

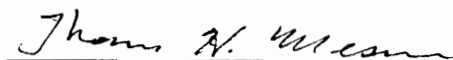
THE ROLE OF THE WRITING CENTER IN THE WRITING
PRACTICES OF L2 STUDENTS

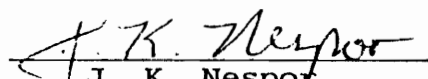
by
Sheila Lorraine Carter-Tod

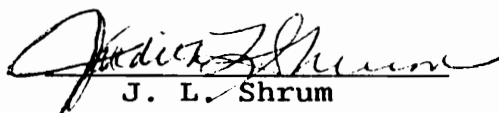
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APPROVED:


P. P. Kelly, Chair


T. Mesner


J. K. Nespor


J. L. Shrum


J. S. Tlou

May, 1995
Blacksburg, Virginia

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**THE ROLE OF THE WRITING CENTER IN THE WRITING
PRACTICES OF L2 STUDENTS**

by
Sheila Lorraine Carter-Tod

**Committee Chairperson: Patricia P. Kelly
Curriculum and Instruction**

(Abstract)

Writing centers are gradually becoming more and more visible on college campuses. This greater visibility is often seen, administratively, as a solution to the language problems posed by a growing population of students for whom English is a second or other language (L2). L2 students are increasing in numbers on college campuses, bringing with them a host of language challenges, not always met in traditional classroom settings. For many L2 students, the writing center provides the individualized instruction that facilitates their success with college writing.

In the past three to five years, writing centers all over the United States have experienced an increase in L2 student visits. This increased L2 use of the writing center has made writing center tutors and staff, who are usually not trained or prepared to deal with writing difficulties unique to L2 students, confused and frustrated. This frustration is furthered by the lack of research and information that looks at the theory and practices of second language writing and writing centers, to help inform writing

center practices and procedures. There are no studies which investigate writing centers in light of their role in the writing practices of L2 students.

This study began the process of creating a body of knowledge that looks at the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students. This study is comprised of five case studies which were conducted with four L2 students and the tutors with whom they worked during the semester when the study was conducted. The case study participants were all from a small private women's college located in Southwestern Virginia. In addition to the case studies, a pre-study survey was conducted to ascertain the writing center perceptions and practices of a larger population of L2 students. The survey was administered at one college and two universities, all located in Southwestern Virginia.

Both the case studies and the pre-study survey data yielded descriptions that suggested that L2 students see writing centers as centers of remediation--centers to "fix" their language problems. However, the type of fixing that is needed is very dependent on the writing experience and personality of the L2 student, the tutor's approach and style, and the type of writing assignment brought to the writing center for assistance. This study describes and analyzes five case studies. It also problematizes and suggests possible solutions for further areas of research.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I began working in the writing center as ESL¹ coordinator in the Fall Semester of 1994. In that semester, I was faced with many new international students with varied language skills needs and with new writing center tutors with numerous ESL training needs. I needed to figure out how best to prepare the tutors in the writing center to meet the needs of the college's international population. As I began tackling the task at hand, I found myself constantly coming back to a point made by one of the new tutors in my introductory meeting with them. In that meeting, I had tried to flesh out what they knew about second language writing and what their fears and/or questions regarding their future tutoring of L2² students were. At the very beginning of the meeting Martha, a junior English education major, raised her hand and, her brows furrowed with confusion, asked me:

How do non-native speakers know what a writing center is? I mean I know that we bring them here and show

¹ English as a Second Language

² Students for whom English is a second or other language. L2 and ESL are used interchangeably throughout this study.

them and all, but how do they know what to expect?

And, how do we know what kinds of assistance to give them? I'm just afraid that I don't really know enough to help them.

Although I gave her an answer, it must not have been sufficient, because she continued to look puzzled throughout the rest of the discussion. I kept coming back to that encounter because, as I understood it, what Martha wanted to know was what is it that L2 students expect from the writing center. Her concerns stuck with me because I was finding that it was indeed difficult for me to create tutor training materials without more fully exploring questions of expectations about the writing center held by L2 students. I was faced with a very real issue that warranted some concentrated investigation before I could successfully approach the job that I was hired to do.

More specifically, I was posed with a real problem that involved the three areas of my interest: ESL, composition, and education. The findings derived from an investigation of L2 students' expectations of and practices related to writing centers would help me to create better tutor preparation materials as well as add to the body of knowledge in two fields of study: ESL writing theory and practices and writing centers' theory and practice. As I saw it, my problem and, therefore, line of inquiry was

clear; I needed to have some descriptive information about what L2 students perceive the writing center to be, and about when and why they use writing centers. In other words, I was interested in both perceptions and behaviors.

Having formulated my line of inquiry, I then went to the existing literature to help further shape my thinking. What I found in the literature were studies that looked at the writing practices of L2 students in the context of investigating their composing processes. Even though I was not interested in doing a process study, I looked at the nature, methodology, gaps and/or shortcomings of these process studies to help me create a theoretical and methodological framework in which to posit the study that I conducted. What follows is a summary and critique of the existing literature and how it shaped my study.

Summary of L2 Process and Writing Behaviors Studies

One of the first "process" studies to investigate second language speakers composing practices was done by Chelala in 1981. Chelala's case study of two Spanish-speaking subjects used a protocol approach to trace the composing process of these women. Her findings coded³ and

³ Chelala's coding procedure was based on that used in Perl's 1978 dissertation. Perl later published this as

identified "effective" and "ineffective" behaviors or practices associated with the composing process. A particular behavior noted as ineffective to the composing process was switching back and forth between first and second languages for pre-writing (Krapel, 1990). Chelala's findings triggered further investigation into other "stages" of the composing process. It is important to note that Chelala and most of the earlier researchers looked at the entire composing process of one, two, or three individuals and from the findings generalized to the larger population of L2 students even though the nature of the studies and the findings were often quite specific, non-generalizable. It is also important to note that subsequently researchers merged writing practices studies with composing process studies, two areas that I have differentiated between in my study.

Another point to note about Chelala's methodology is her means of data collection--the protocol tape. This method of using a protocol tape--observing a student while composing and having her talk about the decisions she makes about composing while composing--can be problematic. Later research on the overall protocol method of data collection found that students are not always able to articulate the

Coding the composing process: A guide for teachers and researchers.

decisions that they make while composing. When the protocol method is used, students often end up making up what they think they may have been thinking at the time of the observed actions. Flowers and Hayes' (1983) research into cognitive development and the composing process described the problems associated with the use of protocols as a sole method of describing the composing process. The problems associated with the protocol method may even be further complicated when the study participant's first language is not English.

Less than a year after Chelala's study, Jones (1982) further sought to describe L2 composing practices by narrowing the process down to specific behaviors. In his study Jones,

analyzed the composing strategies by noting two composing behaviors writing, or generating, text and reading the text already generated. Jones found that "writing strategies affect writers' rhetorical structures [and that a]...lack of competence in composing, rather than a specific lack in L2 linguistic competence, was the source of the difficulty in L2 writing. (Krapels, 1990, p. 40)

Two other studies, Jacobs (1982) and Zamel (1982), had similar findings to Jones--that factors beyond linguistic competence determined the quality of students' writing.

Both Jacobs and Zamel used interviewing as a method for their studies of process; however, Jacobs also used some product analysis in her study. Based on conclusions from her 1982 study, Zamel (1983) went on to do yet another "process" study. In her second study Zamel used observations in addition to interviews.

In light of describing the unique composing practices of L2 students, the research to this point was finding that there was indeed little difference between the L1 and L2 composing processes and practices. In fact, Zamel's 1983 study supported an emerging theme that L2 writers do indeed compose quite similarly to L1 writers and that difficulties in the composing process could not be attributed to linguistic competence alone.

Following the wave of protocol analysis of both thinking and composing processes in L1 composition research, Pfingstag (1984) used this same approach to help her gain insights into the thinking behind the composing process of L2 students. Pfingstag used twenty-minute composing aloud sessions to model effective composing strategies. The participants in Pfingstag's study did show improvement in their composing strategies, improvements that may have been a result of the required protocol.

By 1985 the new challenge to L2 process/practice approach research was to investigate the teaching

implications of the research that had been done with L2 writers and process analysis and to seek out other methods of data collection in the search to describe and analyze L2 composing practices. Hildenbrand (1985), Jones (1985), and Diaz (1985), all acting on the studies previously done on the writing process of L2 students, began to investigate the effects of a process-oriented teaching approach to second language writing. These studies were followed by similar investigative studies done by Rorschach (1986) and Urzua (1987). Hildenbrand's single participant study revealed a preference for narrative and informal journal writing, writing modes which are generally contradictory to more formal academic writing modes. The conflict of preference vs. requirement resulted in an observed hindrance to the writing process.

In this same year, not only were teaching implications being investigated but other means of data collection were also being explored. Jones (1985) added videotaping to his data collection methods to investigate the effects of monitoring on the composing process. Krapel (1990) describes Jones' study in the following:

Applying Krashen's monitor theory to analyze the writing behaviors of two subjects in this study, Jones reported that "monitoring does not lead to improved writing" and maintained that was, then, a factor

constraining the L2 writing process. (p. 42)

Diaz's study, using observation from a course she taught, and Urzua's study, using "transcripts of peer-response sessions, weekly compositions, and twice-weekly dialogue journals" both concluded that what had proved effective in the L1 classroom was also effective in the L2 classroom (p. 279). Diaz well articulated her findings:

Not only are process strategies and techniques [practices] strongly indicated and recommended for ESL students, but also when used in secure, student-centered contexts, the benefits to these students can go beyond their development as writers. (p. 41)

Other studies of L2 composing have not focused on the process in general or on the teaching implications, but instead have focused on specific writing behaviors and the L2 writer. Martin-Betancourt (1986) investigated the role of students' first language in the writing behaviors in the second language. Gaskill (1986) focused on revising and compared the revision process of Spanish-speaking undergraduates revising writing done in both Spanish and English. Hall (1987) and Arndt (1987) did similar revision-focused studies, and they both concluded (consistent with Gaskill's findings) that "a single system was used to revise across languages" (Krapels, 1990, p. 46). As Arndt put it for the six Chinese-speaking graduate level students

involved in her study, "the composing strategies of each individual writer were found to remain consistent across languages" (p. 257). Some more focused, process research studies are Friedlander's (1990), which looks at the effects of a student's first language on the writings in English, and Hall's (1991) investigation of the composing behaviors of L2 students in test and non-test situations. Recently, however, composition theorists have concluded that there is no specific writing process but instead there are writing processes that are both individual and task specific⁴.

How the Literature Shaped My Study

Although not directly related to my line of inquiry, I did learn a great deal from the literature on L2 students' composing processes. From Chelala's study I learned that, in using case studies as a methodological approach, I would have a rich body of descriptive data but that my findings would be quite specific and non-generalizable. What I finally realized, when deciding whether to do a focused qualitative study or a larger generalizable quantitative study, was that I needed to pursue issues in a particular

⁴ This concept is treated in detail in the literature review of writing center theory and practice.

context towards the goal of improving a specific situation, so a context-rich qualitative approach was more appropriate for the type of study in which I was interested. Chelala's study also helped me to understand the problematic nature of the protocol tape as the sole method of data collection.

Jacobs and Zamel's studies helped me by providing me with two other means of data collection, interviewing and product analysis. Interviewing was far less problematic than the protocol tape method; and, since I knew all of the study participants already, the interviews would be more direct and personal. Because of the communicative difficulties, interviewing L2 students can often prove problematic. However, in my study, my familiarity with the participants made me accustomed to interactive communication with them. Since I regularly communicated with the participants in English, interviewing them proved to be far less problematic. Pfingstag's study provided me with yet another data collection technique. His study helped me to realize that having L2 students focus on the thinking behind their practices may indeed shape their practices. It was Pfingstag's study that led me to the process journal as another data collection tool.

Diaz, Martin-Betancourt, Gaskill, Hall and Arndt's composing-stage-based findings led me to the question, "If indeed composing strategies of L2 writers remain somewhat

consistent across languages, then what role do writing centers, which are not common across languages, play in L2 students' writing behaviors and practices?" The only study that addressed the intersection of writing centers and L2 students was a study done by Ronesi (1995). Ronesi's study confirmed my questioning of the overlapping of ESL theory and practice and writing center theory and practice. Ronesi eloquently states the need for further investigation of the connections between L2 writing theory and writing centers when she says:

ESL students are flooding the writing centers of colleges and universities nation-wide. The students' path between their ESL instruction and the writing center offers tangible evidence of the two fields' inevitable alliance. Indeed the writing center and ESL composition share much in writing theory, goals, and approaches. ESL professionals need to understand how ESL writing instruction and the writing center play a complementary role in helping the growing number of ESL students write effectively in English. (p. 2)

Although the aforementioned research has helped L2 writing theory and practice to broaden its scope to include research outside that which is based on native speakers' writing, there is still room for more research on L2 students and analysis of individual writing practices.

There are some issues that the body of research on L2 process/practice theory has not addressed.

In all of the previously mentioned literature there is an underlying assumption made by each researcher that text is created in isolation. The collaborative aspect of both composition classrooms and of the writing center environments--which are often a part of the text creation and refinement for L2 students--is not considered. In most research done on the composing process and practices of L2 students, researchers fail to acknowledge outside assistance that may have been provided in the production of the texts. Thus, the processes that are described are problematic because students rarely compose in isolation. L2 students often seek outside assistance from teachers, peers, and or tutors throughout their writing practices. The increase in L2 traffic in and through writing centers around the country presents evidence of the presence of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students. Even though these process studies did not recognize collaborative assistance given to L2 students by teachers and/or writing center tutors, these process studies provided me with background for inquiry, shaped the questions in my study, and guided my inquiry techniques and procedures.

Study Overview

In this study, I have described the expectations of the writing center and the writing-center-related writing practices of four L2 students. I have also described the role of the three tutors with whom the four L2 student participants worked. This study was conducted during the Fall Semester of 1994 at a small, private, womens', liberal arts college in southwestern Virginia. During that semester I traced the writing center practices (using interviews, writing process response journals, and textual analysis) of four L2 students. In order to derive a more fully developed case study on each L2 student participant, I also interviewed the tutors with whom the four L2 students worked. These interviews along with the L2 student essays provided me with three data points, which enabled me to triangulate the data collection methods and analysis. In addition to the L2 student data, I gathered data on the tutoring sessions with the four L2 student participants through interviews with the three writing center tutors who had worked with the L2 student participants during the period that the study was conducted. Tutors' response files (professor report forms) were also used in developing both the L2 student participants' and the tutor participants' case studies. The final methods of description used in this

study were individual case studies for the L2 student participants and a group case study for the tutors.

Before conducting the actual study, I administered a pre-study survey to help me ascertain the writing center perceptions and practices of a larger population of L2 students. This survey was administered at two universities and one college. There were 93 survey respondents. For further explanation and analysis of the pre-study survey see Appendix A.

The subsequent organization of the study is as follows: In chapter two I have reviewed the changes in L2 writing instruction, theory and practices and in chapter three I have explained the history and philosophy of writing centers. In chapter four I have described the data collection procedures used in this study and how the data was ultimately reported. In chapter five I have developed the five case studies, and in chapter six I summarized and cross analyzed the case studies. Finally, in chapter seven I looked at the overall implications of the study.

Chapter Two

A Review of the Changes in L2 Writing Instruction, Theory, and Practices

Studying the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students needs to be posited within both an ESL-based contextual framework as well as a writing-center-based contextual framework. This chapter establishes the ESL-based contextual framework. By investigating the changes that have taken place in L2 writing teaching theory and practices, the questions involved in this study were contextualized and clarified.

The two fields that did the most to shape second language learning as well as second language writing theory were psychology and linguistics. Linguist C. C. Fries's (1945) text Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language revealed the approach to language learning of his day and the positioning of writing in that approach--last if at all. Fries wrote:

In learning a new language, then, the chief problem is not at first that of learning vocabulary items. It is, first, the mastery of the sound system--to understand the stream of speech, to hear the distinctive sound and to approximate their production. It is, second, the mastery of the features of arrangement that constitute

the structure of the language...There must be sufficient vocabulary to operate the structures and represent the sound system in actual use. A person has "learned" a foreign language when he has thus-first, within a limited vocabulary mastered the sound system (that is when he can understand the stream of speech and achieve an understandable production of it) and has, second, made the structural devices (that is, the basic arrangement of utterances) matters of automatic habit. (p. 3)

Within this hierarchy of language acquisition, writing was neither encouraged nor seen as a needed skill. Writing's main focus was to facilitate speaking, not to fully explore thought in the target language. Silva (1987) described Fries' approach to writing as "controlled composition" and stated that it was the precursor of the audio-lingual method that was to follow. The audio-lingual method set up a definite hierarchy of skills acquisition, listening, then speaking, then reading, and finally writing. With this approach teachers focused on mastery of one skills area before moving on to the next "higher" skill. Skills were rarely combined. The focus was on accuracy before fluency. Students were immersed in the method of language learning but not in the language. Fries was taking what was available from linguistics and the psychology of learning to

form a language teaching methodology. While structural linguists were teaching that language is speech, behavioral psychologists were teaching that learning is habit formation. However, with both camps writing was merely a reinforcement of oral habits. From both the linguistic philosophies and approaches and the behavioristic philosophies and approaches came the audio-lingual approach to second language learning.

Audio-lingual methodologies were the approach used by the majority, yet even in the midst of this rigid approach there were those who spoke out for the role of writing in second language exploration. While Erasmus (1960) and Briere (1966) advocated exercises that consisted of writer-focused free composition to enhance language control and written fluency, Pincas (1962) and Rivers (1968) still saw the role of writing as a means of reinforcing what students had to say. Pincas saw free composition not as an aid to developing written fluency, but instead she reiterated the earlier cry for formal imitation of memorized, correct, structures. This position is illustrated in her statement:

The reverence for original creativeness dies hard.

People find it difficult to accept the fact that the use of language is the manipulation of fixed patterns; that these patterns are learned by imitation; and that not until they have been learned can originality occur

in the manipulation of patterns or in the choice of variables within the pattern. (Pincas, 1962, p. 186)

Pincas and Rivers were part of the dominant opinion of the day which pushed ESL composition into an approach

that was concerned primarily with formal accuracy and correctness, employing rigidly controlled programs of systematic habit formation designed to avoid errors ostensibly caused by the first language interference and to positively reinforce appropriate second language behavior. [I]ts methodology involved the imitation and manipulation (substitution, transformations, expansions, completions, etc.) of model passages carefully constructed and graded for vocabulary and sentence patterns. (Silva, 1987, p.3)

Writing was still "service activity." Second language writers were "manipulator[s] of previously learned language structures..the ESL teacher [was] in the role of editor or proofreader...text [was] a collection of sentence patterns and vocabulary items, a linguistic artifact, a vehicle for language practice" (Silva, 1987, p. 4-5).

The mid-sixties brought about a need for ESL students to write more extended prose in preparation for and success in higher education (Leki 1991). The gap between the cry for free composition and the existing rigidity of controlled structured writing exercises needed bridging. The bridge

that was built incorporated theories taken from traditional native speakers' composition theory and coupled those theories with Kaplan's (1967) theory of contrastive rhetoric (Silva, 1987 p.4). Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric brought existing syntactic-focused drills and controlled writing into question and refocused attention of drills to "more pattern drill[s], but at the rhetorical level rather than at the syntactic level" (Kaplan, 1967, p.15). Kaplan focused on inherent issues of difference between a student's native rhetorical patterns and the rhetorical patterns native to English. According to Kaplan's approach, second language writing was best taught through teaching L2 students mastery of English rhetorical forms. This concept was transferred to the L2 classroom and created a situation where the writing teachers would determine paragraph patterns typical of English and teach those to their ESL students. The student imitated the patterns, assuming that by learning these basic patterns, they would then be able to transfer these skills to the writing of acceptable academic prose and pour their writing content into the carefully prepared and practiced molds. The patterns taught to ESL students were the traditional ones taught to native English speaking Freshman writers in academic institutes: a paragraph consists of a topic sentence, three supporting

sentences, and concluding sentence; an essay consists of an introductory paragraph with a thesis statement at the end of it, followed by three paragraphs of development, followed by a concluding paragraph.

(Leki, 1991, p.6)

What Kaplan's approach set out to do was to "provide the [L2] student with form within which he may operate" (Kaplan, 1967 p.20). The writer's role, the reader's role, the text's role and the context under this approach was best summarized by Silva when he stated that

the writer is someone who selects content and matches it to form....the reader is someone who is confused and probably annoyed by unfamiliar patterns of expression...the text is a collection of paragraphs and larger discourse patterns, essentially the five paragraph essay...the context for writing are the essay tasks commonly believed to be set for students by American university professors.(p.5)

The audio-lingual method and contrastive rhetoric were two approaches that firmly held their ground until in the 1980s when L2 writing teachers, again borrowing from native speakers' composing theories, began to look toward the process approach. The "process approach" was coined by Murray (1972) in a essay he wrote calling on teachers to "Teach Writing as Process and Not Product," which was also

the title of the essay. This call was emphatically heard and continued in a revolutionary cry by Harrison (1982) for writing teachers to move the focus away from product and onto the process of writing. Noting works that addressed the fundamental issues of student writing and the writing process, works done by Shaughnessy (1977), Flower and Hayes (1983), Murray (1976), Elbow (1981) and others, Harrison agreed that an investigation and intervention in the actual process of writing was needed. Harrison explained that,

we cannot teach students to write by looking only at what they have written. We must also understand how that product came into being, and why it assumed the form that it did. We have to try to understand what goes on during the internal act of writing and we have to intervene during the act of writing if we want to affect its outcome. We must do the hard thing, examine the intangible process, rather than the easy thing, evaluate the tangible product. (p. 84)

However, many writing teachers were slow to heed the call and it was not until the mid 1980s that the process approach was incorporated in the L2 classroom. This new process-oriented approach, when contrasted by and with Silva's (1987) earlier look at contrastive rhetoric and the audio-lingual approach, completely repositioned classroom context, teacher's role, the role of the writer, and context of

writing. According to Silva,

this approach calls for providing a positive, encouraging, collaborative environment. [T]he teachers role is to help students develop viable strategies for getting started,... for drafting,... and for revising. [T]he writer is the center of attention--someone engaged in the discovery and expression of meaning; the reader focuses on content, ideas and the negotiation of meaning....The text is a product--a derivative, secondary concern, whose form is a function of its content and purpose...[T]here is no particular context implicit in this approach; it is the responsibility of individual writers to identify and appropriately address the particular task, situation, discourse community and sociocultural setting in which they are involved. (p. 7)

Although the process approach was acknowledged by many L2 writing teachers, its impact was not fully felt. Factors limiting the impact of a process-oriented approach to the teaching of writing in the L2 field ranged from L2 teacher preparation programs that did not incorporate the teaching of writing (MacDonald and Hall, 1990) to programs designed for EFL--English taught outside English speaking countries as a foreign language--equipped with teachers who were not aware of native English speakers' writing theory. Although

these are the two most documented reasons, yet another reason can be noted. L2 writing teachers were often hesitant about adapting a process-approach to writing instruction because many of the required tests designed for students entering language intensive programs and/or English speaking colleges and universities focus on testing grammar and product-oriented approaches. One of the noted shortcomings of the process approach is that it leaves L2 students ill-prepared for certain testing situations. It is safe to say that not only is the process-approach not completely used but that it also has a number of critics.

Many critics of the process approach questioned the overall appropriateness of such an approach for academic writing. Some critics adopted a hybrid approach never fully incorporating the process approach. And still others called for avenues in ESL writing theory that were more discourse specific in approach. There was and is constant debate as to how the process approach should be applied to L2 writing theory and practice. An example of the back and forth discussion that took place is Reid's (1982) text which, although titled The Process of Composition, still worked from the premise that "American university writing is linear and straightforward in structure" (p. ix). When Reid's premise was challenged as "continu[ing] to emphasize the linearity of writing in English" by Zamel (1983), Reid felt

"obliged to respond" and reiterated the need for structured rhetorical frameworks for ESL students with limited writing experience and/or in intensive programs (p. 150-152). Reid, and many other ESL writing teachers of his time, still emphasized a rhetorical structured writing approach to meet the immediate needs of ESL student writers. Reid was an example of a critic of the process approach who did not fully dismiss it but instead created a hybridization, i.e. process oriented language with a product oriented approach. Raimes (1983) summed Reid's assumptions about language linearity up as "sound, but not an assumption about process." Raimes saw this not as a shift in paradigm for ESL writing but a "change in labels...[that] incorporate[s] the terminology but not the concepts of the theories" (p. 541).

Other critics like Horowitz (1986) warned ESL writing teachers to question the process approach before fully accepting it. The basis of her warning was that

the uncritical acceptance of this approach is attested to by the fact that discussions of its shortcomings are almost nowhere to be found. Nevertheless, before anyone fully embraces this approach, the following point should be considered: the process-oriented approach fails to prepare students for at least one essential type of academic writing--[examination writing]. (p. 141)

Horowitz went on to posit the limitations of the process approach as inductively oriented and, as such, suited to a limited number of academic writers and academic tasks. Horowitz questioned teaching students to revise based on the demands of an audience when "most academic writing tasks...require students to present data, usually obtained through written sources, according to a fairly explicit set of instructions" (Horowitz, p. 142). Horowitz's most positive statement about the process approach was that it is a collection of teaching techniques which have certain merits in certain situations....[however] the process-oriented approach gives students a false impression of how university writing will be evaluated. (p. 143)

What Horowitz advocated was an "academic discourse genre oriented program," which would better prepare a student to succeed. He saw this discourse oriented program as an approach that would "ensure that student writing falls within...[the] range...of acceptable writing behaviors dictated by the academic community" (Horowitz, 1986, p. 789). It was this divergence from the process oriented approach to a discourse specific or academic specific writing approach which preceded the fields of EAP--English for Academic Purposes and ESP--English for Special

purposes.⁵

EAP evolved as the avenue that a writing teacher could take to help make up the shortcomings of the process-oriented approach. Silva (1987) in a summary of EAP clarified the roles of student, text, and teacher:

In brief, from an EAP orientation, writing is the production of prose that will be acceptable at an American academic institution, and learning to write is part of becoming socialized to the academic community-- finding out what is expected and trying to approximate it. The writer is pragmatic and oriented primarily toward academic success, meeting standards and requirements. The reader is a seasoned member of the hosting academic community who has well developed schemata for academic discourse and clear and stable views of what is appropriate. The text is a more or less conventional response to a particular task type which falls into a recognizable genre. The context is, of course, the academic community....(p. 9)

It is still in the process-oriented EAP and ESP approaches that second language writing theory is marked. There is a

⁵ ESP can be further broken down to designate the special purpose of the discourse area. This is also true of EAP. Both approaches stress language competence within a specific discourse.

great deal of research heeding Silva's call to look further at evolving a second language writing theory that is not merely a carry over from first language composition theory but instead takes into account the integration of "second language writers (their processes, linguistic ability, sociocultural background, motivation, world knowledge, expectation and purposes)...in a variety of authentic ESL settings" (Silva, 1987, p. 10)⁶. This study, of the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students, did exactly what Silva calls for. Not only does it describe specific L2 writing processes, but it also assesses general expectations in a variety of authentic academic L2 settings.

This study investigated the intersection of writing centers theories and practices and L2 language theories and practices by describing the writing centers' role in the writing practices of L2 students. However, before looking at that description the context of writing centers' history and philosophy needs to be described. The writing center chapter that follows further contextualizes this study by providing the background information of the other field within which this study is posited--the field of writing centers.

⁶ For example, if you are a business student, your ESP focus would be on the language of the discourse of the business field.

Chapter Three

Writing Centers: History and Philosophy

The major growth of writing centers--initially called writing labs--was largely a phenomenon of the 1970s and the 1980s. Steward & Croft (1982) attributed this growth to both student and teacher satisfaction with the structure and practices found in the writing center/lab.

[I]t is safe to say that the number [of labs] has increased rapidly because teachers and students alike are better pleased with the writing laboratory scene method than they are with almost any other single way of delivering writing instruction. (p. 1)

The oldest known writing lab was started at the University of Iowa over 60 years ago, and the numbers have increased exponentially since a 1978 College English Association survey found several hundred schools listed as having writing labs. Begun as remediation centers for students lacking in various English language-related skills, writing centers have evolved into places where all levels of language and its processes are discussed. Writing centers/labs have been started as a reaction to many varied needs, and as a result they have varied structures and affiliations. Some labs, like the ones at Radford University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State

University, are directly connected with their English department and the universities writing program needs. Other labs, like the one at Hollins College, are not affiliated with a department. Still other writing centers/labs are connected to other learning centers--under the dean of academic affairs office. Administratively, labs are almost always directed by one or more directors. Writing centers/labs may be staffed by peer tutors who are both undergraduate and graduate. Another form of staffing is the professional tutor. Professional tutors are generally non-students with specific advanced education in writing theory, and or faculty from various disciplines who volunteer or are given release course loads in exchange for their time and services.

Whatever the structure or affiliation of writing centers, some general goals have evolved over the years. The evolution of these goals has shaped the theoretical philosophy that governs many of the practices in the writing center. After an extensive survey of the literature related to or concerning the theoretical philosophy of writing centers, I have deduced three broad underlying premises which have shaped the administrative and staff practices in most writing centers. By treating each premise individually, I trace the philosophies and connect them with the practices. Most, if not all, writing centers set out to

out to establish themselves as:

- * A place where individualized instruction leads to collaborative learning.
- * A place where writing is seen as a process.-
- * A place where theories about writing and learning are both created and tested.

The Writing Center: A Place Where Individualized Instruction Leads to Collaborative Learning

Steward and Croft (1982) call writing centers' tutoring "[a] philosophical commitment to individualization through conference teaching" (p. 5), Harris (1982) titled the section of her book that deals with this issue "The One To One Process" and George (1988) says that writing centers are places "in which instruction truly is individualized"(p. 42). Whatever this instructional method is termed, one would be hard pressed to find any literature concerning writing centers that does not have an element of individualized instruction in it.

With the shift away from writing as a mastery of prescribed convention to viewing writing as a process came the realization that, as with any other process, individuals all go through the writing process in a individualized fashion. North (1984) later went on to note that there is

no one process at all but individualized processes that vary from assignment to assignment and from writing situation to writing situation. This realization brought along with it a greater need for individualized instruction or assistance. The research into the writing process began to reveal that students did not all go through the same invention, drafting, revising and editing stages at the same pace. This knowledge led to questioning previously practiced teaching conventions. Individualized instruction seemed to be the next logical step because

unlike the conventional classroom models of instruction, which often require all students to proceed at the same rate, individualized instruction allows students to work at their own pace, as individuals....Individualized instruction allows individual progress and interprets learning on an individual basis. (Roberts, 1983, p. 7)

To many, individualized instruction⁷ has a fairly non-conclusive research history. David Roberts (1983) comprehensively reviews this research, a review that I will attempt to summarize. In a 1977 study done by Sides, the 28 teachers interviewed saw a great advantage in "student-

⁷ Individualized instruction is often called "student centered instruction, a phrase coined by James Moffett in 1981, or tutorial the term most used in writing center situations.

centered tutorial" instruction for composition in its ability to concentrate on students' individual writing needs, which inevitably led to improvements in individual student writing. Sides noted that teachers mentioned advantages to this approach ranging from "immediate feedback on student comprehension, improvement of student/teacher relationship and student attitudes toward the course, more opportunities to write and [to] improve writing" (Roberts, 1983, p. 9).

A thorough study conducted in the "Comp Labs" of various locations of CUNY concluded that individualized student-centered instruction "is at least as effective as the traditional [basic writing course]" (Epes, Kirkpatrick & Southwell, 1982 p. 55). Farmer (1976) compared the writing of 60 students in four sections of freshmen composition. Two sections, of the four, received traditional written feedback while the other two sections received verbal individualized instruction on how to improve their writing. Farmer concluded "that the experimental sections improved in overall quality although there were no other differences in the activities of the control and experimental sections" (Roberts, 1983, p. 13).

Another study done by Barbara Tomlinson (1975) comparatively investigated three approaches to freshmen composition: traditional classroom only, traditional

classroom and writing lab, and writing lab only. In this University of California Riverside study, Tomlinson found no great differences in the three groups except in writing attitudes. The participants' attitudes towards writing and the writing process improved.

Some other studies which shed light on individualized writing instruction are Rakauskas (1973), Lunsford (1978), Hunt (1977), Judith Christensen (1980), Burt (1980), Gonzales (1976), Metzger (1975) Canuteson (1978), Delaney (1980), Bradshaw (1974), and Calderonello, Heim, Hart, and Quinn (1981). These studies investigate individualized instruction for all levels of student writers. Even with the earlier mentioned results, such as better quality writing and changes in writing attitudes and attitudes towards writing teachers, Roberts still concludes that "in fact the bulk of the literature concerning individualized, self-paced or auto instructional writing courses is subjective and highly interpretive" (p. 18).

Writing centers did interpret better quality in writing and changed attitudes as consistent with what they saw as their purpose. The result was for writing centers to adopt the individualized, student-center approach as their main form of "instruction." However, the nature of the staffing of writing centers expanded the notion of individualized instruction from the traditional idea to a collaborative

view. With peer tutors often equipped with a better understanding of the writing process but not always the formalized education of a writing instructor or professor, the individualization that takes place in writing labs/centers involves negotiation, and shared creation, a process that benefits not only the student who comes in for assistance but also the student or professional doing the assisting⁸. A writing lab/center is a place where individualized instruction leads to collaborative learning.

One way to look at this idea of student-centered collaboration is to look at what it is and what it is not. Roberts' overview seems to treat all forms of student-centered, individualized and auto-instructional, self-paced instruction the same without distinguishing who the instructors are and to what end the instruction is working towards. Writing labs/centers took individualized instruction and added Kenneth Bruffee's social constructionist theory of collaboration. However, much like the individualized student-centered instruction terminology is broad-based "collaboration, a process writers engage in and teachers facilitate,..is also used as a blanket tossed

⁸ As Ellen Mohr puts it in her essay "Model of Collaboration: The Peer Tutor, tutors bring to the writing center their classroom experience and their writing skills. If chosen carefully, they also bring social skills such as friendliness, poise, open-mindedness, and honesty. (1989: 104)

over a variety of activities that are not identical, thereby blurring useful distinctions" (Harris, 1992, p. 369). In her essay "Collaboration Is Not Collaboration Is Not Collaboration: Writing Center Tutorials vs Peer Response Groups," Harris (1992) seeks to clarify these "blurred distinctions" by stating the differences between the two types of collaboration—one which occurs in a writing center environment and the other which generally takes place in the writing classroom. In Mohr's (1989) view peer tutor collaboration is defined as the following:

If students help one another, we call the act "collaboration." If a tutor helps a student and both gain from the experience, the process is "collaboration." "Collaboration" suggests sharing; "peer" suggests equality. Collaboration does not require professional training; peer tutors are not voices of authority. Collaboration does imply participation; thus both student and tutor are providing input to the session. (p. 104)

The collaboration strived for in writing center tutoring sessions goes beyond the task-specific "questioning answering stage" common to peer groups to explaining the how's and why's of identified errors. Peer tutoring collaboration has the advantage of helping the writer work toward correcting the errors in her writing beyond the

specific occasion of the draft being addressed. It is important to note that the focus of the collaboration for tutors in a writing center is not one particular paper but instead "the paper the student brings in to the writing center is only the medium for discussion"; the collaborative goal goes beyond the need of the immediate situation (Harris, 1992 p. 372). Thus the peer tutor in the writing center focuses on a unique, highly individualized form of tutorial. Such a tutorial is unlike both writing teacher conferences or peer-group responses because

each student can ask whatever questions are on her mind, talk about whatever possibilities she is considering, or linger over problems she sees; and tutors can explore a variety of sources to tap for solutions and strategies that will help that particular student...the writer's concerns dominate the interaction. (Harris, 1992, p. 373)

Although collaboration is touted as a panacea of writing center theory, there is not complete agreement among all writing center theorists and professionals concerning collaboration. Woolbright (1993) questions Bruffee's "mastery" and "consensus" in collaboration and, in a review of others who also question Bruffee's foundations of collaboration, states:

Min-zhan Lu (1992) questions whether the function of

collaboration is for students to "learn" or "master" a discourse and whether the function of the collaborative group is to ease conflict and to comfort. Kurt Spellmeyer (1989) questions not only the "disinterestedness" of Bruffee's consensual knowledge, but what it means to learn to understand according to this view. John Trimbur (1989) and others suggest a refocusing not on Bruffee's consensus but on the articulation of difference. (Woolbright, 1993, p. 3)

However, even though there is a lack of consensus on the methods that should be used to help students become more confident writers, the philosophy of "*better writers not better writing*" is almost unanimously agreed upon by the most writing center administrators.

The Writing Center: A Place Where Writing Is Viewed as a Process

A phrase coined by North (1982) and used on numerous writing center texts, "*better writers not better writing*," is based on the idea that writing is indeed a process and as further stated by North:

[F]or writers to make useful and consistent changes in the writing they produce, they must make changes in the way they produce their writing; that is, they must

alter their writing processes. (Harris, 1982, p. 42)

North (1984) went on to clarify what he meant by the sometimes overused statement of "writing as process." For North the process implied by writing process is individual processes that are writing task specific. North argues that "process," after all, has been characterized as everything from the reception of divine inspiration to a set of nearly algorithmic rules for producing the five paragraph theme. In between are the more widely accepted and, for the moment, more respectable descriptions derived from composing aloud protocols, interviews, videotaping, and so on. None of these, in any case, represents the composing process we seek in a writing center. The version we want can only be found, in as yet unarticulated form, in the writer we are working with. (p. 438)

The type of process recognized in writing center theory and practice is also described by Leahy (1990) as "much more complex and variable than we had realized"(p. 46). Leahy went on to clarify that "different writers use different processes from one task to the next." (p. 46)

The process approach to writing that was adopted by the writing center community got its start as early as the 1960s during the time that composition scholars, like Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Schoer, (1963), Rohman and Wlecke (1964),

and James Moffett (1968) were reevaluating the product approach. Within a very short time thereafter other composition theorists like Janet Emig (1971) and Peter Elbow (1973) were finding through their research and teaching observations that indeed a move away from a product-centered look at composing was needed. The basic premise of viewing writing as a process, although the resulting instructional approach varied from theorist to theorist, was and is that completed writing is a result of a complex process of activities. The earlier look at this approach went on to say that this process

included several stages of composition development.

During the planning or pre-writing stage, writers generated ideas and organization. During the writing stage, they put these ideas into some rough order.

Then, during the revision stage, they honed organization and expression. Finally during the editing stage, they corrected surface errors like

spelling punctuation and usage. (Williams 1989, p. 7-8)

As noted by North's previous statement, this earlier, somewhat rigid view of the writing process has since been modified. Aside from the statement by North acknowledging that there is not one but several writing processes that vary according to the individual and the task, further research into the process approach to writing has also shown

that the process is not linear but recursive. Although much of the research that has helped to shed light on the nature of the writing takes place in the composition classroom, a great deal of the progress in the field of writing and writing instruction and research takes place in the writing center.

**The Writing Center: A Place Where Theories about Writing
and Learning Are Created and Tested**

In "Writing Center Research: Testing Our Assumptions" North (1984) states that it is the responsibility of those actively involved in writing centers to test the basic assumptions under which they are practicing. Based on a similar challenge by Lee Odell to composition teachers, North sees the testing of basic assumptions as essential to the shaping of the discourse theory that guides our work with students:

The burden of responsibility on writing center people is perhaps even greater. Not only must we test our assumptions about discourse theory (since we are all, first, teachers of writing); we must also test, to a greater degree than our classroom counterparts, our assumptions about our pedagogy, about how we teach writing. (Olsen, 1984, p. 24)

A great deal of writing center research falls into three categories, categories which, according to North, have "not for the most part, been the formal inquiry by which we might test our assumptions"(Olsen 1984, p. 24). The categories of reflection, speculation and survey, coined by North, are found throughout writing center research. In reflective mode a practitioner may look back over some aspect or practice used in the writing center. This reflection is then recorded and guidelines are derived to help other practitioners with replication of the same aspect or practice. This method does provide "sound practical advice and a smattering of theory [but it] neither is, nor was, intended to be formal or systematic" (Olsen, 1984, p. 25).

Speculation takes theories from composition, rhetoric, education, or any other discipline and adapts them as explanations for some writing center phenomenon. Yet another tool of speculation is to use borrowed theories to explain what writing centers ought to be. This method can be problematic because the research that was done to develop the theory for another discipline may not adequately explain or transfer to the writing center environment.

Survey, the third mode of research practiced by writing center practitioners, can also be called "counting" or "enumeration." It is this type of writing center research that often gets reported to local administrators (number of

student visits, time spent with each student, etc.) but can also take the form of questionnaire-based studies.

The focus of these three types of research has been mainly maintenance and projection; however, this type of research could only take writing center theory so far. With the move towards a higher sense of professionalism and the growth in the numbers of writing centers, research simply to maintain the field has not been enough. Olsen quotes North as saying:

writing centers are, in short, maturing. As they do so, we must, as Odell argues, turn the focus of our research back onto ourselves. We must ask the hard questions, test the assumptions we have come to take for granted over the first difficult decade of the writing center's existence. (Olsen 1984, p. 27)

This testing of the foundational assumptions behind writing centers' practices is exactly what has taken place in the last decade of writing center research. Assumptions about collaboration are being questioned by Harris (1993), Mullin (1993), Woolbright (1993) and others. Young (1992), Powers (1993), Leahy (1991) and others continue to question individualized instruction and other writing center practices. Writing centers are doing research into peer-group feedback within the center itself. Writing centers are being viewed more as composition instruction

environments instead of the traditional view of assistants to composition courses. Books like New Directions take stock of where writing center research has been and is going. All of these efforts are being made to ensure that writing centers continue to be places where research about writing takes place. Such research focuses on working towards a researched theoretical paradigm and towards making writing centers work better for the writers they serve.

Chapter Four

Procedures for Data Collection and Description

In this chapter I have explained the setting of this study and how this study was conducted. The explanation in this chapter is designed not only to describe where and how the study was conducted but also why the location was chosen and how each data collection method was implemented. In describing the location of the study, I focused on the both the physical structure and governance of the writing center where the study was conducted. In describing the procedures used to conduct this study, I first explained the methods used to collect the data, and then, I explained the methods used to develop the case studies. In addition to describing the location of the study, and the data collection and description, this chapter also briefly describes the study participants.

The Setting

Although the survey was administered at three different schools, the setting where the case studies were conducted was a private liberal arts women's college in southwestern

Virginia (PLAWC). PLAWC⁹ was an good setting because of its unique arrangement of having its academic ESL program and coordinator (me) based in its writing center. Because of my role as the ESL coordinator, I did not need to gain special access to the setting, and I was quite familiar both with the practices of the writing center and with the L2 population. PLAWC was also an appropriate setting for this study because the ESL program was quite young and the writing center director, college administration and myself were all quite committed to fully investigating ways in which the writing center can best assist the writing and academic needs of the growing L2 population. This commitment made the conducting of this study much easier because of the openness and willingness of all involved.

While PLAWC was a good setting because it was where my question originated and where the findings would be most applicable, as a research setting PLAWC did have its drawbacks. One such drawback was that PLAWC is a small, private, all women's college, with a liberal arts focus, few advanced degrees and limited diversity within its international population. For research purposes this narrowness of population could be seen as a drawback because

⁹ PLAWC is an acronym for the college where I worked and where this study was conducted. As was the case with PLAWC all names of schools and participants in this study have been changed.

it could limit the study's population possibilities. My goal in conducting this study was to create concrete descriptive data about the specific writing center in which the study was conducted.

The writing center at PLAWC, is located on the first floor of a dormitory that is centrally located on campus. The floor plan of the writing center is designed for both efficiency and creativity. While there is a front desk with a computer for recording data on students who come in to the center for assistance, there are also large comfortable couches and chairs for visitors to relax on and discuss writing. The center is made up of two rooms, one for tutoring and the other for office space (both my office and the director's). There are sections of the larger tutoring room that are partitioned for private tutoring sessions and the rest of the room consists of couches and chairs in three to four person configurations. The center is always buzzing with tutoring sessions and students talking. The atmosphere of the setting is a cross between a student lounge and a very loosely run office.

The PLAWC Writing Center is not sponsored or affiliated with any particular department of the college. It is an independently run facility, which during the study answered to the office of the vice president of academic affairs but has since been moved under the student services dean. The

writing center director (in her first year as director although she was acting director the previous year) is completely responsible for the governance of the writing center, which includes the hiring and training of the tutors. PLAWC has a unique situation in that I, as English as a Second Language (ESL) faculty/coordinator, have my office in the writing center, thus housing most of the ESL coordination and governance from the writing center. The ESL program is not directly connected with the writing center facilities although they do share the same space at the college.

While the writing center director is responsible for training tutors to tutor native speakers, I am responsible for the tutors' ESL education. Although the writing center has been at PLAWC for at least twenty years, the above described arrangement is only two years old.

Undergraduate tutors are hired by the writing center director and the tutoring staff. A student interested in being a tutor at the writing center fills out an application and turns in a writing sample. The application packets are then circulated among the existing tutors, who write questions or comments on the applicants' packets. Then, in a tutor staff meeting, the tutors and the director discuss the feedback and decide which applicants will be brought in for interviews. Once the interviews--both with the tutors

as a group and individually with the director--are completed, there is another staff meeting where the decision of who will and will not be hired is made by the entire staff.

PLAWC has several graduate programs. Two tutors are usually chosen from the creative writing master's program. Since this is a one-year program and students who are selected for this program usually do not arrive until late summer, the writing center director alone chooses two students from this program to be tutors. Although students can be chosen from any of the master's programs, thus far, graduate students have been chosen from the creative writing program only.

Once hired, tutors return until they graduate or resign. Tutors are paid through work study although they do not have to be need-based to be a tutor. In the hiring process, the tutors look for other tutors who have strong writing and interpersonal skills and who would fit well in the existing writing center environment. The undergraduate tutors come from a range of degree seeking backgrounds, although the numbers are slightly skewed towards English and or English education majors. Because the college is a women's college, all of the undergraduate tutors are women, yet there is often a male graduate student as was the case of Derrick, a tutor in this study.

Once hired, the tutors undergo paid, informal, training three days a week, with the writing center director for several weeks. In these sessions the writing center director follows The Practical Tutor text quite closely for information about the overall tutoring process. They work on understanding their own writing processes and the writing center philosophy of making "better writers not better papers."¹⁰

The director also has the counseling center administer the Myers/Briggs¹¹ personality type indicator test during the beginning, intensive tutor training. When the results of this test arrive, a counseling center administrator and the writing center director conduct further training in the way of a three-day discussion. The focus of this training is to explore tutors' personality profile in terms of their tutoring and working together.

Once initial training is completed, new tutors are required to observe and write about a number of tutoring sessions before they actually begin tutoring on their own. The number of sessions observed is determined by the new tutors' progress in understand the tutor training material

¹⁰ This philosophy is explained in detail in the literature review chapter "Writing Centers': History and Philosophy.

¹¹ The MBTI is explained in more detail in Appendix E.

and the directors confidence in the new tutors ability to tutor on her own. For the first few tutoring sessions on their own, new tutors have an experienced tutor or the director observe them and give them feedback. -

To prepare new tutors for L2 student tutoring experiences, I teach the tutors an overview of the history of ESL writing instruction in the United States, how it connects to what they will be doing in their tutoring sessions, and a basic framework for approaching tutoring sessions. In regard to ESL students, I teach tutors to listen to what assistance is being requested and then with the student decide how the session is to go. I also encourage them not to try to "fix" everything but to focus on a specific task for the allotted time and, if necessary, to suggest a return visit. I observe the new tutor in her sessions and also get feedback from the L2 population to help guide further training. Throughout the academic year I conduct further ESL tutor training, both formally at weekly staff meetings and informally in one-on-one sessions. The tutor-training during the year is to address questions, concerns or issues that come out of the actual tutoring sessions.

The tutors decide upon their work hours based on their class schedules, and the writing center hours are dependent upon when the tutors can work--thus hours change from

semester to semester. There were thirteen tutors, with varying amounts of work hours, at the writing center during the time this study was conducted. The pattern of hours was usually a few hours during the day (10:30–12:00) and regular hours from about 6:00–9:00 each evening.

Methods of Data Collection

With the study setting described, I will now move on to the different data collection methods used in this study. In this section I will focus on the data sources, the types of data generated by those sources, and the framework through which each source is described.

The goal of the case studies was to provide a description of four individual L2 students' writing center perceptions and the place of the writing center in their writing practices. The case studies employed several means of data collection that provided a multi-dimensional description.

Two of the case study participants, Michiko and Joanna, were L2 students who were just beginning their degree-seeking American, academic careers. Michiko was from Japan and Joanna was from Germany. I chose two upper-level L2 students, Akiko and Hanna, as the other two case study participants in order to describe the writing center

practices of more mature L2 writers. Akiko was a senior from Japan and Hanna was a graduate student from Germany. Data collected from the case studies of the upper-level L2 students provided descriptions of more mature L2 writers writing practices, which allowed me to do some cross-case analysis. The case studies provided me with a description of the role of the writing center in the writing practices of a particular student; however, when I compared and contrasted one case study with another, I was able to more fully understand each individual case study and more generally the writing center's role as a whole.

Three tutors, Derrick, Ruth and Tonya, who worked with the four L2 participants, were also case study participants. I included the tutors as case study participants because the PLAWC Writing Center is really defined (by the PLAWC community) in terms of the tutors that work there. To describe the role of the Writing Center in the writing practices of L2 students, I needed to also describe the tutors with whom the L2 student interacted. Derrick, Ruth and Tonya were not only the main tutors with whom the L2 case study participants worked, but they were also the three tutors with whom most of the L2 population worked during the time that the study was conducted. The tutors' case study was reported as a unit because my interest in them was mainly in respect to their particular interactions with the

L2 student case study participants. The tutors' case study explored what tutoring practices and/or behaviors played a role in the L2 student participants' writing center practices.

What follows is a description of the data collection procedures. Table 1 places this description in chart form. The chart and the descriptions in this section are in the same order, excluding the pre-study survey, which I explained earlier as being in Appendix A.

I began the case studies with an interview with each of the L2 participants. In this first round of interviews, we decided which writing assignments would be used, and I confirmed the writing/writing center practices or perceived practices as stated on their pre-study survey. Each of the four L2 participants had already filled out the survey. In the first interview I asked questions similar to the survey questions. The first interview also provided me with data

Table 1 Data Sources and Descriptions

Data Source	Type of Data Generated	Descriptive Framework
<p>Survey</p> <p>++The description and analysis of the survey is in Appendix A "The Survey"</p>	<p>General descriptive data provided by 93 L2 respondents from 3 schools. Data addresses perceptions of writing center as described through answers to survey questions.</p>	<p>How they inform or provide descriptive answers to the following survey questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * What is a Writing Center? * Why might you visit writing center? * What do you expect from a visit to the writing center? * What is the main goal of the writing center?
<p>Four L2 Case Studies</p>	<p>Specific descriptive data about the role of writing center in 1994 fall semester writing practices.</p> <p>Descriptive tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * interview transcriptions * response journals * 2 essays (drafts and final products) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How they inform or provide descriptive answers to the following survey questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * What is a Writing Center? * Why might you visit a writing center? * What do you expect from a visit to the writing center? * What is the main goal of the writing center? 2. In light of questions and issues raised within and across case studies.
<p>Writing Center Tutors' Case Study</p>	<p>Descriptive Data on PLAWC Writing Center, & Tutors, Descriptive Tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * interview transcriptions * Professor report forms * Tutor response entries. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Questions and/or issues raised by L2 case studies. 2. Myers/Briggs Type Indicator

that expanded the focus of the survey questions that provided me with a picture of them as writers--their process, how they felt about writing, when it was that they generally needed assistance with writing, and how they felt about outside assistance with their writing. This first interview gave me the opportunity to discuss which 2 assignments were to be traced during the case study and the role of the process journal.

The process journal provided me with data that documented the difficulties that led the L2 student case study participants to visit the writing center, the kinds of assistance that they received there, and how that assistance did or did not help them produce the required written assignment. In their process journals, each L2 student used narrative form and free-writing to address the following questions:

- * How did you begin your assignment?
- * Where in the assignment did you run into difficulties?
- * What sorts of difficulties did you have?
- * How did you go about solving these difficulties?
- * How was the writing center involved in your solution?
- * Did your visit to the writing center facilitate your completion of the assignment? If so, how?

Michiko was the only case study participant who failed to closely keep a process journal. She did have a few entries, but she did not have as many entries as visits for the semester that the study was conducted. -

The last round of interviews was conducted at the completion of both assignments. I used the completed assignments and the process journals as the focus of these interviews. In these interviews, I asked questions to expand upon and clarify what they had written in their process journals. Parts of these interviews are integrated throughout each of the case studies.

I also conducted interviews with the three tutors who worked with the four participants. In the interview with the tutors, I questioned them on the following information about their tutoring experience with the L2 student participants: the stage in the writing process in which the essay brought in for tutoring was, the kinds of assistance requested of the tutor by the L2 student, and what took place in the tutoring session in the tutors attempt to address the requests made by the L2 student. Data obtained from the tutor interviews were interwoven into each of the case studies. The tutor interview acted as a data collection technique that when explored with the L2 students essays triangulated the data collected from the L2 student interviews. In other words, by interviewing both the tutor

and the L2 student on the activities of the tutoring sessions, I gathered two sources of data from the same situation--the tutoring session. The third data source of the triangle was the L2 students' essay product analysis.

At PLAWC the ordinary procedure followed by the writing center tutors is, upon completion of a tutoring session, to sit with the tutee and fill out a "professor report form"¹². The professor report form was designed to make professors aware of the type of outside assistance received by a student on an assigned essay for her/his class. The form also serves as a record of what was done in the tutoring session and comments by the student about the assistance provided.

In addition to filling out the professor report form, it is also ordinary procedure of the writing center tutors to freewrite a tutor response entry for each tutoring session. These responses are word-processed on a computer once the tutee has left. Responses are printed out daily and filed in a folder with a duplicate copy of the professor report form. Every student who has visited the writing center has her/his own student file. I was granted full access to these documents by the writing center director¹³

¹² Appendix B contains a sample Professor Report Form.

¹³ Both the L2 students and the tutors participating in the study consented to my access to these forms. Tutor

and used them in this study as a basis for clarification and expansion during my interview with each tutor. These documents were also used in the writing of this study.

How the Case Studies Were Developed

The case studies focused on the following four questions taken from the pre-study survey:

- * What is a writing center?
- * Why would you go to a writing center?
- * What do you expect from a visit to a writing center?
- * What is the goal of the writing center?

Once the data was collected, I read through the transcribed interviews with both the L2 student participants and the tutors, the professor report forms, the L2 students' completed assignments and the process journals to see if any broader themes emerged. Based on the data, I decided to group the case study participants into three broad categories: Upper-level L2 students, freshmen L2 students, and writing center tutors.

The L2 student categories were based on similarities that emerged from the process journals and professor report

and L2 student consent forms are in Appendix C and Appendix D.

forms, in writing practices, in writing center behaviors, and writing maturity levels. For the purposes of this study, I am defining writing maturity level as the amount of previous writing experience either in English or in the L2 students native language. The upper-level L2 students both had extensive previous writing experience both in English and in their native language. These two students were also academically more mature: Akiko was a senior and Hanna was a graduate student. They exhibited writing behaviors characteristic of writers with more writing experience. These behaviors are explained in more detail in each case study.

The freshmen case study participants had little to no previous writing experience, and they were both new to the college academic environment. Many of their writing practices and behaviors were similar, and their writing practices and behaviors were consistent with those characteristics associated with less experienced writers. The freshmen case study participants' writing practices are explained more in their case studies.

Although I developed each of the case studies, I treated each of the L2 students individually, and the tutors as a group. The tutor case study was developed last, which meant that I had already developed all of the L2 case studies before looking at the data collected from tutor

interviews, professor report forms, and tutor responses. In three of the four case studies there was a distinct preference for a particular tutor. While each of the L2 student case studies touched on why they had chosen a particular tutor, they did not fully explain what about each of the chosen tutors drew them to working with him or her. I was puzzled by the choice of a particular tutor and how that choice then played a role in the writing center practices of three of the four case study participants.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the writing center director had the MBTI administered during tutor training and had already worked with the tutors on understanding their profile and the role that their MBTI plays in the way that they interact with students in a tutoring situations. The director's use of the MBTI is not unique but is based on the research findings of numerous studies¹⁴ which "explore the significance to tutoring of the eight MBTI traits" (Scharton & Neulieb, 1991, p. 185). I chose this framework for developing the tutors' case study, because the test and results were readily available to me and because the existing research findings provided interesting insights into my speculations of why certain L2

14 Some such studies are Jensen, George and John DiTiberio (1989), Maid, Barry, Crisp and Norton (1989), Provost, Judith (1992), and Sobczyk, (1986).

students chose certain tutors.

It is important to point out that my use of this framework for investigating the question of tutor preference was not to explain the attraction of personality types, because that would have been impossible without Myers/Briggs profiles for the L2 participants. Instead my purpose in using the (MBTI) was to describe the tutoring behaviors--that may be explained by certain profiles--that were sought out by the L2 case study participants.

Thompson's (1994) research on the MBTI investigates the tutoring style of particular personality types. In his research, Thompson describes the tutoring behaviors associated with each of the different personality profiles. I used Thompson's research as the theoretical basis for developing the tutors' case study. This frame was used because of the overwhelming prevalence of the role of individual tutor personality in the writing practices of the L2 students in this study. In the process of developing each of the case studies, I also referred back to current writing center research to continually connect the findings in my study to the larger body of writing center research.

Chapter Five

The Case Studies

The case studies in this chapter are organized in the following way: I have first given a brief informational background on the case study participant. I have then discussed the themes that emerged from the data collected on each of the L2 participants. And finally, I have discussed each of the case studies in terms of what type of assistance each L2 student participant expected from the writing center and the type of assistance that was given by the writing center to the L2 student participant.

In the tutors' case study I have also given some biographical information on each tutor but the biographical information was given only as it related to the tutoring practices of that tutor when he/she tutored one of the L2 student participants who were involved in this study. The tutors' case study was also developed in terms of how each tutors' MBTI assisted in clarifying the tutors' tutoring practices and behaviors during the semester the study was conducted.

Upper-Level L2 Student Case Study

Akiko Ogata

Akiko Ogata was a senior at PLAWC. She came to PLAWC, after having graduated from a Japanese university, to complete an undergraduate inter-disciplinary degree (concentrating on political science and English). She had planned to attend graduate school in journalism in the United States and came to as she states it "broaden her knowledge and improve her English skills." According to Akiko, she loves to write and always has; therefore, she had done a great deal of writing. In an essay that she wrote, she shared her experience as a seven-year-old, with creating newspapers that included numerous stories on events from "The yo yo hits Japan" to "The life and times of a frying pan." Akiko was both a creative and an avid writer. In realizing that most of her previous writing was done in Japanese, one may think that the transition to writing in English would somehow stifle her love of writing and her desire to express herself in written form, but it did not. Akiko loved to write and, although constantly frustrated by the process, did a great deal of writing.

When she first arrived at PLAWC, she took my ESL course which focused on the fundamental skills of academic English. At that time, her language skills were so limited that a

basic conversation of simple introduction was challenging. Yet, the assistance that she sought from the writing center was not that of a student with limited language abilities. In fact the views she expressed concerning a writing center and its role in her writing practices in our first interview together were similar to the views that she had the previous year. The writing center, for Akiko, was a place to assist her in improving her writing skills, so that she could express herself as clearly in English as she strove to do in Japanese.

In the following conversation, taken from our first interview together, Akiko defines both what a writing center is and why she sought assistance from the writing center.

Akiko- ...I think a writing center is very important....everybody needs writing skills...I think for me a writing center and writing skills are more important, but at the same time everybody needs [a] writing center. It's important for every student.

Sheila- How does the writing center help with writing skills?

Akiko- Because sometimes it is very hard to find mistakes---¹⁵I write very carefully, but still I make mistakes. I have a confidence to write grammatically but still my writing may be--- actually the tutor, she said I cannot explain this

¹⁵ --- indicate a pause in speech.

is wrong, but we can not say, I mean Americans cannot use this phrase, these words. So it is very helpful to learn common English.

While Akiko's answer to what a writing center is and does, did not vary much from that of the freshmen L2 participants, the difference in when she went to the writing center did differ. Akiko visited the writing center after she had the opportunity to work through her own writing process. Akiko expected the writing center to assist her, not on the actual creation of ideas but more in the standardization of the language of the ideas. For Akiko the tutors were not there to assist her in her writing process, but instead, they were there to assist her with an aspect of writing with which she had difficulty. On her own, Akiko was unable to produce smooth organized standard college-level English. Akiko's reply to the question "When is it that you go to the writing center" began her explanation of what role the writing center played in her writing practices.

Sheila- When is it that you come to the writing center?

Akiko- When I finish.

Sheila- When you finish?

Akiko- Yes.

Sheila- Do you ever come before you have finished an assignment?

Akiko- I think last semester I came in before I was finished writing.

Sheila- Why?

Akiko- I think I brought my draft here. But this semester I always come in here after I finish writing.

Sheila- Why the change?

Akiko- I think my writing is more improved. I think that it is better. Last semester it was harder to explain what I'm saying. What I want to write. And sometimes I couldn't explain so I started at first here in the writing center. Here I started to explain my thoughts. But this semester I think I can explain, not perfectly but more. I will read through---what I wrote and then I try to correct by myself. Hopefully, I don't actually, basically, I don't want to use writing center at all.

Sheila- because...

Akiko- Because I really want to be a professional writer, I mean a professional journalist. I want to correct somebody's writing.

From what Akiko has stated in this conversation, I concluded that for Akiko, the writing center is viewed as a place where assistance is given. The assistance seemed to Akiko to be dependent on corrections that she felt she should have been able to make for herself. Akiko viewed the writing center as a place that would eventually not play a role in her writing process at all when she became a "good enough" writer. In fact, at one point in her interview she said, "If my English was very good, I would not need the writing center."

With this in mind we have a framework for looking at Akiko's actual writing center behaviors for a semester. I asked that each of the participants keep all drafts of two writing assignments for the semester in which the study was conducted. These two assignments had to be ones in which they sought help from the writing center. Akiko chose assignments from her journalism class. In both assignments the revisions that were done before writing center assistance was sought were far greater than the revision done after writing center assistance was provided. Both assignments went through several drafts before the visit to the writing center, yet there was only one draft between the visit to the writing center and the final draft which was handed in to the teacher for evaluation.

Both of Akiko's essays were articles about people. These articles were based on interviews that she conducted with these individuals (in English). Below Akiko describes the process that these articles went through.

I have specific questions that I want to ask them and I ask the questions---I tape record the interviews and take notes. Sometimes I do not get all that they are saying in my notes because I may be tired and my listening comprehension may not be good that day. Interviews take a lot of listening and they are very difficult because you have to be so, you have to listen

carefully so you know what to say next. After I finish interview I took my notes and quickly type them up. No, no I first try to think of a focus or a idea that will make the article. And I quickly type up what I have.

Akiko's first journalism assignment was to write a personality profile of three Russian students at PLAWC for the college newspaper. She came up with the following first draft from the notes that she had from her interview and the tape recording that she had of the interview. My purpose in showing these drafts is to illustrate how much revision Akiko does on her own before seeking outside assistance from the writing center. Most of the composing process of this piece took place as a result of her distinct notion of what she wanted to say. The different drafts that this particular article went through were all in an attempt to clarify the ideas in her article. Figure 1 is Akiko's first draft after her interview with the Russian students. Figure 2 shows her revisions and editing on the first draft.

"No reason to take education to improve themselves. That's harrable," Klimova said. They are also surprised at lots of home assignments in the United States. " We don't have many home assignments," Kuchinskaya said. According to Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskaya, Examinations in the end of semester mostly decide student's grade in their countries.

Russian and Belarussian students cannot freely choose classes they want, and classes depend of students' major. Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskaya like American liberal arts system, which students can learn various subjects as well as Russian and Belarussian system.

Khvesina said that learning one subject through whole year and two years is sometimes very valuable, because student can pursue one subject more profoundly.

Now their hardship is English. Class contents have hardly problems for them, who won high competitions to enter universities and passed difficult entrance examination, but feel difficult for PLAWC classes because of English abilities, according to them.

It took time for Russian students to get used to PLAWC, Because Russia doesn't have women's colleges, and has different educational styles.

Russian students, Raissa Khvesina and Natalya Klimova and a Belarussian student, Olga Kuchinskaya came to PLAWC as one year exchange students this fall.

They were puzzled that PLAWC has much more different circumstances from their universities than they had ever imagined.

"I miss boys" all of them unanimously said. "It was difficult to get used to an all women's college," Kuchinskaya said.

Khvesina said that her most university friends were men in her university. "Separation is unusual," she added. American Collegiate Consortium, the public organization in Russia, chooses appropriate colleges or universities for each student who wants to study in the United States. Thus, Khvesina, Klimova, and Kuchinskaya had no idea about a small women's college, but they also found its good points here. "I like a small college, because getting to know each other is easier," Khvesina said. Kuchinskaya also said that women can learn how to survive and be strong in women's college. Klimova said that students can always study without paying attention to boys. "That is advantage," she said, and she added that Russian also need women's college. Russian and Belarussian economic chaos because of the collapse of Soviet Union and Elitsin's rapid economic reform does indifferent to education to people. Many young people like to earn money as soon as possible rather than spend time for education, according to Klimova, Khvesina and Kuchinskaya. Kuchinskaya also said that people respect business people more than professors, physicians, and scientists.

Figure 1 Akiko's Article Draft I

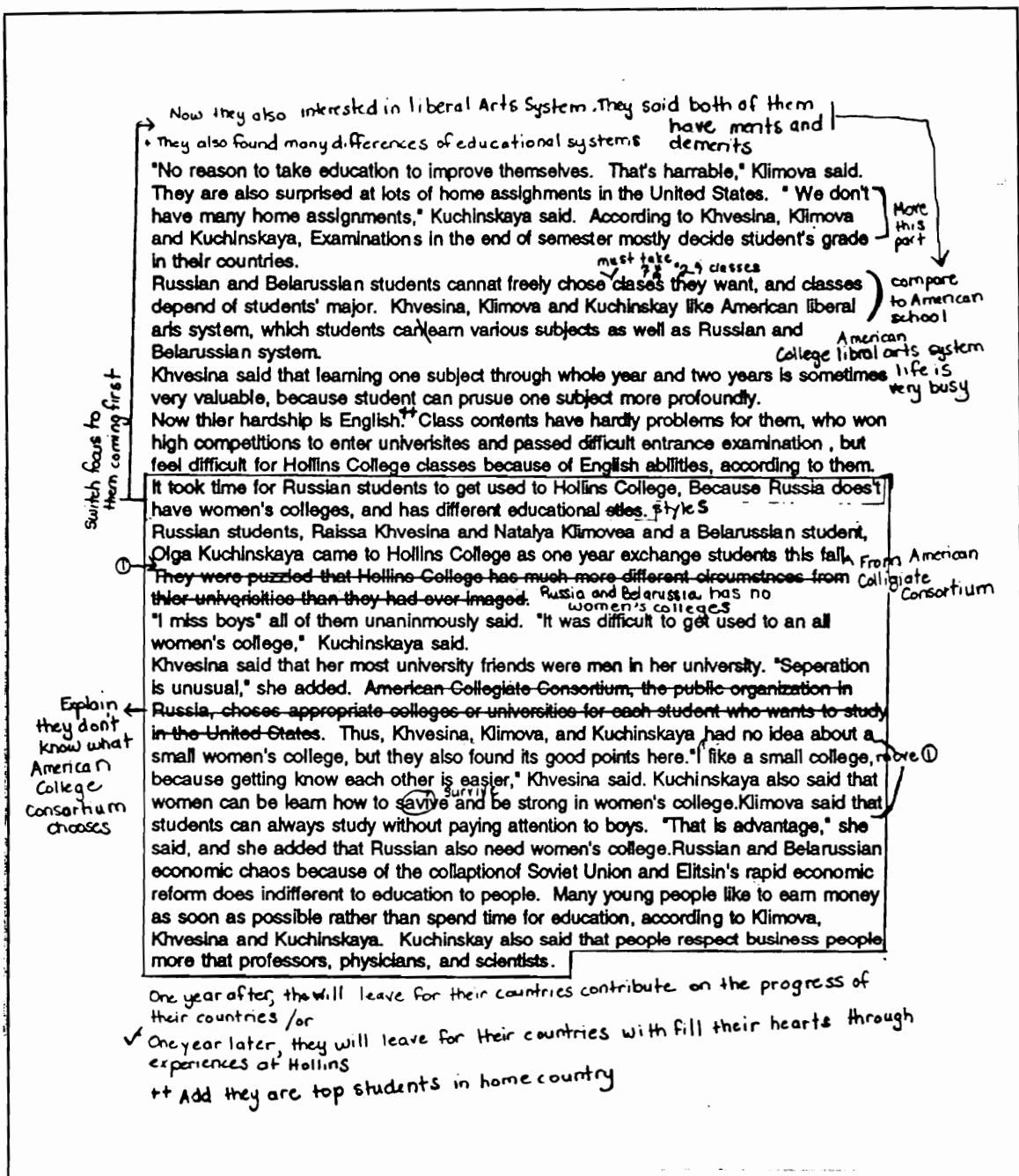


Figure 2 Akiko's Revision

The revisions (Figure 2) made on her own show that Akiko not only had a command of what she wanted to say but that she also recognized the content areas that still needed work. An example of this command of what she wanted to say is in her content development in the concluding paragraph of the piece. In her first draft she concentrated on making sure that she included all of the information obtained in the interview and ended the piece with the information gathered from the last question in the interview. In her revision we see her moving towards a concluding statement, that better closes out the piece, with her hand-written note at the bottom of the page which reads "On year after they will leave for their countries contribute on the progress of their country's education." This conclusion was further revised with another hand-written note rephrasing the previous conclusion, "One year after they will leave for their countries with fill their harts through experiences at PLAWC and contribute on their countries." The changes made here show her working towards a closer and clearer approximation of the piece that she intended to present as a final draft. These changes were made independent of an outside reader and independent of any collaborative feedback.

Another example of Akiko's independent essay development that is illustrated by Figure 2 is her

handwritten notes that clarify points quoted in the piece. While she originally did not clarify the Russian students' reaction to being placed at a liberal arts women's college, statements in the revision in Figure 2 like "Russia and Belarussia has no womens college" and "Public organization in Russia decide students' American colleges and univerisities" help to introduce and clarify her previous statements: "They were puzzled that PLAWC has much more different circumstances from their universities than they had ever imagined." and "'I miss boys' all of them unanimously said. 'It was diffiicult to get used to an all women's college.' Kuchinskaya said."

Akiko showed that, as a mature writer, she was able to tighten-up and manipulate her own writing to sharpen her expression. The examples pulled out above illustrate only some of the many complex decisions she made concerning word choice, transitions, what needed to be eliminated and what needed to be expanded. These decisions were made on her own without outside feedback from a writing center tutor, a teacher, or an outside reader.

It is finally this draft, shown in Figure 3, that she took to the writing center for assistance. Please notice that in this third draft she not only made the changes noted on the previous draft but also some changes that were not marked.

It took time for Russian students to get used to PLAWC, because of big differences from their university college system. Russian students, Raissa Khvesina and Natalya Klimovea and a Belarussian student, Olga Kuchinskaya came to PLAWC from American Collegiate Consortium, as one year exchange students this fall.

Russia and Belarussia have no women's colleges, so they were puzzled that PLAWC was so different from what they had ever imaged. Public organization in Russia decided what students went to which American colleges and Universities.

"I miss boys" all of them unanimously said. "It was difficult to get used to an all women's college," Kuchinskaya said. Khvesina said that her most university friends were men in her university.

"I like a small college, because getting know each other is easier," Khvesina said. Kuchinskaya also said that women can learn to survive and be strong in women's college. "Students can always study without paying attention to boys. That is advantage," she said. Klimova said that Russian also need women's college because of Russian and Belarussian economic chaos because of the collapse of Soviet Union and Elitsin's rapid economic reform does is indifferent to women's education. Many young people like to earn money rather than spend time for education, according to Klimova, Khvesina and Kuchinskaya. Kuchinskaya also said that people respect business people more than professors, physicians, and scientists.

"It's horrible because there is no reason to take education to improve themselves." Klimova said.

American college life is very busy. They were surprised at lots of home assignments in the United States. "We don't have many home assignments," Kuchinskaya said. According to Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskaya, examinations in the end of semester mostly decide student's grade in their countries. The students were also interested in the American Liberal Arts system. Russian and Belarussian students must take required classes, and classes depend of students' major. Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskaya like American Liberal Arts system, as well as their education system at the same time they are interested in American Liberal Arts System because students can learn various subjects.

Khvesina said that learning one subject through whole year and two years is sometimes very valuable, because student can pursue one subject more profoundly, but both systems have merits and demerits.

Now their hardship is English. Class contents give them problems. These students who won high competitions to enter universities and passed difficult entrance examination in Russia and Belarussia, find difficulties with PLAWC classes because of English abilities, according to them.

In one year they will leave for their countries with their hearts full through their experiences at PLAWC, ready to contribute on their own countries.

Figure 3 Akiko's Article Draft Taken to the Writing Center

Again these revisions was all done before she sought outside assistance from the writing center.

The changes made after her session at the writing center were mainly grammatical in nature, sentence fragments were corrected, articles and proper prepositions were added and some verb tenses were corrected. In the journal that Akiko kept about her experience, she describes the tutoring session in the writing center as follows:

I did not go to the writing center because I had problem writing my article. I went because I needed help with editing. Problems that I had figuring out what to say and what angle I did on myself. They were difficulties but for me to do so I will be good journalist. I went because I sometimes make grammar errors that I don't know how to see. I can read my article many times but I won't see. Tutor sees them right away. It is easy for her, she speaks English well. I was in a rush because the article was due and I spent much time already. We went through it together and when she would ask me a question I could correct my paper myself. Not a lot of correcting more grammar. She said my article was good, but I missed many articles. Some she helped me find but she said that I should check again on my own. I did that before I

came.

Akiko's final draft of the essay in Figure 4 shows that indeed most of the feedback she received from her writing center visit was grammatical in nature. Akiko made all of the grammatical corrections that she and the tutor decided were necessary for the article. However, the draft at this point was so revised that she expected and was given little to no content-based feedback. All of the feedback that she was given was editorial in nature.

The example I used to illustrate Akiko's use of the writing center in her writing practices does not differ greatly from the other article that she wrote that semester. The content of the other article differed and her revisions before coming to the writing center differed, but she still came to the writing center only for editing-type assistance. By going through the writing practices for this one article, I sought to illustrate Akiko's definition of the writing center. For Akiko the writing center is a place that second language students have access to native-speaking readers to help them identify and correct the grammar errors in their essay. However, Akiko's writing center experience touched on a bit more. In her journal about her writing center activities, Akiko explored an issue of expectations that I will discuss later.

It took time for The Russian and Belarussian students to get used to PLAWC, because of the big differences from their university college system. Russian students, Raissa Khvesina and Natalya Klimovea and a Belarussian student, Olga Kuchinskaya came to PLAWC from The American Collegiate Consortium , as one year exchange students this fall.

Russia and Belarussia have no women's colleges ,so they were puzzled that PLAWC was so different from what they had ever imaged. A Public organization in Russia decided which students went to which American colleges and Universities.

"I miss boys" all of them unanimously said. "It was difficult to get used to an all women's college," Kuchinskaya said. Khvesina said that most of her Belarussian university friends were men.

"I like a small college, because getting to know each other is easier," Khvesina said.

Kuchinskaya also said that women can learn to survive and be strong in a women's college. "Students can always study without paying attention to boys. That is an advantage," she said. Klimova said that Russia also needs women's colleges because the Russian and Belarussian economic chaos because of the collapse of Soviet Union and Yeltsin's rapid economic reform is indifferent to women's education. Many young people like to earn money rather than spend time for education, according to Klimova, Khvesina and Kuchinskaya. Kuchinskay also said that people respect business people more than professors, physicians, and scientists.

"It's horrible because there is no reason to take education to improve themselves." Klimova said.

American college life is very busy. They were surprised the amount of home assignments given in the United States.

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According to Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskaya, examinations at the end of semester decide a student's grade in their countries.

The students were also interested in the American Liberal Arts system. Russian and Belarussian students must take required classes, and the classes you take depends on a students' major. Khvesina, Klimova and Kuchinskay like American Liberal Arts system, as well as their education system . In an American Liberal Arts System students can learn various subjects.

Khvesina said that learning one subject through a whole year or two years is sometimes very valuable, because student can pursue one subject more profoundly, but both systems have merits and demerits.

Now their hardship is English. Class contents give them problems. These students who won high competitions to enter univerisites and passed difficult entrance examination in Russia and Belarussia, find difficulties with PLAWC classes because of their English abilities, according to them.

In one year they will leave for their countries with their hearts full of their experiences at PLAWC, ready to contribute on their own countries.

Figure 4 Akiko's Post-Writing Center Article

Akiko expected the tutor to assist her with making the language of her article more native-speaker like. In her mind, this meant helping her identify and correct the second-language-sounding parts. Although some of these second-language-sounding parts may have been grammatical (as was the case with some of Akiko's corrections), Akiko's expectations went beyond simple grammar. While the writing center director has trained the tutors to respect the writers word choice and content and not to change things simply because they "sound better," making her paper "sound better" to a native-speaker was exactly what Akiko wanted from the tutor. Akiko's inability to make her article sound native-speaker-like on her own is expressed in her statement about checking through her work ("I did that before I came..."), yet the tutor had to walk a fine line between assistance with a particular grammar issue and helping the student come to an understanding of how to recognize these issues in her essays in the future. This situation left me with the following questions.

-If Akiko came in and specifically requested "grammar correction" not a grammar lesson, what is the tutor to do?

-How are both the tutor and Akiko best served by this situation?

-What are the complexities illustrated in this situation?

-Is it the tutor's place to make the decision about what is needed in a tutoring session?

-How are these issues of expectation resolved and by whom?

I will explore these questions and others like them later, but now I will continue to illustrate through case studies the practices that bring these and other questions to light.

Upper-Level L2 Case Study

Hanna Brandt

While Akiko's use of the writing center was governed only by the hours of the writing center and the due date of her particular assignment, Hanna sought regular assistance from one particular writing center tutor only. Hanna was a one-year German teaching assistant who taught German conversation courses. She was also in the graduate Masters of Liberal Arts Studies program. During the time this study was conducted, Hanna was enrolled in my ESL expository writing class. The writing assignments that were used for this study were taken from her expository writing class.

When Hanna originally filled out the "Writing Centers' Perceptions and Practices Survey," she wrote the following answer to the question "What is a writing center?"

I have no idea, we have no such places in our colleges and universities in Germany. I think a writing center is a place where you can practice creative writing or get some help. In a writing center you can improve your knowledge in [English] speaking and listening. By the time we had our initial interview, her answer had changed a bit. Hanna attributed her new definition of what a writing center is both to having visited the writing

center and to having received information from the writing center director. In our interview, Hanna defined the writing center:

[I]t's a place where you can go if you have problems with your writing. Not only if you get stuck and don't know how to go on. In the end if you have problems with your grammar. As foreign students especially your grammar is always hard to construct, the sentence and they try to help you.

Hanna's perception of a writing center as being a place for students with writing "problems" was not a new one. Hanna defined "problems" both in her verbal description and in her practices more broadly. In the following conversation, Hanna described when and why she visited the writing center. It was in this conversation that she began to articulate her definition of the writing "problems" which she felt could be taken to the writing center.

Sheila - When in the writing stage are you most likely to visit the writing center. When do you go?

Hanna - The first time I came here I met with Ruth three times. It was quite good. She helped me. She showed me my mistakes. She corrected them. No, she only underlined the mistake, but then they asked me to correct them by myself and so we did it together. But next time I will come I'm sure because I'm really stuck with my third essay. So I don't know how to go on. Something's missing.

I don't like it. The way it is now so I really have to talk to somebody and it's about film and she's a minor in film and she really can help me. At first, I went only when I finished. I thought it was too late. I should have gone earlier. That was my experience last time because I was dissatisfied with what came out. But I went mostly to correct grammar mistakes. That's why, not to get new ideas or because I got stuck in the middle. But this time I will go to get more new ideas and to find really help in what I am writing.

Sheila - When you go, when you come here, what are you expecting? What do you expect from your visit?

Hanna - The first time, you mean?

Sheila - Yes, I guess the first time and also now. I guess both.

Hanna - I expected that Ruth, I know that Ruth is waiting for me. I had an appointment with her and I gave her the essay one day so she could go through it before I came. Then it took us one hour to go through the grammar and she, first she gave me. I expected some reaction, I mean what she thinks about it from what I wrote and the content. And then I expected that she helps me with my spelling, no spelling is okay because the computer can check it but the grammar.

Sheila - Were your expectations filled?

Hanna - Yes, because she really was concerned about my style of writing. I mean she didn't discourage me. She thought that it was really good, I mean well written, but wordy---more plain style. I think when I use plain style it's more simpler.

It doesn't sound well and then I try to create nice phrases and she made it the other way around. She told me okay maybe the reader's like it but I think it's better to say it with your own simple words. The same thing, not so wordy. That's really what helps me a lot because next time I will look at this and I don't do this.

Sheila - How many times do you come when you come to the writing center for a particular assignment in the process of completing it? How many times do feel you would come and have come and may come?

Hanna - I think I should come more often. I came here only once for each of the graduate levels --- at the end. But I think it's useful to go at least twice. In the middle when you're working on it because I think I will change my kind of writing or maybe my ideas or my topic a little bit after having talked about it so I think it's worth it to go in the middle and at the end to get it ready and final draft.

While Hanna's original perceptions shaped her practices when she first went to the writing center for assistance, the type of assistance that she received while she was there reshaped her writing center practices. Also unique to Hanna's writing center practices was that many of her writing center behaviors were shaped by her relationship with a particular tutor. Hanna went to the writing center for specific assistance from Ruth. The tutoring relationship that Hanna and Ruth developed greatly

influenced the role that the writing center played in Hanna's writing practices. The trust in this tutoring relationship was illustrated in a later interview that I had with Hanna. I asked her how much of the feedback given (to her by Ruth) was actually incorporated into her revision process. Her response showed the discerning maturity of a more practiced writer in that she really only took advice that she felt was beneficial to her paper. Hanna's response also showed that she only took advice from someone she respected. The following quote highlights this point.

Hanna- When we have peer-response groups in class I rarely take any of the feedback because I don't know that they really know how to respond to my writing. We are all at such different language levels. I trust Ruth and respect her style. She knows my style of writing. I like the feedback she gives me. When I read the changes we decide upon together I feel that the essay is stronger. I don't do everything she tells me because she never really tells me to do anything. But I do usually stick with the revisions that we decide upon together.

In order to fully illustrate the role that the writing center played in Hanna's writing practices, it is important to see what type of feedback she received from Ruth and what she did as a result of that feedback. Hanna visited Ruth at various stages in the writing of her assignments, and she

incorporated most of the feedback given to her by Ruth at each stage of her revision process. In essence, Hanna made Ruth's feedback an integral part of her writing practices that semester.

Before looking at Hanna's writing assignment drafts, it is important to note that Hanna's assignment was to write a persuasive essay. The essay was to be a minimum of three typed pages. Hanna decided on the topic of film censorship, and she had roughly two and one-half weeks to complete this assignment. In her process journal, Hanna wrote the following description of when and why she sought assistance from a writing center tutor.

What came out of the printer was not exactly what I wanted to say. I felt that the whole essay was lacking good organization of thoughts and strong supports. I did not like very much what I had written at that point and was thinking about finding an easier topic. That is why I went to the writing center to get some help from Ruth Walker. After she had read my essay she said exactly what I had felt about the weak parts of this piece...She named some other books I could use to get good examples and new ideas. It was quite helpful that she is a minor in film and knew what I was writing about. She gave me some support and told me that my essay was not bad and that it was worth to work on it.

What took place for this essay and for the rest of the semester was a continuous writing dialogue between Hanna and Ruth. Because Hanna respected and trusted Ruth's writing experience and judgment, Hanna's writing center practices went from a visit for assistance with editing, to regular visits with Ruth for feedback and response throughout the entire composing process.

The "film censorship" essay illustrates this general pattern. First, Hanna worked through one or two drafts on her own. Second, she gave her draft to Ruth who would read and respond first in writing and then in a tutoring session with Hanna. Third, Hanna revised her essay based on the feedback given by Ruth and based on her own rethinking of the piece that resulted from their discussions in the tutoring session. Hanna's revisions were followed by another tutoring session with Ruth. This pattern of drafting and responding continued until Hanna felt pleased with her final draft and/or until the essay was due.

In looking at Hanna's use of the writing center, I focus on the essay from the point that she gave it to Ruth till the point that she handed it in. It was during that time of writing and revising that the writing center played the largest role in Hanna's writing practices. According to Hanna, the only writings done on the assignment before the draft presented in Figure 5 were some handwritten notes to

clarify her claim and supports. Hanna had also handwritten a draft that organized the claim and supports; however, the typed draft that we are seeing in Figure 5 is the first full-essay draft that she had.

Figure 5 illustrates the stage that the essay was in when Hanna felt that she had run into "difficulties" that warranted outside assistance. Because of the length of the essay, I am focusing on the first page. Figure 5 shows the first page of the draft that Hanna first handed Ruth with the comments that Ruth wrote on it. The feedback that Ruth gave Hanna is much like the type of feedback one might see on a student draft after a peer-response workshop. The textual questions and shared factual knowledge are similar to that of a peer to a peer in a collaborative writing situation. It was this exact role of peer-responder that Ruth played for Hanna throughout the semester.

Hanna's tutoring sessions with Ruth not only made her feel better about what she was doing with her writing but it also shaped the development of her essays. Figure 6 shows the ways in which Ruth and Hanna's discussion shaped the next draft. This figure also shows the subsequent feedback given (by Ruth) on Hanna's revised draft.

Although Hanna and Ruth continued this dialogue for the rest of the essay, the final draft of page one is shown in Figure 7.

1st person?

Film censorship has its limits

People go to the Movies or watch movies on television for many different reasons, elemental of sophisticated. Above all, we go to movies in that fantasy to get into places most of us would never travel and we want to share the lives of people more fascinating and amusing than the counterparts in our own lives. Films allow privileged entry into a world of significant events. Especially young people find their heros on the screen and want to become like the characters they see in the movies. There are a great variety of different kinds of movies for each type of audience. Every year lots of movies for children, teens, and families are produced as well as movies full of brutal violence or sex, which are not for children's eyes. It is a fact that virtually every medium the communication industry offers has increasingly explicit images of sex and violence. I think that censoring movies made for an adult audience in the way of cutting scenes out or even banning a movie is not the answer to this development.

The freedom of speech, opinion and expression is laid down in the Constitution's first Amendment. Over many years there is a not-ending controversy going on about censoring films or not and movie censorship was followed by television censorship. *not examples from different time periods* American film censorship is almost as old as American film itself. *cite specific examples of films + T.V programs that have been censored and why.* Movies are produced to fulfil a certain purpose and to arouse specific interest in its audience. People should laugh about comedies and be afraid while watching a horror. The producer wants to express something by the way he directs the movie. There is always a reason why a scene is played in that specific way. Cutting scenes out means to change the expressiveness of the movie. I want to make clear that I do not want any film to be censored for an adult audience. I cannot go along with the idea that I watch a movie different from the original one because some scenes are missing. In my opinion, I am old enough to value a movie by myself. Nobody needs to do this for me.

Ask Klaus for book **Banned Films**
+ a list of films affected by
NC-17 rating.

True

Good!

Cite examples

The Dams

In The

Kimono

Figure 5 Hanna's First draft with Ruth's Feedback

The changes made in Figure 7 were based on the content-development feedback that Ruth provided.

It is important to note that the content changes suggested by Ruth are all incorporated by Hanna; however, Hanna did not seem to take all of the word-choice suggestions. While Ruth repeatedly suggested "neverending" instead of "non-ending," Hanna opted to go with the word "neverending" once as suggested and to stick to her choice "non-ending" when that was the meaning that she wanted. When I asked Hanna about which changes she did incorporate based on Ruth's feedback she said:

I usually agree with what Ruth has to say. But when it comes to some things we have different styles of saying things. She tells me to say it more simply and at times I agree with her, but sometimes I want to make it more long, more complex to show the sophistication of my point. In those cases I may use our time together to help make my thinking more clear so that I can more accurately represent it in my paper in my way. Even in those cases she is very helpful. Ruth understands this idea of persuasion better than I do---At least she understands how it is to be done here in America.

Now what she did was help me to better know....I think next time I have to write this kind of essay I can ask myself many of the questions that Ruth asked me to make

Film censorship has its limit

People go to the Movies or watch movies on television for many different reasons, elemental of sophisticated. Above all, we go to movies in that fantasy to get into places most of us would never travel and we want to share the lives of people more fascinating and amusing than the counterparts in our own lives. Films allow privileged entry into a world of significant events. Especially young people find their heroes on the screen and want to become like the characters they see in the movies. There are a great variety of different kinds of movies for each type of audience. Every year lots of movies for children, teens, and families are produced as well as movies full of brutal violence or sex, which are not for children's eyes. It is a fact that virtually every medium the communication industry offers has increasingly explicit images of sex and violence. I think that censoring movies made for an adult audience in the way of cutting scenes out or even banning a movie is not the answer to this development.

The freedom of speech, opinion and expression is laid down in the Constitution's first Amendment. Over many years there is a not-ending controversy going on about censoring films or not and movie censorship was followed by television censorship. American film censorship is almost as old as American film itself. With the introduction of the Production Code in 1929 a non-ending dialogue over the morals and ideals of the American nation started. Mostly censorship was and is supported by Presbyterians. From the very beginning producers and actors rebelled against censorship. Charlie Chaplin, for instance, told some friends on a private party: "We are against any kind of censorship, and particularly against Presbyterian censorship." [Dame in The Kimono. (S.9)] The system of censorship changed. Today a rating system is used to censor films. Movies are produced to fulfil a certain purpose and to arouse specific interest in their audience. People should laugh about comedies and be afraid while watching a horror. The producer wants to express something by the way he directs the movie.

There is always a reason why a scene is played in that specific way. Cutting scenes out means to change the expressiveness of the movie. We do not live in that innocent society that some critics and oversensitive mothers wish to pretend. Everything happening in reality should be depicted and discussed. I want to make clear that I do not want film to be censored for an adult audience. I cannot go along with the idea that I watch a movie different from the original one because some scenes are missing.

In my opinion, I am old enough to value a movie by myself. Nobody needs to do this for me.

In 1922, there were other censorship organizations.

But the Catholics started the production code.

The censorship efforts today are led by the Religious Right, Baptists, Catholics and people who practice no religion at all.

Is this a new paragraph?

this is not the year.

Not sure

But if you mean this figuratively, it is not only mothers.

Underline films + books - no quotes.

Figure 6 Hanna's Second draft with Ruth's feedback

Film censorship has its limit

People go to the Movies or watch movies on television for many different reasons, elemental of sophisticated. Above all, we go to movies in that fantasy to get into places most of us would never travel and we want to share the lives of people more fascinating and amusing than the counterparts in our own lives. Films allow privileged entry into a world of significant events. Especially young people find their heroes on the screen and want to become like the characters they see in the movies.

There are a great variety of different kinds of movies for each type of audience. Every year lots of movies for children, teens, and families are produced as well as movies full of brutal violence or sex, which are not for children's eyes. It is a fact that virtually every medium the communication industry offers has increasingly explicit images of sex and violence. I think that censoring movies made for an adult audience in the way of cutting scenes out or even banning a movie is not the answer to this development.

The freedom of speech, opinion and expression is laid down in the Constitution's first Amendment. Over many years there has been a never-ending controversy going on about censoring films or not and movie censorship was followed by television censorship. American film censorship is almost as old as American film itself. With the introduction of the Production Code in 1929 a non-ending dialogue over the morals and ideals of the American nation started. Mostly censorship was and is supported by Catholics and Presbyterians.

From the very beginning producers and actors rebelled against censorship. Charlie Chaplin, for instance, told some friends on a private party: "We are against any kind of censorship, and particularly against Presbyterian censorship." [Dame in The Kimono. S.5] The system of censorship changed. Today a rating system is used to censor films. If one compares the scenes censored at the beginning of the century and today, one can see that they are mostly the same. Although there is more violence and nudity uncensored than seventy years ago.

Movies are produced to fulfil a certain purpose and to arouse specific interest in their audience. People should laugh about comedies and be afraid while watching a horror. The producer wants to express something by the way he directs the movie. There is always a reason why a scene is played in that specific way. Cutting scenes out means to change the expressiveness of the movie.

We do not live in that innocent society that some critics and oversensitive mothers wish to pretend. Everything happening in reality should be depicted and discussed. I want to make clear that I do not want films to be censored for an adult audience.

Figure 7 Hanna's final draft

me think more deeply.

Hanna's use of the writing center was similar to that of a native speaker. Hanna and Ruth's peer tutor relationship more closely modeled the relationships described by writing center theorists than did any of the other three L2 case study participants. Writing center theorists acknowledge the fact that most texts are not produced in a vacuum (without outside assistance). They believe that the writing process is a collaborative one. The give and take of the dialogues and written feedback between Ruth and Hanna illustrates how this collaborative effort not only shapes the text but also the student's understanding of the types of writing required in a college setting. This shaping of understanding is what Steven North (1984) states as the goal of writing centers:

[I]n the writing center the object is to make sure that writers, and not necessarily [only] their texts, are what get changed by instruction.... How does this definition relate to tutors and composing? What we want to do in a writing center is fit into--observe and participate in--this ordinarily solo ritual of writing.
(p. 438-439)

However, there was more to Hanna's writing-center-related writing practices than can simply be chalked up as "native-speaker" like. As with any illustration Hanna's case study

left me with many issues which warranted further exploration. A great deal of Hanna's practices were shaped neither by the fact that she was an L2 student nor by the fact that she found the writing center as a whole so appropriately there to fill her writing and writer development needs. The primary factor in the role that the writing center played in Hanna's writing practices was the relationship that was established between Hanna and Ruth. When I asked Hanna whether or not her use of the writing center would have been the same if she had not met Ruth her answer was very revealing. She said:

It is hard to say if's and such. Because I like and respect Ruth did mean that I worked with her more. I think if I had met Ruth and she was not part of the writing center I would still have asked her to help me. I don't know all of the tutors so maybe I would have clicked with someone else too. But we don't have a lot of time in school to meet everyone before our essays are due. It is hard to say what would have happened if I had gone to the writing center and not liked the tutor---maybe I would not have gone back---Your question is interesting.

While I have been very careful to individualize the L2 population of my study, I have referred to the writing center as if it were only a building or a place on campus.

What Hanna revealed in her statements and actions was that the writing center is really not just a building. The tutors in a writing center actually are what make up the writing center. In an investigation of the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students, an investigation of the role of the tutors who make up the writing center is just as crucial a line of inquiry. I focus on the tutors as a case study later, at which time I explore the role that the tutors' personalities played in the actual writing center behaviors of the L2 students who participated in this study.

Freshmen L2 Case Studies

When I first began teaching composition courses to college/university freshmen, I was surprised at how attentive and receptive they were to all instruction and/or guidance provided them. When I introduced a writing activity to help the class begin their essays, they quickly tried these techniques much like a young child devours new words in her attempt to acquire language. The first semester of the composition course, I watched new freshmen diligently try everything that I suggested. Then in the following semester, which was some fifteen weeks and eight to ten essays later, I noticed the students' selectivity in filtering through the information that they were given about writing. After having tried all suggestions and formulating their own writing process, composition class became a place to explore and apply only those techniques that they felt fit their personal writing process, voice or style. In my four years of teaching, I have watched this same process in most freshmen writers. New students came into freshman composition class almost completely dependent on the guidance of a more experienced writers for information and tools to take them through all new writing trials until they developed knowledge, experience, and confidence.

In looking at the freshman L2 students involved in my

study and the role of the writing center in their writing practices, I saw a similar pattern emerging. Both freshmen L2 case study participants were beginning their first year of higher education. While getting their first taste of college academic writing, both L2 case study participants sought assistance from experienced writers in their evolution as writers.

The freshmen who were involved in this study were also in my ESL composition course. The essays used for these case studies were taken from assignments for that class.

Freshmen L2 Case Study

Michiko Yamagawa

When this study was conducted, Michiko was a freshman Japanese student in her first semester at PLAWC. Michiko was also beginning her first experience of living and studying in an English-speaking country. Unlike the upper-level undergraduates who had previous experience in higher education, Michiko came to PLAWC right after graduating from a Japanese high school. She came with little to no previous essay writing experience either in English or in Japanese. The whole process of essay writing was new to Michiko, so she was quite an inexperienced writer. When she first arrived at PLAWC (during orientation), I asked Michiko to describe the strengths and weaknesses of her English language skills. She responded:

I think I don't have a strong points. When I was in high school, I took oral communication class and grammar courses. So, I studied grammar of English well, but its mean only grammar for examination. [My] weakest point is conversation. I can't speak English well. I can't express about my thinking. I'm worried about it. I want to take all of English classes especially writing. I have little writing practice. Only grammar sheets.

From this response it is apparent that Michiko had limited writing experience in English. This response also brings attention to the fact that Michiko was concerned about her conversation abilities. Michiko's conversational abilities were a factor that played a role in her writing center interactions. What we also see from Michiko's response is a willingness to work at her perceived weaknesses. It is this kind of willingness to improve one's writing that often motivates students to seek assistance from the writing center.

Michiko's limited language abilities played a role in the data collection for this study as well. While the interviews with students with stronger speaking skills went quite smoothly, Michiko's interviews did not go smoothly. In my interviews with Michiko, she often gave very short responses. When I paused or encouraged her to expand her responses, she often looked quite puzzled. It appeared that at times Michiko wanted to say more, but she had difficulty expressing her thoughts in English. Her puzzled looks were often followed by her repeating what she had previously said to me or by her laughing. Her verbal communication did get better as the semester went on, and her written work as well as her work with tutors provided me with some very interesting and informative data.

In our initial interview, when asked what she thought a

writing center was and what she expected from a visit to the writing center she said:

I think that ---international students can---it is to improve writing for English. I expect instructors to check my English papers. Probably I go to get some help when I write some for paper---need some help for finishing.

Her response is not unique. Both participants in the previous case studies responded similarly. What was unique about Michiko's writing center practices was *when* she actually sought assistance from the writing center. Michiko's first visit to the writing center was before she even began writing her essay.

In Michiko's expository writing course, she was required (by me as her teacher) to write essays using several different rhetorical forms. The first required essay was a personal essay, and Michiko sought no outside assistance in her writing of that essay. However, when she was assigned essays to be written in more formal forms such as comparison/contrast and persuasion, Michiko immediately sought outside assistance in her understanding of and writing in these forms. When I asked her if she went to the writing center because I did not explain how to write these forms well enough in class, she said:

No, you told us but sometimes I don't understand,

classmates don't ask questions so I think they must know, it must be easy, but I am still not sure. I don't have questions because I am not sure how to ask for help. You come to my desk to be sure I understand and I say yes (she shakes her head gesturing as she says yes). Then I think I know but writing is different, then I know I don't know. I need help.

For Michiko, the assistance that she received from the writing center and the way in which she used this outside assistance is better illustrated through the tutor responses alone for the first essay and by the tutor responses in combination with the text for the second essay. Looking at this combination of tutor responses and text helps me to illustrate Michiko's writing center practices better. As I mentioned earlier, Michiko's spoken English was somewhat limited and often in her interviews there were fairly long pauses. During the long pauses, Michiko often became frustrated because she was unable to fully express her thinking in responses to some of the questions I asked her. She was, however, a great deal less nervous and quite expressive in the tutoring sessions that I was able to observe. Interestingly enough, although Michiko worked with several different tutors, her first writing center experience was with Ruth, who had also worked with Hanna all semester. It may have been Ruth's tutoring style or

personality that made Michiko feel welcomed and willing to return to the writing center for further assistance.

Michiko describes the reason for her visit as, "I came to know how to write comparison essay." However, after Michiko's first visit, Ruth wrote the following response.

October 14, 1994

Michiko Yamagawa

English 119

[Session time 55 mins.]

Michiko came in with questions concerning the comparison/contrast essay. She had already generated some ideas and just had a few questions about the explanation sheet for the assignment. She also had a few questions about some sentences in an essay she wrote for 119 questions about beginning sentences with conjunctions. I used examples for the comparison/contrast having to do with differences between Japan and America. I explained that it is not enough to just to list the similarities and differences., but that it's important to explore why you think these similarities and differences exist. I drew a diagram of the general to specific model of writing and she seemed to grasp this. We talked a little about how she's never had to write essays in Japan because they don't stress writing. They only have to take examinations. She responded well to of this, doing her usual laughing at herself thing. But I asked her each time if she understood and if she had any questions. And I phrased things so she would have to repeat back to me what I had said.

From this response we get several other pieces of information. In her session with Ruth, Michiko mentioned that I had handed out and explained an assignment sheet in class. Even though the assignment sheet gave an explanation of the assignment, Michiko still had questions. Michiko sought responses to these questions not from me (the classroom teacher), but instead from the writing center.

When I asked her why she had chosen to go to the writing center for assistance, she said that she was more comfortable discussing the assignment with another student. She also said that it was better to talk to someone one-on-one instead of making the class wait for her questions. It was interesting that this desire to work with a peer shaped Michiko's use of the writing center because it is a common point made about native-speaking students' use of the writing center as well. Writing center theorist Muriel Harris (1982) substantiates the fact that native speakers prefer one-on-one peer instruction to classroom instruction and peer-response feedback. Harris describes the benefits of peer tutoring as a situation in which "each student can ask whatever questions are on her mind, talk about whatever possibilities she is considering, or linger over problems she sees...the writer's concerns dominate the interaction. (p. 373)"

Also as mentioned by Mohr (1989) in Chapter II,

students seek out the opportunity to work with other students in the creative process of writing and through this creative collaboration both students benefit. We see some of the mutual benefits described by Mohr in Derrick's description of Michiko's next session in the writing center. In this session, Michiko has taken Ruth's advice and composed a draft of her comparison/contrast essay. This draft was then taken to the writing center for what she describes as work on "grammar." Derrick gave Michiko a variety of feedback on organization, sentence structure, and grammar. Michiko incorporated Derrick's feedback into the next draft of her essay. As Mohr points out, this session not only benefitted Michiko but Derrick as well. The benefits of working with Michiko are mentioned in Derrick's tutor response journal.

October 17, 1994

Derrick

Tutee: Michiko Yamagawa

English 119

(Session time: 45 mins)

Michiko and I worked on a draft of a compare/contrast paper for her ESL class. When I asked what she wanted to work on, she gave that old favorite response "grammar". However, we wound up working primarily on structure and expressing her ideas clearly. After she read through the paper aloud I felt a bit overwhelmed--grammar problems were extensive and there was nothing

really to latch on to as a common emerging error. I pointed out a few basic things, places where she frequently made the same mistake, but then we concentrated on structure. Her organization was really quite good--there were just a few places where her ideas needed clarity. We went slowly, but I think I was patient with her and gave her space to figure out better ways to express her ideas. I think she left feeling good about her paper and while I felt that the session got off to a rocky start, I think it wound up being very good for both of us.

In my interview with Ruth, she also mentioned that having to explain the format of comparison/contrast to Michiko helped her to clarify it better in her own mind. According to Ruth, this better understanding of the form helped her in subsequent tutoring sessions and in her own writing.

When I looked at Michiko's drafts of her comparison/contrast paper, I saw evidence of her tutoring session with both Ruth and Derrick. The first stage of Michiko's actual writing of the piece were some handwritten notes about what she saw as some of the differences between Japan and America. It was these handwritten notes that were taken to the writing center for her tutoring session with Ruth. Michiko was concerned because she was not sure how to shape these observations into a coherent flowing essay.

By the time Michiko took the essay draft to Derrick, it was about three pages long. Based on Ruth's assistance,

Michiko had not only constructed the piece into an essay draft, but she had also asked the "why's" that led to the analysis that Ruth had encouraged her to do. This exploration of the "why's" is illustrated in the second point of her essay where she contrasted how Japanese people differ from Americans in their inability to express their own opinions. Michiko began with much of what she had sketched out in her notes. In the portion of the revision which is quoted below, she took the facts from the list that she took to the writing center for assistance and reworked the ideas into statements. Michiko then explored her ideas in light of Ruth's feedback. Below Michiko explains why she feels Japanese people are not opinionated.

Japanese people do not express their own opinion because Japanese people are shy and gentle....Japanese people tend to speak and act only after due consideration has been given to the other person's feelings and point of view....The fact that Japanese behave in this way and take these attitudes for granted in their dealings with each other can be partly explained by their homogeneity and tradition of avoiding unnecessary friction.

This point is then contrasted with her observation of Americans.

American people, on the other hand, are more likely to

express their opinions openly in a self-asserting way. I think that this difference is because of education. When I had classes for the first time here, I was so surprised. Everybody expressed their opinion clearly in the classroom. I was also surprised that students asked questions....The class is so exciting and noisy, I think, because American people have their own opinion. They have the habit of thinking about things before they write a paper. The students have to write a paper and report in the college, also they have to discuss in class. That is why, they have their own opinions. Furthermore, they do not care what others think. They say the answer clearly.

This draft illustrates that she not only understood the need to investigate the "why's" of her observations but that she also enriched her essay by pulling in her own insights. When I asked her how she felt about the way that her essays developed as a result of Ruth and Derrick's suggestions, she said:

I like this one more (referring to the revised draft that had incorporated suggestions from both tutoring sessions). Ruth said my thinking was O.K. I felt that it made the piece clear easy to understand when I said why. I also had to think about the topic more for myself to write the why's. It helped my piece be

longer and I think better... Derrick show me that I had all points organized but that I had not told the reader what the organization was. He helped me to give the reader some ideas to know what was first, second, third. He also would read a sentence and say this is not clear. Often they were sentences that I had wrote in Japanese then translated so the sentence was confusing in English. He helped me rewrite these so they were real English not Japanese/English.

The draft that Michiko took to Derrick had no real introduction; the essay began directly with the first point. After her tutoring session with Derrick, the essay had the following introduction.

When I came to United States two years ago. I was bewildered some lots of differences between America and Japan which means customs and scales, foods and so on. What is the most bewildered thing is the difference between American people and Japanese people. When I spend time with many American people for one month, I felt the differences. Now I could understand about American people. Also I could find the character of Japanese people. Besides I could find about myself. I would like to describe American people and Japanese people from my views.

Each point, of her revised essay, had a written cue that

assisted both in transition and organization which shows that she applied the information given to her by Derrick. From the tutoring sessions, there were a lot of handwritten notes on Michiko's draft. These notes were mainly written in Japanese with key words written in English. Organizational cues such as first, second, and third were written out.

It is also important to note that the essay was far from error-free. When Michiko handed in the essay for evaluation, it still had many sentence structure and grammatical problems. These grammatical and structural problems were the same problems that Derrick had commented on in his first tutor response. I asked Derrick how they (he and Michiko) decided what to work on in their tutoring session together. He said that, even though Michiko said she wanted help on "grammar," he explained to her that there were other issues that she might want to address first to make her ideas clearer. Derrick gave Michiko the option by telling her that, if she wanted to work on grammar then, they could; however, he suggested that it might be better for them to get the ideas in the essay clear first and then to make another appointment to work on grammar. Derrick said, "I was glad she was willing to do this--work on clarifying her ideas--because I don't know that we could have done all the grammar in one session." Michiko admitted

to me in her interview that she had wanted to go back for another visit to work more on grammar. She also said that she had procrastinated, which left her with no time for another tutoring session before the essay was due.

Although I will not cover the persuasive essay that Michiko did as thoroughly as I did the comparison/contrast essay, I do want to mention it to illustrate two points. The first point is that she followed the same pattern of visitation to the writing center with the persuasive essay as she had done with the comparison/contrast piece. Michiko first went to the writing center with some notes for a session to clarify her understanding of the rhetorical form. In her professor report form, she gave the purpose of that first visit as "I wanted to know how to write persuasive essay." In the "student comments" section of the professor report form, Michiko wrote, "I understood how to write persuasive essay. Thank-you." Then, once she had produced a draft, she went back to the writing center for further assistance. Derrick describes their work together in detail in his tutor response journal. Before looking at this response, I also want to give a second reason for mentioning Michiko's second essay. In Michiko's "Thank-you" and in Derrick's tutor response, a comfort and trust seem to be present. Michiko and Derrick's tutoring relationship seems similar to the relationship Hanna and Ruth had. However,

their tutoring relationship was different from Ruth and Hanna's because, even though Michiko still arranged to work with Derrick, she did not really pick and choose from the feedback that she was given. Michiko incorporated *all* feedback given to her about her essay into her essay.

Another difference between the two tutoring relationships was that Derrick and Michiko's tutoring session dialogue focused on the assignment at hand not the topic itself. Michiko went to Derrick for assistance on the writing of a specific essay type, and trusting his feedback, incorporated all changes as necessary. Michiko's use of all of the feedback that Derrick provided was an interesting behavior. It was almost as though Michiko did not have the confidence or experience as a writer to have the interactive peer exchange that Hanna and Ruth had. Yet, Michiko was still drawn to the personality and style of a particular tutor. Her behavior shows that she kept going to Derrick because she was more comfortable with him. As a result of this comfort level, Michiko found it easier to seek assistance from Derrick as a tutor instead of from me as her classroom teacher. Michiko's blanket acceptance of all feedback given was neither an uncommon practice found in this study, nor is it an uncommon practice for the student population with which we are dealing.

Below in Derrick's tutor response, we see more evidence

of the tutoring relationship that developed between Michiko and Derrick.

28 October 1994

Derrick

Tutee: Michiko Yamagawa

(Session time: 1 hour)

This was my third session with Michiko, and I felt like we made progress--by the end she seemed much more open and talkative than she had in our first two sessions. I also think she's getting a better grip on some grammatical problems; by the end of this session she was pointing them out to me herself.

We worked on a persuasive essay. Much of this essay was personal experience, and I was not sure now much of that was appropriate to a persuasive essay, but Michiko assured me it was OK. I tried to help her see that she needed to very clearly tie her personal experience to her argument. We worked on clarifying what her position was, and making sure that she stated it very clearly right from the start.

Her essay was interesting, and as in our first sessions, her sense of organization is excellent. So, we worked primarily on clearing up some places where her points were unclear, finding better ways to make a point. We went over a very few specific points of grammar, but for the most part worked on clarity--which I think is more important for Michiko. She's very smart and will certainly get the finer points of grammar; for now, I think she just needs to work on

getting things across clearly, because she has good things to say. I'm really enjoying working with the international students.

In summarizing the role of the writing center in the writing practices of Michiko, I would say that the writing center not only served as a place for her to get one-on-one instruction on the writing forms expected of her in my English class, but that it also served as a place where she could obtain assistance in making her language patterns and structures more native-speaker like. In many ways, the writing center supplemented the teaching that took place in her writing class by providing an in-depth explanation of the writing forms while giving her specific feedback on her writing. The writing center tutors also encouraged Michiko and gave her confidence as a writer.

Freshmen L2 Case Study

Joanna Dant

While Michiko was often not able to work through all of the issues in her essays because she procrastinated before writing and seeking outside assistance with her writing, Joanna was the exact opposite. In fact, Joanna had more visits to the writing center than did any other L2 student participant. Although Michiko would go to the writing center for assistance about two or three times per essay, Joanna visited the writing center at least three and sometimes as many as five times per essay. The differences between the number of visits for these two undergraduates in the same class could be explained in many different ways. My immediate speculation was that Joanna would begin her essay allotting enough time for a great deal of outside assistance. My second speculative explanation has to do with Joanna's confidence as a writer and her dependence on outside feedback and assistance. Joanna wasn't confident in her English writing abilities and found many of the rhetorical forms she was working with "very different" from German rhetoric. Joanna was also very concerned about doing well in my English class. To clarify my speculative explanation about Joanna's writing confidence, it is necessary to describe Joanna's use of the writing center in

her writing practices during the semester that this study was conducted.

Joanna was a freshman student from Germany. Although she was admitted as a degree-seeking student, she planned to attend PLAWC for one year before deciding whether or not she would become a degree-seeking student. Upon coming to PLAWC, Joanna entered her first experience in higher education as well as her first academic experience in an all English speaking environment. Joanna's initial answer to "What is a writing center?" was, "I don't really know...,but I think, it is a room with computers in where you can learn English and where somebody is who can help you, when you have problems in writing." Once she had visited the writing center, she answered the same question in this way, "The writing center is there to help you in all writing situations to improve your writing and your English." The similarities between the responses shows that what she expected the writing center to be and what she found it to be were not that different. In both responses, she defined the writing center as a place where students go for writing assistance.

Joanna's initial survey responses and her writing center practices were quite consistent. On her "Writing Centers' Perceptions and Behaviors Survey," she ranked in order of importance the times that she would most likely

visit the writing center for assistance as: before she began writing an assignment, once she had written some and needed some assistance going on, and after she had completed a draft for assistance revising. The records of her actual visits to the writing center for the Fall Semester of 1994 chronicled visits at all of these stages for most essays.

Joanna preferred the assistance that a student tutor gave her. As she put it:

I feel comfortable asking them anything. They don't give me a grade and so I don't have to worry about them thinking that my questions are stupid. Also you [the teacher] are there to teach the whole class how to write and write well and the tutors are there for me personally. To look at my specific ideas and give me lots of personal help. This can not be done in a class of many students by the teacher.

From the frequency of Joanna's visits to the writing center, I concluded that the writing center played a significant role in her writing practices. During the semester that the study was conducted, Joanna worked with several different tutors. All of Joanna's sessions were at least 30 minutes long. In each session, she worked on more than just clean-up editing. Joanna even came for more than one session in the same day. The multiple sessions in one day showed that she would incorporate the feedback that she was given and

return to the writing center for further assistance and/or guidance.

Joanna's writing center behaviors from assignment to assignment were consistent. When she went to the writing center with a draft that was in its very early stages, the professor report form listed that the tutoring session focused on idea clarification, and support and development. On her next and subsequent visits, the professor report form showed that the tutoring session focused on sentence structure, diction, grammar, and usage. This pattern proved true for Joanna's visits with four of the five essays that were assigned in her English class for that semester. The only exception to her regular pattern of writing center visits was with her research essay. When Joanna worked on her research essay, she also visited the writing center a few extra times to work on documentation alone. In her own words, Joanna describes her use of the writing center as follows:

I go to the writing center to improve my writing to make it the best, but I can not do this alone.

Somethings I don't know about grammar and English common language. Also when I work with someone I can see my things that I did not see on my own and I can ask someone who knows what is right.

Joanna's low opinion of her writing abilities was not

an opinion held by the tutors with whom she worked. Many of the tutors who Joanna worked with felt that Joanna's writing did not need that much improvement. The tutors' high opinion of Joanna's writing abilities showed that many of Joanna's writing center visits were prompted out of her lack of confidence in her writing abilities. Although Joanna was a good writer, she often sought assistance from the writing center to help her with areas of her writing in which she lacked confidence. Joanna often sought assistance on areas like diction and grammar. She said in one of our interviews together:

In my opinion I have to learn to write English. I make more mistakes when I write English. Also I didn't know some vocabularies and how you say it in English. That is what I go for help in.

However, the tutor responses regularly comment on Joanna's strength as a writer. In a session on September 28th Lucy and Derrick wrote, "Joanna is an excellent writer--she just needs another set of eyes." After another session with a different essay, Derrick wrote in his tutor response journal, "Joanna's grammar and organization are always quite good." In a session with Tonya and Joanna, Tonya wrote on the professor report form, "Joanna's writing is really good her essays are fun and interesting, although we work a long time on the essays it is usually to improve on work that is

already good."

In the previous case studies I went through the progression of a particular assignment to show how, when, and why each student used the writing center. In Joanna's case study, I have briefly summarized her practices so that I can focus on some issues which emerged during her case study. To highlight aspects of these issues, I am using the introduction to one of her essays.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, it is often the practice of younger writers to seek a great deal of outside assistance (from a more experienced writer) for help on writing forms that are new to them. It is also common for inexperienced writers to take all of the feedback that they are given and to immediately incorporate it into their essay. Joanna learned that not all assistance that an experienced writer has found effective in her writing practices can be incorporated into rules to be used in every writing situation of that type. She learned that as a writer the essay is ultimately hers and that she can and should weigh the outside information that she is given in light of how well it works with what she wants to say. This lesson is often a difficult one to learn for L2 students because of the amount of trust that they give writing center tutors. L2 students trust writing center tutors because of their position at the college/university and because they

are (generally) native speakers. While Joanna took all of the feedback that she was given in her tutoring sessions and immediately incorporated it into her essay, she learned that blindly accepting feedback may not always be an effective means to improving one's essay. Joanna learned that tutors sometimes share writing practices as suggestions not to be taken as rules.

In the second essay that Joanna wrote for my English class, she was unsure of how to write the introduction. In class, we had discussed both the comparison/contrast essay and the persuasive essay. The students were to write both a comparison/contrast essay and a persuasive essay. They could complete these requirements in any order that they chose. Confused about ways to begin her persuasive essay but armed with an idea, Joanna went to the writing center for assistance. Joanna described her writing center tutoring session with Tonya below:

When I went, I had a long introduction because I thought my ideas were not clear so I talked about them a lot. I did not show the tutor what I had written at first because I wanted some help thinking about by topic. I explained to her what I was doing and then showed her some of what I had. It was mostly my ideas but not very good. I told her that I wanted to persuade Europeans that Hollywood-America does not exist. In class you said that our introduction should have our claim in it and it should set up the

organizational structure of the piece. But the tutor told me that my introduction should be short and only have about five sentences so I could get into the body of the essay quickly. I did not question. I went back and wrote this (gesturing to the following introductory paragraph)

My American Dream

...was actually my father's (European) dream. He having passed the degree with an American university, talked me into a year with an American college. It would not only be good for my curriculum, but he wanted me to realize the American way of life and the American dream was when he was in the States and how it is today. I show Europeans that the Hollywood-American does not exist.

I then wrote about what I thought the American dream was and what I thought the American way of life was and how it was not that. When I got feedback (but no grade) from you (the teacher) you said that I had done my comparison contrast essay well and that I needed to expand my introduction to "establish an organization frame for the entire piece". At first I was angry because this was suppose to be my persuasion essay not my comparison/contrast essay but I talked to you about your misunderstanding and you explained to me that I was using comparison contrast to persuade, and you showed me how it was not really clear. We talked about how I could use the introduction to make it clear. I asked you how I could do this in five sentences and you were confused. You remember you said that I did not need to do it in five sentences. You said that I could

use as many sentences as I needed. Remember, then I explained to you that I was told about the five sentences in the writing center and you said that perhaps the tutor was trying to give me some ideas of ways she has found effective for her but I did not have to do it the same way. I was really surprised because I went for help, I used the answer I got, but that was a wrong answer. I changed my introduction to make it longer like you told me, but used the five paragraph idea too just in case.

This story illustrates a breakdown in the understanding of what is expected. Joanna expected Tonya to give her a concrete formula for writing her introduction. Tonya did not expect to provide Joanna with rules; instead, she had planned to share writing techniques that had worked for her and/or what she had been taught about writing a comparison/contrast essay. Because I was not at the session, I do not know how the information was really presented. I do know that the tutors are trained not to present strict rules for specific writing formats.

When I asked Tonya about the situation, she said that she did say that the introduction was to be short and that she had told Joanna five sentences because Joanna had "pushed her" for a specific number of sentences. Tonya said:

I immediately fell back on the five-sentence paragraph

that I was taught in high school as a guide. I don't think that I told her that it had to be five sentences. Because I know I said that the length can vary and only gave her the number five when she pressed me for some number. It was odd I never thought she would feel it was the only option because I did say that it could vary, but that five was what one teacher had taught me in high school.

Joanna wanted rules so that she could write the essay "correctly." She went to the writing center seeking specific rules. Regardless of the style of presentation, she took what information she was given as a rule for the writing of the essay. Joanna had no repertoire of options from which to choose. When the information that Tonya had given her was questioned both in written feedback from me and in our discussion, Joanna took the re-information that she was given and again directly incorporated it into her essay. Here Joanna illustrated the vulnerability of young writers which is often even more exaggerated when the writers are second language students.

In her revision, upon combining the advice given to her by both the tutor and by me (her teacher), Joanna created a two paragraph introduction. One paragraph in her introduction introduced her ideas (or what she was going to do) and the second paragraph established the framework (or

the how) for the essay. Although the essay went through a few more drafts, the introduction stayed the same as below.

My American Dream

My American dream was actually my father's German dream. He, having obtained a degree from an American University, talked me into attending an American college for one year. My father thought that it would be good for my curriculum, and he wanted me to experience what the American way of life and the American dream as is today. He knew, that I thought real America was as it is shown in a lot of Hollywood movies. But this "Hollywood-America" is different from daily life. I am sure that other Germans still have the same ideas about the States as I had. I will show German students that this wonderful America does not exist anymore. I will use my own experiences. I have already travelled to mostly all States in the country, probably more than most Americans. In this essay I will compare the Hollywood-America with my own experiences and give some typical pictures of U.S. life. This comparison will show German students that there is no Hollywood-America in daily life.

Yet another issue that Joanna's story raises is that tutors are not always aware of L2 students' need to be given rules for composing. As a result of this unawareness, tutors often do not clearly state when their explanations are suggestions and not rules. When tutors are aware of L2 students' desire to have a concrete answer or formula for a less than concrete situation, they often feel "pushed" as

Tonya described it. The tutors' knowledge of the flexibility of the English language makes it difficult for them to set up their particular style of writing as "the rule." The suggestion of options for writing in a particular writing form, can sometimes be an area of conflict or discomfort in an L2 tutoring session. Many writing center tutors are trained to respect the student's draft of the essay and to avoid setting up their own rules. When an L2 student pushes a tutor to articulate specific rules for a rhetorical form, the situation can become tense. This tension is often a result of the L2 students' desire to have rules and the tutors reluctance to provide the L2 student with set rules.

L2 students often do not have the time or cultural background to explore writing options in a particular rhetorical form. Pressured by the time constraints of due dates, L2 students may feel "pushed" because of their limited language abilities. When they bring their anxious feeling to the tutoring session, it may seem that they are indeed "pushing" for an answer. When tutors make several "possible suggestions," L2 students often feel that they do not have the time to try non-correct methods. They may then push the tutor to tell them the correct way to get a good grade on the assigned essay.

Another issue which Joanna's case study illustrated was

her expectation that there were specific rules for all required assignments. Many undergraduate L2 students come from secondary school environments where teachers have prescribed correct formats for the rhetorical writing of that particular country. When they arrive in the United States and are given writing assignments in American rhetoric without a set format, many L2 students become confused. The situation becomes one of first figuring out what the format is and then experimenting with the possibilities. In this case study, Joanna sought assistance from the writing center tutor in understanding the rhetorical form. Before she had any real experience with writing in the form, the writing center tutor had suggested that she question all the possibilities of that form. The questioning of possibilities is indeed rooted in culture, language familiarity, and writing experience.

Because a tutoring session may deal with a variety of issues from organization to grammar, an L2 student may be confused when the tutor does give concrete rules about grammar and then gives only suggestions about issues of essay development and/or organization. It could appear contradictory that while there are rules for governing semantics and syntax, the regulations for essay forms vary. While this flexibility in organization and development is a concept that a native speaker in higher education may have

the cultural experience to eventually understand, it may be a difficult, complex, and contradictory concept for the L2 student to grasp.

Should L2 students be taught not to expect any real concrete help on issues concerning form? How is such a situation handled in a way that provides the L2 student with methods that do not leave the tutor feeling as though she has violated what she has been taught in her tutor-training course? I don't have the answers to these questions. These are questions that need to be looked at more closely and questions for which possibilities should be explored. For now I will tuck these questions away while I look at yet one more case study--the tutors as participants.

Tutors' Case Study

I have mentioned each of the tutors who were participants in the study throughout the L2 student case studies. In the following section, I explore the writing center tutors as a group case study of their own. I felt that it was important to give information about the individual tutoring approaches of the tutors who participated in this study. This tutor information is important because it helps to clarify that, in making reference to the writing center practices of the L2 student case study participants, I am not referring to a structure or a constant entity but a place that consists of individual tutors.

Ruth, Tonya and Derrick

Both Ruth and Tonya had worked at the PLAWC writing center for two years. Because of their interest in L2 students, they also worked closely with me. Ruth and Tonya transferred to PLAWC as sophomores, and they were hired to work as tutors in the writing center one semester after they had transferred. During the time this study was conducted, Ruth and Tonya were both senior English majors with concentrations in creative writing. Ruth, however, had a

dual concentration in creative writing and film studies. Both Ruth and Tonya have had extensive experience tutoring L2 students. In fact, work with L2 students made up most of their tutoring load. While they had the same academic status and majors, Ruth and Tonya were very different in their tutoring style and personalities.

While Tonya was very aggressively efficient and organized, Ruth was extremely passive, yet still very organized and efficient. Tonya had a "take-charge, problem-solving" attitude towards tutoring, and Ruth had a "lets-discuss-it" approach to tutoring. In the past these two approaches allowed different students with different needs a range of possible people to work with; however, during the semester in which the study was conducted more L2 students chose Ruth's tutoring style than they did Tonya's. It is also interesting to note that because of the limited abilities of some of the L2 students this semester, Tonya found herself frustrated at times and questioned her desire to work with L2 students with limited language abilities.

Ruth not only enjoyed tutoring L2 students but she also preferred it to tutoring native-speaking students. Derrick, a one-year graduate student, was very nervous about tutoring L2 students at the onset of the semester. With time he really grew to enjoy his tutoring experiences with L2 students. Derrick's approach to tutoring was similar to

Ruth's. He worked very hard at listening and understanding what the tutees were saying so that he could discern how he could best help the students he tutored.

By looking at the tutor responses of these individuals, I saw certain tutoring patterns emerging. One such pattern was that both Ruth and Derrick focused on the student, their interactions during the tutoring session, and the broader concept of the assignment. Tonya focused on solving the problems of a particular assignment. Another pattern that emerged from the tutor response journals was that while Tonya mentioned the specifics of the sessions (what they set out to solve and what they solved) Derrick and Ruth were more general in these areas and more focused on how the overall interaction went (whether or not the student understood what was discussed in the tutoring session).

Certain patterns also emerged in the tutors' response styles. For each of these tutors, the style and language of their responses were very different from one another, yet the language of the responses were very illustrative of the tutoring styles of each individual. In her responses, Tonya did not avoid all discussion of interaction, but she focused less on interaction than she did the specifics of finding and solving problems. Tonya used the responses to help her work through her own issues with the tutoring session. Her responses were longer for the same length session, and Tonya

engaged the reader. Ruth and Derrick's seemed to write shorter, less formal, responses that were a report of the tutoring session without reflection. This is not to say that Ruth and Derrick were not reflective tutors, because they were. However, the tutor response journals showed that Ruth and Derrick questioned themselves and their tutoring abilities less than Tonya did. Both Ruth and Derrick appeared to have felt that mutual understanding between themselves and the tutee was the basis for a successful tutoring session. Tonya looked at the success of the session in terms of how many "problems" were "solved." In sessions with particularly problematic essays, Tonya often felt less successful because of the perceived limited progress at the end of the session.

So far I have discussed the tutors' styles and the way in which the tutors involved in the study responded to the tutoring sessions with L2 students; however, I have failed to show how this connects to or informs us about the focus of the study (the role of the writing center L2 student's writing practices). There are indeed connections. As I mentioned before, the writing center is made up of tutors. To omit giving information about these tutors and focusing only on the L2 student's writing center practices in some ways implies that the tutoring practices or the tutors themselves are a constant that need not be factored into the

overall study. This is a false implication.

The tutors' personalities, their tutoring style, and their interactions with the L2 students in the study directly affects when and why the L2 students in this study sought their assistance. While we are able to see this connection clearly with Ruth and Hanna, it is still there in a more subtle way with Michiko's interactions with Derrick and with Joanna's interactions with Tonya. Perhaps Joanna sought follow-up appointments with Tonya because she appreciated her direct problem-solving approach. In fact, in an interview with Joanna she did say that she "respected Tonya as a tutor and the help that she gave." Michiko said that she returned to the writing center at the same time because she knew that was when Derrick worked and that he was patient and knew her writing. As we saw before, Hanna said that she didn't know that she would have gone to the writing center as often as she did if she and Ruth had not worked so well together.

The way in which the tutors are trained to work with L2 students in conjunction with their own particular tutoring style is indeed a factor to consider when we are describing the writing center behaviors of particular L2 students during the course of a semester. Without this dimension the references to tutor responses mean little to nothing because we do not know from whom these responses came. The fact

that the tutors are not trained to function as an editing service has a direct connection to the fact that Akiko did not go to the writing center often because an editing service was exactly what she wanted. When Akiko was told that the writing center was there to assist her and the assistance she sought was part of what the tutors were trained not to do, the tutors' approach and interactions were relevant to her use of the writing center.

In some ways I am right back to where I was at the end of Akiko's case study and that is back to the complex issues raised by Akiko's case study (and all of the others as well). In the following chapter, I look at the connections across these case studies as well as explore some of the questions raised by this analysis.

Chapter Six

Cross-Case Studies Analysis: Investigating Emergent Themes and Issues

Each of the case studies described practices unique to individual L2 students; however, by looking across case studies several issues emerged. Some of the issues, which appeared across cases, stemmed from the problems that arose from inconsistencies between L2 students' expectations of the writing center and the writing centers' philosophies and practices. Other issues, were focused around professors' expectations and how those expectations lead to the writing center as a place for instruction for L2 students. And, still other issues, were focused around tutor personality and the role that tutor personality played in the writing practices of the case study participants. These are the issues which I address in this chapter.

Inconsistencies in Expectations

All four case study participants sought out assistance from the writing center in making their non-native language patterns and organizations more native speaker like. This assistance often involved issues of grammar; however, sometimes as in Akiko's case, the assistance went beyond

grammatical correction. As illustrated in Akiko's and Joanna's case studies, there was an expectation that the writing center would identify and correct non-native-speaker-like language patterns and organizations. In both Akiko's and Joanna's case studies, these expectations became problematic when the tutors addressed the expectations based on the tutoring philosophies and practices that they had been taught. These tutoring philosophies and practices were designed for working with native speakers. With both Joanna and Akiko the tutors were tutoring in a non-obtrusive tutoring style, a tutoring style which discourages the tutor from suggesting or imposing her words or writing style on the tutee.

Akiko expected the writing center to correct her grammar, not to provide her with techniques for correcting her own grammar. Joanna expected the writing center to provide her with the rules for writing a persuasive essay, not to provide her with suggestions for exploring the possibilities available within that rhetorical form. In both case studies there were inconsistencies between what the L2 students expected and what the writing center tutors did. These are complex inconsistencies both for the tutor and the L2 student. I will clarify these complexities by breaking the issues down to those "characters" involved and by describing and analyzing each participant individually.

In both case studies, the participants were the L2 student and the writing center tutor. Let's look first at the situation from the L2 students' perspective.

The L2 student

Akiko and Joanna were required not only to understand the assigned writing forms (an American newspaper article and a persuasive essay) but also to understand the cultural assumptions that go along with writing in these forms. These cultural assumptions would have to have been understood to have produced a quality product. Beyond understanding the forms of writing, they were expected to have completed these assignments with few, if any, grammatical, structural, or syntactical errors because they were evaluated on both the product and process of the assignments. Are all of these requirements possible in one or two weeks? When I (as an ESL expository writing teacher) require my L2 student to write in a certain American rhetorical tradition, my requirement is loaded with both cultural and linguistic assumptions. This was the case for Joanna; and, whether or not the journalism teacher was aware of it, it was also the case for Akiko. The L2 student, however, is usually quite aware of these expectations.

Weighed down by these unstated expectations, the L2 student sits down to write an essay that fills the stated

requirements. When she runs into difficulties with this process, she seeks outside assistance from the writing center. Or, perhaps, once she has approximated the requirements to the best of her abilities, she then takes her product to the writing center. In both cases the expectation is that the writing center will help her work through her "difficulties" with writing.

The Writing Center Tutor

Powers (1993) describes the tutor side of this complex issue in her article "Rethinking writing center conferencing strategies for the ESL writer." When Powers describes her writing center tutors' approach to L2 students' visits she states:

When ESL writers came into the writing center, we tended to approach the conferences just as we would conferences with native-speaking writers, determining what assistance the writers needed through a series of questions about process and problems, purpose and audience. In both cases, our intention in adopting this strategy was to establish a Socratic rather than didactic context, one which we hoped would allow us to lead writers to the solutions of their own problems. Occasionally, conferences might involve the direct exchange of information (e.g., when numbers should be

spelled out). More typically, though, we intended to lead writers to discover good solutions rather than answers, solutions that were theirs, not the tutor's. Unfortunately, this process, which has generally served native-speaking writers well and is justifiably a source of pride for those who can make it work, was often ineffective for our second language writers, especially those confronting college-level writing in English for the first time. (p. 40)

Here the traditional method of tutoring, one which was basically adhered to by the tutors involved in this study, is to begin the tutoring session with a series of questions. These questions are intended to help the tutee "discover" the focus, organization and structure of her essay. While this technique of questioning is not particularly problematic for an L2 student with a good grasp of spoken English, it can be somewhat problematic for a student with limited skills in spoken English.

This Socratic questioning method is also problematic for some L2 students because it is based on Western philosophy which assumes a certain linearity of semantics and logical forms¹⁶. Western-based philosophies may be culturally unfamiliar to some L2 students. The writing

¹⁶ For a more extensive explanation of western philosophy see Reese, W. L. Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion.

center encounter is further problematized by the fact that the questions asked of the L2 tutee assume that she already has the answers to her writing difficulty inside. The questions, that are posed to the L2 tutee, often assume that she has an understanding of written English and the cultural assumptions that may go along with the writing forms she is required to write. This cultural understanding is not always true for many L2 students. L2 students do not always come to the tutoring session with an internalized concept of writing forms and the language and cultural expectations of those writing forms. What the tutor seeks to draw out through her questioning may not be in the L2 student's repertoire or schema. Some writing center theorists have addressed this problem. Robinson, Anderson, Basena, Blumhardt, Frindethie, Gu, and Missaghi (1990) discuss the difficulties associated with a lack of information about the different, sometimes contrastive rhetoric that L2 students encounter, when writing essays for American colleges and universities. In the following passage they explain these difficulties:

One of the most difficult problems that ESL students face at American universities is writing papers in the American academic expository style. Writing Center tutors face an equally difficult task when ESL students come to them for help with their papers. Their first

temptation is to correct all of those local errors (articles, prepositions, subject-verb agreement, etc.), unfortunately global problems such as the rhetorical or discourse structure of the essay are sometimes ignored in the attempt to make the paper grammatical—at least. (p. 77)

Robinson et al. suggest that this problem of L2 students lacking rhetorical familiarity is best addressed by making writing center tutors aware of and familiar with Kaplan's four rhetorical patterns¹⁷. According to Robinson et al., this familiarity with Kaplan's theory will help tutors with the rhetorical issues that are present in L2 students' essays. Not all writing center theorists agree that a blanket application of Kaplan's theory is the solution. Severino (1993) argues that adapting Kaplan's techniques to all L2 tutoring sessions can be reductive and problematic. Severino asserts that:

The increasing number of writing center publications and conference sessions on English-as-a-Second-Language issues such as contrastive rhetoric reflects the increasing number of international students using and working in writing centers. It is important that international students be approached by tutors with a

¹⁷ These four patterns are the foundation of Kaplan's theory of contrastive rhetoric.

stance that acknowledges the complexities of the rhetoric of different languages and cultures. (p. 7)

While Akiko's and Joanna's tutors had the cultural familiarity to give the required assistance expected of them, they were hesitant to teach Akiko and Joanna what they knew. Their hesitancy came from the type of tutor training that they had, and their knowledge or assumptions about what types of writing assistance are ethically adequate to give. Tutors are often aware of the "grey-area" politics of how much assistance can and should be given for the writing to still be considered the L2 student's own work. This awareness of what is and is not "acceptable" assistance makes the tutors' internal conflict real.

Traditional college and university practices are grounded in the notion that knowledge is created individually and can be evaluated as such. College and university honor codes are set up in such a way as to keep students (and therefore tutors) aware of the consequences of "giving" too much assistance and/or information. In some ways, tutors receive a mixed message that collaboration is allowed, as long as there is not too much collaboration. However, "too much collaboration" is never really defined. These mixed messages are filled with cultural information, of which L2 students are not always aware. When an L2 student is presented with a facility like a writing center,

that says it is there to assist her in becoming a better writer, it may almost seem philosophically contradictory for the tutor not to provide her with the necessary information (culturally and linguistically) for her success as a writer.

If the tutor and the tutee are functioning from two different concepts of the tutor's role, the question of what to work on in a session is not dictated by the tutee's request. Instead, what is addressed in a particular tutoring session is dictated by the tutor's interpretation of the tutee's request, modified by the tutors' idea of what she can and cannot give assistance on, which is based on her tutor training. What a tutor chooses to give assistance on, in a particular tutoring session, can become problematic, overwhelming and even frustrating when she is tutoring an L2 student. Tutors often feel frustrated because the tutor-training techniques that they have been taught are based on successful techniques designed and intended for tutoring native speakers. Powers (1993) acknowledges that the same tutoring styles may or may not be as effective for L2 students as they are for native-speaking students.

We had to accept that ESL writers bring different contexts to conferencing than native speakers do, that they are, therefore, likely to need different kinds of assistance from us, and that successful assistance to ESL writers may involve more intervention in their

writing process than we considered appropriate with native-speaking writers. [W]riting center faculty must understand what these writers need from us and how their needs differ from those of native-speaking writers. We can assist [L2 students] only by becoming more direct in our approach, by teaching them writing as an academic subject. Doing so may, in fact, involve teaching them directly what their writing should look like by supplying them with formats for presenting written responses to various written assignments and informing them of what their audience will expect in terms of presentation, evidence, shape etc. (p. 44-45)

Scott (1992) emphasizes the need for tutors to be aware of the varying backgrounds (both culturally and linguistically) of the students who come to the writing center to be tutored. She asserts that this cultural awareness (for tutors) needs to be coupled with an understanding of the tutors' place, in the discussion of writing, which has originated from various cultural contexts. In an article ten years earlier, Lipp (1983) made similar suggestions. Lipp realized that writing centers would not be able to simply apply native-speaker tutoring practices to non-native speakers and experience the same success. She suggested that writing centers not only rethink their tutoring procedures, but that writing center directors and/or

personnel structure appropriate educational sessions, geared towards L2 students' needs, in the overall tutor-training process. Lipp proposed the following solution in response to increased L2 visitation to her particular writing center (called a writing lab at that time) and in response to the difficulties she witnessed her lab faculty having:

Inservice training programs on the needs of English as a second Language (ESL) students may help writing lab staffs work more effectively. The training program could be a series of sessions devoted to six areas of concern: bridging the cultural gap; profiling students' strengths and weaknesses; identifying error patterns on which to work in the writing lab; presenting the materials that will be used in the tutorials; describing two sequences of activities, one for remediation and another for teaching certain features of grammar or writing and "putting it all together" in tutorial sessions. (p. 1)

While I am not saying that every writing center should apply what Lipp so clearly suggests as an instructional format for educating tutors, I am suggesting that at the very least writing center directors and personnel need to (as Powers does in her so-named article) "Rethink writing conferencing strategies for the ESL writer," at their particular institute. As is apparent from my study, each writing

center is structured uniquely and the tutors are chosen based on that particular institute's writing center philosophy. From university to university, the L2 populations are as unique as the writing centers. While we can nod our heads in agreement with common issues and difficulties that arise in L2 tutoring sessions, I do not feel that the answer lies in yet another text or manual based on one particular person's investigation of a writing center. Instead, by becoming aware of L2 populations' expectations and writing center practices, individual writing centers can then problematize their own particular situations. This individual attention can assist writing centers in working towards solutions that, as Powers says, "extend the benefits of collaborative learning to ESL writers (p. 46)." These solutions can only be effective when investigated in light of Powers' advice that writing centers "will increase [their] effectiveness only when [they] understand, accept, and respond to the differences between the needs of ESL and native-speaking writers" (p. 46).

Tutors as Teacher

When I looked for other emerging cross-case studies issues, it became apparent to me that L2 students'

expectations are not the only source of conflict in L2 tutoring sessions. Conflicts in tutoring sessions with L2 students are sometimes rooted in outside professors' expectations.

If we think back to Michiko's case study (and again we could also pull Joanna's case study in as similar), tutors were expected to take on the role of teacher outside of the classroom, thus functioning as a supplement to the in-class instruction. Raines (1994) discusses the views of the writing center as a tutoring/teaching environment and investigates whether the tutoring/teaching situation in the writing center is a "continuum, dichotomy, or dialect?" While Raines seeks to create a language to discuss the connections between the two roles (tutor and teacher), she also gives evidence that there is a very specific connection that is problematized in the discussions about it. While the response from faculty to the tutoring/teaching that goes on at various writing centers varies, the fact that the writing center is viewed as a place not only to obtain assistance on writing but also to learn about writing is a widely held expectation of L2, as well as native-speaking students. The L2 students' writing center experience informs Raines' discussion by specifically defining the writing center as a needed space in which L2 students can feel the freedom to fluidly move in and out of all aspects

of the tutor/teacher continuum. For native speakers, this movement may take place either in the writing center or in the professors' office during office hours, yet this is not as common an occurrence with L2 students. The writing center, as a space for L2 students to experience tutoring/teaching by peers, can be more fully investigated in terms of the case studies in this study.

I will use an article by Bishop (1993) to help illustrate one such tutoring/teaching connection that emerged from Michiko's case study. Bishop begins her article by stating:

Talk is central to what we do as writers and as humans. It is the collaborative activity that underlies most, if not all, individual acts of composing. Because of this the work that tutors do everyday--talk about writing with writers--is valuable in uncountable ways. (p. 30)

In Michiko's writing center practices, she often went to the writing center for specific one-to-one instruction on a particular writing form from Derrick. After her writing center visit with Derrick, she either began or continued her writing towards a given assignment. Michiko did not deny that I (her classroom teacher) had given her ample instruction and opportunity to carry on this type of a discussion in class and/or in my office. However, Michiko

felt that it would hinder the class for her to ask her particular questions and I was not always around when she ran into questions during her writing in the evenings. Michiko also pointed out that she often did not come up with the need for further instruction until she actually began the writing process. Michiko reinforces Bishop's idea that "student writers value talk in the [writing] center because discussion, along with their writing, helps them sort out their feelings options, and positions"(p. 34). This was also poignantly expressed in Michiko's note to the tutor: "I understand how to write persuasion essay. Thank-you." And, as a conversation has two participants, we see that Derrick (the tutor) is also an active participant who benefits from the conversational instruction in tutoring Michiko, when he says in one of his responses, "much of this essay was personal. [H]er essay was interesting. [I] am really enjoying working with the international students."

Although Bishop was not specifically directing her piece to the talk that takes place in the tutoring sessions with L2 students, her theory that conversation is central to the writing process does apply to several of the participants in this study. Michiko, Joanna and Hanna sought an environment in which they could talk their way through the composing process(es) necessary for their particular writing assignments.

With Michiko, Joanna, and Hanna, their writing center conversations were as much a part of the teaching they received about the English language as any classroom encounter because of the personal, one-on-one nature of the situation. For Michiko, Joanna, and Hanna, questioning a professor or a writing teacher in the classroom setting was not a practice with which they were culturally familiar or comfortable.

The tutoring situation provided Michiko, Joanna, and Hanna with an individual with whom they could interact and feel comfortable conversing about the essay, the subject matter surrounding the essay, and the actual writing format. The familiarity necessary for this type of conversation with a professor/teacher is often not as easily achieved by an L2 student, thus making the tutor/teacher situation for many L2 students an essential part of their writing practices.

Tutor Personality

The final issue which emerged from my cross-case studies investigation was the role that tutor personality played in L2 students' writing center practices. The tutors' personalities played a significant role in the writing center practices of Hanna, Michiko, and Joanna; and there are several different lenses through which these

findings could be explored. As I mentioned earlier in the study, I chose the lens of personality type theory as a frame for exploring what about the tutors in this study encouraged the participants to work with them. I chose MBTI as a frame for investigation because of the availability of the information for the tutors (the MBTI had been administered and discussed in tutor training) and the connections that have been found (in other writing center research) between the research on MBTI and tutoring styles. The question which guided my cross-case analysis was: "Why did each student choose each tutor?" A cross-case investigation revealed that the tutors' personalities often shaped when and how often the L2 student participants used the writing center.

There is a growing body of research that investigates the interrelatedness of personality types and behaviors and the influences that personality types and behaviors have on teaching and learning. Two of the studies which took this research and applied it to writing centers were Scharton and Neuleib (1991), and Thompson (1994). In Thompson's study he asserts:

Though no single perspective can fully account for all the behaviors in an activity as complex as tutoring, any perspective which can contribute to our understanding merits study. One such perspective is

that of personality type theory, a theory which maintains that our personality preference--our ways of interacting with the world and making decisions--influence many of our behaviors. Although personality type theory may help account for only a small portion of our behaviors, even that small bit of data could help tutors (and tutor trainers) to understand individual preferences for certain tutoring styles over others and perhaps to recognize biases that might otherwise go unnoticed. (p. 136)

While Thompson and Scharton and Neuleib all explore the connections between MBTI and tutoring for native speakers, connections between MBTI and tutoring for non-native speakers can also be explored.

How did personality type theory connect to the focus of this study, which was to look at the role that the writing center played in the writing practices of four L2 students? One connection was that in two of the four case studies there was a direct tutor preference which shaped the writing center behaviors of two of the L2 student participants. Both of the tutors who were chosen by L2 students for regular assistance (Derrick and Ruth) had the same Myers/Briggs¹⁸ personality typing. Both Derrick's and

¹⁸ See Appendix E for further explanation.

Ruth's MBTI profiles were INFPs which means that they were both profiled as being introverted, intuitive, feeling and perceiving.

What the INFP profile meant in terms of their tutoring style (according to Thompson) was that they may not have addressed issues of the writing process but they may have discussed the internal thinking of the tutee. Focusing on the tutee's internal thinking was illustrated with Ruth and Hanna when Hanna said that Ruth was interested in discussing her ideas and that Ruth had shared her own thoughts about film with Hanna. Another point that is brought out by Thompson is that the introvert may be "more adept at teasing out the implications of ideas expressed in a paper." Thompson suggests that "introverts are generally more practiced in reflection"(p. 138). We saw some teasing out of implications...[and how Ruth was] practiced in reflection in one of Ruth's tutor-responses. After a session with Michiko, Ruth wrote that she had explained to Michiko that "it's not enough just to list the similarities and differences,...it's important to explore why you think these similarities and differences exist." This "reflection" was also illustrated by Derrick. In one of his tutor-responses, he reflected on the appropriateness of Michiko's use of a particular technique in a certain rhetorical form. When Derrick wrote, "Much of the essay was personal experience,

and I was not sure how much of that was appropriate to a persuasive essay," he illustrated his own reflective analysis of a particular issue of Michiko's essay.

The intuitive perception of Derrick and Ruth's practice of "attending to the whole picture rather than to its parts" (Thompson p. 138) was illustrated in their focus and discussion of the organization and overall structure of the essays of the tutees with whom they worked. In most of the sessions that Derrick had with Michiko as well as the ones that Hanna had with Ruth, the essay was treated as an organized whole. One particular illustration of Derrick as an intuitive person was when he had Michiko read the entire essay out loud. Once Michiko had read her essay draft aloud, Derrick stated, "After reading through the essay aloud I felt a bit overwhelmed." He may have been overwhelmed by the problems of the piece as a whole and the need to make decisions about how and what to focus on specifically. Such specific decisions are usually easily made by a person who strongly identifies with a sensing perceptivity.

The feeling judgment which Thompson described as "weighing the relative value of issues under consideration" (Thompson p. 139) was illustrated in the type of comments that Ruth wrote on Hanna's film censorship essay. Ruth seemed to have weighed the relative value of some of the

assumptions that Hanna had made about who censors films and why they are censored. In reference to the previous illustration of Derrick's work with Michiko on her persuasion essay, Derrick weighed the value of personal experience as the sole source of the claims of the piece.

Although there is less evidence of the perceiving tutor as described by Thompson in either of Derrick's encounters with Michiko or in Ruth's tutoring encounters with Hanna, there was a hint of the "flexibility" and the "situational spontaneity" that Thompson associates with the INFP personality profile. The flexibility associated with Ruth's MBTI often took place in the discussions at the beginning of the session, which then shaped the focus of the sessions. The flexibility associated with Derrick's MBTI often took place in the open discussion of the essay itself, which helped to shape Michiko's revision process. Another connection to the flexibility and spontaneity associated with the perceiving aspect of their personality type was illustrated in my interview with both Ruth and Derrick. When I asked them "What is the general format of your tutoring sessions?" they both said that they did not have a general format. Both Derrick and Ruth said that they let the tutoring session format be dictated by who the student was, what she was working on, how much she had already written, her attitude, and their own attitude for that day.

Although I am investigating the tutors' personalities through the lenses of personality theory, I am not focusing on the Myers/Briggs too extensively because I do not have Myers/Briggs test results for the L2 case study participants. In order to make real speculations about personality attractions, I would need to distinguish between whether these were cases of two like types seeking out other like types or opposite types seeking tutoring from a complementary personality type. Because of the culturally specific information of the Myers/Briggs test, I am not sure that it would measure the same types of behaviors for L2 students as it does for native speakers. If I had given the L2 study participants the same test, the results would not have been comparable. My reason for using MBTI was to explore possible reasons for specific preferences (by L2 students) in tutoring. Another reason for investigating this tutor/tutee relationship in light of Thompson's research was to see if there was indeed a specific personality type sought out by the L2 students in this study.

I mentioned earlier that with both Hanna and Michiko the number of return visits had a great deal to do with the way in which they were treated in their sessions. Both students made comments as to the encouraging and understanding nature of the tutors with whom they worked.

In an interview with Hanna, she stated that Ruth reassured her that her essay was good. When I interviewed Michiko, she stated that she liked working with Derrick. Michiko said, "[Derrick] understands my writing and tells me my ideas are good." Although tutors are trained to be as encouraging as possible, it seems that the way in which that encouragement was practiced in the actual tutoring session was unique to the personality of the tutor. While Joanna saw many different tutors in her many visits to the writing center, her encounter with Tonya was the result of her needs as a less experienced writer and Tonya's tutoring personality.

Tonya who was an ESTJ (extroverted, sensing, thinking and judging) felt that she was encouraging when she read over a paragraph and said it was fine. Tonya saw her focusing only on areas of the essay that needed work as encouraging because she felt that it let Joanna know that she had done a good job on the omitted sections. When a similar approach was applied to Michiko (who worked with Tonya once), Michiko was overwhelmed by the work that she had to do with the "diagnosed difficulties." Michiko felt that she needed to take the same essay back to work with Derrick. After working with Tonya, Michiko needed more specific reassurance.

Joanna, however, preferred Tonya's approach to

tutoring. In one particular session, Ruth worked very hard at reassuring Joanna. Ruth focused on understanding what it was that Joanna wanted to say in the essay and how she was approaching the assignment. However, Joanna found this quite frustrating because she had gone to the writing center for some specific directive feedback on how to do the assignment. Joanna wanted to know if what she had was good and what areas of the draft still needed attention.

What I have explored in this section does not fully explain why Hanna and Ruth worked so well together, nor does it explain the rapport that Derrick and Michiko developed over the semester. In this section I have explored the tutor/tutee relationships by focusing on personalities and personality preferences in this study. Thompson also states that "personality preference is only one of the many influences on tutoring styles, and type theory is one of many lenses through which to examine the psychology of personality. (p. 146)" It is fair to conclude that in two of my case studies there was a particular personality preference, but what does such a conclusion based on such a small number provide? Similar to Thompson's previous quote, my case studies suggest, that while not providing all of the answers, investigation of tutoring through such a lens can help to inform tutor training in the environment that the study was conducted. Investigating tutoring through

personality type theory could further help to inform tutor training for tutoring L2 students as well.

Another picture that this lens of type theory helps to bring into focus, which can in turn help with tutor awareness, is the multifaceted picture of variation both in the tutors' personalities and writing approaches as well as in L2 student personality and varied approaches to writing. While Kaplan's study on contrastive rhetoric helped to make students aware of the country and cultural uniqueness of rhetorical conventions and some of the "commonalities" of particular languages' rhetorical conventions, it is also (when applied too broadly) reductive. Contrastive rhetoric when applied to writing center practices tends to leave tutors believing that all "Asian" students compose in a particular way or that all "German" students are following a particular rhetorical practice. This reductive thinking can be false. When contrastive rhetoric is provided as one of several possible lenses, tutors are provided with various angles for interpreting the complex interaction that tutoring is. This multi-angular approach to investigating tutoring interactions forces both the tutors and writing center administrators to dismiss the notion that the tutoring situation is an isolated freeze-frame interaction that can be looked at and analyzed outside of the context of time and culture. An awareness of the fluid nature of the

tutoring experience could lead to tutoring approaches that are more informed, more aware, and more successful.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Applications of the Study

The description that emerged from the case studies provided a body of data that was specific, individual, and concrete in its description of the writing center's roles in the writing practices of individuals within a specific context. When I investigated and analyzed across cases, the findings further contributed to the body of knowledge which helps to answer the question: "What role does the writing center play in the writing practices of L2 students?"

The case study portion of this study had two participants who were L2 students just beginning their American academic experience and two participants who were L2 students with previous experience in higher education either in the United States, in their home country, or in both. Realizing that the writing center is not an entity apart from the individuals that comprise it, I attempted to discern the tutor's role in this investigation, by focusing on the tutors involved in the study.

Through interviews, tutor responses, and some text/process and product investigation I traced the writing center behaviors of all four L2 student participants for two writing assignments to see what role the writing center played in their writing practices during the writing of

these assignments, which took place in the Fall Semester of 1994.

Summary of Study Findings

The two upper-level L2 students sought assistance from the writing center to shape and refine their own ideas and expression--working from an existing idea of the manipulation of rhetorical forms and a distinct pre-established writing "process." They went to the writing center expecting assistance with content and language. When Akiko did not receive the type of assistance that she expected, she used the writing center less and less in her writing practices. Upon establishing a peer-feedback relationship with a specific tutor, Hanna's visits to the writing center increased. In many ways, both upper-level L2 students' expectations of the writing center were the same. They both expected assistance clarifying both content and language. Akiko's expectations were not met, so she used the writing center less and less in her writing practices. Hanna's expectations were met (by one specific tutor), so she used the writing center (or a particular tutor) more and more in her writing practices. Both these case studies are examples of how expectations govern the first visit to the writing center and how those expectations are met governs further use of the writing center.

These two case studies also showed that the maturity level of an L2 student may dictate the type of assistance that is expected. Both these mature writers looked for assistance at the later stages of their composing processes. They both sought assistance from the writing center once a draft of a piece was fairly concrete in idea and organization.

The two freshmen L2 students sought assistance in developing their own "writing process." They also sought assistance and clarification of rhetorical forms. The two freshmen L2 students showed a greater dependence on the writing center in their writing practices, which suggests that the amount of writing experience, i.e. writing maturity level, of the L2 writer was often consistent with the type and amount of assistance required in a visit to the writing center. The two younger L2 student case studies may also suggest that expectations beyond writing assistance to writing instruction are often held by younger L2 writers.

While all four L2 case study participants sought assistance in making their "foreign" language structures look and sound similar to the language structures of a native speaker, the range of assistance and the amount of dependence of the younger L2 students appeared to be much greater than that of the older L2 student participants. Although similarities in practices and patterns of behaviors

emerged from the data, it is important to note that the actual writing center behaviors of all four students (while yielding some overlapping practices) were unique to the individual. There were many different issues that factored into why each of the study participants went to the writing center and what kinds of assistance they sought and received. This study identified and described some of the factors which recurred during the time this study was conducted.

The writing center tutor case study provided some emerging insights into the relationship between L2 students and the tutors. These emerging themes imply that to a certain degree the kind of assistance provided may be shaped by the personality, knowledge, and attitude of the tutor providing the assistance. The case studies provided some descriptive data towards answering the questions that the study set out to answer. They also yielded further questions about teacher expectation, tutor and student frustration, and the constant emergence of cultural factors that enter the tutoring session. When I analyzed why L2 students' expectations were not being met and why tutors were experiencing frustration in L2 tutoring sessions other issues and questions surfaced. When these "other" issues and questions were explored, I found that this study not only informed the writing center practices of PLAWC but also

paved the way for further lines of inquiry.

Applications of the study

As stated in the introduction to this study, I conducted this study to gain insights into understanding L2 students' expectations of the writing center and to gain understanding into the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students. This understanding was with the goal of establishing information on which to base tutor training and classroom teacher assistance materials for PLAWC. It is now my intention to look at the ways in which the themes which emerged from this study can inform PLAWC English teachers, who may encounter L2 students in their writing courses and who may lack specific training in L2 writing theory and practices and PLAWC writing center tutor preparation. I will also propose areas where this study could be expanded and ways in which the problem of preparing writing center personnel and classroom teachers for working with L2 students, both in the writing center and in the classroom, could be further investigated.

English Classroom Applications

The focus of this study was the writing center and not the English classroom; however, it was impossible to ignore

the actual classroom expectations. The stated requirements and implied expectations are what prompted many of the students' visits to the writing center. With this in mind, it is necessary to briefly discuss possible applications for English teachers of L2 students.

Both Michiko's and Joanna's case studies suggested an emerging practice of going to the writing center to have the tutors clarify and instruct them on the ways in which they were to write particular rhetorical writing forms. Although these forms were explained in class by the English teacher, they were often so "foreign" in structure or culturally loaded that Michiko and Joanna needed further examples and instruction before they could successfully practice or produce these writing forms. In some ways Michiko's and Joanna's unfamiliarity with writing forms could be seen as a shortcoming of my instruction as their ESL teacher. It could also be viewed as my lack of understanding as to the cultural implications and assumptions that surround these writing forms. At PLAWC I teach a specific section of academic English fundamentals to L2 students, and although I have English as a Second Language (ESL) training and experience, none of the other English teachers do. In one semester I am expected to work with students on understanding what is expected of them in American settings by using a whole language approach which incorporates

speaking, listening, reading, and writing in an appropriate contextualized fashion. This course often focuses on writing based on requests by other faculty both English and otherwise. Interestingly, PLAWC is a liberal arts college that prides itself on making writing an intricate part of the learning process in all disciplines, yet the faculty in both the English and other departments feel that L2 students should be able to take one semester of academic English fundamentals and then produce "good" writing for all of their courses with possible additional assistance from the writing center. Perhaps this is not an unreasonable expectation; after all, these L2 students were accepted to the college based on similar admissions standards to native-speaking students. Perhaps English teachers do not see cultural instruction of writing forms as one of their classroom roles.

Whether or not the classroom writing expectations placed on L2 students are fair, they do require an understanding of the cultural implications and assumptions behind certain writing forms. These writing expectations often manifest themselves, in L2 student behavior, as frustration with writing in English, a lack of confidence in their academic writing abilities, and a driving desire to find out what is expected so that they can "get it right" and thus successfully fulfill the classroom teacher's

expectations. These feelings often accompany L2 students, with their writing assignments, to a writing center tutoring situation.

Expectations in writing are often complicated by an L2 student's lack of ability to articulate the breakdown between what was explained in class and what is expected of her in writing assignments. This lack of language is understandable because probably most native speakers are also unable to articulate the enculturated ideas that enable them to manipulate certain American academic writing forms.

PLAWC faculty, as well as other college and university faculties in English departments and other academic departments, need to be aware of the cultural expectations behind the writing that they give L2 students. This awareness could enhance their understanding of why L2 students often "fail" to meet the assignments' expectations, of which they may not be fully aware. This awareness may help college and university faculty to be able to sort out what is indeed a failure of knowledge from a failure of implied expectations.

What this study taught me was that without taking time in class to explore the cultural assumptions underlying each writing form, I was not fully preparing the L2 students in my writing course for their future writing challenges. I was not preparing them because I was not equipping them with

a concrete understanding of each writing form nor was I giving them the time and or freedom to explore how each form evolved and what assumptions underlie that evolution. This study taught me that, if my classroom instruction is not going to cover the writing forms extensively, then I should prepare the tutors for the individual instruction that they may need to do when one of the L2 students from my class goes to the writing center for assistance with an assignment for my class. From this study, I realized that in-depth instruction needed to take place somewhere. If L2 students expected the writing center to provide this in-depth instruction, then I needed to prepare the tutors for this expectation.

This study provided me with insight into the problems associated with the lack of cultural understanding that often arises for L2 students attempting to complete certain writing assignments at the college academic level. An example of a solution to this problem can be found in Braine's University of South Alabama model. In the following abstract of Braine's (1993) article, he describes both the problem (similar to the one experienced at PLAWC) and a solution, that when applied to the PLAWC classroom environment, may yield similar success.

The University of South Alabama addressed a rapid increase in the population of limited-English-

proficient (LEP) students in its freshman composition classes by developing classes in writing in English as a Second Language (ESL). These students were having difficulty in mainstream freshman composition classes, both with the proficiency level expected of them and with a feeling of isolation. In addition, teachers often had difficulty with classroom communication and cultural differences in rhetoric and organization of compositions. Teacher workshops in ESL pedagogy were begun, offering information about the ESL student population and services at the institution, second language learning and teaching, culture shock, aspects of ESL writing, evaluation of ESL writing, and advising. Readings and student compositions were used as instructional materials. Subsequently, teachers participating in the workshops volunteered to teach ESL composition courses. Enrollment in these classes is limited to 20 and ESL students have the option of enrolling in either this or the mainstream course. Since the program's inception, the ESL student passing rate has risen substantially, and teachers have found that ESL student participation in classes is much better. Students have responded enthusiastically, citing greater comfort in classroom communication. (p. 1)

While Braine's focus is on the English faculty, my suggestion is that this type of information dissemination and these workshops could be broadened to all faculty who are teaching writing intensive courses at PLAWC. It may be even more effective to do separate workshops for each discipline, focusing on the cultural assumptions implicit in the writing of that particular discipline.

But why stop this cultural education process with faculty awareness? Why not expand these workshops to inform students about not only forms of rhetoric but also the philosophy of rhetoric, thereby helping to empower ESL students with an awareness of the ideology that is implicit in the different writing forms unique to the American academic setting? Howard and Dedo (1989) argued that, by teaching mere adherence to American academic writing, we are taking approaches that neglect the ideological implications that underlie our "seemingly innocent discourse." According to Howard and Dedo,

ESL students need to be taught that even the most seemingly innocent discourse is actually aimed at gaining student adherence to the values of the culture's dominant ideology. This approach, termed the rhetoric of accommodation fails to challenge or change the discourse communities not in the student's or society's best interest....teachers should act not as

guardians of "correct" English but as cultural or ideological critics. (p. 2)

Howard and Dedo propose investigating issues of culture and ideology in the ESL composition classroom. Are culture and ideology in rhetoric issues to be investigated only in ESL classes? L2 students are expected to produce work that is comparable in thought and language to those of their native-speaking counterparts; therefore, it is important that they are educated in the "tools" for producing comparable ideas. L2 students need to be fully equipped to understand and then challenge, as they see fit, the "education" that they are provided in an American academic environment. This point is reinforced by Howard and Dedo in their statement:

If members of the ESL community are to be more than second class citizens in academe, the strategies of cultural criticism must be put to use to examine the ideological forces at work in current pedagogy and institutions. (p. 7)

Classroom situations are connected to the writing center practices of L2 students. If the classroom teachers do not provide L2 students with the information needed to complete certain writing assignments, then L2 students will seek outside assistance to fill the void. With a strategic active program of teacher-awareness and education, these "voids" will decrease.

Writing Centers' Applications

I previously stated some of what I learned from this study in relation to writing center application; however, in this section, I expand my thinking further. While L2 writing theory education and cultural awareness should not stop with faculty and L2 students but should also include the writing center director and staff, this education will not solve all of the issues raised by this study. Many of the issues that came out of Akiko's case study dealt with her desire to have the writing center "assist" her in her "writing." While her idea of assistance was not one with which the tutor was comfortable (corrective editing), it was indeed a specific type of assistance that many L2 students came to the writing center expecting. How then does this study help to inform this issue? This study provided the PLAWC writing center with specific data on its unique L2 population. This data could be looked at in light of existing policies and practices. From this study, I learned about the expectations held by the PLAWC's L2 students. The knowledge of these expectations may assist me in the creation of tutor preparatory materials. Through the findings of this study, I can now redefine PLAWC's L2 tutoring practices and philosophies to better meet the needs and expectations of its L2 population. Once an understanding of and a philosophy for tutoring L2 students

in PLAWC's writing center are in place, I can provide the tutors with practices and guidelines for individual tutoring situations. These practices and guidelines would have to be flexible enough to allow tutors to adapt them to her/his tutoring style and the learning style of the L2 tutee with whom she/he works.

Tutor training could then be approached as a basic course in understanding L2 composing behaviors and practices, as well as some basic understanding of second language acquisition. In addition to understanding L2 composing practices and behaviors, tutor training can also include an extensive investigation of American academic writing from the point of view of an L2 student. Exploring American rhetoric and how it may be foreign to someone raised outside American culture could be addressed before Kaplan's theory of contrastive rhetoric, thereby reducing the chances of using his findings reductively. When, as suggested by Lipp 1983; Robinson, et. al, 1990; Severino, 1993; Powers, 1993, Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric is explained, it can be coupled with the specific studies that describe the international population of the particular institution, again to avoid reductive assumptions. Beyond the simple rhetorical contrasts that Kaplan's research provides, tutors may also need some information on the student-to-student interaction patterns that may be unique

to the countries represented in the international population of their school. PLAWC's international student population is small, so the writing center could seek to understand issues around the social interactions for the few countries from which students are recruited. Information on each country and each individual student may provide better understanding, which could facilitate the writing center's work in L2 tutoring sessions.

At colleges and universities that have a larger population of international students, tutor-training courses could provide some general information on the countries represented in their student population. Chances are that this international student information is available somewhere at the college or university, and it can be obtained and made available with a minimal effort. Admissions offices and/or graduate schools often have specific cultural information on international students, and these administrative offices may be willing to provide a seminar for the tutors during their tutor-training course.

However it is approached, it is important for tutors to realize that the decisions that L2 students make when writing and when in tutoring sessions may be part of a larger context with which the tutor may not be familiar. When tutoring native speakers, we have a better sense of their educational and writing background because it is often

quite similar to our own. This assumption about cultural similarity between tutor and tutee cannot always be made when tutoring a non-native speaker. Indeed, because of the increased diversification of college and university campuses, assumptions about common culture are becoming more and more inaccurate even with native speakers.

Suggestions for Further Studies

My purpose in conducting this study was to address a void in literature, research, and practical material which investigates L2 students' use of the writing center. While for at least ten or more years there has been a growth in the use and dependence on writing centers by L2 students at colleges and universities, writing center research and investigation has done little to provide data on second language students' use of the writing center on which policies and practices can be based.

Although I see texts that lament the "problems" of L2 students who visit writing centers and dated deductive practices for "dealing" with these "problems," few writing center and L2 writing theorists have come together to view L2 students use of the writing center as an opportunity to investigate the intersections and implications of these intersections for research. One assumption that can easily

be made is that the "problem" is not going to go away. Non-native English speakers, whether international students or immigrants, are going to continue to grow as a population on United States college and university campuses. Another assumption that can be made is that colleges and universities are going to continue to expect and require a certain standard of written expression. If the patterns thus far continue, writing centers are going to continue to be sought out as places that assist L2 students in adhering to these requirements. Research that seeks to describe the practices and the expectations of L2 students and other "non-standard" student populations is one step towards actively addressing this rising issue.

In this section I suggest other studies that could come out of this one. In discussing these areas for further research, I first focus on related studies using other data collection techniques. I then briefly mention studies that could explore issues that emerged in this study in other settings or with other populations.

While this study was conducted at one specific college, to further investigate the same questions similar studies could be conducted at other colleges and universities. Since each L2 population at each university is unique the descriptive data from a similar study to this at a different college or university would provide unique findings. The

collective data from several such studies would create a body of knowledge that works towards describing what the role of the writing center is in the writing practices of L2 students. These similar studies could also provide materials specific to the studied environment, on which tutor-training literature could be based.

Another avenue of further research may be to investigate the role of cultural assumptions that underlie the existing philosophy of the writing center and the effects these assumptions have on actual writing center tutoring sessions. A study of this type could investigate the literature and practices of several writing centers to first define the philosophy on which practices are based, and then, to further investigate the cultural assumptions that may accompany these philosophies. A study that investigates the cultural assumption on which writing center practices are based would help to flesh out some of the actual practices that may present obstacles both to tutors and to L2 students being tutored. A cultural study of this type could act as a precursor to studies that seek to provide new literature on tutor training in regards to L2 students.

Using the same basic question as this study used, another study could investigate the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students by using

other qualitative research methods beyond surveys and case studies. Such a study could incorporate observational techniques to investigate the actual tutoring sessions, and/or record and analyze the genre of "tutor talk." A longitudinal study that traces the writing center behaviors of a set number of L2 students from their freshmen year until they graduate may provide a deeper, fuller description of the role of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students.

Issues that were raised in this study that are not directly connected to the role of writing centers in the writing practices of L2 students are also possible veins of further research. The issue of expectations held by PLAWC's L2 populations was raised by this study. Although I described some L2 students' expectations, a more in-depth study could be conducted to see if the same tensions arise from unmet expectations in other student populations. For example, PLAWC has a population of returning adult students who also use the writing center quite frequently. A study of expectations and writing center behaviors could be conducted with PLAWC's returning adult population. The findings of such a study could be compared to those of this study to see if indeed the expectations described in this study are unique to PLAWC's L2 population. The same study of expectations could also be done to measure the

perceptions and expectations of "traditional" students. The resulting data from these types of study could assist writing centers in better meeting the expectations of the populations they serve.

Another theme that emerged from this study was the role of tutors as teachers. A study could be conducted to more fully explore how much and what kind of teaching is expected of tutors. Since my interest is ESL, I could investigate tutors as teachers in light of PLAWC's L2 populations' expectations. However, the investigation of tutors as teachers need not be narrowed to a specific population. An initial study could be done to first investigate what kinds of teaching tutors do in the writing center. Another study could more thoroughly investigate the implication of tutors as teachers both to writing centers and to the college/university environment.

Above I have mentioned only a few possible lines of inquiry. By conducting these studies and exploring the themes and issue which come out of these studies, the breadth and girth of questions associated with L2 students and writing centers will continue to grow. These various lines of inquiry may lead to other questions that when investigated will eventually create a concrete body of knowledge that can function as a theoretical bridge between writing centers and second language writing theory.

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Appendix A
Writing Centers Perceptions & Behaviors Survey

The Survey

L2 students' perceptions and expectations of the writing center are very important to understand. Without such understanding it is impossible for the writing center to meet the needs of L2 students. Susan, a PLAWC writing center tutor once told me, "to me understanding what she [the L2 tutee] expects and where she needs help is most important". However, figuring out these perceptions and expectations can be difficult. As Sandra, a tutor at PLAWC's writing center stated, in one of her tutor response journals:

I just don't know if what I did was what she [the L2 student who had come in for tutoring] expected when she came.... I even wonder if she even knew why she was coming. In her eyes she wanted to make her paper better so she came to the writing center but I don't know if she really knows what a writing center is or what it really does.

Sandra's frustration was with her unawareness of whether or not there was a basic understanding between what she saw as her role as tutor and what the L2 student expected her to do. Although this is not a problem unique to working with ESL students (many students have varying perceptions of what a writing center is), it can become a bit more problematic when second language communication issues are also a factor.

While the survey, that I designed, did not catalogue all the possible perceptions L2 students had about writing centers, it did begin to describe some perceptions held by some students. The perceptions that were explored through this survey lead me to a better understanding of the expectations and behaviors of the a larger population of L2 students. In this section I will discuss why the survey data analysis was placed in the Appendix, how the survey was designed, who the survey population was, and, how the survey was analyzed. After describing the survey design, population and analysis procedures, I have described the survey data findings.

Why the Survey Is in the Appendix

When I designed this study the connections between the survey and the case studies were fairly clear. I saw the study as having two parts. The first part was the pre-study survey which would provide me with descriptive data on how L2 students defined and viewed writing centers. I realized that this type of descriptive data was limited in its depth, so, I had planned to follow the survey with the case studies. The case studies were designed to provide depth to some of the general descriptions given in the pre-study survey data.

What I discovered, after conducting the study, was that the types of data generated by the pre-study survey and by the case studies was difficult to connect. I also realized that my two part set-up was problematic in nature because in many ways each part could have been an entire study on its own. In the course of the study, the way that I administered the survey and then pieced together the descriptive data generated was very different than the way that I conducted and described the case studies. What resulted was a slightly fragmented study that when written up seemed slightly dis-connected. If I had the opportunity to re-design this study I would not develop it in the two-phased method that I originally proposed. This led me to the decision to make the case studies the focus of the study and to place the pre-study survey-related information in Appendix A.

The Survey Design

When I began the study, my original plan was to find a survey proven reliable and valid, which measured students' perceptions of some writing center related behavior or practice. I had planned to then substitute and manipulate the survey using the writing center as the focus yet still measuring the perceptions with some degree of reliability.

After a long and tedious search and upon realizing that no such "magical" survey existed, I created a survey that posed the questions to which I sought answers. My survey had, at the least, face validity.

Writing Centers Perceptions & Behaviors Survey

Background Information

1. Gender (circle one) Male Female
2. What year are you? Fr Soph Jr. Sr. MA PhD
3. What country are you from?

4. How long have you been in the
United States? _____
5. Is this your first educational experience in the United
States?

 Yes No
- 5a. If not please list any prior United States
educational experiences (e.g. high school, undergrad,
English language institute)

Questions

6. What is a writing center/lab? (Please answer in a short paragraph. If more space is needed please use back of survey designating answer by question number.)
7. Have you ever visited a Writing center before?
Yes No
8. If not why might you visit a Writing center? (Please answer in a short paragraph. If more space is needed please use back of survey designating answer by question number.)
9. What do you expect when you visit a writing center?
(Please answer in a short paragraph. If more space is needed please use back of survey designating answer by question number.)
10. Rank in order the top three stages in your writing process which you would be most likely to visit a writing center for assistance on?
- a. To help clarify an assignment _____
- b. Before you begin to write _____
- c. After you have written some and _____

need some assistance to go on _____

d. After you have completed a draft

for assistance revising _____

e. After you have revised a draft for assistance

with editing _____

11. How many times might you go to the writing center for one assignment? (check the answer(s) that best applies)

___once

___until I am pleased with the results

___until I have to hand-in the assignment

12. Who would you expect to assist you in the writing center? (check the answer(s) that best applies)

Other students _____

instructors/professors _____

13. Circle True or False for the following questions.

A visit to the writing center should improve my assignment grade.

True False

A visit to the writing center should help me to become a better writer.

True False

The writing center is there to fix my grammar.

True False

In the writing center they can help teach me more about grammar.

True False

The writing center will proofread and correct my paper.

True False

The writing center is there to help me better understand how to find errors in my own writing.

True False

If I go to the writing center and still receive a low grade on an assignment the visit was not worthwhile.

True False

In order to be of assistance a tutor should understand the content of my paper.

True False

14. Answer with a short paragraph answer. If more space is needed please use back of survey. Designate answer by question number.

The main goal of the writing center is:

The Survey Population

The L2 students surveyed were chosen (by me) from the L2 students at a mid-sized state university (MSSU), a large land-grant university (LLGU), and PLAWC. Aside from being conveniently located, these three schools also provided a good range of institutions of higher education. LLGU is a large research University with a very large international

population. MSSU is a mid-sized university with a mid-sized international population, and PLAWC is a small women's college with a small international population. All three schools had well established writing centers with similar philosophies and goals.

The number of respondent surveys were not quite proportionate to the overall population of L2 students at each university. There were 49 respondents from LLGU, a university which had a population of 1420 international students, 29 respondents from MSSU, which had a population of 200 international students, and 15 respondents from PLAWC, which had a population of 30 international students. There were 48 male respondents and 45 female respondents. The Academic levels of the respondents were as follows: 18 freshmen, 11 sophomores, 3 juniors, 17 seniors, and 44 graduate students. There were twenty-three countries represented with a heavier representation of students from Asian countries. This is not unlike most American student undergraduate populations. Table 2 gives the country distribution. Seventy-four of the 93 respondents had no prior educational experiences in the United States, and fourteen respondents had either been on exchange programs or attended summer English Language Institutes. Ninety of the 93 respondents had never been to a writing center before. The purpose of this background information is to help

identify the surveyed population whose answers will be reported throughout the rest of this chapter. Almost all 93 surveys had some written response to these questions and only 5 surveys were incomplete (missing answers from one section or another).

How the Survey Was Analyzed

Once I had administered the survey and grouped the results according to recurring answers, I found that the responses could be grouped under the following three categories: classification, perception, and predicted practices. I derived these headings based on the themes that emerged during the analysis of the data collected. Below, I have described these categories as a foundation for the overall analysis of the survey.

The classification category provided data that helped me to distinguish the characteristics of the surveyed participants. Although not analyzed in terms of gender, country of origin, academic year, amount of time in the United States and prior United States educational experience, the data gathered from these questions enhanced my understanding of the population that in turn enhanced my understanding of other answers to other survey questions.

Table 2 Country Distribution of Survey Participants

Country	Number of Respondents
Germany	11
Korea	9
Kazakistan	1
Taiwan	8
Thailand	18
Belarus	1
Japan	12
Italy	1
Costa Rica	1
Peoples Republic of China	9
Norway	1
Yugoslavia	1
Turkey	2
Argentina	1
Switzerland	1
France	1
Russia	2
Egypt	2
Venezuela	7
Morocco	1
Spain	1
Sweden	1
Mexico	1

The background questions are also important for further research because the characteristics of the surveyed population can then be compared to that of other surveyed populations in cross-data analysis.

The perceptions category provided data that described L2 students' definition of writing centers and at what point in the writing process the writing center might be sought, but different questions got at these answers in different ways. While question 6 asked participants to directly state what they thought a writing center/lab was, the true/false questions in question 13 sought to further clarify these answers by using specific roles or functions of the writing center as cues. I also asked the purposefully open-ended question "What do you expect when you visit a writing center?" This question opened the possible interpretations up to responses that measured the perceived staff, location, environment and type of perceived assistance on a particular assignment. These are all areas addressed in other places on the survey; however, here the questions provided me with answers that showed me what these L2 students viewed as important enough to focus on when asked such a general, open-ended question.

Data on predicted practices was most directly gathered from questions 10 and 11; however, question 8 provided an articulation of the "why's" behind a visit, which were quite

connected to the "when's" addressed in question 10. From questions 10 and 11, I obtained a description of the perceived practices of when and why L2 students visited writing centers, and the case studies further enriched this description by focusing in on four particular students. While the survey asked L2 students to rank the stages in which they perceive that they were most likely to visit a writing center, the case studies reinforced these predictions with actual practices.

Once the survey data was compiled based on the aforementioned categories, I reported the findings in light of how they addressed the following questions:

- * What is a writing center?
- * Why would you go to a writing center?
- * What do you expect from a visit to a writing center?
- * What is the goal of the writing center?

In analyzing the survey data, I focused on specific questions and questions in relation to one another. For example, I focused on the questions which required the respondent to create his/her own answers in sentence or narrative form and referred to the other questions which provided the respondent with the language for the answers to try to flesh out the why's to the answers given in the short answer-creation questions. Since the same information was

being questioned in different formats throughout the survey, while focusing on the answer-creation questions, I used the results of the other questions to cross check or explain the points made in the questions in which the language was not provided. For example, most of the answers given to the question "What is a writing center?" said that the writing center was a place L2 students could go for help to improve their writing skills. The created answers did not always explain what was meant by "help." The true/false questions had been designed to specifically question some of my assumptions about what L2 students expect in the way of "help" from a writing center and these questions were then used as reinforcement because they provided descriptive language for what L2 students saw as "help" from the writing center. In this way the questions with provided answers served as reinforcing descriptions for the answers provided in the short answer section.

The Survey Data Findings

What is a Writing Center?

What did the L2 students surveyed think a writing center was, and what did they feel that the main goal of the writing center was? The answers given to these questions ranged from "a place to help students to improve their

writing" to "a club for discussing writing." Although there were some extremes in the answers given, most of the answers were very similar. From the answers given the writing center was described as a place where L2 students with difficulties in writing (or any other English language skills areas) can go to have someone identify and help them correct their errors. Worded another way, the writing center was described as a place that helps L2 students create error-free, native-speaker-like essays.

The majority of the answers to the question of what a writing center is focus on the improvement of L2 students' writing. Of the 93 surveys, 76 answers directly described a writing center as a place for students who have difficulties with writing. I compiled the answers by repeating words, so if two surveys said "a place to make my essay better," I quoted them as one. This explanation illustrates what type of answers made up these 76. The number in parenthesis that follows the quote shows the number of answers combined using common words or phrases to form that particular quote.

I think it is a place where you can get help with your writing. People in the language center can help you with ideas, organization, vocabulary, and grammar. Also you can improve your writing by being pointed out in your mistakes, and knowing that there is more people in a similar situation. (24)

Writing Center is a place where tutors help students improve their writing abilities. (12)

I guess it's a place to which people go when they have problems in writing eg. style, grammar, vocabulary,...I think I should go to a writing center, because I have great problem with the English grammar.(12)

This is were one can obtain some helps with writing his papers, essays and so on. It might help with composition, with creating ideas and so on. (12)

A writing center is a place that every student who has trouble in writing can go there to ask [for] some help.(11)

I think that the writing center is a place to provide some services for student to revise their papers, documents etc. And it teaches students how to write correctly. (10)

The writing center is a facility to help students' writing giving them some ideas. The peoples who work in the writing center are usually volunteers and they review student's (usually international students') writing and give them some advice.(10)

It's a center where one gets help on assignments concerning grammar style and unity but not especially on the context of the paper. (5)

Although these are only 76 of the 93 responses received (I

will look at the remaining 17 at a later point) when all of the answers are looked at as a whole, there are two very prevalent themes which emerge. One theme that emerged was that the writing center is seen as a service facility on the campus established to assist the problem-writer. The second theme that emerged was that the assistance required seemed to be predominately focused on finding and correcting the errors in L2 students' writing. In some ways these answers equated a writing center to a fix-it shop with tutors as diagnosticians, who work with the writer to find the problems in the essay and correct them.

The perception of the writing center as a fix-it shop also emerged from the answers given to the true/false question. Table 4 shows the results of the true/false questions. Two examples of this "fix-it" perception, taken from the true/false questions in Table 4 are: 69% of the respondents agreed that "the writing center [would] proofread and correct [their] paper[s]" and 62% of the respondents believed that "the writing center [was] there to fix [their] grammar." Both of these statements equate the writing center with a fix-it shop. Other percentages shown in Table 4 reinforce this view as well. Even if we see the answers given in Table 4 as a desire for a fix-it shop and not a full expectation of what a writing center is, it was still a desire that is taken with L2 students when they go

Table 4 True/False Survey Question Results

Question	Number who answered True	Number who answered False
A visit to the writing center should improve my assignment grade.	64	24
A visit to the writing center should help me to become a better writer.	87	6
The writing center is there to fix my grammar.	62	31
In the writing center they can help teach me more about grammar.	67	23
The writing center will proofread and correct my paper.	69	23
The writing center is there to help me better understand how to find errors in my own writing.	88	5
If I go to the writing center and still receive a low grade on an assignment, then the visit was not worthwhile.	16	87
In order to be of assistance a tutor should understand the content of my paper.	59	34

to the writing center. This desire to have their essays' fixed may impact the place of the writing center in the writing practices of L2 students.

Another interesting point that emerged from the answers given to various survey questions was how "problems with writing" were defined. Problems were defined quite broadly in some answers, such as:

It might be help with composition, with creating ideas and so on.

It helps to solve some difficulties in the assignments you work on.

There were few of these answers(seven total). The majority of the answers defined problems as grammar and/or error correction. This emerging description was further reinforced by the fact that the two most popular times for visiting the writing center as described in the question "where in your writing practices you would be most likely to visit a writing center for assistance" were "d. After you have completed a draft for assistance revising", and "e. After you have revised a draft for assistance with editing." Table 5 shows the numbers of respondents for each stage of the writing process.

When the writing centers' role was described as a place to correct grammar then the tutors' role was that of one who detects and corrects the errors in an L2 students' essay. This attitude was consistent with the answers given to the question "what is the main goal of the writing center?" Another interesting point to note is that the error correction is focused on second language errors, which may imply that the writing center is perceived as a facility mainly for L2 students.

If the emerging description of the writing center is that of a place to fix L2 students' writing problems, then is the described goal of the writing center to help the L2 student achieve error-free essays? According to the majority of the answered on the survey, yes. This goal of helping L2 students produce error-free essays is quite evident in the majority of the answers given.

**Table 5 Writing Process Stages that "most likely" warrant
a visit to the Writing Center**

Writing Process Stage		# of Respondents
Stage a.	To help clarify an assignment.	18
Stage b.	Before you begin to write.	16
Stage c.	After you have written some and need some assistance to go on.	15
Stage d.	After you have completed a draft for assistance revising.	24
Stage e.	After you have revised a draft for assistance with editing.	20

To make better papers.

That's to improve one's assignment grade...

Maybe the goal is to help students to write good, grammatically correct essays.

To help students doing their paper better.

Basic writing. There is not error in writing.

To help students understand grammar and use it correctly and also to help students to write their paper correctly.

To help people write good papers, correct them mistakes and to make good sentences.

To achieve a good quality assignment is the main goal of visiting the writing center.

In these answers, although grammar and error corrections are not the only things mentioned, they are by far the most recurring type of problem correction desired.

In fact 56 percent of the answers made reference to the correction of grammatical errors. When we look at the objective questions to see if they support this concept of the writing center as a grammar correction center, we see that 76 percent of the students surveyed believed that the writing center is there to "fix my grammar." However, 95 percent of the respondents to the question "The writing center is there to help me find my own errors" did not see the role of error correction solely as the tutors' responsibility.

It is interesting that the perceived role of the writing center, according to the surveys, was to assist students in fixing their grammar, because grammatical issues are not the most common problems found in L2 essays. While on the surface many (about 70 percent) of the answers lead one to believe that the surveyed L2 students perceive a good essay as a grammatically correct essay, the questions with provided answers also highlighted other points in the L2 essay that make it less than perfect. These other types of issues, although not clearly articulated, are alluded to with words like "to achieve a good quality of assignment," "things about their writing" and "helping the student to get rid of their common mistakes and to reach a writing quality level same as the level of the native English speakers." These responses implied that beyond grammar the L2 student

perceives that the writing center is there to make their non-native English essays more native-speaker-like. These responses broadened the definition of problems from grammatical errors to rhetorical and idiomatic errors.

This perception of getting more assistance than grammar correction on a particular writing assignment is further reinforced by the fact that 94 percent of the respondents said that "A visit to the writing center should make me a better writer" and 94 percent answered false to the question, "If I go to the writing center and still receive a low grade on an assignment the visit was not worthwhile." These percentages implied that the L2 students surveyed expected to get more than just essay correction from their visit. But how is that "more" described in the questions with provided answers? One expectation that L2 students have of tutors, that is described in the answers-creation question and that is mentioned above, is the expectation that the tutors will make their non-native English sentences more native-speaker-like.

Another perception that emerged from the survey was the perception of the writing center as a place for L2 students to work on English language skills. In the answer-creation questions there were statements that alluded to the writing center as a place for L2 students who have difficulties not only with writing but also with other English language

skills areas. Thus, in response to the question, what is a writing center/lab, many answers specifically stated or alluded to the L2 population as the main focus in one way or another. This perception is described in the following¹⁷ statements.

A place to practice my English.

A writing center is a place where we can practice and discuss our English.

I think it is a place where we can practice our English.

I think a writing center helps to improve English...

...In a writing center you can improve your knowledge in speaking or listening...

Writing center/lab is there to improve my English especially in writing.

I think the writing center helps foreign students who want to improve their English in particular, English writing.

This is the place to exercise the English language

¹⁷ Some of these quotes are parts of previously mentioned quotes, although some are original to this section and do make up the 17 not accounted for in the original set of quotes, there is some overlap so the numbers of answers compiled is not placed after each quote.

skills, writing and speaking, whatever.

Learn writing in a way that nobody knows that I am an international student.

In these quotes when "international students" or "foreign students" are not specifically mentioned, the "me," "my" and "we" alluded to the foreign student population with whom they completed the survey.

Along with the perception that the center is for L2 students (almost like a language lab) and their writing difficulties comes the assumption that the tutors in the center are qualified to deal with second language skills area issues. This assumption in most cases is inaccurate. One source of this perception of writing center as language lab may have been the wording of the question. I worded the question "what is a writing center/lab" because in many colleges and universities the name writing lab is still quite common. Also, many writing centers evolved from writing labs so in writing both words center/lab, I wanted to be sure that I was asking about a place that has been called both names often interchangeably. In reading this, question however, a second language student, who does not know what a writing center/lab is at all, may take the writing lab to be more like a language lab, a place with which she may be familiar. In investigating the possible

misinterpretation of the word lab, it may be helpful to see if this perception was illustrated in any of the other answers.

Is this perception of the writing center as a L2 skills lab prevalent in the described main goals of the writing center and if so how? It would appear that the answer to this question is yes. This perception of the writing center as a language lab emerged in such answers as the following:

To make [me a] perfect English writer and good research paper writer.

To improve my English language writing, grammar, understanding.

To improve foreign student's writing ability

To help students who are foreign (English as a second Language)

There were thirty answers like these taken from the compiled survey answers and another forty such answers that alluded to the writing center as specifically for assisting L2 students in creating error-free essays. When these answers are looked at in light of the possible mis-perception of the word *lab* vs. the word *center* it could be said that the described perception cannot as easily be dismissed by a simple language issue. There are still schools that call

writing centers writing labs, and on the survey in other questions where lab is not mentioned the same types of perceptions emerge.

Why Might You Visit a Writing Center?

While I have used the survey to develop a description of what the L2 population surveyed think a writing center is and what the population surveyed perceived was the goal of the writing center, I have not addressed why an L2 student might visit a writing center and what was expected from that visit. If the writing center is described as a place to help L2 students with their writing difficulties, then what is the reason for visiting a writing center? According to 67 percent of the L2 students surveyed a visit to the writing center is prompted by difficulty(ies) with a writing assignment. The following responses put the "why's" of visiting a writing center best:

Because my first language is not English and I need to improve my writing skills. And I need help to finish papers more correctly.

Because it is really difficult for me to write papers. I am pretty sure I need the knowledge of writing English to survive in each classes.

...I would like to get help because writing can

becoming a lonely and frustrating activity.

Because I have to write an assignment and I have problems with it.

Because I can not write well all of my ideas in English and I use a lot of time to write a short paragraph in English.

Because my writing skills is poor, in order to improve my writing and reading skills and to explain my ideas about my research results more clearly...

To get help in reading an article to avoid mistakes in grammar etc.

To help me do my papers.

If I have questions about my paper, or perhaps I want to practice my English.

What emerges from these compiled responses given to the question of why they might visit a writing center is a reinforcement of the perception that the writing center is a place for L2 students to improve their English skills beyond writing to speaking, reading and listening. The responses to the questions of "why might you visit a writing center?", "what the writing center is" and "what the main goal of the writing center is?" were similar. In all three questions the responses describe the goal for going as an attempt to

make one's essays better, thus the choice to go is when one has trouble with the writing of an assignment. As it follows what is expected is assistance in getting through the troubled area towards a "correctly" written assignment. Following this train of logic, most of the responses to what is expected from a visit to a writing center would look quite similar in nature to the responses given in the why one goes section. This expectation is generally true for 70 percent of the responses, but some other expectations were described in the responses given to "what do you expect from a visit to the writing center."

The description which emerged from the question "what do you expect from a visit to the writing center" beyond the improvement of writing and English skills were the perceived expectations of: kindness and empathy from the tutors, individualized attention from good qualified tutors, and additional instruction where the classroom instruction has failed or come up short. Quoting these responses directly under several different categories illustrates how rich the expectations become. Some responses described the expectation of tutors who understand what it is like to be a second language student with difficulties writing in English. One such response is best summed up by a student who wrote:

I'd expect to find help and supervision as well as

people who have experienced the difficulties of starting a paper, getting stuck in the middle of a paragraph or just being completely lost...I expect to get help when I don't know how or what to write in English...I expect very friendly and understanding people.

Other responses described an expectations related to the tutors that the students hoped to encounter. Such responses described expectations of tutors' knowledge, abilities to communicate that knowledge and personalities. The following are examples of tutor specific expectations:

I expect that the people, who work in the writing center must be helpful and friendly. In addition, the people who works in the center has to be well educated because if I need more information about my study or my problem, they can help me very easily.

I expect to see the place and instruments that can help me practice my writing skills and also the teachers who are friendly and love to teach us. I expect to find persons with good knowledge of writing.

The perception that tutors would have knowledge and ability beyond the student level is further reinforced by the fact that when given the choice of "Who would you expect to assist you in the writing center" 86 percent of the students

checked instructors/professors while only 27 percent check other students. In addition to this 63 percent of the L2 students surveyed believed that "In order to be of assistance a tutor should understand the content of my paper" while 36 thought this statement to be false.

While some students carried expectations for tutors with expertise, others described expectations in the way of not only guidance but also instruction in writing and writing matters. Some such responses were

I expect...explanation on the topic I have trouble.

People who are there not only to edit my papers but to tell me why it is wrong and how to do it.

I expect that I would get the right advice from the expert tutor to decide which English class I should take during my first year and get writing skills from them.

I expect that it can give [me] some new systems to improve my way to write.

This desire for writing instruction in addition to writing correction may explain the desire for a highly qualified staff, and it may also explain why such a large percentage of the respondents believe that a visit to the writing center should help them to become better writers. This

individualized instruction beyond the classroom may also explain why "To help clarify an assignment" was ranked as the third most likely reason to visit a writing center for assistance.

Before looking at the implications of what this survey has described, it may help to compare these findings to the perceptions of the writing center held by the "traditional student" population. In Steven North's (1984) article "The Idea of a Writing Center," he cites a study done by Malcolm Hayward of the Indiana University of Pennsylvania where Hayward attempted to assess attitudes toward the writing center. North (1984) sums up Hayward's findings by stating:

In short, Hayward's survey reveals the same kind of misunderstanding on his campus that I find so frustrating on my own: the idea that a writing center can only be some sort of skills center, a fix-it shop. (p. 435)

Richard Leahy (1990), in his essay "What the College Writing Center Is and Isn't" sums up the dominant image of the writing center on most college and university campuses when he states:

The most persistent image of the writing centers is that they are remedial facilities for students with "special problems" in writing. It conjures up a picture of a skill-and-drill operation, interested only

in grammar, spelling, and punctuation. (p. 44).

Therefore the perceptions and expectations held by the L2 students that I surveyed are not particularly different from the perceptions and expectations held by their native English speaking colleagues. However, the issue does not stop there. While both Leahy and North and many other writing center theorists go on to discuss ways in which we turn this mis-perception closer to what the writing center is and does, they fail to address the fact that many L2 students continue to seek this kind of help from the writing center. This expectation becomes a problem when the tutors, trained in what the writing center does and does not really do encounter a second language student who really needs assistance understanding how to "fix" her essay. What has resulted in the past is that either the tutor imposed her trained agenda on the L2 student and the L2 student went away feeling that she was not really listened to or assisted in the way she wanted or that the L2 student walked out with her needs met and the tutor struggled with a pedagogical dilemma because she did exactly what she had been trained not to do. Although complex dilemmas, these sorts of questions are not the focus of this study. This study seeks to give voice to L2 students by describing what place the writing center holds in her writing practices.

Appendix B
Professor report form

HOLLINS COLLEGE WRITING CENTER

Dear Professor _____,

I, _____, a student in _____,
worked with a Writing Center staff member today. Our work
primarily involved:

____ Clarification of Assignment	____ Sentence Structure
____ Thesis	____ Diction
____ Support and Development	____ Usage, Spelling, Punct.
____ Organization	____ Documentation: MLA APA Turabian
____ Paragraph Development	____ Other

Student's Comments:

Tutor's Comments and/or Recommendations:

_____, Student _____ Year
_____, Tutor

Date _____
Length of Session _____
Time of Session _____

____ ESL ____ NS

Questions or comments?
Writing Center.....6387
Director, Marcy Trianosky.....6576
ESL/Composition & Rhetoric, Sheila Carter-Tod.....6083

Appendix C
Tutor Consent Form

Tutor Consent Form

By signing this form, you agree to participate in a study which investigates the place of the writing center in the writing practices of second language students. This study will be carried out during the Fall 1994 semester.

By agreeing to take part in this study you are agreeing to the following:

As Writing Center tutors you will be interviewed concerning your tutoring experiences with particular students on particular assignments. You understand the what is discussed in the interview (in accordance with the statement of confidentiality you signed with your writing center contract) is confidential. You also understand that any student texts that is shared with you during the interviews are also confidential, and should not be discussed outside the interview situation. Interviews will be recorded, transcribed and analyzed by me. The interviews will be analyzed in light of the following: when the student chose to use the writing center and what type of assistance you gave the student during your tutoring session together.

You are also giving your consent to my reading and discussing (with you and possibly with the student with whom you worked) the contents of your tutor response sheet and your reflective journals. Only the responses that help to clarify the understanding of the session will be revealed to the student with whom you have worked. I will not share your feelings as expressed in your reflections. I will not show the reflections directly to the students; however, I may discuss indirectly the contents within as they pertain to analyzing the type of assistance that you gave the student on the two particular writing assignments focused on for this study.

All raw data collected as part of this study will be kept confidential, in that it will not be shared with anyone outside the above mentioned agreed upon persons. The report resulting from analysis of the data, which will not identify you personally, will be written up and eventually made public. In reporting this study no one will be identified by name.

Failure to participate in the study will not result in any negative effects. Your job will not be affected if you do not participate. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the study without prejudice or

penalty.

If you have any questions or choose to terminate your participation in this study at any time please contact me (Sheila Carter-Tod) at (703) 362-6083 or Mr. Thomas Mesner (Associate Dean for Student Academic Affairs) at (703) 362-6333 or Dr. Ernest Stout (Chair, Institutional Review Board) at (703) 231-9359.

"I hereby agree to voluntarily participate in the study described above and under the conditions described above."

Your Name Printed

Signature

Date

Appendix D
L2 Student Consent Form

L2 Student Consent Form

By signing this form, you agree to participate in a study which investigates the place of the writing center in second language students' writing practices. This study will be carried out during the Fall 1994 semester.

By agreeing to take part in this study you are agreeing to the following: As L2--(as student for whom English is a second or other language) students you will be interviewed. Interviews will be recorded, transcribed and analyzed by me. The interviews will be analyzed in light of the following: How you describe the writing center, when you chose to use the writing center and what place the writing center has in your writing practices. You will also be asked to keep a record of the process that you go through when writing two assignments. This process journal will be analyzed with the same focus in mind. You will be asked to submit final copies and all drafts of two written assignments. These texts will be analyzed to see if evidence of your use of the information given you in the tutoring session appears in the product of your writing practices. The text analysis will also focus on the same questions as the interviews do.

By signing this form you are giving your permission to have your writing center sessions discussed with me for the two assignments that pertain to the study. You are also

giving your consent to allowing access to and discussion of (by my self and the tutor with whom you previously worked on the text) the final text and all drafts of the text for the two assignments we agree upon,

All raw data collected as part of this study will be kept confidential, in that it will not be shared with anyone outside the above mentioned agreed upon persons. The report resulting from analysis of the data, which will not identify you personally, will be written up and eventually made public. In reporting this study no one will be identified by her name unless by choice.

Failure to participate in the study will not result in any negative effects. Your course grade will not be effected if you do not participate. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the study without prejudice or penalty.

If you have any questions or choose to terminate your participation in this study at any time please contact me (Sheila Carter-Tod) at (703) 362-6083 or Mr. Thomas Mesner (Associate Dean for Student Academic Affairs) at (703) 362-6333 or Dr. Ernest Stout (Chair, Institutional Review Board) at (703) 231-9359.

"I hereby agree to voluntarily participate in the study described above and under the conditions described above."

Your Name Printed

Signature

Date

Appendix E

Type Theory and Myers Briggs Personality Profiles

Type Theory and Myers Briggs Personality Profiles

Type theory, developed by the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung and later extended by Katharine Briggs and Isabel Briggs Myers holds that "much seemingly random variation in behavior is actually quite orderly and consistent, being due to basic differences in the way individuals prefer to use their perception and judgment" (Myers and McCaulley pg. 1). Behavior is then a function of the way in which one takes in information and then makes decisions based on that intake of information. This theory also postulates that behavior reflects and individuals way of managing his/her environment. "For each of the those four dimensions--source of energy, way of taking in information, way of making decisions, and way of managing environment--and individual tends to act in a habitual manner, and that manner can be categorized along a continuum between two opposite and complementary ways of acting. Although all individuals can (and indeed, must) use a variety of ways of acting, type theory holds that they tend to prefer certain ways of acting and that they become more adept at those ways through constant use." (Thompson pg. 137)

What follows is Thompson's application of personality type theory to tutoring practices. This is taken directly

from her article "Personality Preferences, Tutoring Styles, and Implications for Tutor Training. .

Extroversion and Introversion

The two dimensions of personality that Jung describes in greatest detail are the opposite sources of energy: *extroversion* and *introversion*. (Type theorists follow Jung's spelling of "extroversion.") Jung describes an extrovert (that is, someone with a preference for extroversion) as someone whose "whole consciousness looks outward, because the essential and decisive determination always comes from outside" (334). Extroverts look outward for energy: they thrive on interacting with the world around them and tend to jump right into tasks, figuring out what to do next as they go along. Faced with a writing task, an extrovert is likely to begin by talking to someone about the task before actually putting words to paper. Barry Maid, an extrovert, describes his own writing style this way:

I flit from office to office talking to anyone who will put up with me and, to use a colleague's phrase, I "vampirishly suck energy" from all my colleagues. Once I reach the point when I feel ready to begin composing, I return to my own office, sit down, and all of a sudden words just start to pour out. That's

extrovert writing. (3)

Likewise, extroverted tutors are likely to be comfortable talking about writing because they often talk about their own writing.

Introverts, on the other hand, tend to draw energy from the inner world of thoughts and ideas. They are generally slower to act than extroverts since they may want to think through an entire task before taking any observable action. Because of their extensive mental planning, introverts are more likely than extroverts to be "first draft, last draft" writers--not because they don't write multiple drafts, but because they write several drafts in their heads before committing any words to paper. Introverted tutors may be less inclined than extroverts to talk about the writing processes, but they may be more adept at teasing out the implications of ideas expressed in a paper since they are generally more practiced at reflection.

Sensing Perception and Intuitive Perception

Sensing perception and *intuitive* perception describe different ways of taking in information. Sensing perception focuses attention on data gathered by the senses--sight, hearing, taste, touch, and smell. People who habitually favor sensing perception (i.e., sensing types) tend to

gather data in an orderly, step-by-step fashion and are likely to develop keen powers of observation and a good memory for facts and details. Sensing students may write essays filled with details but with few (or no) attempts to summarize those details; they may also prefer to follow a linear writing process in which they complete each step before moving on to the next one.

Intuitive perception, on the other hand, focuses attention on patterns and possibilities suggested by the data rather than on the data themselves. People who habitually favor intuitive perception (i.e., intuitive types) attend to the whole picture rather than to its parts and are likely to become good at grasping abstract or symbolic relationships; they may even consider an emphasis on sense experience to be unnecessary or annoying. For example, describing her reaction to a class activity that involved eating an apple and recording the sensory experience, one of my sensing students wrote, "I was amazed that something as mundane as eating an apple could be of some educational value! I enjoyed it!" An intuitive student in the same class, however, described the same activity as "contrived and pointless," while another intuitive student simply wrote, "Step-by-step activities bore me." Whereas sensing students may write essays long on details but short on summaries, intuitive students are more

likely to write essays filled with claims that go unsupported. As tutors, sensing types are likely to be good at listening for (or reading) details mentioned by a student; intuitive types are likely to be better at completing a picture for which a student has verbalized only the beginning pieces.

Thinking Judgment and Feeling Judgment

Thinking judgment and *feeling* judgment describe different approaches to making decisions. Thinking judgement relies on logical connections to sort out the facts and draw conclusions. People who prefer to use thinking judgment are likely to use cause-and-effect reasoning and to base their decisions on objective criteria or principles; their decisions tend to be both impersonal and impartial.

Feeling judgment, on the other hand, weighs the relative values of issues under consideration; people who use it are likely to focus as much on the personal values associated with a problem as on the possible causes that might explain it. Feeling judgment is not equivalent to emotional judgment; it is as reasonable and rational as thinking judgment, but it uses a different standard of measure. Thinking judgment uses a standard of true/false or

just/unjust, but feeling judgment uses a standard of valued/unvalued. Faced with a decision to be made, a thinking type is likely to ask, "What's fair?"; a feeling type is likely to ask, "What matters most to me and to the people affected by my decision?"

In a discussion of learning styles, George Jensen notes that two ways these preferences may be reflected in writing processes are in topic selection and audience awareness. Thinking types tend to choose topics which are intellectually interesting, but allow them to maintain an emotional distance, while feeling types are more likely to be bored by topics they see as "dry" (i.e., topics they don't value). Likewise, thinking types are likely to focus more on the logical force of their arguments alone while feeling types may organize their writing by anticipating audience response to each successive point (196). Tutors who prefer thinking judgment may spend more time helping students work on the logical force of the arguments presented in their papers whereas tutors who prefer feeling judgment may spend more time helping students anticipate audience reaction to those arguments.

Judging and Perceiving

Although Jung discusses only three pairs of personality

preferences, Briggs and Myers identify a fourth: judging and perceiving. These preferences describe opposite ways of managing (or organizing) one's environment. People who prefer to use a judging function--*judging* types--tend to have planned, organized lifestyles. When possible, judging types prefer to have plans and stick to them. They tend to seek closure once they have enough information to make a decision and may even force closure before collecting adequate data on which to base a decision. As writers, judging types may stop data collection prematurely, so when they show up at a writing center, they may have papers that state conclusions based on inadequate evidence. As tutors, they may view the text in hand as essentially "closed" and may focus more on polishing it than on generating new information or trying out different methods of development.

People who prefer to use a perceiving function--*perceiving* types--tend to have flexible, spontaneous lifestyles. Because they like to stay attuned to incoming information and to keep their options open, they tend to resist closure. As writers, perceiving types may generate papers filled with information--some of it interesting but unnecessary--and they may have trouble cutting out extraneous data or drawing conclusions based on the data already collected. As tutors, they may be good at turning students back to the problem in an effort to come up with

new approaches or new solutions, but they may be so open to new information that they have difficulty staying on task to complete a particular agenda.

A preference for a given process does *not* imply an inability to use the complementary process: extroverts also use introversion, and sensing types also use intuition. Instead, a type preference is rather like right- or left-handedness: we expect to use both hands, but we tend to reach first with the preferred hand, and using the less-preferred hand can sometimes require extra effort.. In the writing process, for example, students must use both a perceiving process (to collect data) and a judging process (to draw conclusions based on that data); however, those who are more interested in data collection and devote more of their time and energy to that part of the process necessarily have less time and energy to devote to drawing conclusions, an activity at which they may therefore be less adept. A major benefit of learning about type theory is that it can prevent teachers and students from assuming that their way of doing something is the only (or the only correct) way.

Curriculum Vitae

Sheila L. Carter-Tod
(Born 11/4/65)

Home Address:

207 Wilson Street N.E.
Blacksburg, Virginia 24060
(703) 552-6855

Work Address:

Hollins College
P.O. Box 9526
Roanoke, Virginia 24020
(703) 362-6083

Education:

Ph.D. in Education Curriculum and Instruction May 1995
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University.
Dissertation: The Role of the Writing Center In
the writing practices of L2 students.

Masters of Arts in English Aug. 1991
Radford University.
Thesis: Life's Circles, a creative thesis exploring
the role of the black female in society, research
based fiction.

Bachelors of Science in English May 1989
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University.

Professional Experience:

1993-Present Instructor of English, Hollins College,
Roanoke, Virginia.

1993-Present English As A Second Language Academic
Coordinator, Hollins College, Roanoke,
Virginia.

1992-1993 Instructor of English, Virginia
Polytechnic Institute & State University,
Blacksburg, Virginia.

1991-1992 Japanese Exchange & Teaching Program:
English Teacher in Kumamoto, Japan.
Responsibilities included designing and
teaching a comprehensive English
curriculum for Menda-town school board.
Teaching responsibilities included: four
nursery schools, one primary school
(grades 1-6), one middle school (grades
7-9), and an adult beginner and advanced
EFL course.

1989-1991 Graduate Teaching Assistant in English,
Radford University, Radford, Virginia.

Committee Work and Related Professional Activities:

Paper Accepted to 2nd Annual International Writing Centers Conference. "The role of the writing center in L2 students' writing practices".

Panel member at "Celebrating Diversity 1995" Hollins College Panel topic: "Creating a Climate for Diversity in the Classroom."

Presented Paper at 1995 CCCC Annual Convention
"A Hybrid Voice: The price of Assimilation in the Dissertation Process."

Presented Paper at 1st Annual Writing Center Conference 1994 "Reflecting and Projecting: Housing an ESL Program in the Writing Center."

Conference Co-directed "Celebrating Diversity Conference Hollins College Fall 1993.

-- and David Tod (1992). "Coping with stress: A cross-cultural perspective". Paper presented at the Mid-Year Southern Block Conference for the Association of Japanese English Teachers.

Conference Assistant: "A Fusion of Light", (Radford University) a conference which investigated the issues of multiculturalism in the university classroom and on campus (1990).

Panel presentation at Virginia Association of Teachers of English conference Fall 1992 Panel topic: "The role of story telling in experienced teachers teaching new teachers about teaching".

Honors:

-Elected to the Virginia Advisory Committee for the United States Commission on Civil Rights 1995

-duPont diversity grant for faculty 1994

-Kappa Delta Pi
(International education honorary society) 1994

-Japanese Exchange Teaching Program 1991-92

-Academic Teaching Fellowship, Radford University 1989-91

-Commonwealth Fellowship, Virginia Dept. of Higher Education. 1990-91 & 1993-94

-University Grant to study in England, Virginia Tech 1986

Publications:

- Carter, Sheila. "Special Needs of Adult EFL Learners"
Association of Japanese English Teachers Journal.
Kumamoto, Japan: Jan. 1991.
- Carter, Sheila. "Educational Activities: Practical
Boardgame Ideas" Association of Japanese English
Teachers Journal. Kumamoto, Japan: March 1991.
- Carter, Sheila. "Teaching Tips for Primary Curriculum"
Association of Japanese English Teachers Journal.
Kumamoto, Japan: May 1991
- Regular Monthly Article from Sept. 1991- July 1992 in
Menda-town newspaper.

Community Activities:

Conducted a discussion for Spectrum (formerly White
Women/Black Women) a community women's group that works
towards better racial, ethnic and religious understanding
in the Roanoke community. March 1995

Coordinated and supervised international students
teaching local students about their language and culture
in two Roanoke school systems. (1994-95)

Faculty Advisor to Hollins College Black Student Allia
nce.

For Professional Recommendations:

Patricia Kelly, Ph.D. Professor, Division of Curriculum
and Instruction, Virginia Polytechnic Institute &
State University, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061-0313
(703) 231-5347

Jan Nespor, Ph.D. Associate Professor, Division of
Curriculum and Instruction, Virginia Polytechnic
Institute & State University, Blacksburg, Virginia
24061-0313 (703) 2315347

Warren Self, Ph.D. Asst. Director of Academic Affairs,
Radford University, Radford, Virginia 24142 (703)
831-5460

Thomas Mesner, Ph.D. Associate Dean of Student Academic
Affairs, Hollins College, Roanoke Virginia 24020
(703) 362-6083

Sheila L. Carter - Ted