EVOLVING DISCIPLINARY CULTURES OF EAP AND DEVELOPMENTAL ENGLISH UNDER THE COLLEGE COMPLETION AGENDA: A GEORGIA CASE STUDY OF READING AND COMPOSITION SUPPORT FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

by

SUSAN BLEYLE

(Under the Direction of Linda Harklau)

ABSTRACT

This is a multiple case study examining two distinct paths, developmental English and English for Academic Purposes, for language minority students' academic literacy development at a four-year, access, public college in the Southeastern United States. It is also an examination of the impact on these programs and students of state-wide policy changes on developmental education, which stem from a national college completion reform movement. Study data included interviews with students, faculty, and administrators, relevant documents and course artifacts, classroom observations, and some limited quantitative data regarding both programs. The study identified varied disciplinary cultures that have shaped two different cultures of writing. Using a Communities of Practice framework, the programs were found to consist of distinct joint enterprises, with differing levels of mutuality among student and faculty community members, and to have developed a unique set of shared repertoires within each program, all of which had a profound impact on the learning opportunities available to language minority students. The study also found that statewide policy changes were being put into effect to further truncate the developmental program and eliminate the EAP option, mandating that all

entering freshmen, even those still acquiring English, embark on their gateway, college-level English class in their first year. These changes were implemented with little to no input from L2 professionals or, indeed, from L2 students themselves. The impact of these changes for language minority students' language and literacy development is discussed from a critical language policy perspective.

INDEX WORDS: Language minority students, Linguistic minority students, Generation 1.5, English as a second language, English for academic purposes, Developmental English, Remedial education, Learning support, College Composition, College Reading, Remedial policy changes, College completion agenda, Corequisite courses, Cultures of writing, Communities of Practice, Critical language policy

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, John Allen Bleyle, one of my biggest supporters and truest loves. Most of this dissertation was written in the final months of my father's life, and it was an honor to be able to do this work in the presence of a man with such deep reverence for language, education, and the inherent value of all members of our society.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Adolescent and adult language minority students from immigrant families appear to be enrolling in U.S. institutions of higher education in ever increasing numbers (Harklau & Siegal, 2009). In fact, 31% of all SAT test takers from the class of 2017 report that English is a second or additional language (College Board, 2017). This population of students enrolling in U.S. colleges and universities is far from monolithic, however, and actually comprises students from a wide variety of language learning backgrounds. Included are those who acquired English primarily in EFL (English as a foreign language) vs. ESL (English as a second language) contexts; those whose bilingualism is elective vs. circumstantial; and those who completed secondary schooling in their native country vs. members of the so-called 1.5 immigrant generation who received at least some primary and/or secondary schooling in the U.S. (di Gennaro, 2012). Another way of commonly categorizing the range of English learners entering post-secondary institutions is as either international students, recent immigrants, or Generation 1.5 students (Bergey, Movit, Baird, Faria, & Mei, 2018). In the midst of such diversity, it is not surprising that the issue of how best to meet the post-secondary language needs of these students is a complex one.

The college-going pathways of the group of at least partially U.S.-educated (Generation 1.5) linguistic minority students is an area of study that has been given increasing attention in recent years (Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999; Kanno & Harklau, 2012; Roberge, Siegal, & Harklau, 2009). Within this area of inquiry, an important question relates to the appropriate placement for those Generation 1.5 students who demonstrate the need for language and literacy

support in preparation for college-level coursework. Institutions across the country have established a wide range of policies to determine appropriate placement for second language learners, including those of the 1.5 Generation immigrant population with a demonstrated need for pre-college level work, into either ESL or developmental writing courses (variously called "remedial writing,' 'basic skills writing,' 'introduction to college writing,' 'pre-college composition,' or another title to indicate its status as a course for students at the very beginning of their journey as writers in postsecondary education" (Bernstein, 2013, p. 3), which are most often designed for native speakers.

For many language minority students, the college ESL classroom often fulfills a dual role as both a language course as well as a developmental course to strengthen academic literacy skills, which may be less established due to issues such as interrupted schooling (Razfar & Simon, 2011), segregation in low performing schools (Gándara, 2010), subtractive monolingual schooling (Menken, 2013), and an impoverished ESOL curriculum in K-12 settings (Callahan, 2005; Kanno & Kangas, 2014). While some research has found college ESL placement to be beneficial for linguistic minority students who appreciate the supportive affective environment and the opportunity to develop communicative competence in English (Razfar & Simon, 2011), other researchers have criticized ESL programs for potentially acting as unnecessary gatekeepers that segregate linguistic minority students from their native-English-speaking peers and delay their progress towards required college-level courses (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008). Additional research has explored the problematic deficit identity that mandatory college ESL coursework can facilitate in language minority students who long since exited out of primary or secondary school ESOL programs (Marshall, 2009; Shapiro, 2012).

While some existing literature paints a picture of the ESL-course taking experiences of language minority students (Harklau, 2001; Shapiro, 2012), relatively little work has been done to explore the experiences of those students who, for various reasons, bypass the ESL pathway in favor of a developmental one which places them with native-English-speaking peers in pre-college-level English courses. Nevertheless, for a number of complex reasons, students with a first or home language other than English, often with similar native language and immigration backgrounds, are variously found in both types of courses—ESL and developmental writing (Becket, 2005; Case, Williams, & Xu, 2013; Matsuda, Saenkhum, & Accardi, 2013).

Students who take these divergent paths often enter entirely different discourse communities. These courses, though all designed to bring the language and literacy skills of underprepared incoming college students to the level required for freshman composition and other writing intensive courses at the college, are frequently taught by faculty from different departments who are supervised and evaluated by different administrators. In most cases, these faculty have degrees in dissimilar fields (i.e., most developmental writing faculty have degrees in English whereas ESL faculty come from disciplines such as applied linguistics or TESOL) (Silva & Leki, 2004) and, for reasons of departmental separation, may do very little collaborative work together (Baker, 2008). Not surprisingly, therefore, they often employ a different range of pedagogies and make different assumptions about how to prepare students for college-level writing, or indeed, about what college-level writing even is.

Further complicating the issue is the concern in recent years on the part of national and state policymakers that developmental education is not yielding its expected returns and is in need of radical reform (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010). Rutschow & Schneider (2011) divide efforts to transform remediation into four types of strategies, interventions, and programs: 1) those that

help students avoid developmental education by improving their skills before they enter college; 2) those that accelerate students' progress through developmental coursework by shortening the timing or content of these courses; 3) those that provide students with contextualized basic skills in conjunction with occupational or college-level coursework; and 4) those that enhance available supports for developmental learners, such as advising and tutoring. Of these measures, those that have become most common and have the greatest bearing on the current work involve shortening developmental course sequences and offering such courses in conjunction with—in other words, as a corequisite with rather than prerequisite for—a college-level gateway course, such as freshman composition (Complete College America, 2013).

Most research informing remedial education policy reform, however, neglects to consider the experiences of language minority students or to include programs specifically designed for non-native speakers of English, such as ESL or English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Nevertheless, ESL programs may also become caught up in these sweeping reforms as university systems become ever more insistent that it is in the best interest of students to begin their college careers in gateway college-level rather than prerequisite-level courses. Some ESL programs are now facing pressures to reduce or even curtail entirely their course sequences based on the policy reform agenda for developmental programs designed for native speakers. As such, an important research agenda is to investigate these programs in order to better understand their varied cultures of writing, the impacts of recent policy reforms, and the implications of both for linguistic minority students' development as academic writers. The current study aims to contribute to this important topic.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study is to examine two distinct paths, developmental English and English for Academic Purposes, for linguistic minority students' academic literacy development at a four-year, access[1], public college in the Southeastern United States, particularly in light of the various cultures of writing that exist in both programs and with regard to state-wide policy changes on developmental education. By taking a qualitative case study approach involving observations, document analysis, and interviews, the study will gain access to the emic perspectives of students, faculty, and administrators who are involved in both programs. The following research questions will guide the study:

1. What were[2] the cultures of writing (teaching/learning of language and literacy) in the developmental English and EAP programs?
    a. How were the experiences of linguistic minority students studying academic language and literacy in developmental English vs. in EAP similar or different?
2. How are the developmental English and EAP programs being affected (or not) by policy changes at the national and state levels?
    a. What are the perspectives of administrators, faculty, and students about the way these programs are being transformed at GGC?

[1] Georgia Gwinnett College is unique in the University System of Georgia in that, as a four-year institution, it shares the same access institution admission standards as the two –year community colleges. Entering students are typically required to have earned a high school diploma with a 2.0 GPA in Required High School Curriculum (RHSC) courses and meet minimum test requirements on either the SAT, ACT, or COMPASS exam. (Georgia Gwinnett College, 2015).

[2] Due to the changing natures of both programs, and the ultimate dissolution of the EAP program by the time this dissertation was written, these research questions and the resulting findings have, by necessity, shifted to the past tense.

Organization of the Study

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter one has introduced the background and purpose of the study. Chapter two includes a review of the relevant literature on the topic. Chapter three outlines the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the study. The study's findings are presented in chapters four and five. Chapter six explains the implications of the study and offers directions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide a context for the current study, I will begin with a brief review of the literature regarding the varied cultures of writing in developmental and ESL writing programs, emphasizing the differing assumptions about students and instructional practices in college developmental writing as opposed to in L2[3] writing programs. This will be followed by an overview of the current state of developmental writing policy reform and its impact on college ESL programs.

Students in Developmental and L2 Writing Programs

At first glance, the definitions of students who place into either developmental (basic) or L2 writing classes seem quite obvious: native speakers of English take basic writing courses, and non-native speakers of English take L2 writing courses when available. Upon deeper examination, however, this simple division into native vs. non-native speakers is not as straightforward as it seems. A pertinent question becomes understanding the assumptions made about the students who variously belong in each type of course: Who are they? Why are they there? And what challenges exist with the terms "basic" and "L2" writer?

What Assumptions are made about Basic Writers?

The question of who basic writers are has been fraught with controversy since the field's inception. Fundamentally, the students who take basic writing courses are students who do not

[3] I often use the term L2 throughout this dissertation as an abbreviation for "second language." I also use it at times to describe the language minority student participants in this study (i.e., L2 students). I consider this term to be interchangeable with other designations used in the L2 literature, such as "ESL," "English Learner" (EL), "English Language Learner" (ELL) or "Non-native English Speaker" (NNES). As I will explore later in this chapter, these students are far from monolithic, and no one perfect term exists to capture their complexity.

meet some type of assessment threshold required for entrance into freshman composition (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010). Across institutions in the U.S., however, there is no common assessment instrument or placement policy, which makes it very hard to define exactly who basic writers are other than as "accidents of assessment" (p. 109). For those who witnessed the start of the basic writing movement, however, there was a very different orientation towards the definition of basic writers—one that centered on issues of social justice and access.

Basic writing began as an outgrowth of the open admissions movement in the 1960s and 1970s at the City University of New York (CUNY) (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010). A seminal figure in this development was a teacher-scholar named Mina Shaughnessy, who became the director of CUNY's SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge) program. The program's purpose was "to provide higher education opportunities to economically and educationally disadvantaged students" (p. 4) during a time of rising college enrollments, mostly due to the post-World War II GI Bill, as well as a rising sense of egalitarianism in terms of providing equal educational opportunity to people who would otherwise not be qualified for college admission. Shaughnessy (1977) describes the population her program intended to serve:

> Natives, for the most part of New York, graduates of the same public school system as the other students, they were nonetheless strangers in academia, unacquainted with the rules and rituals of college life, unprepared for the sorts of tasks their teachers were about to assign them. Most of them had grown up in one of New York's ethnic or racial enclaves. Many had spoken other languages or dialects at home and never successfully reconciled the worlds of home and school, a fact which by now had worked its way deep into their feelings about school and themselves as students. (p. 2-3)

Shaughnessy believed there were three key aspects related to basic writers' struggles with writing: not having internalized language patterns of written English, a lack of familiarity with the composing process, and basic writers' attitudes towards themselves within an academic setting.

Shaughnessy was careful not to blame students themselves for their supposed deficiencies in writing. According to her, "errors and other nonstandard features were the result of social inequities, not personal failings" (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 8). Later, however, with a rise in cognitivist influences in basic writing instruction, the emphasis shifted from a focus on the social causes for basic writers' challenges to an attempt to classify basic writers in terms of cognitive deficiencies: "BW students were defined as students whose writing processes were impoverished and entangled, whose thought processes were substandard and immature" (p. 103). Ultimately, however, the cognitivist search for a definition of basic writers has largely been abandoned, having been criticized for its attempt to define all basic writers with one psychological model, as well as for lack of attention to context and for obscuring basic writing's social mission.

Mina Shaughnessy's original understanding of basic writers as students who have often faced social inequities persists in modern basic writing classrooms and research. Kane, Tyson, & Zaleski (2009), for example, describe their developmental English students at a community college in New Jersey as "similar to at-risk students everywhere. They are a diverse population, often more male than female, and often self-proclaimed 'I hate to read' students… and many are from difficult backgrounds" (p. 16). The authors also speak to Shaughnessy's concern with basic writers' attitudes towards themselves as students, explaining that many suffer from a sense of inadequacy relating to their lack of ease with academic success.

Some researchers also highlight the emotional, rather than purely academic, blockages that can define a basic writer. In her work with students at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, Boone (2010) posits that many basic writers are actually "damaged writers" (p. 227) who fundamentally distrust writing as a way of knowing. These types of students have, according to Boone, been unduly influenced by a binary epistemological frame: "things are right or wrong. Writing isn't a matter of choice! It's a matter of getting it right" (p. 230), and because they feel that they never have gotten it right in terms of their previous experiences with writing, they "are convinced that college writing will demand that they assume a tongue they cannot speak: (p. 229). Most importantly, they have never experienced writing as a way of exploring their own ideas but rather suffer from the belief that writing consists of following an arcane set of rules prescribed by an authority outside of themselves. Thus, writing, as well as writing instruction and writing instructors, arouse feelings of inadequacy, anger, frustration, and suspicion in these basic writers, even at an elite institution such as Dartmouth.

Another perspective is that students who place into developmental courses are not unmotivated or necessarily poor students as much as they are victims of a poor alignment between high school graduation and college entrance requirements (Pretlow & Wathington, 2013). After surveying 1,318 students who placed into developmental college courses at eight access institutions across Texas, for example, the authors found that only 13.9% of the respondents did not consider themselves academically ready for college. The authors claim this made sense considering that "two-thirds of the students completed the recommended high school diploma and an additional 15% earned a distinguished diploma" (p. 795), which went above the state's required standards for college admission. In addition, 20.5% of the students had actually earned some college credits in high school, either through dual enrollment or AP coursework.

The authors conclude that students justifiably believed that they were adequately prepared for college, and therefore view developmental students as victims of poor state-level policies that do not align high school and college requirements and expectations.

In keeping with this concern about whether basic writers are fairly identified and placed, some scholars charge that basic writers are always going to be defined by "suspect tracking mechanisms" and that basic writing courses will "always see concentrations of students with socioeconomic disadvantages and cultural differences," for which some have termed the area composition's "apartheid" (Shor, 1997, as cited in Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 33). Another concern relates to the view of basic writers as people who need to be socialized into the ways of academic discourse. This outlook is controversial because of its uncritical stance towards questions of societal reproduction of hierarchies and the sense that only students need to change and mold themselves to the dominant discourse, not the other way around (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010).

Questions about the definition and value of the term basic writer persist in recent basic writing scholarship. In an interview-based case study of basic writing instructors at a public university in California, VanHaitsma (2010) examines both the strategic value, as well as the limitations of, the term "basic writer." The question is whether basic writing is still, as it was in its inception, seen "as a way of marking and staking out a contested space within the curriculum for students whose differences had been deemed signs of their unfitness for higher education" (p. 99) or whether it functions instead "to sort bodies deemed 'Other'…while erasing rather than engaging productively with class and race differences" (p. 99-100). In other words, is basic writing "in service of or an impediment to social justice for students marginalized by systemic forms of classism, racism, and ethnocentrism in which the academy is implicated" (p. 100). The

teachers in VanHaitsma's study, for example, found problematic the tendency for the term "basic writer" to emphasize student deficiency and obscure the ways in which they were proficient with a range of other literacy practices. Ultimately, VanHaitsma claims the term is undermined when used to generalize about students' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. The term holds value, however, when used to advocate on students' behalf, to attempt to understand them, and to "articulate a view of teaching as in service of social justice" (p. 110). Using the term basic writers can be a way to advocate, for example, for resources, such as smaller class sizes, extended contact hours, and better trained teachers to help students succeed.

There is, of course, no monolithic definition of basic writing, since courses and programs are instantiated differently in each individual institutional context. In fact, the term "basic writer" is used with such wide diversity that many argue that it can only be defined within local, institutional contexts (VanHaitsma, 2010). Because various institutions use different admissions criteria to determine placement into basic writing and freshman composition courses, a basic writer at one institution is not necessarily a basic writer at another. To ascertain evidence of this, Trimmer (1987) surveyed nearly a thousand different institutions offering basic writing programs and found few overlaps in the various definitions of basic writer used across programs.

As a result of such controversies, scholars like Bartholomae (1987) have attempted to shift the discussion away from defining basic writers towards thinking about how best to teach them. After all, he says "We know who basic writers are….because they are the students in classes we label 'Basic Writing'"" (p. 67, as cited in Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 54). Before transitioning to an introduction of instructional practices used to support students in basic writing classrooms, however, it is important to consider who is included in the category "L2 writers" and

how the assumptions made about these students may or may not differ from those that identify students in developmental courses.

Who are L2 Writers and how may they differ from Basic Writers?

Since it seems that students for whom English is a second language, at least resident immigrant students, were originally included in the group of students for whom basic writing was envisioned at its inception (Shaughnessy, 1977), a pertinent question becomes how L2 writers are conceived of, at least at many institutions, as distinct from basic writers. Some of the answers to this question can be found in the history of how L2 writing programs became separated from composition studies, of which basic writing is a sub-discipline.

Matsuda (1999) gives an insightful historical overview of the division of composition studies and second language writing. During the post-World War II period in the 1950s and 60s, an era associated with a rapid increase in the number of international students at U.S. universities, ESL was very much a part of composition studies. As evidence of this, Matsuda highlights the Conference on College Composition and Communication's (CCCC) multiple panels and workshops held during this time to address the challenges associated with teaching these international students in the composition classroom. Although ESL had previously become established as a profession in the United States with the founding of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in the 1940s, the majority of faculty attending these CCCC ESL workshops were not ESL specialists but compositionists who were grappling with "the question of how to deal with international ESL students in the regular composition course at institutions where neither ESL specialists nor separate ESL courses were available" (p. 5).

Due to the burgeoning professionalism within the field of ESL, however, experts in this area began to argue that ESL should not be taught by general English or composition teachers,

who lacked insight into issues such as linguistic analysis and cross-linguistic interference, but only by trained ESL specialists in separate language programs. Eventually, this argument began to hold sway, resulting in a drop in attendance at CCCC ESL workshops by non-ESL specialists, along with a deepening disciplinary division between composition studies and ESL. This division was further institutionalized by the creation of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) as a professional organization in 1966. From this point forward, writing issues have often been compartmentalized into first- and second-language components, with TESOL, or ESL programs, bearing responsibility for L2 writers, and composition studies, including its sub-discipline of basic writing, coming to be defined as composition for native speakers of English.

By setting up an L1-L2 binary, however, as this separation substantiated, there is a danger of perpetuating the assumption that L2 writers are a homogeneous group. In fact, "the usual focus on the L1-L2 dichotomy in much of the literature on second language acquisition often disguises the diversity within the population of L2 writers in U.S. higher education" (di Gennaro, 2008, p. 64). Like the students who comprise the category of basic writers, the L2 population actually consists of students from a wide variety of backgrounds, all of whom may have different needs in terms of writing development and placement. Among the frameworks that have been identified to distinguish among these learners are the context in which English was learned (e.g., ESL vs. EFL, or more recently, based on Kachru's (1991) "World Englishes" framework related to whether English was learned in an "Inner Circle," "Outer Circle," or "Expanding Circle" context (as cited in di Gennaro, 2012); whether a student's bilingualism was elective or circumstantial (Valdés, 1992); whether the student operates as a functional or incipient bilingual (Valdés, 1992); and whether the student is an international student or an

immigrant (di Gennaro, 2012). This latter group can be even further complicated by issues such as age of arrival, as it includes both adults returning to school after some time, as well as members of the so-called 1.5 Generation (using terminology originating with Rumbaut & Ima, 1988), whose schooling in the L1 was interrupted due to immigration and who received at least some primary and/or secondary schooling in the U.S.. Generation 1.5 students can also come from families who entered this country as refugees fleeing persecution or war or who arrived undocumented.

While the empirical differences between these groups have been under researched (di Gennaro, 2012), there is a growing body of work illuminating some differences in terms of language abilities and writing performance. Several studies have demonstrated that those who have completed secondary schooling in their L1 (i.e., international L2 learners) often outperform Generation 1.5 students in terms of college GPAs (Bosher & Rowecamp, 1998) and on essay writing tasks (Muchinsky & Tangren, 1999), despite the fact that Generation 1.5 students in both studies outscored international L2 learners on listening tasks. di Gennaro (2008) explains that "despite their fluency, advanced oral/aural skills, and overall familiarity with English in many situations, Generation 1.5 students tend to lack the academic language skills that their international peers have acquired in their L1s" (p. 72). One possible reason for this pertains to research showing that ESL placement in high school can lead to negative effects related to college preparation and academic achievement (Callahan, Wilkinson, & Muller, 2010).

Conflicting results have been found, however, by researchers such as Doolan (2013, 2014), who in a mixed-methods study of Generation 1.5 students error patterns and linguistic features on a writing task as compared to those of their L1 and international L2 peers, found no significant differences in either aspect between native English speakers and Generation 1.5

students, whereas he did find significant differences in the errors and linguistic features in the writing of Generation 1.5 and international L2 students, leading him to conclude that the writing of Generation 1.5 students tends to be much more similar to that of native speakers of English at a similar placement level than to that of international L2 peers.

In addition to this work, albeit with contradictory results, which has examined differences in the writing performance of various types of learners, other researchers have approached the topic by focusing on teacher perceptions of different types of learners. In a study of four instructors' feedback patterns on the writings of Generation 1.5 students, international students, and basic writers in their courses, Case, Williams, and Wu (2013) found distinct differences in the types and amount of feedback given to learners across the various groups. These findings partially contradicted the teachers' stated teaching philosophies, in which they claimed to respond to their students as individuals first" (p. 95) rather than members of a group. Nevertheless, results demonstrated that Generation 1.5 students received more feedback than the other two groups across the feedback categories of praise, criticism, and suggestions, suggesting that different assumptions are made about students of different backgrounds in terms of their needs for writing support by way of instructor feedback.

Ultimately, in examining the assumptions made about L2 writers, there is an interesting parallel to VanHaitsma's (2010) problematizing of the term "basic writer." Both of these categorizations—basic and L2 writers—seem to have the potential to both serve but also to limit our thinking as language and literacy educators in terms of how we conceptualize our students. As VanHaitsma suggests in speaking of basic writers, we need to "deliberate when and how it might better serve our purposes to complicate and qualify the term or avoid it entirely" (p. 118). When focusing on U.S. educated language minority (i.e, Generation 1.5) students in particular,

another confounding issue is to consider how these students conceptualize their own identities. Kibler, Bunch, and Endris (2011) suggest that "many U.S. LM students do not envision themselves as 'foreigners,' or even as immigrants, and they may resist being categorized as 'ESL students' in college" (p. 204), particularly considering that many have lived in this country during their most formative adolescent years. Nevertheless, it is important not to conflate these students with the basic writers described in the previous section. As Schwartz (2004) explains, "When cross-over [Schwartz' term for Generation 1.5] students are equated with basic writers, their status as students who are still learning the language is lost" (p. 52). Schwartz continues to make the point that while basic writers may still be learning to use academic English *appropriately*, most Generation 1.5 students are still learning the actual *language*.

The review of literature regarding assumptions about students in both developmental and L2 programs makes it clear that simplistic and monolithic definitions of who these students are simply do not exist. While the same holds true in terms of the cultures of writing that exit within both types of programs, it is instructive to review the literature regarding the instructional practices that have been found effective in meeting both developmental and language minority students' needs as they transition into becoming successful college writers.

Instructional Practices in Developmental and L2 Writing Programs

Related to the differing assumptions about basic and L2 writers in pre-college level courses, it stands to reason that pedagogies and practices used in these two areas also differ, due in part to the diverse disciplinary backgrounds of the faculty who teach these courses. Silva and Leki (2004) explain that while developmental (or basic) writing is clearly a subset of composition studies, L2 writing has been dually influenced by both composition studies and the discipline of applied linguistics. These two disciplines have unique inquiry paradigms and

traditions in several aspects, including ontology (composition is predominantly relativist while applied linguistics is predominantly realist); epistemology (predominantly subjectivist vs. predominantly objectivist); methodology (predominantly hermeneutic or interpretive vs. empirical and manipulative); and scope (predominantly national and monocultural vs. international and multicultural, and predominantly macroscopic vs. microscopic). Although this is changing in recent years, with TESOL releasing action agendas and hosting annual advocacy and policy summits (TESOL, 2018), the fields historically leaned towards dissimilar political orientations (left to far left for composition vs. center left with less focus on issues such as gender, race, class, power relations in applied linguistics); theory and practice (foregrounding theory vs. foregrounding practice); and privileged mode of communication (foregrounding writing vs. giving primacy to speech) (Silva & Leki, 2004). There are also other key issues, such as the two disciplines having different professional organizations, conferences, journals, and institutional homes, with compositionists generally belonging to English departments and applied linguists often drifting between disciplinary homes such as linguistics, foreign language, English, education, and communication.

Which Instructional Practices are prevalent in Basic Writing Courses?

Along with shifting definitions and assumptions of who basic writers are have come a myriad of pedagogical practices that have held sway in basic writing classrooms, including but not limited to those that emphasize personal relevance, rhetorical dexterity, and critical literacy. Less emphasized, at least in recent basic writing scholarship, if not in the practice of some practitioners, is the teaching of grammar and treatment of student error.

Personal relevance. From the beginning of basic writing's history with Mina Shaughnessy at CUNY in the 1970s, the pedagogical approach that has been embraced is one

that is student-centered. Shaughnessy encouraged her faculty to "begin with the students, define their needs, and then address those needs" (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 49). This student-centered, personal focus continues today. A basic writing instructor in California describes her program in this way:

> It can be a place where students feel seen, and heard, and known….where their…histories as humans on the planet, are seen as part of what we're doing in this classroom, what's going on in the university. It's not seen as having nothing to do with it, or something they have to confess in an office hour when they're in trouble…It serves as emotional as well as academic support for them. (VanHaitsma, 2010, p. 112)

In an autobiographical case study of the curricular choices made by three basic writing instructors in New Jersey, Kane et al. (2009) emphasize the value of pedagogical approaches that draw on students' own experiences. Without a sense of relevance to students' own lives, the authors claim that students lack motivation to do the hard work necessary for success. This is particularly true in terms of providing students with reading materials, since "developmental writers became poor writers because they were poor readers," which in turn happens when students lose the motivation to read (p. 18). Students often benefit from autobiographical narratives since autobiography highlights the "before" and "after" transformation of an individual, which appeals to students who hope to transform their own lives by means of a college education.

Basic writing pedagogy must also inspire trust. Adrienne Rich, who taught in CUNY's inaugural basic writing program under the direction of Mira Shaughnessy, ascribes great value to fostering trust between basic writing students and their teachers. She explains:

> In order to write [students] have to believe that there is someone willing to collaborate subjectively, as opposed to a grading machine out to get me for mistakes in spelling and grammar….The whole question of trust as a basis for the act of reading or writing has only opened up since we began trying to educate those who have every reason to mistrust literacy culture. (Rich, 2013, p. 23)

Because of her belief that basic writers are fundamentally "wounded writers who have never seen "writing as an act of agency, of claiming one's own ideas," Boone (2010, p. 237) describes effective pedagogy with such writers as one which sets high expectations for students and provides assignments that "legitimize the multivocal (their original voices and experiences)….that insist that they are the authors of legitimate texts for discussion, challenge, scrutiny and accolade; that demand that they assume author/ity over their products and performances" (p. 231-2). These assignments must depart from the formulaic, encourage collaboration, and require students to deeply interrogate both the known and unknown. Her preferred assignment, which she calls the Nexus Project, requires students to select and revise their best writing from the semester, which they tie together through a meditation on one word "that makes the discrete pieces cohere" (p. 234) by way of logical binders such as an introduction, foreword, interstitial pieces, dedication, epilogue, table of contents, photographs, drawings, and artifacts. Ultimately, students who successfully complete the project and the course come to see themselves as fully-fledged writers in a way they have not previously done.

Rhetorical dexterity and critical literacy. According to Otte and Mlynarczyk (2010), a view of literacy as social practice has come to take hold in the basic writing classroom. Because literacy is no longer seen as an autonomous, or technical or neutral, skill but rather as always embedded in a socially constructed practice (Street, 2006), the main goal of basic writing

instruction is for students to achieve "rhetorical dexterity" as they "read, understand, manipulate, and negotiate the cultural and linguistic codes of a new community of practice (academic discourse) based on a relatively accurate assessment of another, more familiar one " (Carter, 2006, p. 94, as cited in Otte & Mlynarczyk, p. 115). Carter describes a curriculum in which students investigate "how literacy functions in the world beyond the largely artificial 'school' literacies we often celebrate" (p. 163) and consider what someone outside or unfamiliar with a particular community of practice might need to know. The goal is to help students make connections between out-of-school and in-school literacies so that they will ultimately be able to move fluidly between them.

Bernstein (2013), in her article "Basic Writing: In Search of a New Map," asks that basic writing be reframed not as remedial, or deficient, instruction, but as "an opportunity to hold our commitment to public education accountable" (p. 87). She suggests approaching it with critical engagement and, in effect, circling back to Shaughnessy's original vision of basic writing as a social change movement that provides students with "equal access to a democratic education that would enable teachers to experiment with pedagogy that would facilitate equal access for students" (p. 87). According to Otte and Mlynarczyk (2010), the idea is that the writing classroom should be "decentered (but not anarchic), revolving less and less around the teacher's authority…ways of investing authority in the students, authorizing and valuing what they have to say" (p. 113).

Many basic writing professionals have taken up the challenge of developing basic writing courses around complex, culturally relevant, and critical content, including writing studies (Charlton, 2013), MLK's speeches (Bernstein, 2013), and critical language awareness (Sanchez & Paulson, 2013). Another scholar/researcher, Hill (2013) documents a Hip Hop Lit course in

which students are able to "challenge various ideologies, and produce new knowledge…through close readings of the narratives of selected hip-hop songs, and the students own stories that directly connect to the narratives" (p. 52). Hill, and others working in this vein, are actively ensuring that students in basic writing classes use literacy to critique "practices that may at times position them in negative ways" (Sanchéz & Paulson, p. 124).

What may be lacking? Obviously, not all basic writing pedagogy fits into the frameworks just described, and, in fact, some criticism has been leveled by researchers who lament the lack of rigorous evidence about which approaches are most effective in the basic writing classroom. Perin (2013) categorizes developmental teaching strategies as follows: discrete skills (or skills-based); meaning-making (or constructivist); strategy development; critical sociocultural, and learning communities. Based on her literature review of articles published between 2000-2012, she comes to the conclusion that very few robust studies on the effectiveness of the various approaches have been conducted, particularly on "measures reflecting theoretical constructs of reading and writing" (p. 126), including "decoding and fluency in reading research and processes underlying planning, drafting, and revising in writing research" (p. 126). No studies at all were conducted to test the efficacy of the critical sociocultural approach, for example, and she criticizes most of the other studies as compromised due to "lack of control for attention or novelty…., by instruction delivered by the author of the study, and by the administration of different measures for pre and posttesting" (p. 123).

Another area that seems to be missing from much current basic writing scholarship, if not from classroom practice, pertains to grammar teaching and the treatment of error in student writing. This omission is ironic considering that Shaughnessy's seminal text "Errors and Explanations" (1977) laid out an approach to combating error as a key component of basic

writing instruction. To her credit, she did not intend the approach to be one of "repetitive, decontextualized, drill-and-kill exercises" (Micciche, 2013, p. 221), a critique leveled at much grammar instruction, but rather a complex opening up of understanding of error as a process of learning and as evidence of thinking. While Shaughnessy's emphasis has been widely criticized for ignoring other, perhaps more important dimensions of writing, scholars such as Harrington and Adler-Kassner (1998, as cited in Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010) have defended the need to focus on language in the basic writing classroom, claiming that "errors are far and away the most likely dimension of writing that will mark basic writers" (p. 89), particularly in terms of placement and assessment.

More recent scholars have championed newer, alternative approaches to grammar instruction for the basic writing classroom. The 2013 fourth edition of the Bedford/St. Martin's Professional Resources text *Teaching Developmental Writing: Background Readings* (Bernstein, 2013), for example, includes chapters on the value of functional (Fearn & Farnan, 2013) and rhetorical grammar (Micciche, 2013), respectively. Micchice describes an approach that elevates the study of grammar from its current association with "'low skills' courses that stigmatize and alienate poor writers while reproducing their status as disenfranchised" (p. 220). Instead, she links the teaching of grammar with the goals of emancipatory teaching, claiming:

> The absence of a sustained contemporary conversation about grammar instruction at the college level does not eclipse the practical reality that nearly every writing teacher struggles with at one time or another: how to teach students to communicate effectively. And effective communication, which entails grammar knowledge, is essential to achieving many of the goals regularly articulated in composition studies. Chief among them are teaching students to produce effective writing that has some relevance to the

> world we live in, to see language as having an empowering and sometimes transformative potential, and to critique the normalizing discourses that conceal oppressive functions. (Micchice, 2013, p. 221)

Unfortunately, the classroom context described in neither chapter, however, is a basic writing classroom (Fearn & Farnan provide examples of functional grammar in a high school language arts classroom, and Micchice of rhetorical grammar's application in a college-level composition course). While it may be true, therefore, that these approaches hold broad value for developmental students, there is little to no scholarly evidence that they have gained much traction in basic writing instruction.

How may Instructional Practices in L2 Writing Programs Differ?

As discussed previously, although both developmental (or basic) and L2 writing classes ostensibly serve the same function of preparing students for freshman composition, L2 writing courses are most often designed and taught by faculty with drastically different backgrounds than those in basic writing programs, with L2 professionals typically coming from fields such as applied linguistics and TESOL rather than composition studies (Silva & Leki, 2004). These differences often manifest in very different cultures of writing among programs designed for L2 vs. L1 writers.

Atkinson and Ramanathan (1995) conducted an ethnographic investigation of the cultures of writing found in a large university's ESL writing courses as compared to in their University Composition Program (UCP), which houses the freshman composition sequence. They found major differences in terms of norms and practices in both programs, which they attributed to the disciplinary foundation of the L1 writing program in rhetoric/composition and of the L2 program in applied linguistics. L2 writing instructors, for example, emphasized "the deductively

organized essay form" (p. 559)—or five-paragraph essay format—which Atkinson and Ramanathan claim makes sense in an applied linguistics framework of communicative language teaching. When the goal of writing is seen as clear communication, it can seem logical for L2 writing faculty "to provide immediately usable aids to their students because they know that "the deductive essay format is an extremely serviceable template for those who, academically speaking, 'have no way of expressing themselves'" (p. 561). In the L1 program, however, there was a complete rejection of the five-paragraph essay, which was viewed "as a symbol of bad student writing—formulaic, stilted, mechanical, predictable, and thus crippling to the very thought that the program seeks to encourage" (p. 561). The culture of the UCP valued, above all else, the development of critical thinking skills and complexity of thought. The authors contrasted the "workpersonlike prose" promoted in the L2 writing program, as compared to the more sophisticated thought and expression advocated by the UCP, whose goal was " writing that will be judged not only as an accurately communicating message but also as a rhetorically effective piece" (p. 560).

These findings from this single university are also borne out in a wider review of the literature regarding conceptions of writing in the TESOL and Composition fields. Jeffery, Kieffer, and Matsuda (2013) performed a review of 66 writing research articles from secondary and post-secondary classrooms that were published in two prominent journals: *TESOL Quarterly (TQ)* from the TESOL field and *Research in the Teaching of English (RTE)* from the field of English Education, which is closely related to Composition Studies. The authors found marked differences in several areas, with the *TQ* authors, and by extension the L2 writing instructors whose classrooms provided the research contexts for the articles, "more likely to emphasize explicit instruction on the lexical and phrasal levels, and [those in] *RTE* indicating

greater emphasis on explicit instruction on the level of genre and discourse" (p. 189). This finding corresponded with a general view in many of *TQ* articles as the goal of writing being to facilitate language development, which the authors refer to as the "knowledge-telling" view. In contrast, the RTE articles tended to emphasize a "knowledge-transforming" view of writing, in which "writing is presented, implicitly or explicitly, as a means of transforming one's understanding of the content being written about (e.g., academic source material), and/or transforming the self " (p. 187). The authors conclude that it may seem appropriate to L2 writing instructors to focus first on the knowledge-telling approach to writing as their students are learning the language; nevertheless, the researchers emphasize that the knowledge-transforming view of writing should come into greater prominence as students advance in their academic careers.

Disciplinary differences between compositionists and L2 specialists are also evident in how student writing is assessed. Recent eye tracking research by Eckstein, Casper, Chan, and Blackwell (2018) demonstrated that compositionists tend to take a more holistic approach to rating and rate more quickly, whereas those with a TESOL background tend to "take more time reading the essay in total and generally did more processing of textual features associated with rhetoric, organization, and word choice" (p. 18). Although the study data was limited by a total of only six raters, three each from composition and TESOL, rating a single L2 student essay, the results are promising in that they provide corroborating evidence of what has been noted in earlier think-aloud studies regarding differences in rating approaches between the two disciplines (Cumming, Kantor, & Powers, 2001, 2002).

While relatively few researchers have directly investigated the differences between L1 and L2 writing programs, as did Atkinson and Ramanathan (1995), more have compared faculty

experiences of having both L1 and L2 writers in the same classroom in order to ascertain whether or not the same instructional practices are effective for both types of students. Becket (2005), for example, conducted a study in a basic writing course with six focal participants (three native speakers of English, and three students from India who were all identified as Generation 1.5) from the same developmental writing class and found that the key factors in terms of student progress were "the extent to which they are able to balance the conflicting demands of their lives, the motivation to thoroughly revise their essays, and their overall attitude to the class" (p. 70). Becket concluded that these factors proved more relevant to a students' progress than whether they were born inside or outside of the United States. In fact, Becket found no salient differences in terms of the need to focus on either grammatical accuracy or essay development, since students of both type (L1 and L2) struggled to various extents with both of these challenges.

Matsuda, Saenkhum, and Accardi (2013), on the other hand, conducted an institutional case study of composition teachers' perceptions of the presence and needs of second language writers and found "a wide range of perspectives, attitudes, and experiences" (p. 81). One finding was that some instructors "recognized the need to address language issues" with multilingual writers but "felt they were not able to because the stated goals and objectives of the program would not allow them to do so" (p. 78). One faculty member with a PhD in Rhetoric expresses the challenge of attempting to meet multilingual students' needs from a rhetorical perspective:

> It can feel to me that my rhetorical background is more confusing than helpful to multilingual students….I'm not always/ever sure how to discuss with multilingual students who are struggling in college the more abstract "rhetorical" issues of audience

> and purposes, etc. OR how to talk in a way that makes sense about the idiosyncrasies of the English language. (p. 78)

This faculty member clearly perceived a need for different instructional practices with second vs. first language writers, with more attention to language required for L2 writers as compared to a greater focus on rhetorical issues for L1 writers.

Matsuda (1999) argues that as the numbers of international and immigrant student writers in our universities continue to increase, L2 students will eventually be taught in composition classrooms "by writing teachers with little, if any, preparation in working with ESL writers" (p. 8). This situation arises when students who take designated L2 writing courses complete their ESL requirements and mainstream into freshman composition, and also when many L2 writers, particularly those identified as Generation 1.5, find their way into developmental, or basic, writing courses taught in the main by compositionists. It is a point also recognized by the CCCC Statement on Second Language Writing and Writers (Conference on College Composition and Communication, 2001), which calls on writing teachers and writing program administrators to take steps such as assuming responsibility for the presence of L2 writers in their classes, offering instructors professional development opportunities in second language writing, and continuing to engage in research and theory building in this area.

While these points addressed in the CCCC statement are certainly valid, missing, perhaps, from the conversation in the literature are not only the ways in which compositionists suffer from a lack of knowledge about L2 writing issues, but the repercussions for L2 experts who are disconnected from developmental writing scholarship and practices. L2 writing teachers are asked to teach composition to second language learners, but rarely do so in conjunction or in collaboration with their disciplinary cousins in composition studies, despite the fact that L2

professionals are most often preparing students for entry into composition courses, a point echoed by Baker (2008). Thus, more research is needed on the underexplored intersections between these two disciplines. This need is particularly pressing in light of national and state policy changes that are currently reshaping developmental and second language education in radical new ways.

National and State Policy Changes Affecting Developmental Education

The number of undergraduates enrolled in post-secondary, degree-granting institutions in the United States is on the rise. Between 1990 and the fall of 2013, undergraduate enrollment in increased by 46 percent, from 12 to 17.5 million students (Kena et al., 2015). While part of that growth is related to an increased overall population, the number of college students has also risen as a percentage of the population. In 2012, 41 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds were enrolled in college, as compared to only 37 percent in 2002 (Kena et al., 2015). While the numbers of enrolled students may seem high, increased enrollment does not necessarily correlate with high rates of completion. In fact, the six-year graduation rate for all full-time bachelors-degree-seeking students who began their studies in 2009 was only 59%. It was even lower (32%) for those who began their studies at access institutions (McFarland et al., 2018).

Perhaps as a result of low graduation rates, in 2013, the United States ranked only twelfth in the world in terms of the proportion of 25 to 34-year-olds with college degrees (42%) (OECD, 2013). In addition, projections by the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the nation will need an additional 22 million workers with college degrees over the next decade, but that we are expected to fall three million short (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2011). Former President Obama, in reaction to the country's low ranking and high economic needs, set a goal

for the United States to “once again have the highest proportion of two- or four-year college graduates in the world by the year 2020” (p. 3).

Philanthropic organizations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates and Lumina Foundations, among others, have gotten involved in these college completion efforts and, through intermediaries, such as the national nonprofits Complete College America and Jobs for the Future, have become extremely influential in higher education policy nationally (Mangan, 2013). Complete College America, for example, is a national nonprofit initially started in 2009 with an eight million dollar grant from the Gates Foundation and which has, since that time, built an alliance of 32 states plus the District of Colombia, university systems, and other national partners for the purpose of increasing college completion rates across the country. Member states and university systems who receive Complete College America grants are required to create aggressive plans for improving college completion based on Complete College America’s data and strategy initiatives (Mangan, 2013). Unfortunately, much of the research on which these strategies are based does not originate with educators, is generally internet published, and bypasses academic standards of peer review. A particular focus has been set by Complete College America and its peer organizations on increasing graduation rates at community colleges, which educate nearly half of U.S. undergraduates but who have historically low graduation rates (Lester, 2014).

For a variety of reasons related to social and demographic changes and “ongoing efforts to democratize and diversify higher education” (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 7), many of the students arriving at U.S. campuses are not fully prepared for college-level work. Nationally, at least a fifth of all first time freshman at colleges and universities across the United States are said

to require a minimum of at least one developmental, or remedial[4], course, in an area such as English, reading, or mathematics (Chen, 2016). The number is even higher when only community colleges and access institutions are considered. According to Complete College America (2013), 70 percent of students entering two-year colleges require some degree of remediation.

With more and more students involved in remedial education, coupled with the concern that these remedial requirements may run counter to the college completion reform movement, increased attention has turned towards developmental education policy at national, state, and institutional levels. Policymakers have become concerned that developmental education is not yielding its expected returns and is in need of radical reform.

What Attacks are made against Developmental Education?

A large impetus for developmental, or remedial, education reform are charges, leveled by organizations such as Complete College America, that developmental courses are ineffective. In a policy brief designed for funders looking for opportunities to promote college success, for example, a consortium of educational philanthropists called Grantmakers for Education, makes its case by claiming that "many of the developmental options these students are offered do not effectively or quickly provide students with the skills they need to succeed in college" (Parker, 2012, p. 1). Complete College America describes the situation as such:

> With each course lasting 16 weeks, it's not uncommon for students to spend three semesters or more over multiple years just treading academic water, getting no closer to

[4] Parker, Bustillos, and Behringer (2010) provide an interesting overview of the term "developmental" as the practitioner-preferred term, which recognizes the potential for growth in all students, and "remedial," as the one often used in policy discussions where developmental education is framed in a student-deficit orientation, with students needing skill deficits remedied or corrected. For this reason, both terms are used throughout this paper.

> graduation day. Rather than providing an on ramp to courses they need for diplomas, developmental education is often an exit. (Complete College America, 2011)

Hence, Complete College America terms remedial education in various publications as a "backwater" (2011) or a "bridge to nowhere" (2012).

According to a joint statement by the Charles A. Dana Center at the University of Texas, Complete College America, the Education Commission of the States, and Jobs for the Future (2012) only a quarter of community college students who take a remedial course graduate within eight years as compared to a statistic of 40% in the same time period for students not requiring developmental courses (Parker, 2012). This statement is corroborated in a recent peer-reviewed study by Crisp and Delgado (2013) who used hierarchical generalized linear modeling on data from the Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (n=23,090) and determined that "developmental education may overall serve to decrease community college students' odds of successfully transferring to a 4-year institution" (p. 99) even after controlling for variables such as socio-demographics, pre-college experience, degree expectations, and academic and social experiences. Of particular relevance to this review is the authors' finding that it is students who take developmental English (rather than Math or Reading) who are the least likely to transfer. Thus, developmental education is posited not as a tool for improving college readiness, but as a barrier to college success.

Another concern with developmental education is that students are often placed inaccurately, with the predictive validity of college placement tests much lower than many assume (Charles A. Dana Center, Complete College America, Inc., Education Commission of the States, & Jobs for the Future, 2012). Citing a study by Clayton (2012) the authors of the jointly produced "Core Principles for Transforming Remedial Education" predict that between 40 and

65 percent of students placed into remedial English would have been able to earn a passing grade of C or better in a gateway English course, such as freshman composition, without remediation. In terms of placement policies, there is a severe lack of consistency across institutions. Complete College America (2011) confirms that "most states can't answer basic questions about how placement policies related to success rates—in part because states often allow dozens of different definitions of college readiness, all determined by different placement exams with varying cut scores" (p. 2). Some of the most common placement tests used, such as COMPASS and ACCUPLACER, are poor predictors of how well students perform in college (Belfield & Crosta, 2012). Furthermore, their validity is said to be weak. Thus, it may well be that fewer students need, or would benefit from, remedial courses than currently place into them.

In light of these criticisms, many feel that the tremendous expense of developmental education does not seem to be paying off. Various policymakers cite different numbers for the annual costs of delivering remediation nationwide ($2 billion annually in Parker, 2012; $3 billion or more according to Complete College America, 2012; and $3.6 billion, including direct costs to both students and institutions in Bettinger et al., 2013). Bettinger et al. remind us that "given that many remedial students also receive federal financial aid, taxpayers shoulder a portion of the cost of remediation as well" (p. 97). Unfortunately, this investment is lost if students drop out. For example, "an analysis by the American Institute for Research shows that between 2003 and 2008, states spent more than $1.4 billion, and the federal government over $1.5 billion, in grants to students who did not return to postsecondary education for a second year" (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2011, p. 4). There are also costs associated with lost wages. The Alliance for Excellent Education estimates that $2 billion per year are lost in lifetime wages "since

students who take remedial courses are more likely to drop out of college without a degree" (p. 1).

What Arguments are made in Defense of Developmental Education?

Challenges to the attack on developmental education come in many forms, most frequently from those within the field of education who claim a more intimate knowledge of developmental programs. Parker, Bustillos, and Behringer (2010) argue that "many policymakers may have a limited understanding of the nature of developmental education and is potential role in increasing college attainment rates in their states" (p. 5). There are concerns that research showing the benefits of basic writing, for example, and the ability of these students to succeed has been ignored (Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010) and that there is a lack of attention in much policy research as to the nuanced effects of remediation (Bettinger et al., 2013). As an example, policy makers, who typically define effectiveness in terms of degree completion and educational attainment, often make claims on the basis of direct comparisons of graduation rates among those who require remediation and those who do not (e.g., six-year bachelor's degree completion rates are only 32% for those requiring remediation compared to 58% for those not requiring it (Parker, 2012). However, according to Parker et al. (2010), citing a study by Bettinger and Long (2009), "differences in educational outcomes of those who take remediation and those who do not often disappear when academic and social backgrounds are taken into account" (p. 21). In fact, after controlling for academic preparation, "college remediation actually had a positive effect on persistence and degree completion" (p. 22).

Additional research has shown similar outcomes. Attewell, Lavin, Domina, and Levey (2006) ran regression analysis to determine the impact of remedial course-taking on community college students' graduation rates, time to degree, and other outcomes, and found that remedial

course enrollment did not reduce the likelihood of earning an associate's or higher degree. Rather, "low SES, poor academic preparation in high school, and being African American were instead found to be predictors of low graduation rates" (p. 22). Bettinger et al. (2013) describe the complexity of the issue this way: "The effects of remediation, then, are considerably nuanced: remedial courses appear to help or hinder students differently by state, institution, background, and academic preparedness" (p. 93). It is true, for example, in a study of more than 100,000 community college student in Florida, that women experienced more positive effects from remediation than did men, as did older students as compared to their younger peers (Calcagno & Long, 2008). Data from the National Center for Education Statistics also show that poorly prepared students at public 4-year institutions who complete remedial English are "more likely than their counterparts without English/reading remediation to earn college-level English credits and to earn a bachelor's degree," whereas the same does not hold true for more academically prepared students (Chen, 2016, p. 55). Thus, while recent policy decisions seem premised on the belief that remedial education is uniformly detrimental, Parker et al. (2010), in a synthesis of many of these studies, conclude that the empirical evidence paints a much more nuanced picture.

Another issue is whether the costs of developmental education have been accurately portrayed as rising. Pretlow and Wathington (2012), for example, estimate these costs to be $1.13 billion per year nationally, which is an increase of only 13% since 1998. Because far fewer students were being served in developmental education then, the authors calculate that the change actually represent a *decrease* in investment in developmental education per capita. In addition, although the costs of remediation may be high, some researchers point out that the social costs of not offering remediation may be higher still, since "unskilled individuals are more

likely not only to collect unemployment and welfare benefits but also to commit crimes and be incarcerated" (Bettinger et al., 2013, p. 97).

An additional concern is whether developmental practitioners, in this case basic writing professionals rather than exclusively researchers, have a voice in these policy discussions and research briefs. Neuburger, Goosen, and Barry (2014) describe the situation this way:

> Legislative halls around the nation roar with competing answers from diverse stakeholders, some of whom keep students' interests in mind, and some of whom do not. Yet, amid the cacophony, a conspicuous voice remains absent. Too few teaching professionals have entered that contentious fray. (p. 73)

The authors make an argument that the field of basic writing is rooted in a student-centered philosophy, in which students themselves—not policy—have formed the basis for developmental education professionals' practice and research. This absence of engagement at the policy level is dangerous, however, because "when faculty voices remain silent, the results that trickle down to classrooms and testing centers in the form of policies and legislation often do not reflect the best research nor respect the diverse needs of students" (p. 73). The authors implore developmental educators to claim their seat at the table in order to be a positive force in shaping programs that are both cost effective and that positively impact student learning outcomes.

In a related argument, Relles and Tierney (2013) argue for the inclusion of more disciplinary knowledge—specifically that found in composition research—in the developmental policy debates. After conducting a review of conceptual and empirical work from the field, the authors conclude that two major issues related to developmental writing occlude efforts by policy makers to craft effective reform: "a lack of clarity of what constitutes college writing," and "a dearth of assessment tools with which to measure writing aptitude" (p. 1). Unfortunately,

many of the researchers who are leading policy reform efforts in developmental education fail to take into consideration basic learning and instructional differences across remedial subjects (Weiner, 2002). Perhaps this is not surprising considering that scholars like Rose (2013) have argued that "there's not a lot of close analysis of what goes on in classrooms, the cognitive give-and-take of instruction and what students make of it. And I'm not aware of any policy research crafted with the aid of people who actually teach these classes" (p. 29).

What is the Current State of Policy Recommendations?

Despite the concern that policy decisions are being shaped by those outside the field of developmental education, reforms to remedial education are moving forward in institutions across the country. All of the approaches outlined here have been suggested and implemented in various contexts in an attempt to move beyond the traditional, yet problematic, "prerequisite model" of remediation (Lalicker, 1999, as cited in Otte & Mlynarczyk, 2010, p. 16), which requires students to complete developmental courses prior to enrolling in college-level work. Redesign efforts have also raised awareness that "remediation need not focus solely on skills that students did not learn in the past, but can instead identify and provide skills aimed at the future…Instead of treating remedial education as a roadblock, institutions could think of it as an on-ramp to the college experience" (Bettinger et al., 2013, p. 107).

Strategies for transforming remediation fall into four general categories: 1) helping students avoid developmental education through improved college readiness; 2) accelerating students' progress through developmental coursework by shortening time sequences and offering corequisite models; 3) offering students opportunities to learn basic skills in conjunction with occupational or college-level coursework; and 4) enhancing supplemental support for developmental learners, such as advising and tutoring (Rutschow & Schneider, 2011).

One of the policy recommendations most touted for its ability to positively impact student retention is the second of these: creating new models that accelerate students' progress through developmental courses (Complete College America, 2013). This approach most commonly involves having students take developmental writing concurrently with freshman composition in the form of a corequisite, or paired "studio" workshop to provide additional support with their writing. An example of such an approach is the Accelerated Learning Program (ALP) at the Community College of Baltimore, in which eight of twenty seats in freshman composition (English 101) sections are reserved for ALP students. These students participate in a workshop with the same instructor immediately following the composition course. The program has been successful not only in that ALP students complete English 101 at twice the rate of non-ALP students in the traditional developmental track, but also in removing some of the stigma of developmental course work (Adams, Gearhart, Miller, & Roberts, 2009; Complete College America, 2013). Rigolino and Freel (2007) also describe the affective benefits of a similar approach, called the "Supplemental Writing Workshop Program" (SWW), at SUNY New Paltz. While quicker progress to a degree is certainly a key benefit of the SWW program, the authors also praise the workshop as a place "where students can experiment with language, grow as writers, and establish relationships with faculty and peers" (p. 57). Based on the success of programs like these, Complete College America now recommends that corequisite models become the norm for the vast majority of students requiring developmental work across the country (2013). This approach has gained much traction across the country, with 35% of developmental writing classes community colleges nationwide now being delivered in the corequisite format (Rutschow & Mayer, 2018).

Complete College America (2013) also recommends that multiple measures, including high school GPA, transcripts, and non-cognitive measures of student readiness, are incorporated into student placement decisions rather than relying on placement testing alone. The Community College Research Center at Columbia University conducted two recent studies of developmental placement policies at two community college systems and found that severe rates of underplacement (i.e., placing a student in a developmental course who is predicted to earn a grade of B or higher in a college-level course) could be significantly lowered by placing students on the basis of either their placement scores or their high school GPAs, depending on which of the two is stronger. Placement tests alone, according to the authors, often have weaker predictive powers than do GPAs because "they cannot account for motivation, commitment, and other factors that contribute to success in college" (Jaggars, Hodara, & Stacey, 2013, p. 8).

What is Georgia's Plan for Transforming Remediation?

Like other states across the country, Georgia, where the current study was conducted, has become increasingly concerned about college completion rates. As of 2014, only 42 percent of young adults between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six in Georgia had obtained a postsecondary degree or certificate (Hooker, Fix, & McHugh, 2014). In August of 2011, Georgia Governor Nathan Deal launched the Complete College Georgia (CCG) initiative, which stemmed from the state's involvement in the national Complete College America network after receiving a one-million dollar grant "to fuel policy innovations and reforms aimed at significantly increasing college completion" (State of Georgia, 2011). Georgia set a goal to raise this number to 60 percent by 2020, when "65 percent of Georgia's jobs will require some level of postsecondary education and 22 percent will require a bachelor's degree" (Lee, 2017, p. 3). In keeping with Complete College America policy recommendations, one of the state's key strategies towards

meeting Governor Deal's goal includes transforming remediation, or Learning Support, as it is most commonly called within the University System.

Specifically, the University System of Georgia Board of Regents (BOR)[5] adopted in 2014 the following seven recommendations put forth by the University System Task Force on Transforming English and Reading Remediation[6]: "1) Focus on supporting success in college credit-bearing, gateway courses for *all* students; 2) Enroll most students needing support in gateway courses and implement a corequisite approach to support student success; 3) Use multiple measures to place students in gateway courses and appropriate supports; 4) Create a combined reading/writing course; 5) Terminate use of COMPASS as an exit examination; 6) Align with the Common Core Georgia Performance Standards; 7) Develop advising systems and protocols for placing students in gateway courses and supporting advisors in transition to new models" (University System of Georgia, 2014, p. 1). As of fall 2015, these measures were put in place across the system and they comprised the context in which the data for the current study was collected in the fall of 2016.

Since that time, Georgia's transforming remediation guidelines have continued to evolve, and the latest "Fundamental Features of Corequisite Learning Support" document now stipulates that "Learning Support courses are to be offered exclusively in 'corequisite' format starting no later than fall 2018" (University System of Georgia, 2018, p. 1). A rationale for this decision comes from system data indicating that students who enroll in corequisite remediation experience greater success in their gateway college-level classes than do those who are placed in in traditional prerequisite remediation. 73% of the Fall 2016 cohort of English corequisite

[5] Georgia has one governor-appointed Board of Regents composed of 19 members who oversee the 30 colleges and universities of the University System of Georgia.
[6] A similar task force and set of recommendations have been developed for transforming mathematics remediation.

students across the USG passed their gateway composition course, English 1101, whereas only 45% of the students who had been in the Fall 2013 cohort of traditional prerequisite Learning Support classes did the same (Denley, 2017), whether due to actually failing the course or to not persisting in college and registering for it. While the numbers vary slightly, Denley asserts that the advantage of the corequisite model holds up even when student data is disaggregated by race, socio-economic status, and academic preparation.

Support for these rapidly introduced policy changes in Georgia, however, has not been universal. In a case study review of college completion policies in Georgia, as well as South Carolina and Texas, Rubin and Hearn (2018) interviewed individuals throughout the state who "serve a central role in the development and adoption of statewide college completion policies" (p. 7). One USG official voiced the negative opinion that "CCG was an edict that came from the governor to the university system and the technical college system, and you know, there was no way [campuses] could opt out" (Rubin & Hearn, 2018, p. 11). Thus, there seems to be some amount of dissatisfaction within the USG about lack of agency among various institutions in terms of whether or how to implement Learning Support changes.

What is the Impact of these Policy Changes on ESL Programs?

Due to the relative recency of many of these reforms in Georgia, including the corequisite model for developmental education, it is also clear that more research—of both qualitative and quantitative orientations—needs to be conducted in order to examine the impact and effectiveness of these policy changes. This is particularly true with regards to language minority students, since few of the studies and even fewer of the policy reports reviewed mention English L2 students or the implications of developmental policy changes for ESL programs. In Denley's (2017) USG report, which showed the success of students in the corequisite model vs. in the

traditional prerequisite approach, for example, data is disaggregated by race (i.e., African American), socioeconomic status (i.e., Pell Grant recipients), and academic preparation (i.e., SAT and ACT scores) but not by native language background. Nevertheless, the latest round of Learning Support policy changes has by default set the stage for all language and literacy support for language minority students to now also be provided in the "corequisite only" approach and for traditional ESL programs to be disbanded.

Initially, at the time of the 2015 system-wide implementation of the Learning Support changes, programs specifically designed for L2 students in the form of either ESL or EAP (English for Academic Purposes), were considered to be outside of the purview of Learning Support and thus did not fall under these mandatory policy changes. In fact, researchers from the Migration Policy Institute noted the lack of attention paid to Georgia's language minority students at the time:

> While the field of developmental education is seeking to reduce the time students spend in remediation before enrolling in college-level courses, our site visits did not reveal similar concerns regarding length of the remedial process for EAP [English for Academic Purposes] students. (Hooker, Fix, & McHugh, 2014, p. 64)

The report continued:

> On the whole, many of the innovative statewide reforms directed towards other forms of developmental education have yet to reach EAP programs. EAP was not featured in the state's Higher Education Completion Plan, and colleges are not required to disaggregate performance outcomes for EAP students. As a result, students with limited English proficiency do not appear to be at the forefront of Georgia's investments in improving college success and completion rates. (pp. 64-5)

By the time of the 2018 recommendations, however, ESL and EAP programs were no longer being left to their own devices. Instead, when the system published the latest "Fundamental Features of Corequisite Learning Support" document, it was noted that corequisite placement would be the default for *all* students who did not meet at least one of the exemption characteristics to qualify for English 1101, including but not limited to a high school GPA of 3.1 or better, ACT English of at least 17, or a minimum "new" SAT Reading score of 24 (University System of Georgia, 2018). Not included on the 2018 list of exemption criteria, however, was the prior policy of alternate placement into and successful completion of an institution's ESL or EAP program, despite the fact that this request was made to the system office by a group of ESL professionals from across the state (D. Denzer, personal communication, October 26, 2017). In the spring of 2018, ESL and EAP faculty system wide were informed by the office of the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Transitional and General Education at the BOR that their courses would no longer be offered as of fall 2018, when all students requiring additional support will be served by the corequisite model of Learning Support (i.e., the pairing of Freshman Composition, English 1101, with the corequisite Learning Support course, English 0999). Thus, in what appears to be a nationally unprecedented move, all of the existing ESL/EAP programs for matriculated students at USG institutions were shut down by June 2018.Therefore, the analysis in the current study necessarily deals with a program that no longer exists.

It is clear that in our ever more multilingual society, the lines between who is and who is not best served in both developmental and L2 writing courses are increasingly blurry. Certainly, ESL programs nationally, and in Georgia in particular, would risk perpetrating a grave disservice to our students if we were to remain entirely isolated from the current instructional and policy trends of transforming remediation that might promote college persistence and success for an

increasing number of students who are depending on us to help them achieve their educational and professional goals. “Institutional isolation breeds ignorance and alienation” (p. 41), notes Shapiro (2011) in her study of a university ESL program that was highly resistant to reform, in this case from one of “traditional linguistic *remediation* toward more integrated curricular *mediation*” (p. 25). Certainly, change is sometimes necessary and can often be positive. It is also clear, however, that there can be a danger of perpetuating an equally grave disservice to our language minority students if drastic change is undertaken on the basis of a paucity of research. At this point, we simply do not have enough data to know how L2 writers experience the corequisite model; nor do we have a clear enough understanding of the culture of writing and support available to them in more traditional prerequisite ESL programs. We must strive for a better understanding of these issues in order to begin to comprehend what may, in fact, be lost or gained when such support is eliminated. It is to the body of knowledge surrounding these vital issues that the current study hopes to contribute.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

This chapter will offer a review of the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study, followed by an overview of the methodologies used to conduct it. First, however, as in all qualitative research, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which my own subjectivity, or personal lens, intersects with the research I am conducting (Glesne, 2011).

Subjectivities Statement

In this current research project, I come to my study as an insider in the sense that I am a faculty member at the institution where I am conducting my research. In particular, I am an assistant professor of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), which means that, at the time the data were collected, I taught courses in academic reading, writing, and oral communication, which were designed for non-native speakers of English who, at the time of admission, had not demonstrated the proficiency necessary to complete language-intensive college-level coursework. The courses I taught were designed as a track of instruction parallel to the developmental English courses taken by similarly underprepared native speakers of English. Developmental courses, however, were taught by faculty from the English discipline, who did not, in most cases, have explicit training or expertise in second language acquisition or in working with second language readers and writers. Thus, I come to the study with some initial biases that these faculty may not be as equipped as are EAP faculty at meeting the academic language needs of the ESL students at our college. I certainly believe that EAP courses provide myriad benefits for second language users of English, particularly related to their academic language development.

At the same time, I also bring to the study a genuine and open curiosity about the possible benefits experienced by non-native speakers of English, particularly but not exclusively those of the 1.5 immigrant generation, who, for a variety of reasons, enroll in developmental English rather than EAP courses. I occasionally feel concerned that EAP faculty, who teach only EAP courses and no upper level English courses, may be less equipped to adequately prepare our students for the expectations of such college-level work than are our colleagues who teach both developmental and upper-level English courses. In addition, since EAP courses are comprised entirely of students who have a first language other than English, I wonder about the impact of segregating our students from their native-speaking peers. I am also concerned about the relative length of time and number of credits (up to 19 credits over two semesters) required for the completion of EAP courses versus the much more limited demands (a maximum of six credits over two semesters and the opportunity to take the second course concurrently as a corequisite with English 1101) on students who take Learning Support English (see Tables 1 and 2 for a comparison of EAP vs. Learning Support English course sequences).

Thus, despite the fact that I am (or was) an EAP faculty member, I do not consider myself an uncritical cheerleader for our courses, program, or teaching methods. Instead, I hope I am genuinely open to learning from the questions posed by this study and ultimately to any programmatic changes the results may suggest. In order to mitigate any impact of my own subjectivity, I specifically chose to not interview my own students for this project but rather students taught by EAP colleagues as well as those teaching Learning Support English 0999 and English 1101. As such, I have taken steps to limit the imposition of my own subjectivity on my participants and to remain open to learning about both programs as well as to policy changes that may be coming down the pipeline.

Theoretical Orientation: Social Constructionism

The current study is broadly underpinned by a social constructionist framework, which is a theoretical perspective that stands in opposition to the empiricism, or positivism, characteristic of the hard sciences and also taken up by some social scientists (Berger & Luckman, 1966) Positivists claim that "our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us" (Burr, 2015, p. 2). Social constructionists, in contrast, believe that the ways we understand the world do not come from the nature of the world "as it really it" (p. 4), since no such fixed reality exists, but that people construct their knowledge of the world in the course of their daily interactions with others: "When people talk to each other, the world gets constructed" (p. 11). It follows then that social constructionists take a critical stance towards absolute truth claims and to research approaches that are driven by searches for absolute truth. Burr explains:

> What we regard as truth, which of course varies historically and cross-culturally, may be thought of as our current accepted ways of understanding the world. These are a product not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which people are constantly engaged with each other. (p. 5)

In terms of my study, I enter with the assumption that understandings of what it means to be a native vs. non-native speaker of a language, as well as what it means to be a prepared college writer, are also socially constructed, and that these understandings may be constructed differently within the varied disciplines of developmental English and EAP. I also believe that these understandings are not fixed but are, indeed, constantly contested in language, through revised policy documents, syllabi, websites, etc., as well as in classrooms, which are the key sites of negotiation regarding what it means to be a college writer. Students, too, shape their

understandings of who they are, and who they want to be, as writers through their interactions with their faculty, peers, and even course documents and assignments.

Communities of Practice

A more specific framework for understanding how the two programs, developmental English and EAP, might have developed into distinct cultures of writing and how those cultures are being impacted by USG policy changes is Lave and Wenger's (1991) "Communities of Practice" (CoP) theory of social learning, which challenges the notion of learning as a solely individual pursuit and instead posits learning as a social process which is uniquely situated in a particular context. Wenger (2000) explains the fundamental aspects that comprise a CoP:

> 1. Joint enterprise: "Members are bound together by their collectively developed understanding of what their community is about and they hold each other accountable*"* (p. 229).
>
> 2. Mutuality: "Members build their community through mutual engagement. They interact with one another, establishing norms and relationships" (p. 229).
>
> 3. Shared repertoire: "Communities of practice have produced…communal resources—language, routines, sensibilities, artifacts, tools, stories, styles, etc" (p. 229).

Despite the unique qualities that set one CoP apart from another, none exist in a vacuum. In fact, CoP theory emphasizes the importance of how a CoP functions "in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). It is also important to acknowledge the fact that external organizations play a role in legitimizing (or not) participation in any particular CoP. Wenger (1998) explains that "organizations can support communities of practice by recognizing the work of sustaining them; by giving members the time to participate in activities; and by creating an environment in which the value communities

bring is acknowledged" (p. 7, as cited in Seaman, 2008, p. 273). Thus, it will be instructive to analyze the developmental English and EAP programs as two distinct, yet mutually related, communities of practice within the larger organizations of Georgia Gwinnett College and the University System of Georgia in order to understand the cultures of learning within each of them, as well as how, in light of recent policy changes, these two programs are being shaped by these larger, more powerful organizations within which they exist.

Critical Language Policy

Indeed, most social constructionists, particularly those working at a macro-level, are also very much interested in how our constructions of the world are bound up with power relations since such constructions "have implications for what is permissible for different people to do, and how they may legitimately treat others" (Burr, 2015, p. 5). In this case, I am interested in the way in which policymakers, administrators, and faculty members exercise their power to shape disparate programs, courses, and student learning experiences. Power, of course, in the view of theorists such as Foucault (Foucault, Morris, & Patton, 1979) is not fixed but circulates among actors in any power exchange. Thus, students, in turn, also exercise their own power and agency to select, in as much as is possible, the courses they take and to create their own learning experiences through their interactions in and with the material aspects of their courses and institution.

At some level, however, larger institutions have the power to drastically shape or even curtail student learning experiences as a consequence of institutional policy changes, such as those currently re-shaping the developmental courses—and along with them EAP—at Georgia Gwinnett College in particular and within the University System of Georgia more broadly. Indeed, the policies affecting the opportunity for language minority students to develop their

language and literacy skills can be considered issues of *language policy*, which Johnson (2013) defines as "a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language" (p. 9). Included in these policy mechanisms are "Official regulations…intended to effect some change in the form, function, use, or acquisition of language—which can influence economic, political, or educational opportunity." A critical approach to language policy research acknowledges that such policies are often not neutral, but rather are implicated in perpetuating of social inequality and promoting the interests of dominant groups (Tollefson, 2006).

Thus, a framework to enable me to analyze these policy changes and answer my second research question regarding the ways the developmental English and EAP programs and are being affected (or not) by policy changes at the national and state levels is that of critical language policy (CLP). According to Tollefson (2006), CLP research draws on three interrelated meanings of the word *critical*:

> (1) it refers to work that is critical of traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research; (2) it includes research that is aimed at social change; and (3) it refers to research that is informed by critical theory. (p. 42)

The first of these refers to the fact that more mainstream, traditional approaches to language policy research seem premised on the assumption that the goal of language policy is to integrate linguistic minorities into "mainstream socioeconomic systems" (p. 42), whereas the truth is that such policies often have the opposite effect and actually serve to perpetuate inequality. This then leads to the second facet of CLP research, which is a clearly stated agenda of "developing policies that reduce various forms of inequality" (p. 43). Finally, CLP draws on many key ideas from critical theory, particularly in terms of how power is implicated in reproducing inequality, especially within institutions such as schools. Foucault's work on "governmentality" (Foucault

et al., 1979) is also relevant here and has been applied by CLP researchers in order to "shift attention from domination and exploitation of the state….to the indirect acts of governing that shape individual and group language behavior" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 49). In this regard, CLP researchers look at the policies of and rationales adopted by bureaucrats and other authorities at the micro-level which serve to shape issues of language policy and access.

Methodological Orientation

According to Burr (2015), "social constructionism regards as the proper focus of our enquiry the social practices engaged in by people, and their interactions with each other" (p. 11). Thus, in order to learn about the cultures of writing within the developmental and EAP programs as well the changing policy contexts in which these programs exist, a social constructionist framework compels me to adopt a methodology which will put me into direct contact with the administrators, faculty, students, and classrooms that comprise my focus of study. For my purposes, a case study approach will provide an ideal set of tools for investigating these programs.

Yin (2014) describes case study research as an excellent approach to understanding a complex, contemporary social phenomenon within its naturalistic context. A case study researcher analyzes a bounded unit, such as a person, group, institution, or organization, as it is located within personal, professional, local, and/or national communities (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013). There is a focus on collecting rich data and on capturing the complexity of the case, which may either be examined longitudinally (over an extended period of time) or over a shorter, but perhaps more intensive, period of time. Typically, a variety of data points are used, including observations, interviews, documents, artifacts, and reflective journals, all of which "helps to triangulate the data and reinforces the legitimacy of the conclusions drawn" (p. 11).

Within the field of educational research, Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013) describe case study as an approach that can be invaluable in terms of enhancing our "understanding of contexts, communities, and individuals" (p. 3) within an educational setting. In contrast to positivist, quantitative approaches, "case study emerges as a possible champion that might be able to deepen understanding in real contexts rather than simply providing decontextualized 'evidence'" (p. 5-6). Another issue that sets case study apart from experimental research is that it does not merely attempt to answer the question of whether or not something works, but can explore more deeply *how* it works (Yin, 2014). Thus, case study is ideal for answer questions related to "how" or "why" a particular phenomenon is occurring.

Those who undertake case study research embrace the epistemological stance that we can learn about the world not only by focusing on large-scale, generalizable data, but also by delving into the particular complexity of a bounded case. According to Stake (1988), "both case studies and multicase studies are usually studies of particularization more than generalization" (p. 8). While case studies generally involve sample sizes that are too small to be statistically generalizable to an entire population, case studies do, however, strive for analytic generalizations in that they "shed empirical light about some theoretical concepts or principles" (Yin, 2014, p. 40) that can be applied to other concrete situations beyond the original case.

Case study research can also consist of the study of single case or, on the other hand, of multiple cases in situations where a phenomenon can be better understood through the analysis and comparison of several cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Multiple case study involves a set of cases that are similar in some ways (e.g., in the current study, two programs with a shared goal of academic literacy development for language minority college students) yet different in that all of the cases are unique instantiations of the phenomenon in question (Stake, 2006). Part of the

power of a multiple, or comparative, case study lies in the ability for a researcher to analyze data at multiple levels. As Baxter and Jack (2008) describe:

> The ability to look at sub-units that are situated within a larger case is powerful when you consider that data can be analyzed *within* the subunits separately (within case analysis), *between* the different subunits (between case analysis), or *across* all of the subunits (cross-case analysis). (p. 550)

When reporting a case study, researchers must pay careful attention to these various levels of analysis. Otherwise, they may find themselves pulled toward towards an overemphasis of one level at the expense of the other (Stake, 2006). While cross-case analysis is important, for example, since it focuses on the "theme, issue, phenomenon, or functional relationship that strings the cases together" (p. 39), it is equally vital that researchers not forget to display and emphasize the uniqueness of each case rather than rush to highlight only the commonalities across cases.

Case Study Research in TESOL and Applied Linguistics

Within the fields of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) and applied linguistics, case study has become a widely used methodology for examining issues of second language teaching, learning and use (Duff, 2008). Although case studies in TESOL initially emulated the positivist work done psychology and linguistics, with a primary focus on the development of isolated L2 linguistic phenomena such as syntax, morphology, or phonology, more recent case study research has come to be more closely aligned with interpretive qualitative research and acknowledges the macrosociological issues that form the contextual basis for language learning (Duff, 2008). The *TESOL Quarterly* research guidelines describe the shift that has occurred:

> More recently, TESOL case studies have adopted the more subjective and interpretive stance typical of case studies in education and other fields (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996; Johnson, 1992; Stake, 1994; 1995), with less emphasis on the acquisition of discrete linguistic elements and more emphasis on such issues as learners' and teachers' identities, skill development and its consequences for learners, teachers' professional development experiences, and the implementation of language policies in programs and countries. (TESOL, n.d.)

TESOL also acknowledges that case study research is often confused with another popular qualitative research methodology, namely ethnography. Unlike in ethnographic studies, however, case study does not necessarily emphasize the "cultural aspects of a group or its members" (TESOL, n. d.) and does not have as its intent the understanding and interpretation of "behaviors, values, and structures of collectivities and social groups with particular reference to the cultural basis for those behaviors and values" (Duff, 2008, p. 34). Duff further clarifies that it is possible to combine the two approaches in order to conduct a culturally-oriented ethnographic case study, as she did in her own study of the implementation of bilingual education in Hungary. The current study, however, falls into the category of case study, rather than ethnographic case study.

Research Context

The current study was conducted at Georgia Gwinnett College, a four-year, access[7] institution and the newest member of the University System of Georgia (USG). The college takes its name from its location in Gwinnett County, a large suburban county in metro-Atlanta, where

[7] While no institutions within the University System of Georgia are truly open-access because all have at least some admissions standards, GGC aligns itself with the community colleges in the system as having the lowest barriers to entry.

the Board of Regents elected to open a new college in 2005 in order to meet the needs of the county's rapidly expanding population, 32.2% of which speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census, 2010). The diversity of the county is also well represented in the student body of the college, which in the fall of 2014 consisted of 10,828 students, 38.7% of whom were white, 31.4% black, 15.6% Latino, 9.3% Asian, and 3.8% of mixed race (Georgia Gwinnett College, 2014). What these racial and ethnic categories partially obscure is that many students who fall within them are immigrant students who speak a home language other than English.

GGC's access mission is foregrounded in the college's mission statement, which begins, "Georgia Gwinnett College provides access to targeted baccalaureate and associate level degrees that meet the economic development needs of the growing and diverse population of the northeast Atlanta metropolitan region" (Georgia Gwinnett College, n.d.). The college provides students who may not otherwise meet the admission criteria for more selective four-year colleges a chance, though not a guaranteed one, at greater access to higher education in the state. Due to the wide range of academic preparedness of its students, the college initially established a robust suite of courses in the areas of developmental Math, English, and Reading, as well as English for Academic Purposes (EAP), which was designed to meet the needs of students with a first or home language other than English and who placed below the college level in academic writing, reading, and/or oral communication.

Initially, the two literacy development tracks of developmental English/Reading and EAP were designed to be roughly parallel to one another. Developmental students had the potential to place into courses in two areas, English and Reading, and at two levels (high intermediate and advanced), all of which were four-credit-hour prerequisites that students were required to complete prior to enrollment in the gateway English 1101 course (see Table 1). Similarly, EAP

courses comprised two levels (high intermediate and advanced) of prerequisite courses in two areas (Structure and Composition and Reading) and one level (advanced only) in Oral Communication[8] (See Table 2). All courses except Oral Communication were four credits, while the latter was three. Thus, with the exception of the additional Oral Communication class, which many students exempted (see EAP placement guidelines in Table 3), the EAP sequence had been parallel to the original Learning Support sequence. All courses in in both programs were taken for institutional-credit only, meaning that they did not count towards degree requirements.

Table 1

Original Learning Support English and Reading Course Sequences

	Learning Support English	Learning Support Reading
Advanced Level (higher scoring)	ENGL 0099 (4 cr.)	READ 0098 (4 cr.)
High Intermediate Level (lower scoring)	ENGL 0098 (4 cr.)	READ 0097 (4 cr.)

Table 2

EAP Course Sequences

	Academic Reading	Structure and Composition (Writing)	Oral Communication

[8] EAP students were not precluded from placing into different levels across the skill areas. For example, students placing into the lower (high-intermediate) levels of Reading and Structure and Composition typically also placed into the Oral Communication course although it was considered a higher (advanced) level course.

Advanced Level	EAP 0090 (4 cr.)	EAP 0091 (4 cr.)	EAP 0092 (3 cr.)
High Intermediate Level	EAP 0080 (4 cr.)	EAP 0081 (4 cr.)	NA

Table 3

EAP Placement Guidelines

Course	*ESL COMPASS Scores*		
EAP 0080/0090 Reading	≤ 86 (Reading) EAP 0080	87-93 (Reading) EAP 0090	≥ 94 (Reading) Exempt
EAP 0081/0091 Structure & Composition	≤86 (Grammar) & ESL e-Write Score 10-12: EAP 0091 6-9: EAP 0081 ≤ 5: EAP 0081	87-93 (Grammar) & ESL e-Write Score 10-12: EAP 0091 6-9: EAP 0081 ≤ 5: EAP 0081	≥ 94 (Grammar) & ESL e-Write Score 10-12: Exempt 6-9: EAP 0091 ≤ 5: EAP 0091
EAP 0090 Communication	≤ 92 EAP 0092		≥ 93 (Listening) Exempt

Stemming from national and state-wide policy recommendations and mandates impacting developmental education, however, the literacy course-taking sequence at the developmental level had undergone radical revision in the years immediately prior to the current study. By the fall of 2016 when study data were collected, all Reading courses had been eliminated. This meant that developmental students potentially now placed into only one or two developmental English courses, the more advanced of which had turned into a corequisite to be taken with rather than as a prerequisite to be taken prior to the college-level, gateway freshman English course (see Table 4). This corequisite level was termed “Segue” by the college, owing to the fact that it provided a faster segue into the collegiate-level gateway freshman composition course. The lower level course was named the “Foundations” level. All developmental courses had also

been reduced to three credit hours. These credits still did not count towards graduation, but the potential number of institutional-credit-only hours students were required to take had been significantly reduced. In addition, because stand-alone Reading courses were no longer offered, reading-related outcomes were newly incorporated into the developmental English courses, which had previously focused almost exclusively on writing. Thus, placement guidelines for developmental English classes had recently been revised to combine scores on the COMPASS Reading and e-Write exams into one placement grid for English (see Table 5).

Table 4

Learning Support English Course Sequences AY 2016-2017

	Learning Support Course	College-level Gateway Course
Corequisite/Segue Level (higher scoring)	ENGL 0999 (3 cr.[9]) Segue English	ENGL 1101 (3 cr.) (taught by same instructor as ENGL 0999)
Prerequisite/Foundations Level (lower scoring)	ENGL 0989[10] (3 cr.) Foundations for College English	NA

Table 5

English Placement Guidelines AY 2016-2017

Course	COMPASS Test Scores
English 1101	COMPASS Reading: 74 and above COMPASS e-Write: 8-12
English 1101 & ENGL 0999	COMPASS Reading: 74 and above

[9] This course was actually taken for two credits by students for the purpose of registration and payment but offered three contact hours and counted as three credits towards faculty workload. Thus, for pedagogical purposes, it makes sense to describe it as a three-credit course.

[10] This class, too, eventually became a casualty of policy changes and was last taught in the spring of 2018.

English 0989	COMPASS e-Write: 2-7 COMPASS Reading: 73 and below

On the EAP side, however, similar curricular changes had not been implemented by the fall of 2016. USG policymakers, in their original guidelines for transforming remediation, did not include programs specifically designed for non-native speakers of English, such as EAP. Thus, by the time of the current study, the sequences of EAP and developmental English had become quite dissimilar. Key differences included the lack of a corequisite option for EAP students as well as the disparity in the credit hour requirements for both programs, all of which were considered institutional-load only and did not count towards graduation. Developmental English students, for example, were required to take a maximum of six developmental credits, whereas EAP students had the potential of being required to enroll in 19 hours of EAP support.

It is worth noting that the policy changes which led to these two very dissimilar course sequence structures for the developmental English and EAP programs did not end in the fall of 2016. Indeed, there were already signs at that time of more changes to come, the details of which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. It is also worth noting that placement into one program or the other was not mandated by the institution but was rather made on a basis of self-identification at the GGC Testing Center for placement exams. Upon arrival at the testing office, students were required to complete an intake form, on which they were asked to check the box beside the test they wanted to take: COMPASS or English as a Second Language (ESL) COMPASSS. It should be noted, however, that little to no explanation was given to students to assist them in making this choice (i.e., the various Learning Support English and EAP courses sequences were not made explicit on the form). EAP faculty had made a decision tree (see Figure 1) in the hopes of assisting Testing Center staff with helping students

identify the most appropriate test. In practice, however, the decision tree was rarely used and students made their own choice on the basis of a range of complex factors, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4. It is for this reason that language minority students with similar backgrounds ended up in both programs: developmental (Learning Support) English and EAP.

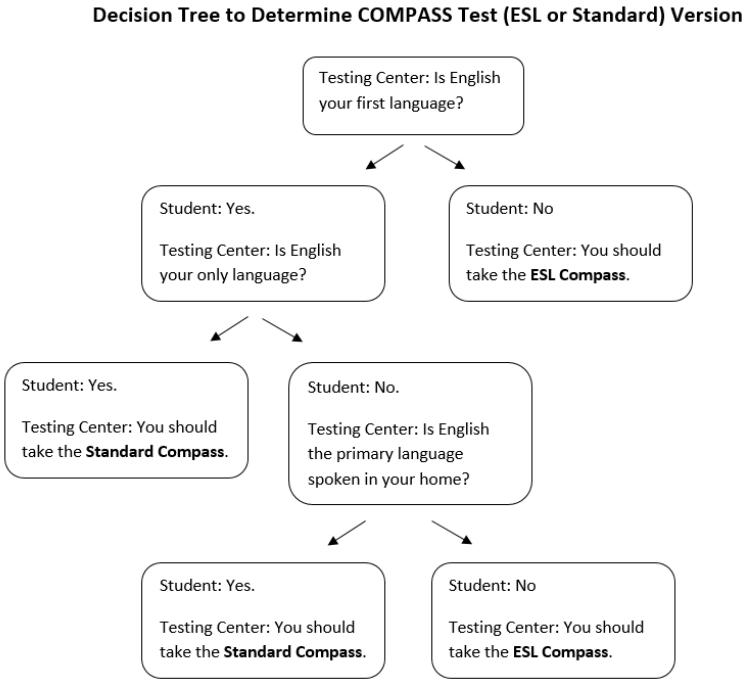

Figure 1. Decision Tree to Determine COMPASS Test Version.

Participants

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the cultures of writing underlying language minority students' experiences in both the EAP and developmental English programs, as well as of the impact statewide policy mandates have had on these programs, the primary participants for this study are students, faculty, and administrators who were directly involved in either the developmental English or the EAP programs during the fall semester of 2016.

Students. Student participants included seven GGC language minority students currently enrolled in the highest (corequisite) level of the developmental English program (Segue ENGL 0999) and concurrently in English 1101, five students currently enrolled in the highest level of the EAP program (EAP 0090 and EAP 0091), and four former EAP students who had successfully completed the higher level EAP course(s) in the prior semester and were currently enrolled in English 1101. The rationale for the inclusion of these latter four students is that the developmental English students—those in the corequisite Segue course—were taking English 1101 concurrently with their developmental English course during the time of the study (see Table 6). Because the EAP program did not offer a corequisite course at the time of the study, in order to learn about how well EAP courses did (or did not) prepare students for the college-level gateway English course, I decided to interview and observe students who had already completed the program and moved on to English 1101.

Selecting participants on the basis of previously identified criteria set by the researcher is considered a type of "criterion-based selection" (Roulston, 2010, p. 81). From the subset of identified students who met my criteria, however, I was not able to sample randomly, since participation depended on who was willing and able to volunteer for the study. Also, because I needed to observe each participant at least once in his/her classroom, my selection of participants was further limited to those students in class sections that did not conflict with my own teaching schedule. Thus, in order to select an appropriate participant pool from the developmental English and EAP students, I first looked at the college's published course schedule to find ENGL 0999 and EAP 0090 and 0091 courses that met at times during which I would be able to do classroom observations. I then contacted the instructors of these courses (21 sections of ENGL 0999 and four sections of EAP 0090 and 0091) asking if they would be willing to participate in the project

and to administer a survey to help me select eligible and willing students. Sixteen of the 21 ENGL 0999 faculty agreed to administer the survey, which I developed in both online and paper-based format, depending on instructor preference, during the first weeks of classes in fall 2016 (see Appendix B). All three EAP faculty agreed to do the same[11].

This survey sought to identify students on the basis of criteria such as language background, number of years in the United States, and age and grade upon arrival. In particular, I aimed to identify a subset of approximately 15 developmental English and EAP students who had a first language other than English and who had completed at least some of their K-12 education inside and part outside of the United States, putting them in the category of generation 1.5 language minority students. I also hoped to select participants, in as much as was possible, based on matching criteria (e.g., country of origin, native language, and length of time in the U.S.) across students from the EAP and developmental English programs.

A total of 202 ENGL 0999 students completed the survey, of which 29 (14.4%) described themselves as having been born outside the United States. 18 of those 29 (8.9%) identified themselves as having a first language other than English. Of those, 11 (5.4%) were at least partially U.S.-educated language minority students. Finally, seven of these students agreed to participate in the study (see Table 6).

On the EAP side, 33 unique EAP 0090 and 0091 students completed the survey[12]. All of these students completed the electronic version of the survey, whose parameters had been set up to automatically end the survey if a student answered ‘no’ to the question “Did you go to school

[11] One EAP faculty member was teaching two of the four sections. Overall, the EAP faculty pool is quite small with a total of five faculty, of which I am one. The final EAP faculty member was not teaching any of the upper level Reading or Structure and Composition courses in Fall 2016.

[12] A total of 38 surveys were recorded, but some of these were overlapping responses from students who completed the survey in both courses.

at all outside of the U.S.?" Nine of the 33 respondents (27.3%) answered negatively to this question and were thus prevented from moving further in the survey. Later, after speaking with the EAP faculty, I realized that these nine students were most likely eliminated from the study due to a misunderstanding of the question. Nevertheless, I received fully completed surveys from 24 EAP students (72.7%), of whom 17 (70.8%) were at least partially U.S. educated language minority students (seven had graduated from high school outside of the United States). Of the eight Generation 1.5 students who agreed to participate in the study, I eliminated three who were currently enrolled in my own courses, and invited the remaining five to participate (see Table 6).

Table 6

Student Participants

	Name[13]	Native Countries	Native Languages	Age of Arrival	Grade on Arrival
ENGL 0999	Trang	Vietnam	Vietnamese	17	9
	Huy	Vietnam	Vietnamese	17	10
	Luis	Venezuela	Spanish	14	7
	Santiago	Argentina	Spanish	16	12
	Farzana	Afghanistan	Dari/Pashto	15	9
	Medi	Congo	French	15	9
	Kebe	Nigeria	Yoruba	16	11
				Average Age=15.7	Average Grade=9.6
EAP 0090/0091	Bisha	Nepal	Nepali	15	10
	Kiran	Nepal	Nepali	15	9
	Phuong	Vietnam	Vietnamese	17	11
	Ji-woo	S. Korea	Korean	15	9
	Ali	Afghanistan	Dari	12	5
				Average Age= 14.8	Average Grade=8.8
Former EAP Students (currently ENGL 1101)	Mi-sun	S. Korea	Korean	16	9
	Chau Yin	China	Cantonese	15	9
	Bondeko	Congo	Lingala/French	16	9
	Sandra	Ghana	Twi	13	8

[13] All names are pseudonyms.

	Average Age= 15	Average Grade=8.8

In order to recruit EAP students who had moved on to English 1101, I used internal program and college data to identify those 25 students who had passed their advanced level EAP courses in spring or summer 2016 and met the following criteria: a) they were currently registered for an English 1101 section that did not conflict with my own teaching schedule, and b) they were not my own former students. Once I was able to identify the ten students who fit these criteria, I sent an email to their ENGL 1101 faculty requesting their willingness to participate and to share the study opportunity with their students. Four out of seven English 1101 faculty contacted were willing to do so. Initially, these four 1101 classes seemed to yield seven willing participants, but upon exchanging emails with these seven, I was forced to eliminate three who had completed high school outside of the U.S., and thus ended up with a total of four participants in this category (see Table 6).

Due to these limitations in selecting participants, I was not able to fully match developmental English and EAP participants along language backgrounds and ages and grades of arrival. I was pleased, however, to note some overlapping characteristics. In comparing the seven students in developmental English and the nine from EAP (including both current and former EAP students), both participant groups comprised of students from the native countries of Vietnam, Congo, and Afghanistan. Countries that were unique to the developmental English participants were Argentina, Venezuela, and Nigeria, whereas only EAP participants came from Nepal, South Korea, China, and Ghana. In terms of age and grade of arrival, the averages are quite similar: 15.7 years old and grade 9.6 for the developmental students and 14.9 and 8.8 for

the EAP students. As a thank-you gift for their participation, all student participants received a $10 certificate to the campus bookstore.

Faculty. Faculty participants became those professors in whose developmental English, EAP, and English 1101 courses student participants were currently enrolled. This was crucial in order to triangulate the data I collected from my student participant interviews and observations with data collected from their own instructors. In order to ensure that all faculty members teaching my student participants were willing participants themselves, prior to administering the student surveys, I first sent an invitation letter to my developmental English and EAP faculty colleagues. Only those students of the faculty who agreed to participate were surveyed for possible recruitment. Because there were cases when multiple student participants came from the same course section(s), a total of 10 GGC faculty members ended up participating in the study (See Table 7 for a list of participating faculty and their corresponding student participants).

Table 7

Faculty Participants

Course	Name	Corresponding Student Participant(s)
ENGL 0999 (concurrent with ENGL 1101)	Campbell	Santiago, Medi
	Nasser	Kebe
	Jenkins	Farzana
	Powell	Huy
	Rossi	Luis, Trang
EAP 0090 and/or 0091	Aslan	Ji-woo, Ali
	Phillips	Phuong
	Zhang	Kiran, Bisha
ENGL 1101 (to students formerly in EAP)	Adams	Sandra
	Mitchell	Mi-sun, Chau Yin, Bondeko

Administrators. A final group of participants were those working in administrative roles in connection with either or both the EAP and the developmental English programs. These administrators included the Dean of Transitional Studies, in whose purview both programs were located, as well as the EAP and English Learning Support Coordinators. These latter two positions were actually held by faculty rather than full-time administrators, with the EAP Coordinator position being officially recognized at the college as a service role and the Segue Coordinator working in an unofficial role. In this capacity, however, both faculty members fulfilled the administrative role of overseeing their respective academic programs. Because this group was quite limited in size, I was easily able to reach out to each person via email to seek their participation in the study. Fortunately, all three people in administrative roles agreed to participate (see Table 8). I should also note that two of the administrators—Phillips and Zhang—are also included as faculty participants in the study as both were teaching a section of EAP during fall 2016. Washington, though teaching ENGL 0999 during the same semester, was not a faculty participant in my study as her class time conflicted with my own schedule.

Table 8

Administrator Participants

Name	Administrative Role
Phillips	Dean, School of Transitional Studies
Washington	Segue English Coordinator (unofficial)
Zhang	EAP Coordinator

Data Collection

Most data for the study was collected during the fall 2016 semester, though some data collection continued into the spring of 2017. As in much qualitative research, data came from a range of sources, including surveys, documents, interviews, and observations in order to

triangulate and increase the trustworthiness of the findings (Barbour, 2001; Freeman, de Marrais, Preissle, Roulston, & St. Pierre, 2007). In addition, I also collected quantitative data, as available and as needed, in order to construct a more complete picture of the two programs.

Surveys. As mentioned in my participant description, surveys were used as an initial step to recruit student participants for this project. Once I identified through the published schedule of classes faculty who taught EAP and developmental English sections at times that did not conflict with my own teaching schedule, I sent emails to each, informing them about the study and asking for their willingness to participate. Of those who responded affirmatively, I then asked to share the participation survey with all students in their courses (see Appendix B), asking about language background, length of time in the United States, and age and grade at time of arrival, and willingness to participate in my study. On the survey, I also asked the students to provide contact information (college email addresses) so that I was able to follow-up with them to arrange class visits and interviews. I offered faculty two options for administering the survey to their students: either via hard copy, which I delivered to and subsequently picked up from faculty offices or classrooms, or via an electronic link to the same survey which had been created in the Qualtrics online platform. Seventeen faculty members chose to have their students complete the electronic surveys, while four requested paper.

Documents. My decision to focus on documents as part of my learning about the cultures of writing that permeate the developmental English and EAP programs is rooted in the idea that "documents form a 'field' for research in their own right, and should not be considered as mere props to human action" (Prior, 2003, p. 26). As situated products, documents are meaningful not only in terms of their content, but especially regarding how and by whom they are produced, how and by whom they are consumed, how they circulate, and how they structure the social

action of their users (Prior, 2003). These questions, therefore, formed the basis of my document analysis.

For the current study, the documents I reviewed represent an extensive range of artifacts related to Georgia Gwinnett College's pre-college level English and EAP programs. These included policy documents such as the Board of Regents' policy manual, the college's administrative policy manual (APM), the GGC website, program descriptions and documentation, and course syllabi. In addition, as I interviewed faculty and administrators who are responsible for these courses and programs, I asked them if there are any additional documents of which they are aware that may help me better understand the two programs. I also collected some samples of assignments and student work, which I asked student participants to share with me and reflect on during interviews. All of these documents were uploaded into NVivo qualitative data analysis software.

Observations. I made a point to observe a minimum of one class section of each student and faculty interview participant. In order to experience the full scope of the courses and programs involved and how they unfold over the course of a semester, I spread my visits out over weeks four through 15 of the semester, as laid out in Table 9. During these visits, I took extensive field notes, which then formed a substantial part of my data analysis. Each set of field notes was ultimately scanned into my computer and uploaded into NVivo for later coding. I also audio-recorded each class visit with the instructor's permission.

Interviews. In order to further my emic perspective on the EAP and developmental English programs, I conducted in-depth interviews with all student, faculty, and administrator participants. My aim for these interviews was that they be long and focused conversations, approximately one hour each in length, for the purpose of gaining in-depth knowledge about the

phenomena under investigation (deMarrais, 2004; Roulston, 2010). While I was steered by the prepared questions on my interview guides (see Appendix C), I did not adhere strictly to a structured interview format. Instead, I allowed each interview to unfold based on my participants' responses. Roulston (2010), suggests an approach to generating rich interview data is to ask follow-up probing questions, such as "Could you tell me more about that?," "Could you give me a specific example of that?," or "Could you describe in detail what happened" (p. 12). This was the advice I followed as I attempted to gather rich data from each interview participant.

Table 9

Interview and Observation Schedule

	Observations	Interviews
Week 4-6	ENGL 0999/1101 (Campbell)	Medi, Santiago, Campbell
	EAP 0090 (Aslan)	Ali, Ji-woo, Aslan
	ENGL 1101 (Mitchell)	Bondeko, Chau Yin, Mi-sun, Mitchell
Week 7-9	ENGL 0999/1101 (Jenkins)	Farzana, Jenkins
	EAP 0090 (Phillips)	Phuong, Phillips
	ENGL 1101 (Adams)	Sandra, Adams
Week 10-12	ENGL 0999/1101 (Powell, Nasser)	Huy, Kebe, Powell, Nasser
	EAP 0091 (Aslan)	Aslan
Week 13-15	ENGL 0999/1101 (Rossi)	Trang, Luis, Rossi
	EAP 0091 (Zhang)	Bisha, Kiran, Zhang
Post-Semester		Dean of Transitional Studies (Phillips)
		EAP Program Coordinator (Zhang)

Segue Coordinator (Washington)

The timing of interviews followed the schedule set for class observations (see Table 9), as I followed-up each class visit as soon as possible with interviews with the pertinent student and faculty participants. During these interviews, I asked the participants to reflect on what was happening in the course I observed. I also asked them to bring to the interview any related documents, such as course hand-outs or assignments, that could further my understanding of the classroom/program culture and their own learning experiences. At the time of each interview, I also asked each participant for their permission to follow-up with them at a later date with as further questions and ideas emerged through the data analysis process. All interviews were recorded in digital format using my iPhone and later transcribed using ExpressScribe software and uploaded into NVivo.

Quantitative Data. Although the vast majority of the data for this study is qualitative in nature, some quantitative information is useful in constructing a full picture of the EAP and developmental English programs at Georgia Gwinnett College. Institutional and program data I sought included the numbers, both raw and as a percentage of the freshman class, of students placing into these programs and at what levels (i.e., Foundations vs. Segue, and low-intermediate vs. advanced EAP). I also submitted a data request for information regarding student success in terms of pass rates of the pre-college level courses as well as of college-level gateway courses after completing the required EAP or developmental English sequences. I also collected data on average grades (in aggregate) in both English 1101 and 1102 for former developmental English and EAP students. Because of the recent and on-going changes to developmental English policies and the resulting new course structure and placement guidelines, quantitative data about the developmental English program was interpreted with great caution. Similarly, EAP data, due

to the much smaller number of students placing into EAP as compared to developmental English, must also be interpreted cautiously. For these reasons, among others, quantitative data in this study are considered supplemental, while the qualitative data are primary.

Data Analysis

Data analysis procedures for this project were informed by grounded theory methods, particularly as articulated by Charmaz (2014). These methods are a set of flexible guidelines for interacting with data, synthesizing it through qualitative coding, writing analytic memos about emerging understandings, gathering additional data as necessary to "check and refine our emerging analytic categories" (p. 4), and ultimately developing a theoretical understanding of the experience under investigation.

Charmaz suggests coding data in a number of stages: an initial line-by-line or segment approach during which the researcher keeps an open mind and codes with words that reflect the actions s/he sees; and a second, more focused phase in which the most significant of the initial codes are used to synthesize and integrate the data. In the initial phase of coding, Charmaz recommends coding data as actions using the *–ing*, or gerund form, of verbs. By doing so, we may curb the tendency "to make conceptual leaps and adopt extant theories *before* we have done the necessary analytic work" (p. 117). Early coding, when done openly and playfully, can spark thinking and new ideas.

Charmaz also reminds us that early coding can allow researchers to see gaps in our data and may encourage us to collect additional data to fill in those gaps and go deeper into our research problem. Thus, the grounded theory approach is typically an iterative one, with data collection and analysis occurring simultaneously. In my own study, as I spread my interviews and class observations over the course of a semester, I was able to conduct initial stages of data

analysis, including coding and memo writing, as I went along. This enabled me to focus some subsequent data collection on issues that begin to emerge as salient or ripe for further exploration.

Another important aspect of using grounded theory to work with data is the focus on "constant comparative methods" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, as cited in Charmaz, 2014, p. 132), which involve making analytic sense of information by constantly comparing data with data and codes with codes, looking for similarities and differences. Taking such a careful approach to data analysis can be invaluable in helping a researcher, particularly one like me who is intimately connected to the research site develop a fresh perspective on the phenomena being studied:

> Word-by-word and line-by-line coding help you to see the familiar in new light…You may gain surprising insights about how people's actions fit together or come into conflict. You also gain distance from your preconceptions and your participants' taken-for-granted assumptions about the material so that you *can* see it in new light. (Charmaz, 2014, p. 133)

Focused coding involves reflecting on and assessing initial codes in order to determine which codes are most frequent and/or significant. At this stage, the researcher also engages in extensive memo writing in order to analyze emerging ideas about the codes. Charmaz describes memo writing as in intermediate step between data collection and article writing: "memos catch your thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections you make, and crystallize questions and directions for you to pursue" (p. 162). Ultimately, writing memos led me through an analytic process that formed the core of my understanding about my research questions.

Charmaz' version of grounded theory, which she terms "constructivist grounded theory," fits well with my own theoretical framework in that "relativism characterizes the research

endeavor rather than objective, unproblematic prescriptions and procedures" (p. 13). In Charmaz' view, research is seen as constructed rather than discovered, which necessitates that we "take the researcher's position, privileges, perspective, and interactions into account as an inherent part of the research reality" (p. 13). It is for this reason that I began this chapter with an extensive subjectivities statement and acknowledge my own role as an EAP faculty member at Georgia Gwinnett College with a personal investment in the work to which we will now turn. The next two chapters of this dissertation contain the findings of the study, divided into those findings related to the cultures of writing and literacy within the two programs (Chapter Four) and the policy changes that are continuing to shape both of them (Chapter Five). The discussion in Chapter Six includes the implications of the current study as well as directions for future research.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURES OF WRITING/LITERACY

This chapter seeks to answer the current study's first research question and its related sub-question:

1. What were the cultures of writing (teaching/learning of language and literacy) in the developmental English and EAP programs?
    a. How were the experiences of linguistic minority students studying academic language and literacy in developmental English vs. in EAP similar or different?

In order to understand the various cultures of writing in these two programs as well as student experiences within them, I draw on a Communities of Practice (CoP) framework (Lave & Wenger, 1991), recognizing that all learning is social and contextually situated. The first aspect to consider in this framework is in what way each program consisted of a *joint enterprise*, comprised of "members [who] are bound together by their collectively developed understanding of what their community is about" (Wenger, 2000, p. 229). As the chapter continues, I will also consider the issues of *mutuality*, or how members built their community through "interact[ing] with one another, establishing norms and relationships" (p. 229), as well as *shared repertoires*, or the "communal resources—language, routines, sensibilities, artifacts, tools, stories, styles" (p. 229) which were produced by each community. Each aspect of the two distinct communities of practice had profound impacts on student experience and learning.

The Joint Enterprises of Developmental English and EAP

Regarding membership in each of these joint enterprises, a salient finding of the current research is that while the faculty teaching in the developmental English and EAP programs had,

to a large extent, distinct disciplinary backgrounds, training, and purposeful reasons for teaching the course, the student participants of the two groups could not be so easily delineated from one another. In fact, unlike the faculty, who mostly made deliberate choices about their disciplinary affiliation and had a specific interest in working with either EAP or developmental students, the students themselves, more often than not, seemed to have placed into their respective program pathways in a much less premeditated fashion. Nevertheless, once students entered these communities, they developed a shared understanding of what their community was about. In most cases, these perceptions fell in line with the cultures of writing shaped by the faculty in each program. In the case of EAP, this was a community whose shared purpose was recognized as preparing students for success across in college level work quite broadly, incorporating copious amounts of development in reading, writing, vocabulary, and language structure/grammar. In the case of developmental English, on the other hand, the course was ostensibly more narrowly focused on giving students the support they needed to succeed as academic writers in their English 1101 composition course. In one aspect, however, the developmental English class had a broader focus than did EAP, in that there was a much stronger focus on the affective (aka "studenting") skills presumed to be needed by developmental students in order to thrive in a college environment.

Community Membership: Purposeful vs. Non-purposeful Belonging

The first aspect important finding is that membership in each of the two communities—developmental English and EAP—was characterized as largely purposeful on the part of the faculty and largely arbitrary on the part of the student participants.

Faculty membership: Largely purposeful belonging. In terms of faculty participants, developmental English and EAP faculty at GGC largely fell in line with what Silva and Leki

(2004) describe in terms of the disciplinary divisions common among members of the two distinct academic areas, with developmental English faculty largely having been trained in the fields of English and composition and EAP/ESL faculty coming from fields such as TESOL and applied linguistics. In a related vein, the GGC faculty participants had largely made an intentional choice to work with a specific type of student: developmental/basic writers or L2 writers respectively. Thus, it can clearly be said that they comprised purposeful members of the communities they co-created with the students in their classrooms.

EAP faculty. The three EAP faculty participants in this study, Drs. Aslan, Phillips, and Zhang, all earned PhDs in a TESOL-related discipline. In fact, both Aslan and Phillips received their degrees in multilingual and multicultural education from the same institution. Aslan explained this unusual name:

> It is called multilingual and multicultural education as if it's different, but it is a regular TESOL teachers of, you know, English to speakers of other languages. So it is, so our prefixes were like TEFL [Teaching English as a Foreign Language] usually or TESL [Teaching English as a Second Language].

Situated within a college of education, Aslan and Phillips both emphasized the strong pedagogical focus of their program, not just in terms of preparing students to work with K-12 students but also with adult learners. Similarly, Zhang earned a PhD in second language acquisition and teaching, which he also described as very pedagogically focused.

All three of these faculty also shared a strong background in language learning and were themselves multilingual. Zhang and Aslan were L2 users and writers of English, Zhang having been raised in China and Aslan in Turkey. Both studied English from a young age and earned bachelor's degrees in English—Zhang a master's degree in English education and applied

linguistics as well—in their native countries before moving to the United States to continue with their graduate studies. Phillips, though a native speaker of English, entered the field of TESOL by following his passion for language and international populations, which he developed initially while working with migrant farmworkers in his home state of Florida during high school. He then went on to get an undergraduate degree in Russian, an MA in linguistics, and a PhD in multilingual and multicultural education. He made the shift from a more theoretical MA program to an applied PhD program because of an explicit interest in focusing on the pedagogical aspects of language learning.

Interestingly, all three of these faculty fulfilled important roles at the college in addition to their work as EAP professors. Aslan was a part-time facilitator for GGC's Internationalized Learning Program, which means she trained faculty across the disciplines regarding incorporating international learning outcomes into their courses. Zhang taught Chinese courses at GGC and was the EAP Program Coordinator, an elected position from within the EAP faculty. While this role earned Zhang no extra compensation or release time, it did fulfill a portion of his service commitment at the college. Phillips began his tenure at the college as a full-time EAP faculty member but had since been promoted to become the Dean of Transitional Studies and was therefore responsible for the oversight of both the EAP and developmental English programs, among other areas. He still had the opportunity to teach at least one EAP course per academic year, and was doing so during the fall of 2016, which is why he is included in this study as both a faculty and administrator participant.

On the EAP side, all three faculty participants were actively engaged in their disciplines and across the college. All held terminal degrees in disciplines which were very pedagogically focused on issues broadly related to second language learning. The degrees were not, however,

exclusively focused on English literature and/or composition, which clearly differentiated the EAP faculty from their colleagues in developmental English.

Developmental English faculty. Of the five faculty participants teaching the English 0999 course, two had master's degrees in English (Campbell and Nasser), two had PhDs in literature (Powell and Jenkins), and one had a PhD in rhetoric/composition (Rossi). While the general requirement for full-time faculty at GGC is a terminal degree[14], the English department often employs part-time and/or full-time temporary faculty with master's degrees to teach in their discipline, a situation which is often necessitated by the large number of sections taught each semester. In the fall of 2016, for example, 21 sections of ENGL 0999 were taught by 21 different faculty members, six of whom (29%) were hired in part-time or temporary positions. Two of these part-time/temporary faculty, Campbell and Nasser, became participants in the current study. Campbell had in fact earned a master's in English with an emphasis in creative writing just one year before the start of the study. Nasser, a full-time temporary instructor, held a master's degree in English literature. The other three developmental English faculty participants were full-time faculty with terminal degrees. Interestingly, only one (Rossi) had a specialized degree in composition, whereas both Powell and Jenkins earned degrees in American literature.

In terms of any explicit training in TESOL or working with L2 writers, only Nasser had the opportunity to take several TESOL courses as part of her master's degree in English. Initially, she described herself as having been very reluctant to take these classes. When asked why, she explained:

> Because I'm from a really small town and I just had no experience. I mean there was like no diversity in my hometown…it was maybe like two or three black kids, and that was it.

[14] Until I compete my PhD, I am currently a rare exception to this policy.

> It was just very white. And my biggest concern was, okay, am I gonna be stuck in a group of people that we can't communicate, right? Very closed minded, I'm embarrassed to say, kind of view of the world.

Ultimately, the TESOL classes were transformative in terms of altering Nasser's world view. She described how her attitudes about people from other parts of the world changed as a result of the class:

> And then after I met these really great people in that class, it just opened this whole other door to being like, okay so this class that I had been dreading and putting off, I had no reason to fear.

Nasser also brought a unique perspective to the study in that she worked as a tutor in the GGC writing center before being hired as temporary English faculty, which meant that she had had the opportunity to work with EAP students in that capacity, something she said she enjoyed.

Aside from Nasser, however, none of the other developmental English faculty had had any specific training in TESOL, either in their graduate programs or afterwards. Several of them specifically noted their lack of expertise in TESOL as a professional limitation. Powell, for example, described her feelings this way: "I don't feel very empowered to assist EAP students differently than my other students. I don't have any special training." She went on explain how, due to other professional demands, she had never prioritized taking the time to learn more about L2 issues:

> I like to be informed about the learning and like I just don't, you know, in the structure of my professional life, I don't have the time or the internal demand to study up on how I could be a better teacher to them. And I'm aware of that but also unwilling to fix it. So it's like this gap that's sitting there.

Rossi also lamented his lack of knowledge about L2 issues and research, but, like Powell, was unwilling to take the time from his busy schedule to rectify that, particularly without any institutional support for doing so. He explained:

> I'm very well theoretically informed on composition principles—on what the composition research says. I'm not as well informed on what the EAP research says. And if there were any kind of reward for me going through the trouble of doing that, I would do it. I would spend a lot of time. But there's not, and I'm busy.

On the other hand, whereas their focus and interest may not have lain specifically with L2 students, some of the developmental English faculty were specifically drawn to working with developmental students more broadly. Powell, for example, in her first faculty position after completing her PhD in American literature, was asked to teach an ethnicity-focused section of freshman composition in which large numbers of student athletes were enrolled. The majority of these students had just transitioned from the developmental courses, and Powell discovered both an aptitude for and an interest in working with these former-developmental students, explaining that she had "a teaching voice that spoke to them." Subsequently, Powell explicitly sought out and enjoyed positions in which she was able to develop this aspect of her career and thus found GGC to be a good professional fit for her.

Rossi felt similarly, and insisted that he would teach nothing other than the ENGL 0999/1101 Segue combination if he could. He elaborated:

> I have a lot of forgiveness in my heart for the Segue students who don't listen, who don't do the work, who need upper help. I can come around to them. The upper division students who don't do the work, who can't read very short reading assignments, um, I

> just have a lot less patience for them… When you help a Segue student, you know that you've done something…I feel like I matter to the Segue students.

Whereas some faculty like Rossi and Powell were particularly drawn to the developmental English experience, other English faculty seemed to be teaching the course(s) as a required part of their load without expressing a real passion for it. Jenkins, for example, spent the first seventeen years of her teaching career in a 2-year open-access institution prior to earning her PhD and coming to GGC, so she felt very familiar with developmental students. At the same time, she decided to pursue a PhD in literature rather than in composition because she felt her years of teaching composition prepared her well in that area but that she wanted to grow in terms of her ability to teach literature. After earning her degree, she became most passionate about teaching upper level literature and humanities courses and, by the time of this study, was only rarely on the developmental English teaching roster.

Student membership: Largely non-purposeful belonging. In terms of student participants, it was quite difficult to delineate the EAP and former EAP students from their developmental English student counterparts in terms of any salient characteristics in their backgrounds, linguistic or otherwise. The demographic facts of both groups of participants, including countries of origin, as well as grade and age on arrival, were fairly well matched (see Table 6 in Chapter Three). The average age and grade on arrival was 15.7 years/9.6 grade for the students in ENGL 0999 and 14.9 years/8.8 grade for those in EAP. Every single study participant had been designated as an English Learner (EL) in high school and attended ESOL classes for at least two years, and several in both groups did so for all four years. The question then becomes how and why these two groups of students came to be taking such different course pathways in college, and whether the decision was based on a rational thought process, such as a

consideration of language ability or personal identity. A close examination of the data, however, paints a picture of course placement that was, for most language minority students, much more arbitrary.

Developmental English Students. The placement into developmental English rather than EAP, for four out of the five participants, appeared to have been purely accidental. Huy, for example, had no clear memory of checking a box to select either the standard or ESL version of the COMPASS placement test when he completed the testing center's intake form. He recollected:

> I remember the box when I check in: 'Have you take this test before?' I was like no, this is the first time, and then the date. I think I skipped that box [asking about language status]. Or maybe I accidentally checked in the native speaker not second language.

Luis, too, had no memory of deciding which COMPASS test to take, and admitted that taking the non-ESL version was not intentional. "Probably I just wasn't even paying attention and just checked whatever," he confessed. Similarly, despite being in her second semester as a GGC student at the time of our interview, Medi was surprised when asked about her decision to enroll in developmental English rather than EAP, which she had not known was an option. "Oh, you can do that too? Oh, I didn't know that," she exclaimed. Similarly, Farzana also took the regular COMPASS and was never told about the ESL version of the test. "I didn't know because they didn't told me anything about it," she explained. "They only told me like to fill out the application and I filled it out and give it to them." She also admitted she may not have paid careful attention to the form when it asked her to check a box if English. "No," she laughed, "I probably didn't check that out that much."

Two other students also placed into developmental English unintentionally, but for a different reason: they had either taken their placement test, or indeed, had already taken other college courses, elsewhere. Trang, for example, had taken her COMPASS test at Gwinnett Technical College, the local tech school, which did not offer the ESL version of the test. Thus, when she transferred her scores to GGC, she was placed directly into developmental courses without ever being questioned about her language background or placement preference. Another student with an unusual set of circumstances was Kebe, who had actually already completed the ESL sequence at another college before transferring to GGC and was, therefore, able to go straight into English 1101 in her first semester. After failing the class, however, her advisor recommended that she register for the Segue section (English 1101 with the ENGL 0999 corequisite) for her next attempt. Thus, she was in the developmental companion course on a voluntary basis. At the time of our interview, she had never heard of GGC's EAP program, which made sense since it was only offered at the prerequisite level and Kebe was already qualified to take the gateway freshman composition course.

Interestingly, out of all seven developmental English study participants, only one, Santiago, intentionally selected his placement pathway. Having been told about it by friends, Santiago was very aware of the ESL COMPASS test option but specifically chose not to take it since he had completed ESOL in high school. He explained his reasoning:

> I didn't want to do the ESOL COMPASS test because when I graduated from high school they gave me a certificate that said I didn't have to take ESOL classes anymore, so I don't know if it counts for college or not, but I was like if they gave me that in high school then I guess I didn't have to take ESOL classes here.

Thus, with the exception of Santiago, the other linguistic minority students studying in developmental English in this study seemed to have come by their placement with very little forethought or intention. The situation for the EAP students shared several similarities but also diverged in some interesting ways.

EAP Students. Unlike their counterparts in developmental English, many of the EAP student participants (five out of nine) made an intentional choice to select the box on the placement testing intake form indicating that English was their second language. Interestingly, however, the reason most checked the box was not necessarily because they wanted to take—or even knew about—the possibility of EAP course placement, but simply because they noticed the question and wanted to answer it honestly. Ali, for example, described his situation as he approached placement testing:

> Honestly, when I took the COMPASS test, I picked the choice that English is my second language. I was like, 'Well English *is* my second language, so I might as well just take this test.'

Similarly, Sandra clearly recalled checking the ESL box on the test intake form, but it was not clear to her that in doing so, she was making a choice to be on the EAP course track: "I wasn't planning on taking EAP classes," she explained. "I thought it was just a form you gotta fill out, so it says if you're taking ESL classes in high school, check this box. So I checked it." Mi-sun, also, had a clear recollection of making the choice to select the ESL test. She described her experience: "So there was like two choices that I can like check, which is one, like non-ESL student, and there's one check mark says like ESL. So I choose, I chose EAP, ESL student." Another student in this situation was Bisha, who didn't consider taking the non-ESL version of the test, seemingly because of his honest completion of the intake form. "I didn't have that

option, I think?" he explained, "Or I just knew I had to put second language." Kiran, too, remembered checking the ESL test box, though he had not been aware of the courses he might have to take when doing so.

Other former EAP students, specifically Chau Yin and Bondeko, seemed to have inadvertently checked the box to take the ESL COMPASS by identifying themselves as non-native speakers without being aware of or remembering that they did so. Even during the time of the study, one semester after having successfully completing EAP, neither was aware of exactly how their placement into EAP had been initiated. Chau Yin recalled feeling like he did badly on the test but remembered little beyond that. He elaborated:

> I did bad on that [the COMPASS test] so that was why I took, I don't know why. Cause I think I was in a rush and then they put me in 80 and 81…I took the ESL in high school, I don't know why they still put me in EAP in college, but it's okay.

Similarly, Bondeko didn't realize at the time that he had been given an ESL version of the COMPASS test. "I just got there and they gave me the COMPASS," he described. "I don't think it was ESL. It was not easy, so I'm guessing it wasn't ESL, but I'm not really sure. But I didn't really get a choice." Since no students are placed into EAP courses without an ESL COMPASS score, however, Bondeko was obviously fallible in his memory of not having taken the ESL version of the test, which he must have initiated by checking the box indicating that English was not his native language.

Indeed, there were only two EAP student participants who were very aware of the possible placement choice into EAP they were making by selecting to take the ESL COMPASS, and who chose to do so deliberately. One of these students was Phuong, whose more experienced friend had actually recommended that she check the box to take the native speaker test as an

easier path to placing into the college level. Phuong decided not to listen to him, however, since she felt the EAP support classes would be good for her. Why asked why, she explained, "Because I decided maybe I'm not good enough, because like writing, speaking, everything, reading, I'm not good. Like not doing very well."

Similarly, Ji-woo was very intentional about placing into the EAP program. In fact, knowing it existed was one of the reasons she chose to apply to GGC at all. She described her thought process:

> I thought maybe they [GGC] can help me out the grammar and writing and speaking. Well, I mean, it's not on the credit, I know… but I think it's gonna help me out in essay… if I'm not writing an essay, I feel like I'm not gonna be successful… so I thought like maybe this is a good idea to go to GGC and work on the EAP classes.

EAP and developmental English students: Shared language challenges. Phuong and Ji-woo, however, were not the only students in the study who admitted to facing challenges with English. It was certainly not the case that only students who placed into EAP admitted to struggling with English or who had faculty members who said the same of them. Medi's English 0999 instructor, Professor Campbell, for example, described her concern with Medi's ability to understand her course assignments and expectations:

> She's always very, very nice. She's soft-spoken, she comes to her conferences, and we talk, and I get a lot of yes, I understand. I'm not convinced, you know, but you can't force them to admit they don't understand, so I'm just, I'm not sure.

Another developmental English student, Kebe, struggled so much in 0999 that she did not pass the course. In a follow-up interview with her professor at the end of the semester, Nasser attributed part of Kebe's failure to her language challenges:

> As for her EAP issues, I know they did impact her grade. Her quiz scores were very low, and that could have made the difference between passing or not. I also wonder if her EAP issues stood in the way of her asking for help.

Ultimately, the student participants in this study made clear that, with few exceptions—notably Santiago among the developmental English students and Phuong and Ji-woo among those in EAP—most linguistic minority who arrived at GGC to take their placement tests made neither an explicit choice about which placement test—the standard or ESL COMPASS—to take, nor which course pathway—developmental or EAP—would best serve them. Instead, these students' entry to college language and literacy development often came down to an inadvertent check mark on an intake form, the consequences of which were rarely, if ever, explained to them in advance. Nevertheless, no matter how similar the two groups of students were upon arrival to campus in terms of their L2 language and literacy development, they entered two very distinct educational cultures in their developmental English and EAP courses. These differences related to the next aspect of a *joint enterprise* within the CoP framework, which is that members develop a shared understanding of the purpose and function of the community to which they belong.

Shared Understandings: The Purposes of EAP and English 0999

An important, though not unexpected, finding relates to the view expressed by all members of the developmental English community that the purpose of the course was to help students develop fundamental skills as academic writers, including such aspects as thesis statements, essay organization, source integration, and editing. These ideas were largely shared by members of the EAP community, with one difference being a larger emphasis on grammar and vocabulary development as foundational to the art of writing. EAP community members were also in agreement about the role of reading, both extensive as well as intensive reading

strategy development, as fundamental, which made sense considering that the EAP program structure offered a full four-credit EAP Reading course at the advanced level in addition to the Structure and Composition writing-focused course. English 0999 community members, on the other hand, had widely different perceptions about the role of reading in their courses, with some faculty stressing reading much more than others. Finally, the majority of 0999 faculty also emphasized the need to teach what they often referred to as "studenting"[15] skills, something that was not emphasized as strongly by EAP faculty.

English 0999: Writing fundamentals. The collective understanding of the purpose of ENGL 0999 was fundamentally linked to the purpose of the ENGL 1101 class with which it was paired: to become a better writer. Santiago, an 0999 student, expressed this thought quite succinctly:

> So writing. I think writing is the main point. I don't know if there's something else in that class, but I think we have three essays and writing assignments and everything. I think writing is the most important of that class. So I'm expecting to improve when the semester ends.

Luis and Trang, other 0999 students, echoed this thought. When asked about the purpose of the course, Luis answered without hesitation: "Like just get better at writing, I mean it's an English class, so I guess that's the only point on it. Just get better at writing." Trang, too, expected that the paired courses of English 1101 and 0999 would help her "learn how to do the essay...

[15] I searched for the origin of this term and found it attributed by Warnock and Gasiewski (2018) to Mary Louise Pratt (1991), who, in her essay "Arts of the Contact Zone" coined the related term "pupiling," by saying, "Teacher-pupil language, for example, tends to be described almost entirely from the point of view of the teacher and teaching, not from the point of view of pupils and pupiling (the word doesn't even exist, though the thing certainly does)" (p. 38).

because in high school I really scared writing essay because I don't know anything because that's not my language."

English 0999 faculty shared these students' sentiments, expanding on them with more nuanced descriptions about how they defined writing fundamentals. Powell, for example, explained the connection between the goals of 0999 and the corequisite 1101 course: "My goal for that 1101 class is for them to be able successfully write an essay for any freshman level class…so a thesis statement, organized paragraphs, and quote integration." For the 999 students, the goals were the same, but she believed they also needed to "become better editors of their work, learn about college-level writing expectations, and become stricter about adhering to the writing process."

Jenkins also saw a major purpose of 0999 as supporting the 1101 class by teaching writing fundamentals that were often assumed to be already mastered by 1101 students. "There's a lot of easier essay prompts in the 999 class," she explained, "so that we can, so that I can teach more fundamentals of paragraph development, organization of an essay, surface errors, mechanics, grammar, so it supports the 1101 class."

Other 0999 faculty expressed a view of writing fundamentals that did not emphasize surface-level concerns. Rossi for example, was quite clear about his expectations for English 0999 students, which he explained like this:

> I want them to be able to articulate a claim. This is the thing that I'm trying to persuade the reader to believe. I want them to understand what that is. And I want them to understand how you get the reader to believe the essay and that is principally by deploying evidence, right?

Similarly, Campbell's overarching concern in her classes was for students to learn that writing is always done with the goal communication and is never "wrong." She also imparted idea that writing is not all about grammar. "I tell them that when it comes down to writing, there's very little that's wrong," she explained. "It's your thoughts and your ideas and your expression of those. Grammatically you can have problems, but what you write is not wrong."

No gatekeeping function in 0999. A final aspect of the shared understanding of English 0999 is that, because it functioned as a support rather than a stand-alone course, it was the final grade in English 1101 only that determined whether or not a student had met the required learning outcomes and was eligible to move to the next course in the composition sequence, English 1102. The grading system, as described in the 0999 course syllabus was as follows: "You will be given separate letter grades for each course, which may or may not be the same grade. Those who pass ENGL 1101 with a C or better will be eligible to enroll in ENGL 1102." Thus, the English 0999 course did not act as a gatekeeper of any kind. The main class was English 1101, and students did not actually need to pass English 0999 in order to move on. While it may seem unlikely that a student could have passed 1101 and not 0999, this was actually not an entirely inconceivable scenario since 1101 assignments, which will be described in more detail later in this chapter, were typically extended essay assignments completed using the process approach. As such, students wrote multiple drafts on which they had the opportunity to receive feedback from peers, writing center tutors, and even their instructors. Thus, it was possible that 0999 students, who may have been unable to succeed in a timed, in-class writing assessment, such as that found in the EAP program and which will be discussed later, would be able to pass English 1101.

EAP: Language development more broadly defined. Unlike in the developmental English courses, Grammar instruction was foregrounded in all of the EAP writing classes observed in this study. Certainly, however, the EAP faculty also valued the higher order concerns of writing and made sure not to overemphasize grammar at the expense of other aspects of writing development. Zhang explained:

> I want them to be able to write academic papers, and also teach them about the whole process of writing so they can apply it later on, and from the very beginning choosing a topic, brainstorming, to revision and then the final draft, and getting help from all the sources… And also writing is not just sentences. It's about ideas, so I would like to see their development in terms of critical thinking.

At the same time, he admitted that "grammar, of course, is another big chunk, goal, because they have, they obviously need that." Zhang's rationale for prioritizing language instruction was specific to the needs of L2 writers. "I think accuracy really for non-native speakers is really important," he explained. "I think they, for their long-term goals and for their career, they need that. Easier will be communicating with their boss…doing a presentation… writing a short memo." In fact, Zhang worried that students would not be successful in their future careers without a fairly high degree of accuracy in their writing. "I think people will judge them actually," he argued.

Interestingly, the two EAP writing instructor participants, Zhang and Aslan, also happened to be the only faculty in the study who were non-native speakers of English. They also expressed the strongest feelings about the importance of setting a high bar when it comes to expectations for language accuracy on the part of their students. This was a point emphasized by Zhang:

> There are just going to be some [written] accents for anyone, but we need to, we need to aim for a level of accuracy. For my students I require them—I tell them you're not going to have a perfect paper, okay, that's a reality. But you want to minimize your major problems, mistakes, and you can do it.

Zhang found this to be a particularly pressing issue since he himself had experienced judgement from native English speakers about the quality, not only of his ideas, but of his ability to express them in standard American English. He worried that his students, in turn, would be judged if he didn't hold them to a high standard. He explained:

> As a non-native speaker, I think this [being judged] is happening because each time when you write an email to your boss, they look at this, they are not only looking at the content. Sometimes, oh, "This person doesn't even know how to do the grammar, do the sentence, why should I give this person the promotion or whatever." I think it's, it's really real.

Aslan, too, worried that other English faculty might be under the mistaken assumption that most language errors work themselves out naturally over time. On the contrary, she wanted to help students avoid being stuck making the same errors again and again indefinitely, a term known in the L2 literature as *fossilization*. "But what about fossilization then?" Aslan asked me during our interview. She elaborated:

> These are not native speakers, and if you learn it completely wrong, and if nobody ever corrects it…at least I'm hoping that we say it and then it's somewhere in their head, that at some point it's gonna click.

Fundamentally, the EAP faculty viewed teaching grammar and vocabulary as a way of not limiting language minority students' potential. "We have non-native speakers writing books, right?" Zhang explained. "They [his students] are not perfect, but they are getting there, so I

think the potential is there." He also felt that accuracy issues were what most often prevented EAP students from passing their writing courses:

> The biggest challenge for, on average, is grammar, grammar for my students. They fail, they fail because of their accuracy. Because the focus, development, and the organization, I think after some time they will eventually get that. But they fail because of accuracy.

Aslan, one of the two EAP writing instructors who participated in the study, also expressed the challenge of trying to work with students on higher level writing issues when they lacked foundational knowledge of language structure. "I have sentences that I don't understand," she lamented, "and I keep telling them, are you using a translator? I mean even translators do a better job… I have students who write like, I don't understand anything. They're English words but I don't understand anything." For this reason, she considered helping students gain more facility with English grammar within the context of their writing development to be a main goal of the EAP program.

EAP students also seemed to have taken up the collective idea of language development having been a primary goal of the EAP program. Ji-woo, for example, identified grammar and vocabulary development as fundamental to the class: "Oh, I supposed to learn, um, writing essay, and I trying to do like perfect as I can possible in grammar, and maybe can more learn about vocabulary." Ali, too, immediately identified grammar as a key focus of his EAP experience: "It's a great course. I'm learning, learning my grammars, fixing the errors that I make, that's pretty much it."

Kiran, like Ji-woo, added the idea of vocabulary growth to the equation. When asked about the most important focus of the course, he explained:

> Pretty much the vocabulary, and um, writing essays, I think that's really important when I go to higher level cause if I don't know like practice them before that, then I might get fail. It really helped me--vocabulary, big vocabulary, yeah.

Kiran's words were nearly echoed by Bisha, who explained how he was able to transfer the vocabulary learning he was doing in his EAP 0090 Reading course to his EAP 0091 Composition course: "I'm using more vocab words from the 90 [EAP 0090], cause the 90 has like vocabularies. I use it on my 91 sometimes."

The gatekeeping function of EAP. One additional aspect to consider regarding the shared understanding of EAP is that, in contrast to developmental English, it acted as a gatekeeper program for students. This was not only because successful completion of all required EAP courses was a prerequisite for entering the college-level composition sequence of English 1101 and 1102, but also because the upper-level EAP courses maintained high-stakes final exams, which students were required to pass in order to exit the courses. The wording on the course syllabi was as follows: "In order to exit either EAP 90, 91, or 92, a student must have a passing grade in the course and a passing grade on the final." In terms of writing, this meant that EAP students had to earn a passing score of three by at least two out of three raters on a timed, final essay exam in their 0091 course. The scoring rubric for this exam was holistic and weighted equally the categories of organization and development as well as grammar, usage, and mechanics (see Appendix D).

The varied role of reading in developmental English and EAP. In addition to highlighting the importance of writing, with a strong focus on grammar and vocabulary development, EAP student and faculty participants also emphasized the vital role of reading, particularly as a result of the separate EAP Reading course (EAP 0090) taken by most advanced-

level EAP students in conjunction with their Structure and Composition course (EAP 0091). Phillips, a professor of the 0090 course, for example, stressed the importance of reading as highly interconnected with students' language development: "You have to read a lot if you want to build your vocabulary," he explained. "You have to read a lot if you want to become a good writer. The best way to improve your reading speed is to read a lot. We're constantly kind of repeating these principles over and over again." For the EAP reading course, in particular, he saw a major purpose of the course as helping students feel confident that they would be able to handle heavy reading loads in future courses. He explained his rationale:

> I think that, in general, it helps build their confidence that they can read a variety of materials and that when they get into another class a little bit later… they feel they can handle the reading assignments in there. …You've got to be ready for this sort of onslaught of text that's gonna be coming at you pretty soon.

Aslan, another EAP 0090 professor, noted that reading practice is especially important for those acquiring a new language and can be even more challenging than writing:

> I sometimes feel for non-native speaker maybe writing is easier to do because writing has a little prescribed way of doing it—you just say okay, this is hook, this is a… you kind of write some details. But reading you have to kind of spend a little more time because we cannot kind of visualize what's going on in the brain, and they have to read a little more.

Therefore, she saw an important goal of her EAP reading course as helping students read both extensively as well as intensively, learning as they do so, for example, about intertextual relationships. "They have to understand the relationships in a paragraph," she explained. "They should be able to find main idea, supporting details and implied main ideas, and the voice, all those type of intertextual relationships."

These goals were echoed by EAP students. Bisha, for example, noted that he was learning explicit reading skills, such as finding main ideas in a reading: “Main ideas, major details… Sometimes it's like you know when it's implied or you know, it's pretty hard to find.” Ali also acknowledged learning reading strategies he didn’t have before. “You know how yesterday Dr. Aslan was talking about supporting details and main idea?” he asked. “I don’t remember doing anything like that back in high school.” Ali also appreciated the more extensive reading of novels he was doing in his EAP classes. He explained that it made sense to him that reading should be such a large focus of the EAP experience: “’Cause reading is something that basically, it's like an education. Like you get knowledge.”

On the other hand, reading was not described as a focal experience for all 0999 students in either their developmental or college-level 1101 courses. Santiago, a student in Campbell’s course explained:

> Reading is basically, we don’t have a novel or something to read…What we read is like either examples of the assignment we have to do or we read uh the explanation of what we’re doing, but it’s not like a novel.

Similarly Rossi, the professor of Trang and Luis, chose to limit the amount of reading he required of his students. In fact, Rossi noted a divide among 1101 sections, with some professors teaching what he called 1000-level versions of a literature course. His approach was very contrary to this:

> One thing that I definitely do not do is literary analysis. The focus of my course is, um, making claims and supporting them with evidence... I have zero interest in assigning, you know, a load of fiction that students aren’t going to like reading.

This divide between some 1101 faculty assigning less reading and others assigning more was highlighted, for example, by Farzana, a 0999 student in Jenkins's course. Farzana was the only 0999 student who, when asked about the main goal of her 0999 and 1101 courses cited reading as the primary focus:

> I guess the goal is you have to get better at reading…and you have to take all the ideas and talk through it and actually get to know that what's the meaning of all this reading…what's the thesis, what's the idea of the author and what's he actually trying to tell you… and then also pass your comments on it or just add your ideas to it. So I guess that's the overall purpose of the course.

My interview with Washington, the ENGL 0999 (Segue) coordinator for the English faculty gave some insight into why different 1101/0999 sections had drastically different reading requirements:

> The different approaches, I think, has to do with the faculty's training and their focus, you know. So when you have a literature person, even somebody who has made up their mind to really try to be a writing instructor, they're still gonna probably incorporate a lot more readings in a lot of ways than a writing person.

Because the English 1101/0999 faculty had earned their degrees in disciplines ranging from composition to literature, it makes sense that the amount of reading developmental students experienced in their courses was inconsistent from section to section.

"Studenting" in English 0999 and EAP. Another major difference between the developmental English and EAP programs in terms of shared understandings of what the communities were about pertains to the issue of "studenting." This is a term several of the English 0999 faculty used to describe a primary focus in their corequisite course on the attitudes

and affective skills necessary to become a successful student in higher education. Jenkins, who had been teaching developmental students for nearly 30 years, expressed a strong belief that many developmental students ultimately don't succeed, not because of their actual skill level, but because of what she termed "their resistance to learning." She explained what she meant by this:

> I could see that some are not gonna make it out of the 999 or the 1101 because their writing skills are poor but, more importantly, their attitude towards school is poor and they simply don't do their work. So they don't prepare and they don't want to do the work in class whether it's 1101 or 999. For instance, it's these students, in general, who have their book closed when everybody else has their book opened. And if they do have their book opened, they don't want to look at the page. They resist and resent the written word.

Jenkins, therefore, believed that the English 0999 course should focus on "studenting" skills quite explicitly. She provided students with printed guidelines for class participation/student engagement that included statements such as these:

> Practice civility. The academic atmosphere of the discussion is essential. To maintain that, practice good manners. **Don't carry on side conversations.** Speak loudly enough and use academic English. Don't be offended if your language is questioned or corrected. Don't interrupt others when they are trying to find words. Learn names and use them as much as possible. Don't eat in class. **Disconnect! Phones and laptops should be turned off and packed away, out of sight.** Class is meant for interacting with each other, not with those outside the class.

Rossi shared the view of many colleagues that 0999 students needed work in what some called "studenting" and he called "how to be a grown-up." He explained how he approached this in class.

> So we do a little bit of random stuff that's not clearly connected to 1101 stuff. And a lot of it is, um, 'how to be a grown up' kind of stuff. Like today I'm gonna make them make a schedule. Like when are you gonna work on this? What time is that gonna get done? Where are you gonna be when you get it done?

Powell concurred with the need to work on these types of skills, explaining that when most students failed her courses, "it's almost always bad studenting… It's almost always like bad student skills rather than English skills." A primary purpose of the class, then, in her view, was getting students to acknowledge the need to seek help and then actually take advantage of the help that was available to them.

In terms of language minority students in developmental English, however, several of the 0999 faculty seemed to feel that this "studenting" purpose of the course was often not as necessary for their L2 students as it was for other developmental students. Jenkins, for example, expressed the belief that L2 students often had a better work ethic than many other students in her 0999 section. "It seems to me," she explained, "that the ESL student does have a good work ethic, and that their issue is strictly academic and not social." Powell also felt that ESL students typically responded well to her instruction and were usually easier to work with than native English speakers. She described them as more likely to acknowledge a need for help and to seek it when required. In comparison with many of her native-speaking students, whom she described as "under-educated," Powell had the feeling that many of her L2 students, including Huy, were better educated and less in need of "studenting" help. Rossi, in turn, shared this view that L2

students were often students whose only challenge was with the language, not with "studenting." "Like it [L2 students] can be people who are good at school," he said, "who do their work, who come to class, who might just struggle with the English language, right?"

On the EAP side, however, faculty acknowledged that there were also some EAP students who didn't always work hard. When discussing the pass rate in the EAP 0090 course, for example, Aslan explained that student failure was typically the result of poor effort:

> Usually students show good progress and pass rate is pretty good, 80-90 percent or so, and if a student fails, they either didn't belong to that level or just didn't care about vocabulary and didn't put the time. Maybe they attended the class once in a while and had the fun part, but not really focus and try to remember.

Similarly, Aslan expressed frustration with students who wouldn't act on her feedback in the writing course. She described one student who was taking the class for the second time:

> And she's still in my class and she's a repeater. She still writes the same. She doesn't capitalize every time, and I say well at least you should capitalize, right? Just capitalize. … I give her the same feedback…at least do that. Forget about everything else, just like capitalize…Like even the simple thing she doesn't do. I have those kind of students in my class.

Zhang, too, noted "studenting" issues being not infrequent among his students. "Well their behavior it's okay, not the best," he contended. "I have some late students, like Nadheer[16] always comes late, always arguing for more points, always arguing for this or that."

At the same time, these types of issues were not, in the views of the EAP faculty, pervasive among all—or even the majority—of their students. In fact, Aslan was often surprised

[16] Nadheer is a student who is not a participant in this study.

that students made the effort to exceed the requirements she set for them. When it came to choosing a novel for the literature circle assignment, for example, she explained that students often selected difficult books despite there being no requirement to do so: "Sometimes it's surprising," she explained, "because not all students pick bestsellers. Sometimes they go with the classics, and I'm surprised. I even ask them, are you really sure you want to read this?"

Overall, "studenting" issues seemed minor or infrequent enough within the EAP program that no EAP faculty actually referred specifically to these types of concerns as being a major point of focus in their course design. In many of my conversations with English 0999 faculty, these types of issues often seemed cast in negative terms such as "overcoming resistance to student writing" (Campbell), "getting students to engage" (Nasser), or "being a grown-up" (Rossi), whereas some of the EAP faculty shined a more positive light on issues that could be referred to as "studenting." Phillips, for example, saw the purpose of the EAP 0090 course as helping students develop self-efficacy:

> So for me, yeah, the main thing is to, you know, try to convince the students that they have all these tools that they can use to achieve what they need to achieve, and that they can do it. They can utilize all these resources, they can be, you know as successful as they want to be basically. So I try to do everything in the class to make them feel like they're sort of in charge of how far they go.

Phillips held a strong belief that EAP students could take ownership of their own success. "For me," he explained, "that's the real kind of reward too is when I can see students who are taking ownership of their success and you know, just being persistent, continuing to work hard."

Two Very Different Joint Enterprises

In this section, we have seen how these two joint enterprises, EAP and developmental English, were, in accordance with the CoP framework, comprised of members who were shaping common understandings of the functions and purpose of each community. While the faculty members had, for the most point, joined their respective communities quite purposefully, the students they found themselves teaching had typically come to one program over the other based on more arbitrary circumstances. Once there, however, all community members seemed to develop shared understandings of the functions and purpose of each community, which in the case of 0999 was to support the foundational writing and 'studenting' requirements of a first year composition course. In EAP, however, the shared understandings were a bit broader and included a greater focus on grammar and vocabulary development as well as reading skills. Another key difference is that EAP was seen as a gatekeeper of sorts, requiring students to meet a minimum bar of success before entering college-level English classes. English 0999, on the other hand, as a corequisite support course, served no such purpose. Students were co-enrolled in English 1101 and did not need to pass 0999 in order to move on to the second course in the composition sequence. In Chapter Six, we will discuss the implications of these findings on the learning opportunities available to language minority students at GGC. For now, we turn to the next vital component of the CoP framework, that of *mutuality*.

Mutuality

One area in which the cultures of writing and experiences of linguistic minority students in EAP and developmental English courses deviated from one another quite significantly is in the area of *mutuality*, which Wenger (2000) defines as how members create their Community of Practice through "interact[ing] with one another, establishing norms and relationships" (p. 229).

This aspect of the CoP framework has a significant bearing on student learning in that learning itself is seen as a "matter of engagement," which "depends on opportunities to contribute actively to the practices of communities that we value and that value us" (Wenger, 1998, p. 227). In the case of developmental English and EAP, mutuality was realized in the ways in which students participated within each course and interacted and built rapport with their peers and professors. Key findings include the fact that students in developmental English described greater challenges with class participation than did EAP students. Language minority students in the developmental program also seemed less likely to form strong bonds with classmates and faculty as compared to their EAP counterparts. These findings become meaningful in light of research demonstrating the correlation between students' sense of belonging and positive academic outcomes, particularly for students from minority backgrounds (Murphy & Zirkel, 2015).

Participation in Developmental English and EAP Classrooms

One key finding is that, while classroom participation, including speaking up in front of the whole group, is often not easy for college freshmen of all backgrounds for a myriad of reasons (Freeman, Anderman & Jensen, 2007), those language minority students in this study who were enrolled in the developmental English rather than EAP courses expressed greater challenges in this area. A related finding is that, while L2 students within developmental English often attributed their unease to second language issues, their professors sometimes assumed they were simply shy or quiet by nature. While it might occasionally have been the case that a language minority student had an innately shy personality, it is also possible that the developmental English faculty were not always aware of or sensitive to the affective challenges of speaking a second language in a classroom setting.

Participation challenges in developmental English. Of the seven developmental English students observed and interviewed, only one described himself, and was described by his professor, as a very active class participant. Huy acknowledged feeling nervous about speaking in front of others, but said he was motivated to push past his nerves because of a desire to take school seriously. He explained his reasoning:

> To me, I take school seriously. Like I spend money for this, and I gotta take something back. I'm not gonna waste my money. I can see some other student don't take as serious as me to school…but generally I speak, I ask a lot and I speak a lot too. Not like I ask any question that I could, but I am not as shy as before.

It is also important to note that Huy was attending an English 1101/0999 section where participation was not optional. Professor Powell explained:

> I run a fairly controlled classroom … I tend to do a lot of classroom management, so I will, I get people to talk... I'll call on them directly as well as taking hands. I don't let the students always direct who participates, you know. And I find that because of that, there's more, because I do that, you get better participation, you know, halfway through. People are more willing to volunteer because you called on them a couple times.

In this way, Powell ensured that all students, even her L2 students like Huy, were participating.

The other 0999 study participants, however, were much more reticent than Huy about speaking up in class. Professor Jenkins, for example, noted that Farzana was not a frequent participator in her 1101 or 0999 classes. "Farzana does not like to talk in either class," she acknowledged. Yet Jenkins attributed Farzana's lack of participation to personality, not to L2 issues. "She's just quiet by nature," Jenkins continued. Farzana herself took a different view, however. She explained, "I don't want to speak when I don't feel comfortable or something. I

don't want to mess up everything. So I just want to speak when I need to or when I feel like it, but other than that I'm good."

Trang, another student whom her professor described as shy, provided a similar explanation to Farzana's about why this was so:

> I'm really shy to speak in class because you know my language…Sometime I tell what I learned and then, like, he told me to speak up so he can hear me… 'Cause when I speak some people tell me they don't understand me.

Similarly, Santiago described himself as someone who was comfortable with the class writing assignments but who did not like to speak in front of the 0999 or 1101 class to share his work when the professor asked for volunteers. "I write everything she wants me to write," he explained, "but I don't like, I don't like sharing... I don't know. I'm really shy when it comes to that." He admitted that he would likely have had an easier time if he were using his first language. "Probably I would be more confident if it was Spanish," he confessed.

Nasser was another professor who valued having all of her students participate in class. She described many of her students, not just linguistic minority students, as having had difficult backgrounds that might have caused them to not be comfortable participating. She elaborated on her struggle with Kebe's lack of participation, describing the situation as follows:

> I think the kind of the weakness is just getting her to open up, talk. When she does, she's usually right on the money, but oftentimes she's an enigma. She's quiet. She won't join in class discussions. She won't volunteer. She won't, even when I change up the groups, I can't get her to participate. And then even in the 0999, which I would consider to be less of an intimidating sort of group, she just generally won't. She just won't.

Rather than acknowledging L2 issues as likely causal factors in Kebe's reluctance to participate, Nasser seemed quite convinced that Kebe was just an extremely shy person. In her interview with me, however, Kebe was extremely open and communicative. She agreed with her professor's assessment of her lack participation but cited L2 issues as a key factor:

> You know, sometimes when we get projects from teachers and I present, they laugh at me, cause, you know, the way that I sound. So I'm like 'Okay.' That's part of the reason why I don't talk to anybody.

In sharp contrast to her lack of participation in her current English classes, Kebe described her ease of participating in class back when she used to take ESL classes at another college before transferring to GGC. "I was really free in the class," she explained. "Like I would talk in the class. I mean like, 'Okay, we're the same, you can't say anything.' So yeah, I normally talked in the class."

Greater participation ease in EAP. The sentiment expressed by Kebe about having been more at ease participating in her ESL class is one that surfaced in interviews with and observations of current and former EAP students at GGC as well. While my observations of all four former EAP students—Bondeko, Chau Yin, Mi-sun, and Sandra—found them to be quite reserved in their 1101 classes, participating less than many other students in the class, they all said this was not the case in EAP. Bondeko, for example, considered himself to be a leader in his previous EAP class. "We would do projects and we would be in groups," he explained. "And he'd [the professor] give us a couple sentences we had to explain. I'd always be the leader of the group that I was in." Bondeko described himself as the "attraction" of his EAP classes. "All my teachers knew me in the class," he bragged. "I was like the attraction of the class, pretty much." When asked to clarify what he meant by being the class attraction, Bondeko described himself as

one of the stronger students in class: “Most of the time I was like the guy who always wanted to show that he knew everything.”

Mi-sun, too, described herself as having been more comfortable in EAP than in non-EAP classes such as her current English 1101 class. “I just think that EAP class makes me more relaxed,” she said. “And I think that's the huge things for me.” There is a common theme throughout the data of former EAP students having been much more at ease in their EAP classes than they were in their mainstreamed English courses.

There is also a contrast in the way the EAP faculty, as opposed to those in developmental English, tended to describe student engagement and class participation. Aslan, an EAP professor, explained, for example, how enthusiastic her students often became during their vocabulary presentations. “At the beginning they are all nervous. They ask tons of questions,” she explained. “But later on they are really good and it gets fun.” Aslan told her students that they could create a game or activity to include in their presentation as a way of practicing the new vocabulary. She described how involved her students often became in designing engaging presentations:

> They have so much fun that they bring a lot of candies, I remember even one semester a girl brought like make-up. It was a very small group, very strong and small group, and mainly girls, so she had a little competition when she taught the vocabulary and at the end her gift was Sephora little bags like some cream and make-up.

This is a strong contrast to English faculty who often described significant student reluctance to give presentations. Nasser, for example, required a brief grammar presentation in her English 1101/0999 classes, yet she said that her language minority students, especially, often failed to attend class on the day of their assigned presentation:

> I would say maybe half of my students are speakers of more than one language, and it seems to be about a half, fifty percent participation rate. I set the grammar presentations up as just an easy kind of 50 points, and also just getting them to talk in front of the class, and do something independent…They just won't, they just don't do it.

Such dramatic reticence to participate in class, particularly in the form of speaking in front of the class during a presentation is a phenomenon that never arises in the data regarding EAP student experiences.

Building Rapport with EAP and Developmental English Peers: Homogeneous vs. Heterogeneous Settings

One of the reasons that EAP students seemed to find it easier to participate and speak in front of class than did their developmental English class counterparts stemmed from the fact that EAP students shared similar linguistic backgrounds. This sentiment also translated into a level of peer-to-peer rapport within the EAP setting that seemed more difficult to cultivate within the more heterogeneous environment of English 1101 and 0999 classes. Thus, a key finding of this study pertains to the heightened level of peer rapport found within EAP classrooms at GGC as compared to that experienced in developmental English classrooms. This finding aligns with other research demonstrating the instrumental relationships that often develop among L2-student peers (Leki, 2007).

Feelings of camaraderie and friendship within EAP. Ji-woo is one of many EAP and former EAP students who described herself as feeling very comfortable with her EAP classmates. She explained the level of ease she experienced with fellow language minority student peers:

> The other, like the people who came from not America, they probably need time to learn English too, just like me. So, we are just like the same, and I thought maybe we can talk. They understand me better than the other people, so I'm just kind of really talking in my class.

In contrast, she had not found this level of comfort in her interactions with native speakers of English in her other non-EAP classes, such as Music Appreciation. "The native [speaking] American--I'm kind of afraid to talk to them, like if like grammar wrong they probably thinking me, like oh, she really sucks at speaking English," Ji-woo explained. Another benefit Ji-woo noted regarding being in class with other L2 users of English was having the opportunity to glean successful language learning strategies from them. "Like some people came from other country in America," she elaborated, "and they thought like different way to learn English, and maybe that is the really good idea too about them."

Similarly, Ali described a situation in his EAP class in which students worked closely with one another, helping each another with their challenges. "Everybody is just like best friends in the class basically," he said. "Everybody just helps each other pass the course." In terms of how they do that, Ali described a situation in which students sometimes relied more on one another than on the professor, at least initially:

> Let's say that I don't know something, then I ask you and then you're like 'Oh wait, I know it.' And then you give me some explanations …Instead of me asking the professor right away, maybe just give me some ideas, and if you don't know I'll ask.

This collaborative environment described by Ji-woo and Ali was, in fact, cultivated quite explicitly by their professor. Dr. Aslan explained that she often used group work in class so that students could learn from each other in addition to learning from here. She explained this to her

students in the following way:

> I try my best to reach you, but maybe I don't know the right language for some of you. Some of you it may work well, so that's why we do also the group work so you kind of try to learn to each other, and maybe your friend will tell that magic word, and you'll get it.

Phuong, also, said that her EAP professor, Professor Phillips, tried to foster an environment where all students interacted with one another:

> We had to work in pair a lot, but every time it's different. Like today is this girl, tomorrow and the next class is another person… I think he wants us to interact with each other. That's why he puts us in pairs, but not the same every time… So we can talk to each other.

Indeed, Professor Phillips explained that he was very intentional about pairing. He described his approach:

> I'm pretty careful about pairing people who kind of need to be together for different reasons, and there are different purposes…So, for example, of course I look at language background. I try to put people with different language backgrounds—not always. Sometimes it's not bad to put people together because they may be able to help each other see something…And then also I look at that sort of "i + 1[17]," like putting somebody with them who is just a little bit higher than them in terms of my perception of their reading ability or their understanding of the vocabulary, things like that.

[17] The phrase i+1 comes from the work of Krashen (1981) whose input hypothesis states that language acquisition occurs most readily when language input is comprehensible, or one step (+1) beyond a learner's current stage of understanding (i).

Despite a heavy emphasis on group work within her EAP class, however, Phuong said her relationships with her classmates did not extend beyond the classroom doors:

> For me, I just like talk to them in class, but when the class ends, it's gone. We don't talk that much. And then every time we talk it's just the main thing is about the class, the assignment, some question we ask, yeah, not like become close friends.

This lack of outside-of-class connection with her EAP peers did not seem unusual or surprising to Phuong, since her friendships in the U.S. had always been with other Vietnamese. "I talk more with the people who speak Vietnamese," she admitted. Phuong indicated her relative comfort in building rapport and communicating with other EAP students as compared to the general college population, however, in her suggestion about how she could become even more comfortable speaking with and building rapport with others. "I think we need to like have some club for EAP students," she suggested. Interestingly, GGC already had, at the time of the study, over 100 registered student organizations. Phuong claimed, however, that she would feel more comfortable joining and participating in a club if it were expressly created for L2 students.

Former EAP students largely concurred with the level of ease they experienced with other EAP students. Mi-sun, for example, developed better rapport with other EAP students than she later did in ENGL 1101. "Because all the other students are EAP student and they could like understand each others," she explained, "you know, their situation and everything, so we felt more relaxed." Bondeko, too, was not building rapport with his 1101 classmates the way he had in EAP. He described the situation like this:

> I feel like in EAPs people get closer faster, I think because we all, we have something in common that we all come from different places, so it's just, it's a fast interaction. But in this class [ENGL 1101], it's kinda different. I will say it's hard to make friends.

Likewise, Chau Yin described easier rapport building in EAP than in his current English class:

> Cause I think we all have a similar background so we are better to communicate each other, like we can share each other something, like your family, when you move here, what class you gonna take this semester, something like that.

Chau Yin contrasted the feeling of connection he shared with his EAP peers to the greater sense of disconnection he experienced in English 1101:

> It's different from what I'm taking right now [ENGL 1101] cause all the students we don't have the same background. It's hard to communicate, like we don't have the same topics. Like some American students I don't know how to talk to them.

In the class I observed, I also noticed that Chau Yin did not participate actively within his small group. When asked about it, Chau Yin admitted to not really being able to relate to the group conversation. "Cause sometime they talk about something like culture stuff," he explained. "Basically like they watch some TV shows that I never watched before…And I don't know what to say to them." He also worried about his native English-speaking classmates not understanding him. "If I work with native speakers and sometimes when they talking, I don't really quite understand what they try to say or what they mean," he explained. "And if I talk then maybe they don't understand what I'm saying too."

Sandra, too, struggled when doing group work with peers in her 1101 class because she felt her L2 background made her slower than other students. "One of my concerns [is] group work," she clarified. "I think I'm kind of slowing them down 'cause they have to take that time to explain it to me." While this experience of being a slower learner than others was not new for Sandra—she had also felt it occasionally in the EAP classes—the experience had been less pronounced there. "Most of the time you were paired with someone who is also trying to read too

and figure out what you're doing," Sandra explained, "so you guys kind of figure it out." Thus, like all other EAP and former EAP students in this study, Sandra found greater ease in the rapport she was able to establish with her fellow EAP students than she was with her native English-speaking peers outside of EAP.

Weaker peer rapport in developmental English. On the other hand, a key finding related to language minority students who found themselves in developmental English classes is that, while some were able to establish rapport with class peers, not as many were able to do this as easily. Additionally, some study participants found their native English-speaking peers to be helpful and appreciated and benefitted from the opportunity to interact with them, while others were disappointed in their interactions with the L1 English speakers in their classes.

Farzana and Luis are the two 0999 students who describe positive interactions with their 0999 classmates, even outside of class, when they work together on group projects. Farzana explained:

> When we, when she [the professor] assign us in groups to get ready for the presentation, then we just exchange our numbers and talk about it after class or just meet up in some place and talk about the stuff that we have it, we are having problems in, and share our ideas and our comments.

When asked if any of these relationships extended beyond doing class assignments together, however, Farzana acknowledged that they had not. "We only ask for each other's help if we are doing some presentation together," she admitted. "But besides that I don't think so." Luis, on the other hand, established a peer group in his 1101/0999 classes that extended even beyond those classes. He described a supportive relationship that was developing with his classmate Ahmed, in particular, with whom he had started meeting for fairly frequent study sessions, saying, "We

meet in school and then we study and stuff. Or sometimes we'll meet at Starbucks with Vanessa and Diego…or any place to study."

Besides these two, other EL students enrolled in 0999 had not formed relationships with peers that they described as particularly close or comfortable, yet they still valued the opportunity to work with native English-speaking peers in class. Santiago, for example, appreciated the opportunity to engage in peer review with 0999 and 1101 classmates. He explained:

> Basically all of the problems I have I've been working on them in the class, mostly because we have peer reviews…That helped me like look at my mistakes from the point of view of someone else and that's really helpful.

He especially appreciated being in a class with native speakers so he could learn from their writing. "It helps me see how they write," he explained. "Even the structure of the sentence or anything, helps me see. It helps me see other writers' ideas and uh punctuation and everything you want." At the same time, Santiago doubted his own ability to reciprocate and help his peers, explaining, "And the problem is that I can't help them because my language is Spanish but I know a little bit of English."

Despite the time spent in peer review, Santiago also hadn't really gotten to know most of his classmates well, yet he explained that he was okay with that:

> The first day of class, she [the professor] asked us to go around the class and ask our classmates about what they like and stuff like that, and I got to know a little bit about everyone but not really. I don't know them really well. I just don't feel the need to know my classmates right now.

Similarly, Trang appreciated the opportunity to work with and get helpful feedback from peers. She described a recent, positive interaction:

> The other day, I work with the two girl…and then she look at my introduction and then she say, 'Oh you shouldn't put this in here, you should put this in your body paragraph…she help me do the introduction. They help me, that's why I like to work in a group because they tell me which one is not good…so I can fix it and do it better.

Like Santiago, Trang was initially self-conscious about providing reciprocal feedback to her partner, but she described how she worked through that:

> Yeah, first time I really like nervous, like I don't know because she born here, you know, so I don't think my, my language is good…I'm scared that she gonna, 'Oh, like you're not born here, so I'm born here. I know more English than you'… I'm really scared…But then like I talk to her, and she said, 'Oh yeah, you that's make sense, and then she just fixed it.

On the other hand, during my observation of Trang's class, when her professor, Dr. Rossi, asked her to work as a pair with another student on a writing activity, Trang made no attempt to do so, but rather worked alone. When I asked Dr. Rossi about Trang's in-class interactions with others, he explained that her reluctance to interact with others was not unusual and that his general policy was not to force a student like Trang to do so. If "it's a student who really doesn't want to," he explained, "then I just let them. As long as you're doing the work."

Other 0999 students in this study also found themselves unable or unwilling to interact with their class peers. Kebe recognized that there were benefits to being in a class with native English-speakers. "I listen to them speak," she explained, "the confidence, the way they talk. I learn from that. So it's not really a bad thing to be part of the class." However, she also admitted

to interacting very little with her English 1101/0999 peers. “It’s not like I don’t like anybody,” she explained. “It’s just me. The girl that sits by me in my 1101 class, we barely talk.” In fact, Kebe admitted that the only time she spoke with anyone in class was when she was assigned to work with them in groups, something that she said was not the case when she used to take ESL classes and felt more relaxed with her peers.

Other language minority students in the study found their interactions with their native English-speaking peers to be less beneficial than they had hoped. While he generally valued interaction with native speakers, for example, Huy admitted to being disappointed by many of his English 1101/0999 peers. In fact, he confessed to preferring to work independently rather than with his classmates, most of whom he believed did not take the class or their learning as seriously as he did. He described the situation like this:

> Lots of them playing on the phone. Like the one sit next to me. I feel like most of them they don’t listen to the professor, so I just feel like if I work with them it’s gonna be harder for me or they’re not gonna take that things as much as I do, as serious as I do…So I just feel like I want to work alone.

Similarly, Luis, despite having some positive peer interactions within his 0999 class, described overall concerns with many native-English-speaking peers. In his case, he found that the class was divided into two factions: those who took the class seriously and wanted to work hard, and those who did not and spent their time distracting him. “This is like my view of the class,” he said. “Everyone like me, Ahmad, we’re on this side of the room and we’re usually working. And then the other side of the room is like people that talk.” He found that those who talked also never had their homework done and ended up influencing the atmosphere of the entire class and distracting everyone.

Thus, the findings among the developmental English students are much less clear-cut than those among the EAP students. While EAP students generally reported positive interactions, and even burgeoning friendships, with their fellow language minority classmates, developmental English students were less likely to report comfortable class peer relationships. While some did so, and others admitted to at least benefitting from the peer support provided by native English-speaking peers, others seemed to feel out of step with them or even disappointed in their work ethic. Perhaps, however, even more important for learning than peer-to-peer interaction is how students experienced and built relationships of mutuality with their faculty. This is the next area we will examine.

Student-Faculty Rapport within developmental English and EAP

Another important aspect of mutuality relates to student-faculty rapport. This component is crucial considering that positive student-teacher relationships are known to facilitate learning (Freeman, Anderman & Jensen, 2007). Both English 0999 and EAP students described their experiences with their faculty as mostly positive, with some, of course, building closer relationships with faculty than others. While most students admitted to an openness on part of their professors to build rapport both inside and outside of class, not all students took the faculty up on this and expressed various reasons for not doing so. Additionally, some current and many former EAP students reported that building rapport with EAP faculty was often easier than doing so outside of an EAP context.

Building rapport with developmental English faculty: Positive connections and missed opportunities. Most language minority students in English 0999/1101 classes spoke highly of their professors, describing them as helpful and kind. One of the ways this manifested

was in support with language challenges. Trang, for example, was appreciative of the help professor Rossi gave her with her writing. She described how this process worked:

> Okay, let's say I use my language and write the essay, right? And then I transfer to English. But then my teacher he look at it and then he help me, 'Of this one you have to put "e"' or words or like he fix it for me, so it's make a like, make sense for the sentence. So I just following up him and then I do it.

Trang actually perceived that she received more attention in class than did others precisely because she was a non-native speaker: "He check on me a lot," she explained, describing the way professor Rossi frequently stopped by her desk as he circulated throughout the room when students were working independently or in groups. "Because he know that my English not good," she continued, "you know…The other people he don't check a lot, only me, yeah."

Trang's professor, in fact, confirmed her perception. Rossi described himself as someone who does not wait for students to come to him with their questions and concerns but who actively seeks to confirm their understanding and to head off confusion. "One thing about Trang and a lot of students like Trang," he explained, "is that I can't just wait for her to ask for help. I have to find her, look at what she's doing, and then force help upon her." Not only did he ask a student like Trang if she needed help, he also looked for non-verbal cues to indicate a lack of understanding or a question. He explained his approach in the following way:

> The only thing to do is you have to look for the nonverbal cues. You have to, if she looks like she's not getting it, you have to come by and ask her, 'Are you getting it?' If she says 'No, I'm not getting it,' you have to sit down and you talk to her about it.

In order to make time for this one-on-one attention he gave to students who were in need, Rossi acknowledged his willingness to allow students who were not in need of help to spend time idle. He explained:

> One of the downsides of that is that the students who get it right away, they're frequently bored and idle. And that's just, just something I've decided we have to live with. Like if the smart student is gonna be a little bored and a little bit idle then that's something we have to live with to make sure everybody's getting it.

Some 0999 students were more willing than Trang to actively seek support from their professor. Farzana, for example, not only received help from her Professor Jenkins in class but also took full advantage of her professor's willingness to help outside of class. She gave an example of asking for language-related help while preparing a presentation:

> Last week we had this presentation and I didn't know what was my part saying, like I couldn't get the actual message of it. So I emailed her [Professor Jenkins] and asked her if I could meet her in her office and talk about it a little bit. So when I met her she gave me some examples and she also tried to explain it to me, and she also tried to help me defining some words. So that helped me a lot in my presentation.

Huy also spoke highly of his 1101/0999 professor, but for a different reason. Dr. Powell is the first instructor he had ever had who had systems in place for rewarding hard work rather than merely punishing students for the opposite. He explained, "Dr. Powell at beginning she told us that the homework she make us to do is like the award [reward] for us, not like the punishment, like I force you to do that." He went on to give an example:

> There's one time she ask us to do the reading. I did it and we have the quiz on the next class, and everyone that show her on the quiz that we already read the book…we have no homework for the entire week until the next class.

Huy explained that Dr. Powell's approach made him feel appreciated for working hard and that it increased his motivation to do so. He noted that her positive reward system was markedly different than anything he had experienced in either his U.S. high school or in his earlier schooling in Vietnam:

> Back in my country, people, if you do ten things right, they're not gonna remember you. If you do one thing wrong, they gonna blame on you about that a lot. So my experience about going to school back then, in Tucker [high school], example, if you're not doing your homework, or back in my country as well, I will get yell or I will get the bad grade, and when you do something good, um not too much people notice about that. But in this class, like when you do something good and you got the reward, you feel like oh, you are just special one, you deserve it, so that make you the motivation for you to do more and more, so that's I like about this class a lot.

In fact, Huy D. had had such a positive experience with his 1101 professor that he decided to take her class again for 1102.

Other English 0999/1101 students, however, seemed less able to build rapport with their professors, either because of a perceived lack of time, shyness, or simply an unexplained discomfort. Santiago, for example, had the impression that his professor was nice and willing to help. Because he did not prefer asking questions in class, however, and had not had the time to make an appointment to see Professor Campbell outside of class, he hadn't really tested his theory, possibly to his detriment. He professed to struggling, even after several returned essays,

with commas, yet when asked if he had approached his professor for guidance, he said "no," adding:

> If I got the time to talk to her about the commas, I will. Just right now I have a lot of essays to do for, I have history, I have an exam for psychology, and I have a lot of stuff to do, but if I have the time to talk to her about that, I will, totally.

Kebe, too, acknowledged that her professor had made herself available for questions. She explained, "She always asks you, you can email me or text me if you have a question." At the same time, Kebe acknowledged that she did not communicate with her professor as much as she probably should. When asked if she had taken advantage of the opportunity to communicate one-on-one with her professor, she answered:

> Not really. Not really, I don't. Probably not at all except for when we have an assignment and then she asks me, 'Okay are you okay with this?' and I talk to her. It's a bad thing but, you know. I don't know.

Despite the fact that she was very challenged by her English classes, Kebe did not seem comfortable taking the initiative to ask questions, and instead waited until her professor approached her. Kebe's professor, in turn, recognized that Kebe seemed to be struggling in class, but Nasser also admitted that she was concerned that Kebe's needs were so great that there was not time to address them fully in class. "It's always a fine line," she explained, "of how much extra support can I give without privileging the ESL students over the, I guess…non-ESL students."

Medi was another student who had not reached out to her professor for help, despite acknowledging that she, too, was struggling with the level of the 1101 class. When asked why she hadn't sought help from her professor, Medi admitted, "I don't feel comfortable to explain it

to her." When asked what made her feel uncomfortable, Medi didn't articulate a reason, but instead contrasted the current situation with that of a previous class she had taken in which she did feel comfortable with a professor, saying, "I mean she [the previous professor] make me feel comfortable in my skin, with my accent, with my everything. I was so comfortable." Thus, it seemed that Medi did not feel as supported as a language minority student in her current English classes and, as a result, was not seeking the help she needs. This was particularly unfortunate since professor Campbell explained that she did not have time within the required class time and curriculum to work with students one on one and to differentiate instruction. Instead, she professed to relying on students to ask questions and seek out help after class. She said that she occasionally used 0999 class time to check on students, but even there I observed that she spent most class time at her own computer unless students raised hands or came to her for questions. As a result, Professor Campbell did not seem to understand the root of Medi's struggles as stemming, at least in part, from L2 challenges. Indeed, Campbell described Medi as one of several students in her class who was at risk of not passing because she "has missed class and is not always awake in class." Campbell also lamented that Medi was "not going to get much out of this." Thus, due to a lack of communication between professor and student, Medi's underlying challenges were remaining unaddressed in her developmental English class.

Building rapport with EAP faculty: Feeling understood. EAP students were also not monolithic in terms of how they developed rapport with their faculty. Yet interviews with both current and former EAP students, in particular, painted a picture of relationships with EAP professors that were often closer than those with other college professors. Former EAP student Bondeko, for example, explained that he had had a stronger rapport with his EAP professors than

he currently had with his English 1101 professor. He suspected this might have to do with her having less experience with L2 students, explaining:

> In the EAP I was really close to my teachers than I am in 1101. But it's not like she doesn't interact with us in 1101. I think it's just different because she's not really—I don't know if she's used to being with a lot of EAP in her class or if she's usually close to her students.

Chau Yin, another former EAP student, shared this view, and added that he appreciated having a fellow Asian American, non-native speaker of English as his professor in EAP[18]. Chau Yin was convinced that his professor was able to understand him better, both orally and in writing, because of a shared Asian American immigrant background, despite the fact that Chau Yin's native language was Cantonese whereas his EAP professor spoke Korean. Chau Yin described his professor as someone who "know what I want to say cause he Asian too. Like Asian thing is different from what Westerner thing is… He know what I want to say and he try to fix what I don't write."

In contrast, Chau Yin was less confident that his 1101 professor was able to understand him culturally or linguistically. He explained, "She's cool. But maybe sometimes she don't understand what I'm trying to say, you know, when I write something and then she don't really quite sure." Obviously, Chau Yin felt that having a professor who shared a similar cultural and linguistic background was a benefit to him. While he realized that not all EAP professors fit that qualification, he also spoke highly of all of his EAP faculty based on their training in the field of TESOL. "If the teacher has an ESOL degree or something like that," he clarified, "then she can understand what we're trying to say."

[18] Chau Yin's professor had been Dr. Park, a native speaker of Korean who was no longer at GGC during the time of this study.

Even former EAP students like Mi-sun, who had only good things to say about her English 1101 professor, still found them more intimidating to communicate with. "Our [1101] professor is really, yeah, great," she explained, "because she always, um, trying to understand other students and even like, even like me, EAP student." At the same time, though, just like Chau Yin and Bondeko, Mi-sun reported that she had found it easier to communicate with EAP professors. She elaborated:

> It was easy to ask something or more communicate to professor [in EAP], but, um, in 1101 class, I think it's more hard to, like, um, make my voice, and ask something out because, um, I really care about the other people's like think and reactions, so it really, um, makes me more like…it really makes me hard to ask, like questions. I usually use emails and at the end of the class when the other students are gone.

Current EAP students, also, were much less likely to report communication problems with EAP faculty than were developmental students with their English professors. Kiran, for instance, was unique among the EAP participants in describing his EAP professor as occasionally difficult to understand. "Sometimes I don't understand," Kiran explained, "and I sometimes he makes me confused, Dr. Xue [Zhang]." Kiran said he was not the only one in class who felt this way. He explained:

> I ask my friend and sometimes they were confused too, and we all together ask the professor, and then everyone listen to him, and after a while we sometime we get what he means, but sometimes we still confused.

Ji-woo, on the other hand, described herself as having no trouble asking her EAP professor questions in class, and, in turn, having no trouble understanding her professor's explanations. She gave an example:

> I do really questioning them to like know about something. So as you know, like I had a question about the vocabulary one, is this the right one that I choose in the sentence and they told me no, or yes, yes, so I ask them and they answer me really clear.

Phuong reported a similar approach of asking her professor questions during or after class and sending email outside of class hours. "Sometimes if I have questions," she said, "I ask him or I email him, or yeah. I email. I ask him after class." When asked about her rapport with Professor Phillips, Phuong explained that she had an easier time relating with him than with her non-EAP professors:

> I think the EAP class is better because I think the teacher or the professor for that class understands my situation. Like it's better than if the regular professor like the regular class. I don't think they like understand that much like we have trouble in this, this, this, writing, reading, yeah. So the [EAP] professor is like, they have the, like you have the specific skill, I think, like you can understand.

Phuong's EAP professor, Dr. Phillips, also emphasized that he did not passively wait for students like Phuong to seek out help when they need it, but took a more active role in guiding them towards needed assistance. He explained:

> I really kind of feel more that I need to spend more time with the students who I feel like either they're just not getting some of the concepts, or they're not quite sure that they can do it. They feel that they may just kind of want to give up on it…so I'll try to get them to come see me a little more intentionally and not just suggest it but say, "Hey, let's make some appointments and come talk to me."

Even though they felt more comfortable with their EAP professors as a whole, most of the students reported reluctance to reach out to faculty outside of class. GGC faculty all have

college-provided cellphones and are required to put their cellphone numbers on their course syllabi with the intention of being easily available, by voice call, text, or email, to their students. Ji-woo, however, expressed some discomfort when contemplating texting any professor, be it EAP or not. "I'm not really texting too much to people," she explained, "so I'm not texting…Just kind of afraid to…I might be like interrupting or something, so it's not gonna be like necessary, maybe not gentle manner." In the midst of talking about her concern that texting a professor might be inappropriate, however. Ji-woo arrived upon a solution. "I might be send email if I really have a serious question about it," she proposed.

Ultimately, in terms of *mutuality*, which is defined within the CoP framework as the ways in which community members interact with one another, develop rapport, and build relationships, it is clear that although there were strong individual differences in how students and faculty in both programs—EAP and developmental English—built relationships and rapport with one another, some distinct trends can be noted. Namely, EAP students, particularly former EAP students who had moved from the EAP program to the English program and had a basis for comparison, noted that they were afforded better opportunities to build close relationships with their professors in EAP than outside of EAP. They reported that EAP faculty had a better understanding than did English faculty of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds and academic needs. In developmental English, on the other hand, these needs did not always seem to be acknowledged or supported. Indeed, after looking at how both programs functioned overall in terms mutuality, differences in the cultures of writing of the two programs are evident in that mutuality seemed to be cultivated with greater ease for language minority students within the EAP program than for those within developmental English. This generalization holds true, despite some expected individual differences, in all three areas of class participation, peer-to-

peer interaction, and student-faculty rapport. This distinction in terms of how mutuality was enacted within in program had the potential, in turn, to cultivate vastly different opportunities for learning. The CoP framework articulates a social view of learning which "thrives on identification and depends on negotiability" (Wenger, 1998, p. 227).

Now that we have seen how developmental English and EAP functioned as distinct communities of practice in terms of being *joint enterprises,* in which members held distinct understandings of the purpose and function of their community, as well as in terms of *mutuality*, or the ways in which community members interacted and formed relationships with one another, there is still one more area that comprises a joint enterprise within the CoP framework: the issue of *shared repertoires*. This aspect of the CoP framework refers to how members in each program build their community through "communal resources—language, routines, sensibilities, artifacts, tools, stories, styles" (p. 229)" (Wenger, 2000, p. 229). It is to this final area that we now turn our attention.

Shared Repertoires

Within the CoP framework, we have seen that EAP and developmental English can be considered joint enterprises in that they are comprised of members who are shaping joint understandings of the functions and purpose of each community, and who are then mutually interacting with one another to form norms and relationships. These understandings are then parlayed into shared repertoires of resources (Wenger, 2000), which in this case are substantiated in expressions such as course structures and practices as well as in terms of assignment types. These shared repertoires are fundamental to student learning, which, according to the CoP framework is "fundamentally experiential" and "involves our own experience of participation and reification as well as forms of competence defined in our communities" (Wenger, 1998, p.

227). In the case of EAP and developmental English, the various course structures, practices, and assignments comprised the components of the courses which facilitated learning as students participated and became competent (or not) in them. Differences in classroom repertoires are also important to consider in light of the unique language acquisition needs of emergent bilingual students (cf. de Jong & Harper, 2005, for an overview of unique L2 literacy needs among ELLs).

One important finding regarding the shared repertoires of these programs is related to the fact that while EAP classes were independent courses which prepared students quite broadly for success in all future college-level classes, the function of English 0999, in keeping with its role within the corequisite model, was to help students succeed in their current college-level course by providing just-in-time support. Thus, the two courses were structured very differently and classroom practices and assignments contrasted sharply with one another. Overall, findings indicated more complexity among ENGL 0099/1101 writing assignments in terms of length, source integration, and citation requirements. While EAP writing assignments were found to be less complex, EAP courses on the whole incorporated a much broader focus on grammar and language instruction as well as on reading skills, both intensive and extensive.

Course Structures, Practices, and Assignments

In Fall 2016 when this data was collected, English 0999/1101 was structured in what the faculty termed the "triad" model with each faculty member teaching two sections of 1101 with one paired section of 0999. Eight of the 24 students in each section of English 1101 came together to make sixteen total students in English 0999 (see Figure 2), which met for an additional three contact hours each week on top of the three contact hours in the college-level 1101 course.

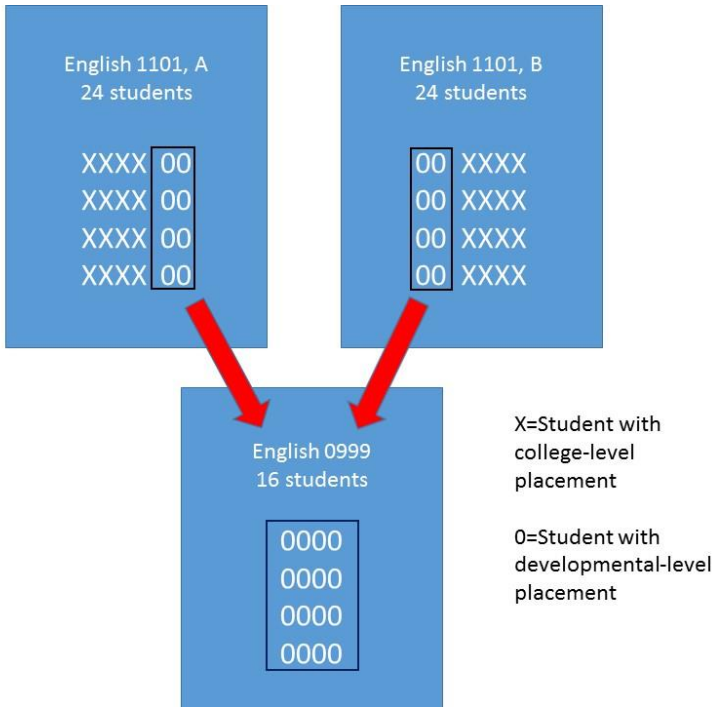

Figure 2. Triad Model of Segue English Support.

The purpose of the 0999 section was to act as a supplemental class to students' mainstream English 1101 course in which to build rapport amongst a smaller group, review 1101 material, preview new topics, conference with peers or the instructor, or, in some cases, simply have time to work on 1101 assignments in the presence of helpful peers and faculty to whom they could turn with questions. With the exception of a final writing exam, there were rarely unique major assignments in English 0999 that were separate from those assigned in 1101. EAP students in the highest level of the program, on the other hand, most typically found themselves attending two four-credit EAP courses, 0090 (Reading) and 0091 (Structure and Composition), which were independently taught by two separate faculty members. The courses were not linked to any other courses and therefore maintained independent assignments, many of which built on

skill areas that were not addressed, either at all or as fully, in the developmental English sequence, such as those related to language structure, vocabulary, and reading skill development.

English 0999 as "just-in-time" support. Underlying the structure of the English 0999 course was the idea that the college-level 1101 course should not be changed in any way as a result of being comprised of one-third developmental students. Washington, the Segue coordinator, explained, "The purpose that we were really adamant about…is that the students still get the same experience that they would get if it were not part of Segue, so you know we tried…to keep 1101 pretty much the same." As a result, the 0999 class was typically not a place for teaching material that would not be covered in 1101, but was rather an extension of the 1101; it functioned as a place for developmental students to receive the support they needed to be successful in 1101.

Nasser, for example, used the 0999 time for scaffolding activities that made essay assignments more accessible. In the class I observed, she was preparing students for an upcoming argumentative essay assignment by having them work in groups, using a worksheet to frame a discussion of controversial topics with which students were familiar and then having them consider stances on the topic as well as reasons to support each stance. This activity led to the development of a working thesis (position) regarding the controversial topic. Similarly, Jenkins used her 0999 class time to pre-teach and prepare students for upcoming work in 1101. "That might mean reading an essay before we're reading it in 1101," she explained, "I'll read it with the 999 students first to kind of warm them up to it." Powell did the same thing in her class, finding that previewing 1101 material built confidence among her 0999 students, who then went on to participate much more actively during the 1101 class meetings.

In addition to pre-teaching, 0999 faculty also used the support class as an opportunity to review and reinforce 1101 lessons with which students still seemed to be struggling. 0999 student Luis gave a clear example of this:

> If he [the professor] sees that we're confused about something, like last time we were confused about how citing worked and everything, so he actually went through it. Like he was like oh, I noticed that you guys were like struggling with the citing and stuff, so I'm gonna explain this and this and this. And he went through it like a whole class.

0999 instructors also used class time to give students the opportunity to work on 1101 assignments. Rossi, for example, explained that he divides class time between instruction and providing the opportunity to work on 1101 assignments: "I try to make it a balance. Like we'll do a little bit of 'let me force extra instruction on you,' and 'now use a little more time to work on your homework for the other class' [English 1101]." Campbell took a similar approach, primarily using 0999 as a place for students to work on 1101 assignments and ask her questions when they arose. During later stages of the writing process, most 0999 faculty also utilized 0999 class sessions for peer review and individual conferencing with the instructor.

Student opinions varied as to how well the 0999 course structure supported their learning. Some found it very useful. Santiago, for example, appreciated the ability to use 0999 to clarify issues from 1101:

> I think that 999 class is really helpful when it comes to understanding what's happening in the other class [1101] because sometimes I can be paying attention and everything but as I'm taking notes I kind of go away for a little bit and uh, like it's hard for me to catch up. So 999 is really helpful too because she explains everything… she always starts the class asking if we have any questions from the 1101 class, and that's when a lot of people

> ask questions and I can listen to their questions and ask mine and that helps me, well understand a little bit more the class.

Kebe, too, appreciated that her 0999 professor did not allow students to simply say they had no questions, but always found ways to encourage thoughtful questioning, often through writing:

> She tells us to do something like write in the paper what you don't understand. She always makes sure you write something. And it's been helping out. And if we give her the paper, she reads the questions out loud and answers them for everybody.

Farzana appreciated the opportunity to use 0999 like a study hall and to be able to ask her professor in-depth questions about homework assignments in particular:

> She helps us with the 1101 homework in 0999, so I guess it's also benefitting me to get like a good grade in my homework…and I can ask her any questions that I want since the class is like two and a half hour long, so I get like much time to talk to her and to sit with her and to talk my issues and work on my problems or my grammar problems or my punctuation, so I guess that's benefitting me in that way.

Huy, too, claimed to benefit from having time in the 0999 class to work on homework while the professor was available for questions, explaining, "I'm doing my homework in class with the professor, and I think that's really helpful." He actually identified the purpose of the 0999 class as fostering an environment where students were almost forced to get the help they needed but might otherwise not have sought out. In preparing for 1102, Huy realized there would be a shift in which he would have to take more responsibility for this. He explained:

> Like for the 0999, like professor they going to me…'Hey Huy, you need help.' But then for the next semester, I think I should be the one like, 'Hey, I need help.'…Next semester

> I think I'm the one should to ask them first. 'Cause they not gonna be the one that going to me anymore.

Finally, Trang appreciated not only the opportunity to get questions answered, but to also ask for corrections on her written work during 0999. "He [Professor Rossi] help me a lot in supporting English," she explained:

> Like, let's say we have homework today and then in the supporting English he gonna make, let us do the homework. Like for let's say now we have the homework for the write two body paragraph about the essay, so he gonna let us do it in the other class and then he fix it for us.

Other students expressed dissatisfaction with 0999. Medi, for example, did not feel like the study hall model her professor employed was useful at all. "I just don't feel like it's supporting," she explained. "I just feel like I'm showing up and you finish what you've been doing in 1101." She also didn't feel like her professor was able to provide satisfactory answers to most questions. "If you ask a question," Medi complained, "it just don't go to what you wanna hear." Her preference would have been to use the 0999 time to see more examples and have the professor give students opportunities to practice rather than using the course like a study hall:

> I just want the teacher be like, for example, she, I don't know like, it's just like, I don't know like, do more like analyze so people just gonna be more comfortable, just not go like go read, I mean we read it in class; sometimes just make people like try this and come in the front, tell people how you did it, I just want something like really helpful.

Another complaint with the study hall approach was the lack of seriousness with which many students approached the course. Santiago explained, "Because it's not an actual class, it's just like a support class, I think no one takes it too serious. Like it doesn't give you credit or

anything, so people will be talking in the class a lot." Luis concurred, complaining that the class was filled with too much busy work: "He'll just tell us to just 'Oh, keep working on your essay that is due, your next essay.' And some people just keep talking."

Perhaps the biggest exception to the general practice of not introducing new assignments in 0999 that were not connected to the 1101 course was final exam practice. 0999 students were required to take a timed-writing exam at the end of the course, which counted for 15% of the course grade. This percentage was low enough for the final exam to not be considered high-stakes. When combined with the generous two and a half hour time allotment given to complete it, it meant that not all faculty focused heavily on exam preparation. Some, like Professor Rossi, however, had students write several in-class practice essays in the 0999 course. His student Luis explained:

> He [the professor] also makes us write. Like the other day he made us write like a paper about, uh, what was it, oh, it was about one of the classes that we're taking … and why it was a favorite class and how we thought we we're doing on that class, and that was just the whole thing, but it was like a practice for something else that we're gonna do later on… I think it's a test we have to take at the end of the semester to get out of this class, 999, yeah something like that.

Data in this study suggests that explicit language instruction focused on either grammar or vocabulary development was very rare in English 0999. It was not that 0999 professors felt that these areas were not important; in fact, most included language accuracy as part of their essay assignment grading rubric. Campbell's assignment guidelines, for example, clearly indicated that student grades would be significantly lowered for grammar errors. "Proofread very carefully, especially for major grammatical errors, which will count off heavily," her guidelines

stated. They continued: “College papers are expected to be written in grammatically correct Standard Written English.” On her grading rubric, in fact, grammar and mechanics is one of five equally weighted rubric categories, each worth 20 points. At the same time, however, Campbell felt that by the time students were in 0999 and 1101, grammar work should be “on them.” She explained:

> I do give feedback on grammar if they’ve made grammatical mistakes in their papers…I offer comments and things like that, but I leave it to them to review the comments that I wrote and look at the mistakes you made and figure out what you did wrong. I’m always available for questions, so if you’ve got something that you got dinged on and you don’t get it, come to me and we’ll talk about it. But I don’t teach that in the classroom.

The one concession Campbell made to incorporating grammar instruction was assigning students some online grammar practice activities, but this was independent work that was not reviewed in class unless a student brought a specific question to a 0999 session.

Nasser also felt that grammar was important but noted that there simply wasn’t time to teach it. Instead, she wished the college would require a separate grammar course, although she acknowledged that this was extremely unlikely to ever happen. Nasser did assign a grammar presentation as part of the 1101/0999 classes, but noted that she had trouble getting students, especially L2 students, to participate. Powell, another 0999 instructor, also cited a lack of time as a major constraint when working with 0999 students on language issues:

> I don’t think I can teach them how to, you know, I can’t teach them grammar in a semester. It’s not possible. All I can do is teach them to recognize that they need help with it—to convince them to learn to see how, you know, things need fixing.

Powell, more than the other 0999 faculty I had the opportunity to observe, did interweave some language focused instruction into her classroom lessons. When working with quote integration in papers in 1101, for example, she told her students, "My obligation, what I have to teach you, is not only what to say, but how to say it. There are rules about integrating quotes." She proceeded to discuss introducing quotes with signal phrases. Then, in the follow-up 0999 course meeting, the class worked with this in more detail, practicing in small groups. She explained, for example, the use of the present tense to describe a narrator's experiences, (e.g., "Baldwin experiences…."). She then went on to introduce an alternative pattern if that tense should feel strange (e.g., "Baldwin writes about how he experienced..."). She also provided her 0999 students with explicit instruction about how to punctuate quotes, which was something she did not include in the 1101 class.

Despite being intentional about including some language-focused instruction in her courses, Powell acknowledged her lack of expertise in this area as a factor in her decision to not include more grammar instruction as part of the developmental corequisite course. She explained, "I don't [teach grammar]. I've not been very successful in fixing, like subject-verb agreement in students…I'm just not very good at it. So, instead I try to encourage them to use other resources to fix their subject-verb agreement." One of these resources was marking student papers and encouraging them to visit the college's writing center, the Academic Enhancement Center (AEC), for additional help.

In Powell's classroom, however, grammar weighed heavily enough in the assignment rubric that a student with an otherwise strong paper could still fail. Her rationale for this was making sure her students were prepared to meet the expectations of their other college courses:

> I know if they write a paper with bad English for, you know, Professor Jones in history, or you know, whoever, they're gonna fail it. They're gonna get a D at best, and therefore I have to give them a grade that reflects that essay's potential. So I can give them credit for having a thesis or organized paragraphs, but if the English is consistently sub-par, I'm gonna bring it down to a D so that they understand this won't work.

Jenkins also included "relatively error-free writing" as one of the criteria she expected students to meet prior to entering ENGL 1102 and thus weighted language heavily in her grading scheme. She stressed, however, that grammar should be taught in the context of students' own writing:

> I don't have online grammar quizzes, online grammar work. I don't do that because I am opposed to teaching grammar separate from their own writing and…I see no, no benefit to when they're writing themselves, even if they learn how to use the apostrophe or where to put the comma in the grammar exercises, it doesn't translate to their own writing.

Thus, she only offered language-focused instruction when she sat down to conference individually with students during 0999 class meetings.

Not all English 0999 faculty agreed with this type of heavy weight put on language concerns when grading. Rossi, for example, included grammar and mechanics as a category on his grading rubric, yet he didn't weight it heavily enough to fail an otherwise passing paper. He explained his reasoning behind this decision:

> All the research that I've found and my personal experience tells me that practice—to give them more writing practice—and force them to spend time revising the things that they've written, is the best way to do that [develop accuracy with language]. So spending

> a whole lot of time talking to them about verbs and nouns…they stop listening, and it doesn't seem to work. That's my anecdotal observations and it's what all the composition research says. So, it's a part of the rubric; it matters; but it's usually the thing that separates As from Bs and Bs from Cs, especially as we get deep into the semester.

In terms of working with L2 students in their courses, some faculty, including Rossi, acknowledged that direct language instruction might be more useful than with other developmental students: "My theory, and I'm not sure how right this is, is that they [L2 students] tend to sometimes respond a little bit better to direct instruction because that's how they have to learn the language as they're starting to get used to it." Nevertheless, he did not explicitly focus on different issues with the L2 writers in his 0999 class than he did with his other students. The one place such support might have come into play was in providing language-focused feedback on L2 students' writing when appropriate. Rossi explained:

> If they're having issues with their sentence structure that's not about run-on sentences and sentence fragments, I might mark it a little bit and leave them a little note…along the lines of, 'A lot of those little errors will start to take care of themselves as you get more practice with reading and writing in English….' But I'm not going to mark up a paper that makes them feel like they're making errors all over the place because it distracts them from the important stuff, which is, again, even for the second language students, making claims and supporting them with evidence.

For their part, however, L2 students sometimes felt that they were getting insufficient language-focused support in their 0999 and 1101 classes. Medi, for example, lamented the lack of feedback her professor gave her on language issues. Instead, she credited peer feedback as being most helpful in this area:

> Yeah, and they [her classmates] were like, 'Oh, you need to fix your comma, and your verb, you need to put it in the past, I mean in the present or past, yeah, you need to fix your grammar and stuff like that'…. It was helpful.

Santiago likewise reported that he relied mainly on peers to help him with English challenges, such as punctuation, which he felt were related to the different rules in Spanish. However, while peer review had been helpful in identifying this weakness, it had not been as helpful in learning how to improve it:

> I use a lot of commas, so they basically all of them told me that I need to, uh take some commas out because I don't know if it's a language thing or what, but in Spanish I write with a lot of commas, and just to make like separation between my ideas, I don't know.

Despite becoming more aware of this issue, Santiago still felt unsure about how to address it since this was not a topic covered in his 1101/0999 classes. When he met with his professor for a one-on-one conference about his writing, for example, she focused on larger order concerns like content and organization. Santiago tried to ask about his challenge with English punctuation but wasn't successful in getting help. "I mentioned the comma thing," he said, "but it was just, I wasn't expecting her to explain me how to use the commas." When I asked him why he wasn't expecting that, he said it was primarily a time issue.

Huy felt that his challenges with grammar had caused him to fail a major writing assignment in his English 1101 class. "The first one [writing assignment] I fail 'cause the rubric," he admitted. "I understand the essay, but the grammar is the only problem that I have to fix. I did fix that, but not as much." Because he did not receive grammar instruction in his English classes to help him overcome his challenges, Huy took the initiative to develop his own

self-improvement plan. He decided that by turning his attention to improving his spoken language, he would, in turn, improve his writing:

> I think to help me write more or to fix that problem of grammar I have to fix the way I speak. Sometime, okay, I use to talk like 'He say.' I supposed to say, 'He says.' Is that correct? So to fix that problem when I writing, I try to speak slower and think more before I speak, and after I correct myself, the way I speak, I think I will correct myself the way I can write, I think so, yeah.

Apparently, Huy, like most other language minority students in developmental English, had accepted the fact that the course was not designed to provide them with much, if any, explicit language instruction.

Increased attention to language in EAP. In EAP classes, on the other hand, whether in 0091 (Structure and Composition) or 0090 (Reading), language minority students found themselves in courses which were explicitly structured around attention to language. Professor Aslan, for example, did intensive work with her EAP 0090 students on vocabulary, and it was clear during my class observation that her focus was not simply on having students learn definitions but also on use the words grammatically in a sentence. She focused during the lesson on word meaning, synonyms, and parts of speech, requiring students to shift vocabulary words into different word forms using common part of speech suffixes to help them build language awareness around shifting between noun, verb, adjective, and adverb forms of words. There was also an emphasis on learning the pronunciation of the words so that students would be able to say, recognize, and better remember them.

Bisha, a 0090 EAP Reading student, described a vocabulary intensive environment in which students were regularly assigned chapters in a vocabulary textbook, played interactive

vocabulary games on the board, took vocabulary quizzes, and were required to use target vocabulary words in their summary and response writing. Aslan even asked her students to take turns leading vocabulary lessons. "I usually cover the first two or three chapters," she explained, "just to show them what can they do with it, and then I assign each student a chapter, so they take care of it and then they have to come up with a creative idea to teach that vocabulary."

Phillips, too, integrated a language focus in his reading course. An example is teaching his students to use language corpora, such as the online Corpus of Contemporary American English[19], which allowed students to search for and find common collocation patterns based on 560 million words of text from sources such as magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. Using this online concordancer was a powerful way to help students learn how to use vocabulary appropriately in their own writing. Phillips described the use of this tool in his 0090 section:

> They're pretty familiar with a lot of the corpora and things like that that they can use as references. And so we, yeah the first week or two, I spend a lot of time showing them how to use that and demonstrating like if I were reading this and I saw this word, how would I find out how to use it.

As another example of his language-focused approach, during a work session on summary-response writing in his EAP 0090 course, Phillips circulated throughout the class, not only to review content-related issues in students' writing but also their language. He noticed, for example, that a student had incorrectly used a verb phrase "credit sources" as the subject of a sentence (i.e., "*Credit sources* is important in academic writing.") Phillips explained how to make the verb "credit" a gerund, "crediting" so that "crediting sources" could become a noun phrase that the student could continue talking about in the sentence. Phillips's students

[19] This corpus is found at https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

acknowledged their learning through situations like this. Phuong explained, "We have to summarize and respond and write paragraph, yes. At the same time we learn, even though it is a reading class, but we still learn some grammar, some writing, how to improve it."

Phillips also assigned vocabulary work. "Vocabulary is there," he explained, adding:

> We do have vocab quizzes, but I try to keep reiterating to them that yeah, it's important to study vocabulary but the most important thing is just read a lot and your vocabulary will grow. But that it's not bad to intentionally study vocab too. You begin to see connections and word roots and things like that, so we do have those quizzes.

Phillips noted that he teaches vocabulary, not for some esoteric purpose such as doing well on a standardized test, but as a means of expression. "I also don't want vocabulary to be something that becomes an end in itself," Phillips explained. "I'm a really big believer that you should look at vocab as a means, as a vehicle to express your ideas and, or to understand somebody else's expression."

Thus, because of the importance placed on language development in the EAP program, not only did all EAP instructors give extensive language focused feedback on early drafts of student work, but they also required students to complete grammar-focused assignments. In addition to working in a corpus-based grammar textbook, EAP writing students also tracked their common error patterns using an assignment called a grammar log, or structural analysis assignment, and later gave presentations in which they taught their classmates how to use particularly challenging grammar features. Aslan described that this assignment required her EAP 0091 students to select their five most common or most serious error types from each essay and correct and explain them in a written chart. "They just focus on those five errors," she described, "and then they kind of explain with a chart, so I just do that…so they kind of see the

patterns, you know the error pattern that they have." Bisha, an EAP student, explained his own perception of the grammar log assignment, including the presentation component:

> I had to use like the problems, like you know, the issues I had on the essay and then fix it and then teach my class that, you know what's going on, like what's wrong, and I had to give them like problems for them to do.

Bisha appreciated this work, explaining:

> It was a pretty good experience… 'cause if you do that like presentation or you talk about it, you don't really forget about it. You know what you're doing 'cause you had to get ready for it. You had to talk about it and teach other people. When you do that, it just gets on your mind, you know, rather than just writing. It gets on your mind so you know what you're talking about.

Other EAP students concurred with the faculty's description of shared language-focused repertoires in their EAP classes. Ji-woo, for example, focused her discussion of the most important learning she had done in EAP on language issues. When describing her EAP reading class, she discussed the use of language structures such as "list and addition" words to help identify supporting details related to main ideas. "In Dr. Aslan class," she explained, "we use a article to figure out what is main idea and what is a supporting detail and what is a list word or addition word and we figuring out those in the article." Similarly, she described her EAP writing class as also intensively engaged with language structure: "And Dr. Smith[20] class, we are figure out what clauses are the right clauses and how to use the, I mean, how to writing the essay and using the right grammar." She continued:

[20] Dr. Smith was a faculty member who did not participate in this study because he was not teaching an advanced (0090-level) EAP course in Fall 2016.

> We do the writing sentence on the paper, like the big paper, and we figure out what is the clauses--independent clauses, dependent clauses, and decide, I mean choose what is the subject and object. And I didn't really learn about that, like I didn't know before that classes, so, it was like really good.

Differences in the amount of language-focused instruction was not the only issue that differentiated the shared repertoires involved in the EAP and developmental English courses. There were also significant differences in terms of writing and reading assignments.

Essay assignments—differences in complexity and source integration. Considering the fact that English 0999 incorporated few, if any, unique assignments that were not otherwise required for English 1101, it is not surprising that developmental English students were required to contend with longer and more complex essay assignments than did EAP students. Most English 1101/0999 assignments required source material integration and attention to MLA formatting. EAP essays, on the other hand, were generally shorter, often did not require the use of outside sources, and focused more on fundamentals of organization and language use. While there was some degree of writing in response to sources in the shorter reading response assignments in the EAP 0090 reading class, there was generally not the expectation that students should be able to synthesize numerous sources to support an argument in a longer paper at the EAP level. There was some criticism from English faculty that EAP assignments did not fully prepare students for 1101 in terms of their lack of use of source material and citations. Members of the EAP community, however, viewed these aspects of writing as belonging to a later developmental stage in students' writing competence.

English 0999 faculty in this study were typically working with their students throughout the semester on a series of between three and four English 1101 essays, each of which built on

one another in complexity. While assignments varied from section to section, guidelines always included a focus on the rhetorical situation (i.e., what is the assignment, the purpose, the audience, and the objectives). Campbell, for example, assigned three major essays and one presentation with a written component. The first of these was a narrative essay, "Remembering an Event," which involved students writing three to five pages from their own experience and building writing skills such as vivid description and logical organization without being required to incorporate citations. The second essay, "Writing a Profile," was a minimum of three pages in length, and built on these skills but then added in the outside sources of an oral interview and a website, which students were required to cite in MLA format. The final paper, an argument Essay, incorporated academic sources including print and electronic journal articles. These assignments were adapted from the textbook that the GGC English department required all part-time/temporary faculty to use at GGC.

Nasser, as the other non-full-time/permanent faculty member in the study, used the same textbook and gave students similar assignments with some slight adaptations. Because Nasser was so insistent on the value of writing from sources, for example, she asked students to write their "Remembering an Event" essay not simply as a reflection on a personal event but as a personal reflection on a world/news event that had taken place during the student's lifetime. Her assignment length was a minimum of four pages and required the use of source material in the form of a news article detailing the event upon which each student chose to base her or his reflection.

The three remaining English faculty had been hired in full-time/permanent positions and, as such, were not required to use any particular textbook. Instead, they had the freedom to choose their own materials, with Rossi making the choice to use no textbook at all, and Powell

and Jenkins using literary anthologies. Powell's three essay assignments reflected her training in literature rather than in composition. Throughout the semester, she had students write 1) a summary based on a rather complex reading, Plato's "Allegory of the Cave;" 2) an argument analysis; and 3) a literary analysis essay. The second essay, in particular, was quite unique in that, while most other English faculty asked students to write their own arguments, Powell is the only one who had them analyze the argument of a professional writer. She explained the reason for adding to the assignment's complexity:

> The idea of analyzing someone else's argument, thinking about the parts of an argument rather than making one, analyzing someone else's, I like that idea. And so I think that's a way of looking at argument more intellectually.

Powell's third assignment, the literary analysis, required students to explore a literary theme found in a selected essay from the course anthology. This assignment prepared students for higher level English literature classes in terms of integrating quotes and "combin[ing] borrowed material from the sources with [their] original ideas about the topic." Finally, to prepare students for their English 1102 research course, Powell assigned an annotated bibliography in which students were asked to find relevant and reliable sources on a research topic of their choice.

Jenkins's three major papers seemed to be a blend or extension of those already described. The first paper, which did not require outside sources, was a four-page narrative essay on a remembered experience. The second was a four-page response to at least two source articles from the course anthology. The assignment guidelines required students to do the following:

> You may **compare or contrast** the ideas presented in the published essays, **argue** with the authors and **refute** their position, emphasize or **extend through analogy** an insight or

> revelation the authors provide, or simply **relate** the authors' ideas to your own experience, observation or position.

The third of Jenkins's assignments was similar to Powell's literary analysis assignment, yet it was significantly longer and required the integration of more source text. Jenkins's assignment guidelines required students to write a minimum of six pages in which they skillfully summarized, paraphrased, and quoted from three to four source essays from the course anthology. Despite the complexity of these guidelines, Jenkins claimed that 1101 and 0999 students need relatively controlled assignments through which to develop as writers. When it came to working with sources, for example, Jenkins made sure that all source texts for her students' essays come from the course textbook, explaining:

> They don't do outside research in my 1101 'cause I don't have control over those sources, and they're not good enough readers for me to not have to read the original in order to know that they're not summarizing correctly. So I want to have control over the sources that they use, and there's enough reading, there's enough essays for them to use in the textbook.

Finally, Rossi assigned four major essays, each of which scaffolded the next as they increased in complexity. The first of these was a four to six page narrative essay which did not require the use of outside sources. Essay two, "Analysis of a Discourse Community," is a four to six page information essay in which students were asked to do the following:

> Inform an audience about a discourse community that is new to them and that they are not a member of. Provide deeper analysis beyond surface level observations of the community that will help readers understand how the community functions.

As the third assignment of the semester, Rossi's students wrote a four to six page "Controversy Analysis," in which they presented both sides of an argument using MLA citation format and articles provided by their professor. In their final assignment, "Evaluating a Product or Service," students selected their own sources to use in each of their body paragraphs as they "assess the quality of a product or service with which [they] are familiar," supporting their claims with strong evidence across a range of appropriate evaluation criteria.

In terms of student opinions about these assignments, many students echoed the professors' explanations about essays building on one another and becoming more difficult throughout the semester. Student attitudes about the first essay assignment, which in most cases involved writing a narrative essay on a remembered event, were frequently very positive. Medi, for example, explained:

> Mostly since I've been here in America it's always about write something, use the third person, that's the first year to use like I, I can use "I;" I can express my feeling; I can express my past by using I… Yeah, that's really personal. That was the first thing since I've been in America to write something about me, and that mean a lot, too, yeah.

Kebe, too, described positive experiences with her narrative essays: "Um, the first one [essay about an unusual Atlanta snow storm] was really easy 'cause I was there when the thing was happening. Like people got stuck in the road; they couldn't go home."

Once students embarked on the subsequent, non-narrative, essay assignments, however, several described encountering more challenges. Trang, for example, found her first essay assignment easy in Rossi's class, but she described the second as much harder: "The second one is not easy because I can't use "I," I have to use third person." She felt she was getting better at this compared to how she had felt in high school, however, explaining:

> If I write something about "I" and myself and stuff and what happened to me, yeah I can write down, but when they told me to use third person to write an essay really hard for me. I don't know how to do it. But then when I go to college, it's help me a lot.

Other students faced difficulty learning to cite sources correctly using MLA formatting. Luis described his challenge with citations:

> The thing that I, like it was hard, it was just like knowing what to cite and when. Like, because every article had their own authors and all that stuff, and if you don't cite it, it's like plagiarism or something, so I was like uh, but he went through it in class a lot and stuff, so I guess it's fine. But I think I missed a couple of them.

Farzana also described the challenge of using sources to write an essay:

> So once we get our topic, we have to search, I mean research about it…But you have to be really good at writing since you have to know like how to cite the stuff or paraphrase it or summarize the reading, the sources that you're gonna use, and also citation and MLA format because she's gonna cut out a lot of points for that.

Another challenge 0999 students faced in some sections was learning to write about literature:

> So we have to pick one [a literary theme] and then we have to name a quote from that, …and then what we understand from that quote…like the author meaning of that quote, not like what is seen in the book, but it have another meaning to that quote. And what we are doing right now too is correcting how to quote. Like we have to use the signal phrase or use the colon. Yeah, that's what we working on right now, and you have to choose one essay, one theme, three quotes and then write about that.

In contrast to these complex essay assignments in the English 0999/1101 courses, EAP assignments were typically shorter (often four to five paragraph essays of one and a half to three pages) and placed less emphasis on source material integration. Aslan assigned three homework essays in her EAP 0091 writing class, for example, yet she did not require outside sources or put a heavy emphasis on teaching citations since she felt EAP students were not best served by focusing too heavily on MLA or APA. "I think it's too early for that," she explained, but then hesitated as she recognized that without some instruction regarding citations, her students were often at risk for plagiarism when they decided on their own to use the internet to seek information on a topic. She explained:

> I mean because of this plagiarism issue, I still tell them at least provide a reference. At least provide a link and then put parentheses something. So technically we are, I mean I mean kind of talking about it…I say I want references but I'm not teaching like going into all details because I just want to understand the essay and I want to make sure that it's not plagiarized. That's the important thing.

When asked why she did not require more advanced work with sources and citations, Aslan elaborated, "Cause I think that would be a little too much on our shoulders. I don't think we have time for that." Aslan's attitude seemed to reflect the opinion that students would have plenty of time to learn citation styles once they reached 1101.

Instead, the emphasis in EAP writing classes was more on using language effectively to make and support claims, and to organize ideas. Aslan, for example, acknowledged that her assignments might have seemed simple when compared to those in college-level English classes but believed they were appropriate for her students' current level. Kiran, a current EAP student,

agreed. He explained that the two to three page length requirement, for example, was already quite challenging for him:

> In EAP 90 and 91 we just, we don't write that real long papers… we have to write like 2 or 3 pages, and something that is kind of hardest thing. Because like when you keep writing essay, sometime all information are gone and there is no more words to write.

In terms of whether or not to require outside sources on EAP essays, not all faculty were in agreement. Zhang, in contrast to Aslan, required that students use two sources in each homework essay. He explained that he had recently added this component to his writing assignments because he wanted students to do more reading and develop strong ideas and critical thinking. At the same time, however, citation styles and detailed lessons about quoting and paraphrasing were clearly not heavily emphasized in his class. In terms of teaching quotes and paraphrases, Zhang explained that he gave a list of quote words (reporting verbs), presented examples of quotes in sample essays, and showed students textbook examples. He qualified this information, however, by adding, "I did not spend much time on this." In terms of citation formatting, he said he gave students "No specific requirements," instead telling them that "there are different styles and they will learn those in 1101." In this sense, his approach was not dissimilar to that of Aslan; she simply made the use of sources optional whereas Zhang required them.

EAP students also had writing assignments in their EAP 0090 Reading course. Phillips, for example, created article summary and response assignments for his students that integrated reading and writing. "I am pretty intentional that it doesn't become like a writing class," he explained, "so I try to maintain that line to come degree, but at the same time, reading and writing are always intertwined, so you can't artificially separate them." In order for students to

succeed on these assignments, Phillips did teach some basic citation skills. He described how he approached this:

> We do put a quote in the response, so we do a little bit of citation, but it's not heavy duty, but enough so they know what a citation is, so they're not gonna be completely taken aback by that when they need to do it later.

Like Zhang and Aslan, Phillips seemed comfortable with students simply learning some preliminary ideas about working with sources and citing them properly. These skills were not, however, a focal point of course instruction.

Student reflections regarding writing in the EAP courses corroborated a lack of emphasis on learning citation styles. When asked about their experiences in becoming academic writers, EAP students were more apt to make note of their language development. Bisha, for example, emphasized that he had become more skilled with language accuracy. He explained:

> I think I'm getting used with writing. Like, you know, I can write better now compared to before. I can pretty much, you know, I was pretty bad at singular plural. I still am, but I don't know, sometimes it just gets, you know, confusing and messy when I'm writing, so I think I'm doing pretty better compared to before.

Former EAP students also shared this perception. Bondeko, a current 1101 student, looked back on his EAP studies and said:

> It [EAP] kind of took my writing to the next level. 'Cause I would say my writing was pretty good but it wasn't that good. I had like a lot of grammar mistakes sometimes. I was kind of missing some words because when I write sometimes I usually put in like in French and then I translate. But after [EAP], I kind of had like a lot more vocabulary in my head.

Mi-sun, another former EAP student, reflected back on her EAP 0091 experience in a similar vein, saying, "In that class I learned how to write like essay, my essay, and learned grammar and stuff, and in those class I really, like, got help with my writing stuff, especially on addition words."

A final type of writing assignment completed by language minority students in EAP classes were the timed, in-class practice essays students wrote three of four of during the course to prepare them for the high-stakes EAP 0091 final writing exam, which they were required to pass in order to exit. During the final exam, students had 90 minutes to write their initial draft of the exam essay, along with a second 45-minute session in which to revise and edit. Preparing students for such a high-stakes task was not easy. In fact, Zhang described this work as a major challenge filled with tremendous pressure: "I enjoy much more when I teach 81 or 80, 92, even 90," he explained, "because I don't feel so much pressure. It's one semester you need to get them ready for the exit. It's just like a mission impossible." Still, despite the challenge, EAP writing faculty in this study assigned students between two and four timed, in-class essays in addition to the two to four homework essays they asked students to write outside of class.

Ultimately, this discussion of the distinctions between the shared repertoires of writing assignments highlights some important differences between the cultures of writing within both programs. Clearly, writing with sources and learning to use correct citation formatting styles was an important aspect of English 1101 and college-level writing. In contrast, EAP students did some relatively limited work with sources, but there seemed to be a sense that this shouldn't be a major focus of instruction while they were learning more foundational aspects of writing and language.

Reading. A final area in which the shared repertoires of the EAP and developmental English 0999 classes diverged from one another relates to reading practices. Clearly, there was differentiation even within each program, yet certain general distinctions were evident at a programmatic level. In none of the 1101/0999 classes, for example, did students do any longer, sustained reading such as of a novel. In EAP, however, all students experienced this since they were, in almost all cases, taking reading and writing classes concurrently. On the developmental side of the house, when READ 0098 was discontinued, reading outcomes were supposed to be subsumed by the ENGL 0999 course, but this did not seem to be the main priority within the majority of developmental English classes (see Appendix F for a list of ENGL 0999 course outcomes).

Most English 1101/0999 readings appeared to either a) come from the course textbook, or b) be the source articles students used for their writing assignments. Reading loads themselves varied greatly across sections, with some faculty sticking to the shorter essays in the textbook and others incorporating longer, more complex academic articles. Three of the five developmental English faculty participants, Campbell, Nasser, and Rossi, assigned relatively little reading and, in fact, seemed somewhat defeated by past experiences of asking students to do more of it. Nasser, for example, explained that "students don't read," and had, therefore, stopped assigning as much reading or giving reading quizzes since she became so frustrated by failing quiz grades. Rossi elected not even to require a course textbook in his 1101/0999 sections. The reading he did require was self-selected by students. He explained:

> So what I'm doing now is to give them their reading practice… like I give them an assignment to find something on the internet that you find interesting. It should take 15-

> 20 minutes to read. When you finish, write a 2-3 sentence summary of it and then be prepared to read that summary to the class.

This was in stark contrast to a past approach at a prior institution whereby Rossi assigned more complex readings to the whole class.

> I used to assign, when I was at the University of Arizona, I would assign George Washington's farewell address…and they just, they just didn't get it… so I stopped making them do things that I knew they would hate doing. And I found they get better at doing the really important things that I really need, that I really want them to learn.

Thus, Rossi believed that he was making a calculated decision to lessen reading requirements in order to target his instruction more narrowly, and successfully, on helping students develop as academic writers.

Other English faculty took a different approach. Powell, for example, explained the reasoning behind assigning regular, challenging texts to her students: "I guess I have an approach in my classroom that reading is supposed to be hard, that it's exercise. It's like muscle building. Yeah, like and it hurts. It hurts, but you'll be better for it." She even, according to her student Huy, gave her students some explicit instruction in reading more efficiently. Huy explained:

> The first semester she show us to have to read faster, like she show us the technique like use the finger that run underneath the sentence and keep running that and the result is like I read it at twice as before like as fast as twice before I read…and it helped me a lot to read faster for my homework, not in this class only, but for the other class as well.

Powell also made sure to spend a significant portion of class time talking about each reading. "I don't ever give reading that we don't go over," she explained, "and I sort of walk them through

finding passages and making meaning out of them, with the idea that that's a goal for something that they'll have to act out in their essay."

Farzana also described doing a significant amount of reading in Jenkins's English 1101/0999 sections. She described Jenkins's class practices as follows:

> Every class we have to read like maximum three essays and then underline the things that we like in the essay or just like define the words that we don't know and then talk about it and also find the thesis, and then talk about all the stuff in the class. And I guess that's helping us a lot because you can listen to other students and then get some ideas from whatever they're saying and also like add your own points to it.

Farzana also explained that students in her class were also required to do occasional presentations on readings in addition to taking regular reading quizzes.

Despite the existence of some English 1101/0999 sections, like those of Jenkins and Powell, which required significant amounts of reading, it is fair to say that not all students who took these classes experienced a similar degree of reading focus. EAP students, on the other hand, who almost always took a reading course in conjunction with their writing course, were guaranteed an experience that foregrounded reading as a highly valued collegiate literacy practice. In addition to reading academic articles from the course textbook, which gave students the opportunity to work intensively with a text and practice skills such as finding main ideas and understanding organizational patterns, EAP students frequently were asked to do an extensive reading of larger quantities of text. In all EAP 0090 classes, for example, students were required to read current events articles from major news sources and to participate in literature circles related to novels.

In Aslan's class, students read two books throughout the semester. "We divide it into five weeks," she explained, "five weeks for one book, five weeks for another book." Students worked in small groups reading novels of their own choosing and then met weekly to discuss the section of the novel they had read. Students rotated in each week's discussion through specific roles for which they were responsible, including those of summarizer, literary luminary[21], vocabulary enricher, and connector, which Aslan said she adapted from another institution many years ago. In order to make sure that students took these tasks seriously, she also required them to post their weekly literature circle assignments on the online classroom discussion board and to read and respond to each group members' posts. Her student, Ji-woo, acknowledged that without the literature circle assignment in Dr. Aslan's class she would not prioritize reading to such a degree. She explained why this is so:

> I like watching movie first, and reading a book is like, if it's not great movie, I'm not gonna read it, you know. Cause reading's kind of like boring to me.

Ji-woo described actually enjoying and appreciating the literature circle assignment, however, since it had forced her out of her movie-watching comfort zone and given her the opportunity to read a novel of interest to her and her classmates.

Phillips, the other EAP 0090 professor, also assigned outside-of-class novel reading, but he structured the assignment a bit differently than did Aslan. In his case, he said:

> I give them like five choices and they pick one…So that way we can pull groups together once in a while and talk about the books that they're reading in common. We usually have at least two people that are reading the same book.

[21] This student selects key quotes to share and discuss with the group.

Although Phillips would occasionally approve a student's off-list book choice, he preferred them to read a novel in common with at least one other student and maintained a list of books, including titles such as *The Kite Runner*, *Things Fall Apart*, and *Across the Hundred Mountains*, which students from previous semesters had enjoyed. Like Aslan, he also had students post reading responses on the class's online discussion board. Another difference, however, was that Phillips allowed students to read at their own pace, with the caveat that they completed two books over the course of the semester. His student Phuong explained that she was not a fast reader: "I think some of my friends are finished and then they're reading the second book, but I'm still on the first book." Nevertheless, participating in the extensive reading assignment was allowing Phuong to make progress in her reading speed and comprehension ability.

In a related vein, EAP reading courses also included explicit instruction in increasing reading speed, something only seen in one (Powell's) of the developmental classes in this study. In the EAP courses, which were taught in computer lab classrooms, students used an online program called Ace Reader to develop eye movement skills such as chunking and jumping. They also took regular timed reading quizzes in order to track their progress. Phillips explained why this type of practice was so important for his students:

> You're gonna have to read tons of material [in college level classes], so that's another reason why I really love 90 is when I see their reading speed goes up, and their ability to sort of stick with something that they're reading longer than just a few minutes.

He also explained that reading speed is an area in which students' progress was tangible, which buillt their reading confidence, "'Cause most of them will actually see it; they'll see that their rate increases during the class," he explained. "It may not increase dramatically cause, you know, in sixteen weeks there are still limits on how far you're gonna change, but you will change

some." Phillips's goal was to get students close to reading 250 words a minute on an academic text, a speed at which he claimed, "They're at least not gonna struggle so much with their homework reading, let's say in history, that they're gonna feel like giving up."

Overall, EAP reading faculty worked hard to impress upon students the importance of reading, and their students acknowledged this and recognized the value in it. Kiran, a student in Phillips's class, clearly attributed the EAP courses with helping him become more of a reader. "Before I didn't used to read," he admitted, "I used to watch video…Because of EAP that encourage me to read more, to be successful in higher level education."

EAP and Developmental English: Two Very Different Cultures of Writing

As we have seen in this chapter, language minority students in developmental English and EAP were members of two remarkably distinct cultures of writing, as viewed through the lens of the CoP framework. In the first section of the chapter, we examined the ways in which both programs functioned as *joint enterprises*, replete with members who had developed uniquely shared understandings of the purpose and functions of their courses. In terms of community membership, noteworthy findings include the fact that, while faculty membership in their respective communities of developmental English and EAP was, in most cases, quite purposeful, GGC's language minority students had, on the other hand, most commonly ended up in one of the two programs on an arbitrary basis. There were no obvious distinctions between them in terms of linguistic or cultural backgrounds that would have logically divided them into two groups. Nevertheless, once situated within their respective programs, all community members seemed to develop shared understandings of the functions and purpose of each community. Members of the 0999 community viewed the course as providing the foundational writing and 'studenting' requirements necessary for success in first year composition. Shared

understandings of the function of EAP, however, typically encompassed a broader range of language development issues. As the program was intended to develop academic language and literacy skills in language minority students in preparation for success in all future college-level courses, the program was recognized as encompassing a greater focus on grammar and vocabulary development as well as on reading skills.

Another key difference is that EAP, as a prerequisite program to college level work, was understood to be a gatekeeper of sorts, requiring students to attain a minimum level of achievement before entering college-level English classes. In contrast, English 0999, as a corequisite support course to English 1101, served no such purpose. Students who were able to pass English 1101, even without success in English 0999, were able to move on in the subsequent semester to English 1102. While the relatively low weight put on meeting the learning outcomes of English 0999 might have allowed for swifter progression through the curriculum, there is a concern that it could also have curtailed the necessary learning, such as that provided by EAP, required for language minority students to thrive in future upper-level courses.

In the second section of this chapter, we explored the key distinctions in the *mutuality* experienced within each program, including shared norms for participation and rapport building. Important findings include the fact that EAP students, on the whole, experienced a higher degree of comfort with class participation, while language minority students in developmental English demonstrated greater challenges in this area. This latter group of developmental English students also seemed less likely than did their EAP counterparts to develop close rapport with classmates and faculty. These differences have potentially significant impact on student learning, since CoP is, fundamentally, a social theory of learning. Hence, it matters deeply, not only what students

were asked to learn within each program, but how they were able to engage with others and to contribute within their respective communities (Wenger, 1998).

The final section of this chapter examined how language minority students in developmental English and EAP were subject to a distinct set of *shared repertoires* of course structures, classroom practices, and assignment types to foster their learning within their respective programs. While the writing assignments of EAP courses, in comparison with those found in English 1101/0999, may have been considerably less complex regarding length, use of sources, and citation, EAP students were exposed to instruction that may have been richer in terms of vocabulary development, explicit language instruction, and extensive reading assignments. We will return to these issues in the later discussion (Chapter Six) in order to see what the relevant L2 literature has to say about the value of reading, vocabulary development, and explicit language-focused instruction for second language writers.

Overall, the findings of this chapter point to cultures of language and literacy within EAP and developmental English which were quite divergent from one another. The ways students' experienced, learned from, and, indeed, benefitted from these programs were also indisputably distinct. Ultimately, however, these programs, as witnessed at the time of the current study, were both facing radical transformation in the form of statewide policy changes to developmental education. These policy reforms, as well as student, faculty, and administrator perspectives on the changes and their implications for language minority student learning at Georgia Gwinnett College, is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLICY CHANGES

This chapter seeks to answer the current study's second research question and its related sub-question:

2. How are the developmental English and EAP programs being affected (or not) by policy changes at the national and state levels?

    a. What are the perspectives of administrators, faculty, and students about the way these programs are being transformed at GGC?

Key findings from the data analysis are that both the developmental English and EAP programs are indeed being affected in consequential ways by on-going statewide policy changes to developmental education which are, in turn, being greatly influenced by a national college completion reform movement (Lester, 2014; Teranishi & Bezbatchenko, 2015). The GGC developmental English 0999 course has evolved from a faculty-initiated mainstreamed approach to one that involves complete segregation of developmental students from their mainstream peers. More recently, the foundations-level prerequisite English 0989 course has been eliminated from the developmental curriculum, meaning that all incoming students will now begin their composition sequence in the gateway, college-level English 1101 course, taken either with or without a corequisite 0999 support course. On the EAP side, changes initiated by the faculty to develop a corequisite course, which were originally not mandated by the state, have since become so. Currently, the corequisite model is now the only allowed form of developmental support for all students within the USG. Related to that, all foundations level (pre-1101) EAP courses in reading, writing, and oral communication have been eliminated, as has the EAP

course prefix itself. With the exception of an L2-designated section of the ENGL 0999 corequisite course—ENGL 0999e—all EAP support for language minority students at GGC has been eradicated. Viewed from a critical language policy (CLP) perspective, it is evident that the most important local stakeholders of such policy changes, the students and faculty directly impacted by the policies, have been almost entirely absent from the decision making processes that have led to the adoption of these ever-evolving changes.

Changes to Developmental English and EAP as of Fall 2016

Prior to the beginning of the current study, many changes to developmental education had already taken place at GGC, which have been described in previous chapters. To briefly recap, on the developmental education side, an original learning support sequence of two prerequisite levels of both English (composition) and Reading had been shortened to merely one prerequisite level English course (ENGL 0989) and one corequisite course (ENGL 0999), the latter of which has been the subject of much of this study's investigation (see Tables 1 and 2 in Chapter 3 for a more detailed overview of these changed course sequences). By the fall of 2016, developmental students had, at most, three credits of prerequisite English requirements and three credits of corequisite support taken in conjunction with their gateway English 1101 course. The corequisite ENGL 0999 and gateway 1101 courses were constructed in what is referred to as a mainstreaming, or "triad" model, in which one professor taught two sections of English 1101. One third of the students in each English 1101 section (i.e., approximately eight out of 24) had placed into the developmental level. This group of 16 developmental students (i.e., the eight from each 1101 section) then merged together for the English 0999 course meetings (see Figure 1 in Chapter 3).

In the fall of 2016, when data for this study were collected, more changes were already underway in the developmental English program. Due to scheduling difficulties in the college's registration system, the triad or mainstreaming model was being taught for the last time. Beginning in spring 2017, the English 0999 and 1101 courses would move to what the college was calling a "dyad" model, in which the same group of 16 students would take ENGL 0999 and 1101 together. No longer would the 0999 students be a smaller group within a mainstream ENGL 1101 classroom; instead, all students in their 1101 section would have placed at the developmental level.

In terms of EAP, the program had, as of fall 2016, evaded any mandated alterations in structure, but the winds of change were blowing. As the developmental English program had begun to transform beginning in 2012, the EAP course sequence remained longer and also harder to exit, given the mandatory high stakes exit test. EAP faculty had noticed a shrinking number of students in the program, despite the growing total enrollment at the college (see Table 10) and no significant changes to the college's immigrant and international student enrollment.

Table 10

EAP Program Enrollment

Semester	Number of Students Enrolled in EAP	GGC Total Enrollment[22]
Fall 2011	106	7,742
Fall 2012	103	9,397
Fall 2013	67	9,719
Fall 2014	60	10,828
Fall 2015	87	11,468
Fall 2016	73	12,052

[22] These numbers are found on the GGC website: http://www.ggc.edu/about-ggc/plans-policies-and-analysis/office-of-institutional-research/ggc-by-the-numbers/index.html#AY11_12

EAP faculty therefore suspected that linguistic minority students were, perhaps in increasing numbers, opting not to identify themselves as L2 students at the testing center. By doing so, they hoped to evade the longer course sequences and tuition associated with EAP placement. To remedy this problem of declining enrollment, EAP faculty were feeling increasingly pulled to redesign the EAP course sequence to bring it into closer alignment with that of the developmental English program. Thus, in fall 2016, EAP faculty were in the process of writing a curriculum proposal to shift the higher level of EAP courses (EAP 0090, 0091, and 0092) to a single-course corequisite model beginning in fall 2017. The proposal also included a renumbering of the lower level courses (EAP 0080 and 0081) to EAP 0988 and 0989 in order to make course numbers more consistent with those in the English program. Therefore, according to the new proposal, one aspect in which the EAP program would continue to differ from the developmental English course sequence in terms of course offerings was in the continued existence of a lower-level EAP reading course, newly numbered EAP 0988.

Table 11

EAP Proposed Course Sequences AY 2017-2018

	EAP Course(s)	College-level Gateway Course
Corequisite Level (higher scoring)	EAP 0999 (3 cr.) Segue EAP	ENGL 1101 (3 cr.) (taught by same instructor as EAP 0999)
Prerequisite (Foundations) Level (lower scoring)	EAP 0989 (3 cr.) Academic Writing EAP 0988 (3 cr.) Academic Reading	NA

At the time of data collection, however, the approval of this proposal was still in doubt. The main concern centered on a lack of certainty as to whether or not the English program would vote to credential EAP faculty as qualified to teach English 1101. Because GGC was committed to having the same instructor teach both the corequisite support class and the gateway college level class, in this case English 1101, this credentialing issue was critical in order for the proposal to move forward. Still, the EAP faculty were cautiously moving forward with planning this significant curriculum change. Since the fate of the EAP curriculum proposal was as yet unknown, study participants were asked hypothetically about their perspectives regarding the creation of an EAP corequisite (Segue) course.

Faculty, Student, and Administrator Perspectives on Policy Changes

These changes brought about strong feelings on the part of stakeholders involved. Faculty in particular were constantly being required to adapt their pedagogy to the changing structures, not all of which they felt were in the best interests of their students. A key finding regarding both programs is that changes that were initially within in the locus of control of the faculty ultimately have been taken beyond faculty control and dictated by college or statewide Board of Regents (BOR) policy, which has been, in turn, crafted in reference to a national college completion reform initiative, Complete College America. Thus, a theme of a lack of professional input and powerlessness in decision-making emerges as quite prevalent in data analysis. This raises potentially grave concerns regarding the quality of language and literacy learning under these reforms among both developmental and EAP students across the University System of Georgia in general and at Georgia Gwinnett College in particular.

Transforming Developmental English: "We Really Had No Say in Any of It"

Dr. Washington is an English faculty member who unofficially coordinates the Segue (i.e., ENGL 0999/1101 corequisite) program. She explains how she came to serve in this capacity beginning with her arrival at the college in the fall of 2011:

> There were six of us that originally started Segue, and we were sort of dubbed by, I don't even know who, maybe the dean or someone else as the Segue six, you know, and we all took on sort of different roles in the beginning.

Since that time, only two of the original 'Segue six' remain at GGC, and the lead role had fallen more and more to Washington. "I don't know how I ended up being the person," she explains. "It wasn't that I was designated that person. I think because I'm really good with D2L [GGC's online learning platform] and so I ended up being the one."

Washington and the other members of the 'Segue six' were hired at the college in the fall of 2011 as writing specialists since, she recalls, the department was very literature-heavy at the time. She describes embarking on the Segue development project almost immediately upon her arrival:

> So we were in new faculty orientation, so we hadn't even been on campus a week yet, and we were pulled aside by the then dean… and he told us about the Complete College America Grant and that GGC had been awarded that by the state…and that we needed to redesign developmental education and that math was working on something, and so he said, so "Go for it," and that's basically how it was handed to us.

The grant of which Washington speaks was GGC's part of a one million dollar Complete College America Grant awarded to Georgia, among ten other states. These funds were used to establish the Complete College Georgia initiative, a partnership between "the governor's office,

the agency heads and board chairs of the University System of Georgia (USG), the Technical College System of Georgia (TCSG), and the Georgia Department of Education (GaDOE), the Georgia Student Finance Commission, and key business, community, and philanthropic leaders" (Governor's Office of Student Achievement, 2011). Two USG institutions, College of Coastal Georgia and Georgia Gwinnett College, were recipients of a portion of the grant money and were tasked with reworking developmental coursework and delivery. Washington explains that she and the other team members were empowered to come up with their own model for redesigning developmental English, with the only guideline being the aim of improving student success and retention. She elaborates:

> So in 2011 when we were tasked with this, we weren't given any parameters…and that hadn't come about quite yet from Complete College America, so that was all evolving. We were told, you know, look at programs, decide what you want to do.

As a result of extensive research into successful developmental programs across the country, Washington and her colleagues decided to model their efforts on the Accelerated Learning Program (ALP) at Baltimore Community College, which had experienced great success with the mainstreaming approach (Adams, Gearhart, Miller, & Roberts, 2009; Complete College America, 2013). When Segue started in the spring of 2012, however, it was not the only option for GGC's developmental students. There was still the 0098 course for the lower scoring students, and higher scoring students in the developmental tier were able to choose between the traditional ENGL 0099 prerequisite course and the ENGL 0999/1101 Segue option. Students were clearly informed and counseled about the various options during a manual registration process. Washington describes the success of the approach in the early days:

> We used to manually register students…what would happen was anybody who was qualified for Segue, we would sit down with them…explain what Segue was, what the program was, we would have them even sign papers saying that they understood. We explained the corequisite model, why they were doing it, what the advantages were… not only did they know exactly what it was, but they were very excited about it… The buy-in was big time.

Washington also describes the program as successful not only in terms of student and faculty buy-in, but also in terms of quantifiable improvement of developmental pass rates. "We had very good numbers," she says. "We took English 99 from a 40-something percent, it was like 42 percent pass rate, all the way up to an 89% pass rate, when it was taken as corequisite with segue with English 1101." Washington attributes the success of the program to the small numbers of students and faculty in the program as well as the high degree of buy-in and motivation from all parties involved at that time.

The elimination of manual registration. Unfortunately, Washington relates that this initial successful program model has already undergone many changes since its inception. As a result, she believes it has been "pulled in so many different directions," most of which she considers negative. The original program that was based on the ALP model has been dismantled. The first change, according to Washington, came when the college added Segue to the online registration system, which brought an end to manual registration and, in turn, reduced students' understanding of and buy-in for the program. "Once we went to the automatic block registration," Washington explains, "that went away. And we saw, the first semester after that, we saw a lot of changes." Large numbers of students with little to no understanding of the model

began to be automatically registered for the course, leading to many new course sections that needed to be taught by faculty who may have had little to no training in this model.

Several of the English 0999 faculty in the current study fall within this category of those who were assigned to teach the corequisite class despite not being fully connected to or supportive of its mission. Campbell, for example, who was in her first semester teaching at GGC in an adjunct position, describes feeling baffled by the structure of ENGL 0999. "I'm not really understanding the benefit to making them take an 1101 course that they're not really ready for," she explains, "and a second course at the same time to help them in the course that they're not really ready for. Why not have the 999 stand alone?" Her concern stems from seeing many of her 0999 students floundering in 1101, which she doesn't think would be happening had they had the opportunity to take 0999 prior to taking 1101. She clarifies her position:

> My experience is that taking the developmental if that's what they need, take that and then move on to the next one when the student is better prepared to do it. They don't feel overwhelmed, they don't feel like they can't do this, they don't feel like they're surrounded by people who are smarter than they are or anything like that, you know, they get prepared before they get there…It's a process.

Campbell even speculates that the corequisite model, and the accompanying feelings of intimidation developmental students might feel when sharing a course with more proficient students, is to blame for the many of her students' poor class participation.

Jenkins, a full-time faculty member who has been at GGC for a much longer duration, seems inclined to agree with Campbell regarding Segue's failings. Jenkins expresses general concern with the model, wherein she notices a greater number of unmotivated students than she did in the former stand-along model of English 0099. She describes her thoughts about Segue:

> I don't think in general that this is a successful model. I don't think there's enough motivation on the students' part for first having completed 0099 and then being eligible for 1101. I just don't think the motivation is there, and, if it were up to me, I would not continue Segue.

Jenkins also bases her negative assessment of Segue on her experience teaching the second course in the college composition sequence, English 1102, which students take the semester following 1101. "In 2012 when we started Segue," Jenkins explains, "it was really clear who were the students who came into 1102 having Segue and 1101 because they were terrible, and they had really bad skills." She goes on to say that "they were really poor students and they failed my 1102, and it was clear from the beginning that they had no business being in 1102. And it ended up that they were the Segue students."

Other faculty take a slightly less critical view, not condemning Segue in its entirety, but allowing that it may not be the best model for all students. Powell, for example, believes that not all students are able to succeed in 1101 without more support beforehand. "For some of them that two-semester model was better," she argues. "I can just see from my class load this semester the number of students who are a long way from, you know, success."

Even Rossi, a fervent proponent of the Segue model in general, agrees that it is not in the best interest of all students. He explains:

> The nice thing about Segue is the ones who are misplaced, they don't have to wait an extra semester to get on with 1102. But the ones who do need a lot of extra help, I think they might have benefitted more from the separation [of ENGL 0099 and 1101 into two semesters]…They got, like the assignments and assessments were tailored to students at that level, whereas in 1101 everyone gets assessed at the 1101 level, right? And some of

> them, no matter how much extra help you give them, they're not ready to be assessed at the 1101 level.

Deletion of stand-alone ENGL 0099. Despite these misgivings on the part of faculty that the corequisite Segue approach may not be appropriate for all students, by fall semester of 2015, the stand-alone English 0099 prerequisite level course had been eliminated. Thus, the developmental sequence was truncated to a one-semester prerequisite course, ENGL 0989, for the lowest scoring students, and the corequisite Segue course 0999 for those with higher placement scores. Importantly, this change was not determined locally, but was implemented as a result of BOR mandates resulting from the state's involvement in the Complete College Georgia initiative. The intention of the BOR was always that successful pilot programs developed as a result of Complete College America grant money would be scaled to USG institutions across the state (Complete College Georgia). At this point, GGC faculty themselves felt themselves losing control over the program they had developed. Washington explains:

> We really did not have any representation at the BOR level, so all of the, all of the changes that have been made over the last couple of years, I mean part of it I think was due to our success [with the original model], but we really had no say in any of it, you know, so that we weren't really represented at all.

GGC English faculty like Powell found Segue to be a stronger program earlier in its history, before the option of a stand-alone 0099 course was eliminated. She explains:

> When Segue started, I taught it the second year it was offered, and I felt really good about it as a program. I liked the way that the instructor gets to develop a relationship with the students, sort of individually and their needs, and I thought the extra time was really what those students needed rather than an extra set of instruction. So that worked for me.

In the early days of Segue, when the stand-alone 0099 course still existed, Powell felt there were enough options for students who needed greater support. She no longer feels that way, however. "I don't feel as good about it right now," she laments. "They need more time than they're getting, I think." Now Powell feels there are many students in her 0999 corequisite class who are being asked to make too much progress in too short a time. She worries, especially, that the real challenge will come when these students face English 1102 the following semester. "They're gonna fail once they get into 1102," she predicts. "I mean, they may pass 1101—some of them will, some of them won't. But if they get into 1102, they're not gonna make it. Just because they're not ready for college writing independently."

From mainstreaming to isolation. Another, more recent shift in the developmental English program structure has been the move away from the mainstreaming, or "triad" model for 0999 and 1101 to a "dyad," or one-to-one model. These changes were set to go into effect in the spring of 2017, one semester after most study data were collected. Most English faculty, however, were aware of the upcoming change at the time they were interviewed and were asked to give their perspectives on it. Washington explains how this change came about:

> There again it was not a curricular decision at all. A lot of the big changes that have happened, you know, since this has become, this has gone statewide, have not been based on curricular decisions. And this was another one of those. It's very, you know it's very difficult in Banner [the online registration system] to set up the courses…And there were some issues—problems with students dropping one class and not the other.

Thus, in order to solve what was fundamentally a registration logistics problem, English faculty were told that the college would move to a one-to-one, or "dyad" model. This change was extremely unpopular with the English faculty, particularly those who had worked diligently to

develop the initial mainstreaming model. “We really fought it,” Washington asserts, “but there wasn’t a whole lot we could do about it.”

Powell also expresses concerns about the impending change, which would segregate developmental students from the model of more-proficient peers. She explains:

> I don’t think it’s great for doing some of what Segue was doing, which was sort of like giving students a chance to like be learner students and practice what they were learning…that sort of reinforcement of the successful, being a successful student. I mean, it returns to the model of isolationism, which is one of the things we were trying to get away from. Yeah, I don’t know, I think it’s crummy.

Powell is also concerned about the social dynamic that might develop when the same group of sixteen students and one professor spend six credit hours (i.e., six contact hours) per week together. “That’s a lot of time with exactly the same group,” she laments. “I believe that’s gonna take some real professional adaptation to keep that class from getting a weird social dynamic. I mean, I just think that’s a lot of time with the same professor and the same people.” Powell’s comments indicate a sense that changes underway to the developmental English courses are not, in her professional opinion, in the best interest of the students she serves. Nevertheless, even as an Associate Professor of English, she feels she has been rendered powerless to do anything about them.

Rossi’s feelings seem to be mixed regarding the upcoming transition to the dyad model. On the positive side, he recognizes that the full integration of the two courses will extend the time available to work on a sustained in-class activity, which isn’t currently possible when only one third of the students in 1101 are present for the subsequent 0999 session. On the other hand, he, like many other English faculty, is worried about what will happen when developmental

students lose the influence of their "more capable peers." He worries about what this will mean for students' ability to successfully move on to the second semester composition course, English 1102. He clarifies his position:

> The flip side of that is the concern that you might just see the assessment standard for the class as a whole start to come back down a little bit, so that students who come out of those dyads might not be as ready for 1102 as students who are coming out of the triads now.

At the same time, Rossi is not willing to render judgment on the new dyad model until it's actually been attempted and analyzed. "I'm not sure," he admits. "We'll see. We'll see what the data says."

Washington, too, is concerned that students in the dyad model no longer have the benefits of mainstreaming. Because her interview occurred at the end of the spring rather than fall semester, she was the only faculty member I spoke with who actually had had the experience of teaching a new dyad section of Segue. Based upon her experience, she says, "I think missing the mainstreaming is more of an impact on the student success than what we ever realized." She goes on:

> I mean we kind of anticipated that. 'Cause at first, of course, when Melissa and Cindy and I [three members of the "Segue 6" faculty] were called into the dean's office and the dean laid it on us that this was happening, you know, they were going to the dyad, we were really upset at first. But then the more we thought about it we thought, you know, well, this actually could be a good thing…But then the reality of it is students aren't doing quite as well.

Washington speculates on why she feels her dyad students aren't performing as they had in the previous mainstreamed model, explaining that under the new model, "it's almost like mediocre performance is okay, whereas before they wouldn't have settled for that, or at least most of them wouldn't have." She further explains:

> And it's almost like they don't know what anything else looks like because these are students who are used to mediocre at best in English. That's why they're placed in a course like this. And I think they just don't, and not that they don't want to perform higher, it's that again they don't know what that looks like, where before they had all kinds of models of that.

On the whole, interviews with developmental English faculty depict a situation in which reforms that were originally undertaken as a result of local faculty initiative and research into best practices have been coopted and changed for the worse by policy makers primarily at the state, and occasionally institutional level, based on a national college completion agenda advanced by outside organizations like Complete College America. Moreover, although faculty at GGC perceive that recent state-led reforms are not always in the best interests of their students, they also express a sense of powerlessness and inability to impact the direction of remediation reforms.

Transforming EAP: "Probably Half of Them are Not Ready"

On the EAP side, in the fall of 2016 there were as yet no mandates from the BOR regarding GGC programs for language minority students. Since the college's inception, EAP had existed outside of the official purview of statewide Learning Support policy. The University System of Georgia allowed institutions to design their own ESL programs, which were reviewed by the system office every three years (University System of Georgia, 2018a). State mandates

were minimal and there had been few significant changes to the structure of GGC's EAP program since it had begun in 2007.

Faculty initiated changes. Nevertheless, for reasons introduced earlier in this chapter, particularly declining enrollment, EAP faculty were feeling an increasing pressure to make changes that would align the program's overall structure and credit requirements more closely with those of the now truncated developmental English structure. Although no English 0999 language minority students interviewed for this study specifically admitted avoiding EAP placement due to the lengthier course sequence or high stakes testing, sentiments of students such as Luis worried EAP faculty. Luis explains that even had he known about the EAP option, he doesn't think he would have wanted to take it because of the delay it would have caused in moving on to his college-level classes. "I just want to get out," He admits. "So if I was in the other class [EAP], I would have to take 1101 later, right?" He then expresses dissatisfaction with this idea, asserting, "I'm just trying to do my thing to get out and start working."

The EAP faculty, including Zhang, the program coordinator, sympathize with the pressures facing students and feel compelled to make changes that will benefit them. Zhang explains, "I think it [an EAP Segue model] would benefit our students in terms of their length of schooling and make it shorter so they would move on faster. It may save them some money too." Phillips, EAP faculty member and Dean of the School of Transitional Studies, agrees. He believes that the more parallel the program is to developmental English, the fewer barriers there will be to prevent L2 students from opting into EAP instead. "I think that in general that will be good for EAP," he argues. "I think that it will encourage more students to self-identify and go into EAP, and I think that right now one of the challenges is getting students to do that."

Aslan, too, describes the positive outcomes she hopes to see in terms of increased student enrollment once the higher level EAP course is offered as a corequisite with English 1101. "Then they will hopefully see," she argues, "'I'm gonna take the same credit hours, and there's this linkage, so it's identical to that one [ENGL 0999].'" Aslan also hopes that students who are no longer discouraged by the excessive number of credit hours and courses will, in turn, be attracted by the opportunity to work with professors who are trained in TESOL. She imagines students thinking, "'My professors are professors who are trained to deal with my type of students, like students who are nonnative speakers of English. So I'm gonna, I'm gonna be in better hands'" "Hopefully they're gonna see it that way," she adds.

Concerns with moving to an EAP Segue model. At the same time, there are concerns that most of the arguments in favor of an EAP corequisite model are primarily pragmatic, not academic. Zhang, for example, explains the difficulty he foresees with having students enrolled in a college-level writing class before they are ready:

> I think it's gonna be very, very challenging. Because right now even with my 91, it's a four credit-hour course and we don't finish everything. There are just so many things we need to work on to improve their writing to bring it up to the level they need for success later on… So it's gonna be very, very challenging because we're gonna reduce the credit hours.

When trying to imagine how his current group of 0091 students would fare in an 1101 corequisite course, for example, he expresses strong reservations. "For this group of students," he explains, "I seriously doubt…The ideas, they're not getting it. They are not at the level, move-on-ready level. Some, some are good, but probably half of them are not ready."

EAP faculty are not the only ones who express concern about an EAP Segue model. Developmental English faculty like Powell, who have already experienced the elimination of developmental Reading classes within their own program, express misgivings about doing something similar in EAP once upper level EAP students are only taking one three-credit corequisite writing class rather than the two four-credit writing and reading classes they currently take. Powell explains her concerns about reducing reading instruction, in particular, for nonnative speakers of English:

> I have the feeling that reading and time spent reading is, you know, some of the best, the best thing that you can do for people trying to learn English, just having them read. And I don't know if you can, if shortening the time period of reading is, seems a little counterintuitive to me.

Acknowledging that she is not a specialist in TESOL, she continues, "From my very unscholarly seat, I would say that sounds like a terrible idea. So I mean I'm sure there's plenty of financial reasons to do it, but I can't think of any educational reasons to do it."

Adams, the English 1101 professor of one of the former EAP student participants and also one of the original "Segue Six," also worries that an EAP segue won't give students the time they need to develop linguistically. Despite being a huge proponent of Segue in general, Adams is not convinced that it is the best approach for GGC's language minority students. I am worried about it," she explains, "because I know it takes time to learn a language, and I'm not sure how many students can accelerate that."

Another concern expressed by some English faculty regarding the idea of an EAP Segue relates to the idea of language minority students being isolated in a section, not only of EAP, but of English 1101, with only other L2 users of English. Professor Nasser, for example, believes

that Segue might be a good option for EAP students, but only if they were able to be in a mainstreamed section since, in her opinion, "There's a lot of benefit to the mixture and diversity of students" when native and non-native speakers of English are in a class together. Mitchell, the 1101 professor of several of the former EAP students in this study, agrees with Nasser. She notes, in particular, that the isolation of EAP students into their own section may go against their own desires. She clarifies:

> I think a lot of students want to be with American students. Like when they come to an American college, they want to feel like they're a part of that. And if they, if they continue to be isolated, I think some of them might be like, 'But I want to be with American people,' and that's what I've heard from other students…There could be that desire that's not met, like in terms of what students might want maybe.

This sentiment is echoed by some students themselves, particularly those in English 0999/1101 who appreciate the benefits they feel they are receiving from their interactions with L1 speakers of English. Huy, for example, describes his feelings about being a developmental English rather than an EAP student. "I like to be mixed with native speakers," he says. "Like as I say if I put into the hard situation, I would push myself harder. If I see the limit of the class, like oh, there's other non-native, like second language speakers, so I would limit myself." Huy worries that he would not challenge himself enough in an all L2 section of EAP Segue and that his learning would therefore be curtailed.

Farzana, too, agrees with Huy. She describes her current ENGL 0999 and 1101 sections as "pretty much for the people that speak like perfect English," which she considers to be valuable for her own learning. "I'm getting to work with them at the same level," she continues, "so I guess it's good for me to get ready and work with them and also like learn from them, what

I need to work on." On the other hand, she doesn't feel she would have been pushed in the same beneficial way in an EAP Segue. She explains her opinion:

> In that class, of course, everyone is gonna be like me, or maybe better than me at some level, or maybe worse than me, so I won't get to learn anything new from them, I will just be on that level forever.

Former EAP student Mi-sun also weighs in on this issue in a similar manner. Although she believes she derived great benefit from her prerequisite EAP courses, she is not entirely in favor of an EAP-student only version of English 1101, her current course. Like Farzana and Huy, her reasoning is that she is pushed and challenged more in a mixed environment with native speakers. Mi-sun explains:

> If I am able to take 1101 with EAP class, I might feel more relaxed and comfortable, but I think those challenge that I felt are need for us to improve our college life, and more, like to get to more improve our social, social ground… just, in my opinion, I think those challenge or those hard time are need for us.

Mi-sun recognizes not only the social benefits of interacting with L1 speakers of English; she also perceives an academic benefit. "I also learn, like, how the non-EAP students are thinking," she describes, "or how they are like talking in like usual way, so it's really, it's kind of challenge for me but really helps to, to think or talk in other ways." Mi-sun understands the reality that at some point, students need to move on from the sheltered nature of EAP, further explaining, "We can't just get those EAP class in my whole life, you know, so those like one hard time is necessary for me and for I think for those EAP students."

Potential benefits of EAP "siloing." Interestingly, in the fall of 2016, a key point of contention in the program changes being enacted and/or considered in both developmental

English and EAP programs related to this issue that many faculty refer to as "siloing." English 0999/1101 Segue was moving away from a mainstreamed triad model to a non-mainstreamed dyad model, in which developmental students would no longer be able to interact with better prepared students who had placed directly into 1101. Similarly, concerns were being raised about the potential harm in siloing EAP students away from native English speakers in an EAP version of Segue. Not everyone, however, considered the idea of an L2-only version of English 1101 to be a negative outcome.

Former EAP and current English 1101 student Chau Yin, for example, immediately responded positively to the notion of an all EAP 1101 class in the Segue model, mainly because he finds it so much easier to build rapport and communicate with other multilingual students, as well as to work with faculty who are trained to teach students like him. He explains his thinking:

> That would be perfect. That would be the same thing like in EAP but the title would be just like 1101, just like teach you more stuff, cause I think yeah, it's really, it's better. I think it's better than study with all native speakers 'cause you can have more interaction with the students and better communicate.

Chau Yin continues:

> More importantly is you have to really understand to communicate with professor and students and have a better, how do you say, to like you can do better on the assignments…cause you can ask questions and she understands—like the teacher—understands what you're talking about and will show you how to fix it.

Chau Yin is not worried about the lack of L1 English speakers in a proposed EAP Segue/1101 section. "It's okay to have students from different language backgrounds more than just study with American students," he explains, "'cause American students just one type of

student." In fact, Chau Yin explains that he often finds class discussions to be more stimulating in a class of L2 students than in one primarily comprised of native English speakers. "What I think is American students, they think only one way," he laments. "They have the same patterns to thinkings. Like in my math class and science class, they don't really like, they only think one way to solve the problems." In contrast, he explains a much richer intellectual environment when interacting with language minority students of various backgrounds. He explains:

> Like you study with other language background students, you can listen to their opinion, how they think, cause maybe people from different culture background they have different thinking styles, so you can, okay, listen to them. You can say, 'Oh that word is a good word,' and you can apply it to your thinking.

Thus, the jury is still out in terms of whether or not L2 students benefit more from the experience of being in an English composition class with native speakers or from the advantages that arise when multilingual students and TESOL-trained faculty come together in an academic setting.

Maintaining an open mind and willingness to adapt. Ultimately, the EAP program has faced a similar experience as developmental English regarding control of programmatic changes coming down the pipeline. During the fall of 2016, EAP faculty were still in control of their program, and voluntarily proposed to move towards a corequisite model of instruction for the highest level of EAP. Nevertheless, there was far from a sense of unanimity that these program changes were in the best interests of the linguistic minority students the program serves. To a large extent, EAP faculty seemed to be proposing these changes as a result of perceived pressure to fall in line with external forces (i.e., BOR mandated changes to the developmental English program) in order to survive.

Still, most EAP faculty express in their interviews a willingness to adapt to the changes. Zhang sums his feelings up clearly, saying, “I think it’s gonna be challenging. But I think we should try it.” Significantly, however, he suggests that the change will be more successful if the college is able to invest resources outside of the EAP program in order to support second language students. “Probably we need more support,” he explains, elaborating on his ideas:

> We need more support, from the AEC or tutoring or I don’t know. I don’t know whether it’s gonna be successful or not. It depends on the resources, the help they can get to move on. I will just say it’s gonna be very challenging.

Dean Phillips, too, recognizes that there will be a challenge, but he is optimistic that student needs will still be met using creative approaches to compensate for the reduced number of courses, prerequisite levels, and contact hours: “I think it’s just gonna mean that we kind of shift a little bit how we teach some of those things and then what kinds of things are provided as outside class support,” he argues. Phillips suggests that the college consider providing more tutorial and workshop support to L2 students. “I mean when you give up something, you have to fill it with something,” he asserts. “So if they’re [students] not getting certain things that they are getting now and those are gonna be missed, then we have to figure out a way to address that.”

Ultimately, Phillips feels positively about the move towards an EAP Segue. “I think ultimately like having the EAP Segue, for example, I think is gonna be really good for our students,” he asserts. He cautions about the need to keep an experimental mindset during the transition period, however. “I do think it’s gonna mean a little bit of shifting the way we think about it and the EAP courses,” he explains, “as in obviously it’s a new class, so the 999 is gonna be a very interesting experiment the first semester, I think, and we’ll probably learn a lot.”

Postscript on Continuing Changes

Since initial data collection for the current study concluded, changes to the developmental English and EAP programs have continued at a swift and seemingly never-ending pace, beginning with the approval of the EAP Segue.

Implementation of New EAP Curriculum Model

In the spring of 2016, the GGC curriculum committee did, indeed, approve the proposal for an EAP Segue corequisite course with English 1101, and the English faculty voted to support the credentialing of the EAP faculty to teach the gateway level English 1101 course. Dr. Washington, the Segue Coordinator, sent the following message to the EAP faculty:

> Colleagues, I am pleased to report that the English Discipline overwhelmingly voted to support the EAP Credentialing Proposal agreeing that EAP faculty who have been cleared by the BOR to teach composition courses[23] should also be permitted to teach ENGL 0989, ENGL 0999 & ENGL 1101* (Segue), and ENGL 1101. The English Discipline does not, however, agree that EAP faculty should be permitted to teach ENGL 1102[24].

Thus, in the fall of 2017, a new EAP curriculum structure went into effect (see Table 11). As part of this restructuring, all stand-alone upper level EAP courses (EAP 0090, 0091, and 0092) were eliminated, and lower level writing and reading courses were renumbered to EAP

[23] The BOR abides by the faculty credentialing guidelines set by its accrediting body, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges: "Faculty teaching general education courses at the undergraduate level: doctorate or master's degree in the teaching discipline or master's degree with a concentration in the teaching discipline (a minimum of 18 graduate semester hours in the teaching discipline)" (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges, 2018). In the case of the EAP faculty, these guidelines are not clear cut since their graduate courses frequently carry prefixes such as (Applied) Linguistics, Second Language Acquisition, Language and Literacy Education rather than English.

[24] No official rationale was given for this decision. Privately, EAP faculty were told that English faculty were simply being territorial in wanting to maintain an exclusive hold on the ENGL 1102 course, which is often a preferred course to teach rather than the lower level English courses, 1101 and 0999.

0989 and 0988 and changed to three credits each to make EAP course numbers more consistent with the developmental English foundations course, ENGL 0989. The only significant difference at that point between the two programs in terms of course sequences was the maintenance of a lower-level EAP Reading course (EAP 0988), the equivalent of which had been eliminated, by BOR mandate, several years early from the Learning Support sequence.

BOR Elimination of Foundations Level Developmental Courses

Just as the very first sections of EAP Segue were getting off the ground in the fall of 2017, however, the USG announced a new mandated elimination of foundations (prerequisite) level developmental classes in both Math and English. The BOR sent all USG institutions a draft of a policy document entitled "Fundamental Features of Corequisite Learning Support" (see Appendix A). This document was finalized by the BOR in spring 2018. It enunciated a policy wherein, "The 'default placement' for all students will be in an entry-level collegiate course with corequisite support UNLESS students meet exemption criteria (for support)." Institutions were told that this new policy would go into effect in fall 2018.

It became clear, therefore, that ENGL 0989 would no longer be taught at GGC despite evident concerns on the part of English faculty voiced in my earlier interviews about a developmental pathway that they deemed already too abridged to meet the entirety of students' needs. Nonetheless, all developmental English students not meeting the criteria for direct placement into English 1101 would now find themselves in the corequisite Segue sections.

Elimination of EAP

In fall 2017 when the policy was first circulated, ESL programs or students were once again not explicitly mentioned. Hence EAP faculty were left with the assumption that their program would not be directly impacted by the new system-wide Learning Support policy and

that they would continue to operate their program for language minority students independently, subject to periodic program review with the USG. Certainly, there was concern among the EAP faculty that there would, once again, be a lack of parity between the EAP and developmental English programs once English was forced to eliminate their Foundations (ENGL 0989) course. Nevertheless, EAP faculty remained committed to offering prerequisite stand-alone courses (EAP 0988 and 0989) in order to serve the language needs of students who were not ready for success at the corequisite level. Aslan sums up the feelings of the majority of EAP faculty:

> We're gonna try to make our classes parallel to those English classes for native speakers, so we'll try to kind of be as close to them as possible, but at the same time we shouldn't just try to kind of save the program. We should have some classes available to lower level students too because they're gonna need extra classes.

Even in discussions with GGC administration, including the Dean of Transitional Studies, who is responsible for both developmental and EAP programs, there seemed to be reason for optimism about the EAP program being left to make its own programmatic and curriculum decisions. Although enrollment in a USG-approved ESL or EAP program was not explicitly listed among the "exemption criteria," or allowable alternatives to the mandated corequisite English model (see Appendix A, p. 4), EAP faculty had no reason to believe their program would be directly affected by the tumultuous BOR-mandated policy changes in developmental English. As Aslan explains:

> So it looks like at this point it is, in our meetings, and with Dean of Transitional Studies, he is kind of assuring that GGC's gonna value EAP students, and they want to keep the program going, and they are open to suggestions and making changes. So that's the good news. But we'll see, because it's kind of, you know, they don't know. We don't know.

In January of 2018, however, EAP faculty were informed by Dean Phillips that the BOR had decided that enrollment in an EAP/ESL program would *not* be considered one of the exemption criteria for corequisite enrollment. In fact, the BOR had determined that EAP courses could no longer be offered beginning in fall 2018, and *all* GGC students including English learners not meeting the requirements for entry into the gateway English 1101 course would be placed into the English 0999 corequisite. Even the EAP 0999 corequisite course could no longer be taught since the prefix EAP and the college's EAP program were to be eliminated. All 0999 courses must now carry the ENGL prefix. The only accommodation made by the BOR for English learners in this policy edict was that institutions could designate certain sections of the corequisite for second language writers with the addition of an "e" suffix (i.e., 0999e). Table 12 illustrates the GGC Developmental English course sequence as mandated by the BOR beginning fall 2018.

Table 12

Developmental English Course Sequences Beginning AY 2018-2019

	Learning Support Course	College-level Gateway Course
Gateway Level (higher scoring)	NA	ENGL 1101 (3 cr.)
Corequisite Level (lower scoring)	ENGL 0999 or 0999e (3 cr.) Segue English	ENGL 1101 (3 cr.) (taught by same instructor as ENGL 0999 or 0999e)

No GGC EAP faculty were consulted by the BOR prior to this decision when it was announced in January 2018, despite the fact that EAP courses and the program would be rapidly

closing. EAP faculty also asked at this time what would happen with their discipline and school affiliations since they would transition to teaching exclusively English (1101 and 0999e) rather than EAP courses, and English courses and faculty at GGC are housed in the School of Liberal Arts (SLA), whereas EAP faculty had resided in the School of Education (SOE) and taught courses that originated in the School of Transitional Studies (STS). The deans of SOE and STS explained that there were no immediate plans to change EAP faculty school or discipline affiliations, which was of grave professional concern to the EAP faculty, who would have no voice in SLA curriculum committees or other governance issues which would impact the courses they were to now exclusively teach. The EAP faculty, therefore, put forward to the respective deans a proposal to transition from EAP/SOE to English/SLA (see Appendix F). As of the time of this writing (fall 2018), no decision has been made on this issue. Thus, EAP faculty currently teach English courses but are not officially English faculty; nor are they affiliated with the School of Liberal Arts but rather remain attached to the School of Education.

Stakeholder Concerns Pertinent to the New Curriculum

Because this new curriculum structure was mandated by the BOR after data collection for the current study concluded, the perspectives of GGC's faculty, administrators, and students regarding this latest change are beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, many of the concerns voiced by stakeholders including administrators, faculty, and EAP students about previous losses of a prerequisite pathway for the language and literacy development of linguistic minority students are germane. Particularly salient is the question of whose perspectives and needs have been privileged or ignored in the BOR's decision to mandate this new policy.

While local data-based collective decision-making is often described as a cornerstone of the college completion reforms, data regarding the success of the EAP program in providing

prerequisite support for students was apparently not considered in the BOR's decision. The stated goal of the program was to help students develop their academic language skills in order to improve their chances of success in future college classes, most importantly in the college-level, gateway English 1101 course. Table 13, however, highlights the pass rate (93%) and average GPA (3.13) in English 1101 of all former EAP students who took the course in the fall semester of 2016 before reforms began. These EAP students had, of course, all completed a prerequisite course of study prior to their enrollment in English 1101. In comparison, former developmental English students, many of whom had completed the corequisite model of instruction, were, in the same semester, only passing the 1101 course at a rate of 84% and maintaining an average GPA of 2.63. Although the sample size from the current study is too small to be conclusive, it is also worth noting that 100% (nine out of nine) of the EAP and former EAP students in this study went on to successfully complete English 1101 during their first attempt with an average course GPA of 2.89, whereas only five out of the seven (71%) developmental English language minority students did the same, earning a lower average course GPA of 2.57. It is difficult to see from this quantitative data how the USG could conclude that GGC's EAP program was unsuccessful. Certainly, the decision to curtail this program could not have been made exclusively on the merit of improving EAP student learning, since it is evident that they were succeeding in high numbers under the original program configuration.

Table 13

Fall 2016 English 1101 Pass Rates and GPAs for All Former EAP and Developmental English Students at GGC

	Pass Rate	Average GPA
Former EAP	93%	3.13
Former Developmental English	84%	2.63

More importantly, perhaps, than even the numerical data are the voices and stories of the current and former EAP students who recount the value of the program in their own academic trajectories. Several of the students in this study, for example, arrived at GGC actively seeking out the support and language development EAP would provide them. Phuong, for example, whose initial ESL COMPASS placement results were fairly close to the cut-off for college-level English, waived her right to retake the placement test and possibly avoid EAP altogether, due to an explicit desire to improve her English. "I took the COMPASS test only one time and I don't want to [re]take it," she explains. She describes her concerns about not having the language competence to fully benefit from her college-level courses at that time:

> I think that like if I spend one or two years to learn English, it's better for me. Because even though if I take it again, my score is very high and then if I sit in the regular class, I asking myself, am I going to understand everything like professor says? And that's why I think no, I don't want to retake again, just spend more time to study in the English class so I will better.

Certainly, this turned out to be the case, as Phuong went on to earn an A in her English 1101 course in the spring of 2017 after completing EAP.

Ji-woo is another student who began her trajectory at GGC with a desire to improve her English in the EAP program. She thought the EAP classes would be more beneficial than starting in college-level English. Ji-woo explains her need to learn more foundational skills, which she calls the "first point of view," before adding more complex skills, such as working with sources, to writing assignments:

> I thought maybe the difference of that is EAP class maybe…you know, the first point of view of writing essay is what we learn right now, and the third point of view of writing what they, the native speakers are like writing about the essays. So maybe we don't need the resources like news or newspapers and stuff. We don't need to use that in the essay.

In fact, Ji-woo specifically chose to come to GGC rather than another college in the state because she felt it would provide her with courses that would help her improve her academic English. In making her college decision, Ji-woo felt that "maybe they [GGC's EAP courses] can help me out the grammar and writing and speaking." Like Phuong, Ji-woo passed English 1101 on her first attempt after exiting from the EAP program.

Ali agrees with Ji-woo about the need for foundational knowledge in English reading and writing before embarking on higher-order, college-level courses. He sees the purpose of the EAP classes as preparing him for this type of work. "In order for me to be in a college level courses," he explains, "I have to know the basics, and these classes--90 and 91--are basically the basics that are preparing me to be set for college-level classes." Ali, along with all other EAP students in this study, was able to capitalize on these basics and move on to succeed in his subsequent English classes at the college.

Former EAP students who are currently in English 1101 are in, perhaps, an even better position than current EAP students to understand the value of the knowledge and skills they received in their EAP prerequisites. Bondeko, for example, despite the initial surprise and disappointment about having placed into EAP, now realizes that the classes helped him be better prepared for 1101. He explains:

> I would say if I didn't go through there, I wouldn't probably be as good as I am right now…It was actually really helpful to be in that class actually…I feel like the EAP

> classes kind of prepare us because we were already, because in those EAP we were already reading like these vocabularies and like, we do a lot of writing.

When asked about at EAP Segue model, Bondeko sees its value for some, but not all students. He insists that many GGC language minority students need the benefit of a prerequisite course first. “I guess for those who still struggle with English it [Segue] probably wouldn't be as much helpful,” he explains. When asked what, in particular, these students would miss without the benefit of a lower level of EAP, he gives an example of how EAP has helped him handle challenging texts in his current English 1101 course, particularly in terms of facing difficult vocabulary:

> I remember a couple weeks ago in class we were in groups and she [Professor Mitchell] had given long quotes and we had to explain, like, what do you think the quote means. And the part that kind of surprised me is that I was actually able to understand what the quote really meant. And in the quote it was like couple challenging words but I was still able to like figure it out. I think I get that mostly from [EAP] 90 ‘cause we used to do a lot of that.

Bondeko’s EAP classmate Chau Yin reported that he realized, even while still in EAP, how much he was gaining from the experience. In fact, he declined an opportunity to exit the EAP reading sequence early because he felt he needed more language development before embarking on his college-level English class. “Actually I can like exempt 90,” he explains, describing that he did well enough in his lower level EAP reading class, EAP 0080, to take the exam to attempt to skip the higher level 0090 course. He continues:

> But I feel that I should take more EAP class to improve the basic skills in order to go to 1101 because I heard people saying 1101, 1102 is more, more harder than EAP right, and then so I think I should have a basic first, basic knowledge about writing, speaking.

In terms of having all students start in Segue, Chau Yin is not sure that would be a good idea: "I think it depends on students, on students' confidence, on their writing, something like that," Chau Yin explains. "Some students they don't have that much English skills," he continues. "They should probably take a lower class first, so it really depends on the student." In terms of his own experience, Chau Yin fervently believes he would not be doing so well in 1101 had he not taken EAP first: "I can understand when the professor give us some assignments, writings and all that, I can be able to understand, yeah… if I didn't take EAP I should probably understand half, 50% more than right now."

Mi-sun, too, does not feel that the two semesters she spent in EAP unnecessarily delayed her progress: "I didn't feel just like waste of my time at all, so it was really helpful and it was necessary for me, so I think the current system is beneficial." Looking back at her EAP experience, Mi-sun explains what stands out the most:

> So in Reading class, we usually did the, read the articles and news and then we organized our thinkings and our response…and I took the 91 class with Dr. Park and in that class I learned how to write like essay, my essay, and learned grammar and stuff, and in those class I really, like, got help with my writing.

She also sees the emphasis on vocabulary learning in EAP as especially valuable: "In the Dr. Smith's class, we had to, uh, memorize like ten to fifteen vocabulary words in every week and we took the test and, yeah. It was really help me out."

Sandra also notes that EAP classes prepared her better for 1101 than she originally expected they would. She explains that some of her high school friends who had taken ESOL with her initially teased her about placing into EAP. "They're like, 'You're stupid. You're retaking high school, what are you taking it again?'" Later, however, even Sandra's friends began to recognize and value the improvement EAP courses were making possible for her. Sandra explains:

> You know, one of my girlfriends, her name is Mona, she asks me to proofread her writing, I'm like, 'But I'm not a professor.' She's like, 'But you took the EAP classes. I kind of know you kind of write good…Then she said I write better than her.

Ultimately, Sandra came to believe that EAP was the best option to set her on a positive trajectory for college literacy, and it is one she recommends for other language minority students. "It really improved my writing skills," she describes. "So if she [Mona] would have taken it, it would have been better for her too."

Kebe, a current English 0999 Segue student, is perhaps in the best position to compare the value of prerequisite vs. corequisite courses since she previously took ESL at another college and has experienced the corequisite sequence at GGC. Kebe expresses great support for the prerequisite model of EAP. "It's a good thing," she says, "and the work in the ESL classes is not, they're not the same as the, you know, like the 1101 classes, it's like more like broken down… it's like more toward the ESL students." She is doubtful that all L2 students are ready to take 1101, even with a corequisite, in their first semester without the initial support of the prerequisite courses. She says that she herself would not have been ready to do that. She found the prerequisite important as a first step: "It's like teaching you to be comfortable for the 1101."

Students are not the only members of the GGC community articulating the value of EAP prerequisite courses for language minority students. It is not difficult to imagine the reactions of EAP faculty to the announcement that the EAP classes were to be eliminated and the program closed. Far from only being concerned about their own disciplinary and school affiliations and potentially even their own livelihoods in the wake of their program's closure, EAP faculty are gravely concerned with lost opportunities for student learning. Even prior to this new policy edict, they had already expressed concerns about corequisite models. Interestingly, as a second language speaker of English herself, Aslan drew upon her own experience of becoming a highly adept writer of English and to suggest that the EAP program doesn't have adequate basic-level support courses, particularly in terms of grammar and language structure. In our interview, she lamented not being able to provide students with the foundational knowledge they need, saying:

> Our EAP students, we have those type of students, and we have students who need very, very basic grammar. Like even in 91, I don't think our book helps them. I don't think my class helps them. I think those students, first they have to learn basic English structure. What is a subject, what is a verb.

Under the new policy, with only one mainstream corequisite support course paired with English 1101, such foundational work with language will be even more limited.

Even English faculty who have taught L2 students in their mainstream developmental courses acknowledge that the language support available in a corequisite course is not always sufficient for all students. Professor Nasser, for example, gives the example of a student, "Clara," with whom she has extreme difficulty communicating. "I feel like she needs more support than even just the 999," Nasser explains. She elaborates:

> We try to communicate, and I just wonder at what point, I mean she's not passing…I don't know how much more I can try to get her moving in the right direction, and the more we go on, just watching her function in groups, or not function, she might as well not be there. I can't tell if she's absorbing any of it, but she's not able to produce anything for the group or write anything down.

This raises the question of how many EL students like Clara will now find themselves in a similar position of arriving at GGC and embarking on their college experience in a gateway, credit-bearing English course for which they may be fundamentally unprepared.

Even Dean Phillips acknowledges that the program changes to both developmental English and EAP are going to result in some students being in over their head. "Some students who aren't prepared are gonna end up in some of those college level classes," he admits. At the same time, he believes that some students will likely have higher retention in the co-requisite program model. He explains the trade-off:

> It probably will mean there are fewer students who just leave because they are frustrated with getting through learning support. And at the same time they'll be some students who are frustrated 'cause they can't keep up with their assignments in college level English or math.

Ultimately, the policy changes that are impacting developmental and EAP/ESL programs, not only at GGC but also across the University System of Georgia, are proceeding at both a staggering rate and with startlingly little input from students, faculty, and even administrators. These changes stem from a national college completion reform movement that has taken firm root in Georgia. Despite the dearth of evidence supporting the dismantling of ESL/EAP programs at language-minority serving access institutions like GGC, these programs, too, have

been severely impacted by these changes. Perhaps Aslan sums it up best when she laments the inability of the EAP faculty to maintain authority over their own program. “The USG they just kind of tell us what to do,” she says, “so we don’t have any control over that.” Perhaps the only thing over which faculty do have control is the ability to continue our own research in this area and to document the changes that are occurring and their impact on our students. It is to this discussion of the implications of this study and directions for future research that we turn in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Probably not unlike many qualitative research projects, the direction this dissertation has taken has changed quite markedly in the course of the over two years since the idea was originally conceived, the data collected and analyzed, and this document written. What started out as a project to examine the two different pathways—developmental English and EAP—for the language and literacy development of linguistic minority students at Georgia Gwinnett College has become, instead, the recording of a lost landscape as the two programs are now almost indistinguishable from the programs as I observed them in the fall of 2016. My initial interest in conducting a case study of these programs stemmed from questions regarding the cultures of writing in each program—how they did or did not differentiate themselves from one another—and how the literacy development of language minority students was, or perhaps was not, served in each of them. I originally embarked on this project in the hopes of better understanding the various affordances of each program in order to become more adept at matching incoming students' needs and desires with the appropriate program in which to serve them.

Early on in the project, however, it became clear that the programs to which I had turned my interest were far from static, but were, instead, being swept up in national and statewide college completion reforms (Complete College America, 2012; Lester, 2014). These reforms included the streamlining and truncating of remediation programs, with the intention of increasing the number of students persisting beyond learning support, succeeding in their gateway college-level courses, and, indeed, continuing on to achieve the ultimate goal of

attaining a college degree. Programs across the University System of Georgia for language minority students, including ESL and EAP programs, which had historically been excluded from system-wide learning support policies and mandates, were suddenly being impacted by these reforms as well. This change in status for ESL/EAP occurred despite the fact that, as far as I am aware, no data was collected implicating them in the same problems (e.g., high rates of failure and students dropping out before reaching the gateway freshman composition course) which caused some reformers to label developmental courses as "a bridge to nowhere" (Complete College America, 2012). Yet, on January 23rd of 2018, EAP faculty at GGC were informed that their program would be disbanded. Beginning in fall 2018, all incoming students, regardless of language background or placement scores, would begin their English studies in the college level English 1101 course, with only the possible addition of one corequisite support course, English 0999[25]. At the present time, EAP faculty are being assured that they will be able to teach specially designated sections of the English 0999 course, labeled English 0999e, for second language writers, yet the logistics of how or even if students will be appropriately tracked into these sections is unknown. Even a cursory glance at preliminary 0999e rosters for fall—classes begin three weeks from the time I am writing this—indicates that there may be a number of non-language minority students who have inadvertently made their way into 0999e sections. We can only imagine how many L2 students, in turn, may not have made their way there and will inadvertently find themselves in non-L2-designated 0999 sections in the fall. Thus, the answer to the question of whether there will, in the foreseeable future, be any sustainable course offerings

[25] In a sense, this change actually occurred even earlier since the lower-level (foundations) EAP courses 0988 and 0989 were not offered in summer 2018. In summer 2018, however, the 0999 support course still carried the EAP prefix, which was eliminated beginning in fall.

at the college to support the unique language and literacy development needs of second language writers is undeniably uncertain.

In many ways, I feel discouraged about the focus on my dissertation research, as the two program pathways whose cultures of writing I explored have very nearly merged into one. Rather than feeling optimistic that the purpose of my work will serve to better meet the language development needs of L2 students at our college, I consider myself more like an archaeologist who has documented a lost civilization and who now faces naysaying voices—some of which come from within—asking what the point was of it all. In other words, what is the value in having a record of something that no longer exists? Is there meaning to be found in knowing what has been lost? Certainly however, in an increasingly hostile public environment for immigrants, it's always important to pay attention to policy changes and consider implications for diversity and equity. Perhaps there is hope that a documented record of what the EAP program offered in the past may someday be helpful in shaping future policy. If there is one lesson to be learned from my years in higher education, after all, it is that the pendulum of policy change is always swinging.

Implications of the Present Study

The findings of present study confirm the findings of previous studies showing that the cultures of writing, and in fact of language and literacy more broadly, of the developmental English and EAP programs differ from one another in many ways. Using a Communities of Practice framework (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the programs compared in this study were found to consist of distinct joint enterprises, with differing levels of mutuality among student and faculty community members, and to have developed a unique set of shared repertoires within each program, all of which have profound implications for student learning.

The enterprise of the EAP program operated as foundational support in writing, reading, and language development and as a prerequisite to beginning college-level English studies. EAP students generally appreciated the idea of gaining foundational knowledge prior to embarking on their college-level English courses, often expressing an awareness of making up for gaps in their knowledge that was preparing them for greater success with later college literacy tasks. The shared repertoires of EAP (i.e., course writing assignments) were often shorter and less complex than those found in English 1101, so that more attention could be devoted to foundational aspects of writing, such as basic essay organization and development, along with a greater emphasis on language structure and vocabulary development. EAP students also experienced an environment in which curricular time and space was made, in the form of a four-credit reading course, to incorporate a wide array of reading tasks, both intensive and extensive, into the curriculum. Another key element of the EAP enterprise was the program's function as a gatekeeper to collegiate English courses. A student who did not pass the final exams of the upper-level EAP courses would not be eligible to enroll in English 1101 but would have to retake the EAP course the subsequent semester. Thus, there was a sense of a minimum standard of writing that all students were required to achieve in order to complete the program and move on to college-level English classes. This high standard might have contributed to the finding that former EAP students had higher pass rates and GPAs in English 1101 than did former developmental English students. At the same time, it is possible that this gatekeeping function was considered to run counter to student retention and progression, both of which are key aspects of the college completion agenda, and thus might have contributed to a decision to eliminate the EAP program.

The developmental English program had, by the time of the current study, transitioned to a corequisite model of learning support, in which students were offered just-in-time support for

their freshman composition course. Language minority students in developmental English generally valued this support, which often gave them the opportunity to receive help with their more complex English 1101 assignments. These assignments most commonly required facility with outside sources and citations, both of which are often challenging for L2 students (Pecorari, 2003; Pecorari & Shaw, 2012). In comparison with the experiences of EAP students, however, there was less overall emphasis on broader aspects of language development (e.g., very little explicit grammar or vocabulary instruction) despite an expectation in most course grading rubrics that these areas would be robust in student writing. There was also less uniformity within the various sections of English 1101/0999 in terms of reading loads, with some faculty requiring regular and fairly complex reading assignments which students would use as the basis for their writing and other faculty requiring only very small amounts of reading. In no sections did students read extensively, either in the form of novels or regular current events news articles, as did EAP students. One aspect within the developmental English program that was given more attention than in EAP, however, was the area of "studenting" skills, or the skills presumed to be needed by developmental students in order to thrive in a college environment, including aspects of college life such as time management and classroom behavior. Another significant difference between the cultures of writing in developmental English and EAP was that English 0999 did not function as a gatekeeper of any kind that could prevent students, even those who had not met required outcomes, from moving on to higher level English classes. As long as students maintained a passing course grade in English 1101, which required no timed or on-the-spot writing requirements, developmental students were able to move on to English 1102 regardless of their grade in English 0999. Thus, a number of study participants described a course which was often not taken very seriously by their class peers.

Another key area in which the cultures of writing in the two programs distinguished themselves from one another is related to the area of mutuality. Linguistic minority students in EAP seemed to experience relative ease when compared to those in developmental English in terms of course participation and relationship building with faculty and peers. The level of rapport experienced by EAP students stemmed from what many described as an atmosphere in which they felt understood and not judged as having deficits in their language proficiency. This is crucial considering that research shows that college students' general sense of belonging, and their connections to faculty and peers most specifically, are vital for their sense of academic motivation and their successful entry into college life (Freeman, Anderman & Jensen, 2007), and that this is particularly true for students from minority backgrounds (Murphy & Zirkel, 2015). The engagement fostered by an increased ease of participation and of connecting with faculty and peers is also instrumental in fostering learning, which is understood within the communities of practice framework to be a fundamentally social process. Wenger (1998) emphasizes engagement and full, rather than marginal, participation as a key ingredient of learning.

EAP students expressed an appreciation for working with faculty who seemed to understand their language needs and who had expertise in working with second language writers. Similarly, EAP students in this study often described a high level of acceptance and camaraderie among fellow L2-student peers. These relationships echo what other researchers such as Leki (2007) have found regarding the instrumental social relationships that EL students often have with classmates. While some developmental students also found value in their peer interactions, and particularly in terms of the opportunity to learn from native English speakers, many others expressed a lack of ease when communicating with their English 1101/0999 peers. Some described feelings of insecurity and of being misunderstood by their fellow students. Most

developmental students also valued and learned from their faculty, yet there were also occasional undertones of not being understood that were not present in any of the EAP student interviews.

Considering these various cultures of writing, especially in light of what we now know about the statewide policy changes for transforming remediation that have recently truncated the developmental English program to the corequisite-only model and have brought the EAP program to a near-complete end, the question arises of what, if anything, will be lost when language minority students, regardless of language proficiency, are expected to begin their college education in the gateway English 1101 courses, with only the possible added support of an English 0999e corequisite. While the specific answers to this question are unknown and must be the subject of future research, what is certain is that language minority students will be denied the benefits of up to 19 credits of prerequisite instruction (i.e, 11 credits in the three lower-level EAP courses and eight in the upper level that has been the focus of this study). These courses provided students who were assessed as needing them with a wide array of opportunities to develop their academic language competency. In the new program structure, in contrast, students will be offered only three credits of corequisite support at most, the vast majority of which will likely be spent on providing assistance with complex 1101 writing tasks, including the use of sources and MLA citation, which were only minimally addressed in EAP.

Students in the current iteration of English 0999 (i.e., those who participated in this study) reported little to no explicit language and vocabulary instruction in their courses. It is likely, therefore, that even in the future 0999e sections, assuming that the registration challenges do not prevent these sections from achieving their intended purposes of being specially designated for L2 students, there will also be little time for such instruction. While the value of explicit language instruction has long been debated within the field of TESOL (cf. Ellis, 2006;

Krashen, 1981; Truscott, 1999; 2007), researchers like Ferris, Eckstein, and Dehond (2017) have come to the conclusion that explicit language instruction is often more beneficial for L2 learners than it is for those for whom English is a first language. The authors explain:

> L2 learners often do not have the same level of intuitive language knowledge as their L1 peers, and some want and need some form of explicit or implicit language instruction in order to increase their confidence and competence as writers of English. (p. 419)

Academic vocabulary, too, has been found to be an area where university-level English learners tend to be weak (e.g., in terms of recognizing word families and shifting between parts of speech) (Nagy, Townsend, Lesaux, & Schmitt, 2012). Yet these are essential skills for building complex academic sentences with nominalizations and subordinate clauses.

Reading is often another area in which L2 students often benefit from additional support. L2 readers are, on average, significantly slower than L1 readers (Nation, 2009), which can create barriers in terms of keeping up with college reading loads. Grabe (2010) conducted a review of L2 reading research and noted a general support for "the importance of word reading fluency, passage reading fluency, extensive reading, and reading rate training on vocabulary and reading comprehension improvements" (p. 77). Whereas these reading activities were emphasized in the EAP program, most particularly in the reading courses, both intensive and extensive reading activities were often found lacking in many English 1101 and 0999 sections. Now that EAP has been eliminated, language minority students at GGC will miss an important opportunity to develop as academic readers in preparation for college success.

There is certainly an argument to be made from a critical language policy perspective that denying L2 students, particularly U.S.-educated linguistic minority students like those in this study, the language support needed for college success is a breach of their right to social justice.

Tollefson and Tsui (2014) remind us that "equitable instruction for all must include second language instruction," and that an important issue of "access and equity is whether all learners have the opportunity to acquire dominant languages necessary for higher education and employment" (p. 192). While language minority students may continue to be admitted to institutions of higher education like Georgia Gwinnett College, the question is whether or not they will be able to thrive and succeed in their pursuits of the college degrees which are so vital for their futures.

Certainly, research that has been done to-date on the corequisite approach to developmental education points to many benefits of the model (cf. Adams et al., 2009; Rigolino & Freel, 2007). Yet few researchers have looked at the outcomes of this model for L2 students, particularly in a context like that in which we now find ourselves in Georgia, where no other levels of language support are available. There is certainly some evidence that ESL or EAP requirements can occasionally impede students' progress towards degree completion (Hodara, 2015; Kibler et al., 2011). However, many of the suggestions that authors such as Kibler et al. make for transforming and improving ESL programs (e.g., summer bridge programs, learning communities that involve ESL coursework, accelerated pathways, etc.) still provide students with language and literacy support prior to their enrollment in freshman composition courses.

In terms of the corequisite model, Kibler et al. describe a successful UCLA-based program in which students have two additional credits added to the freshman composition course. The program, however, is only open to language minority students who have been in the U.S. longer than eight years. Thus, if the students in my study had been enrolled at UCLA, only one of the 16, EAP student Ali, who had been in the U.S. since the fifth grade, would have been eligible for the corequisite program. The average grade level on arrival of the other 15 students

in the current study is 9.4, meaning that, as traditional college freshman, they had all been in the U.S. for an average of only four years at the time they entered GGC. The process of language acquisition is lengthy and highly dependent on a number of variables, one of them being age of arrival. In a large scale study of 1,548 limited English proficient students, for example, Collier (1987) found that those who arrived between the ages of 12 and 15 required an average of six to eight years to reach grade level norms. Yet the new policies put in place by the state of Georgia provide no recognition of the need to consider that students who have been here such a relatively short amount of time may not be prepared for success in their college literacy tasks with so little language support. Indeed, although Hodara's (2015) study found that prerequisite ESL courses tended to slow students' progression through college, she also found that "foreign-born students who attended high school in the local school district [i.e, Generation 1.5 students]...had a greater likelihood of passing college English and accumulated more college credits than their counterparts who did not enroll in ESL." (p. 265). Thus, the concern should not only be with how quickly students progress towards graduation, but also with the level of success (e.g., GPA) with which they do so. There should also be a recognition that a one-size fits all approach may not be appropriate for language minority students, especially considering diverse nature of this population (Bergey, et al., 2018).

Despite a lack of research to substantiate the appropriateness of such a course of action, the University System of Georgia has already eliminated ESL/EAP prerequisite sequences and is moving all students through the corequisite approach. From a critical language policy perspective, which "acknowledges that policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 42), the present situation is highly problematic. The current research

strongly suggests that a lack of attention to the interests of an underrepresented group, in this case U.S.-educated language minority students, is precisely what is happening within the University System of Georgia when programs designed to serve and support them are being curtailed.

Another concern is that critical changes regarding language minority students' education in the state of Georgia are being made without any input from L2 professionals or, indeed, from L2 students themselves. GGC EAP faculty, and even the Dean of Transitional Studies, who is responsible for overseeing EAP as well as all developmental and programs at the college, has not been involved in any of these highly impactful policy decisions. This lack of local control is in stark contrast to the best practices literature for college completion. According to recommendations from the Institute of Education Sciences What Works Clearinghouse, for example, "Support from faculty and leadership is vital to developing and implementing an effective accelerated course model" (Bailey et al., 2016). Such top down approaches to curricular reform also run counter to what is expected by GGC faculty, who are told in their faculty manual that "GGC is committed to providing faculty with a significant role in college governance." (Georgia Gwinnett College, 2016).

Student voices, as well, have been lost in these policy transitions. Despite findings of the current study highlighting the numerous students who value and have benefited from GGC's EAP program, these important stakeholders were never consulted about program changes nor given an opportunity to speak up on behalf of the learning opportunities afforded to them as a result of their EAP enrollment. Tollefson (2006) asks the qeustion of whether, "at a time of increasing domination by supranational structures of decision-making—more democratic forms of language policy-making can be developed, in which non-dominant ethnolinguistic groups can

shape the language policies that affect them" (p. 52). While I hope to be able to have a different response to this question in the future, the answer at the present time within the USG is, unfortunately, a resounding no.

Directions for Future Research

Because these changes to the developmental English and EAP pathways are already proceeding in Georgia and are unlikely to be rolled back anytime in the near future, an important role of concerned researchers is to continue to document the impact of these changes on language minority students. Research of both a qualitative and quantitative nature will be needed in order to understand how language minority students fare in the new corequisite-only approach of supporting their language and literacy development. Data should not only look at their pass rates and GPAs in English 1101 but also at their success, or lack thereof, in other college courses across the curriculum. Current USG system data shows, for example, that developmental students in the corequisite model had higher 1101 pass rates than did students in previous cohorts who went through the former prerequisite developmental curriculum (Denley, 2017). While this data might seem to speak for the success of the corequisite approach, current findings regarding the culture of writing within English 1101 illustrate that 1101 assessment is heavily weighted towards writing assignments completed over an extended period outside of class and which can, therefore, be done with a great deal of outside help. In contrast, students might not fare as well in other collegiate courses in which they are assessed through more time-constrained activities such as in-class reading response and essay tests. There is also a relatively limited amount of reading assigned in most English 1101 composition sections, so it will be important to note how language minority students are (or are not) able to keep up with their reading loads across the wider curriculum.

A related area of research, if indeed data indicates that L2 students are challenged in the new model, is to look at the effectiveness of attempts by the college to make up the gaps created by the elimination of EAP support and reduction of developmental English. Dean Phillips of the School of Transitional Studies, for example, recognizes that, in the midst of the "fast-tracking" happening with learning support, GGC will still attract and admit students who are very much in need of support, including with language and literacy. In our interview, he offered possible solutions such as adding more workshops within the Academic Enhancement Center (AEC) and providing additional training to writing center tutors regarding working with emergent bilingual students. Phillips acknowledges that these initiatives will require effort on the part of English 1101 instructors, who will need to watch out for struggling students in order to refer them for help. They will also require funding, which raises the question of where needed money will come from for these additional programs, especially considering budget challenges within the USG and at GGC in particular, as the college has fallen short of projected enrollment targets for fall 2018. Other possibilities for supplemental support for language minority students include options like self-directed language study within the context of English 1101/0999 (Ferris et al., 2017). Research will need to be conducted regarding how/whether these programs, all of which attempt to remedy the lack of a prerequisite model EAP program, support language minority students at the college.

Another issue towards which researchers must remain vigilant pertains to college access. Specifically, we must monitor admissions policies and data to make sure that the foregrounding of the college completion agenda and retention statistics does not contribute to raising admissions standards, making it more difficult for language minority students to be admitted (Lester, 2014). Dean Phillips admits that there may be institutions for whom learning support restructuring might be a veiled attempt to reduce the number of underprepared students entering the

college, but he does not believe GGC is one such institution. “There may be places like that,” he acknowledges. “I just feel like here, getting them out would mean putting a big dent in what the college has always stood for. And I don’t sense that at all from what I can tell.” Nevertheless, with so much pressure coming from the state to retain and graduate students, there is certainly a danger that admissions standards might be increased in order to ensure that students can be successful in a model of developmental education that has eliminated all prerequisite levels. In the case of linguistic minority students at lower levels of language development, there is also a concern that they may be referred to expensive non-credit bearing English language institutes and Intensive English Programs (IEPs) intended primarily for international students rather than U.S. high school graduates and which cannot be paid for with federal financial aid. These are all areas to which critical researchers must maintain focused attention and advocacy.

Finally, there is the issue of dropping the EAP prefix and its potential significance for the sustainability of any L2-focused programs at the college. At the present time, plans are in place to maintain an ENGL 0999e section of the developmental corequisite course, which is specifically designated for L2 writers and which will be taught by former EAP faculty. There is a question, however, regarding the feasibility and sustainability of such a program, both in terms of practical issues such as registration challenges, but also regarding more complex issues of program identity. There will be a strong need to develop mechanisms for making students aware of their choices for regular or multilingual sections of developmental composition and educating them about this so they do not default to the stigmatized view that an “e,” or ESL-designated section will be equivalent to earlier high school ESOL experiences. Another issue is that GGC EAP faculty will potentially become re-credentialed as English, rather than EAP, faculty. Once this transition has been made official, the college will no longer hire specifically designated EAP faculty, and, without this identity in place, there is a risk that any programs that have been

designed for L2 students will become subsumed into the broader English department and potentially disappear.

If this happens, there will certainly be some people within the college community who will champion it, claiming that L2 students are best served in mainstream settings where they have the benefit of interacting with L1 English speakers. Yet while there are certainly some advantages to such heterogeneous environments, the findings of this study highlight the many benefits for students of having at least some learning experiences within a community of L2 peers and with a trained TESOL professional as a guide. This controversy is reminiscent of work done by Harper and de Jong (2009) regarding English language teacher expertise in the K-12 context. These authors conclude that simply being taught by a "good" but not ESL-trained teacher can be detrimental to L2 students, many of whom participate little in class, end up socially isolated, and are also impacted in terms of language development and academic achievement. Similar research needs to be done in the higher education context regarding how language minority students fare when they, too, are not given the benefit of ESL-designated courses or ESL-trained faculty at any point in their college education.

Conclusion: "A System of Us"

As the changes to developmental education move forward at Georgia Gwinnett College, Dean Phillips views as his responsibility the attempt to implement the mandated changes in a way that mitigates any potential negative outcomes for students. Ultimately, he believes he will be supported in these endeavors by GGC's upper administration, whom he is certain are committed to the college's access mission and to supporting both developmental and language minority students. He explains:

> I feel like what we definitely do have, I always feel anyway, a pretty good bit of support from our upper administration. They recognize that given our mission and given GGC's place in the USG that this area needs to be successful.

The question is whether or not Phillips himself, or even GGC's upper administration, let alone the faculty and students most impacted by these changes, will, in the current USG climate, have any power at all to shape the future direction of the college's learning support programs when such drastic changes to the developmental pathway, and now the elimination of the EAP program, have been initiated and mandated by forces at the BOR which are outside of institutional control. Phillips himself recognizes these challenges, admitting, "I do think that there is that challenge of how does this work given these sort of, there are some that are just state mandates: 'This is the way it's gonna be.'"

Always an optimist, however, Phillips acknowledges that the University System claims to be interested in institutional feedback regarding the mandated learning support changes. "As a campus," he explains, "that's one of our tasks too, is to pass along feedback, what's working well for us and what's not." Phillips reasons, "I mean the University System is a system of us, so hopefully we'll be passing that along to our colleagues at the system office too, which we'll do." In that vein and in the hopeful wish that the University System is, indeed, a "system of us," professionals within our system with an expertise in TESOL or who simply have a passion for ensuring that language policies within our state are just, must take seriously the call to continue this work and to remain relentless in our efforts to ensure that the language and literacy development needs of all of Georgia's linguistic minority students are supported.

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APPENDIX A

Fundamental Features of Corequisite Learning Support

University System of Georgia

Fundamental Features of Corequisite Learning Support

Note: This is not an admissions document. All guidelines and statements below are intended for students who have already been admitted to USG institutions, not as conditions for admission.

General Requirements for Learning Support Programs

- Institutions that admit students with high school grade point averages (HSGPA) or standardized test scores indicating that they will require additional support to succeed in collegiate English or mathematics courses must offer Learning Support courses in these areas.
- The "default placement" for all students will be in an entry-level collegiate course with corequisite support UNLESS students meet exemption criteria (for support) as outlined below in the sections on English and mathematics.
  - Students who do not meet any exemption criteria may waive placement testing if they are willing to accept placement in corequisite Learning Support at the highest level of credit intensity offered at the institution.
  - All students must be made aware that they have the OPTION to take placement tests, which may place them directly into collegiate courses or in less credit-intensive levels of corequisite Learning Support. Students interested in taking placement tests should not be discouraged from doing so.
  - Exception: students wishing to enroll in MATH 1111 College Algebra, (with or without corequisite Learning Support), must take the mathematics placement test unless they have met the criteria for direct placement into MATH 1111 or MATH 1111 with corequisite Learning Support (see below).
- Institutions that admit students requiring Learning Support in English or mathematics must designate a Learning Support Coordinator whose duties must include (but are not limited to):
  - Ensuring that appropriate Learning Support courses are provided for all admitted students requiring Learning Support.
  - Coordinating with institutional admissions, the testing center, and academic departments as needed regarding placement, and ensuring that all students are appropriately placed.
  - Ensuring that Learning Support placement and progress are accurately flagged and tracked in Banner.
  - Ensuring that the fundamental features of corequisite remediation are fully implemented at the institution.
  - Ensuring that corequisite Learning Support courses are carefully and appropriately coordinated with the college level courses they are intended to support.
  - Providing or coordinating training of institutional faculty, staff, and administrators as needed to ensure appropriate implementation of the corequisite Learning Support model.
- Learning Support courses are to be offered exclusively in "corequisite" format starting no later than fall 2018. The corequisite format means that students requiring Learning Support will enroll in both a collegiate course (ENGL 1101, MATH 1001, MATH 1101, or MATH 1111) and a corequisite Learning Support course that is designed to support mastery of the skills and concepts needed to pass

the collegiate course in a "just-in-time" manner.

- Each corequisite course will be a required course that is aligned with and offered alongside the appropriate college-level course and should be designed specifically to help students master the skills and knowledge required for success in the linked college-level course.
- The college-level and corequisite sections must be carefully coordinated. In particular, the college-level and corequisite sections must cover the same topics in the same order at the same time. In practical terms, this may mean that institutions will have to specify the order and timing of topic coverage for ALL corequisite sections and ALL college-level sections that include LS students.
- Institutions must use the standard prefixes, numbers, and course descriptions as listed below for the corequisite Learning Support courses.
- Different sections of Learning Support courses may be tailored for particular groups and offered for different amounts of credit (up to 3 hours of institutional credit), and tuition may be charged accordingly. Sections at different levels of support should be distinct (e.g., students requiring a three-credit corequisite course should not be enrolled in the same Learning Support section as students requiring a one-credit corequisite course). At institutions offering corequisite Learning Support courses at multiple levels of credit intensity, course number suffixes A, B, and C will be used to designate courses with different credit hours. Example:

Corequisite Support for ENGL 1101 – English Composition I	**Corequisite Support for MATH 1001 – Quantitative Reasoning**
ENGL 0999A – 3 credit hours ENGL 0999B – 2 credit hours ENGL 0999C – 1 credit hour	MATH 0997A – 3 credit hours MATH 0997B – 2 credit hours MATH 0997C – 1 credit hour
	Corequisite Support for MATH 1101 – Introduction to Mathematical Modeling
	MATH 0998A – 3 credit hours MATH 0998B – 2 credit hours MATH 0998C – 1 credit hour
	Corequisite Support for MATH 1111 – College Algebra
	MATH 0999A – 3 credit hours MATH 0999B – 2 credit hours MATH 0999C – 1 credit hour

- Institutions offering only one level of Learning Support do not need to use the identifier suffixes described above.
- Students will exit Learning Support (LS) requirements in English and/or mathematics by passing the collegiate-level course in the Learning Support area with a grade that meet the minimum grade requirement for the collegiate course at that institution (typically a "C" or higher).
- Paired college-level course sections may have only LS students or a mix of LS and non-LS students. When a college-level course section contains only LS students, care should be taken to ensure that the section adheres to the same academic standards as sections containing a mix of LS and non-LS students or sections containing non-LS students only.
- Institutions must establish consistent standards for sections of ENGL 1101, MATH 1001, MATH 1101, and MATH 1111.The college-level course sections that LS students enroll in must be identical to those taken by students who do not have LS requirements. No elements of the corequisite

English

Placement

- All entering students will be enrolled in ENGL 1101 English Composition I and the corequisite LS course, ENGL 0999 Support for English Composition unless they meet one of the exemption criteria listed below or are enrolled in a program for which ENGL 1101 is not required. If students enroll in programs that do not require ENGL 1101, but they choose to take this course, standard assessment and placement rules will apply.

  The exemption criteria below apply to the requirement to enroll in the corequisite LS course, not to the ENGL 1101 course requirement. Institutions may set higher exemption criteria.

  Students meeting any of the criteria on the list below may enroll in ENGL 1101 without the corequisite Learning Support course, ENGL 0999:
  - Student already has credit for an Area A English course (must meet the minimum grade requirement for the course for the institution – which may be a "C" or higher).
  - Student has an English Placement Index of 4230 or higher.*
  - Student has a final high school GPA (HSGPA – this is the same HSGPA that is used in calculation of the Freshman Index) of 3.1 or higher and has completed the Required High School Curriculum (RHSC) in English.
  - Student has an ACT English score of 17 or higher.
  - Student has an SAT Verbal/Critical Reading score of 430 or higher on the "old" SAT.
  - Student has an SAT Reading test score of 24 or higher on the "new" SAT.
  - Student has an Accuplacer Reading Comprehension score of 61 or higher AND an Accuplacer WritePlacer score of 4 or higher.
  - Student has an Accuplacer Next-Generation Reading score of XX** or higher AND an Accuplacer WritePlacer score of 4 or higher.

  * The English Placement Index may be used through January 2019 or until the institution adopts the Next-Generation Accuplacer Reading test for placement, whichever comes first. Next-Generation Accuplacer Reading test scores may not be used to calculate the English Placement Index.
  ** A score for Next-Generation Reading will be provided when the College Board provides concordance information for Accuplacer Next-Generation Reading and Accuplacer Reading Comprehension (expected in spring 2018).

English Learning Support Course Prefix, Number, and Description

ENGL 0999 Support for English Composition (1-3 institutional credit hours)
Prerequisites: None
Corequisite: ENGL 1101 English Composition I
Description: This Learning Support course provides corequisite support in reading and writing for students enrolled in ENGL 1101 – English Composition I. Topics will parallel those being studied in ENGL 1101 and the course will provide support for the essential reading and writing skills needed to be successful in ENGL 1101. Taken with ENGL 1101, this is a composition course focusing on skills required for effective writing in a variety of contexts, with emphasis on exposition, analysis, and argumentation, and also including introductory use of a variety of research skills.

Course Design

- ENGL 0999, Support for English Composition, will serve the dual purpose of supporting and illuminating the skills and concepts of ENGL 1101 English Composition I while also providing instruction for students to strengthen reading and writing competencies in which they have deficiencies.
- It is recommended that the same instructor teach the ENGL 1101 and ENGL 0999 sections. When this is not possible, the college-level and corequisite sections must still be carefully coordinated. In particular, the college-level and corequisite sections must cover the same topics in the same order at the same time. In practical terms, this may mean that institutions will have to specify the order and timing of topic coverage for ALL ENGL 0999 sections and ALL ENGL 1101 sections that include LS students.

Mathematics

Aligned Mathematics Courses

- For students who are **not** enrolled in a STEM or business program, or a field requiring an algebra-intensive course, the linked mathematics courses will be either:
  MATH 0997 Support for Quantitative Reasoning with MATH 1001 Quantitative Reasoning
  OR
  MATH 0998 Support for Mathematical Modeling with MATH 1101 Introduction to Mathematical Modeling.
  Any student may enroll in these courses.

- For students enrolled in programs with a calculus or algebra-intensive mathematics requirement, the linked mathematics courses will be:
  MATH 0999 Support for College Algebra with MATH 1111 College Algebra.
  Special requirements for MATH 1111: Students must meet placement criteria (outlined below) for direct placement into MATH 1111 or placement into MATH 1111 with corequisite support.

Placement

- All entering students will be enrolled in one of three standard Area A college-level credit bearing mathematics courses (MATH 1001 Quantitative Reasoning, MATH 1101 Introduction to Mathematical Modeling, or MATH 1111 College Algebra) and a corequisite Learning Support (LS) course unless they meet one of the exemption criteria listed below or are enrolled in a program for which a mathematics course is not required. Note that MATH 1111 has higher placement and exemption criteria than MATH 1001 and MATH 1101. If students enroll in programs that do not require a mathematics course, but they choose to take a mathematics course, standard assessment and placement rules will apply.

  The exemption criteria below apply to the requirement to enroll in a corequisite LS course, not to the college-level mathematics course requirement. Institutions may set higher exemption criteria.

  MATH 1001 Quantitative Reasoning and
  MATH 1101 Introduction to Mathematical Modeling
  Students meeting any of the criteria on the list below may enroll in MATH 1001 or MATH 1101 without the corequisite Learning Support courses, MATH 0997 or MATH 0998:
  - Student already has credit for an Area A mathematics course (must meet the minimum grade requirement for the course for the institution – which may be a "C" or higher).
  - Student has a Mathematics Placement Index of 1165 or higher.*
  - Student has placed in pre-calculus or a higher mathematics course (e.g., College Trigonometry or some form of calculus).
  - Student has a high school GPA (HSGPA – this is the same HSGPA that is used in calculation of the Freshman Index) of 3.2 or higher and has completed the Required High School Curriculum (RHSC) in mathematics.
  - Student has an ACT Mathematics score of 17 or higher.
  - Student has an SAT Mathematics score of 400 or higher on the "old" SAT.
  - Student has an SAT Math test score of 22 or higher on the "new" SAT.
  - Student has an Accuplacer Elementary Algebra score of 67 or higher (for students who will take MATH 1001 or 1101, see below).
  - Student has an Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics score of XX** or higher (for students who will take MATH 1001 or 1101, see below).

* The Mathematics Placement Index may be used through January 2019 or until the institution adopts the Next-Generation Accuplacer Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics test for placement, whichever comes first. Next-Generation Accuplacer Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics test scores may not be used to calculate the Mathematics Placement Index.
** A score for Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics will be provided when the College Board provides concordance information for Accuplacer Elementary Algebra and Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics scores (expected in spring 2018).

MATH 1111 College Algebra
Students who do not qualify for initial enrollment in MATH 1111 (with or without corequisite Learning Support) may enroll in MATH 1001 or MATH 1101 (with or without corequisite support), and may later enroll in MATH 1111 after successfully completing MATH 1001 or MATH 1101.

Criteria for Placement into MATH 1111 with corequisite support: Students meeting any of the criteria on the list below may enroll in MATH 1111 with corequisite support, MATH 0999. (Institutions may set higher requirements to enroll in MATH 1111 with corequisite support.)

- Student has a Mathematics Placement Index of 1165 or higher.*
- Student has a high school GPA (HSGPA – this is the same HSGPA that is used in calculation of the Freshman Index) of 3.2 or higher* and has completed the Required High School Curriculum (RHSC) in mathematics.
- Student has an ACT Mathematics score of 17 or higher.**
- Student has an SAT Mathematics score of 400 or higher on the "old" SAT.**
- Student has an SAT Math test score of 22 or higher on the "new" SAT.* *
- Student has an Accuplacer Elementary Algebra score of 67 or higher.**
- Student has an Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics score of XX** or higher.

Criteria for Direct Placement into MATH 1111: Students meeting any of the criteria on the list below may enroll in MATH 1111 without the corequisite Learning Support course, MATH 0999. (Institutions may set higher requirements for direct enrollment in MATH 1111.)

- Student already has credit for an Area A mathematics course (must meet the minimum grade requirement for the course for institution – which may be a "C" or higher).
- Student has a Mathematics Placement Index of 1265 or higher.*
- Student has placed in pre-calculus or a higher mathematics course (e.g., College Trigonometry or some form of calculus).
- Student has a high school GPA (HSGPA – this is the same HSGPA that is used in calculation of the Freshman Index) of 3.4 or higher and has completed the Required High School Curriculum (RHSC) in mathematics.
- Student has an ACT Mathematics score of 20 or higher.
- Student has an SAT Mathematics score of 470 or higher on the "old" SAT.
- Student has an SAT Math test score of 25.5 or higher on the "new" SAT.
- Student has an Accuplacer Elementary Algebra score of 79 or higher.
- Student has an Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics score of XX** or higher.

* The Mathematics Placement Index may be used through January 2019 or until the institution adopts the Next-Generation Accuplacer Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics test for placement, whichever comes first. Next-Generation Accuplacer Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics test scores may not be used to calculate the Mathematics Placement Index.

** A score for Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics will be provided when the College Board provides concordance information for Accuplacer Elementary Algebra and Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics scores (expected in spring 2018).

Mathematics Learning Support Course Prefixes, Numbers, and Descriptions

MATH 0997 Support for Quantitative Reasoning (1-3 institutional credit hours)
Prerequisites: None
Corequisite: MATH 1001 Quantitative Reasoning
Description: This Learning Support course provides corequisite support in mathematics for students enrolled in MATH 1001 – Quantitative Reasoning. Topics will parallel topics being studied in MATH 1001 and the course will provide support for the essential quantitative skills needed to be successful in MATH 1001. Taken with MATH 1001, topics to be covered will include logic, basic probability, data analysis and modeling from data.

MATH 0998 Support for Mathematical Modeling (1-3 institutional credit hours)
Prerequisites: None
Corequisite: MATH 1101 Introduction to Mathematical Modeling
Description: This Learning Support course provides corequisite support in mathematics for students enrolled in MATH 1101 – Introduction to Mathematical Modeling. Topics will parallel topics being studied in MATH 1101 and the course will provide support for essential quantitative skills needed to be successful in MATH 1101. Taken with MATH 1101, this course is an introduction to mathematical modeling using graphical, numerical, symbolic, and verbal techniques to describe and explore real-world data and phenomena. Emphasis is on the use of elementary functions to investigate and analyze applied problems and questions, supported by the use of appropriate technology, and on effective communication of quantitative concepts and results.

MATH 0999 Support for College Algebra (1-3 institutional credit hours)
Prerequisites: Credit for MATH 1001 or MATH 1101 with a "passing" grade (as defined by institution, typically "C" or higher) OR high school GPA 3.2 or higher OR ACT Mathematics score of 17 or higher OR "old" SAT Mathematics score of 400 or higher OR "new" SAT Math test score of 22 or higher OR Accuplacer Elementary Algebra score of 67 or higher OR Accuplacer Next-Generation Quantitative Reasoning, Algebra, and Statistics score of XX* or higher. [Institutions may set higher prerequisites for enrollment in MATH 1111 with corequisite support.]
Corequisite: MATH 1111 College Algebra
Description: This Learning Support course provides corequisite support in mathematics for students enrolled in MATH 1111 – College Algebra. Topics will parallel topics being studied in MATH 1111 and the course will provide support for the essential quantitative skills needed to be successful in MATH 1111. Taken with MATH 1111, this course provides an in-depth study of the properties of algebraic, exponential and logarithmic functions as needed for calculus. Emphasis is on using algebraic and graphical techniques for solving problems involving linear, quadratic, piece-wise defined, rational, polynomial, exponential and logarithmic functions.

Course Design

- The corequisite courses will serve the dual purpose of supporting and illuminating the skills and concepts of the college-level courses while also providing instruction for students to strengthen mathematical competencies in which they have deficiencies.

Updated 1/9/18

APPENDIX B

ENGL 0989/0999 and EAP Language and Educational Background Survey

Thank you for completing the brief survey below to help GGC learn about the language and educational backgrounds of Learning Support English and EAP students.

1. What is your name?

   _____

2. In which course are you completing this survey?

   a. ENGL 0989, Section_____, with Professor _____
   b. ENGL 0999, Section _____, with Professor_____
   c. EAP _____, Section_____, with Professor _____

3. Were you born in the United States?

   a. Yes
   b. No

4. If no, where were you born?

   _____

5. What is your first language?

   _____

Please answer the following questions only if you answered "No" to question 3:

6. How old were you when you moved to the U.S.?
   _____

7. Did you go to school at all outside of the U.S.?

   a. Yes
   b. No

8. If yes, what grade were you in when you moved to the U.S.?

   _____

9. Would you be willing to participate in a study to help a GGC faculty member learn more about the experiences of multilingual students in Learning Support English and/or EAP classes?

   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Maybe (I need more information)

10. Please provide information for the best way to reach you.

    a. Phone _____
    b. GGC email_____
    c. Other _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Guides

For Student Participants (EAP and ENGL 0999)

1. Tell me about your EAP/ENGL 0999/ENGL 1101 course. Can you walk me through what the course is like?

2. Can you explain how it came about that you're taking this course?

3. What do you see as the purpose of this course and what you think you're supposed to learn?

4. What is going well with your learning in this course?

5. What is not going well with your learning in this course?

6. What are your challenges with academic reading and writing?

7. Is this course addressing your challenges? How so or how not?

8. Can you describe a typical class day?

9. Can you describe for me a/some typical assignment(s) (focus on the one under discussion during class observation)?

10. Can you tell me about your interactions with your professor?

11. How about with your classmates?

12. For ENGL 0999 (Segue) students only: Tell me about the connection between this class and your ENGL 1101 class.

13. For former EAP students now in ENGL 1101: Tell me about moving from EAP to ENGL 1101. How did that transition go for you?

14. I'd like to know a little bit about your language background. Can you tell me about the languages you know?

15. How about your academic interests? Can you tell me about any major or career goals you may have?

16. Is this course helping you with your academic and career goals? How so or how not?

17. Some multilingual students at GGC are not taking EAP/Learning Support English (name the one the student is taking) but instead are taking Learning Support English/EAP Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

18. Is there anything I haven't asked you about your experience in the course that you think I should know?

For student participants (former EAP)

1. Can you start by telling me about your background—your first language and country, when you moved to the U.S., what grade you were in, etc.?

2. Tell me about your experience at GGC so far. Which semester are you in? As I understand uit, you started out in the EAP program. Which EAP classes did you take?

3. Can you tell me how you ended up enrolling in those courses? How did you decide to take the ESL Compass test? Did you know about the testing options?

4. What was your experience like in the EAP courses? Can you tell me about some of the most memorable things you learned?

5. How about moving from EAP to ENGL 1101. Can you describe that transition? How did it go for you?

6. What is similar about the two types of courses (EAP and ENGL 1101)? What is different?

7. Do you feel that the EAP classes prepared you for your ENGL 1101 course? How so, or how not?

8. Now let's talk in more detail about your ENGL 1101 course. Can you walk me through what the course is like? Can you describe a typical class day?

9. Can you describe for me a/some typical assignment(s) (focus on the one under discussion during class observation)?

10. What do you see as the purpose of this course and what you think you're supposed to learn?

11. What is going well with your learning in this course?

12. What is not going well with your learning in this course?

13. What challenges do you still have with academic reading and writing?

14. Is this course addressing your challenges? How so or how not? How about in comparison with how your EAP courses addressed your challenges?

15. Can you tell me about your interactions with your ENGL 1101 professor? Is your professor helping you meet your challenges? Any comparisons with how you interacted with your EAP faculty?

16. How about with your classmates? Any comparisons with your interactions with your EAP classmates?

17. As you probably know, some multilingual students at GGC do not take EAP courses but instead took the non-ESL Compass and take learning support English, like ENGL 0989 or 0999. Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

18. Are you familiar with the 0999 course—the corequisite course that non-EAP students can take at the same time as 1101? What are your thoughts about that course? How do you think it would have worked to have taken an EAP class along with ENGL 1101 rather than taking it prior to ENGL 1101?

19. What recommendations would you make to improve the EAP courses or the program to help students become better prepared for—or to do better—in English 1101?

20. Is there anything I haven't asked you about your experience in EAP and ENGL 1101 that you think I should know?

For EAP faculty participants

1. I'd love to start with an overview of the EAP 0090/91 class you are teaching. Can you walk me through what the course is like and what it's like for you to teach?

2. What can you tell me about your background and how you came to be teaching this class?

    a. What is your academic background/degree?
    b. How long have you been at GGC?
    c. Which other courses do you teach?
    d. Do you have any other roles that GGC that I should know about?

3. Let's go back to thinking about the EAP 0090/91 class. What do you see as the goals of this course for students?

4. What do you see as the strengths of this course for students?

5. What are the challenges of this course for students?

6. How about for you—what are your strengths and challenges in teaching this course?

7. Can you walk me through some of the key assignments (focus on the one under discussion during class observation)?

8. What types of students do you teach in this course? What are their challenges with academic literacy?

9. I imagine you often have students with differing needs and who are at different levels. How do you try to accommodate so many different needs in one class?

10. One of the purposes of this class is to prepare students for ENGL 1101. What can you tell me about your perspective on how this class either does or doesn't achieve this?

11. Some multilingual students at GGC are not taking EAP but instead are taking Learning Support English (either ENGL 0989 or 0999). Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

12. As you know, the developmental courses at GGC have undergone many changes in the past few years. Can you tell me about these changes and your perspective on them?

13. How do you envision the future direction of the EAP program and how GGC will serve language minority students in the future?

14. What have I not asked but you think I should know about EAP courses and how EAP students develop academic literacy in the EAP program?

For ENGL 0999/1101 faculty participants

1. What can you tell me about your background and how you came to be teaching these classes?
    a. What is your academic background/degree?
    b. How long have you been at GGC?
    c. Which other courses do you teach?
    d. Do you have any other roles that GGC that I should know about?

2. I'd love to start with an overview of the ENGL 1101/0999 classes you are teaching. Can you walk me through what the courses are like and what they're like for you to teach?

3. What do you see as the goal of 1101 for students? How about 0999?

4. What do you see as the greatest challenges of this course for students?

5. How about for you? What are your strengths and challenges in teaching this course?

6. Can you walk me through some of the key assignments (focus on the one under discussion during class observation)?

7. What can you tell me about the students you teach in this course? What are their challenges with academic literacy?

8. I imagine you often have students with differing needs and who are at different levels. How do you try to accommodate so many different needs in one class?

9. Now I'd like you to focus on the multilingual students in your course for a minute. What types of needs do these students have? How are they similar or different to those of your native English speakers?

10. How about students like Santiago and Medi? How are they doing in your class? In terms of writing, reading, speaking/listening? Keeping up with the class?

11. One of the purposes of this class is to support students who are in ENGL 1101. What can you tell me about your perspective on how this class either does or doesn't achieve this? How about for your multilingual students in particular?

12. As you know, some multilingual students at GGC are not taking ENGL 0999 but instead are taking EAP courses. Are you familiar with these courses? Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

13. I'm wondering what you think about the idea of developing an EAP segue/1101 combination? What might be the benefits or drawbacks of such a course?

14. As you may know, the developmental courses at GGC have undergone many changes in the past few years. Can you tell me about these changes and your perspective on them?

15. How do you envision the future direction of Learning Support English and how GGC can best serve developmental students, including those who are multilingual, in the future?

16. What have I not asked but you think I should know about developmental English courses and how multilingual students develop academic literacy in these courses?

For ENGL 1101 Instructors (of former EAP students)

1. I'd love for you to start by telling me about your background and how you came to be teaching ENGL 1101 at GGC?
    a. What is your academic background/degree?
    b. How long have you been at GGC?
    c. Which other courses do you teach?
    d. Do you have any other roles that GGC that I should know about?

2. Next can you give me an overview of the ENGL 1101 class you are teaching. Can you walk me through what the course is like and what it's like for you to teach?

3. I'm particularly interested in your class theme—can you tell me how that came about? How did the students learn about the theme—were they able to choose it? What was the reaction when you introduced it?

4. What do you see as the goals of this course for students?

5. What do you see as the strengths of this course for students?

6. What are the challenges of this course for students?

7. How about for you—what are your strengths and challenges in teaching this course?

8. Can you walk me through some of the key assignments (focus on the one under discussion during class observation)?

9. I notice you teach a wide variety of students in the course—those who place directly into 1101, those who are co-registered with 0999, and those who have moved on to 1101 from EAP like Bondeko, Chau Yin, and Taylor. How do these groups of students compare in terms of their challenges with academic literacy and their needs?

10. How are the challenges and needs of the former EAP students similar or different to those of your native English speakers? How about compared to the students in ENGL 0999?

11. I noticed all three of my focal participants were quite quiet in yesterday's class. What are your thoughts on that? Are they able to keep up? Do you feel they are have a good understanding of what is happening in the course orally? How about their written work? How about with reading comprehension?

12. What have you noticed to be former EAP students' greatest challenges in the course? How about strengths? Do they generally seem prepared? How about compared to those who are concurrently in 0999?

13. As you know, Some multilingual students at GGC are in 0999 while others come to your class after moving through EAP. Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

14. The developmental courses at GGC have undergone many changes in the past few years. Can you tell me about these changes and your perspective on them?

15. I'm wondering about changes moving forward—what do you think about the new model segue is moving towards? how about the idea of EAP developing its own segue?

For administrator participants

1. What is your background and how did you come to be involved with this program at GGC?

2. What is your role related to this/these program(s)?

3. What do you see as the role for these student success courses at GGC? What are the overall goals of the programs? How do they relate to the college's mission?

4. What are the strengths of this/these program(s)?

5. What challenges do you face with this/these program(s)?

6. Can you tell me about staffing the courses in your program(s)? Who teaches the classes and what types of backgrounds do they have?

7. Some multilingual students at GGC take EAP courses and some are enrolled in developmental English courses. Can you share your perspective on this and the distinction or connections between the programs?

8. The developmental (Learning Support) courses at GGC have undergone many changes in the past few years. Can you tell me about these changes and your perspective on them?
    a. Shift from 99, 98 (English and Reading) to one level of reading, then Segue for only upper band only, then 999 (co-req), 989 (foundations) and no reading, then shift from triad to dyad model
    b. Timing of these changes?
    c. Reasons for these changes? Role of Complete College America (grant)—which are BOR and which GGC decisions
    d. Benefits and drawbacks of changes?

9. How about the EAP program, which has also gone through changes. Can you help me review those changes and then talk about how they have or haven't been connected to the developmental program changes?

10. Is there anything I haven't thought to ask but might help me better understand these programs and their role in helping GGC students develop as academic readers and writers?

APPENDIX D

Holistic Rubric for EAP Final Exam Essays

A score of 3

Organization and Development

Sharp focus on the main idea is maintained throughout

Topic is well-developed; sound reasons are supported by specific examples and details; evidence of critical thinking and consideration of other viewpoints

Grammar, Usage, and Mechanics

Consistent facility in language use; demonstrates syntactic variety and appropriate word choice; may be some minor lexical or grammatical errors

A score of 2

Organization and Development:

Focus is generally maintained; minor digressions lead back to the main topic

Topic is developed with support from a few relevant examples and details; critical thinking may not be as clear or evident

Grammar, Usage, and Mechanics

Inconsistent facility in language use; lexical and grammatical errors sometimes obscure meaning or require more careful reading to understand

A score of 1

Organization and Development

Focus is not maintained; digressions do not lead back to the main topic

Shows little understanding of organization; little or no evidence of essay structure or supporting details; ineffective or missing transitions

Development is limited; supporting details are repetitious, simplistic, or not clearly related to the topic

Grammar, Usage, and Mechanics

Little facility in language use

Serious, frequent errors make the essay difficult to understand

A score of 0

Not submitted work or late submits

APPENDIX E

English 0999 Course Outcomes

Course Objectives and Outcomes
Students who successfully complete this course will be able to:

- Employ a generative and recursive writing process that includes invention, planning, drafting, revising, editing, and proofreading
- Work collaboratively with peers to develop and carryout writing projects
- Write whole essays with clear thesis statements, and coherent and unified paragraphs
- Think critically and support their thinking with details, examples, reasons, and evidence
- Write essays for a purpose, such as argumentation or exposition
- Vary sentence structure and length for clarity, coherence and interest
- Employ a variety of rhetorical strategies and modes to express complex ideas
- Use language appropriate to a given audience
- Conduct research using both print and electronic sources
- Incorporate direct quotes, summaries and paraphrases into their essays
- Provide documentation for sources using correct MLA formatting
- Edit their writing to conform to the grammar, punctuation rules of standard written English

APPENDIX F

Proposed Faculty Transition from EAP (SOE) to English (SLA)

In recent years, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) faculty have resided in the School of Education (SOE) and taught Student Success EAP classes which originated in the School of Transitional Studies (STS). While this dual-affiliation of the EAP faculty was unique at the college, it was logical in the sense that EAP faculty taught a set of courses that did not belong to any of the college's academic schools (SOE, SLA, SST, SHS, SOB) but rather to a school (STS) that does not house any faculty. There was a well-intentioned decision, therefore, to house EAP in SOE, where they would have the benefit of faculty colleagues in a related discipline, such as literacy, as well as access to committee memberships and an academic school's promotion and credentialing process.

In light of recent changes to the Student Success courses at GGC and across the University System of Georgia, as of fall 2018, EAP courses will no longer be taught at the college. Instead, EAP faculty will teach courses in the English discipline (ENGL 1101 and ENGL 0999), some sections of which will be designated for second language writers. English courses originate in the School of Liberal Arts (SLA) and are therefore governed by SLA faculty committees.

As such, the EAP faculty would like to propose a transition from their current academic home in the School of Education (SOE) to one in the School of Liberal Arts (SLA) discipline of English. In addition, since the prefix EAP will no longer be used at the college, the EAP faculty would like to propose a title change from Assistant, Associate, and/or Full Professor of English for Academic Purposes to Assistant, Associate, and/or Full Professor of English.

Such changes will be in the best interest of the multilingual students the EAP faculty so passionately serve. In SLA, current EAP faculty will have a voice in the English discipline that prepares all GGC students, including those for whom English is a second language, to become stronger writers. Current EAP faculty will be able to work with other English faculty to ensure that the needs of second language writers are met across the curriculum.

Transitioning to SLA is also in the professional interest of the current EAP faculty, who will otherwise have no voice in curricular or other disciplinary matters related to the courses they teach.

SOE has been a wonderful home for the EAP faculty, yet recent changes originating from the Georgia Board of Regents have brought us to a new place in which the best interests of both the EAP faculty and GGC's second language writers will be better served through a transition from the EAP faculty's current affiliation with SOE to a new home in SLA.