THESIS

INTEGRATED READING AND WRITING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF
DEVELOPMENTAL LITERACY EDUCATION

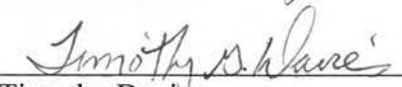Submitted by

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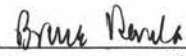COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY MARTIN A. CHURCH ENTITLED INTEGRATED READING AND WRITING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENTAL LITERACY EDUCATION BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

INTEGRATED READING AND WRITING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENTAL LITERACY EDUCATION

The following thesis investigates the potential benefits that integrating reading and writing instruction provides to developmental students. In light of several bans on developmental education at four-year institutions across the country, the role community colleges play in providing literacy instruction appears to be increasingly important. This project strives to understand the potential to integrate developmental reading and writing instruction in community colleges by answering the following questions: To what extent are community college administrators aware of the literature on the reading/writing connection? What are the costs and benefits of integrating developmental reading and writing and what do the better curricula consist of? How do issues concerning developmental literacy education change in the context of community colleges when compared to four-year institutions? What administrative, programmatic, and organizational challenges do integrated developmental reading and writing programs create and how can those challenges be addressed? Based on my analysis of interviews conducted with seven developmental program administrators, representing five community colleges within the state, I conclude that organizational factors at these institutions strongly influence notions of literacy education and administrator's ability to

implement programmatic revisions. Further, I argue that administrators' efforts to implement effective forms of integrated developmental education must include not only a sound pedagogical grounding in reading and writing and a framework to account for specific challenges that arise at their institution, but also a better means for articulating developmental concerns to their college's central administration, each other, and state officials.

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-Martin A. Church

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Chapter I: Introduction

Taking a moment to trace the history of remediation in America allows for discussion of the challenges educators have faced in describing and serving remedial students, notes the significant theoretical changes that have occurred in the field, and reveals a historical commitment to providing access to higher education that dates back to the land-grant colleges created under the Morrill Act of 1862. Despite the passing of several federal laws supporting broad access to higher education, it seems that scholars have had a hard time deciding what to call remedial students, and how to serve them, in part because the institutions themselves were unprepared for these students' arrival. Think for a moment of the common antonyms for remedial education: *regular*, *traditional*, *normal*. Kelly Ritter and Jamie P. Merisotis and Ronald A. Phipps have noted that only as "institutional financial exigency" (Ritter 17) and "competition for students" (Merisotis and Phipps 69) began to affect Harvard and other Ivy League colleges in the 1920s, were students below typical standards admitted. However, James Berlin asserts in *Rhetoric and Reality* that even at elite universities, "[m]ost students could simply not be expected to meet the complex demands of the rhetorical situations presented in college without additional writing instruction" (91). In fact, starting in the1920s the need for "additional writing instruction" was so common that institutions like Yale implemented non-credit courses designed to "provide remedial instruction for those students whose writing in the freshman literature course showed deficiencies" (91). The students who

attended these courses were labeled "remedial," and, as Ritter points out, their educational needs were addressed by removing them from or delaying their progression in the regular curriculum to focus on grammar and mechanics as a means to 'remedy' deficiencies in their prior learning (21).

The unanticipated popularity of the G.I. Bill marked another important change in the makeup of colleges as 7.8 million veterans, many of them first-generation students, entered education and training programs between 1944 and 1956 (G.I. Bill History). To accommodate this massive influx of students, colleges implemented a simplified, formulaic approach to writing instruction. Although this helped instructors keep pace with the increased workloads, it produced simplified and formulaic writing that did comparatively little to prepare writers for the complex writing tasks they would face. From these examples it becomes apparent that the academy was just as unprepared for remedial students as remedial students were for the academy. In this sense, remediation has been a process of catching up, of redefinition and learning, for students and educators alike. Unfortunately, it also demonstrates that while remediation has a long history in the U.S., it has been a history of being under-served.

Ten years after the G.I. Bill, the Civil Rights Act and Open Admissions brought another sea-change in student populations and an important shift in scholars' thinking about remediation. In 1977, Mina Shaughnessy's *Errors and Expectations* constituted a radical change that both reconceptualized remedial education and drew attention to the second-class status of remedial students. The language Shaughnessy used to describe basic writers, "true outsiders" and "strangers in academia" (2) is problematic in a contemporary sense because it does as much to label the students as their level of skill

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(Mutnick 33), but given the context of open admissions, where many racial and ethnic minorities were finally allowed access to higher education, such a move was neither inappropriate nor unintentional. The new term "basic writing" was synonymous with civil rights, and shed light upon elitists' resistance to providing access. Shaughnessy's work analyzing remedial students' writing patterns to develop a more informed theory of error led her to conclude that the English language itself was illogical, not students' attempts to use it. Furthermore, she replaced notions of deficiency with those of absence. It was not that these students lacked ability to read or write, but that they had not been given a fair opportunity to develop these practices in the first place. Since then, researchers have started to seriously investigate this body of students and how to serve them. At the same time, this redefinition opened up new ground for exploring new lines of inquiry in the larger field of composition.

In fact, many of the defining moments of composition as a field overlap with basic writing research. In 1978 Maxine Hairston's "Winds of Change" heralded the shift from product to process; that same year, Sondra Perl's "5 Writers Writing" answered Shaughnessy's call for further research and opened the door for investigating the cognitive processes of writing. Mindy Wright notes from her history of Ohio State's remedial program that shortly after Shaughnessy's work, basic writers were again redefined. Though "underprepared," students were not unequipped. They brought "a combination of strengths and weaknesses, not simply deficits" (202) when they came to college. In place of perceiving students as deficient or lacking in academic skills which must be instilled, Basic Writing, as a field, began acknowledging students as intellectually capable of participating in the goals and practices of higher education.

More recently, W. Norton Grubb et al. described remediation as: "a class or activity intended to meet the needs of students who initially do not have the skills, experience or orientation necessary to perform at a level that the institution or instructors recognize as 'regular' for those students" (174). This definition, like the definitions that came before it, not only reflects current understandings of the developmental student, but serves as a starting point for further contemplation. For example, in Grubb et al.'s definition, developmental students are still characterized as outsiders who do not possess certain skills. It does, however, allow for investigation and critique of institutional values and their impact on developmental education. Furthermore, the use of the word 'initially' implies an understanding of education and learning as a process of developing rather than a process of depositing or fixing. Improving literacy skills is a slow and incremental process that emerges over time.

Grubb et al.'s definition also indicates that isolated skills alone do not make an individual successful in college. Students need to gain experience applying skills in relevant ways, especially when those skills or situations differ from the student's typical experiences. If isolated skills do not guarantee collegiate success, then students need to be made aware of how the skills and practices they are learning connect to each other, and educators need to provide learning opportunities that connect the core practices of reading and writing to one another and create richer and deeper experiences in learning.

This notion of integration indeed appears to be the most promising thread of theoretical work and research to evolve over the last 30 years of investigation into developmental education because it acknowledges the deeper goal of making meaning that underlies both reading and writing and connects them as literacy practices. This

standpoint draws upon both cognitive processes used in composing an understanding from and with texts in their various forms. It also relies on social/ collaborative practices that provide grounding for how those understandings and meanings are influenced by the groups and institutions in which they occur. Ideally, an integrated approach to reading and writing would focus its attention on teaching students how to find and build meaning out of the various situations and texts that they encounter with the intent that these processes will be applicable across multiple courses and life experiences. An integrated approach to reading and writing seems well suited to our evolving understanding of developmental students in that it not only permits experiences and perspectives outside of what is considered 'regular' for college students, but embraces those experiences for the crucial role they play in developing meaningful understandings. Furthermore, because so many developmental students have difficulties with reading and writing, integration serves to reinforce both practices and provides an orientation towards learning that many students may have not been provided.

Arguably, the first notable delineation of an integrated reading and writing course can be attributed to David Bartholomae and Andrew Petrosky's *Facts, Artifacts, and Counterfacts* published in 1986. The goals of their book were to:

> provide a method to enable students to see what they have said-- to see and characterize the acts of reading and writing represented by their discourse. The purpose of this reflection is to enable revision, to enable students to reimagine the roles they might play as readers and writers (7).

In a following article, Andrew Petrosky argued that "writing about reading is one of the best ways to get students to unravel their transactions…and, in the process, help them

learn to elaborate, clarify, and illustrate their responses" (Story to Essay 24). In the last ten years Sugie Goen and Helen Gillotte-Tropp have continued to pursue the connections between reading and writing by suggesting "students' difficulties constructing meaning *from* texts may be a significant source of their difficulty constructing meaning *in* texts" (IRW 91).

The problem facing developmental education now does not appear to be a lack of understanding about who developmental students are or of promising approaches to serving them. The problem instead is the vanishing site of developmental education from four-year schools itself. Ideological conflicts and economic realities in higher education have tended to push developmental education to the academic margins. Thirteen states currently ban remedial coursework from being provided in four-year state colleges; an additional seven states limit developmental education through monetary restrictions on budgeting or by limiting the number of students who are allowed to enroll (Martinez and Snider). The once vibrant scene of developmental education in four-year schools has slowly been dismantled. George Otte's essay in *Basic Writing in America* notes that even at CUNY, the birthplace of basic writing, "[T]he sun has now set where once it rose" (44). As a result, developmental education has had to reinvent itself in various ways over the years: embedding itself in WAC courses (Glau), allying with diversity and technical initiatives (McAlexander; Stine), or more commonly in the last decade, by relocating to two-year colleges. Indeed the ban of developmental education in most of Colorado's four-year colleges is indicative of larger trends across the country and made worse by the budget woes that have gutted higher education.

These scholars' work suggests that both the contexts and conceptions of developmental education are transforming, and the role that community colleges play in providing developmental education will become increasingly important. Despite this probability, there remains a wide gap in both research on and conversation with community colleges from four-year institutions where reading and writing research is largely conducted. Furthermore, scholars like George Otte and Rebecca Williams Mlynarczyk express serious concern over community colleges' ability to provide effective developmental education citing their "lack of recourse to the knowledge base about BW teaching methods and programs" (118). Acknowledging the historical challenges of developmental education, particularly in regard to basic writing the rising notions of reading and writing as intertwining forms of literacy, and the multiple material challenges and institutional goals of community colleges, this study explores the intersection of integrated reading and writing, developmental education, and community colleges.

To explore these questions and their interrelations to one another I conducted an exploratory case study based on interviews of developmental education administrators at multiple community colleges in Colorado, some of which have recently implemented integrated approaches to their developmental courses. As examples of community college developmental programs, these sites offer an opportunity to explore the understandings and implementations of integrated reading and writing pedagogies inside the unique contexts of individual community colleges.

The following questions served as the basis for this investigation of the common ground between integrated reading and writing theory, developmental education, and community colleges:

- To what extent are community college administrators aware of the literature on the reading/writing connection?

- What are the costs and benefits of integrating developmental reading and writing and what do the better curricula consist of?

- How do issues concerning developmental literacy education change in the context of community colleges when compared to four-year institutions?

- What administrative, programmatic, and organizational challenges do integrating reading and writing programs at the developmental level create and how can those challenges be addressed?

These questions are considered through the responses gathered from developmental education chairs and administrators regarding their understanding, implementation, and perceived challenges to integrating developmental courses. I review the particular methods of integrating reading and writing instruction each institution uses, consider their reasons for either using or not using integrated approaches, and articulate their rationales in light of institutional, programmatic, and material realities.

I argue that integrated reading and writing changes the fundamental goals of developmental education from correct usage and mechanics or functional literacy to an emphasis on learning and thinking that can be applied across the broader scope of a student's life. To do this, community college developmental programs must contend with different forms of institutional values and constraints than four-year colleges and must be

reconfigured if they are to be effective. I argue that these constraints stem from entrenched (mis)conceptions of both developmental education and community colleges that undermine the stability of developmental programs. Finally, I argue that administrators' efforts to implement effective forms of integrated developmental education must include not only a sound pedagogical grounding in reading and writing and a framework to account for specific challenges that arise at their institution, but also a better means for articulating developmental concerns to their college's central administration, each other, and state officials.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter provides a review of literature that considers the foundational roles of meaning-making and social interaction that connect reading and writing as literacy; discusses their implications for reading and writing instruction; considers the social and rhetorical contexts grounding both developmental education and community colleges; and observes the challenges and complications of developing thoughtful and effective integrated reading and writing pedagogies at community colleges.

The primary means of integrating reading and writing discussed in this chapter will draw upon Vygotskian notions of social constructivism, schema theory, cognitive investigations of the shared mental processes involved in reading and writing, psycholinguistic analyses of reading, and new literacy studies. While each of these theorizations has been the subject of whole studies, this discussion will provide only an overview relevant to the argument of this thesis. Further, while these strains of research do not constitute a comprehensive description of reading and writing theory, they represent theories that have become prevalent in higher education.

The first section of this chapter explores the relationship of learning and meaning-making by providing an overview of the shared cognitive and social practices that underlie current understandings of reading and writing, and a discussion of the implications these findings hold for literacy instruction. After establishing this perspective, the next section elaborates on aspects of the "developmental crisis" that

contribute to conceptions and misconceptions in public debate, specifically working to illustrate the under-developed understandings of developmental education both socially and historically. Moving from a discussion of developmental education generally to the narrower context of community colleges, I highlight the ways in which the roles and concerns of community colleges reconfigure developmental education and the implications of these new configurations for integrated reading and writing. In the final section of this chapter, I address challenges to implementing integrated reading and writing programs that stem from the low status ascribed to developmental education. These challenges counteract the goals of developmental education, contributing to programmatic instability through lack of resources for development and improvement as well as high turn-over rates of faculty.

Meaning's Central Role in Reading and Writing

Traditionally, reading and writing have been thought of as separate and "typically adversarial" (Bruffee 159) practices based on the narrow responsibilities that have been assigned to them. Writers try to convince their audiences of their point and readers attempt to pry that meaning out of the text. Gail Tompkins notes that reading and writing have long been thought to be opposites or separate activities, in which "readers decoded or deciphered language and writers encoded or produced written language" (182). Missing from this conception of reading and writing is the understanding that both practices are a process of constructing meaning. Higher education's emphasis on the products of encoding and decoding, and especially the fascination with correct usage and grammar, have served to obscure the more important goal of using reading and writing as tools to develop thought into practical knowledge and action. That is, reading and writing

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are not acts of depositing or retrieving information, but are instead processes of thought, moving back and forth across a situation or text in an attempt to develop a meaningful course of action. With the onset of process and cognitive theory, scholars began to devote more time to understanding the processes of reading and writing and their correlations to each other.

Theoretical literature pertaining to the connections between reading and writing has consistently suggested that these are intertwining forms of literacy practice, involving the creation of knowledge and the composing of understanding through utilization of *related* cognitive skills as opposed to artificially separated and isolated activities. For instance, Vygotsky's research concerning notions of meaning as they pertain to language and instrumental speech suggests that meaning making is the ability to use words in conjunction with action to create an understanding and meaning for one's actions:

> The most significant moment in the course of intellectual development, which gives birth to the purely human forms of practical and abstract intelligence, occurs when speech and practical activity, two previously completely independent lines of development, converge (Mind in Society, 24-26).

For Vygotsky "a word without meaning is an empty sound"; meaning then is an indispensible component of what a word, as a unit of speech, is. This seems to point to meaning being a component of speech *and*, through concepts and generalizations, an act of thought. Meaning then exists as thought and speech, "a phenomenon of verbal thought, or meaningful speech — a union of word and thought" (212). Meaning develops and changes over time, not simply the content "but the way in which reality is generalized and reflected in a word" (213) in the continuous process of moving between thought and

word and vice versa. "The structure of speech does not simply mirror the structure of thought... [t]hought undergoes many changes as it turns into speech" (218). One of the changes that we see as thought turns to speech is the differentiation of external speech and internal speech. The function of the thought/word link Vygotsky describes becomes internal "egocentric speech" (228). Egocentric speech becomes increasingly truncated until it is hard to express as it moves from performing a social function to becoming an instrument of individual thought (236). In this arrangement one word stands for an idea as a whole, representing a number of thoughts and feelings, which then have to be mediated, however incompletely, through a multiplicity of words as it is externalized. The relationship between inner speech and thought then is a "complex, dynamic process involving the transformation of the predicative, idiomatic structure of inner speech to the syntactically articulated speech intelligible to others" (248-9). Reading deals with the process of transforming letter and word combinations into the structures of thought. By extension, writing undergoes a similar process.

Furthering the social constructivist perspective, Kenneth Bruffee notes from this research that, as part of their effort to solve problems, the children in Vygotsky's research talk *about* the objects and *about* what [they are] doing with them" (161, emphasis in original). The child is using speech instrumentally by assigning meaning to objects and actions as a way to think about how they interact and possible useful configurations to get something done. This instrumental speech later becomes internalized as thought. From this insight, Bruffee posits that the way an individual talks about a thing becomes the way he or she later thinks about them.

Although Vygotsky's work deals primarily with child development, it is easy to see how many of these observations can be applied to the reading and writing of older adolescents and adults, a population that makes up a considerable portion of developmental students. As individuals attempt to solve problems or process new information, they search their memories in an attempt to apply old experiences to new ones and make sense of the current situation (Gee 715, Bruffee 163). Individuals compose meaning from a text or in a text by comparing the new situation to previous experiences and ways of thinking in order to make the text meaningful. We can turn to what Thomas Kuhn says about metaphor use and exemplars in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* to further articulate what this entails. Crucial to both expert and novice understanding is the process of "acquiring from exemplars the ability to recognize a given situation as like some and unlike others that one has seen before" (192). Once the resemblance has been grasped and analogies drawn, individuals can "interrelate symbols and attach them to nature in the ways that have proved effective before" (191), leading to the development of conceptual growth.

Schema theory further challenges the deposit/retrieve notion of reading and writing and points towards the importance of the process of identifying metaphors and making meaningful connections with written text by attempting to describe how the mind organizes and processes information. Through instrumental speech, individuals develop complex networks of associations that constitute their understanding of things in the world (content knowledge) and possible applications for those things (procedural knowledge). Information is stored in the brain in schematic structures that represent practical and abstract meaning. Schema are the storehouses of prior knowledge that

individuals have at their disposal and constitute the meaning regarding everything from cultural knowledge to knowledge of how to perform certain tasks and understandings of how ideas relate to one another.

Scholars note that the meaning stored in schema is not contained in abstract propositional representations that resemble verbal language nor are they organized in linear chains. Instead schemata are described as "dynamic images of our perceptions of the world, our bodies' internal states and feelings" (Gee 715); they are "imagistic, non-verbal information or memories" (Flower 532); or "scenarios" (Brandt 119) that are connected to each other through multiple forms of associations in networking webs. The concept of bicycles, for example, might include connections to other forms of transportation, different kinds of bikes such as 10-speeds or fixed gears, other summer activities or particular childhood memories, as well as procedural knowledge of how to interpret traffic signals and other tasks. Bikes might also remind someone of bike assembly and reading assembly instructions. To read the instructions, the person draws upon their prior knowledge of various kinds of texts and how to interpret them.

Research demonstrates that thought and meaning-making are central to the acts of reading and writing while also illustrating the potential for reading and writing to be used as tools for developing other forms of instrumental thought. Similarly, since a written text does not precisely mimic the process of thought, a central responsibility of reading and writing instruction is to teach students how to transfer meaning to and from written forms of communication. The next section elaborates on the shared skills that readers and writers use to make meaning using texts.

Making Meaning *from* Texts; Making Meaning *with* Texts

The acts of taking in new information, cuing prior knowledge, and applying meaningful metaphors happen automatically for many students. For developmental students, however, the effort of performing these processes is often overwhelming. Lynn Troyka, among others, has noted that readers and writers who spend most of their time focusing on coding and decoding text have difficulty maintaining meaning. Her review of psycholinguistic research into reading outlines four important observations. The first is that reading is a text-processing activity involving more than the simple translation of letters and words, though it involves that too. Readers sort through their schema to recall relevant information and begin to organize it. Secondly, meaning is made by associating ideas presented in the text with what the reader already knows about the topic and has stored in prior knowledge. If the writer fails to successfully cue the reader's prior knowledge on a topic, or if the reader's knowledge of the topic is limited, then understanding will be limited as well. Finally, prior knowledge is not only used to fill in the blanks that a reader has, but readers also use prior knowledge to make assumptions and predictions about what will come next (190). Troyka's observation of blind students reading Braille found that successful subjects who miscued or read one word for another, misreading 'automobile' for 'car', tended to do well, as long as it didn't interrupt their meaning making. Students often looked "through" the text to establish connections between words, phrases, and lines, and the best readers skimmed the page with one hand to pre-read while decoding regularly with the other instead of painstakingly decoding every word (193). If we are to understand reading as decoding, it is decoding at a macro-level of meaning and not just word by word or through grammatical structures.

In the same way that a reader moves from accessing schema for decoding individual letters and words to accessing semantic and syntactic schema for reading phrases and chunks of text at a time, so too do they move from local processing activities towards more global concerns like establishing main points and the interconnection of details in the texts they read. Successfully predicting what will come next in a text speeds the rate at which an individual can process information and improves comprehension. Readers who are able to quickly identify the genre or scenario a writer is creating will be able to focus on categorizing and organizing information. A major drawback to this kind of prediction occurs when readers' assumptions about a text are inaccurate or different from the context the writer is trying to establish. Readers then experience a breakdown in comprehension until they are able to cue a different scenario. For many basic readers "failure to adapt classificatory schemes is more to blame for school failure than phonological issues" (Gee 718). Olsen notes that "the preliminary interpretations that readers or writers construct often evolve as the student continues... and revisits the text to revise meaning" (11). This shift is cued when readers start to realize the possibility for multiple levels of meaning and for writers when they move from summary of events to discussions of meaning.

Bruffee argues that the primary difference between internal speech and writing is that writing must be done in a much more coherent and focused way (165). Writing becomes an instrumental process of planning, organizing, selecting, and connecting the various portions of a writer's prior knowledge that pertain to the writing task in ways that hopefully cue the desired responses or affiliations for the reader. Reading becomes a kind

of decoding not just of the letters and words that constitute a text, but a decoding and organization of the responses the text triggers into a comprehensible network of meaning.

It should be noted that despite the orderly way writing is described in many textbooks, the process of planning, organizing, selecting, and connecting ideas is neither neat nor tidy. Planning, as Linda Flower points out, creates and draws from a schematic network comprised of many associations, some loose and ephemeral, others so concrete they are hard to counteract. Planning in writing consists of two distinct types. Procedural planning consists of the "how-to" plans for going about practices like brainstorming and outlining. Substantive planning focuses on the task at hand and deals with the specific content (Flower & Hayes 370; Tierney & Pearson 574). Both types of planning help the reader set goals by creating a purpose for reading or writing and determining priorities for the task at hand; however, "any speech act is highly over determined" (Flower 530). That is, inside of these two types of planning there are multiple overlapping and competing goals and priorities that arise in any given situation. Even when sitting down to write a relatively straightforward piece of text, students are dealing not with a single purpose but the convergence of many. Students write for a variety of purposes: to attain membership in the academic community, elaborate their knowledge of course material, maintain their GPA, argue for the importance of a particular point of view, or make sense of an aspect of their personal lives.

Word choice, voice, or organizational structure all serve as sites to observe the interplay of various goals at work in writing. Instructors frequently get a glimpse of these goals coming to a loggerhead for basic writers in transition sentences as they move from one topic to another or in introductions and conclusions where basic writers have

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difficulty moving smoothly from their own writing into these formulaic writing conventions. That is, while students may do well negotiating goals within a paragraph, they have difficulty incorporating the new goals that the next chunk of text demands; when such problems arise the focus of planning shifts and, "knowledge and processes that operate tacitly often come into focus" (532).

However smooth or disjointed these textual clues to a writer's purpose, they never reflect a complete representation of the writer's goals or how they converge and influence the writer at work. On the other hand, they do serve to reframe our understanding of purpose in writing from a singular, linear goal and instead replace that model with one of a dynamic web of goals and plans that guide composition. The operative word here is *process* as a verb not a noun. Writers are constantly evaluating, experimenting, prioritizing, and reevaluating their intended plans for what has been or will be composed. Out of these shifting and chaotic networks writers build a meaningful and instrumental knowledge of how to go about their task. As new text is produced and integrated, new associations will be made in the writer's web of content and plans. The plan that eventually gets put into action will most likely be one very different from the initial writing plan that was developed and will be based on the "real time" choices that are made to best address the problem the writer sets for him/herself through the various writing stages. More experienced writers and readers not only plan and set goals more extensively, but they are also better at adapting and elaborating their plans as the text develops (Flower and Hayes, 371).

Planning in reading utilizes the same kind of goal network that drives the reader in deciding the author's intent, the depth of elaboration, and the level and organization of

information that the reader will be able to recall. However, because of the individual meanings, organizations of, and strengths of the associations that the writer and readers have, the networks that develop and the ways they get employed could look quite different if we were able to see them. They nonetheless drive the process of composing meaning in influential ways. Richard C. Anderson was able to demonstrate that based on the contextual information provided to readers, the composed meanings that came as a result were markedly different; the importance of an idea in terms of a given framework determined its likelihood of being recalled. Additionally, if readers could not access a schema to explain the relationship of elements in a text, comprehension failed (374).

These planning networks operate simultaneously alongside cognitive organizing, selecting, and connecting processes (Spivey 257). Here the distinction between reading and writing further blurs. As writers recall information from the texts they are working with or from their prior knowledge, they are composing an organizational model, a reading, of the information in their mind, selecting the relevant bits of information that pertain to their current task, and then drawing the connections between texts and signaling the connections to the reader. As Nancy Nelson Spivey points out, although we generally see composing as generating new material, the extent to which new material needs to be generated often depends upon the amount of source material or prior knowledge that a writer has at his or her disposal (280). For a writer with ample sources, the composing process might mainly consist of the act of drawing connections between chunks of prior knowledge. That is, the writer cues the eventual reader as to what paths through their similarly developed network the reader should take to stay with the writer. For writers without extensive prior knowledge, the task is obviously somewhat more

challenging as they not only must compose an understanding of the new information, but also a framework for how those chunks connect, and finally, a path through that framework for their reader. Developmental educators can use this insight to their advantage by reducing the initial demand on students, allowing them to practice identifying and drawing connections using information they are already familiar with. As students are confronted with texts or information that they are unfamiliar with they will be better prepared to reconfigure their prior knowledge in useful ways.

The meta-cognitive process of *monitoring* also contributes to meaning-making, acting to cue individuals when to employ the various cognitive skills and also signals when meaning has broken down. This function is vital for experienced writers as a means for getting unstuck and returning to previous text to revise meaning and reformulate understanding (Peskin). Because inexperienced readers and writers often have to focus all of their attention on lower-level skills like decoding, they frequently do not monitor their own comprehension or ignore monitoring cues in hopes that they will get back on the right track. If writers are unable to reflect on their work or tap relevant prior information to help construct meaning, the end result is not only an unclear meaning of the text, but also an unclear notion of its relevance.

Research conducted by Brandt showed that writers primarily pause to reread text as a way to monitor the text they have produced against their goals and plans, to edit for error, and to keep from losing their place in the common social space they were working to create with their eventual reader. To a large degree this task involves monitoring their work to remain "in the moment" by testing for ambiguity that the text has created and maintaining an awareness of what assumed inferences the imagined reader could make

from the text produced so far and their assumed prior knowledge. Students were less interested in the logic of the ideas they were presenting than maintaining a mutual awareness between themselves and their imagined reader through the development of a shared context and creating advantageous conditions for the reader to realize their intended meaning (118) through cueing shared scenarios or schema. Writers were concerned with creating a group way of seeing for themselves and their readers. The next section discusses the effects of group ways of seeing and social groups on reading and writing development.

Reading and Writing as Social and Collaborative Acts

A major criticism of purely cognitive approaches to understanding reading and writing is that they reinforce the solitary notion of the reader or writer as divorced from social influences and favor particular group ways of seeing over others. Accounting for the social aspects of reading has posed cognitive scholars some difficulty. In *The Culture of Reading and the Teaching of English*, Kathleen McCormick notes the inherent conflict between findings of research on schema and the objectivist traditions of cognitive reading theory which, in her estimation, work "against [students] becoming able to read texts critically and from multiple perspectives" (15). The heart of the problem that McCormick details lies in objectivist assumptions of "a universal foundation or ground which underlies knowledge, and which guarantees truth or accuracy" (18). This guarantee of accuracy shapes many of the directions that cognitive research takes and frequently represents the capacity to read as "a hierarchy of skills" (16). It is assumed that a reader must 'master' a particular set of skills before they progress to the next set. It also over

emphasizes a single 'correct' or 'appropriate' way of processing information and applying problem solving skills.

The important role prior knowledge plays in triggering comprehension of texts has led textbook companies and educators to develop primer questions (McCormick 23) in hopes that this will trigger the desired schema. As a variation, Vivian Zamel notes the use of writing prompts directly following a passage that ask the reader similar kinds of questions. The problem with this practice is that it usually focuses on a narrow number of valid responses (464). These practices can push readers into attempting to use schematic structures or analogies that they are unfamiliar with and reduce the interactivity between text and reader. Intrusive prompts designed to nudge the reader along as they read often have the effect of interrupting the meaning-making process and can lead children to "freeze up" (Vygotsky 24). Instructors who are using cognitive approaches designed to build from students' prior knowledge and 'access' the correct schema must be aware of the risk in too strongly emphasizing the 'correct' or 'acceptable' interpretation, of "presenting a view of texts as complete in themselves" (McCormick 28) or containing one meaning which the reader needs to get 'right'.

Objectivist tendencies that emphasize the 'right' or 'appropriate' answer to text interpretations seem to ignore the fact that readers inherently construct different and varied readings of texts. In order to prevent this reductive kind of teaching, McCormick posits that discussion of multiple readings and possible answers would utilize and enrich student schema. Critiques like McCormick's have been useful in refining theory and pedagogy. They are also timely as an increasingly large and more diverse student body attends college. As John R. Hayes points out in "A New Framework for Understanding

Cognition and Affect in Writing", "our research problems are difficult. We need all tools available, both social and cognitive" (184).

James Paul Gee's research points toward an understanding of human language that accounts for cognitive and social insight where reading and writing cannot be separated from speech and listening, nor can it be separated from thinking and acting on the world. Language then functions to convey information, scaffold our performance in the world by filling in the gaps in our own understanding, and scaffold our affiliation in social groups "to entice others to take on a certain perspective" (714). In the same way that Vygotsky's child internalized her own thought to develop an instrumental knowledge, so too do we use the social interactions with others to inform our understanding. So to revise the previous statement: The way *we* talk about things often becomes the way *we* think about them. In this sense, reading and writing are never conducted alone. We bring with us at any given moment the socially and collaboratively constructed ways of seeing and discourse knowledge that we have accumulated throughout our lives when we come to compose a text.

Gee's work further develops the impact that social groups have on individuals through the concept of discourse communities as a means for investigating how social forces shape our thinking and understanding, which in turn, shape how we read and write. Discourse communities operate as a sort of identity kit that provides an individual with the vocabulary, attire, and actions of that group. They also include the everyday schema, storylines, and models that are valued and viewed as typical or normal (720). These social groups have a profound impact on the ways that individuals think and act. For instance, parents and family serve as a primary discourse community, creating an

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individual's initial set of values and language practices. Parents often ascribe attributes to their children long before the child can actually successfully perform the task. Statements like "Little Johnny is a good reader" or "Sally is going to be a soccer player when she grows up" not only condition the child to think of themselves as readers or athletes and acquire the accompanying social language, but they also ingrain in the child a particular understanding of what a reader or athlete is. As an individual matures and establishes membership in new and different discourses, he or she also adapts initial discourse or learns how to shift from one to another. In this sense different practices take on different values. Reading in one group might mean the ability to sound out words where in another it might entail not only phonological proficiency but the ability to evaluate and recombine aspects of the text for other purposes.

Shirley Brice Heath's 1986 work analyzing the effects of oral language habits on children's narratives in the Carolina Piedmont seems to confirm this notion. Children whose families questioned their narratives in ways similar to that done in school could more readily produce narratives that fit the expected academic model and tended to perform better (165) In contrast, children whose primary discourse valued literacy in a different way than the secondary of school needed to negotiate this difference. Where McCormick's work points out the advantage of multiple interpretations for further developing schema and Gee's research illustrates differing values and forms of English, Heath serves as an important reminder that schools and homes themselves are discourse communities. Recognizing this fact can help developmental educators understand the role their courses play in assisting students as they adjust to a new set of community values. For students, discussing the different ways language is valued can provide more ways to

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talk about, and therefore understand, their reading and writing. In relating the social and collaborative nature of meaning making back to the meta-cognitive aspect of writing, Bruffee states that:

> In short students must not just talk. They must pointedly talk about their talk. They must engage in a collaborative process in which they make language instrumental to the task of repairing language… This necessity to talk through the task of writing means that collaborative learning, which is the institutionalized counterpart of the social and collaborative nature of knowledge and thought, is not merely a helpful pedagogical technique incidental to writing. It is essential (164-5).

Cognitive and social scholars' work challenges the traditional notions of what reading and writing is and what readers and writers do. Through the cognitive and constructivist lens, reading and writing are subsumed under the larger notion of meaning making. Similarly, through social research we know that reading and writing are subsumed under notions of literacy beyond printed text. New Literacy studies like those done by Barton and Hamilton underscore the connection of literacy acts to purposeful social goals (12) and that literacy, as it connects to meaning making, can involve more than just traditional texts, i.e., film and images. Barton and Hamilton also note that meaning making occurs in both formal and informal education and training (14).

Implications for Reading and Writing Instruction

Among the hierarchy of goals in developmental education there is a balance that must be struck between the need to develop the seemingly more valued skills of

composing an understanding and the "lower" level skills of developing the ability to decipher and take in information.

Integrating reading and writing can be challenging for a number of reasons, especially in the context of developmental education. To be able to compose a meaning and develop comprehension requires the utilization of foundational skills that many developmental students are still struggling with. Anyone who has taught a developmental course would be familiar with the kinds of difficulties and frustrations students often have using the written word to construct their own meaning, much less account for multiple, differing ones. Mina Shaughnessy notes that "matters like handwriting [or typing] and punctuation and spelling become important, if only because without some measure of ease, without being able to assign some operations to habit, or even to indifference, the novice writer is cut off from thinking" (*Errors &Expectations*, 14). Such challenges can obviously be extended to include the decoding of words. The common-sense response to these kinds of student issues is to return to the "drill and kill" grammar and mechanics modules that were so pervasive in early "remedial" programs.

While it is true that lower-level skills such as grammar and mechanics do aid the process of meaning making, a major pitfall in developmental education seems to be the emphasis placed on these mechanisms for clarifying meaning rather than on meaning itself. This seems to make the situation for developmental students even more complicated in light of transmission approaches to literacy. Transmission models can be helpful for efficiently presenting information to students, but they do not provide students with opportunities to start using that information in the ways that will be productive in later courses or life. Transmission models instill students with a limited sense of what

reading and writing are and what they are good for. In a sense developmental instruction that utilizes transmission models runs the risk of preparing students for tomorrow's problems with yesterday's equipment. Here the notion of "time" spent in developmental education, such as that undertaken by the Colorado Community College System, takes on a new meaning (Challenge 23). Not only is the amount of time spent in developmental courses a seeming limit on future college participation in terms of the time and money students need to "close the gap," but there is also a conceptual gap that needs to be bridged, one which developmental instruction's traditional literacy practices might not be helping students close or even keep pace with.

The challenges of developmental education extend well beyond grammar and mechanics. Students are confronted with constructing an understanding of the texts that they encounter and developing a way of talking about that material. They are, as David Bartholomae points out in "Inventing the University," forced to create their own identity in the college without truly being a member of that community. Not only must developmental students struggle with material they are underprepared for, but they must also contend with the social stigma of their position and programmatic features that separate them from the central function of their institutions. Segregation of developmental students leads to its own questions of access and equality, which, as several scholars have pointed out, reinforces the social and economic divisions on a campus. (Bartholomae, Zamel, Shor, Otte).

The review of research thus far has described a particular conception of literacy that views reading and writing as interconnected features of literacy and meaning making. This conception draws its value not just on its apparent better fit to the cognitive

and social processes involved in composing, but because of its utility in contemporary society. Literacy is valued today in part because it serves the purpose of managing information instead of memorizing it. The implied virtue in being able to navigate a literacy-saturated society is the ability to draw upon personal experiences and metaphor structures to do an increasingly wide variety of tasks. For educators seeking to incorporate integrated reading and writing, this work sets forth four provisional principles to take into consideration. These principles are: make meaning-making the priority, make connections explicit, develop a community among students, and establish a clear pedagogical rationale.

Make Meaning-Making the Priority

Including reading and writing assignments in the same course seems like a common-sense idea, but to call this meaning-making is to miss the bigger point. The meaning students derive from a text and their ability to work with or apply concepts does not reside in the textbook, nor does it exist in their papers. Students' understanding resides within them and this understanding is adjusted, refined, and elaborated as they move back and forth between their reading and writing. The goal is not to have students read and write, but to have students use reading and writing in a way that helps them to make sense of the task at hand, to develop rich conceptual maps, and to develop dexterity in adjusting their approach to problem solving when such a move is needed.

Vivian Zamel argues at length that it is not enough to simply place reading and writing in close proximity to one another:

> It is no wonder that, as a result of these kinds of experiences with reading, students come to see writing as a matter of (re)presenting the right set of ideas or

the correct interpretation; …that they view their struggles with writing as a reflection of their inability to write; that they develop a deep-seated fear of writing (466).

Zamel adds that all too frequently instruction focuses on reading then writing: "[R]eading continues to be viewed as necessarily preceding writing… we assume that if students read, they will become adept at putting their thoughts on paper" (468).

Zamel asserts that in this way, reading controls writing; instead "[R]eading… must allow for the ways in which readers contribute to and make connections with a text," to "dialogue with a text and find a particular way into it" (Zamel 468). Writing allows individuals to form their initial understandings and then return to them, to read them, and revise that meaning. Recording and sharing writing gives students opportunity to become aware of multiple, legitimate interpretations and develop strategies for connecting their personal responses in a way that "articulates [their] prior knowledge or individual point of view so that it is accessible to others" (Petrosky 25) and can then be examined and reviewed for new meaning.

Make Clear Connections

For Anthony Petrosky, building this kind of useful comprehension and the act of composition mean "making public what is private-- a process dependent on explication, illustration, and critical examination of perceptions and ideas" (20). Instructionally, this means learning to respond to student texts in ways that help "flesh out" personal knowledge and the connections that students make via their critical responses. Reading student papers for "predetermined kinds of texts" (Zamel 465) prevents instructors from interacting with texts in the ways they ask their students to. Imploring students to draw

upon their own prior knowledge and articulate that understanding so it is accessible while demanding students present that understanding in a predetermined way teaches students a contradictory lesson about what it means to read. Additionally, this process of "making public" should include making the purposes of instruction explicit as well. Being explicit is not to be confused with the 'right' or 'wrong' interpretations of a text discussed by McCormick earlier, but rather a clear explanation of the goals and practices of meaning-making.

Develop Community among Students

Explicit goals and clarity will serve students as they negotiate their new position inside academia and help them to more smoothly transition into a new discourse group who can then draw on each other socially and collaboratively. Mark Wiley, in his "Response to Joseph Harris's Beyond Community" that a sense of community among students does not mean "touchy-feely sentimentality" (35). It includes consensus as well as argument and dissent. Providing communities encourages students to engage in the exchange of ideas and creates openings for discussion of issues of audience rhetorical concerns. This collaboration will involve discussions and thinking that do not stem from written text, but nonetheless influence what ends up on the page.

Establish a Clear Pedagogical Rationale

Zamel and Petrosky's arguments are now somewhat dated, but the fundamental premise underlying their point is still as relevant today as it was in the late eighties. Careful planning is required in an integrated reading and writing course. In the context of basic writing, this means integrating reading and writing in ways that enhance literacy instruction while accounting for the ways it changes students' notions of literacy and the

challenges that accompany those changes. Instructors can attempt to highlight notions of literacy that center on meaning making and make the challenges therein explicit. Discussing the ways that multiple potential meanings complicate the composing process can help students identify the difficulties they are having and begin conversations of how to address them. Multiple meanings can help students find different ways to organize their information. Ultimately this can provide students with a more valuable form of literacy that will serve students throughout their academic career and beyond.

The Social and Rhetorical Contexts Grounding Developmental Education and Community Colleges

Given the influence of discourse communities and institutions on our understandings of literacy and education it is important to ask how various forms of literacy are valued in higher education and what forces shape those values. Deborah Brandt's *Accumulating Literacy* has provided valuable illustrations of the issue of various literacies and their values. Brandt notes that accounts taken from interviews complicate the commonsense notions regarding literacy: "That the demand now is simply for more people to achieve a kind of literacy that used to be achieved by a few" (650). Instead she posits that contemporary literacy learners "find themselves having to piece together reading and writing experiences from more and more spheres, creating new and hybrid forms of literacy where once there might have been fewer and more circumscribed forms" (650). Brandt further notes that while literacy values have piled up through the rising levels of formal schooling, literacy has also spread out over time as it has become increasingly important in more and more of people's day to day lives, (652) creating points of tension and overlap between kinds of literacy, literacy practices, and their

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values that pose problems for people learning to write and for institutions developing pedagogical visions.

The common thread running through these value shifts is the way that "[r]uling institutions control literacy and use literacy to control the population in different historical periods" (654) by determining what forms of literacy gets valued (Barton and Hamilton 12). Brandt's model can reveal how incarnations of literacy may operate simultaneously in a complimentary relationship or create various points of tension. The next section will elaborate on the tensions and connections between common conceptions of developmental education's role in higher education and community colleges, and how these forces shape the possibilities of integrating reading and writing.

Developmental education in recent years has become a politically charged issue. Critics of developmental education view its existence as a sign that students are unprepared for college level work and have been wrongfully admitted to institutions that must 'dumb down' their courses (Attewell 886). Merisotis and Phipps point out that a common concern regarding developmental education is that "so many students in institutions of higher education [are] taking basic reading, writing, and arithmetic-- subjects that should have been learned in high school, if not junior high school" (67).

From this standpoint, developmental education is painted as a repeat of high school and the blame for underpreparedness is placed largely on the shoulders of the students, which is at best questionable. Another chief concern is the amount of tax dollars being used to provide developmental education. A recent article in the *Pueblo Chieftain* estimated the costs of providing developmental courses in Colorado for 2009 to be twenty-seven million dollars (Perez). Compounded with the view that developmental

courses are a repeat of high school, this led to concerns that taxpayers are being charged twice for fundamental skills. Still other critics contend that developmental education itself punishes students by making them take several developmental courses and contributes to students dropping out. Arguments such as these have led many states to restrict developmental education from four year schools and instead redirect students to community colleges (Soliday). This section addresses each of these criticisms in turn and addresses the central function that developmental education has played in America historically. After doing so, discussion turns to addressing competing views on the role of community colleges and exploring how those views shape how literacy instruction is provided and how it differs from four-year schools. This section concludes by noting how these values perpetuate developmental education's low status and create challenges for improving literacy instruction.

What these criticisms do not address is discussion of who is taking developmental education and what exactly the term means. National studies have found that up to 45% of students in these courses are students 20 years of age or older (Merisotis & Phipps 74). Some have returned to school after a short break while others are returning to school for the first time in a decade or more. The common assumption that developmental students are those with poor academic skills or high school preparation is inaccurate. Longitudinal analysis shows that many students with low academic skills often do not take developmental courses, while a considerable portion of students with strong high school backgrounds do. Citing the large numbers of suburban and rural high school graduates, Attewell et al.'s research argues that economic disadvantage isn't necessarily an indicator of developmental need. Furthermore, many high socio-economic status families take

these courses (914). Levin and Calgano describe the diverse group of students who get referred to developmental courses:

> They vary from students who have done poorly in high school in all subjects to students who are deficient in just a single subject. Many are older students who performed satisfactorily in their high school studies but who have rusty skills because of disuse. Others have very poor study habits or have mild to serious learning problems that must be addressed. Finally, many community colleges have significant immigrant populations comprised of students who may possess the underlying academic skills for college-level work but who have difficulty with English (183).

In one regard this helps shed light on how widespread developmental education is. Attewell et al.'s research found that nationally 44% of students in community colleges took between 1-3 developmental courses (898). The Colorado Commission on Higher Education's *2008 Legislative Report on Remedial Education* paints a clearer picture of developmental education locally: 27% of high school graduates attending two-year schools were placed into developmental courses and 37% were placed in developmental writing courses (7).

Part of the problem in understanding developmental education is the absence of reliable research. "Research about the effectiveness of remedial education programs has typically been sporadic, underfunded, and inconclusive" (Merisotis & Phipps 75) and an unclear definition of terms: "[e]xactly what constitutes 'college-level work' is by no means clear. Institutions differ on this, and there are different expectations even within single institutions" (Attewell 887).

As a consequence, Attewell et al., assert that cut scores used to determine whether or not students are placed into developmental courses, or allowed into an institution at all, are neither objective nor even generally agreed upon. Perin points out that grades, instructor judgment, and informal institutional tests are frequently used as exclusive means for placement or as substitutes for formal standardized tests leading to a "strong presence of subjective measures" (361) for determining college readiness. Levin and Calgano's evaluation of placement testing explains that many of the placement measures that colleges use are designed to identify students with "severe deficiencies, typically those who lack the skills required at the eighth grade" (183). It seems difficult to argue that developmental courses constitute a "dumbing down" of curriculum when precise definitions of college-level work are so unclear. Furthermore, the successful developmental education programs in place at Arizona State, CUNY, and most notably San Francisco State University, which has created a year-long developmental course that fulfills the university's freshman writing requirement, indicate that developmental students are just as capable as their "traditional" counterparts.

Further, these commonsense arguments seem to ignore research pointing to the large number of returning or non-traditional students who take developmental courses to brush up on rusty skills and community colleges' traditional role as a source for vocational training and retraining for new careers.

Another major concern for critics is the high cost of providing developmental education. Defining an accurate cost is difficult in part because there is no universal definition of what constitutes "developmental." How costs are distributed among activities within a college vary widely and because colleges do not compute data on

developmental education regularly, information can be either relatively new or quite old. Merisotis and Phipps argue that there are many incentives for underreporting developmental education, not the least of which is protecting an institution's reputation. Their estimates place the annual cost of developmental education in the U.S. at around 2 billion dollars annually. While quite high, it constitutes around 2% of the national higher education budget (77).

The charge that developmental education itself contributes to students' failure has been contested by Adelman in 2004, who argues that students who have to take developmental courses are much less likely to graduate (Indicators, 94), but that developmental education itself is not to blame (Answers, 75). Bettinger and Long's research indicated that students who completed developmental courses in math were more likely to complete a bachelor's degree than equivalent students who had not taken such courses (15). Similar studies comparing the effects of successful developmental education for reading and writing on degree completion showed that community college students were somewhat less likely to drop out and as likely to complete degrees (Attewell 915).

Contrary to these findings Deil-Amen & Rosenbaum's 2002 work argues that multiple developmental courses had a serious negative effect on students in two-year colleges. However, as Attewell points out, the Deil-Amen & Rosenbaum study did not control their results for weak high school preparation. After controlling for these effects multiple developmental courses did not reduce the chance of graduation (908). Attewell's work also points out that after controlling for factors such as academic preparation and family background, there was no difference in graduation rates or taking significant time

out from college. On the contrary, among community college students there was "as 11% higher graduation rate" for reading and those who passed developmental writing "were 13% more likely to graduate" (912).

As mentioned in the introduction to this work, developmental courses serve a long standing and necessary social function of higher education. Many promising students are able to draw upon strengths in some courses to bolster weak skills in others. Supporters of developmental education also point out that minorities, ESL students, and students from low socio-economic status are overrepresented in developmental courses. Removing developmental education from colleges essentially means removing these students and further jeopardizing their possibility for attaining a higher education. "The creation of basic writing at CUNY and elsewhere was a direct response to the struggle for open enrollment by and for working-class and poor students of color" (Mutnick 72). Viewed in the context of the 1960s civil rights movement, "basic writing for all its internal contradictions, has played a vital role in increasing access to higher education, in particular for working class people of color" (72). This sentiment, Kelly Ritter maintains, is still central to basic writing pedagogy, ensuring "first, an egalitarian access to academic literacy for underprepared students within an accessible, affordable institution and, second, a social and cultural mobility for these students" (16).

The Position of the Community College in Higher Education

Moving from developmental education generally to discussing its position in community colleges requires researchers to account for the history of community colleges. In *The Diverted Dream*, Steven Brint and Jerome Karabel examine the history of community colleges through the mid-eighties and argue that from the beginning,

community colleges have occupied an ambiguous position in higher education (6). According to Brint and Karabel, the legitimacy of community colleges stemmed from their ability to offer access to four-year degrees and served to expand the opportunity of higher education promised under The Morrill Act, G.I. Bill, and Open Admissions. However, there were key figures in politics and education like William Rainey Harper, the president of Chicago University, and Alexis Lang from the University of California, who saw the creation of junior colleges as a way to protect the elite nature of universities (24-25). For much of the public, the transfer function was most appealing (31) and continued to remain popular in spite of efforts by the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) to emphasize vocational programs (32-51).

Ronald Weisberger asserts that community college's low cost of attendance and close proximity, "for the first time in this country's history provided access to nearly all of its citizens" (135). The conflict between vocational and transfer ideals is further complicated by the sharp decrease in state and federal support for community colleges. This creates a greater need for vocational programs and support from businesses. While funding for improving developmental programs is sorely needed, it also creates questions about the mission and roles of the institution because the funding from businesses is often stipulated for and restricted to job training and certification programs rather than literacy education. Thus it assists colleges in creating the kind of institution-wide support that potentially bolsters integrated literacy practices, but also confounds them by deemphasizing the degree attainment/ transfer role of community colleges.

Arguably, the hurdle that has posed the greatest difficulty to developmental programs is their low status inside institutions. This is made worse when an institution

prizes vocational and business connections over transfer degree. One possible indicator of developmental education's status is the number of full-time faculty. In 2000, Shults's investigation of community college faculty showed that 67% of developmental instructors were adjunct faculty. Developmental educators constituted only 12% of community college full-time faculty (42). For many two-year schools these kinds of numbers mean that two or three instructors are responsible for creating developmental programs, the training and hiring of adjunct faculty, and coordinating developmental instruction with support services and other departments while maintaining a full-course load. Understanding how these competing interests and values affect an institution's ability to deliver quality education to developmental students therefore will be essential to future endeavors.

Intentions and Preview

The literature reviewed in this chapter illustrates some of the complications associated with integrating reading and writing into developmental courses at community colleges. The literature describes the intersection of developmental education and the roles of community colleges as one of conflicting and competing interests. One of the important aspects of successful developmental programs appears to be the retention and development of community college faculty who are concerned with rhetorical and meaning-centered literacy education.

But how are reading and writing integration and developmental education pedagogies further complicated and altered when placed in the contexts of individual community colleges? Discussions regarding the integration of reading and writing at community colleges occupy a relatively small portion of scholarly research. This study,

which was conducted in the unique contexts of several community colleges across the state of Colorado, investigates the connections between developmental education, integrated reading and writing, and community colleges in an attempt to understand the institutional challenges posed by options for programmatic change. The following sets of interview questions were designed to deepen an understanding of community colleges in relation to reading and writing, addressing an under-developed area of inquiry and hopefully leading to further research questions. This research begins a discussion of the administrative, programmatic, and organizational challenges that integration of developmental reading and writing creates and how those challenges can be addressed.

This inquiry has been approached in two ways. One focuses on the administrative views of program directors or administrators and strives to obtain information regarding pedagogic understandings and practices related to integrated reading and writing. This analysis will rely on descriptions provided by administrators. Questions to administrators concerning this area of focus include:

- What types of reading and writing tasks are students asked to do in their developmental courses? What guides the selection of these tasks?

- Are students asked to connect the reading and writing they do in developmental classes? If so, how important do you think these connections are? If not, do you think there would be value in connecting these language tasks?

- What similarities or differences do you see between developmental reading and writing classes at your college?

- How do developmental strategies used at your institution reflect the needs of your particular student demographic?

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The second area focuses on organizational needs and institutional challenges posed by both local contexts and state mandates. The main questions in this area include:

- CCCS's common course listings address writing features such as grammar, punctuation, spelling, dictionary skills, and composition vocabulary in developmental classes. Do you believe that these skills are the ones best focused on in developmental reading and writing classes? If so, why do you believe this type of instruction is especially valuable?

- Are you familiar with the CCCS report *The Colorado Remedial Challenge* stating more "time" spent in developmental courses leads to less likelihood that students will take college level courses? Do you agree? If so, what do you think the reasons for this are and how might this problem be addressed?

- What difficulties or drawbacks do you see in implementing a developmental course that teaches reading and writing together? Are there specific institutional hurdles that would have to be overcome to make an integrated approach work at your institution?

- How do state mandates align with your institution's goals and concerns for developmental education? What points of tension do mandates create?

Chapter III: Methodology

Setting and Purpose

This study queried representatives from five community colleges in Colorado, all of which are members of the Colorado Community College System (CCCS) and required to adhere to the guidelines set by the Colorado Department of Higher Education. CCCS's mission is "[t]o provide an accessible, responsive learning environment that facilitates the achievement of educational, professional and personal goals by our students and other members of our communities" (Mission Statement). Courses for developmental reading and writing are organized separately under the CCCS Common Course Listings, which were created to ensure transferability of course credits between institutions and to four-year schools. Upon entering the community college system, students are required to take a placement examination through the College Board's Accuplacer exam series. Students who place below the cut score for admission into ENG 121, the system's first-year composition requirement, are placed into developmental education courses for reading, writing, or both. Depending on the scores, students can be required to take up to six courses before being admitted to a credit-bearing class. These developmental courses are designated 030, 060, and 090 and are designed, for writing, to move from the sentence level (030), to paragraphs (060), and then to short essays (090). In reading, 030 focuses on the alphabet and word meaning, 060 on vocabulary building and comprehension, and

090 on increasing comprehension and reading rate for college level courses (Common Course Numbering System).

Relatively little research has been done on developmental instruction at community colleges as opposed to four-year schools. Most has been compiled to quantitatively measure factors such as who takes developmental courses (Attewell et al.) and the cost of developmental education nationally (Merisotis and Phipps). Bettinger and Long's research has studied the effect of completing developmental courses on degree attainment. Dolores Perin has addressed the effects of placement exams on developmental performance, and Levin and Calgano have provided important insight on refining the methodological process by which this information is gathered. In contrast, the work of Boylan, and Roueche and Roueche, has studied organizational features of community colleges to suggest a set of best practices for improving developmental efforts. While the work of these researchers has contributed valuable insight to community college studies that support the existence of developmental education, they are still concerned with describing the effectiveness of developmental education broadly without thoroughly investigating issues of pedagogy. There remains much to be derived from investigating 1) the organizational features that produce particular student outcomes and 2) the obstacles that community colleges face in implementing these best practices. Furthermore, while Levin, Kater, and Wagoner describe the challenges that community college faculty face in light of economic-driven managerial models, they do not address the institutions' understandings of literacy instruction and how these inform their practice. This exploratory study attempts to begin this process.

Specifically this study seeks to explore understandings of literacy instruction by investigating how reading and writing are provided in a set of sites within one community college system. It also seeks to identify the challenges that community colleges face concerning connecting the two literacy practices. Utilizing qualitative investigation of the individual perceptions, understandings, and reflections of the individuals who administer the participating programs, this study is an initial step towards providing developmental program administrators with a means for critically reflecting on and analyzing the challenges and possibilities of their courses. Providing such a vantage point will be important because community colleges "tend to have higher faculty workloads, less demand for and reliance on scholarship, and more part-time instructors" (Otte and Mlynarczyk 119), and thus the opportunity for this kind of reflection is often slim. Querying program administrators, as was done with this study, provides insight from stakeholders who have the agency and authority to address the research questions and associated findings by asking them to "analyze the roles that these courses play within their institutional contexts and follow that analysis with a careful consideration of alternatives" (Soliday and Gleason, Enrichment 75). It is hoped that these leaders are able to affect the kinds of changes that such inquiry deems promising.

Research Design

Many of the features of this study's design lend itself to case study methodology. According to Yin, case studies are well suited to research that investigates a contemporary issue and the context in which the phenomenon occurred, had little control over the manipulating behavior (23), and answered 'What' and 'How' questions like those posed in this study (17). An important distinction to make regarding this study is

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that it is exploratory in nature rather than explanatory. That is, in place of seeking to test and confirm the predictive capability of a particular theory (Yin 43), the intent was to develop a set of hypotheses for future research. Therefore this study might be best described as a qualitative study using an interview method for data collection and a constant comparative approach to data analysis.

Due to the exploratory nature of this research, issues of validity and reliability were not stressed as they would be in a more systematic study. Nonetheless, these interviews can serve as a first step in a more elaborate follow up study that utilizes multiple sources of information such as document analysis and observation to triangulate lines of inquiry.

Data Collection Procedure:

The primary source of information came through open-ended interviews which lasted from 45- 60 minutes. Interviews were conducted during campus visits in a place of the administrator's choosing using questions established in the IRB protocol. Interviews were documented using a hand-held digital recorder, were transcribed, and were stored in a database to be used during the analysis phase of investigation. These interviews focused on generating data that would:

1. Identify the guiding philosophy for developmental English at that college

2. Identify the types of reading/writing assignments used in developmental courses at that college

3. Generate descriptive responses regarding how developmental instruction was being implemented to meet CCCS and CCHE requirements and student needs

4. Probe administrators' understanding of the reading/writing connection.

4a.   Identify how those integrations were being employed, if any

5.   Identify challenges and obstacles to instituting integrated reading/writing

principles in the developmental classes at their institution.

Because integrated reading and writing might not be stressed at all of the sites, interviews began by asking participants to discuss the goals of developmental reading and writing courses at their institutions and how those goals were supported through campus resources including counseling services and learning assistance centers. From there, the interview questions focused on the kinds of reading and writing tasks students were asked to do in their English and Reading courses and how those goals related to one another. Next, the interview questions asked the participants to reflect on their perceptions of how reading and writing as literacy acts connected to each other and how those connections were presented in courses. Then, participants were asked to describe any benefits they have seen from integrating reading and writing, or the major complications or resistances to such efforts.

The goal then was to guide each interview through a three part process, first describing how developmental Reading and English were organized at that college, second probing how developmental courses utilize integrated principles and strategies, and third exploring the challenges associated with integrating reading and writing courses at their institutions. Additionally, structuring the progression of questions in this way served to provide several opportunities for participants to explore and describe connections between reading and writing beyond course assignments and include connections across courses, disciplines, and the larger institution. This was done in part because notions of reading and writing are admittedly somewhat tricky to describe. It was

also done to help construct validity of participants' understandings that discussions of course assignments alone might not fully capture.

Data Analysis

The constant comparative approach was used to interpret the collected data. John Creswell describes the constant comparative approach as "identifying incidents, events, and activities and constantly comparing them to an emerging category to develop and saturate that category" (238). During the initial review of transcriptions, several themes emerged. Participants referred to *issues of reading and writing, issues of developmental education*, and *organizational factors* including both constraints and opportunities, that contributed to their ability to enact literacy instruction. Data was then reviewed for repetition among responses to fill these categories with textual evidence from interviews by looking for "as many incidents, events, or activities as possible to provide support for the categories" (238). Open coding was followed by the axial coding phase to establish connections around these categories, including the central category of *organizational factors* and explain participants' reasons for employing particular forms of literacy instruction, strategies of instruction, site specific contextual features influencing said strategies, and resulting consequences. Based on this information, data was then selectively coded to develop a narrative for each participant in the study.

For example, in Professor Miller's case, the *organizational factors* of her institution required her to develop and teach developmental education courses to students with a wide range of skill levels within the same class. Additionally, because of the organization of the developmental program, Professor Miller was the only instructor for Reading and English. Professor Miller reported that she initially addressed this issue by

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employing computer software as a means of individualizing reading and writing instruction. Concomitant with this individualized approach was an emphasis on skills training which in turn shaped the way her students viewed *reading and writing*. The frustration Professor Miller experienced as she tried to move her students away from this viewpoint led her to conclude that motivating students to view reading and writing as something other than multiple choice tests was a key goal for *developmental education*. This new insight then reshaped her classroom practice to include more collaborative and student-centered approaches to addressing individual needs.

As Professor Miller's example suggests, the organizational factors of these colleges point to the development of particular circumstances which in turn shape the nature of both developmental education and reading and writing curricula. Participants' perceptions of reading and writing seemed to influence their perspectives on developmental education, and likewise perceptions of the goals of developmental education seemed to inform participants' rationales in the selection of reading and writing tasks and implementation.

Methodologically, interviews allowed participants to describe their rationales for implementing developmental education and contribute contextual information that bore directly on their program. This proved productive in identifying the core category of organizational factors because, while individual notions of literacy did influence the way reading and writing were provided, organizational factors not only shaped administrators' ability to implement developmental education, but they also affected the strategies these administrators used to implement developmental education.

Selection of Informants and Description of Participants

Approval to conduct these interviews was granted through the Research Integrity and Compliance Review Office of Colorado State University. Attempts were made to contact ten community colleges from across the state in order to obtain a representative sample from which to obtain response and participation in the study. To do this, the web sites of several community colleges were reviewed, which provided contact information for department heads and administrators. This process was somewhat complicated by the fact that different institutions have different organizational structures in place. It is not uncommon in Colorado for larger community colleges with multiple campuses to have separate chairs for developmental writing and reading. On the other hand, smaller colleges often have a single individual who acts as both program administrator and instructor for both reading and writing. Additionally, depending on the organizational structure at a particular institution, the responsibilities for developmental education may be couched inside the larger department of, for instance, Humanities or another unit, or divided among several programs.

After generating a list of names and department positions for each of the community colleges, an email invitation was sent to the thirteen program administrators, representing a range of institutional size, vocational or transfer emphasis, and location across the state. Of the thirteen invitations, seven responses were received from administrators who agreed to participate in the study from five different sites representing all parts of the state except the northwest. These individuals were asked to sign a consent form of participation which guaranteed their anonymity as participants.

The Participants

Professor Smith is the lead faculty for Developmental English, Reading and Study Skills at one of the largest suburban community colleges in the state. Approximately half of the student body takes developmental coursework in one form or another and Smith's community college is predominantly a transfer school for students continuing on to four-year schools. Her position is organized under the Department Chair of Arts and Letters. She is responsible for design and implementation of learning communities at her campus. Professor Smith also supervises a large body of adjunct instructors and teaches. She holds an M.A. in Composition studies.

Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert are faculty and administrators at their shared institution. Dr. Harris is the Division Chair for Humanities and Social Sciences. His position entails oversight for several departments including supervision of the full-time instructor for developmental education and adjuncts at satellite campuses. Developmental reading and writing are organized as subheadings of the English department. Professor Eckert has been a developmental education faculty member for more than fifteen years and served as one of the developers of her campus's developmental program when they made the transition from an assisted learning lab to full courses. Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert's institution was located in a largely Hispanic, rural community. A majority of their students were of non-traditional age and returning to school for additional education as a means of securing better paying jobs.

Professor Fields and Professor Wilson are Department Chairs at their shared institution located in an urban, largely Hispanic city. Professor Fields is the Department

Chair of English Communications including Literature and Speech. She has an M.A. in Teaching English as a Second Language and oversees a cadre of full-time faculty who teach developmental courses and general education courses as well as twenty to thirty adjunct faculty at multiple satellite campuses. Professor Wilson's educational background is unique from other participants in that she holds a bachelor's degree in English and an M.A. in Reading Education. Her position as Chair of the Reading department was created to exist separately from English in the last twenty years. She has a small number of adjunct faculty under her across several campuses. Both Professors Fields and Wilson retain full decision-making responsibility for their departments concerning course and program design.

Professor Bullock, a full-time English faculty member with an MFA in Poetry, recently assumed responsibility for developmental education after his institution's decision to centralize it under one program. Professor Bullock retains decision-making responsibilities for the development and implementation of the new program and also supervises the adjuncts and full-time faculty involved. His institution serves as a commuter campus for predominantly suburban students living near a major urban area.

Professor Miller has a background in K-12 Reading and English education as well as a certificate in Spanish. This is her first year teaching at the college level. Her situation is somewhat different from the other administrators in this study in that she is both administrator and the only instructor for developmental reading and writing. At her institution she teaches five courses per semester. Her duties include management of the campus writing center, course design and teaching for two sections of Reading 090, one section of English 060, one section of English 090, and one section of Composition 121,

the first-year composition course in Colorado community colleges. Her institution is located in a rural, largely Hispanic county that has been designated one of the poorest areas in the state.

Limitations

Program administrators were chosen because their positions allow them a degree of power from which to shape the nature of developmental education at their institutions. Their positions also offer a wider understanding of the operations and challenges at their respective schools. Also, administrators' relative permanency in their positions, with the exception of Professor Miller, presented a longer perspective of departmental issues across time. Professor Miller was included in this study in part because her school serves a large section of the state, but also for the perspective she could provide on post-secondary developmental education as a new member of the field.

Because of the small numbers of faculty and intense workloads, some of these administrators taught several, and in one case all, of the developmental reading and writing courses at their institutions. It bears noting though that this study was not intended to completely describe all classroom practices nor necessarily to provide a comprehensive understanding of reading and writing among all faculty. Additionally because this study collected data from only five of the thirteen community colleges in the state system it does not reflect a complete description of all administrative views on developmental education; therefore making generalizable claims about developmental education in Colorado remains outside the scope of this study. Instead it is focused on gathering an initial sense of the factors, circumstances, and questions that a fuller, follow-up study could address more fully.

Chapter IV: Results and Discussion

Review of these administrators' responses indicates that organizational factors at their respective institutions influence their goals for literacy education and impact their ability to implement successful developmental education programs. In this section I discuss administrator responses in order to create a context for understanding the connections between the overarching goals and values of specific institutions, including the constraints and opportunities they create for developmental administrators; reading and writing instruction as it was described in developmental courses; the philosophies guiding developmental instruction; and other related issues. Many of the respondents in this study described similar challenges that affected their programs. Because of this I present information gathered on administrative, programmatic and institutional challenges and how they have been addressed first, and then discuss how participants' responses to these challenges reflect their philosophies on literacy instruction and developmental education.

The Value of Research-Driven Programs

Among the administrators interviewed in this study there was a strong correlation between grant funding and the utilization of research in the design and implementation of their reading and writing courses. Those institutions that had recently received grant funding were able to create course releases and compensate faculty for research that fell outside their usual duties. This indicates that while valuable, many community colleges

are either unable to conduct research or do not do so on a regular basis. Research allows administrators to critically reflect on educational practices and develop more effective pedagogies.

Professor Smith cited a large body of research on grammar instruction in developing her rationale for addressing grammar and mechanics in her courses. She also reported that the design for the developmental education program and the decision to implement a learning community model at her institution were based on research compiled as a result of having received a considerable sized grant from the Lumina Foundation. The grant was renewed for a second year after the program's initial success. Regarding the grant Professor Smith said:

> I was the principal on that grant and the goal of the grant was to serve the needs of underserved students. That's literally how broad the goals were… We decided to focus on our developmental students…So we did our research and realized that for developmental learners, learning communities are where it's at. So we started a learning communities program under that grant. That was very successful. When the grant ended we were able to institutionalize that program. It's now funded by the college.

As part of the grant, funding was set aside for the collection of longitudinal tracking data that would be used as a means of program evaluation, "Our retention data and the longitudinal data that we've done with our learning community students tells us that they persist, they graduate, and they transfer at higher rates."

Similarly affected by the availability of grant money, Professor Bullock's title III grant also allowed him to utilize research in the planning and reconfiguration of his

institution's developmental program. Tracking data compiled from previous years was used to help justify the mandate for developmental courses to be taken before students were allowed to register for general education classes. Prior to this there was no restriction which posed the problem of students avoiding developmental courses that they had been advised to take. Professor Bullock was able to show the consequences of this policy on pass rates for general education courses through the use of tracking data; "They were so low, 50% of students were failing these courses." Archives of former student papers were used as raw data for identifying writing issues that would become the centerpieces of discussion in course development meetings with reading and writing instructors.

In addition to internal data that functioned as a form of program evaluation, Professor Bullock also used external research to identify productive programmatic features and to evaluate their potential fit at his institution:

Not all of it is doable or applies to us. We can't form a centralized department of our own because that would require incorporating mathematics faculty and removing them from that department. Boylan's emphasis on peer tutoring would pose a difficulty because we have a small student base to choose from that would provide quality candidates and there is no way to compensate or motivate these students.

Nonetheless Professor Bullock's research did lead him to decide on centralizing his program as much as possible. Developmental reading and writing courses and instructors, which had been scattered throughout the English department, were now centralized under

the developmental education program as well as that campus's Advising office and Tutoring Center.

The grant funding Professor Bullock's program received was vital in allowing Professor Bullock to obtain course releases for undertaking this research. Professor Bullock was able to use grant funding to build a network of collaborators for the new program and provide incentives for their participation; "[Adjuncts] are being compensated for office hours and attending professional development meetings and intervention training... I have a couple research assistants. They're work studies, but they look stuff up for me."

Fellow full-time developmental instructors and adjuncts that participated in the program meetings to evaluate previous students writing and develop course objectives were not only compensated for their time, but the meetings also served as professional development, "The grant allowed for the purchase of manuals and books as well as training webinars." Providing these kinds of incentives increased faculty buy-in. One of the results of these meetings was the production of textbooks composed of course readings and assignments designed by both full-time and adjunct faculty. As with other colleges in this study, institutional support for program innovation proved to be just as vital a commodity as research dollars.

Likewise, Professor Miller's program had the benefit of grant-related support through a cooperative Title V grant with a major university. She concentrated her research efforts on identifying similarities and differences between her previous 11 years experience as a K-12 reading and writing instructor and adult education. She said, "I've

found through the research that I've read that reading instruction is basically the same for adults as it is for children"

Because of the size of Professor Miller's institution, she, like many other developmental administrators of small colleges, was the only faculty member responsible for developing and teaching those courses. One other full-time faculty member taught a single section of ENG 090, but the majority of Professor Miller's research was for her own personal development. The remaining grant funds were ear-marked for hiring another full-time tutor for her college's tutoring center.

The one administrator who made frequent reference to outside research but was not currently receiving the support of grant funding was Professor Wilson. Her Reading department had originally been created under a title III grant for strengthening institutions that had expired some time ago. As a caveat to that grant, Professor Wilson's central administration emphasized that the grant be put towards teaching with technology.

Like Professor Miller, one of Professor Wilson's initial concerns was locating research on adult reading. "When I first got here there really wasn't much developed in the way of older students... So I was charged with some technology approaches to work with the reading students and I found out there wasn't a lot out there". Professor Wilson's initial research and attendance at regional conferences helped her identify software programs that she employed in her classes. "I got some info about Reading Plus from another colleague and [met] the rep of this program [who] lives in El Paso." Professor Wilson had also recently acquired Kindles to use in her classes.

Professor Wilson was encouraged by her administrators to find technological tools for use in her courses rather than investigating theoretical and programmatic

concerns. Perhaps because of this Professor Wilson's course innovations reflected a much more localized and trial and error-based approach. She reported that one of the new course readings she had recently started using came from an administrator's suggestion and her personal observations:

> And actually it was from administration. They suggested trying and using this book. And we got about eight different varieties of the Chicken Soup book and we let the students pick one that seems best for them... I have been using the memoirs for two or three years and they are much more successful in terms of people actually reading them, getting into discussions, of doing the assignments.

Similarly, an open-ended journaling question that was part of a larger reading assignment Professor Wilson intended to incorporate as part of regular course assignments next semester was discovered by accident: "There's also a component built into the program that asks them a journaling question. When I was developing these last summer I didn't really know about that. But one of my students thought he was supposed to do it and turned it in and I thought it was such a great idea." Indeed much of Professor Wilson's research endeavors seemed to be derived from accumulated experiences of hunting and gathering throughout her career:

> The way I got into the field was sort of by accident. I have a BA and was hired to teach English in high school and it wasn't really English it was Reading... In my masters program I was the only person that was interested in older students.

Everyone there was geared towards the little ones. So I've always been out there. This existence on the fringe poses a challenge for educators like Professor Wilson. The requirement that she incorporate technology into her classrooms led to implementing

reading modules that seem to benefit students, but because her grant funding was focused on the acquisition of tools rather than developing a cohesive theory of reading, several of the components of those tools were under-utilized, the journaling exercise for example. The piecemeal approach Professor Wilson was forced to employ reflects not only broken links inside her program, but could also reflect the disconnects Professor Wilson sees between her Reading department and the English department: "Reading assignments don't really connect with English class work and I think that's kind of what we were talking about [in a meeting]. I think that's an area where we can improve."

Common to all the administrators who referenced research in their interviews was the inclination towards integration of literacy practices, although this occurred to varying degrees. Those institutions with the most intentional connection of reading and writing were able to move beyond literacy instruction that focused on grammar and vocabulary building, and allowed students to approach reading and writing as practices of meaning making, adaptable to multiple kinds of texts, their own work, and across disciplines.

Professor Smith's research on developmental students led to perhaps the most integrated program. Her program connected not only reading and writing in courses, but also made concentrated efforts to integrate literacy practices across the campus to other content areas. This program had become so popular within her institution that demand was outstripping supply: "We're running out of English teachers to work in learning communities. We have transfer/ content instructors galore that all want to participate but we don't have English teachers to pair them with." Similarly, Professor Bullock's new developmental education program relied heavily on research by Boylan, etc. and led to the restructuring of their department in a concentrated effort to more firmly connect

reading and writing. Though relatively new to her position and just beginning to transform her developmental program, one of the terms of Professor Miller's hiring was "that they [central administration] want to see connections across the curriculum." Even Professor Wilson's independent and informal research practices have led her to push for integrating her courses more closely with Professor Fields'.

Research-driven programs, as indicated by participant responses, provide administrators an advantage when reflecting on core practices and course designs. This allows for a more effective approach to instruction that can later prove to be beneficial to their larger English departments and better align educational efforts across the institution as a whole.

Drawbacks of Non-Research Programs

On the other side of the research divide administrators like Professor Fields and Dr. Harris describe the challenges of not having funding for program innovation and professional development. Professor Fields expounded on the limitations the lack of funding has posed for her department. According to Professor Fields:

> Years ago we had some title V (Hispanic Serving Institutions) funding and we could actually pay faculty extra for preparing the learning community and getting together with the other teacher and creating the syllabus that combined both courses and even having the time to sit in on each other's courses, but we've sort of lost that kind of support.

In addition to the loss of support for developing new program models and research, Professor Fields also describes the attrition that her department has suffered:

So I think [we've lost] some of those really valuable programs like the WAC and service learning… the same woman who did our professional development last year was our service learning administrator. Again, she did a really good job, and again we lost her. Then we lost funding down to .25 [time] position and I think we're going to get it back but I'm not sure.

Professor Fields went on to further explain that in addition to losing professional development programs there was also the real risk of losing permanent employees. She had recently been notified that in the next few weeks administration would be informing faculty whose contracts would not be renewed. Professor Field's lack of grant funding led her to express her frustration, "Well we only have six full-time faculty for the WHOLE [English] department. I mean this is as sad as it gets." That frustration came to a head after one of the seldom offered professional development webinars for her faculty, "Yesterday we went to a webinar on developmental education. Of course they had some stuff that was useless, like requiring testing for placement. Well we've done that for years. Or they are now moving into common syllabi," a feature already in place among commonly offered courses throughout the state; "But it got us talking. And we figured out that the only way we are going to get things done for developmental education is to do it ourselves, the six of us; that we can't rely on professional development anymore." While Professor Field's determination seems venerable, it reflects a tenuous bond between the developmental program and other departments on their campus and a low level of investment by her institution into the reading program changes she wished she could implement.

At his institution, Dr. Harris's perspective on the effects of funding was somewhat less dire, but no more optimistic: "The one thing that we encounter daily is that there aren't enough resources to really do a super-fabulous job... We do the best we can, but we can't really grow with the need. We have to constrain that need to our resources."

Dr. Harris's responses reflected a similar supplanting of research with assumptions. For Dr. Harris and the rest of his co-workers, "[t]he thing that wages supreme for us is the value to the student. In every meeting we have we're told, and it comes up, that the benefit to the student is what drives this place. We're not happy unless we're doing the best we can for the student." This again initially registers as a noble endeavor, one often repeated by developmental educators; however what this actually means is somewhat vague. Some clues can be gathered through Dr. Harris's other responses:

> [Students] may require minimally something less [than a reading or writing course] because they need to get out in the field and work and support their families. And they need to find something that can improve them without causing them undue or collateral damage at the very beginning.

The emphasis on job training and employment were running themes in Dr. Harris's responses and in part contributed to his notions of "what is best for the student."

Two things were noticeable from these two administrators' responses. One was the absence of reference to internal or external research concerning their developmental curriculum and pedagogy. While many of these administrators have several years of experience directing developmental programs as facets of larger English departments or teaching developmental courses, they appear to have relatively little experience with

disciplinary knowledge *specific* to developmental education. This is a troubling arrangement. Without research, administrators were inclined to rely on their hunches and other institutional pressures as motivation for course goals. This prevents educators from establishing a sound knowledge base from which to systematically investigate literacy practices and alternatives, and as a result, may do more to perpetuate the condition of developmental students as underserved rather than effectively address it.

Absence of resources seemed to be part of the difficulty these administrators had in conducting research. It is possible that teaching and other professional obligations made conducting research without the aid of additional faculty or course releases logistically unlikely. But the second noticeable trend, and perhaps the more disconcerting of the two, was the way investigation appeared to be circumscribed by the existence of grant funding. That is, the role of researcher was one assumed only under certain circumstances. In order to harness the benefits that research-driven programs offer, administrators need to reprioritize their professional roles to include ongoing research, and negotiate this new priority with central administration. Otherwise, the de-emphasis and sporadic use of research may become a reified fixture of campus culture that can work against future investigations as described in the following section.

The Need to Negotiate Institutional Climate

As important as research dollars are to developmental programs, this investigation points to another key ingredient that is in many ways just as vital. Institutional climate has figured strongly into these programs' struggles to advance their developmental courses. Professor Smith and Professor Bullock note that even after receiving grant

backing, garnering support for their proposed changes had taken considerable effort. When asked about the topic, Professor Smith responded at length:

> I mean god bless the woman who hired me. I was hired to take over the developmental and study skills courses and I just had really different ideas about how that needed to be done. I kind of had to play politics because I was fresh out of graduate school and full of knowledge that I wanted to implement. And I realize now that I was just trying to effect change too quickly and a lot of the adjuncts didn't trust my approach and I had to learn how to step back and work with people's comfort levels. It took a while, probably four or five years, before I thought we got curriculum to a place where I thought we were actually focusing in the right amounts on the right things.

Professor Bullock reported similar struggles at his institution. Initially his unification effort met with concerns from other departments. The History department, for example, was worried that linking their course with a developmental course would lead to a decline in standards. Also mentioned was the concern that requiring developmental courses first would be detrimental to enrollment and might instead direct students to another nearby community college. Even when armed with institutional tracking data proving his point, Professor Bullock had to utilize personal connections with other faculty to get his case initially heard. "People didn't understand what I was doing or why. They'd say, 'Oh that's just Professor Bullock being weird.'" The points of tension Professor Bullock and Professor Smith experienced reflect aspects of the embedded social discourse among community college faculty. Because research and collaboration across disciplines was atypical or "weird," such initiatives took effort and time to gain

traction. Likewise, the stigma of developmental education as less rigorous can, as in Professor Bullock's case, lead educators to guard against associations with developmental courses and discourage educators from crossing disciplinary boundaries. Professor Bullock and Professor Smith were able to gather and harness enough support at their respective institutions to initiate the changes they wished to see. For Professor Fields and Professor Wilson the perceptions of their college's Humanities department as "a stepchild to [their] institution" proved too much to overcome.

Professor Miller's situation paints a somewhat different picture in terms of institutional culture. Rather than having to overcome resistance, programmatic change was part of her marching orders and she reported being well supported across her campus, "I don't think I've really had to do too much convincing to connect these things. It's really nice. For example, a history teacher came to me yesterday… So there's a culture of collaboration here already that's really nice and it's crucial." Although Professor Miller seemed to have avoided institutional resistance, it should also be noted that because she is relatively new to her position when compared to the other administrators in this study, many of the institutional conflicts may not yet have surfaced.

Professor Eckert and Dr. Harris also stated that their college worked very well between departments, "In a small school it's much easier to maintain that close contact between the division chair, the departments, and the leads." On the surface this appears promising, but it bears noting that part of this close contact and support may be a result of Professor Eckert and Dr. Harris being so deeply embedded in their institution's vocational culture that it may be difficult for them to identify distinct pedagogic perspectives on reading and writing or see the value in doing so.

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The Hidden Cost of Adjunct Faculty

Colleges and Universities have institutionalized the use of adjunct faculty as a way to control costs. Participants' responses, however, indicate that reliance on high numbers of adjunct faculty and low wages exact their own price on administrative workloads and program quality. Professor Smith, Professor Miller, Dr. Harris, and Professor Eckert noted that finding quality instructors was a primary concern. For those campuses that were smaller and further away from large cities, attracting qualified candidates was a major limitation. According to Professor Miller, "In these parts the pickin's are kind of slim." Because of the low salary rates for adjunct instructors, institutions are unable to entice quality candidates to work for them. Dr. Harris pointed out, "that in a rural area, [with] the wage structure that is set up, we often times can't pay somebody that would rather go to Denver and be an adjunct there than work here." Even for Professor Smith, whose college was much larger, the conditions adjuncts have to endure led to high turnover rates:

> I have wonderful adjunct faculty but the problem is we pay nothing. And those
> salaries are set by the state too. So we get these wonderful adjunct instructors in
> here and they move on, as they should. No one should live as an adjunct any
> longer than they have to.

Money alone was not the only factor that makes retaining quality adjunct faculty difficult. The work itself presented demands upon instructors that many quality candidates found much different than their general education counterparts. According to Professor Eckert:

> We've had trouble keeping the same adjuncts and getting quality adjuncts… It
> takes more patience. When you think college classes, a lot of people think they

just present the material and that's it. It's very different with developmental education. You have to be very patient; you have to determine what point they are at and then move them… [t]he ones that need extra help, you have to give them extra help. You can't just throw out the material and say, "deal with it" like you do at a regular college class because that's college level but developmental education is really different.

Both Professor Eckert's and Professor Smith's concerns regarding adjunct faculty centered on notions of consistency and quality instruction. Professor Eckert's college has had to rely on a mentoring approach for their adjuncts. In place of a training sequence that new adjuncts participate in, they are paired with a full-time instructor who is available to answer questions and supervises a class period to ensure that standards are being met, "But like I said, if they are only here one semester you don't really accomplish much. We are constantly starting over and training someone."

Turnover led to other problems in terms of increased work load for administrators and served to reify the roles of adjunct faculty as information deliverers; Professor Smith admits that the revolving door of adjunct faculty has required her to take on more teaching responsibility in addition to her administrative role. The instability among adjunct faculty has left the few full-time faculty in her department feeling "maxed out" on a regular basis. Furthermore, it has compromised her ability to dedicate time and energy into course design and fine-tuning the program she has worked so hard to build. This effect seems to roll down hill onto the adjuncts who are then constrained in their own ability to experiment and innovate. "We tell people here's what you will teach.

Here's how it's gonna go. Here's the sequence. We don't leave a lot of room for creativity."

Such tightly mandated teaching practices present a number of problems for integrated reading and writing. Impressing upon part-time faculty the imperative to "stick to the script" presents the same problem that objectivist teaching approaches have presented for developmental students. Emphasizing the 'right' way to teach limits the instructor's ability to adapt to unforeseen circumstances in the classroom as well as the explorations of course objectives through their individual understandings and experiences. Furthermore, it limits the instructor's obligation to critically investigate the ways that reading and writing can intersect for students and their own teaching practices. Without critical reflection and incentive to experiment, instructors run the risk of adopting common-sense notions of reading and writing and turning away from participation in broader discussions and investigation of their field. Micro-management also serves to reinforce the adjunct's position as outsider in the institution and undermines their sense of membership. This is especially disconcerting in Professor Smith's case because it works in direct conflict with some of the foundational principles of her program, namely the coordination of content material across disciplines and departments.

On the other hand, Professor Wilson's program illustrates some of the advantages of consistent part-time faculty. Her adjunct faculty, most of whom are retired district school teachers, have remained in place for several years. She notes that among the advantages is the ability to cooperate within her small department and cover classes for each other. She noted that because of their long work history together they could engage

in conversations regarding instructional approaches and debate without fear of ostracism. One of the main benefits of consistency Professor Wilson mentioned was in regards to the software programs she utilized in her courses, "It's enormously helpful when you use a software program. Whenever you have anybody new there's always the training issue and if there are people who know it almost as well as you do it's just easier."

In addition to avoiding retraining issues, Professor Wilson's responses indicated her instructors had more free-rein over their courses, a feature born out of necessity as well as sound communication and consistency, "Luckily I have kind of the same situation especially with the satellite campuses. I have had the same people there for a long time and they know the program really well and we keep in pretty close contact by phone or email." Professor Wilson did admit that there had been some time since her last visit to one of the satellite campuses, citing the fact that traveling would take her away from obligations as the only full-time faculty and head of the department.

Though she had mentioned the possibility of connecting her reading courses with Professor Field's writing courses, Professor Wilson noted that there were a number of factors that would make such collaboration difficult: "I think in both of our cases it would be challenging because we both work with so many adjunct instructors." She again returned to the issue of money, noting that her adjunct faculty were only paid for their actual teaching time and not participating in curriculum design. Professor Wilson added that while her current adjuncts added stability to her program, the fact that many of them were partially-retired made the idea of collaborating on a new program seem unlikely:

Most of our faculty is, let's just say they are a little older. Not as hungry to innovate as they might be. That would be the biggest challenge in our department.

Professor Fields at least has some full-time people in her department that could

work on stuff like that."

Professor Wilson's response indicates a number of issues at work in her department's

arrangements. The first of which is the obvious lack of incentive for adjuncts to

participate without compensation. Considering the amount of effort and support that goes

into working with developmental students this is understandable, but the nature of

Professor Wilson's response also raises the issue of motivation and involvement. As

Levin, Kater, and Wagoner's research illustrates, people who take adjunct positions do so

for a number of reasons. Many professionals see adjuncting as a way to supplement their

primary income as well as develop personal connections and networks that will be of use

to them outside of the academic field. In Professor Wilson's case, the six adjuncts she

had might not be interested in assuming the extra duties and time commitment even if

there were added compensation.

Motivating Students While Ensuring Effective Tracking and Placement

Student tracking and placement are features that would be crucial in an integrated

program, but as these interviewees report there are several organizational and technical

problems that would need to be addressed to integrate developmental courses. In general,

getting students to actually register for the developmental courses that they place into is a

chief concern. Professor Bullock, Professor Smith, Professor Fields, Professor Wilson,

and Professor Eckert all expressed concern about this issue. Although requiring

developmental courses to be completed first would limit students' ability to take courses

pertaining to their field of interest, these administrators were more concerned with the

results of students who do their best to avoid developmental education. Professor Smith argues that:

> These students will come in, they'll test in at ENG 090 [but] they don't want to take a remedial English class… and they'll go right into their transfer level courses. They'll be taking you know 100 and 200 level history, sociology, psychology and then they struggle, they crash and burn, they fail, they quit coming.

Several administrators have expressed interest in mandating developmental instruction for this same reason; however there appeared to be little in place at their institutions to bring this issue under control. Professor Fields said, "We can't really monitor or enforce that. They should complete their developmental courses within the first 30 credit hours, but there's no way to enforce it." The difficulty for Professor Fields and Professor Wilson seemed to center on the Admissions and Records program, Banner, that CCCS uses. However, in light of the fact that several other colleges in the state have been able to mandate developmental education, Professor Bullock's program for example, the problem may in fact have to do more with institutional support and the perceived need for such a change to be implemented.

One of the main sources of resistance to implementing developmental education is the effect that it has on students' motivation. Students who perform poorly on placement tests face a gamut of developmental courses that can quickly turn two years at a community college into three or four. Professor Eckert readily empathized with students stuck in this situation, "A lot of times that gets discouraging because they'll say, "I want to be a nurse." But for two or three years they aren't taking any nursing classes,

so, you know, that gets very discouraging. It would discourage me." In addition to the increased amount of time that developmental course work adds to schooling, administrators also must contend with a lack of interest. Students often become discouraged when they find out that developmental courses not only do not count as degree credits but have little to do with their academic interests.

To deal with these circumstances administrators have taken different approaches. Professor Eckert and Dr. Harris's institution tries to address student discouragement through individualized advising: "We try after the first semester to place them in a college class that they could handle like CIS 118, which is Intro to Computers, or else we get them into an Art class or History if their reading skills are up to level." Individualized placement presents a definite advantage for developmental students, one that might not be possible at larger community colleges. But as Professor Eckert continued she also touched on a major concern of developmental advising: "cooling out". Deil-Amen and Rosenbaum refer to cooling out as the process by which community college students are encouraged to seek lower positions inside their chosen field instead of persisting on towards four-year degrees. Professor Eckert's response seems to indicate that cooling out may be a common response to student discouragement: "Before they hit that point where they are just discouraged, say, 'well maybe you can't be a nurse, but maybe you can go into radiology.' Or maybe [for] some of them a CNA would be just as beneficial for them. That way they'll have a career a lot sooner." Professor Eckert's encouragement to seek a lower position coincided with her college's emphasis on career training.

An alternative method for reducing discouragement presented itself in Professor Smith and Professor Bullock's programs which have made concentrated efforts to

connect developmental courses with general education content. While still a developmental course, the subject matter presented is drawn from a variety of content fields. In this regard, students are not only able to gain experience with their reading and writing but also engage with content material that interests them at a suitable level. This indeed seems to be the most viable option given the series of prerequisites in place and the technical challenges of linking courses through Banner. Professor Fields noted just such a challenge in attempting to connect reading and writing courses at her institution, "a student might place into Reading 090 but have to take English 060. So which ones do you link so you can just get one class of fifteen to twenty students?"

I argue in the next section that these organizational and institutional challenges exhibit a direct effect on administrators' perspectives of reading and writing courses at their institutions. As participants in this study described the challenges that their program faced, they inevitably revealed their own notions of literacy and reading and writing. Several questions posed during the interview elicited responses specific to the kinds of reading and writing assignments in developmental courses and the rationales guiding their decisions. Perspectives on reading and writing displayed in the next section can be broadly classified as either transmission perspectives or transaction perspectives as described by Zamel (462). Though not mutually exclusive, the transaction perspective views reading and writing as a means for creating meaning and understanding, whereas the transmission perspective views reading and writing as the depositing of knowledge and skills. In contrast with much of the current research on integrated reading and writing as well as meaning-centered literacy, the transmission perspective reflects a limited

application of reading and writing as modes of learning and exploration. This next section explores particular administrators and their situations in this regard.

Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert: The Role of Literacy in a Work-Oriented Community College

Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert's institution emphasized the vocational function of community colleges in response to community demand for job training and career advancement. Dr. Harris stated that a large number of their students worked during the day and attended classes at night. Additionally Professor Eckert described their campus as, "primarily community-based with a little transfer." Many of the students were enrolled in Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs and both informants replied that these programs had been in high demand for many years.

Their responses reflected the high priority on job-training as they described the rationales for the reading and writing done in their developmental courses. While not all CTE programs required students to take reading or writing courses of any kind, the notion of education as employment-centered still permeated the administrators' rationales of reading and writing. For Dr. Harris:

It has to do more with the edge that you need to do something else. Writing, to me, is the sum of the reading portion. You cannot write well if you cannot read well. It's just physically impossible. But you cannot get ahead in life if you cannot read well. And then you need to choose which area you are going into and if it's one of those areas where you are going to do a lot of writing, then developmental writing becomes increasingly more important.

A number of issues that emerged during Dr. Harris's interview are present in this quote. The "something else" Dr. Harris referred to was elaborated by several references to employment and professional work. When asked to describe the kinds of writing and reading done in developmental courses Dr. Harris responded that courses followed the guidelines set out by the state system, "we start with parts of speech and sentence combination, paragraphs, and then finally just before 121 they work on essays," but throughout the rest of the interview he explicitly connected the application of reading and writing to the world of work, citing report writing, reading and charting prescriptions, and reading engineering documents and automotive manuals.

When asked if he saw a benefit to requiring CTE students to take developmental courses based on their test scores Dr. Harris stated that it depended on the CTE program they were in. Regarding Nursing, "They have to [note] prescriptions, write reports. They get fundamentally the things they need for the furtherment [sic] of their careers." However, "[there are] students in collision repair who minimally will have to write a report and sometimes not even that. So it's important to notice that although there may be occasion for a full-time requirement for all students, it's not really beneficial to the student themselves."

For Dr. Harris, reading and writing were means to a very specific end, employment. The value of reading and writing was determined by the likelihood that they would be directly applicable to "something else" rather than utilized as tools for developing conceptual links and meaning making. Furthermore, the connection Dr. Harris saw between reading and writing was overwhelmingly unidirectional. Reading served as the basis from which students would learn what good writing looked like and

was necessarily a prerequisite to writing. Additionally, Dr. Harris stressed that grammar played an important role in the development of reading skills because grammar and parts of speech allowed students "to develop the ability to talk about texts." This perspective conflicts directly with what researchers from across the composition field have learned regarding the reading and writing's position as entwining forms of literacy.

Professor Eckert's responses were similar to Dr. Harris's in that she frequently referenced the importance of employability and job training. In contrast though, her responses regarding connections between reading and writing and the role of grammar implied a better understanding of the interconnections of the two literacy practices and their mutual importance in developing literacy skills. When asked whether grammar and standard usage were the issues most important to focus on in developmental education, she initially responded, "Definitely. They are the basic structure of reading and writing and the more they understand that the better they are going to understand reading and writing. It is sort of the core." However when asked to articulate the connection of grammar to learning, Professor Eckert adjusted her initial response to indicate that it is important for students to work with concepts and develop those into paragraphs:

> I'd rather have a class of good thinkers. But according to the state that is what we
> are supposed to focus on-- the grammar and punctuation. I think they expect the
> creativity to come in 121 and 122: college level. But that's not really how it
> works. You have to sort of balance that, the creativity part and the basic writing
> skills type of things.

Professor Eckert and Dr. Harris's responses indicate that institutional goals and atmosphere have a strong impact on the ways that reading and writing are conceived and

implemented. The campus-wide emphasis on quickly preparing students for the world of work seems to have carried over into pedagogy where knowledge is produced in a kind of assembly line of grammar first, then reading, then writing.

Professor Miller: The Difference between Improving Programs and Improving Pedagogy

Professor Miller's situation differs from other participants in this study in that at the time of the interview she was just starting her second semester as program administrator at her institution. After more than a decade teaching reading at the K-12 level, she had moved up to the post-secondary level and assumed responsibility for developmental reading and writing courses as well as supervision of her college's newly created writing center , while also teaching a transfer level course, ENG 121. Professor Miller's initial research on adult literacy learners helped to prepare her for some of the challenges she would face, but as she stated in her interview, there were several issues that she was unprepared for. She said, "I'm new at this level but not new to what I'm teaching. I love it. The first semester was really rough. You can't even imagine what to expect." Her inexperience led to several instances of frustration which in turn shaped revisions to her program. Through discussion of these points of tension, Professor Miller revealed changes she had made to her program and the rationales behind those moves.

Like many beginning instructors Professor Miller initially made few changes to the programmatic elements already in place. She began her first semester using the same writing textbook and set of assignments her institution used the prior year. In describing the textbook she said, "[A]bout 80% grammar and the last little-bitty section in the back is on writing." For reading she did assign a new reading textbook, but still utilized the

computer software, Plato, that had been furnished for the computer lab she held classes in. The computer software promised to be especially useful in light of the diverse student body at her institution because of its ability to provide individualized reading and grammar instruction.

Indeed one of the major challenges Professor Miller faced was the make-up of her classes. Though a small campus, Professor Miller noted that through a contract with a school overseas she had five or six new international students every year. As a result, "half the class has strong grammar and low vocabulary and the others are the reverse of that, and I have to teach them both at the same time." Furthermore, her campus only offered one level of reading instruction, Reading 090, which served as a catch-all for a wide range of skill levels. Professor Miller said, "We have two classes of 090; personally I think one of them could be 060, definitely. I have people from first grade reading level up to college level in the same class." To address this in her reading courses Professor Miller had introduced a staged series of reading assignments that became progressively harder from week to week. Once students expressed difficulty with a text, Professor Miller began to introduce reading strategies to assist students in making further progress.

The need for individualization, though apparent, posed a major challenge for Professor Miller due to time constraints. She conceded that "teaching reading to college students isn't something that I am going to have time to do regularly, to actually teach phonics and that kind of stuff." Although the Plato software was in place to help individualize, Professor Miller noted that this was compromised by what she described as the motivation level of her students:

The problem with remedial students is motivation. Anytime someone works independently that's an issue and that's what Plato requires… Most of my students would need me sitting right there to help them do the tutorial even. [Plato] gives us an extra option, but it's not turning out the way we hoped because they aren't taking into account the motivation level for these students.

Professor Miller indicated that several of her students, after receiving their financial aid refund checks, had dropped her course. Additionally when Professor Miller attempted to move students away from the computer programs to discuss writing assignments or reading strategies, Professor Miller was confronted with resistance: "I can hear them saying to each other, 'why do we have to do all this?' and 'this is dumb.'"

A focus for this frustration, ironically, appeared to be the computer programs designed to help students with grammar and mechanics. What was originally conceived as a small part of the class became, "something that people could grab onto. I would come to class and try to lecture and people would have their computers up and it got to the point where I would have to tell them to put them away because we weren't doing that today." Professor Miller's characterization of grammar exercises as "something to grab onto" serves as a prime example of the way forms of literacy can shape understandings. For the students, performing multiple choice reading and writing exercises not only led to an attachment to the application as something substantial, but it also shaped their definition of what it meant to learn to read and write: answering multiple choice questions. This created a self-reinforcing dynamic where students were rewarded for their success at these tasks, thereby strengthening their attachment to this

"multiple-choice" definition of reading and writing. This in turn might have contributed to the "motivation" problem described above.

As the semester progressed, the textbooks for the course themselves served as a point of frustration. The emphasis on grammar in the textbook in concert with the software led Professor Miller to an important observation, "And what I've learned from reading about how people learn to read or write is that they don't learn it from grammar exercises. So I didn't realize that. I'd heard about it, but I didn't really learn it until I experienced that first hand last semester." Finally, the reading text Professor Miller chose, "… turned out to be not as great as I thought once we started using it. I found out that the students were having to read so much to learn how to use the reading strategies that they had no time to read anything to practice them on."

These frustrations led Professor Miller to make important changes to her courses for the following semester. To reduce the time demands on herself and minimize the use of software, Professor Miller implemented timed reading pairs that would work daily to help students build fluency and improve reading rate. One person in the group would read a text while the other student monitored their progress. Partners helped each other identify mispronunciations and decipher word meaning. Professor Miller felt that the system worked well because students became more accountable for their own reading and in turn that of their partner. This collaborative approach allowed students to address each other's weaknesses and identify their common mistakes. According to Professor Miller, students had achieved some positive results, "People are starting to realize that if they know the word or if they have someone to tell them the word then they can just read right

through it and they know it every time. If they read it correctly on Monday they know it on Wednesday and Friday."

Another change came in the form of course texts. Both texts used in the fall had been dropped and new books had been selected for their ability to be used in both Reading and English courses. Professor Miller's rationale for this was that the new books would better prepare students for the writing done in the transfer level course which centered on persuasion. This move provided ample potential for students to gain experience using the same text for different goals, i.e. reading for comprehension, reading for comparison, reading to gather information to use in their own writing. It also created the opportunity for students to experiment with transforming texts from one kind to another, descriptive to persuasive for example, that heavy grammar instruction did not. In fact, instruction in grammar in Professor Miller's courses had been reconfigured so that it was addressed in the students' own work. Reflecting on this Professor Miller said, "I think that if you address these things that's ok, but it has to be with the students own writing. It's pretty much worthless if you give them exercises on those things." Pedagogically this contextualization serves students by allowing them to understand grammar as being in service to meaning and motive, perhaps most importantly *their* meaning.

To further motivate her students in ENG 090 Professor Miller has moved to a portfolio model. Professor Miller's responses concerning the portfolio seem to emphasize its role as a gate-keeping form of evaluation, one that will keep students from, "getting away with this or that" and assure that they are prepared to enter transfer level courses. From a motivational standpoint the portfolio serves as both a negative and positive

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reinforcement. Students are able to see progress towards a larger goal and the threat of failure should they choose not to apply themselves. She said:

I wanted to make it a big deal so that students know that they can't pass if they don't do the writing in this class. Again motivation is such a big deal in this class. It just takes a lot of energy and if students realize that it's for a grade they'll come to class. And it's a way to coerce them in a way.

Whether effective motivationally or not, such a stance runs the risk of turning portfolios into a list of items to be checked off throughout the course of a semester; thereby supplanting one substantial item, the grammar assignments, with another that still leads to a limited understanding of reading and writing. One of the major advantages of portfolios is that they allow students to reread their work, rewrite their understanding, and then rewrite the text. It was unclear from her responses just how much Professor Miller understood this advantage and how prominently it figured into her decision to use portfolios. The "motivation" challenges Professor Miller described earlier indicates a difficulty in getting students to do the work and attend class, but also incongruence between Professor Miller's understanding of reading and writing and that of her students. At the time of this interview it appeared that Professor Miller had discovered some useful pieces of "Lore" that had improved her program and was starting to work more with the pedagogical principles that had brought about these apparent improvements.

"Potential" seems to be an apt term in describing Professor Miller's situation. Many of the program changes Professor Miller has implemented have made courses more collaborative and deal much more with actual student reading and writing than they had previously. Professor Miller herself seemed excited about the possibility of further

integrating her courses: "I think it would be great even if it was just me. That's an interesting idea. I'm already using the same textbooks…They are definitely related just one is input and the other is output." What remains to be seen is how Professor Miller chooses to pursue further innovations in her courses, whether she continues to modify her courses as a means to alleviate frustrations or whether she starts to view these frustrations as opportunities to further push at her understanding of reading and writing beyond input/output in ways that lead to better instruction for her students.

Professor Fields and Professor Wilson: Separation Anxiety: Problems Posed by the Division of Literacy Education

Literacy education at Professor Fields' and Professor Wilson's institution represented the most divided program in this study. These divisions made Professor Wilson and Professor Field's cases both promising and problematic, though for different reasons. Not only did Professor Fields' description of the Humanities at her institution as the "stepchild" point to a strong divide from the rest of the college and its larger goals, but literacy instruction itself was divided between the Reading and English departments. Not surprisingly, Professor Fields' utilization of reading and writing in her courses demonstrated a division between these practices pedagogically. Based on her responses Professor Fields' understanding of the connections of reading and writing appeared to be relatively limited. In fact, when asked to address the kinds of reading practices in her writing classes, she relegated it to a relatively menial position, citing the large number of issues developmental education is forced to address before reading: "In the developmental [classes] you still need to present all the grammar and punctuation, as well as talk about the writing, thesis statement, topic sentence, organization and then the

reading." At one point she did express an interest in featuring reading more prominently, but produced a rather limited rationale for why. She said, "Oh, I just think it helps vocabulary. I would love to spend some time vocabulary building."

The low status ascribed to Reading in her courses is obviously troubling from an integrated point of view. An additional problem that surfaced through her responses was the kind of reading that Professor Fields advocated. Her educational background in literature strongly influenced her perceptions of reading and writing along traditional lines. She said, "Mainly I had been teaching Literature and 121." Professor Fields noted that as department chair, "I felt that I needed to be involved with developmental education. It's a big piece of what we do in this department." Nonetheless, her responses seemed to show a lack of insight into current developmental education trends and instead emphasized a belletristic approach. The importance Professor Fields placed on Literature extended to her perceptions of high school students who were taking courses through her institution's Early College program. She said, "My philosophy is that they should be taking rigorous AP and IB classes in high school, not coming to us where we don't even have literature based writing classes. I feel that they are missing out on the focus of great literature and writing."

The critiques against belletristic and current-traditionalist modeling as writing instruction are legion; what is perhaps more disconcerting from an integrated perspective, as several scholars have pointed out, is the difference between reading literature for the purpose of criticism and reading as a way of making meaning (Zamel 461, McCormick 13). Literary criticism centers on a very specific kind of domain knowledge and specific

kind of reading that is not relevant or useful in the broader sense of acquiring literacy skills.

An additional concern regarding Professor Field's approach to literacy instruction was how it was intended to serve the demographic that her institution traditionally served through developmental courses. According to Professor Fields, "developmental education was meant to get those students up to speed who had been away from school and had their skills deteriorate." It is unclear how a strong grounding in literature was supposed to prepare this largely Hispanic population for the kinds of reading they would be doing in retraining programs.

Despite these concerns, Professor Fields expressed excitement in using a new textbook she and two other faculty-members had written over the summer. In describing the new textbook, Professor Fields said:

> It's probably considered traditional in the sense that we do teach the modes.
> We're teaching process essay, cause and effect, and comparison and contrast
> because those are the ways that we think about most of our analytical thinking.
> And we try to make each of the chapters sort of easy for students to sort of move
> into the type of writing they were going to do.

Professor Field's rationale for employing the modes-based text book was grounded in the perceptions she and her fellow faculty held towards analytic thinking and her traditional conception of what English education should be:

> I assign all the professional essays in the back of the book and then try and have a
> discussion or I might have a brief, you know, write what you think is the main

point of the essay… They need to, in the developmental level, to see that really

vivid and entertaining kind of vital writing that professionals do.

Other aspects of the newly adopted textbook posed additional problems. At the end of

each chapter Professor Fields and her co-authors had devised a section entitled, "Here Is

My Problem" in which the student was presented with an excerpt from a student-level

essay and three possible solutions. As an example of one of these sections Professor

Fields said, "The third paragraph lacks development and here are some possible

solutions." The section was "geared to some of the problems they might face." While a

helpful resource for picking out alternatives, it was the equivalent of a long-form multiple

choice. Not only were the excerpts removed from their context inside the larger work, but

by providing solutions to choose from, the student was cut off from the opportunity to

write their way through the challenge being presented by using their own associations

and skills.

While simplified multiple choice answers were certainly apparent in the textbook,

there was also a strong emphasis on audience analysis and inquiry into the rhetorical

situation. This was a promising feature that pointed students towards discussing possible

interpretations of texts and ways to respond. Additionally, at the beginning of each

chapter the authors had constructed three scenarios where each of the modes was at play.

The intent was for each set of scenarios to serve as a discussion starter for students to

build identifications between the mode and their own experiences.

Professor Fields was at least aware of the deemphasized role reading played in her

English courses and the need for more expertise in reading instruction at her institution.

She described the creation of a separate reading department several years go as

"wonderful[,] because I don't know much about the pedagogy of teaching reading." The creation of another department did in fact help improve the quality of reading instruction but it posed its own challenges. Although Professor Fields regarded the separation as a positive move, "then we had to have a separate department for reading and probably could have more links." Professor Fields was enthusiastic about the possibility of integrating reading and writing, especially in developmental education: "Ideally we would have a learning community with developmental English and Reading," because:

> These students need to see connections. I think they perceive their classes as so separate. That's one of the pleasures of education when you can see what [you are] learning in Psychology really transfer over to that Intro. to Literature class. So I, WE know it would work really well for our students."

Indeed, much of the literature on developmental education points to the increased effectiveness of centralized programs (Boylan, What Works), and from an integrated perspective, separate departments create another artificial schism between literacy practices.

This raises some troubling concerns and contradictions in Professor Field's program. Professor Field's move to teach developmental courses was not accompanied by research into developmental education; as a result her course retained its Literature-centered approach. While arguably this would allow for students to gain experience in the kinds of writing they would be doing later, it does not seem to make much of an effort to address the current skill level of students. Similarly, Professor Fields admitted a gap in her knowledge of reading pedagogy but this perceived weakness was not something that was addressed in the research and design of her new textbook despite her accurate insight

that students needed to see these kinds of connections. It is possible that the existence of a separate reading department eliminated the perceived need for such a move or perhaps complicated doing so in a way that Professor Fields has yet to discovered. In general Professor Field's responses indicate a program in need of more clearly articulated goals between courses in the English progression and across facets of developmental education that would make it much more effective as a whole.

In contrast to Professor Fields, her counterpart, Professor Wilson, was well aware of the connections between reading and writing. Her background in English and Reading Education informed her articulation of connections throughout the interview and in examples from her class. She said, "In this program they don't get by with just reading, although that's primarily what they do." Professor Wilson indicated that her course adhered to the CCCS guidelines but that those goals had been refined to include more emphasis on analyzing the structure of passages and critical evaluation. She had begun incorporating brief writing exercises into each lesson asking students to identify what they deemed to be the most important idea or concept.

Alongside each lesson students were required to formulate a quiz based on their interpretation of the text. Like Professor Miller, Professor Wilson admitted that part of the appeal of the quiz writing exercise was to reduce time demands on herself: "I like it because I don't have to go through and do all the work when I've already read the books." In addition to the reduced time demands, her students had indicated it made them read more closely and "requires a little more critical thinking."

Pedagogically, quiz writing exercises like the one Professor Wilson described could be a productive practice for utilizing reading and writing as modes of learning. Not

only can it require students to pay more attention to the text and reflect upon it, but the assignment requires students to formulate these reflections in written form. Although this practice can result in the production of pat answers, Professor Wilson's emphasis on the open-ended nature of reading assignments presented an added possibility. Questions generated from students' individual experiences would require them to consider how to adequately establish and articulate a point of reference from which to ask a question of their reader.

This series of lessons culminated in the final assignment of the semester which asked students to write a few paragraphs in response to concepts identified in the memoir they read throughout the course. Her goal was to "really stress the open-ended aspect of reading... about connecting what they learned with their own experience" through inferences, personal insights, and visualizations. She said, "Again there's no right or wrong, but you can get a good insight into what they are thinking." Professor Wilson did not indicate whether the rationale behind this assignment was confidence building or as a starting point for further investigation, but the potential for both was certainly present.

The question regarding Professor Wilson's teaching practices is how apparent these connections are to students. Like many of the other administrators in this study Professor Wilson expressed concern that students "seem to see reading as Reading, a subject; English as English, a subject; math as Math; rather than skills to apply across the board." As a possible reason for this split Professor Wilson pointed to primary and secondary education, "It's probably the K-12 system that establishes that mindset." Ironically, several observations made during the interview pointed towards an understanding of the connection between the two as literate practices: "The reading and

writing are so closely connected. They're pretty much the same skills except one's decoding and one's encoding. They're two sides of the same coin…They're just such closely linked processes."

However, Professor Wilson suggested that a minimal amount of effort was being made in repairing that divide. Despite an obvious rationale guiding the selection of tasks in Professor Wilson's classes they remained only implicit connections. Regarding the written response she said, "that's one sort of nod to try and get them to try and understand that after you read something you need to spend some time thinking about it and write about it…I know that's pretty miniscule." Professor Wilson also questioned the degree to which readings from other content areas drew connections for students, "I think the readings from the sciences and social studies relate but they are pretty unconsciously connected."

Making connections explicit does not seem to be an enormous undertaking based on Professor Wilson's description of her program. The initial framework from which to make these connections seems to be in place already. Indeed the challenges Professor Wilson seems to face appear to stem more from logistical features of their institution, separated departments and incongruent goals, than with her perceived value of integration. Explicit connections would be beneficial from an integrated reading and writing stand point in that it would further allow students to develop the kind of meta-cognitive "language about language" that Bruffee advocates (164). Additionally, explication would serve to demystify features of the academic discourse community, both in terms of literacy practices and college in general, which these developmental students are striving to join.

Professor Bullock and Professor Smith: Successful Programs; Programming Success

Professor Bullock's responses demonstrated a broader understanding of many of the issues concerning developmental education and integrated reading and writing than most of the participants in this study. Professor Bullock's concerns for his newly formed program centered on *transferability* of concepts and skills across courses. In describing his program Professor Bullock said, "College preparatory classes are essentially the first year experience mixed in with 'high school 2'." Professor Bullock's characterization of developmental education as "high school 2" and the newly imposed mandate requiring developmental courses to be completed prior to taking degree credit courses are somewhat reminiscent of traditional forms of developmental education that removed developmental students from the college environment as a "deterrent and detention" (Ritter 17) until they demonstrated enough proficiency to reenter the regular curriculum. However Professor Bullock's motivation and program design reflected an altogether different motive. Professor Bullock, a product of developmental education himself, felt that prep classes were definitely a repeat of high school. He said:

> These students should have been taught these skills in high school and were repeating that instruction again. High schools are at fault for not preparing these students. I tell my students, 'Somebody failed you in middle school or maybe high school. Or they just passed you on.'

Failing to prepare students was something Professor Bullock seemed determined not to repeat.

Rather than restricting developmental students from the college mainstream, Professor Bullock's program worked across multiple levels to build as many connections for students as possible. Professor Bullock said, "Reading and writing courses are taught using a whole book approach that includes reading a complete novel." This move reflects Professor Bullock's MFA background but it also reflects Professor Bullock's decision to employ the novel as a site for discussing multiple topics. As an example Professor Bullock said, "Dan Brown's book has been used to discuss issues of history, religion, nuclear arms, etc." Rather than implementing the novel as a way to inscribe a definition of what reading and writing were, in this case popular novels, Professor Bullock's approach served to portray reading and writing as modes of learning about subjects and how they were portrayed across texts. Professor Bullock indicated that through the work of his full-time and adjunct colleagues, a series of essays had been compiled into a course reader for developmental classes that further described this approach.

As an example of classroom practice that incorporates reading and writing together students are asked to construct essay outlines in the reading courses that, according to Professor Bullock, "focus on pulling out the main ideas and supporting details from texts and then organizing them for various purposes: compare and contrast, summary, etc." As a second step in the process students were then asked to adapt these initial outlines into other forms to notice how they needed to be modified for various purposes. This exercise serves as a prime example of the kinds of thinking Professor Bullock intended his students to engage in. By asking his students to transform their initial outline, Professor Bullock required them to reread not only their text but also the source material, to rewrite their *understanding* of two texts, and then rewrite their outline.

Professor Bullock noted that students did not actually write the essays in his reading courses because he did not want to "step on the toes" of his English instructors. The hope though, was "that the idea of how to organize information transfers into the writing courses."

Articulation between courses was not only represented by the discussion of various issues through course readings, but also extended to shape the rationale of grammar instruction. Concerning grammar Professor Bullock said, "Part of the problem is that there is a large gap in education where these skills are not addressed. From the 121 level upwards the emphasis is on other things, and they never really get addressed anywhere else." Grammar exercises in the courses included asking students to demonstrate the various ways sentences could be punctuated and providing unpunctuated prose for them to then punctuate. Professor Bullock noted a big improvement in this skill from 060 to 090 and explained that grammar, rather than being "How to write" was a necessity because of its application in later courses both in English and beyond. As always, grammar instruction for developmental students is a touchy subject but Professor Bullock's responses indicate some of the pros and cons to any permutation of grammar instruction. Requiring students to demonstrate "the eight ways to use commas" is more skill and drill than many of the other features of his program but his "unpunctuated paragraph" exercise on the other hand is more oriented towards a meaning centered approach in that it provides students a context in which to ground the skills and treat grammar as a tool for accentuating and clarifying meaning.

Articulation between courses was also addressed in the use of process methods of writing instruction. While acknowledging the benefits of process writing, Professor

Bullock was also wary of the tendency of process to, as Professor Bullock described it, "easily lead to over-filtered papers and become an inaccurate reflection of whether the student actually understood the material or if they were just good at asking for help." To counter-balance this, Professor Bullock utilized in-class writing prompts, which again correlated to the kinds writing tasks students would be doing in later courses.

Another stand out feature of Professor Bullock's course design was its use of multimedia. Though other programs in this study used texts beyond the printed page, most efforts consisted of computer software utilized to evaluate students' grammar and vocabulary skills tests on multiple choice tests. On the other hand, courses in Professor Bullock's program utilized multimedia as a site for discussion. According to Professor Bullock, "the course uses multimodal and multimedia approaches to discuss issues because of students' difficulty with reading and writing." Here again, Professor Bullock appeared to demonstrate a more nuanced understanding of developmental students and literacy practices. This response and several others pointed to a definition of developmental students for Professor Bullock as those who are underserved or underprepared not simply underdeveloped. Utilizing multimedia sources provided a way for students to engage with material and concepts while temporarily alleviating the demands of reading and writing. For this same reason Professor Bullock was wary of online courses. He stated that an online course, "presents its own problems and I've found that the distance makes it more complicated to talk about subject material than just having the conversation in person." Professor Bullock's nuanced understanding of technological issues has provided him the opportunity to employ these tools strategically, avoiding pitfalls while bolstering communication and learning.

A final feature of the new program was what Professor Bullock called "Tutors without Borders." Tutors would cycle through classes delivering presentations on study skills and additional individual support. This represents yet another layer of connection throughout the developmental program. Indeed perhaps Professor Bullock's greatest understanding is not just his grasp of the connections between reading and writing, though that certainly helps, but his understanding of connections between the various forms of support for developmental education. Monthly meetings with Advising and Tutoring, as well as Reading and Writing faculty, have led to an integration of informed practice across departments that align efforts rather than confound each other and have coalesced into a program that anticipates students' needs rather than one that continuously reacts and is shaped by challenges.

Similarly Professor Smith's understanding of reading and writing and developmental education allowed her to be proactive in addressing challenges at her college. Features of Professor Smith's institution created an interesting dynamic for the developmental program. In describing her college Professor Smith noted that "About 80% of our students coming [here] need remediation in math, reading, English or all three. The high number of students requiring developmental education put her institution and its students in a precarious position, as Professor Smith explained:

They are cut off from financial aid after thirty hours of developmental courses and that's thirty credits of everything: Math, English, Reading and so if they come in at 060 in math they've got four classes to take before they get to college-level Algebra and if they come in at an 060 level in English they've got two courses to

take before they even get into transfer-level English. So it's a money issue. They will lose their financial aid if they take too many developmental courses.

To address this issue Professor Smith's program began integrating reading instruction into its English courses. This move helped students stay under the thirty credit limit but has also presented additional challenges. She noted that as a result of the thirty credit limit, "We're not allowed to require reading." Students could elect to take a section of developmental reading, but as noted above the social stigma and discouragement that come with placement into developmental courses make this an unpopular choice. The cap served as an impetus for both integrating reading into writing courses and increased attention to the placement procedures. In addition to the state mandated Accuplacer, Professor Smith's college also administers the Writeplacer essay exam. Professor Smith noted that this additional placement tool helps to correctly place students that were not well served by the Accuplacer. She said this feature was especially helpful for second language learners and "intuitive grammarians" whose fate hinged largely on the ability to answer multiple choice questions rather than their actual writing ability.

The courses themselves were organized as learning communities. Professor Smith's view on the model was that "because it integrated discipline content into the reading and writing, [this] makes it substantive." She felt that students often perceived reading and writing as existing in a vacuum where content and application are divorced from each other. To address this issue ENG 090 instructors were paired with a transfer discipline course. Instructors co-taught the courses which met back to back. Because of this overlap Professor Smith found that "students are better able to understand the content because they're writing about it in their writing classes."

Professor Smith felt that her program had made significant strides over the course of her tenure as lead faculty. Grammar instruction was reconfigured to be studied alongside the rhetorical issues of course readings and students texts. This constituted a major shift. Professor Smith notes, "They didn't even have any rhetoric for the developmental writing courses… But we don't do that anymore. Even in our lowest level writing course we don't teach paragraphs in isolation from the rest of an essay." The move to integrating reading across courses has led to a much more rigorous program. In writing courses students no longer had to contend with making the bridge between crafting paragraphs at the developmental level to writing full essays in transfer English. Instead the shift towards reading and writing as modes of learning and the higher degree of transaction between the two practices has allowed for developmental students to engage with increasingly difficult texts and ideas. Professor Smith described a learning community she co-taught:

> I teach a learning model with [a colleague] and it's Intro to Literature. The level of thinking that goes on in that class is very high level and nothing is dumbed down. We read Macbeth by the end of the semester and we're reading Alexander Pope and Margaret Atwood and Tim O'Brien and Sherman Alexie.

According to Professor Smith, shifting towards a more meaning/rhetorical-based developmental program has not only improved retention and student performance, but it has also allowed students to gain experience in the kinds of academic discourse they will encounter later on.

Not surprisingly Professor Smith's description of the values and purpose of reading and writing differed considerably from that of students entering her courses.

Noting this difference, she said, "A lot of them didn't have writing classes, they had literature classes and they would write papers, but they didn't study rhetoric a lot. There wasn't a lot of thought or emphasis on argument or argumentation which is really the kind of writing they do in college."

Professor Bullock and Professor Smith both hold perspectives on reading and writing that are very promising. They recognize the value of reading and writing as intertwining practices of meaning-making and employ them in critically informed pedagogies. Their ability to implement such strategies is, arguably, made possible by a confluence of institutional goals and the benefits of grant funding. Additionally developmental education at their respective institutions is truly a program, one connected across departments rather than a sub-feature of English. Collaboration between professionals has been used to generate overlapping support features for students which have in turn led to *reflection* on pedagogical practices. This is perhaps the most important feature of these successful programs.

Chapter V: Conclusions

The results of this study suggest that organizational features of community colleges affect notions of reading and writing, program goals, and implementation of reading and writing in coursework in several ways. The relationship between the administrator's understanding of literacy education and the institution's larger goals, including support/lack of support for developmental education, created situations that either encouraged and enabled program innovation toward integration or discouraged integration and subsumed developmental education in service of other institutional values such as vocational training. A vocational focus in turn led to literacy instruction that obscured possibilities for reading and writing as a mode of learning. Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs themselves are not antithetical to integrated reading and writing and it would be inaccurate to imply that community colleges with strong vocational programs are poor providers of literacy instruction.

Rather, CTE, developmental, and transfer courses can be understood as representations of institutional values at work. These values, regardless of the nature of the program, constitute one of the important realities administrators are confronted with and must account for as they design their own program goals. To this list we can add department size, enrollment numbers, student needs and demographics, time and resources, all of which exert an influence on administrators' decisions and motives. Without clearly defined priorities and carefully thought out pedagogical principles

driving instruction, administrators will lack a solid ground from which to understand and address the realities they face. Organizational constraints can lead to narrow perspectives that relegate developmental education, and reading and writing in particular, to practices of isolated skills and force administrators to adopt a reactive position.

Such constraints seem to be most deeply affecting Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert at their institution, and at least the English Department under Professor Fields. Although their programs could stand to benefit from a more robust pedagogical grounding, what they appear to need most is an opportunity to begin that process. Observing their struggles can be disheartening, but it can also provide opportunities to learn. These insights add to researchers' understanding of the contexts and realities developmental educators must deal with. Furthermore, they provide an opportunity to reflect on theory as it plays out in practice. Both Dr. Harris and Professor Eckert promote reading and writing as skills for acquiring and building the knowledge to perform some other task. In a sense their notions of reading and writing sound remarkably similar to Vygotsky's and Bruffee's notions of instrumental speech. Yet instrumental speech and meaning making are something much more than simple functional literacy. Teaching reading and writing in this way is essentially teaching its limits. It teaches students that one day they will have done "enough" thinking and learning to be successful in life and the need and process of developing will one day stop.

Comparing the principles of integrated reading and writing in theory against their approximations in practice creates an opportunity for developmental programs to refine their understanding and identify important questions for further research and program

revision. Based on this study's findings, we can return to and expand that list of principles.

Make Meaning-Making the Priority

Several of these colleges teaching reading and writing in the same course. As Vivian Zamel mentioned, placing reading and writing activities in close proximity to each other does not necessarily indicate a move towards a more meaning-centered pedagogy. Similarly it is not enough to assume that because a single instructor teaches both reading and writing courses that their understanding or implementation of these two literacy practices will lead to the kinds of deeper learning experiences they desire. Administrators must pay careful attention to what they are asking their students to do and why. Professor Miller's experience with students who didn't understand why they were being asked to engage in certain classroom activities points to the challenge in exposing students to a different conception of literacy than what they might be familiar with. If administrators have difficulty articulating their understandings then the same should be expected of students. Negotiating this transition should be done with care so as not to compound a student's existing struggles with literacy by adding on new demands without helping them untangle their old notions first. An important goal for students then is not only to expand their knowledge through literacy but also *of* literacy.

Make Connections Explicit

Making rationales and expectations of literacy instruction explicit will help students establish clear goals and a framework for their own education. If students understand the purposes of their reading and writing, not only might they be able to use

that framework to their advantage but they can also better understand how their difficulties in one area affect another area of literacy. This creates an opportunity to develop a more sophisticated language for talking about their language. Realistically such meta-discussions are bound to be clumsy and evolve slowly in developmental courses, but, as Professor Wilson's responses indicate, if these rationales are not presented, students are limited to their own casual and "subconscious" connections.

Carefully Create Connections between Disciplines

Providing students with the opportunity to apply meaning-making skills to different kinds of disciplinary content is a promising practice because it addresses the motivations and interests that prompt students to come to college. It also works to counteract the frustration students feel when they are referred to developmental programs. However the process of linking course material remains one of the most difficult challenges. Aligning schedules, identifying collaborators in other disciplines, and developing course materials is a time consuming process that requires a substantial investment from the two instructors and most likely the larger institution. One possible solution to the technical aspects of scheduling is to develop a less direct linkage where instructors utilize a number of readings from another discipline in their courses and collaborate less formally with colleagues. While possibly productive, this is not the same as a co-taught class. Developmental instructors can easily find themselves bogged down trying to explain domain knowledge and principles which they are not familiar with and, in turn, create further frustration and confusion among students. In this case different subject matter is perhaps best utilized as a site for sustaining interest and helping students

recognize the existence of different kinds of literacy and knowledge rather than honing specific expertise.

Develop Community among Students, Even Commuters

Scholars like Sugie Goen and Helen Gillotte-Tropp, Kenneth Bruffee, James Paul Gee, and Deborah Brandt have illustrated the collaborative and social nature of literacy and administrators like Professor Smith have demonstrated the effectiveness of learning communities in a community college setting. However, as with co-taught courses, learning communities require a substantial investment from the entire college and formalized communities are difficult to establish at commuter campuses or colleges with small enrollments. Furthermore there remain issues of inclusion. On the one hand, fostering communities can help students develop connections with peers; on the other, this can be perceived as something that is forced on developmental students and serves to mark them as "the other". Perhaps a fruitful alternative to manufactured communities is emphasizing the collaborative nature of literacy and providing opportunity for its natural development in courses. Discussing the multiple meanings of texts and assisting each other in fleshing out those meanings seems a good starting point. Administrators might also look for ways to foster a sense of community as an institutional value. Professor Bullock, for instance, made a point to include part-time faculty in programming meetings and ensure that Reading and English instructors met regularly.

Establish Guiding Principles Based on Research and Sound Pedagogy

Establishing guiding principles is difficult work and even the more successful programs discussed in this study experience difficulty and setbacks. Any implementation of pedagogical principles will remain an approximation of the ideal, but by establishing

principles, administrators are able to set clear goals to work towards. For administrators interested in integrating reading and writing Professor Smith and Professor Bullock can serve as useful models. Both Administrators expanded their understanding of reading and writing by addressing issues that reached across their campus and looking outside of their department for support and information. The conditions at Professor Smith's institution required that reading instruction be optional to ensure that students remain under the state cap of thirty developmental credits which would otherwise jeopardize their financial aid. This necessity also created an opportunity for Professor Smith to draw upon her college's WAC program and connections in other departments to develop learning communities which incorporated reading and writing strategically in linked, co-taught courses with disciplinary instructors. Professor Bullock carefully weighed program designs against the needs and capabilities of his institution to determine which features to transfer. He also organized a large network of collaborators to help him develop and implement the new plan which then filtered out across his campus. While Professors Smith and Bullock were the benefactors of particular circumstances and external funding, what appears to have benefitted their programs the most was their own reflection on developmental education practices and motivation to investigate these issues. An important question to ask in this regard is how to promote that same kind of investigation and motivation among other developmental educators? How can administrators continue to increase the professional development necessary to contend with the programmatic, organizational, and institutional challenges that integrating developmental reading and writing poses?

Argue for Targeted Funding for Professional Development

The results of this study indicate that further institutional support is needed for integrating reading and writing efforts at community colleges. As argued, one of the largest hurdles for developmental education is funding and the effects it has full-time faculty, professional development opportunities, and retention of adjunct faculty. Identifying the need for more funding seems an inadequate conclusion to this study. However as noted in a recent article published in *The Denver Post* by nine state college presidents, the $832 million dollars it would take to bring Colorado on par with the national average for higher education funding sure would help.

In lieu of additional funding there are still ways to address and improve developmental instruction. Norton Grubb asserts that too frequently developmental educators have made the move to meaning-centered pedagogies "on their own, through trial and error, with at best a little help from their friends" (11). Professional development initiatives can allow administrators to critically evaluate their understanding of reading and writing and the way it shapes pedagogical implementation. Only then can informed investigation of proposed best practices be employed to gauge their transferability to individual contexts and how they need to be reconfigured toward productive and beneficial curriculum designs that best fit their own needs.

Professional development can help faculty members integrate literacy practices by leading them to more effective uses of writing and reading in their classrooms and avoiding the tendency to see these as separate practices used solely for the transmission of information to or from students. In addition to illustrating how instructors could integrate literacy practices, professional development can also provide faculty with a

sense of "permission" to begin investigating their own alternatives to transmission approaches without fearing repercussions and provide them a platform to discuss their ideas. Though a transmission-style approach is in some cases helpful and necessary for developmental students who are out of practice or unfamiliar with successful reading and writing skills, focusing solely on this means of education ignores what researchers have come to understand about literacy and learning; it also underutilizes the potential of reading and writing as a means for students to explore and make connections between content areas and the larger world.

Professional development is not one size fits all. The kinds of obligations that administrators or full-time faculty are under might be very different from that of adjunct faculty who, though infrequently involved in the decision making process, still constitute a large percentage of instructors for developmental courses. Uncritically implementing or mandating professional development can have deleterious effects. Sporadic or ill-conceived professional development opportunities similar to those described by Professors Fields and Wilson can result in faculty withdrawal from professional development and increased reliance on trial and error. Additionally, simply mandating another professional responsibility on already overworked educators seems unproductive. Administrators need to assess the needs of their faculty in order to develop attractive incentives to participate in professional development. For instance, offering adjunct faculty the opportunity to collaborate on and co-author conference presentations can add a feather to the cap of young professionals beginning their career as educators or for part-time instructors who see adjuncting as a way to enrich their resume.

Develop Cross-Institutional Communication

Communication between colleges seems to be a key resource. Numerous times during the interview process administrators articulated concerns and challenges such as mandating developmental education, issues of linking courses on Banner, and placement procedures that had successfully been resolved at other institutions. Finding solutions to these initial hurdles can open doors for administrators to begin experimenting with the kinds of programmatic innovations they wish to implement. Similarly, participation and membership on the Colorado Association of Developmental Educators (CoADE) website is strikingly low. Though several respondents indicated they maintained contact with other developmental educators from various colleges, the nature of this contact and the kind of topics discussed remains unclear. Establishing a more formal network of peers would provide administrators an opportunity to share information regarding curricular issues and innovations. In the case of Professor Miller, the lone developmental educator at her institution, establishing a writing cohort between other administrators across the state would greatly benefit her ability to investigate her growing understanding of post-secondary developmental education and reading and writing. In turn, Professor Miller's experiences and observations could prove beneficial to established administrators in developing better means of training and support for their faculty and beginning educators. Integrating developmental reading and writing will have to rely heavily on professional development as a means to help instructors explore and expand their understanding while collaborating to ensure that instruction in one practice compliments the other.

Undertake a Pedagogical Research Agenda

Integrating reading and writing is a large undertaking even at smaller institutions, one that will necessitate outside research. Pam Schuetz and Jim Barr argue that one of the key challenges community colleges face is the tendency for research to be either atheoretical or based on "theories about four-year institutions that embed assumptions and distort observations and findings for two-year colleges" (108). Traditionally there has been a lack of emphasis or reward for outside research when not attached to grant funding. Here too, community colleges face an institutional obstacle. Unlike university professors who must "publish or perish," the intense work loads, small number of permanent positions, and numerous other professional responsibilities at community colleges can easily create a mindset where outside research and professional development become a low priority until it appears on the calendar.

To be truly effective, administrators will have to redefine their professional role to include research. This can take many forms: conducting action research in their courses, subscribing to and disseminating information from academic journals, or, when possible, conducting formal studies. Frequently, research at community colleges has relied on simple attempts to identify best practices like those proposed by Roueche and Roueche and Boylan. This is a step in the right direction, but should remain a first step. Administrators need to interrogate research to discover why its findings are important and under what circumstances these insights should be applied.

The struggles illustrated across several of these campuses point to a concern over research that is not simply a budgetary issue, nor necessarily does it concern only pedagogy. Even institutions that have successfully integrated their developmental courses

have had to contend with institutional mandates and aspects of the campus culture which posed serious obstacles and limitations on curricular innovation. One of the most surprising participants in this study was Professor Bullock. His sophisticated understanding of administrative and pedagogical principles seemed unlikely given his MFA background. Nonetheless, he demonstrated a high degree of political savvy in turning the tide of institutional support in his favor. Along with solidifying their disciplinary knowledge of literacy and engaging in research, administrators need to consider their program's design in the context of their institution. Far too often, concerns of pedagogy are left out of central administrative discussions on policy. Just as often, developmental educators are content to ignore the ways their programs are influenced by external institutional and economic interests. Administrators need to work towards opening channels of dialogue between peers and colleagues to discuss how best to communicate developmental education's concerns to central administration. This in its own right is a research agenda. What kinds of information best articulate the value of developmental education? What kinds of results and criteria influence state policy makers? Furthermore, what kinds of resources should developmental educators request to best meet these needs?

The potential benefits of integration stretch well beyond the realm of developmental education. In *Leaving College: Rethinking the Causes and Cures of Student Attrition*, Vincent Tinto asserts that 75% of students leave community colleges not because of discouragement or failure, but because of the disconnect between students skill levels and the "organization of educational institutions, their formal structures, resources, and patterns of association" (89). Integrated reading and writing challenges

educators to investigate their notions of literacy and fashion forms of instruction that prepare students for the complex tasks that lay ahead of them. Integrated reading and writing challenges educators to question patterns of association and formal structures, to search for more productive ways of serving students, and reach out across their institutions to develop more critically informed educational practices. Building connections between faculty and courses holds the potential for not only better connecting course material and learning practices for students, but in a sense, better connecting students to their colleges as a whole.

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