependent on skills students possess, and less dependent on students' cultural or linguistic backgrounds. I argue for the transitional or interlanguage concept because it is a metaphor that allows for the flexibility to look at all writing in the following ways: situated somewhere on a developmental continuum, often regressive, and always fluid. As outlined in chapter one, any college student, regardless of cultural, experiential, or linguistic background, who struggles with both the syntactic and discursive features of SWE is a transitional college writer, and this is why I have borrowed Rose's term transitional. Its insinuation of an interlanguage metaphor is central to the argument I make in this dissertation regarding the constantly changing nature of the abilities of transitional college writers. If we accept that students' abilities are fluid, then the terms we use to describe students must point to this fluidity.

Dichotomous Pedagogies: the Range of Responses

In this section, I describe the range of pedagogical responses to error in diverse groups of students. Using the terms foundational and anti-foundational as leitmotifs to organize the variety of positions, I describe briefly how scholars from my data set have attempted to treat error in college composition.

Though most of the articles discussed here bring up pedagogy in some way, as a consequence of being aimed at teachers of writing, two of the articles that Canagaraja draws on make an especially strong case for approaches to teaching writing that allow for the inclusion of first dialect and first language influences. Both Peter Elbow and Diane Belcher

discuss approaches that draw on the linguistic, discursive, and rhetorical resources of students from diverse backgrounds. Encouraging students to draw on these resources—which Guerra calls "learning incomes"—is an important part of a writing pedagogy that actively approaches the possibilities of positive transfer (Guerra 4).

In her "Argument for Nonadversarial Argumentation" Belcher links feminist and L2 discursive styles and practices, in the sense that both categories of students may feel uneasy with the agonistic rhetoric prevalent in the traditionally male-dominated Anglo-American academic sphere. Much as Elbow recommends in his "Vernacular Englishes in the Writing Classroom," Belcher offers the possibility of having it both ways: helping students to "adapt" while also suggesting that they work alongside their professors to "change the system" to become "cultural critique surrogates" (Belcher 9-10). Elbow goes into more pedagogic detail, while Belcher remains more theoretical. Elbow espouses the notion of a more pluralistic acceptance of alternative dialects, but he recognizes the reality of the culture of literacy that demands students produce Standard Written English (SWE). He suggests two contrasting goals: the short-range goal of helping students and the long-range goal of changing the culture of literacy (Elbow, Vernacular 126). To accomplish this, he proposes a pedagogy that is supportive of SWE acquisition without being disparaging toward the students' first discourse (D1). According to Elbow those who argue for the acceptance of the vernacular are in good company, as "Dante argued powerfully for the eloquence of the vulgar tongue...and made an even stronger political statement by writing his Commedia in the vernacular"-Italian instead of the Lingua Franca of his time, Latin (Elbow, Vernacular 127). On the continuum of approaches to the treatment of error in college composition that I have envisioned, both Elbow and Belcher are centrist but somewhat closer to the foundational

side, since they both acknowledge the necessity of adhering to a codified standard variety of English.

Marko Modiano, another of the scholars Canagaraja draws on, discusses the potential for Monoculturalization (a state in which western culture subsumes all other cultures) and the probable loss of most indigenous languages as English spreads as a truly global language. For Modiano the solution is a "theoretically neutral program for English" (Modiano 215). He suggests that the pedagogical space is a location where we can negotiate the local/ global dichotomy. He further suggests a "critical ELT" that focuses on the learners' "legacies... histories...[and] communities," which mirrors Guerra's focus on "learning incomes" (Modiano 222; Guerra 4) as well as Kells' argument that writing programs need to consider the cultural ecologies of their specific locations (Kells, Writing Across Communities 89). Modiano also discusses Canagaraja's push for a "pedagogy of appropriation" and the possibility for "students who use English to confront the "culturally hybrid post-modern world"" (Modiano 223). He also brings forward Crystals' ideas about "bidialecticism, the ability to speak both the local variety for local communicative purposes, and a form of Standard English" (Modiano 224). Though Modiano's pedagogical and programmatic ideas are largely intended for English language learners outside the US, his suggestions seem readily applicable to the context of minority-majority states like New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas and Hawaii. And the possible strategies that can be derived from Modiano's and others' progressive ideas about language diversity may also be applicable in places that are just beginning to grapple with an increasingly diverse student body. Finally Modiano eloquently argues for a balance between the local and global when he calls for a "vision of integration and diversity [as]...the very heart of globalism" (Modiano 225). I

would also place Modiano's ideas close to the center of my continuum of approaches to error in college composition. Modiano, however, is slightly closer to the anti-foundational side because of his recognition of the contingent nature of language and the arbitrariness of standards.

The theme of ESL Writing Pedagogy can be found in many of the works Johns cites, most notably in two works from Ilona Leki. The first, a monograph from 1992 Understanding ESL Writers, has been praised in the literature as a practical guide for working with ESL writers, especially useful for those with no ESL training. One important section that Johns points out is a list of "fossilized errors" to be found in chapter nine, which deals broadly with sentence level errors in ESL writing. In another work from Leki, "Coping Strategies of ESL Students in Writing Tasks Across the Curriculum," the author conducts a qualitative research study of the coping strategies of five undergraduate and graduate students in a large state university in the US, as they work through their first semester in classes across the curriculum. Several types of strategies emerge from her study and Leki, in the end, recommends helping students to find strategies they may already be using in their first language and helping them bring other strategies to consciousness that they may be unaware of. This is again a strong case for an approach that is not foundational and overly prescriptive, or antifoundational and overly permissive. Instead, in line with the sophistic approach outlined in chapter five, Leki argues that first language strengths can support acquisition of the second language.

Borrowing on S.N. Sridhar's 1994 TESOL Quarterly article "A Reality Check for SLA Theories," Johns critically analyzes writing pedagogy. In this article Sridhar argues succinctly that current theories of Second Language Acquisition, rooted as they are in

"western cultural premises" (Sridhar 800), do not accurately account for the positive nature of transfer from the first language into the target language. The author urges researchers to build new theories of SLA "from the ground up" (Sridhar 803). He also cautions teachers about the "seductions of familiarity," which can lead to the condemnation of any and all linguistic variation. Though this article deals primarily with theory, its tone and implied assertion is to sanctify a more pluralistic approach to the teaching of writing. Johns draws on Sridhar as part of the body of work on "second-language acquisition, error, and contrastive rhetoric" (Johns, ESL Students 145). Johns allows that the import of this work may be "broadening the Perspective of Mainstream Composition Studies," and pedagogical changes would of course be a logical extension of this broadening (145).

In the third paragraph of his "WAC/WID in the next America" article Hall credits Ann Johns with being one of the key initiators of a "dialogue between WAC professionals and specialists in other fields, such as ESOL, L2 Writing, applied linguistics...[etc.]" along with Paul Matsuda, Vivian Zamel, and "others" (33). An important part of the study of ESL writing has been the study of rhetorics from a variety of cultures, and Johns imports much work on contrastive rhetoric in order to introduce the idea that another way of looking at a particular instance of error (especially discursive variation) is to consider the possibility that it may be a rhetorical strategy transferred from a first language. Writing in the journal College English in 1985 Metalene describes Chinese rhetorical strategies employed by her students at a Chinese university during a semester she spent teaching there. She points out the many tacit assumptions contained within the western rhetorical tradition. Her notion of rhetoric as an "ecology" emphatic of "local conditions" is compelling (Metalene 789). Metalene suggests we as composition faculty come to see the "relativity of our own rhetoric, and to realize that logic different from our own is not necessarily illogical" (Metalene 806).

A perspective that partially counters the works of those such as Metalene and many other more recent works that have called teachers of writing to see the "relativity of our own rhetoric" (Canagaraja 2006; Horner & Trimbur 2002; Lu 1991) is Patricia Laurence's 1993 Journal of Basic Writing article "The Vanishing Site of Mina Shaughnessy's Errors and Expectations." In her argument Laurence critiques Min-Zhan Lu's analysis of Shaughnessy's work, and particularly takes issue with Lu's characterization of the open admissions period at CUNY as supporting "pedagogies which promote...a politics of innocence" (Laurence 20). She further suggests that the politicizing move so common among composition scholars in the mid-1990s would have been irresponsible when working with writers from diverse backgrounds during Shaughnessy's time at CUNY because it would have had the effect of "deny[ing] the common goal—to engage students in reading and...nurture[ing] students' writing in standard English" (Laurence 21). For Laurence, decisions about strict adherence to the norms of Standard English or allowing a multiplicity of discourses to enter into the writing classroom are political decisions—as she says, "in the field of composition, the linguistic is the political" (Laurence 22). But the key is not whether we politicize or do not politicize the teaching of writing or whether we do or do not teach a strictly monolingual standard of English, but that our "different methodologies and stances [must] spring from different student populations" (Laurence 27). In other words, methodologies must be designed specifically in response to the local context, with student needs and strengths clearly in view. This focus on designing methodologies that are responsive to the local context is important and will be taken up in chapter five in some detail.

The forth theme to clearly emerge from Johns' essay is that of the possibility of a positive linguistic transfer from the first language into the target language. Leki discusses this in *Understanding ESL Writers*, and provides a few strategies for ways that instructors can foster transfer. And Leki's "Coping Strategies" article focuses on the kinds of things ESL writers do to deal with the demands of writing in another language. Some of the things included in the list of ten coping strategies seem to be supportive of linguistic transfer: "relying on past writing experiences...taking advantage of first language/ culture...Using current or past ESL writing training" (Leki 240). This is also discussed in Sridhar's "Reality Check for SLA Theories". However, for Sridhar there is a sort of "pedagogic abhorrence of transfer" among SLA theorists, which he sees as "an artifact of monolingualism" (Sridhar 802). He argues that we must "transcend the parochialism" and move toward acceptance of a positive transfer from the first language into the target language (803).

The notion that there is an unnecessary division of labor between L1 and L2 composition is one key element of Matsuda's article "Composition Studies and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor," and this idea figures prominently into Hall's argument for a fuller integration of multilingual writers into composition classes as a part of an effective response to the changed world of the "next America." In building this argument, Matsuda looks at work by Alice Roy, Ilona Leki, Ann Johns, and Ruth Spack.

Writing in the WPA Journal in 1988, a full 22 years before Hall's "WAC/ WID in the next America," Alice Roy argues for a response from WPAs to the impending "challenge" of an increasingly diverse student body in most colleges (Roy 17). Roy clearly outlines some of the same concerns Hall echoes two decades later. Her introductory paragraph envisions the same "tipping point" that Preto-Bay and Hansen more recently described in their WPA

Journal article "Preparing for the Tipping Point: Designing Writing Programs to Meet the Needs of the Changing Population" and assumes the same necessity that colleges formulate some kind of response. One very salient question is whether or not linguistically diverse students be included as part of a "pluralistic whole" or cordoned off into a "separate entity" (Roy 18). As the division of students into a separate set of courses would certainly do much to keep faculty in ESL and composition separate, Roy suggests that overlap of research, teaching, and theorizing about literacy and language acquisition would be beneficial to both non-native speakers and native speakers. Roy engages with the notion of the English class and the English teacher as gatekeepers. She suggests that if "appropriate standards have been met...[and if] preparation for writing in other courses and...preparation for jobs" are a consideration, then writing classes are doing enough in terms of maintaining standards (Roy 24). According to Roy, there is no need then to act as language police officers.

Ilona Leki's very practical guide *Understanding ESL Writers* presents what the author refers to as pedagogy of inclusiveness, diversity and enfranchisement" (ix). Matsuda refers to Leki's clear treatment of the complex process of language acquisition and suggests that composition specialists and others need to understand the fact that students from diverse linguistic backgrounds will not ever become native speakers. Matsuda also draws on the notion from Leki that "teaching writing to non-native speakers in not radically different than teaching writing to native speakers," (Leki xi) and he complicates this notion by mention of the "unique set of challenges" that multilingual students bring to writing classes (Matsuda 700).

In her response to Terry Santo's "Ideology in Composition: L1 and ESL," Ann Johns describes a scene that Matsuda responds to in his "Disciplinary Division" article. Johns refers

to the "hostile, incompatible...English-only environment" (Johns, Too Much 84). Matsuda softens this description in his approach that seems designed to be rhetorically palatable to composition specialists, whereas, again, Johns' rhetoric is somewhat more divisive. When she describes ESL specialists as "homeless" for example, or when she mentions the "little interest" shown by L1 instructors (Johns, Too Much 84) in learning about L2 writers, it seems as if Johns is employing an alienating rhetoric. Matsuda, on the other hand, seems intent on disturbing his audience members but not upsetting them. However, beyond this pugnacious quality, Johns does masterfully outline the identity crisis of the early 1990s college ESL faculty member, when she pines "who are we, the ESL composition instructors?" (Johns, Too Much 86). I believe Matsuda, writing six years later, was attempting to answer this question, and that Hall forwards this same notion when he suggests "a thorough and fundamental transformation of WAC" and a redefinition of professional identity (Hall, Next America 33).

In a 1997 article from Written Communication "The Acquisition of Academic Literacy in a Second Language," Ruth Spack follows the academic adventures of a single Japanese student attending a prestigious eastern American university. The qualitative study spans three years of the student's life and includes interviews with the student and her teachers, and other qualitative methods. In the end Spack emphasizes the need for teachers of writing and those in the disciplines to be open to rhetorical and discursive flexibility, and argues that we cannot essentialize students based on cultural presumptions. Spack's study has much to say to those who teach mainstream composition courses and writing intensive courses in the disciplines. One important consideration according to Spack is for teachers of writing to take a critical stance toward "western rhetoric" and to realize that this is only one of many possible "stance[s] toward knowledge that is not shared universally" (Spack 32). This position requires teachers to be somewhat familiar with contrastive rhetoric (typically a field more studied by ESL specialists) and with rhetorical theory and its applications to teaching writing (a field typically more studied by teachers of L1 composition), and so this suggestion seems to necessitate a breaking down of the disciplinary division.

It is easy to see why Matsuda draws on Guadalupe Valdes's 1992 article from Written Communication "Bilingual Minorities and Language Issues in Writing," as this piece not only advocates for "non-English-background students" but also suggests that "the English composition profession must begin to see itself as a profession seriously concerned with the deeper and more complex realities of diversity" (Valdes 49).

Finally, the need and the sometime occurrence of a writing pedagogy that draws on practice and research in language teaching in order to support and include both second language writers and basic writers is well represented in Matsuda's "Composition Studies and ESL Writing" article. For this discussion Matsuda looks at work by Ilona Leki, Tony Silva, Joy Reid, and Guadalupe Valdez. For Leki, there is much common ground among teachers of L1 and L2 writing, though she suggests that working with students from diverse backgrounds may challenge teachers of L1 composition (Matsuda, Composition 700). In his 1997 article "Differences in ESL and Native-English Speaker Writing: The Research and Its Implications," Tony Silva explains the most common differences between L1 and L2 writing. The differences Silva describes include syntactic and discursive level variations, and the article suggests that those engaged in teaching writing in diverse contexts would benefit greatly from a "viable model of differences between ESL and NES [Native English Speaker] writing" (Silva 216). Silva further suggests the possibility of an enhanced theory of writing that is "less monolingual, less monocultural, less ethnocentric, less fixated on writing by eighteen-year-old native speakers of English...and more inclusive, more realistic, more generalizable, and ultimately valid" (Silva 216). In her 1993 work *Teaching ESL Writing*, Joy Reid asserts the ways in which cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds of L1 and L2 students may vary. Reid goes further to suggest that the many types of ESL students further complicate things, and "may make working with ESL students challenging for some writing teachers" (qtd in Matsuda, Composition 700). Guadalupe Valdes points out the division of labor between those who teach English to L1 students and those who teach English to L2 students. She sees this division as problematic because it relegates discussion of second language writers to "segments within CCCC and NCTE…organizations [that] are not known for their expertise on matters related to the teaching of English to students from non-English speaking backgrounds (Valdes 88).

Many of the theorists included in this dissertation have discussed the need for a transfer of skills from the first language or dialect to the target language. Vivian Zamel in "Toward a Model of Transculturation" makes a point to challenge the notion that we can describe cultural groups with monolithic and broad descriptions. Her argument is for a transcultural approach in which "NNS speakers actually nourish the language and find strength and positive transfer in their L1" (Zamel 350). In the same essay, Zamel also urges us to avoid the "deficit orientation" that can lead to deterministic thinking about minority students (341). In support of her argument, Zamel shares several generally encouraging stories of students experiencing positive transfer from their first languages, and highlights how L2 variations can actually "enrich our reading and transform our definition of what it means to be a "better writer"" (347). She reminds us of Mina Shaughnessy's call to "dive

in," becoming a student of our students so that we can "perceive both their difficulties and their incipient excellence"" (349). For Zamel the infusion of other Englishes promises to enrich the language (350). Because Zamel suggests a pedagogy that helps students draw on rhetorical strengths from the first language in quest of strengthening the second language, I see her approach as at the perfect center of the continuum of approaches to error, and as part of what I call a sophistic approach to error and standardization in college composition.

Johns on Pedagogy for Transitional College Writers

The fact that there is a range of ideas about how teachers should respond to the writing of transitional college writers was one of the three most common motifs uncovered in the analyses for this project. Zamel discusses pedagogy predominately in terms of the intersection of language and writing pedagogy, and she worries that ESL specialists' positions are eroded by a focus on simply "preparing students for the expectations and demands of discipline-specific communities across the curriculum" (Zamel, Strangers 515). For Zamel, such an approach "oversimplifies academic discourse" and further separates students from academic discourse in the way that it magnifies the distance between academic and students' home discourses (515). Drawing on work by Clark, Fox, Gay, Horner and Trimbur, she calls faculty to "critique approaches that are reductive and formulaic, [and to] examine the notion that the language of the academy is monolithic" (516). Finally, Zamel suggests that there is much common ground between L2 and WAC pedagogy, and imagines "instructional approaches that build on students' competence"-suggesting that both pedagogy and other institutional practices need to be adjusted to work more effectively for ESL students (518). In order to make her points about pedagogy, Zamel includes work from

a range of important scholars, and I will briefly outline below the key ideas she uses to support her argument.

In his 1990 article "Really useful Knowledge in the Writing Classroom," which was delivered as part of a roundtable, John Trimbur discusses a 19th century educational reformer's concept for working class people—really useful knowledge. Trimbur calls into question the assertions of Rorty and other anti-foundationalists, who have "sapped our ability to imagine alternative sources of authority" (23). For Trimbur, authority and standardization is a reality students will have to face, but all authority and knowledge itself must be presented as a "contested site" (23). This is another important point in the conversation on attitudes and approaches to error and standardization. Though Horner may be perceived as somewhat radical compared to more traditional scholars of rhetoric and composition, he is not arguing for the absence of standards, but for pluralistic standards, and for a method that builds on an appreciation of the rich linguistic, cultural, and experiential backgrounds students bring to our writing classes.

Mary Louise Pratt's oft-quoted 1991 article "Arts of the Contact Zone" was given as a keynote address at the Responsibilities for Literacy Conference. Pratt tells the story of Guman Poma and his 17th century bilingual text "The First New Chronicles of Good Government". The idea seems to be to show an example of a heterogeneous text that draws on different languages and cultures to good effect. Pratt suggests that our modern American society needs to learn not to live only in its idealized/ mythical self, but to live in its multicultural reality. Pratt offers the now famous "contact zone" as the place where unequals may grapple for power. In his 1990 Journal of Education article, Tom Fox presents three ideological pedagogies and then presents his own ideologically driven approach to working with basic writers. For Fox, a skills focus, an initiating focus, or a clash of cultural styles can't fully explain the struggles basic writers face. For Fox, it's necessary to help students reflect on their place in the society and draw on their own discursive resources. To do this students have to get beyond two myths: that their discursive resources are useless and that the abyss between them and academia is too vast. I will bring up Fox's notion that students have to be allowed to see that "this [academic] community is theirs" again in chapter five (Fox 75).

Glenda Hull and Mike Rose in "This Wooden Shack Place," suggest an approach to working with remedial students in a way that allows for a more "transactional model of classroom discourse" (297), and opens the reading and interpretation of literature to a wider set of possible interpretations, which takes into account the varied experiences of students from diverse backgrounds. The ideological base for this article can be found in comments about the dubious nature of "teacher centered instruction" (297).

In her 1992 article from College Composition and Communication "The Friendly Stranger: Twenty-Five Years as "Other," Janice Neulieb contrasts her own early academic experiences with those of Mike Rose, and suggests that she is an "other" compared to her struggling students. Neulieb is part of academia and until she finds (we find) a way of bridging the gap between students' cultures and teachers' cultures struggling students cannot be reached. She suggests teachers must learn from and about students in order to help them. Part of what Neulieb calls for is an ethnographic methodology and another part of what she calls for is simply a relinquishing of authority and a genuine sharing of one's self authentically with students.

Aside from the fact that on the first pages of his "WAC/WID in the Next America" Hall credits Vivian Zamel as one of four who have "opened up a dialogue between WAC professionals and specialists in other fields" (Hall, Next America 33), Zamel is also quoted later in Hall's article as someone who "insists... [that] "what ESOL students need...is [also] good pedagogy for everyone" (Hall, Next America 44). It is this insistence that good ESL pedagogy is good WAC pedagogy that prompted me to analyze the one Zamel source that Hall cites -"Strangers in Academia: The Experiences of Faculty and ESL Students across the Curriculum". In reading "Strangers in Academia" I saw the focus of my previously analyzed themes narrow from five down to three primary and slightly altered thrusts: diversity, ideology, and pedagogy. It became evident while writing memos on my discourse analyses of Zamel's work that these three themes were more clearly traceable beyond Zamel's work and into her cited sources. Zamel argument that good pedagogy for ESL students is "good pedagogy for everyone" suggests the enormous potential of second langue writing, composition, and basic writing specialists working collaboratively to build solutions for all students in enthnoliguistically diverse college composition classes (Strangers 519).

Lives on the Boundary is also rife with comments on diversity in American schools and the pedagogical responses to diversity. Rose provides many examples from students and teachers he has known, and through the examples Rose makes the case that the doomsayers who point to a literacy crisis have "focused too narrowly on test scores and tallies of errors" (Rose, Lives 187). He calls for researchers and commentators to include "careful analysis of the students' histories...as well [as] analysis of the cognitive and social demands of the academic culture" (Rose, Lives 187). For Rose, in the end, we as a nation get what we pay for and "our educational ideals far outstrip our economic and political priorities" (Rose, Lives 188). Rose assures us that when he makes a plea to reexamine the way America's underprepared are taught and assessed that he is not "asking for soft-heartedness [but] simply trying to force precision" in a conversation that all too often relies on paltry and skewed data that brings a "false assurance of rigor" (Rose, Lives 200-201).

In reading all of the above-mentioned articles, it struck me that most of these authors had drawn on Mike Rose's seminal Lives on the Boundary. While Jonathan Hall does not cite Rose in his "WAC/ WID in the Next America" article, he is drawing on Rose's ideas via Zamel and other scholars. It is necessary then to look closely at Lives on the Boundary as a very generative work, which frames the three major areas that my discourse analyses have finally rested on (mythology, diversity, pedagogy), and also manages to influence the conversation on transitional college writers and the teaching of writing across two generations of scholarship. Zamel draws on Rose directly-citing three of his works in her bibliography—and she draws on him indirectly by bringing in a variety of sources that borrow from Rose's Lives on the Boundary (Neulieb 1992; Lu 1992; Horner 1992; and Gay 1993). This is telling, again, because the major threads that come out in Zamel's work, which are then drawn on by Hall to make his "Next America" argument to a WAC audience, are taken indirectly from Rose's Lives on the Boundary, and have the affect of nuancing the conversation on transitional college writers with Rose's enigmatic style. This influence is worth mentioning because it is the clearest and most influential example of "discursive formation" in my data set (Foucault 38).

Peripheral Analyses

In the final section of this chapter, I will discuss the analyses that were conducted of the articles in the data sample that had some minimal mention of transitional college writers or error and standardization. None of these articles had a substantive discussion of either transitional college writers or error and standardization.

During the initial scan of WAC Journal articles (Volumes 17-22), the following articles had at least one mention of key words or phrases related to second language writers, basic writers, or error and standardization. These articles showed much less focus on transitional college writers than those articles associated with Jonathan Hall's "WAC/WID in the Next America."

Jonathan Hall's "Toward a Unified Writing Curriculum: Integrating Freshman Composition" appeared in volume seventeen of the WAC Journal in September of 2006. In this article, Hall offers a unified curriculum as an approach to designing a writing program that naturally aligns objectives from basic writing through capstone WID courses in upper divisions of the academy. There is little focus on transitional college writers, but the notion of all writing courses in some way helping students transfer from one level to another is an important concept.

Carol Rutz's interview "Terry Myers-Zawacki: Creator of an Integrated Career" appeared in volume eighteen of the WAC Journal in September of 2007. This article traces the career of a leader in the field of writing across the curriculum, but has no substantive discussion of transitional college writers. The term ESL is used on page 62 in a sentence with the term "less-able writers"—which describes a workshop series designed to help George Mason faculty work with a "highly diverse student population." ESL is mentioned again on the same page in the sentence "funds two ESL specialists assigned to the writing center."

Jacob Blumner's "A Review of Engaged Writers and Dynamic Disciplines: Research on the Academic Writing Life" appeared in volume nineteen of the WAC Journal in August of 2008. There is one mention of developmental in this article that briefly reviews Zawacki and Thaiss's work. Again, there is no substantive discussion of transitional college writers, and the article was only included as an attempt to thoroughly survey the conversation. Even the term developmental is in the context of stages writers may go through as they progress at learning to write, and not in reference to developmental writing classes.

Carol Rutz's other interview "Richard Haswell: A Conversation with an Empirical Romanticist" appeared in volume twenty of the WAC Journal in November of 2009. In this interview, Haswell brings up the term developmental quite a lot, but only in terms of the impact of human developmental stages on learning (as in Piaget). ESL is mentioned only as part of a list of sources available on Haswell's CompPile.org site. Remedial writing is mentioned as part of a story about Students being required to take a test based on an unsound assessment. Finally, basic writers are mentioned, but again there is not much deep engagement with second language writers or basic writers.

"Exploring Response Culture in the World of WAC" by John Eliason Gonzaga and Thomas Schrand appeared in volume twenty of the WAC Journal in November of 2010. This is also an interesting article, but again it does not include a substantive discussion of second language or basic writers. There are two mentions of error, and in the endnotes the terms TESOL, error, and first year composition occur.

Chris Anson's "The Intradisciplinary Influence of Composition and WAC, 1967-1986" appeared in volume twenty-one of the WAC Journal in November of 2010. Chris Anson writes a very engaging article, but once again it is not squarely focuses on transitional college writers. The last article from the data set with any mention of transitional college writers or error and standardization is Stephen Sutherland's "Unsettling a Metaphor We Teach By: A Hybrid Essay on WAC Students as "Immigrants."" This article appeared in volume twentyone of the WAC Journal in November of 2010. This article also has very little mention of transitional college writers. Page 62 includes the term basic writing students. However, the ideas related to "unsettling a metaphor" are closely allied with my own notions of examining the conversation on transitional college writers in order to reveal and problematize some of the tacit assumptions related to working with TCWs.

Concluding Thoughts

Through discourse analysis of WAC Journal articles from 2006 to 2011, including careful analysis of Jonathan Hall's "WAC/WID in the Next America: Redefining Professional Identity in the Age of the Multilingual Majority," including analyses of the sources Hall draws on to build his argument, several important themes have emerged. After careful analysis of all the selected texts, the most important threads in this conversation have been analyzed and described. This analysis has revealed much about attitudes toward transitional college writers among scholars doing influential work in writing across the curriculum. The most important aspect of my analysis was the range of responses to error that were present in the articles that I analyzed (see figure 6).

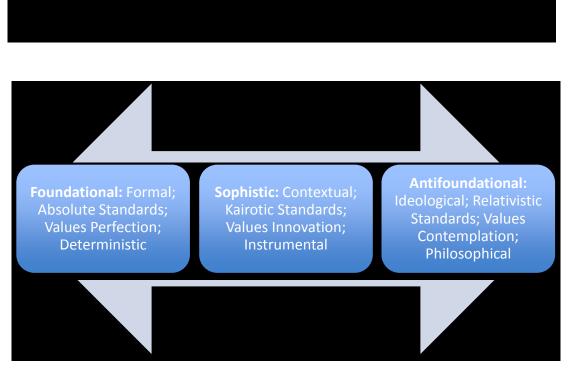


Figure 6. Range of Responses.

The second important aspect of my analysis is the description of a Sophistic attitude toward error and standardization (see figure 7).

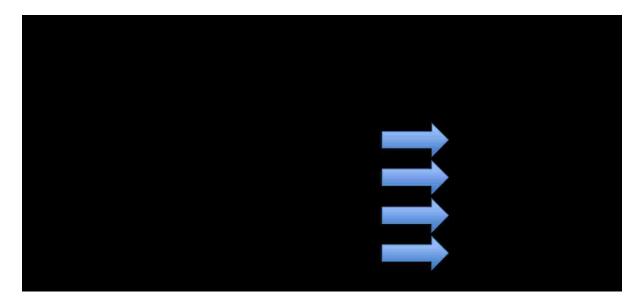


Figure 7. A Sophistic Approach to Error.

First, attitudes toward transitional college writers may be affected by ideological or mythological viewpoints. It is necessary to counteract literacy myths with accurate, current, and local data wherever possible. Next, diversity and the way in which diverse groups of students are characterized are more complex and fluid than is generally acknowledged. In order to respond more effectively to students from diverse backgrounds we need ways of characterizing students that respond to this complexity and fluidity. I will explore this subject further in chapter five. Finally, the need for a pedagogical response to the increasing diversity found in most college composition programs has been argued for in many of the articles that were analyzed here, and yet there is no consensus around what that pedagogical response should look like. Based on my analyses, I will synthesize the conversation on transitional college writers and outline the possibilities for pedagogy that supports students from diverse backgrounds.

Chapter Five: A Reasonable Approach to Error

"No one saw the intelligence of their mistakes or thought to harness that intelligence in the service of learning."

Mina Shaughnessy, Errors and Expectations, 11

As was discussed in some detail in chapter one, college writing classes are increasingly diverse places, and the need for a reasonable response to innovation in student writing is becoming more and more pressing. Preto-Bay and Hansen in a 2002 article from College English, "Preparing for The Tipping Point: Designing Writing Programs to Meet the Needs of the Changing Population," warn of the dire consequences of failing to work effectively with an increasingly diverse student body. In a collection of essays from 2006, entitled Cross Language Relations in Composition, Min-Zahn Lu, Bruce Horner, John Trimbur, and Paul Matsuda call for a new resolve to begin to understand and work with the diversity of college writing classes, not from a monolingual perspective, but from a perspective that is informed by the actual multilingual, multicultural reality we face. More recently, a host of prominent scholars in rhetoric and composition have begun advocating for a "translingual approach" to teaching writing in college (Horner et al. 2010). For those who administer writing programs the increased number of diverse student writers is perhaps the most important demographic shift of the last century. Individual teachers of composition can do much through both teaching and scholarship to forward approaches more inclusive and supportive of both basic writers and second language writers; however, without a national conversation and an informed and proactive program administrator it is unlikely that any

individual efforts will have either far reaching or lasting effects. Gaining a fuller understanding of the attitudes WAC professionals have toward error and diverse student writers is a prerequisite for any meaningful discussion of the importance of standardization in college writing and writing across the curriculum.

Responding to this diverse group of students, of necessity, involves dealing with error. While native speaking, middle class students may often be comfortable, or at least tolerant, of an expressivist approach which asks students to ignore mechanical and other discursive errors until later in the process, many have argued that this approach simply does not serve multilingual, non-traditional, and other students in the diverse milieu of early college writing (Connors 1997; Tate et al. 2001; Ferris & Hedgecock 2005). ESL students often demand help with lexicogrammatical errors, and non-traditional students from working class backgrounds often have little patience with finding their voice or being asked to critically analyze their values. Some, such as Irvine Peckham, have even criticized a focus on critical thinking as being biased toward middle class students (Peckham 43-48). On the other hand, students who speak a non-standard variety of English may struggle to succeed under the weight of an overly prescriptive approach to error. Neither a so-called current traditional approach, which overemphasizes error, nor an overly permissive approach to error meets the needs of an increasingly diverse student body. A balanced approach to teaching composition that is based on the history of the response to innovation; includes collaboration across various subfields interested in the teaching of writing; and draws on robust locally generated data is warranted. In this chapter, I will do several things: I will outline the range of approaches to error found in the core analyses of this project; drawing on this range of approaches, I will aggregate those approaches that are located on a continuum roughly

halfway between the poles of foundational and anti-foundational approaches to error (which I call sophistic approaches to the treatment of error); I will discuss some of the implications of implementing a sophistic approach; and finally, I will suggest some possibilities for expanding this sophistic approach beyond the treatment of lexico-grammatical innovation in student writing, into the realm of discursive innovation.

The Range of Responses to Error

In this section I present those approaches to error found in my analysis of the conversation in the WAC journal during a five-year period. As mentioned in chapter three, much of my analysis consisted of tracing ideas from the WAC Journal backward in time, and because of this genealogical method many of the articles I have analyzed were not WAC Journal articles, but were cited by authors writing in the WAC Journal. My intention has been to learn more about the conversation by tracing certain influential ideas to their roots. A secondary interest has been noticing the ways in which key terms and ideas move from one field to another in what Foucault has called the "discursive formation" of second language writing and basic writing as fields of study (38).

Before beginning to analyze the continuum of approaches to error, it is necessary to say a little about how the terms foundational and anti-foundational are being used here. Writing teachers who approach error from a foundational perspective demand a high level of adherence to prescriptive norms, and these instructors also support the upholding of strict linguistic conventions. Conversely, writing teachers approaching error from an antifoundational perspective demand that students use writing and thinking as a means of questioning the status quo, and these instructors support the de-construction of texts, genres, and all literate practices. If we look at responses to error on a continuum, using the terms foundational and anti-foundational to represent polar opposites— with the understanding that no approach is completely foundational or anti-foundational— we can graph the approaches to error. By graphing the variety of approaches to error we can move closer to deciding what might be considered a truly centrist and reasonable approach to the treatment of error within the reported range.

Very few of the publications examined in this dissertation advocated an approach that could be called foundational. In fact, most authors suggest approaches that are reactions to current traditional rhetoric, which is generally perceived in the scholarship as an overly foundational approach. However, much of the scholarship includes either an element of an approach that can be classified as foundational, or holds up the methods of someone else's approach to a critical lens, and deems it a foundational approach. In this way, my data set contains much discussion of foundational approaches to error. In an attempt to not only define, but also to illustrate, a foundational approach to error as observed in my analyses. A foundational approach as described in WAC related scholarship is *formal*, has *absolute standards of correctness*, *values perfection*, and is *deterministic*.

Foundational approaches to error are *formal* with a tendency to rely on overly prescriptive approaches and to focus on whether or not a piece of writing is in close conformity with the conventions of standard written English. In the arts, formalism signals an approach that emphasizes form over content, and foundational approaches to error also emphasize form over content. In relation to second language writing, Ann Raimes points out the formalistic properties of "ESL composition textbooks...[which are] deductive, productcentered, and based on a very limited concept of "English for academic purposes"" (qtd in Roy 23). In discussing scholarship on basic writing, Bruce Horner suggests that "basic writers' apparent inability to "see" their errors and correct them [has been used] as evidence of students' cognitive immaturity" (Horner, Mapping 41). Both Raimes and Horner point out the potentially damaging effects of an overly prescriptive approach in second language writing and basic writing classes. In research on Second Language Acquisition, S.N. Sridhar cautions against too much focus on "the "target"...of the idealized native speaker's competence," and instead urges SLA researchers to consider a "composite pragmatic model of bilingualism" that avoids an over-emphasis on formal correctness, which "condemns vibrant second languages and their speakers to a permanent subaltern state" (Sridhar 802). These cautions against an overly formal approach as represented in textbooks, basic writing classrooms, and SLA research studies remind us that such prescriptive practices still exist.

The notion that there is a clear, inviolable right and wrong regardless of the context may be a tenable position in other fields. However, the works of authors surveyed in this study suggest that it is problematic to apply an *absolutist* approach to the treatment of error in increasingly diverse contexts. Mary Louise Pratt, in her seminal MLA essay "Arts of the Contact Zone," argues that modern American society must accept the implications of its incredibly diverse population, which, for Pratt, means a less absolute, and more negotiated approach to the formation of "speech communities (37). Pratt cautions against traditional paradigms that forward conceptions of languages and discourse communities "held together by a homogenous competence of grammar shared identically and equally among all the members" (Pratt 37). Canagaraja, as suggested earlier, is also concerned with absolute standards of correctness for English, since it is increasingly the world's "lingua franca" (Canagaraja, Negotiating 207).

153

Kenneth Burke defines humans as being "rotten with perfection," and this perfectionist tendency is very much apparent in foundational approaches to the treatment of error (16). In her 1995 College Composition and Communication article "Strangers in Academia: The Experiences of Faculty and ESL Students across the Curriculum," Vivian Zamel discusses a situation that some faculty at her institution have referred to "as the "ESL Problem" (507). In Zamel's research, over-emphasis on the "deficient and inadequate" writing of ESL students is a kind of perfectionist expectation that overshadows the positive qualities in student writing (Zamel, Strangers 507). The idea of "defining students by their deficiencies" and the resulting "deficit theories" are, according to Fox, undermining to both teachers and students, and arise out of the impulse toward perfectionism (Fox 66). Suresh Canagaraja, writing in 2006 in the Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, laments the fact that "the code for writing" even in post-colonial, multilingual contexts is "standard written English" (Canagaraja, Negotiating 207). In the same article, Canagaraja argues for the acceptance of pluralistic standards that he sees as absent due to overly prescriptive approaches. Thinking of our students as problems, overemphasizing grammatical errors, and using a native speaker standard in all situations, are representative of perfectionistic standards present in college composition classes.

Another concern represented in the scholarship on error and standardization is the *deterministic* stance, which suggests that a student's first language, culture, or dialect will absolutely predict the student's success with college writing tasks. Zamel outlines the approach taken by two different instructors in a 1995 CCC article. Zamel explains one instructor's insistence that some students simply are "not adequately prepared to do this work," as a "deterministic stance" that leads inevitably to closing "students off from

participating in intellectual work" (Zamel, Strangers 510). In another article by Zamel from 1997, she again "take[s] issues with the determinism" she sees inherent in attempts to attribute a student's struggle with English as derivative of the first language, thereby suggesting "that a student's cultural and linguistic background will be problematic and limiting" (Zamel, Toward 343). This inability to imagine alternate outcomes for students from similar backgrounds is extremely limiting, and leads toward self-fulfilling prophecy as expectations in the classroom are often fulfilled. Determinism also voids any possibility of positive transfer from the first language or dialect, which could be turned to productive use by the student.

As with the foundational approach, few of those researchers examined in this dissertation advocated a purely antifoundational approach to the treatment of error. However, the tenets of such an approach are described and affirmed by a variety of works. Antifoundational approaches are *ideological*, *relativistic*, *contemplative*, and *philosophical*.

Ideology figures prominently into antifoundational approaches. Zamel, for example, urges teachers to "question approaches that are reductive and formulaic" and to "examine the notion that the language of the academy is a monolithic discourse that can be packaged and transmitted to students" (Zamel, Strangers 516). Horner cites Bartholomae's concerns that basic writing is in danger of "confirming existing patters of power and authority, reproducing the hierarchies we had meant to question and overthrow" (qtd in Horner, Mapping 30). Min-Zhan Lu also forwards an ideological position that favors "conflict and struggle" over "the "teaching of "correctness" in syntax, spelling, and punctuation" (Lu, Conflict 910). Tom Fox credits David Bartholomae and Patricia Bizzell with the partial instigation of a ""social revolution" in composition studies" (Fox 68). Patricia Laurence, in her 1993 Journal of Basic

Writing Article "The Vanishing Site of Mina Shaughnessy's Errors and Expectations," offers the view of Min-Zahn Lu's work as "foregrounding..."politics," and criticizing writing "pedagogies [like Shaughnessy's] which promote a...politics of linguistic innocence" (30-31).

Approaches to teaching writing based on post-modern ideology have often been criticized for their relativistic standards that do not provide adequate assessment measures. The absence of standards is a legitimate concern, and so it is worth separating *relativistic* approaches to error from nihilistic approaches to error. In the terms of this dissertation, we can think of an approach to error without any standard for correctness as nihilistic, and an approach to error that depends on the consideration of a specific context as a relativistic approach to error. Mark Modiano, for example, points out the arbitrariness of standards and the contingent nature of language (Modiano 222-224). John Trimbur is critical of nihilistic approaches to teaching writing when he claims that "the problem with Rorty's antifoundationalist warning...is that it has sapped our political will and our desire to imagine alternatives sources of authority," and for Trimbur this leads to a problematic dichotomy of either no standards or foundational standards (Trimbur, Really Useful 23). In this spirit, it seems that teachers of writing do not need to abandon all standards and all authorities, but instead need to look for better standards and better authorities.

The idea that college composition students do not know how to carry out critical thought is widespread in the literature on the teaching of writing. Critical thinking is an important concern for many in the field, and, as some have suggested what critical thinking actually entails is often undefined. For some, critical thinking might be 'thinking like me,' and for others, such as Irvine Peckham critical thought has very clearly defined, class-bound

characteristics (Peckham 49). In any case, one point of general agreement in much of the scholarship that can be characterized as antifoundational is the desire that students take a *contemplative* stance toward the world and themselves. Vivian Zamel warns against "service course ideology" that reduces instruction "to simple discrete problems [and] keeps teachers from exploring students' knowledge and potential" (Zamel, Strangers 515). Ann Johns, on the other hand, worries about professors "grading only for content," and seems concerned for ESL students whose instructors "completely ignore error" (Johns, ESL Students 153). Ruth Spack calls on teachers to be open to rhetorical and discursive flexibility. She also calls on teachers to take a critical stance toward western rhetoric; realizing different approaches to argument and even genre do not necessarily imply cognitive deficits. This approach requires teachers of writing to be somewhat familiar with contrastive rhetoric.

The centuries old debate between those who advocate for philosophy and those who advocate for rhetoric is also represented in the antifoundational position that argues for a more *philosophical* approach to the teaching of composition— one that demands philosophic thought from students in first year writing.

The description of a sophistic approach to error in this section is based on a synthesis of concepts that were advocated in the professional conversation and repeated with enough frequency, so that they are clearly a part of the discursive formation related to transitional college writers and error and standardization.

It is important to say from the beginning that sophism has been drawn into a longstanding debate among foundationalists and antifoundationalists concerning the absence of standards. Sophism, even as outlined by those in the antifoundational camp, does not imply a nihilistic epistemology. Bruce McComiskey addresses this concern in his *Gorgias and the* New Sophistic Rhetoric, when he claims that for "Gorgias, opinions are communal and governed by language," which is not the same thing as a nihilistic disavowal of any standard of behavior (20). A communal truth-worked out within the kairotic bounds of time and space—does create standards, and, as such, though perhaps contingent, these contextual standards demand adherence if the rhetor is to be successful in her quest to build ethos, communicate effectively, and achieve her aims. A further example that shows the common misrepresentation of the sophists as without standards is related to the Protagorean concept of man as the measure. Edward Schiappa explains the way in which both Plato and Aristotle reduced Protagoras' claim to absurdity through "a distortion of Protagoras' relativism," (Schiappa, 192) which essentially claims that Protagoras' man as the measure statement both "refuted itself and... violated the law of non contradiction" (190). However, as Schiappa explains, one who holds a relativistic epistemology does not necessarily argue for the absence of standards. Instead, for Protagoras, a relativistic epistemology simply implies the possibility of individual and differing standards. Therefore, a theory of error based on a relativistic epistemology— that might be employed in the teaching of composition—is not necessarily antifoundational or nihilistic. A sophistic approach to the treatment of error, as found in my analyses is *contextual*, *kairotic*, *innovative*, and *instrumental*.

One of the first things we can say about a sophistic approach to error is that it is *contextual*, based on local, contingent norms of correctness. For Mike Rose this means faculty should be able "to consider the writing problems of their students in dynamic and historical terms" (Rose, Language 358). In her 1997 Written Communication article "The Acquisition of Academic Literacy in a Second Language: a Longitudinal Case Study," Ruth Spack cautions faculty against creating "curricula based on unexamined assumptions about

what students will need to succeed" (29). In his discussion of the importance of "negotiating" the norms of discourse among faculty and students, Bruce Horner forwards a vision of the writing classroom as "a site of contestation," which suggests a communal and contextualized agreement about standards of correctness (Horner, Mapping 38). For Dwight Atkinson, even critical thinking must be contextualized for students, as "critical thinking is cultural thinking" (qtd in Johns, ESL Programs 151). This suggests that there is a need to examine so-called errors of logic in light of the cultural context, and the background of the student. S.N. Sridhar calls on SLA researchers to contextualize SLA theories within the "ecology of multilingualism [which] views the multilingual's linguistic repertoire as a unified, complex, coherent, interconnected, interdependent, organic ecosystem" (Sridhar 803). Basham, Ray and Whalley point out the importance of context by suggesting that performance on any academic reading or writing task requires "an understanding of the sociocultural framework within which this literacy act takes place" (Basham, Ray & Whalley 311). Carolyn Metalene compares rhetoric to ecology, in her 1985 College English essay "Contrastive Rhetoric: An American Writing Teacher in China," suggesting that both rhetoric and ecology "emphasize the inescapable and, to a great extent, decisive influence of the local conditions" (789). Jennifer Jenkins, in calling the communicative language teaching method into question, wonders about the rightness of any one approach to teaching English, and suggests we should instead be concerned about "appropriate methodology for learners in different...contexts of language learning and use" (Jenkins, Current 173). The importance of an approach to the treatment of error that is responsive to the context of instruction is a key element of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error, as is clearly represented in the analysis of the discourse on error and standardization in writing across the curriculum.

Another important part of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error is the concept of *kairotic* standards of correctness. Isocrates defined kairos as "fitness for the occasion" (Trail 101). In an earlier section of this chapter, I contrasted relativistic and nihilistic standards, claiming that a position advocating no standards of correctness would be nihilistic, while a relativistic position would simply advocate different standards in different contexts. To go slightly further in separating these varied theoretical positions on correctness, we could say that kairotic standards of correctness are standards that fit the discursive, rhetorical, and textual occasion. Alice Roy reminds us "nobody *becomes* a native speaker," and asks instructors to simply consider whether the "appropriate standards have been met" (Roy 23) when assessing the work of second language writers. The suggestion that we consider any given assignment within a specific rhetorical context is not revolutionary. However, to suggest that we consider lexicogrammatical appropriacy as kairotic may be.

Another important tenet of a sophistic approach is the re-characterization of variation in student writing. The possibility that an instance of lexicogrammatical or rhetorical deviation from prescribed norms might strengthen the writer's ethos and be considered an *innovation* rather than an error is a core element of this re-characterization. In Giroux's terms this means "allowing students to rewrite their own histories, identities, and learning possibilities" (qtd in Horner, Mapping 39). In trying to determine whether a particular variation in student writing might be useful, Bruce Horner calls for "reflexive reading" that attempts to separate innovation from error by "question[ing] the student as to why he or she uses a particular notation or syntax and the meaning he perceives from such notations and syntax" (Horner, Mapping 46). Pamela Gay, in her 1993 Journal of Basic Writing article "Rereading Shaughnessy from a Postcolonial Perspective," refers to this reflective practice as

learning "to use difference as a source of strength" (34). Ann Johns discusses the importance of writing program administrators' openness to innovation among second language writers, and that it is important to "help faculty recognize the variety of needs, language proficiencies, and cultural contributions among linguistically diverse students" (Johns, ESL Students 148). Johns goes on to address the complexity of teaching students from diverse backgrounds, and in the end expresses her appreciation of the "polyphony...diversity" and the resulting "appreciation of difference," which, for Johns, is one of the "most important achievements of a North American liberal education" (Johns, ESL Students 156). Ilona Leki brings up an important consideration related to innovation and second language writers when she discusses in detail some of the "coping strategies" employed by five second language writers in their first semester of college. For Leki, the goal of her research was to learn more about the literacy skills students brought with them, as well as the strategies they learned during the first semester of college (Leki, Coping 235). Several types of strategies emerge form the study and in the end one of Leki's recommendations for teachers is to help students find strategies they are already using, and then bring these strategies to the level of consciousness, so that they may be drawn on at will. To be more specific, Leki discusses three strategies that are particularly applicable to the task of encouraging innovation among second language writers: "relying on past writing experiences...taking advantage of first language/ culture...[and] using current or past ESL writing training" (240). Leki gives specific examples of students from a variety of backgrounds who have, during her study, successfully applied one or more of these strategies. Leki also provides a detailed suggestion that teachers "consult with students to learn what strategies they already consciously use, help them bring to consciousness others that they may use and not be aware of using, and

perhaps suggest yet others that they had not thought of before" (259). Carolyn Metalene uses her experience as an American teacher of writing in China to expose some of the tacit assumptions contained within the western rhetorical tradition, and she suggests compositionists should try to "understand and appreciate...the relativity of our own rhetoric" (Metalene 806). Metalene also posits that we need to "commit ourselves to reinventing our own rhetorical tradition...[and] as our world becomes a global village in which ethnocentrism is a less and less appropriate response, we need to understand and appreciate rhetorical systems that are different from our own" (790). This appreciation of differing rhetorical systems would of course involve the recognition of lexicogrammatical innovation, in the sense that the use of language at the syntactic level is rhetorical. Suresh Canagaraja argues for the "pluralization of language," in which standards of correctness are negotiated within specific, local contexts (Canagaraja, Negotiating 201). Though Canagaraja is referring primarily to English usage in contexts beyond US higher education, the idea is nonetheless applicable to the treatment of error and innovation in writing programs. Canagaraja's assertion that "communities and individuals should exert their agency to negotiate with English and preserve their interests" is an expression of Kairos in action because it urges an accurate conception of audience within a particular place and time (Canagaraja, Negotiating 202).

Another aspect of a sophistic approach to error is the realization that language, rhetoric and intention interact in concrete settings in order to create meaning. While a foundational approach may be deterministic and an antifoundational approach may be philosophical, a sophistic approach is *instrumental*. This terminology illustrates the "rich and complicated notion of language," and also "recognizes that language evolves and responds to the context of saying something meaningful, [and] that language and meaning are reciprocal and give rise to one another" (Zamel, Strangers 509). This interactional quality between the writer, the language, and the immediate situation is complicated by our increasingly diverse context, in which the writer is enmeshed in a heterogeneous milieu. Bruce Horner calls for "listening to those voices that come from the margins," and suggests that in listening to those marginal voices we will be able to position each student "as a writer engaged in an attempt to make meaning" (Horner, Mapping 46). From this point of view, appropriate usage is determined partly by the intention of the writer and partly by the 'on the ground' ethos generated by each text, and each line of text in context. Instrumentality in this sense means that every instance of lexicogrammatical innovation must be judged by its possible effect on the reader, and not simply by foundational standards or conventions of correctness. Tom Fox laments the inability of public schools to educate students who come from disenfranchised groups through either initiation strategies or focus on skills. As Fox says in a 1990 Journal of Education article, "the need is not so much to initiate students into the discourse community, to teach them the particular forms of language in the academy. Instead we need to convince students that this community is theirs" (Fox 75). The idea that students in their respective classroom contexts actually have a part in constructing the norms of communicative competence may seem a revolutionary concept, but, once again, it is not a suggestion that teachers of writing abandon standardization, but simply a suggestion that standards of correctness are created in 'conversation' with student writers. Suresh Canagaraja, in discussing the Lingua Franca Core as a set of pronunciation standards that "multilingual speakers adopt to facilitate intelligibility" suggests that many researching in this area have turned away from the idea of a common core of phonological elements, and have begun

"focusing more on the negotiation strategies of multilingual speakers" (Canagaraja, Negotiating 200). The parallel between phonological and lexicogrammatical standards of correctness would suggest a practical analog for writing teachers-namely that these 'negotiation strategies' are more crucial to students in an increasingly globalized college composition context, than a set of prescriptions about usage, whether rhetorical or lexicogrammatical. Barbara Seidelhofer reminds us of the importance of a "critical evaluation of the pedagogic relevance of linguistic description," and in so doing reaffirms the notion that "pedagogy should...refer to, but not defer to, linguistic descriptions" (Seidelhofer 225). And it is Peter Elbow who most clearly states the instrumental compromise between helping students learn what they need in order to write successfully in the disciplines, and yet also taking the students' strengths into consideration. Elbow suggests teachers of writing "help students learn how to take...pieces written in the vernacular and revise them into SWE" (Elbow, Vernacular 130). And it is this spirit of the first language or dialect, not in conflict with but in service to the target language, that is representative of the instrumentality of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error, and indeed to a sophistic attitude to the overall teaching of college composition.

In this brief section, I will outline those whose work advocates for a middle path between the foundational and the antifoundational. Both Diane Belcher and Peter Elbow's work from my data set is very centrist in that both advocate for drawing on student resources in order to achieve proficiency with SWE, but also argue for the necessity of changing the system so that alternate varieties of English are more readily accepted in academic contexts. Both scholars might be thought of as just slightly to the foundational side because they do argue for student adherence to a codified standard variety of English.

164

Vivian Zamel makes the clearest case for an approach that draws on student strengths to achieve a positive transfer of skills from the first language to the target language. The argument that we take up a positive approach, which allows for the possibility of second language and second dialect speakers actually enriching English, is a very hopeful suggestion. Zamel is at the perfect center of the continuum because she combines the notion of positive transfer with the notion of enrichment of Standard Written English through contact with other Englishes; and, this bi-directional approach has a great deal of promise for an increasingly diverse college composition context.

Alice Roy is also relatively centrist as she argues that English teachers do not need to be gatekeepers as long as they are preparing students for success in jobs and school. Matsuda and Leki are also relatively centrist, but perhaps somewhat to the antifoundational side as they remind us that non-native speakers will never become native speakers. Leki argues for a pedagogy of inclusiveness and in so doing suggests that we must accept some variation in student writing.

A Reasonable Approach to Error

As outlined in the above section, a sophistic approach to the treatment of error is *contextual, kairotic, innovative*, and *instrumental*. This dissertation is not particularly interested in disrupting dominant paradigms, subverting grand narratives, or resisting the hegemonic power structures inherent in discursive practices. Conversely, it is not focused on supporting foundational or overly prescriptive approaches based on tradition or linguistic discrimination. The focus is on finding ways to teach writing in the most effective way possible. An approach that avoids the extremes of a foundational or an anti-foundational approach, as outlined in the previous section of this chapter, is the surest way to ensure that

students build strong syntactic, rhetorical, and discursive practices that will serve them well throughout their academic and professional lives.

An approach to teaching composition that addresses the question of how to respond appropriately to difference in student writing must be a multidisciplinary venture— drawing on scholarship from all the aforementioned disciplines. In order to learn more about a reasonable approach to innovation in student writing (one that is cognizant of the need for standardization, but does not allow the treatment of error to dominate the approach), I took part in a study of responses to student writing among faculty from across the disciplines in three different institutions. We began by looking at the work of Thais and Zawacki, particularly their 2006 monograph Engaged Writers and Dynamic Disciplines. Thais and Zawacki investigate what constitutes good academic writing for faculty across the disciplines, and suggest that their study be replicated in a variety of socioeconomic contexts. Our study, begun during the fall of 2010 by a team of graduate students at the University of New Mexico, reproduced a part of Thais and Zawacki's study in the cross-institutional context of Central New Mexico Community College, the University of New Mexico, and New Mexico Highlands University. The team was interested in learning about expectations for writing across a variety of disciplines and at a variety of levels-from developmental classes in a two year school, to undergraduate and graduate classes at a research 1 university and a regional university. The wide range of responses—more than 100 surveys and 12 interviews across 25 departments— suggest a certain amount of ambivalence about the treatment of error in the writing of non-native English speakers across the disciplines. There is evidence that sentence level errors cause instructors to mark other areas of papers as substandard, such as content and overall structure. This tendency for syntactic errors to affect the ratings of other components of students' writing in the disciplines suggests even more conclusively that error should be a central concern for those who teach college writing to diverse groups of students.

Several clear themes related to the treatment of error emerged from the research group's data analysis. The primary themes (those that were cited in several generations of research) were: the need for a method of instruction that allows students to make use of their first language while composing in the target language (sometimes called positive transfer); the need to learn more about the local context and expectations for good writing across the curriculum; and, the idea that some errors matter more than others.

In his essay from the early 1980s "The Phenomenology of Error," Joseph Williams calls for an approach to error that creates a way of evaluating error based on the effect it has on the reader. It is important to separate errors that negatively affect the reader's impression of the writer, which we might call ethos-damaging errors, from those errors that have little effect. Learning more about which errors damage the writer's ethos, and thereby damage the writer's chance of constructing a successful argument, certainly deserves attention. However, this project does not attempt to determine which errors are ethos damaging errors, as the main work of this dissertation is to describe the conversation on error and standardization in relation to student writers from diverse backgrounds.

A description or catalog of ethos damaging errors would involve a local assessment project that surveyed expectations for writers across the disciplines. Part of such a project would fall under the heading of "organic writing assessment" or "dynamic criteria mapping" because it would be an attempt to describe the local realities of one particular context (Broad et al. 4-7). Through looking closely at local expectations as well as local ecologies writing programs would be able to more authoritatively set curricular objectives related to sentence level correctness. Aside from assessment, the following section explores ways that writing programs might expand a sophistic approach beyond attention to the sentence level as outlined in this dissertation.

Possibilities for Expanding the Sophistic Approach

Though this dissertation does not discuss the matter in detail, there are clearly possibilities for the expansion of a sophistic approach to the treatment of both generic and rhetorical variation. While sentence level error is often the most obvious feature of variance in the writing of transitional college writers, genre variations and differences in rhetoric have already been widely studied.

Vijay Bhatia and Ken Hyland have both conducted notable research into the analysis of genre, and Hyland in particular has focused on generic variation among second language writers (Bhatia 1993; Hyland 2004). Bhatia approaches genre from the perspective of rhetorical move analysis, and constructs descriptions and norms for a variety of business genres. Hyland's work, though strongly rooted in theory, contains very clear pedagogical suggestions that arise from his deep understanding both of how genres are constructed and how student writers approach, master, and at times alter established generic patterns. Drawing on the work of Bhatia and Hyland, college composition instructors might devise a method for deciding— much as has been suggested for sentence level variations— when a generic variation adds to, subtracts from, or has a neutral effect on the ethos of the writer.

The last element of a Sophistic approach to teaching college writing would be an approach to reasonable rhetoric based on the work of Chaim Perelman, Stephen Toulmin, and Wayne C. Booth. All three theorists make the case for constructing arguments in a

pluralistic, and at times divided society, and come out with answers for how to change one's mind, and how to argue systematically about values (Toulmin 1958; Booth 1974; Perelman 1982). It is particularly important to be able to locate *good reasons* in a pluralistic context, and would also be helpful to students who bring rhetorics from other communities to the table. Thais and Zawacki also discuss variation in many other areas, and suggest a Toulminian model of argument because it is a flexible approach. Thaiss and Zawacki further acknowledged that what constitutes a reasonable argument in one discipline may not constitute a reasonable argument in another discipline (Thais and Zawacki 8-13). The work of Wayne C. Booth, particularly his work on 'moderns dogmas' and that of Chaim Perelman and his ideas about finding a way to argue (in a very Aristotelian fashion) about things for which we do not have certain knowledge, will be important in helping students from increasingly diverse backgrounds not necessarily come to agreement about things, but at least find stasis on particular topics within particular classes. There is much potential benefit in conducting further research into methods that instructors can use to help students work productively with innovation in all three senses that I have discussed—the rhetorical, the generic, and the syntactic.

Implications of Implementing a Sophistic Approach

Jennifer Jenkins' monograph *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, published in 2000, suggested the novel idea that pronunciation need not be taught with a native speaker in mind, but instead should be taught to avoid miscommunication between non-native speakers—those represented in Braj Kachru's expanding outer circle (Kachru 1992). This idea is in line with much previous (Phillipson 1992) and also some recent scholarship in World Englishes, such as that by Suresh Canagaraja and Jennifer Jenkins (Canagaraja1999; Jenkins 2007). If this method of focusing on what Jenkins has labeled the Lingua Franca core is a workable prospect in the diverse ELT/ World Englishes context, is it not then also a good idea in the increasingly diverse context of college writing? Of course, in composition classes we are dealing with writing and not phonology or spoken English; however, the suggestion that standards of correctness in pronunciation should judge speech by its intelligibility or effectiveness, is a concept that is easily translated to a composition classroom with a diverse student population.

Valdes has made the case that much of what bothers readers, that which damages the ethos of second language writers, is what she calls a "non-phonological accent" (47). This focus on non-phonological or written accent provides a connection between teaching composition and Jenkins work in phonology, and it is why I argue here for a 'reasonable approach' to the treatment of error. For Jenkins, mutual intelligibility is the goal, and teaching a lingua franca core of phonological elements is the answer. For multilingual writers in college composition classes, strong communication and ethos is the goal, and a flexible set of discursive strategies addressing the syntactic, generic and rhetorical exigencies is the answer.

As outlined above, there is a growing awareness of and response to diversity in college writing classes. For example, the editors and chapter authors of *Cross Language Relations in Composition* have all been involved in academic advocacy efforts aimed at bringing the necessary discussion about diversity and a reasoned response to linguistic variation to the fore. Having worked as a teacher of developmental writing and an administrator in an adult basic education program since 2002, I have an orientation that sees diversity as the norm. And while I know this as my reality, it is important to remember that

not everyone sees the need to accommodate diversity or even to allow for it in any real and sustained way. As Carol Severino outlines in her work "The Sociopolitical Implications of Response to Second-Language and Second-Dialect Writing," there are multiple approaches one can take to working with diversity, ranging from accommodating diversity to demanding students adhere strictly to the established discursive requirements of the academy (336-340). Within the space between asking students to throw away their old selves for a new collegiate identity, and asking instructors to completely accommodate students there is room for a compromise of sorts.

When responding to the diverse context of college writing classes today, it is important to be aware of the history of responding to diversity in American colleges. As I stated in a previous chapter, many of the changes in English studies have been driven by a response to marginal groups of students. This included basic writing and the work of Mina Shaughnessy, David Bartholomae, Mike Rose, and others, and it also included the work of educators working with second language learners. Paul Matsuda outlines the brief history of second language writing in "Composition Studies and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor". In 1941, in response to growing numbers of second language students on its campus, the University of Michigan began it's English Language Institute (ELI) under the guidance of Charles Fries. The ELI concept has been hugely influential and replicated in various guises throughout the U.S. By 1966 sessions dedicated to ESL students at CCCC were poorly attended, and in the same year TESOL was formed. This led to both the professionalization of the teaching of ESL and to a growing split between TESOL and Composition that persists to this day. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s approaches to teaching writing to ESL students tended to fluctuate between a controlled and a guided

approach. The controlled approach was very much based on Current Traditional Rhetoric and ideas about strict adherence to native-speaker-like prose, while the guided approach drew on behaviorist approaches more heavily. By the 1970's and early 80s a process approach to composition began to infiltrate ESL classrooms. The work of Raimes supported elements of process writing within the ELT profession. In many ways, the development of the discipline of second language writing has followed the mainstream trends in teaching writing, though the two disciplines have continued to be largely separate. This separation is an important consideration. It is crucial that second language writing and TESOL scholars work together with mainstream composition scholars and teachers (including WAC, WID, WPA specialists) if the diversity within 21st century writing programs is to be addressed effectively.

Diversity and the current budgetary nightmare most of us are living under, means that anything that could appear as extraneous to the mission of retention and graduation is often wiped away through reduced funding. In the remainder of this dissertation, taking into consideration the immense needs and the immense limitations, I will make a few suggestions—that include some of the curricular, personnel, advocacy and budgetary implications of administering a wring program based on a sophistic attitude toward transitional college writers and error and standardization.

The students studied in the aforementioned research study at Central New Mexico Community College (CNM) and the University of New Mexico (UNM) generally identified with at least one of the following descriptors— Hispanic, Native American, non-traditional, or working class. In line with Kells' suggestions to draw on "the rhetorical resources within our domain," and to build a program based on our students' communities, it is critically important that curriculum design take diversity into account (Kells, Mapping 210), and as student diversity increases in areas that were traditionally less diverse, it will necessary for a growing number of communities to list student diversity as a key consideration in curriculum and program design.

Taking diversity into account in a writing class means examining both the incoming students and the planned, sometimes unplanned, trajectories of those students. Asking questions about literacy and the experiences of students is not merely a feel good activity but one more way of assessing any given student's readiness to engage successfully with written academic discourse. The practice of assessing the readiness of individual students should, of course, be combined with other kinds of assessments, both formative and summative, and undertaken at the class, program, and division level. Finding out more about where students are planning to go (an associates degree; a certificate in welding; a graduate degree in History) is another important factor in designing curriculum for students. Knowing what to do with the knowledge gained from asking such questions is where much of the current research on best assessment practices is focusing (Huot 2002; Broad et al. 2009; Adler-Kassner & O'Neill 2010).

While familiarity with rhetoric and composition research and knowledge of broad national conversations is critically important, it is equally important to find out more about one's local context. The standards for good writing in the disciplines will likely vary from one institution to another. Stephen Toulmin in his seminal work *The Uses of Argument* discusses the constitution of a reasonable argument across different disciplines, and comes to the conclusion that there are both *field dependent* arguments and *field invariant* arguments (33-36). If this is true across disciplines, it is likely also true across geographic borders. We need to consider whether there are in fact location dependent and location invariants

arguments. Research into local discursive practices is needed to design an effective curricular response to diversity and to understand what constitutes good writing in one's local context.

There is, of course, the ever-present desire and need for faculty members to, in some degree, accurately mirror the ethnolinguistic diversity of the student body. The need to hire a diverse faculty is a reality, and something that most institutions work toward. Another important consideration is professional development in a diverse context and the need to respond to linguistic diversity by listening to Paul Matsuda's advice about training and staffing classes with instructors who are skilled at working with ethnolinguistic diverse students. Matsuda explains that there has been a "disciplinary division of labor" between those skilled at teaching writing and those skilled at working with second language learners (Matsuda, Disciplinary Division 710). It is high time, according to Matsuda, and others such as Ilona Leki, and Suresh Canagaraja that more cross-disciplinary work occurs to support multilingual writers and those who teach them (Matsuda 2006; Canagaraja 2006; Leki 1992). The formation of the Journal of Second Language Writing, and the Symposium on Second language writing, as well as sessions on multilingual writers at the CCCC are doing much to move this discussion forward. However, a careful perusal of the Journal of Second Language Writing or College English will reveal the still existent split between composition and second language writing. At the program level, much could be done to encourage cross-disciplinary collaboration. Workshops, and seminars can be organized, such as events that have draw faculty from CNM and UNM to discuss issues around multilingual writers. Perhaps WAC programs, such as UNM Writing Across Communities are in the best position to encourage these kinds of relationships among teachers of composition, second language writing

specialists, and those who teach writing in their respective disciplines at a variety of levels, including two-year colleges, four-year colleges, and research 1 institutions.

In *The Activist WPA: Changing Stories about Writing and Writers*, Linda Adler-Kassner discusses the "ways that control over education—including control over the way that education is framed—have been systematically taken away from teachers" (15). Adler-Kassner insists it is crucial for WPAs to become active change agents and to actually begin "framing the stories that are told about the work of writing instruction (18). This is of particular importance to those at state schools who live under the auspices of state or federal allocations. It is important, as Adler-Kassner reminds us, that we not simply wait, but that we advocate. Assessment is a critical element in the advocacy process, and unless we define success for a diverse group of students in terms that respect research in language acquisition and rhetoric and composition we are likely to be saddled with an impossible set of mandates, and then see our programs deemed failing when we are unable to achieve the impossible. We need to define the standards for our programs through local, responsive norms and then set clear, measureable, and achievable expectations for our teachers and our students.

Conclusion

The idea of pursuing work related to Reasonable Correctness began in response to a search for a compromise between the strict prescriptivism of Current Traditional Rhetoric and the somewhat lax attitudes toward grammar and mechanics that seem to emanate from the process approach—particularly the more expressivist branch of the process approach. Milroy and Milroy outline this long debated history of stances taken toward error in their work, and Finnegan also discusses American attitudes to variation in grammar, syntax, and lexicon (Milroy & Milroy; Finnegan 1980). An overemphasis of lexico-grammatical

correctness is extremely detrimental to the persistence of second language writers and basic writers. On the other hand, an approach, which completely eschews grammar and syntax, does not teach second language writers and basic writers what they need to learn in order to succeed in college level writing tasks (Kroll 1990; Hyland 2003).

By combining work being done in TESOL, second language writing, basic writing world Englishes with that being done in composition studies, including WAC, WPA, and even broadening the context to include adult basic education and developmental writing, we might move efforts forward in order more effectively support transitional college writers. We need to draw on research from a variety of fields in order to address the increasingly diverse context that we, as college writing teachers at all levels, will face in the coming years.

My work aligns with and draws on research in rhetoric and composition, second language writing, basic writing, and adult education. I have drawn on theories of argumentation from Aristotelian, Sophistic, and Critical perspectives in order to attempt a description of the rage of prominent approaches to error within the field of writing across the curriculum, and I have looked at a wide range of second language writing, basic writing, and adult education research in order to similarly describe a range of approaches to error across these respective fields. Though the attitudes toward transitional college writers and error and standardization are varied, there is a great deal of evidence that compromise and cooperation are not only possible, but already underway in many places, and that the WAC movement is the logical place for these many strands of scholarship and best practices to converge.

When meaning is context dependent and unstable, as it certainly seems to be in our postmodern context, it becomes necessary to find ways to argue from probability not from Platonic certainty. Though we cannot perhaps find shared cultural values in the current college writing milieu, we can attempt to find disciplinary values. The pedagogical implications of reasonable correctness can be applied to lexicogrammatical correctness, generic norms, and rhetorical norms. Following a strict prescriptive approach or completely dismissing the teaching of norms is not very helpful to any of our students, and can be particularly dismissive of the unique needs of multilingual, bi-dialectal, non-traditional students. An approach to teaching college writing that balances the many needs of today's college students— to acquire rhetorical skills; to gain access to discourse communities; to draw on a diverse range of strengths— can foster more productive learning spaces. The hope of both implementing and further studying a Sophistic approach to the teaching of college writing— one that builds on the synergistic and kairotic potential of working across disciplinary and institutional boundaries within the increasingly diverse US college context— is at the heart of my work.

Chapter Six: Summary of Key Findings

Introduction

Through the implementation of a hermeneutic process that traces the generative themes and the intellectual genealogy prominent in five years of WAC scholarship, this project has aimed to expand our understanding of attitudes toward error and standardization held by Writing Across the Curriculum specialists. In particular the focus has been on finding out more about the attitudes WAC specialists have toward error in the writing of diverse students. This study is based on a qualitative analysis combined with a hermeneutic method that interprets the attitudes toward error and diverse student writers held by WAC scholars as evidenced by the review of 86 articles. I described several key threads in the conversation on diverse student writers and error, and I have extrapolated attitudes toward diverse student writers and error across the WAC community, based on the group of texts that were analyzed. The most important and far-reaching finding is that—though a range of responses to error are represented and discussed—the overwhelming majority of the works studied advocate a reasonable approach to error, which I will outline and explicate in this final chapter.

Appropriating the Sophists

In order to adequately describe and to theorize about my findings, I have borrowed terms and concepts from recent scholarship on the Greek Sophists, primarily Susan Jarratt, Edward Schiappa, and Bruce McComiskey. Many prominent scholars whose work focuses on the Sophists caution us against reading their fragmented body of texts as a monolithic whole, since the Sophists were a widely varied group of teachers and rhetoricians who were only very much later assembled as *The Greek Sophists* (Schiappa 71-73). And yet across

many of the canonical Sophistic works and fragments there are certain strands of ideas that are shared. I have appropriated the Sophists by focusing on two of these widely circulated ideas.

First the cosmopolitan reality of 5th century Athens, combined with the emergence of democracy, necessitated a focus on rhetorical flexibility and responsiveness in speaking and writing. In looking back at Athenians of the 5th century BCE, we can see that their need to communicate effectively across a range of linguistic and cultural differences mirrors our own need to produce written communication across a range of differences in the college writing classroom of the 21st century. For Athenians, the answer to the great demand for rhetorical skills was answered by a group of traveling teachers, who were labeled sophists. In Susan Jarratt's words, "they [the sophists] believed and taught that notions of "truth" had to be adjusted to fit the ways of a particular audience in a certain time and with a certain set of beliefs and laws (xv). This awareness of the need to contextualize rhetorical acts through an acknowledgment of the particular beliefs and laws of the audience resonates in current scholarly discussions on the teaching of writing. Going beyond the desire to merely know one's audience, the sophists call on public speakers and writers to also actively respond to this information through the application of a learned system of persuasion knows as *techne*.

Next, the belief in the contingent and locally generated nature of reality that appears in, for example, Protagoras' *man is the measure* dictum suggests a context that allows for innovative uses of language. Bruce McComiskey presents the sophists as believing that "knowledge is unstable and that laws and policies (*nomoi*) grow out of discussion [which is] communal and governed by language (*logos*)" (20). Even today, it is revolutionary to suggest that the ideas, the beliefs, and the things we consider facts are true only from our limited perspective. This "rejection of transcendent truths and eternal values...[presents] a dark "shadow" of timeless Platonic idealism and the frozen perfection of Aristotelian logic," and it is this shadow that provides space for innovation (Jarratt 2). This openness to innovation and even experimentation with rhetorical and linguistic boundaries—all predicated on the idea that an overly prescriptive approach may impede effective communication—is applicable to the current context of college composition.

Edward Schiappa has cautioned scholars to be clear as to whether their borrowings from the Sophists are part of "historical reconstruction" or an act of appropriation, which Schiappa labels "rational reconstruction" (66-69). Bruce McComiskey forwards the idea that "neosophists "mine" sophistic doctrines...for theories and methods that contribute solutions to problems in contemporary rhetoric" (55). My work is clearly an appropriation of sophistic ideas, which are drawn on in order to work on current problems in rhetoric and composition. It is important to also draw a distinction here about the difference between a review of literature and a hermeneutic description. In much the same way that historical reconstruction seeks only to describe what has occurred, a review of literature seeks only to catalog and describe texts. A hermeneutic description, on the other hand, is an act of interpretation and creativity, and is therefore similar to what McComiskey has called appropriation. My work analyzes a group of texts with the intention of characterizing attitudes held by WAC specialists toward diverse student writers and error. I did not begin with a preconceived notion of what I would find in the conversation, but I analyzed the articles with a very clear focus, and was looking pointedly for anything that would reveal more about attitudes toward diversity and standardization in college composition and WAC.

One of the most important works that I borrowed from is John Poulakos' article "Toward a Sophistic Definition of Rhetoric," which has been thoroughly critiqued by Schiappa and others. I use Poulakos' work because it allows me to illustrate many of the ideas that were present in the group of texts I analyzed. The model illustrated in figure 8 shows the sophistic theory forwarded by Poulakos adjacent to my own envisioning of a Sophistic approach to the treatment of error. Schiappa critiques Poulakos' model in his work Protagoras and Logos: A Study in Greek Philosophy and Rhetoric in a way that is helpful to my study. For Schiappa the thrust of Poulakos' work is to attempt historical reconstruction, but he accuses Poulakos of veering into rational reconstruction. This is problematic, according to Schiappa, because the "methodological expectations" for rational reconstruction are different than the expectations for historical reconstruction (69). Though Poulakos' is perhaps rightly criticized for pursuing his studies in a way "that is no longer appropriate for the study of early Greek thought," his work, as Schiappa admits is at the same time "an example of...creative, productive neosophistic rhetorical criticism" (70-77). Looking at the group of texts through the lens of Poulakos' model, allowed for a description of approaches to error among diverse student writers that would not have been possible otherwise.

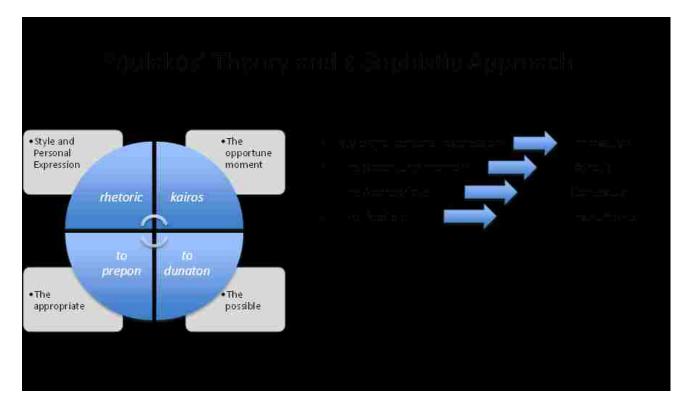


Figure 8. Poulakos' Theory and a Sophistic Approach.

In completing the process of analysis outlined in chapter three, I identified several themes that were important aspects of the conversation on diverse student writers and error, in Writing Across the Curriculum. One of the richest discussions across the group of texts that I uncovered addressed the issue of a pedagogy that is responsive to a diverse student body. Though the response to error suggested was not unanimous or explicit, there was significant saturation during the textual analyses, and significant correlation among the various texts during the interpretation phase to allow for the expression of several key ideas that together compromise an approach to error in diverse writing classes and programs. I characterize these related responses and pedagogic suggestions as a sophistic tendency in the

suggested approaches to the treatment of error. I will outline these Sophistic tendencies in the following sections.

The Innovative Tendency

The first characteristic of the sophistic tendency is to approach written and spoken rhetoric with an attitude that values innovation. Edward Schiappa draws on Solmsen to point out that the sophists were great innovators with language. The innovations advocated were not merely for stylistic flourish, but were, as part of a larger techne, aimed at producing a desired effect in the mind of the reader or hearer. The sophists, for example experimented with "three stylistic devices…antithesis; careful word choice; and, neuter forms" (Schiappa 72). Though Schiappa and others debate the exact nature of these innovations, the fact that the sophists understood the need to deploy innovative and responsive rhetorical strategies is considered a foregone conclusion.

It is in this spirit of purposeful innovation that many WAC researchers have brought forward strategies and ideas related to the importance of evaluating innovation in writing. Ideas about the need to accept and encourage innovation in the writing of diverse students were apparent in many of the texts that were analyzed. Pamela Gay urges teachers of writing "to use difference as a source of strength" (34). Ann Johns discusses the importance of writing program administrators' openness to innovation among second language writers, and the need for "broadening the perspective of mainstream composition studies" (ESL Students 145). S.N. Sridhar calls on writing teachers to realize that "western cultural premises" dominate theories of second language acquisition, and limit our ability to see innovative possibilities among second language writers (Sridhar 803). Since my group of texts spanned more than thirty years, and because the above examples are only a few among many, we cannot dismiss opinions about the importance of innovation as either passé or a fleeting trend.

There is evidence of a rich and sustained discussion of innovation in the WAC conversation. One example that illustrates the importance of innovation is the fact that many authors discussed teaching and learning strategies aimed at encouraging and supporting diverse students in their efforts to innovate. Ilona Leki explains one such strategy in the following way: "The Strategy that Ling used most effectively was taking advantage of first language/ culture by relying on her special status as an international student. As the semester went on, she attempted to incorporate something about China or Taiwan into every piece of writing" (Leki 242). Leki, like many others, recognizes the opportunity for diverse student writers to draw on their varied backgrounds and linguistic experiences in order to accomplish a positive linguistic transfer from the first language.

Because there is a possibility that diverse student writers may draw on their first language or culture to create more effective rhetoric, and because this has been expressed by several key WAC and composition specialists, I view innovation as an important component of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error. Though it may at times be difficult to decide whether a particular linguistic variation adds or detracts from the text in question, the important thing is that the instructor is considering the possibility that strength may be found in difference.

The Kairotic Tendency

The second characteristic of the Sophistic tendency, as identified in my analysis, is a focus on kairos. Though, kairos is a concept with very rich and layered meanings, the primary discussion related to the concept in the group of texts I looked at could be stated as

the ability to state the right thing at the right time. This assumes that the writer pays attention to the audience, the local context, and the situation in making rhetorical choices. In terms of error, there is a thread in the discussion that describes the way that some errors matter more than others, which I assert is the result of a kairotic influence on attitudes toward error and standardization. The fact that some errors matter more than others in terms of the damage they may inflict on the ethos of the writer, and that errors are sometimes more damaging in certain kinds of texts than in others was a point of discussion across many of the texts.

Stating that error and its effects are variable does not necessarily imply the absence of standards. As Schiappa explains, for example, one who holds a relativistic epistemology does not necessarily argue for the absence of standards. Instead, for Protagoras, a relativistic epistemology simply implies the possibility of individual and differing standards (190-194). And these standards must be based on an accurate conception of one's audience.

Canagaraja argues for the "pluralization of language," in which standards of correctness are negotiated within specific, local contexts (Canagaraja, Negotiating 201). Canagaraja's assertion that "communities and individuals should exert their agency to negotiate with English and preserve their interests" is an expression of Kairos in action because it urges an accurate conception of audience within a particular place and time (Canagaraja, Negotiating 202). By adhering to unilateral and prescriptive norms teachers of college writing are ignoring the possibility that their students may indeed have something to share that is beyond the scope of standard written English, and possibly enriching.

Many of the texts from the group of texts analyzed present approaches, techniques, and strategies that ask instructors to think meaningfully about the appropriateness of linguistic difference based on an evaluation of the rhetorical moment, thereby taking kairos into consideration. Elbow, in one poignant example, suggests, we "Provide students with published examples of powerful writing in vernacular dialects...[and] we should require a good number of assignments to be in SWE, but that needn't be the goal for all assignments. When an essay has to end up in SWE, we can invite the vernacular beyond the earliest drafts" (Vernacular, 130). This strategy is an attempt to bring into the consciousness of the student the varied nature of appropriateness, and as students are forced to think of the different ways they use language in different times and places they may very naturally begin to think about Kairos—the importance of appropriate timing.

As one of the central features of the discussion of sophistic rhetoric, and as an important feature of many discussions in composition and WAC scholarship, the idea of kairos is a necessary component of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error.

The Contextual Tendency

Bruce McComiskey claims that for "Gorgias, opinions are communal and governed by language," which does not necessarily imply a nihilistic disavowal of any standard of behavior (20). A communal truth, worked out within the kairotic bounds of time and space, does create standards—contextual standards. As Jarratt explains, the sophists understood that it was "essential to judge the circumstances obtaining at the moment of an oration, its *kairos*, but even more essential was the orator/alien's understanding of the local *nomoi*: community specific norms" (11). This focus on nomoi as a critical component of understanding the rhetorical situation is something that many WAC and composition scholars have discussed.

Mike Rose, for example, urges faculty "to consider the writing problems of their students in dynamic and historical terms" (Language 358). Bruce Horner forwards a vision of the writing classroom as "a site of contestation," which suggests a communal and

contextualized agreement about standards of correctness (Mapping 38). The idea that standards of correctness may vary from one classroom or one campus to another, and the idea that students and teachers should treat the classroom as a site of contestation where error is concerned may be unsettling to some. However, this was a common theme in the group of texts.

Juan Guerra Discusses several strategies aimed at helping students understand and grapple with context as a part of producing academic writing. For Guerra this can involve the following strategies:

...having students engage in situated practice, that is, having them use their "previous and current experiences, as well as their extra-school communities and discourses as an integral part of the learning experience"...scaffold the learning activities by focusing the learner on the important features of their experiences and activities within the community of learners...critical framing...to help learners "denaturalize and make strange again what they have learned and mastered (17).

The Instrumental Tendency

Drawing again on Susan Jarratt, we are reminded that "through reference to the formation of ethical norms within communities, the sophists go beyond total relativism– a hedonistic self-interest– to a discourse about enlightened self-interest based in the notion of "self" as constituted by the community" (96). Writers, who are aware of themselves and their situatedness in a particular community, whether geographic or cultural, are rhetorically empowered; and, knowing which discursive moves to make can arise out of the enlightened self-interest that Jarratt describes. Much of the scholarship examined in this study discussed the need to consider whether each instance of linguistic variation is simply an error or is adding something positive, and is in effect instrumental.

Zamel discusses the "rich and complicated notion of language," and also "recognizes that language evolves and responds to the context of saying something meaningful" (Strangers 509). Bruce Horner calls for "listening to those voices that come from the margins," and suggests that in listening to those marginal voices we will be able to position each student "as a writer engaged in an attempt to make meaning" (Mapping 46). These attempts to make meaning described by Zamel, Horner, and others are representative of an instrumental tendency that suggests students are at times consciously attempting to find a way to express themselves in innovative ways, which deserve engagement and may reveal either untapped linguistic and rhetorical resources, or as Shaughnessy has suggested "the intelligence of their mistakes" (11).

Elbow, in another exemplary pedagogic suggestion, urges teachers of writing to "help students learn how to take...pieces written in the vernacular and revise them into SWE" (Vernacular 130). And it is this spirit of the first language or dialect, not in conflict with but in service to the target language, that is representative of the instrumentality of a sophistic approach to the treatment of error, and indeed to a sophistic attitude to the overall teaching of college writing.

Conclusion

Linguistic diversity is increasing in the US, as is illustrated by figure 9. The importance of finding ways to provide diverse students with options for producing effective college level writing increases exponentially as higher percentages of diverse student writers enroll in colleges across the country. Though "Asian" students have relatively high rates of

college completion, "Black" and "Hispanic" students have completion rates of only 20% and 14% respectively (Hyon and Kominski). This is alarming if you consider the increases in the Latino population in particular. Many philanthropic organizations, such as the Lumina Foundation, have become involved in initiatives to increase the academic success of Latino students, and I would argue that finding educational solutions for Latino students—again considering both the current rates of educational attainment and the projected population growth—is one of the most important challenges educators at all levels will face during the next two decades.

Linguistic Diversity in the United States

- In three US states the percentage of the population who speak a language other than English at home exceeds thirty percent (California, New Mexico, and Texas).
- In fourteen US states the population speaking English less than "very well" exceeds 45 percent.
- In 1980, 23,000,000 people spoke a language other than English at home. In 2007, this number had increased to more than 55,000,000 (a 140% increase).

Shin, Hyon B. and Robert A. Kominski. 2010. Language Use in the United States: 2007, American Community Survey Reports, ACS-12.U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC.

Figure 9. Linguistic Diversity in the United States.

In an increasingly diverse society, in which educational attainment is uneven among diverse groups, it is important to find ways of teaching writing that effectively prepares all students for success in writing across and in the disciplines. Considering only the high school completion rates illustrated in figure 10, we can see relatively even rates of achievement among all listed racial groups. Rates of college completion, however, are markedly different among various groups. Studies such as the National Survey of Student Engagement have begun to question the part college composition plays in the success or failure of students from diverse backgrounds. And while college composition alone cannot completely alter the unequal landscape of college completion, writing is an important part of many college courses, and approaches to teaching writing that more effectively support diverse student writers have the potential to positively impact college completion rates generally.

Educational Attainment in the United States

High School completion

- White– 87.1%
- Black-84.2%
- Asian-88.9%
- Hispanic- 62.9%

College completion

- White- 30.3%
- Black-19.8%
- Asian-52.4%
- Hispanic- 13.9%

Shin, Hyon B. and Robert A. Kominski. 2010. Language Use in the United States: 2007, American Community Survey Reports, ACS-12.U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC.

Figure 10. Educational Attainment in the United States.

Though my work partially aligns with research being done on translingual approaches, such as those forwarded by Horner, Trimbur, Liu, Guerra, Donahue, and others, my instrumental focus adds to this discussion and calls into question some of the antifoundational tendencies present in some of the literature on translingual approaches. The ability to strike a compromise between overly prescriptive approaches and overly permissive approaches to the treatment of error is an important undertaking. An overly prescriptive approach has the tendency to shut down the possibility of positive transfer; while, an overly permissive approach may allow students to pass through college writing classes without improving writing skills sufficiently in order to ensure academic success. An effective compromise, however, will support college writing classes and efforts to more effectively serve the growing numbers of diverse student writers.

Through a multifaceted analytical approach— including elements borrowed from discourse analysis, grounded theory, and hermeneutics—I have analyzed one important part of the conversation on error and diverse student writers in Writing Across the Curriculum scholarship. My findings, drawn from the analysis of 84 articles, suggest that the attention being paid to error and diverse student writers in current WAC scholarship is limited; that a minority of WAC focused scholars are attempting to filter ideas related to diverse student writers and error into the WAC professional conversation; and, that much of the work being filtered into the WAC conversation advocates an approach to error and standardization that is supportive of diverse student writers through an emphasis on a reasonable approach to the treatment of error.

The significance of this research is twofold. First, I have outlined a taxonomy of approaches to error. Second, I have described the range of approaches to error advocated by scholars in WAC and Composition Studies, including practical suggestions for the treatment of error in composition classrooms. It is my hope that those who teach college writing and those who administer writing programs will see value in analyzing and assessing the professional conversation on diverse college writers and error and standardization. Through 'eavesdropping' on WAC scholars talking among themselves in the 86 articles analyzed it is clear that Writing Across the Curriculum scholarship is increasingly invigorated by a variety of intellectual strands, including TESOL, applied linguistics, and discourse studies. There are implications for teaching and supporting new WPAs and WAC directors, including the need to bring forward the shadow side of composition—error and standardization— as well as the need to carefully consider the many ways attitudes toward diverse college writers can contribute to the creation of either a limiting or an empowering learning environment.

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