Becoming Peer Tutors of Writing: Identity Development as a Mode of Preparation

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Writing teacher education typically focuses on preparing pre-service English teachers for work in K-12 classrooms. Preparation programs directed at teacher candidates presuppose two important factors: one, participants in a writing teacher education program plan on becoming teachers after they graduate; and two, participants have a desire to attend these programs because they will be able to implement the program's content in their own classrooms. However, at the university level, there is a sub-set of writing instructors and support staff, including graduate teaching assistants of composition and undergraduate peer writing tutors, who do not plan on becoming writing teachers, and who may not be fully vested in participating in any type of preparation program. For example, graduate students in English may be required to teach composition courses as part of their graduate curriculum, while undergraduate students may seek positions as writing tutors in order to work on campus. Moreover, the motivation for participation in preparation programs may vary greatly within this subset, as some participants may attend only those professional development opportunities that are mandated by a supervising body, while others may chose to attend all available modes of preparation. Taking a closer look at the various modes by which these instructors and tutors were "prepared" (e.g. programs or workshops and related curricula) allows those of us who primarily identify as teachers of writing to reflect on the values and philosophy that guide our composition pedagogy as we attempt to prepare participants from varied ages, disciplines, and career goals in writing education programs.

As evidenced in the literature, the preparation of undergraduate peer tutors for work in university writing centers regularly includes a focus on roles tutors should avoid adopting in the tutorial (Trimbur, 1987; Thonus, 2003). New tutors are discouraged from adopting an evaluative role of editor or assessor, and instead to become what Harris (1992) observed as "hybrid[s], somewhere between a peer and a teacher, who cannot lean too much one way or the other" (380). However, by focusing on the transitory roles that tutors should or should not play in a tutorial, tutors are prevented from conceptualizing what it actually means to be a tutor, and consequently the identity they must construct to become one.

If peer tutors fail to develop a tutor identity during their preparation programs, they may instead rely on playing roles that are not appropriate for the space of the tutorial. Introducing the K-12 concept of teacher identity to the preparation of undergraduate peer tutors of writing may provide new tutors with the tools necessary to develop tutor identities. Using data collected through case studies of first-time tutors, I argue that when preparation programs focus on aspects of teacher identity, new tutors are better prepared to assume the professional identity of a writing tutor and less likely to play roles that are not conducive to the philosophy of writing centers. In other words, participants will see themselves as tutors beyond the constraints of the tutorial.

Theoretical Context

Preparation programs are most effective when they are developed on a local level, using available resources to meet the specific needs of the local population (Smith and Bath, 2004). Depending on the available resources (for example, time, money, and staff) at that level, tutor preparation may rely heavily on the large body of "training" literature. Training literature typically consists of tutor manuals, which articulate the practical aspects of tutoring, and anthologies of foundational articles in the writing center discourse. Tutor manuals (or handbooks) outline and/or promote tutor behaviors that are reflective of the "best practices" of tutoring writing. In the present study, the best practices for tutoring composition at the college level reflect a social constructivist philosophy in which the student is placed at the center of the learning experience, and that are consistent with the larger writing center discourse (Murphy, 1994; Hobson, 1992). However, these best practices are not always explicitly couched in the relevant theoretical underpinnings.

For example, in chapter three of the *Bedford Guide for Writing Tutors*, "Inside the Tutoring Session," Ryan and Zimmerelli (2005) encourage their readers to utilize four specific behaviors in order to effectively begin a tutorial and establish rapport with a tutee: "introduce yourself," "sit side-by-side," "give the student control of the paper," and "keep resources and tools nearby" (18). These suggestions are consistent with the best practices of tutoring in the writing center community. However, if these types of behaviors are promoted in a preparation mode that does not include a focus on developing a tutor identity, tutors may be left with a set of prescribed actions, and without a complex understanding of how to employ them when they encounter situations or experiences outside of those discussed in their training manuals. As noted above, this may force the tutors to play the role of tutor during a tutorial, rather than to actually develop the identity of a writing tutor.

The distinction between the two terms, "identity" and "role," lies in the level of awareness an individual maintains over identifiable behavioral characteristics. The characteristics of one's identity are an unconscious representation of his/her natural behaviors. In contrast, the identifiable characteristics of a role are consciously constructed and typically employed temporarily. While an identity

reflects an individual's complete commitment to a set of characteristics, a role reflects a lower level of commitment to them. This is why an individual can be said to be "playing a role," and not "playing an identity." Identity construction is facilitated through exposure to the models (Wortham, 2006) and discourse (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) of an identity. With this dual exposure, individuals can choose to construct a specific identity by making decisions that reflect the characteristics of the larger identity model.

A deeper understanding of the concept of teacher identity may assist writing center directors in promoting the construction of tutor identities amongst the participants of their preparation programs. Research from K-12 teacher education programs suggests preparation programs would greatly benefit from an additional focus on developing a tutor identity within the course of the preparation program (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001). Teacher identity research in teacher education programs indicates that participants who are prepared to assume the program-appropriate identity will have a strong affiliation to their positions and more effective pedagogical practices (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001; McKinney et al., 2008).

Without exposure to relevant tutor identity models or discourse, participants in a tutor preparation program may rely on exposure to past "performances" (Goffman, 1959), or roles, which can be inappropriate for tutoring in university writing centers. Reliance on inappropriate identity models regularly occurs in the preparation of K-12 teacher candidates (Britzman, 1991), because the average individual spends over 12 years reflecting on teacher identity models. However, instead of an over-familiarity with tutor identities, participants in a tutor preparation program may not be familiar with the most basic tutor identity model because they have not been exposed to one in their educational histories. A participant in a tutor preparation program could potentially rely on the more culturally pervasive, authoritative teacher identity framework, instead of developing a relevant tutor identity.

In addition to exposing a new tutor to appropriate models and discourse of a tutor identity within the preparation module, writing center directors can include relevant results from teacher identity research, and also highlight several stable identifiable behavior characteristics of a teacher who possesses a strong sense of teacher identity. This is not to say that writing center directors should promote a singular identity within a preparation mode. On the contrary, effective tutor identities are those that are based on the strengths of each participant, and which meet the specific needs of the student population for whom they are tutoring. However, I believe that if new tutors are able to develop several of the stable, unconscious behavior characteristics of a strong teacher identity, they will be better prepared to translate these behaviors into the construction their own tutor identity.

From a meta-analysis of teacher identity research, I isolated four key identity characteristics that regularly appeared in descriptions of teachers with strongly developed teacher identities. These four traits function as the stable characteristics of a basic teacher (and tutor) identity model in the context of this study. That is, a person with a teacher identity has 1) pedagogical and content knowledge of a discipline (Shulman, 1986), 2) flexibility (Borich, 1999; Bullough, Crow, and Knowles, 1999), 3) community membership (Tickle, 1999; Schempp, Sparkes, and Templin, 1999), and 4) regular engagement with reflective practices (Danielewicz, 2001; Alsup, 2006; Hammerness et al., 2005). If tutors are given opportunities to foster these characteristics as key aspects of their tutor identities, they may be more effective in their tutoring practices and better able to reflect the best practices of the writing center discourse community.

Research Methods

To investigate the potential effects of teacher identity concepts in undergraduate writing center tutors, I observed two types of tutor preparation programs at a large, public PhD-granting institution in the West: a one-day workshop lead by members of the writing tutorial services on campus and Writing 60, a tutor preparation course offered by the university Writing Program. The one-day workshop was presented y the Campus Resource Center (CRC). The CRC is a resource that offers tutoring in a variety of disciplines across campus. I observed a daylong workshop for writing tutors, both new and returning, who were hired to work the Writing Lab. The workshop was led by a senior CRC staff member and presented a wide range of both procedural and content knowledge regarding the process of tutoring writing. Additionally, I observed the tutor preparation course, Writing 60. The course was offered independently from Writing Lab preparation. The course met four hours a week for a ten-week academic quarter. A veteran writing instructor instructed this course.

The workshop presented tutors (both returning and newly hired) critical procedural information regarding the logistics of tutoring for the CRC (e.g. tutoring locations, tracking hours worked, submitting timesheets, etc.), as well as pedagogical information concerning the process of tutoring writing in the CRC. This information was presented through a PowerPoint Presentation and later through hands-on activities. The workshop leader noted: "We…have them do a lot of role-playing and writing and discussing about strategies and what works and what doesn't. Tutors give their fellow tutors lots of great suggestions for how to ask questions, how to respond as an educated reader rather than a proofreader."

The content of the preparation course was more complex than that of the workshop's, due not only to the course's significantly longer exposure to the tutors, but also because it focused solely on pedagogical information. The course contained no logistical information about tutoring for the CRC, as it was not affiliated with that body. The curriculum focused on both the practical and theoretical issues of tutoring writing, as well as the development of the tutors' own writing abilities. The instructor of the course required her students to engage in tutoring behaviors and regular metacognitive reflections on the course materials and activities. Her course began by with examining the students' pre-existing knowledge, and then moved into instruction regarding theories and practices of peer tutoring.

Four undergraduate peer tutors functioned as the primary participants of this study. Two tutors participated in both the workshop and the course, while the other two tutors only attended the workshop. All four participants were upper division, undergraduate students

at the time of the study. Annie and Suzie were trained in the course and the workshop, while Melissa and Robert were trained solely by the CRC Writing Lab workshop. All of the participants qualified as new tutors in the Writing Lab and had not previously tutored in a formal setting at the university. I observed each participant tutoring on two separate occasions. Each observation lasted between thirty and sixty minutes. Within a week of each observation, I interviewed each tutor about the observed tutorial. I interviewed each of the participants twice, once at the beginning and again at the end of the academic quarter.

Each of the undergraduate tutors self-selected to participate in this study; they do not represent a random stratified sample of participants, so they do not represent a replicable percentage of the entire population in each case. However, case study methodology does not rely on random stratified samples because it is not concerned with producing statistically significant results. Instead, the participants function as data sources for the entire preparatory cases themselves. This is not a direct comparison of the two preparation programs, but rather a telling of stories about how identities can or cannot (or in some cases to what degree) be developed in these programs.

Results

The first pass through the data showed that the four tutors observed in this study provided student writers with adequate support in the CRC Writing Lab. As novice tutors, they showed evidence of developing the most basic characteristics of a writing tutor identity: the tutors were friendly to the tutees; they discussed the tutees' drafts; and they offered the tutees suggestions for improving the drafts. However, additional passes through the data revealed that the tutors prepared by both the workshop and the course provided tutees more effective tutorial support. The distinction between the type of support offered by these tutors (Annie and Suzie) and those tutors prepared by the workshop alone (Melissa and Richard) is due, in part, to Annie and Suzie's participation in a preparation course that regularly provided opportunities and resources to develop more complex, stronger tutor identities. And while each of the four tutors exhibited evidence of areas for improvement in their tutoring practices, when the results of this study are presented in a heuristic of the four teacher identity traits outlined above, it is clear that Annie and Suzie began to develop stronger tutor identities than Melissa and Richard.

Content Knowledge/Behaviors Consistent with Preparation

Melissa and Robert (prepared by the CRC workshop) both displayed evidence that they possessed sufficient composition content knowledge for work as peer tutors of writing, but they did not display tutoring behaviors that were consistent with the goals of the preparation workshop as articulated by the workshop leader. While neither tutor displayed evidence of exceptional mastery in composition, they did regularly rely on resources to provide their tutees with masterful support. The manner in which these tutors enacted this support, however, was not always reflective of the behaviors of an effective tutor as defined by the workshop leader. Instead of co-constructing knowledge with their tutees by learning a grammar concept in a handbook together, both tutors encouraged tutees to consult the handbook on their own, and to "go over [the draft for grammar] again" before turning in their final drafts.

In the observed tutorials, Melissa and Robert demonstrated a familiarity with the traditional best practices of peer-to-peer writing tutorials, as modeled for them through the tutoring demonstrations and a "practical tips" handout in the preparation workshop. For example, each tutor opened the tutorial with behaviors designed to establish a level of rapport that would facilitate a tutee-centered tutorial. By doing so, the tutors were also mindful to balance the tutee's concerns for the draft with their own perceived concerns for the draft. For example, after Robert asked a tutee, "What do you want help on?" the tutee outlined spelling and verb tense as her main concerns. Then, he negotiated an agenda with the tutee after acknowledging her concern on sentence-level concerns: "While we're going through it, if we see any content or anything like that, do you want my help?" This type of tutee-centered congeniality was consistent with the tutoring behaviors modeled in the tutoring demonstrations at the preparation workshop.

Melissa also displayed evidence of familiarity with the types of tutee-centered behaviors that had been modeled at the workshop. As she worked to determine an agenda with one of her regular tutees, she took steps to engage in behaviors that were consistent with the workshop leader's definition of an effective tutor as "kind." Instead of asking her tutee, "What do you want to work on today?" Melissa opened her tutorial by asking the tutee, "So, how's it going?" This question led to a discussion about busy class schedules and a difficult anthropology course with which Melissa was familiar. When asked to reflect on the effects of allowing time for off topic discussion, Melissa reported that it worked to build a relationship with her tutees. Melissa consciously engaged her tutee in a conversation that was not related to her paper, as a means to demonstrate an additional aspect of Melissa's tutor identity, that of academic mentor. Melissa's conception of an academic mentor as part of a tutor identity was consistent with the workshop leader's goal that her tutors see themselves as "peer mentors."

However, Melissa and Robert's tutor identities were not consistent with the goals of the preparation program because they only employed weak, or surface-level, understanding of the preferred tutoring behaviors in the Writing Lab. For example, in an observed tutorial Robert faced challenges establishing rapport with his tutee. The tutee was not completely clear on the topic of her draft, and she also displayed evidence of not possessing a strong understanding of the source material. Robert's attempts to establish an agenda repeatedly failed because the tutee had such a limited understanding of her topic. He became frustrated by her weak stance towards possible topics, and his failed attempts to facilitate any strong connections between the tutee and the course content. Robert's reaction to his tutee's behaviors was not consistent with the characteristics of an effective tutor as "patient" as defined by the workshop leader.

Robert's tutorial behaviors reflected an incomplete understanding of the practices of an effective writing tutor as modeled by the workshop leader in the preparation workshop. For example, one of the policies of the Writing Lab was to "not edit" student papers,

and the tutoring behaviors modeled in the tutoring demonstrations and handout advocated addressing higher order concerns before lower order concerns. However, after Robert and his tutee agreed to focus primarily on grammar during a tutorial, he added that he would only comment on content "if [he] [saw] something." Robert later demonstrated he was unable to follow through with his commitment. After highlighting several grammatical errors, Robert suddenly reminded the tutee that he does not "edit papers," and that she "is going to have to go through this paper again before turning it in." It was evident from this interaction that Robert had a conflicted understanding of a tutor identity. He evoked the policy of not editing papers, which had been outlined in the preparation workshop, only after negotiating an agenda and partially discussing the tutee's draft.

Melissa also displayed a weak understanding of the effective tutoring behaviors modeled in the workshop. Instead of employing traditional best practices of peer-to-peer tutorials that call for a student-centered approach, Melissa primarily relied upon her previous experience as a college-level writer as a strategy in tutorials. She noted that her tutorial strategies consist of, "just thinking on my feet." Instead of consistently working with tutees to develop their own ideas, Melissa offered her tutees suggestions based on how she would handle the situations herself, which limited the possible courses of action on which the tutee could embark. For example, after giving her tutee several lengthy suggestions about how she could arrange her thesis statement, Melissa explained to her tutee how she arranged her own thesis statements: "I can tell you the way I like to do it." Melissa offered her methodology for constructing a thesis as a model for her tutee. However, as a tutoring behavior, suggesting one's own practice as a model can have potentially limiting effects. If the tutee is unclear on the tutor's peer-based identity, he/she may leave the tutorial convinced that the tutor's way is the only correct method.

In my observations (noted below) of Annie and Suzie, the tutors demonstrated more highly effective tutor behavior. These tutors, prepared by the ten-week course, regularly displayed evidence of mastery in composition. They answered tutees' questions with their own knowledge, or consulted relevant resources. However, a key difference in the display of mastery in composition emerged between the two groups of tutors in the present case. Instead of focusing on presenting tutees with correct information (which was often the case in Melissa and Robert's tutorials), Annie and Suzie regularly attempted to co-construct knowledge by facilitating knowledge building, rather than disseminating knowledge to their tutees which was consistent with the models employed in the preparation course.

Annie and Suzie overwhelmingly engaged in tutor behaviors reflective of the goals of the preparation course. The data suggest that both Annie and Suzie had a strong understanding of appropriate tutoring behaviors. For example, Annie and Suzie displayed evidence of tutor behaviors consistent with the goals of the preparation course by establishing student-centered agendas that did not privilege sentence-level concerns over global concerns. In a drop-in tutorial with a regular tutee, Suzie validated the tutee's request to focus on grammar errors: "Oh, definitely [we can look for grammar errors]. Let's make sure that the topic is right, but keep an eye out for grammar errors." Suzie did not dismiss the tutee's grammatical concerns by reminding her that the Writing Lab did not solely focus on improving errors, but instead folded the tutee's concerns into a larger agenda focused on making sure the "topic is right."

Suzie was aware of the limitations of her authority over the tutee within the space of the tutorial. This was in direct opposition to Robert's behavior in a similar situation, where he demanded the tutee independently address grammatical issues. This awareness also allowed her to continually focus on the goals of student need, which reflected her philosophy, and identity, as a tutor. Because Suzie did not view herself as an authority in grammar, she developed a tutoring technique to share the authority in the session. She explained: "I just repeat the [grammar] question back to them because I want them to think about it. I do not want to just be the god of knowledge… Maybe they know it better than I do." Suzie continually worked to co-construct knowledge with her tutee.

Annie also took steps in her tutorials to avoid becoming an influential authority figure, which was a goal of the preparation course. She repeatedly centered the focus of the tutorial on the needs and wants of the tutee. Annie also prevented herself from developing too much authority over the tutee in her tutoring practice by asking the tutee a significant number of questions, rather than providing the tutee with a significant number of answers. For example, when Annie and her tutee brainstormed possible ideas for the tutee's paper, she became increasingly aware of how her position could potentially abuse authority: "I had an idea of what [the paper topic could be] about, [but] I was trying to think how to get her to figure that out for herself without making it my idea." This behavior allowed Annie to assume a position of a positive reflector, rather than one of authority. Annie demonstrated that the primary goal of the tutorial was to place the tutee in a position of authority, in order to empower the tutee as a writer.

Flexibility

Robert and Melissa showed no significant evidence of flexibility in their tutorials. On the contrary, both tutors showed significant evidence of inflexibility. Flexibility was not an explicit goal of the preparation program, but the workshop leader did isolate the ability to support tutees through the writing process with multiple "tools" as a goal of the preparation program. The tutors displayed an inability to conceive of multiple approaches to the tutoring process.

At one point in an observed tutorial, Robert interrupted the tutee as she read her draft, in order to remind her that she should not use "I think," in her paper. As an alternative, Robert asked the tutee to explain why she believed in what she had written. When asked to explain his rationale for highlighting the use of "I think," Robert did not display strong evidence of fully understanding of his tutoring practices. He explained that his rationale in directing his tutee not to use "I think" in her draft stemmed from his own experience as a college writer. His preoccupation with removing "I think" from the tutee's draft conflicted with his often-repeated comment in this tutorial that the tutee did not appear to know what she "[thought] at all." Robert clung to his own stylistic preferences in student writing as a best practice because he did not provide evidence of possessing multiple "tools" to approach the tutorial process.

Similarly, Melissa displayed an inflexible understanding of academic prose, which also prevented her from providing her tutees with multiple tools for creatively developing their assignments. Because of her inflexibility, she modeled academic language to her tutees more than any other tutor in the present study. In an interaction between Melissa and her tutee, she suggested persuasive language to her tutee, who was struggling with the guidelines of not using the word "I." Melissa attempted to convince her tutee that there were many ways of circumventing this restriction: "So, what you are really saying inside is, 'I think this is right,' but since you can't say 'I' you say something like 'It is important that blah, blah, blah.' Or that 'Ash is correct when he says blah, blah, blah.'" In this exchange, Melissa, as a college senior, modeled academic language that her tutee, as a freshman, will be responsible for mastering in her college career. However, Melissa really only modeled one type of discourse in a way that left no space for viable alternatives, such as encouraging the tutee to couch her analysis of the text within a larger on-going conversation.

Because of their exposure to multiple models of tutor identities in the preparation course, Annie and Suzie did not employ one specific approach to the tutoring process (as opposed to Melissa and Robert who required their tutees to read each draft out loud while they made comments). For example, in a challenging tutorial Suzie allowed the tutee to dictate the terms of the tutorial. Suzie had trouble establishing a high level of rapport with this tutee who appeared reticent to participate in the tutorial. Unusually, the tutee's draft was entirely in a bulleted list format, yet Suzie did not let the tutee's attitude or uniquely organized draft influence the productivity of the tutorial. When Suzie asked the tutee to take out some scratch paper and summarize her argument, the tutee chose to engage in the work without Suzie's assistance, which was not what she had anticipated. Even though Suzie laid the groundwork for an activity to collectively clarify the tutee's main argument, the tutee chose to engage in this activity alone. Suzie allowed the tutee the space to develop her ideas as she saw fit and did not require her to interact in a specific manner. Because of the unusual format of the tutee's draft, Suzie was unable to establish rapport through her typical behaviors. Instead, she relied on asking questions as a means to effectively communicate with the tutee. Her flexibility in this tutorial demonstrated that Suzie was clearly committed to working with the tutee to foster an effective learning environment in whatever manner that was most meaningful to the tutee. The tutee expressed gratitude for Suzie's assistance, and was visibly reassured when Suzie congratulated her for bringing in her draft well before the due date.

Annie regularly displayed evidence of flexibility in her tutorials in her tutoring behaviors and choice of activities. For example, Annie was the only tutor in this case who showed evidence of purposely not engaging the tutee in a continual conversation. While discussing the "interesting" aspects of Stanley Milgram's famous experiment with a tutee, Annie chose not to comment on the tutee's suggestions. Instead, Annie responded to each suggestion with variations on the question, "What is interesting about that?" Then, the tutee sat silently and actually considered the validity of her suggestion. Annie's response reflected her flexible approach to tutoring; she later explained that she was not silent to punish the tutee, but rather to allow her the time and space to develop her critical thinking skills.

Similarly, Annie was the only tutor to employ directed freewriting as a method of focusing, which again demonstrated her flexible approach to the work done in a tutorial. The Writing 60 instructor identified freewriting as a technique to employ in challenging tutorials, and regularly modeled it for the students by engaging in the practice in almost every course meeting. After Annie and her tutee discussed possible aspects of Milgram's experiment that the tutee could develop into an argument, Annie asked the tutee to freewrite for the last five minutes of the tutorial. Annie explained that she regularly asked her tutees to freewrite for several different reasons. It ensures the tutee "walks away with something written and tangible to go back to because, you know, the hardest part for a tutee in any session is remembering what you said." Annie's flexibility in the tutorial reflected her well-developed tutor identity and her strong commitment to student learning.

Engagement with Reflective Practices

Participation in the present study gave Melissa an opportunity to reflect on her practices. She observed: "at our last interview, all of the questions you asked really made me reflect a lot…[about] what I had gained from the [one-day workshop] training and how I had just improvised." Melissa's observation indicated that reflecting on her preparation allowed her to delineate between the information she acquired in the workshop and her own instincts which she regularly relied on. As in the other areas of tutor identity development, Melissa failed to fully engage in what Danielewicz (2001) would call "reflexive" behavior. Melissa took time to think about her work in the Writing Lab in order to observe how far she had come, rather than complicating her practice as a means to improve it.

Participation in the present study also gave Annie and Suzie opportunities to reflect on their tutoring behaviors. In their second interviews, both tutors indicated that their participation in the study had given them the opportunity to reflect on their work as writing tutors, in the same way they reflected on their assignments in the preparation course. Annie and Suzie engaged in extensive self-reflective practices in the preparation course, which modeled this type of behavior as a key practice of a writing tutor. Therefore, both tutors regularly engaged in reflective activity because it was part of their tutor identities. For example, Suzie regularly reflected on her tutorials as a means to further improve her tutoring practices which was a technique modeled in the Writing 60 course. Suzie believed that learning reflective processes was one of most effective outcomes of the Writing 60 course. However, I would argue that learning these skills was one of the most significant aspects of Suzie's development as a writing tutor. Because she had the ability to reflect on her methods, and the flexibility to employ alternative practices, Suzie was well prepared to meet the needs of even the most challenging tutees.

Community

Melissa was the only tutor in the present study who specifically mentioned community building as an important outcome of her preparation program, one of the workshop leader's goals. Melissa stated that one of the most helpful aspects of the preparation workshop was, "knowing that we are a community and we are supported." Melissa believed that community membership was an integral component in developing her understanding of tutoring: she saw herself as a peer tutor in a community of tutors. However, Melissa did not demonstrate any evidence that she felt part of a larger discourse community of peer tutors. And while this was not a desired outcome of the CRC preparation program, exposure to discourse is necessary in the development of strong identities. Melissa's belief in her membership to a localized community of tutors may have influenced her ability to develop a slightly stronger tutor identity than Robert who showed no evidence of membership in a local community of tutors or a larger field of discourse.

Although neither Suzie nor Annie displayed overt evidence of possessing membership in the community of CRC tutors, both tutors indicated that they felt affiliations with the larger discourse community of peer tutors. In their interviews, both Annie and Suzie regularly referenced the course materials in the language of the discourse community. Again, even though neither tutor made outright declarations as such, both tutors functioned as members of a local and national community of tutors. Their exposure to multiple methodologies of tutoring, as well as writing center and educational discourses allowed Annie and Suzie to develop their identities as tutors within a community.

Discussion

The data from this study suggest that the writing tutors prepared by the workshop had not yet begun to develop their professional tutor identities, while the tutors prepared by the workshop and the class were beginning to develop more complex tutor identities. As novice tutors, all four had clear areas for improvement in their practice, but Annie and Suzie displayed more evidence of beginning to develop strong tutor identities. And while Melissa and Robert offered their tutees acceptable tutorial support, they did not offer data to suggest that they had started conceptualizing their identities as tutors. The format of the two preparation programs played a significant factor in these results, as the tutors prepared by the course had considerably more exposure to tutoring models and to the discourse of the writing center community. However, these data do not suggest that a workshop preparation program would be unable to address the four identity characteristics in its curriculum. Other institutions include a strong focus on developing tutor identities in condensed preparation programs.

The curriculum of the CRC preparation workshop did not give its participants the necessary tools to develop the effective tutor identity outlined by the workshop leader. A major factor preventing the development of a tutor identity was the limitation of time. Thus, while the workshop presented the participants with a model of effective and ineffective tutoring behaviors, it did not provide them with multiple identity models, nor the time and space to reflect on them. Similarly, the participants were given a brief glimpse into the discourse of tutoring in the "Practical Tips" hand out, but they were not given sufficient time to engage with this discourse, or given any indication that it was just a very small part of a larger academic community. More importantly, the curriculum did not provide the participants with opportunities to engage in any kind of reflective practices, which prevented the participants from locating their identity within the larger field. Without multiple identity models and exposure to discourse, or the ability to reflect on their identity development as tutors, the tutors prepared only by the preparation workshop failed to develop tutor identities consistent with the goals of the program.

The two tutors prepared by the Writing 60 course as well as the one-day workshop, Annie and Suzie, developed stronger tutor identities due in large part to the curriculum of the course. Because of the numerous models of tutoring behavior and identities, as well as the introduction to the discourse of the writing center community, Annie and Suzie were well prepared to develop tutor identities consistent with those articulated by the Writing 60 instructor. The focus on metacognitive practices in the course allowed Suzie and Annie to construct self-reflective narratives in the writing center discourse that facilitated their development as writing tutors. Because the participants in the preparation course had ample exposure to multiple models of tutor identities and relevant discourses, as well as significant opportunities to metacognitively reflect on their practices, the tutors prepared by both the workshop and the course developed appropriate tutor identities.

Implications

As with all case study research, there are limitations to the implications of this study. The data reported here are not representative of all writing tutor preparation programs; however, they tell an important story about the benefits of engaging tutors in identity development. Moreover, this study highlights how four undergraduate peer tutors of writing at the same institution were presented with varied opportunities for developing a tutor identity in their preparation programs. Writing center directors can utilize this information as they create their own tutor education program, in whatever format available to them, in order to consider the types of tutor identities they would like their tutors to develop. Additionally, this research can work to reconsider the "training" of undergraduate writing center tutors as tutor education or professional development. This distinction may help new tutors conceptualize the importance of the work in which they are about to engage. Similarly, because there is not a significant body of research regarding writing preparation programs for non-K-12-teachers, these stories highlight the need for all writing program administrators to consider the motivation and goals of the participants in their preparation programs, as well as to present them with multiple identity models and the discourse of the profession within the guise of a balanced praxis.

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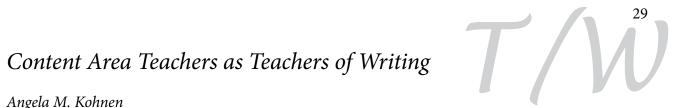
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Content Area Teachers as Teachers of Writing

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Despite movements to increase writing across the curriculum, at the high school level writing instruction is primarily the domain of the English Language Arts (ELA) teacher. However, the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) may change this. The standards, which had been adopted by 45 states as of this writing, include literacy standards for social studies/history, science, and technical subjects that specifically call on teachers in these areas[1] to address discipline-specific reading and writing skills at the middle and high school grade levels (National Governors Association). As states move toward implementing these standards, teachers from all departments will be asked to become "teachers of writing."

But are these teachers prepared to meet this challenge? And how can pre-service and in-service teachers in the content areas be supported to effectively incorporate writing into their classes? Drawing on work with high school science teachers, this article seeks to address these issues and offer suggestions for those working with writing teachers across the disciplines.

Relevant Literature

In their analysis of existing data, including data gathered as part of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), Applebee and Langer found that "many students are not writing a great deal for any of their academic subjects, including English, and most are not writing at any length" (ii). They date this problem to the 1990s and the standards movement with its increased emphasis on reading and math. While some states included questions which required written answers as part of the tests mandated by No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation, Applebee and Langer suggest that "these may be shifting attention away from a broad program of writing instruction toward a much narrower focus on how to best answer particular types of test questions" (ii). In their national survey of high school social studies, language arts, and science teachers, Kiuhara, Graham, and Hawken found that most writing assignments asked for students to report information without analysis or interpretation; like Applebee and Langer, Kiuhara, Graham, and Hawken point out that "efforts to improve writing are virtually nonexistent in the school reform efforts in the United States" (136), particularly reforms mandated by NCLB. The lack of time spent on writing in American schools prompted The National Commission on Writing in America's Schools and Colleges to title their 2003 report *The Neglected "R:" The Need for a Writing Revolution*. However, although states have yet to begin standardizing testing over the Common Core State Standards, the standards may provoke change (if not a revolution); they appear to call for more complex writing tasks across the curriculum.

Yet teachers who have spent decades ignoring writing entirely or focusing only on writing test answers may not feel comfortable assigning or assessing other kinds of writing. In the field of science education, nearly 60% of teachers surveyed believed they were not prepared to teach writing (Kiuhara, Graham, and Hawken). These teachers, self-identified as non-experts in the field of writing instruction, may share some qualities with non-expert writers. In the 1980s several studies were undertaken to compare expert and non-expert writers; researchers concluded that novice writers tended to overlook writing problems that experts recognize (Hayes et al.) and defined revision as fixing problems at the word or sentence level (e.g. Bridwell; Faigley and Witte; Sommers). Likewise, a study comparing high school science teachers' responses to student writing in the genre of science journalism to responses by a professional journalist found that the teachers focused on grammatical and typographical errors while the professional editor looked at a wide range of content- and genre-related issues (Kohnen).

The fact that content-area teachers are unprepared to teach writing should come as no surprise. Required coursework in writing pedagogy is the exception, not the norm, for pre-service content-area teachers at most colleges of education, with some colleges reporting that this topic is covered in a more general literacy course, in a methods course, or only for English or social studies majors (Totten). Once they begin service, content-area teachers may find themselves facing writing-across-the-curriculum (WAC) mandates in their schools with little in the way of professional development or training to help them enact these initiatives. As a policy brief from the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) addressing the anticipated demand for more reading and writing across the curriculum (RAWAC) programs in response to CCSS argued, "if RAWAC is going to be incorporated into classes beyond ELA, teachers' views of RAWAC need to change, and schools will need to undertake significant programs of professional development" (The James R. Squire Office of Policy Research in the English Language Arts 16). This article reports on one such program.

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1   The fact that these literacy standards were included in the same document as the English Language Arts standards (and that the content-area literacy standards for grades K-5 were included as part of the ELA standards) did cause confusion, with some content-area teachers assuming that this meant disciplinary reading and writing was now part of the English Language Arts curriculum. However, the intent of the Common Core Standards is to include writing across content areas.