

**THE TEACHING OF WRITING AND THE PUBLIC WORK
OF THE TRANSNATIONAL UNIVERSITY**

by

Hannah Elizabeth Gerrard

BA, University of Auckland, 2002

MA, University of Auckland, 2004

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This dissertation was presented

by

Hannah Elizabeth Gerrard

It was defended on

April 16, 2012

and approved by

David Bartholomae, PhD, Professor of English and Charles Crow Chair

Jamie “Skye” Bianco, PhD, Assistant Professor of English

Amanda Godley, PhD, Associate Professor of English Education

James Seitz, PhD, Associate Professor of English

Dissertation Advisor: Stephen L. Carr, PhD, Associate Professor of English

and Acting Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research

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This project enriches recent efforts to “transnationalize” the field of composition studies by examining the teaching of writing in the context of the university as a transnational institution. In so doing, I also question the association of composition instruction with a national public project concerned with rational argument in a democratic, deliberative public sphere; I argue that this straightforward association is disrupted by the imperatives of the transnational university, and hence “public writing” pedagogies must better take this context into account. I examine how civic purposes emerge in a range of writing classes – professional, public, and academic – as students negotiate the transnational university’s imperatives of flexibility and diversity. I draw on recent rhetorical scholarship that theorizes agency and situation in current contexts of circulation to reconsider the student’s agency in post-national civic spaces, and to propose how writing classes might offer micro-strategies towards potential civic action.

In addition to this detailed pedagogical work, I examine how literacy instruction has been and is situated at an institutional level in relation to the changing formation of the university. In constructing a partial history of the teaching of “composition” in New Zealand, I examine how teachers have understood their work as having civic purposes, and how the increasingly global understanding of the university’s function reconfigures those civic purposes, as notions of access, research and teaching, and institutional responsibility change. I ultimately contextualize this work in New Zealand by looking broadly at recent developments in literacy instruction in

the United Kingdom and Australia: I argue that attention to the positioning and the distribution of literacy work in the university across these national contexts makes evident both a transnational milieu of neoliberal reform and distinct national and local responses to such reform. I suggest these transnational negotiations should concern U.S. scholars and teachers committed to “public” rationales for their work, and to the increasingly compromised work of public education more broadly. In this manner, I question some of the attempts to “transnationalize” composition studies by aggregating pedagogies and research worldwide, rather than attending to what we might call a transnational “eduscape.”

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INTRODUCTION

In his 1908 discussion of high school education in *Modern Education*, the notable New Zealand university professor John Macmillan Brown invokes the strength of the Scottish system for its inculcation of literature and culture beyond the three R's – before the humanities became overtaken with parsing, analysis, and philology (35). Macmillan Brown argues that English

as a literary and humane study ... develops all the faculties and every side of the nature, it fills the mind, it enriches the vocabulary and power of expression; and properly taught, as supplying themes for composition and debate, it is one of the finest educational means of conserving individuality, of evolving the capacity and the desire for self-education, and of giving that plasticity to environment which should be the paramount aim of all teachers. (36)

His explicit way of naming this form of English is “the practical or laboratory treatment,” as opposed to the “purely linguistic” (36). Elsewhere Macmillan Brown describes the “higher faculties” as “practical reason” and “practical imagination,” as opposed to simply the exercise of memory and recital under exam conditions – and he claims that high schools have the advantage over universities in that “the art of composition is practically taught – the truest application of laboratory practice to a literary subject” (40).

I am drawn to Macmillan Brown's way of talking about the purpose of teaching English – as engendering not a particular kind of student subject so much as “capacity,” “desire,” “plasticity”: a series of potentialities. And I am drawn to his sense of composition at the center of this work. I begin at this point to evoke some of the curiosity that drew me to composition studies in the United States, curiosity that only grew as, once here/there, I came to better understand the field's preoccupations and acts of self-definition. Growing up and being educated in New Zealand during periods of significant educational reform in the 1980s and 1990s, I was immersed in debates about the domain of – and the funding of – public education. Such debates

usually proceeded at the level of policy and with the invocation of a kind of public-ness that was incontrovertible: education was a public good whose *nature* as a public good it was not necessary to investigate, even after its increasing conception as a private good instituted dramatic change in the New Zealand education system. The “public good” argument is most often to be invoked, rather than proved, even today. In these debates, at least as far as my awareness went, teaching was considered largely in terms of resources – seldom increased, often becoming more and more stretched – and without a corresponding conversation about curriculum.

Composition studies promised a curious reworking of these themes, and at the level of higher education – a sphere in which, in New Zealand at least, the “public good” is more often explicitly conceptualized in terms of research and advocacy than it is in terms of pedagogy and curriculum. In its broad concern with student access and student experience, and – as I discovered as my graduate education progressed – its increasing interest in “public writing” pedagogies, composition studies offered a new “public” way to value my interest in pedagogy and the undergraduate curriculum. My growing interest in public sphere theory added a sense of greater consequence to this curiosity, but it also seemed to not exactly address the situation of teaching in the university. As I approached the writing of this dissertation, something about the context of teaching remained elusive.

Part of the problem of thinking the work of composition instruction as “public” has to do with the production of student subjectivity. Do we aim to engender capacity, desire, plasticity, in some way akin, or not, to Macmillan Brown, which might ultimately tend towards public purposes, even if indirectly – or do we look to produce virtuous public actors of a specific kind, who rehearse or perform their public actions with us in the classroom? By extension, another part of the problem concerns the site of our teaching. How are classroom spaces already public, and

how closely can or should our classrooms approximate the actual operations of public discourse? Can we rely on an indirect or a direct association between the way publicity is invoked in the classroom and its effects on students who will be public beings, are already public beings, outside the classroom? Much recent work in the field, as I will discuss in this introduction, has concerned itself with establishing priorities for teaching in the context of radical changes to the nature of public life in recent decades. I would argue, however, that these fundamental questions about how this complexity translates into our work remain. Indeed, they are given new urgency in an age when by most measures the work of the university is less and less “public.” We need to ask, then, what does it mean to claim public value as the measure of our work.

With these questions in mind, I approach the field of composition instruction and composition studies in this dissertation with a clear set of investments. These investments necessarily address certain parts of the field while bracketing others. When I ask myself Lisa Ede’s question, “what are we talking about when we talk about composition?”, the answer is that I too see myself contributing to the conversation about the “nature, status, and consequences” (3) of the discipline, which Ede so usefully chronicles in *Situating Composition*. But I do this from a particular angle, one that emphasizes the core teaching mission, rather than research, the major, graduate work, professionalization, and so on – and to an extent I even bracket the challenges that an identification with this core pedagogical mission poses for composition studies as a research field. I have been acculturated to composition in the context of an élite research university, however, and I pose questions for the discipline that come out of the complexities of its work in that context; I do not pretend to address every instantiation of composition instruction in other kinds of institutions, though I think my work has implications for such institutions in their inevitable relationships with the research university. Much of the work of this dissertation

explores why general education, and various “general” writing courses, are key to investigating the public work of the university today.

As I have suggested already, I come bearing transnational interests as well. I do not think these merely idiosyncratic: numerous challenges to the “public” nature of university education emerge out of the influence on higher education of the same globalized economy that has reconfigured our understanding of publicity, in conjunction with the global changes in media that have heralded “the end of privacy” – and from within the field, too, the awareness of the transnational contexts that inform our teaching today has generated much recent scholarship, which I discuss in depth in the final chapter of this dissertation. My attention in this project to New Zealand, and also to the United Kingdom and Australia, is in part a result of a deep interest in the politics and the education system of my home country, and by extension an interest in the nations with which New Zealand’s political and education systems are most intertwined. But I would suggest that New Zealand and Australia, where both the status of English as the predominant language and the establishment of the university are clearly embedded in settler colonialism, offer an interesting set of connections and divergences to the United States, even as any straightforwardly comparative project is undone by transnational influences, as my analysis will show. With the U.S., and certain other nations that fall outside the range of this project, the complex of these countries together can be taken to be a kind of “center” from which English language radiates to dominate the global academic environment; this “center” offers a particularly concentrated formation from which to consider the uncertain “public” status of the range of projects falling within the bounds of English teaching in the university – at once the site of additional-language learning for domestic and international students, the preservation and expansion of cultural heritage, and the invocation of the predominant language of civic life. I pay

extended attention to a U.S. writing classroom in the first chapter of the dissertation, even as I consider how the issues that arise there resurface in pedagogy and institutional positioning elsewhere.

As this introduction will elaborate, the institution we might call the “transnational university” poses a range of layered questions for composition studies. My contention in this dissertation is that examining the teaching of college writing at multiple levels of pedagogy, curriculum, and institutional positioning reveals some of the ways in which universities negotiate both global, largely neoliberal, agendas, and local and national responsibilities in regards to access and diversity. I take this negotiation as key to understanding the potential public work of the writing classroom, and to locating “public writing” pedagogies in perhaps their most significant context. But I also take it as providing analytical grounds for composition studies to better articulate its public ambitions, and to contribute to broader discussions that ask affiliated questions about the public work of the university itself.

I. Revising the Citizen-Rhetor

Deeply-held convictions about the importance of a deliberative, civic rhetoric have underwritten the work of composition instruction for some time. A piece that neatly distills some of the discipline’s commonplaces is John Duffy’s recent “Virtuous Arguments” in *Inside Higher Ed*, where Duffy argues that first-year writing is a (widespread, if marginalized) project to improve the “debased public discourse” characteristic of politicians and the media: despite the misperception of this work as remedial grammar instruction, the teaching of composition is “a well-organized, systematic, and dedicated effort taking place each day to promote an ethical public discourse grounded in the virtues of honesty, accountability, and generosity.” For Duffy,

the teaching of academic argument offers these virtues via academic writing's attachment to a community of participants, standards of proof and reasoning, and acknowledgement of complexity and counter-argument – the potential for this to affect the standard of “public discourse” is at least “the promise” of first-year composition. Such an imaginary persists, despite several decades of questioning within the field of how “the public” or “public writing” might be the field or aim or object of instruction.

The rise of “public writing” pedagogies might itself be traced to this very attachment, this very imaginary. It seems possible to argue that U.S. composition instruction's attachment in its “service” incarnation to a project of civic uplift in the post-war period – by assisting disadvantaged or marginalized students to access and succeed in the academy – has blurred into another project of civic uplift, one addressing public discourse itself, often via claiming affiliation with classical rhetoric and the operations of the *polis*. I will discuss a number of challenges that current politics and the contemporary form of the university offer to this project. It is important first, however, to acknowledge the context of this shift, and to reserve a space to consider the value of this imaginary – even if this effectively equates to considering the possible value of nostalgia. If we take “public writing” to be a way of naming this imaginary as an explicit pedagogical movement, as opposed to relying on an implicit link between academic writing and public “values” as Duffy does, issues of institutional currency arise. Consider Elizabeth Ervin's claim, in her chapter “Composition and the Gentrification of Public Literacy” published in Keller and Weisser's collection *The Locations of Composition*, where she proposes that the trend to pursue “public” rather than “academic” literacy as the object of composition teaching (with due respect to the overlap between those categories) is evidence of not only the field's political ambitions or attachments to rhetorical history, but crucially of the field's desire

to enhance its own status. Ervin reflects in interesting ways on how this desire plays out in the discipline, even as she notes the lack of evidence linking the writing classroom and lasting civic progress; she argues that while “democracy nostalgia” (43) circulates widely, just as important a drive behind public literacy initiatives is a kind of “gentrification” of the work of composition, which might ultimately lead both to the neglect of key aspects of composition’s work such as the teaching of basic writing and “the conventions of academic writing” (48), and to pedagogical or research practices that exploit the disadvantaged communities often the subject of public literacy initiatives.

Much of Ervin’s concern, and the concern of other composition scholars who write about “public writing” initiatives, comes from the apprehension around domesticating “the public” to have it fit into the classroom or the semester or the assignment sequence. I take Ervin’s concerns seriously, and want to situate them in relation to the key point of reference in this dissertation: the transnational university. In this context, to identify the drive of the field to enhance its own status by moving from the service-associated project of “academic writing” to the broader work of public writing is to note its participation in a competitive ethos that pervades the university, now implicated in a global marketplace of ideas; public writing, and professional and technical writing, represent in some ways the pedagogical edge of a shift to a primarily service economy. This is a university environment increasingly less and less “domestic,” which strains the legitimacy of the association of composition instruction with the citizen-rhetor.

Indeed, while Duffy links composition instruction and the quality of American public discourse through the broadest of values, many scholars in recent decades have tried to complicate this notion of public discourse even as they have composition instruction approach it

more directly through pedagogies explicitly named as “public writing” pedagogies. Alexander Reid puts the case against the citizen-rhetor briefly and somewhat polemically in a blog post:

I see ... a familiar article of faith, a shared disciplinary belief, in a Modern ideal of ultimately rational human agents who can participate in an Enlightenment-style democratic, civic rhetoric, AND that this rhetorical practice, as it is rational, will inevitably lead toward a familiar kind of liberal society of justice and equality. As I see it, the fundamental problem with scholarship in my field is that it must start and end with this belief. If a method or experience or evidence supports this goal then we use it and validate it. If a theory or data seems to make this goal more difficult (or impossible), then we critique it, attack it, discount it, or just plain ignore it. Or, alternately, we just plain misread it. (“Rhetoric & Composition, Networks, and Object-Oriented Politics”)

While some public writing scholars have argued that any public exigency for writing is inherently more valuable than one staged in the classroom – for example, Christian Weisser in *Moving Beyond Academic Discourse: Composition Studies and the Public Sphere* – others have proposed more cautious and complex versions of public writing pedagogies, accompanied by caveats. Much of the work on public writing pedagogies at least complicates the idea of a citizen-rhetor whose agency is demonstrated through rational discourse that then has direct effects. For example, in “Rogue Cops and Health Care: What Do We Want from Public Writing?” Susan Wells (1996) explores some of the challenges of taking on this orientation to our work, naming it as less about making space for any particular “identity” to speak in a public sphere but as a questioning of the relationship between “discourse and action” (337); she writes, “the realignment of rhetorical pedagogy to the public I advocate is not, therefore, a prescription or proscription of a genre of writing. Personal essays are not intrinsically “private”; technical discourse is not necessarily “public.” Rather, publicity is constructed as a relation of readers to writers, including notions of rationality and accountability that are continually open to contest” (335). In addition, a number of scholars have looked to reemphasize circulation and delivery as part of moving the field towards “public writing.” In “Composition and the Circulation of

Writing,” John Trimbur (2000) argues that classroom conditions and disconnection among the canons of rhetoric have contributed to the “isolation of writing from the material conditions of production and delivery” (189) – and that this is a problem, because in privileging composition over delivery in writing instruction, we neglect the circulation of writing, where “it takes on cultural value and worldly force” (194). Reconceptualizing the notion of delivery for writing instruction and for modern instantiations of publics, Trimbur argues we should view delivery not merely as technical but also ethical and political, that is, concerned with democratic circulation in public forums, and with expanding such circulation. Trimbur endorses “public writing” assignments, such as writing letters to the editor, and service learning within composition studies, but is also interested in how we might conceptualize the circulation of classroom writing. Paula Mathieu and Diana George (2009) also argue for the significance of circulation in enabling social action (“Not Going It Alone: Public Writing, Independent Media, and the Circulation of Homeless Advocacy”). This concern has only become more central to the field with the rise of multimodal pedagogies, where anticipating circulation is increasingly part of the work of composition and design (see, for example, Jim Ridolfo and Dànielle Nicole DeVoss, “Composing for Recomposition: Rhetorical Velocity and Delivery”).

Current contexts of intense circulation may question the field’s privileging of deliberative rational-critical discourse, but there remains a place for the “ideal” in public discourse – that is, attention to the reality of communicative contexts does not entirely remove us from the degree to which education is always a project concerned to some extent with the realm of the possible.

Writing of their multimodal pedagogies, David M. Sheridan, Jim Ridolfo, and Anthony J. Michel argue that

In our admittedly utopian vision, the public sphere becomes a space where nonspecialists self-reflexively engage in an extended “conversation” characterized by the rhetorically

effective integration of words, images, sounds, and other semiotic elements ... What is needed, we contend, is a conceptual apparatus – a map – that better enables rhetorical educators to confront a host of fundamental and concurrent shifts in rhetoric as a simultaneously symbolic, cultural, and material practice that occurs within local and extended contexts that are themselves simultaneously discursive, cultural, and material. (“The Available Means of Persuasion: Mapping a Theory and Pedagogy of Multimodal Public Rhetoric” 805, my emphasis)

Sheridan, Ridolfo, and Michel argue that critiquing the predominance of “written rhetoric and associated media and technologies within the academy” and “the logics of profit and consumerism that enforce an overly narrow understanding of multimodality and technologies associated with it” is vital (812), but there is still space for encouraging deliberative practice in the deployment of multimodal composition; they look to building self-reflexivity into compositions to make rhetoricity evident, even as there remains a place for agonistic multimodal composition. They contrast the deliberative with the agonistic, arguing there is a place for both, and indeed public writing scholars have attempted to articulate models of the public sphere that can shape work in the classroom in ways that do not take deliberative practice for granted – models that may or may not reflect actual practices, but that argue for particular relations between writers and audiences, regardless of context or medium. Two texts are particularly salient here for thinking about this problem of the real or ideal: James Crosswhite’s *A Rhetoric of Reason*, and Patricia Roberts-Miller’s *Deliberate Conflict: Argument, Political Theory, and Composition Classes* (where she argues that composition teachers need to be aware of the models of the public sphere they are implicitly espousing, at least in order to be consistent). Both these writers make claims for public argument that destabilize a sense of arguments’ direct effects.

A kind of optimistic or utopian liberal model (as Roberts-Miller argues the liberal model always is (91)) is present in Crosswhite’s *A Rhetoric of Reason*, where he argues that the

teaching of written reasoning is central to the work of the composition classroom. Through an extensive engagement with contemporary rhetorical theory and philosophy, Crosswhite argues for a reception theory of rationality: the idea that audiences are the measure of arguments, and that arguments might be strengthened by seeking the adherence of successively broader audiences. Embedded in this theory is a particular notion of the public sphere and what it means to engage in that sphere. For Crosswhite, making a claim is often a call for understanding rather than criticism, for achieving “social solidarity” (62); while disavowing humanist notions of straightforward commonality, and attempting to “preserve a deep respect for differences from one another” (44), Crosswhite imagines a public sphere oriented toward dialogue and agreement, but which leaves much of the complexity of lived experience outside the realm of “reason.” I read into Crosswhite’s argument a sense of a necessity for limits, if higher education is to claim to contribute to the improvement of public discourse in some general sense, and of the productivity of an unattainable norm for the classroom. Indeed, perhaps this optimism or utopianism is at least to some degree necessary for educators to espouse – after all, it is difficult to imagine a classroom governed explicitly by anything other than working assumptions of universality, at least in relation to students’ capacity to participate in its work. Roberts-Miller gestures at such a notion with her discussion of teacherly desire to ensure “all students have equal rights in and equal access to the classroom discourse” (95) – a fantasy that might be criticized in the same manner that the liberal model of the public sphere is criticized, namely that “the claim of neutrality screens the ways that the authorities actually favor certain positions” (95). While it is wishful thinking to imagine there is no class system in the classroom, there are ways in which, as a space, it is necessarily removed from the exigencies of any real public – if only to create an artificially-level ground for assessment and credentialing purposes, which then,

of course, impose their own class system. Beyond necessity, though, there is also the possibility that educators are invested in improving the quality of public discourse, more so or as much as they are invested in preparing students for the flawed realities of that discourse – and for many, the liberal model may appear the most significant for this purpose. Proposing that students should expect their arguments to have a fair hearing, and should write accordingly, might not reflect the realities of public discourse – but it introduces a standard by which to judge that discourse that is of no small significance.

With due acknowledgement of the power of idealized thinking for educational purposes, then, compositionists have proposed complex models of deliberative practice that do not idealize consensus. In an attempt to retain the degree to which the liberal model can resist the kind of “enclaves” that Cass Sunstein discusses, but also to acknowledge the kind of critique that Nancy Fraser and others have made of that Habermasian model, Roberts-Miller endorses a deliberative model of the public sphere that is simultaneously “normative and inclusive” (204). This model allows for the presentation of personal experience as long as that experience is put to argumentative use (210), and defines identity always in relational terms (199). In the deliberative model, “people with genuinely different points of view can argue with one another” (97), because while personal perspectives are put forward, people are committed to trying to understand others’ perspectives and to moving beyond the limits of their own subjectivity (183), to listening and exploring (186). What is also notable about this deliberative model is its location on Roberts-Miller’s agonistic-irenic spectrum: whereas the liberal model looks towards agreement as the goal of the public sphere, the deliberative model is more open to productive conflict. An argument can be considered productive if it “raises interesting questions, brings up injustices, and draws attention to points of view that had been obscured” (12) – even if it does

not reach compromise or agreement, which in any case would be “contingent” (202). Both Crosswhite and Roberts-Miller note that students should not be limited to writing for a narrow notion of audience, as imagining one’s audience, imagining new possibilities of understanding, is part of the work of writing (we might recall here Michael Warner’s notion of the public). Hence possibilities for experimental or oppositional discourse in the classroom need not be circumscribed by a notion of audience – although they often are by institutional norms.

While these accounts have usefully complicated the work of the imagined student-citizen-rhetor, I argue they lack sustained attention to one crucial aspect of teaching public writing in the university – that is, the university itself. Perhaps, once upon a time, the university might have been so constituted as to map without much difficulty onto national democracy – Bill Readings’ “University of Culture” – and thus to provide an unproblematic context for the project of civic uplift. But today’s university must be considered as part of a global economy, with strained connections to national democratic projects and indeed the notion of civil society at all. This framework lends new focus to what we consider the “real” and “ideal” of “public writing,” in that the notion of the deliberative as the most significant public mode is seriously threatened, and notions of the collective are radically contested.

II. Public Relations – and the Transnational University

As Michael Hardt has argued in “The Withering of Civil Society,” the “conditions of possibility for civil society” have been so undermined that it is more appropriate to say we are living in a “post-civil society” (27). Hardt reads Deleuze towards a notion of a “smoothing out” whereby the dynamics of governmentality are extended to all social space, breaking down what Foucault termed the “enclosures” of the disciplinary society and creating a “society of control” (35). This

offers a challenge to the notion of the civil society, which Hardt defines as “the institutional infrastructure for political mediation and public exchange” (27) – Hardt argues that we have entered a stage of the “productive power of capital,” rather than the “productive power of labor,” and thus “the democratic and/or disciplinary institutions of civil society, the channels of social mediation, as a particular form of the organization of social labor, have declined and been displaced from the center of the scene” (38–40). In this framework, identities are still formed through institutional means, but this work of disciplining is no longer at the center. The result, then, is that aspiring civic actors must rethink how to collectively engage social practices towards the new forms of power:

I would suggest that in order to begin thinking these new potentialities we should return again to investigate the form and nature of labor, or creative social practices, in contemporary society. This is one way that we can begin to separate ourselves from the society of discipline and begin to think the lines of power and potentiality in the new society. Social practices have certainly changed and so too should our notion of what constitutes labor – not just in the sphere of wage labor (which indeed has undergone radical transformation in some sectors) but also in the sphere of desiring production, intellectual creativity, caring labor, kin work, and so forth. ... The networks of sociality and forms of cooperation embedded in contemporary social practices constitute the germs for a new movement, with new forms of contestation and new conceptions of liberation. This alternative community of social practices (call it, perhaps, the self-organization of concrete labor) will be the most potent challenge to the control of postcivil society, and will point, perhaps, to the community of our future. (41)

Hardt suggests looking to “controls over information flow, extensive use of polling and monitoring techniques, and innovative social use of the media” as sites of power, given that mobility, flexibility, and contingency are what characterize the society of control (36–37).

Manuel Castells has argued similarly that under the conditions of what he terms the “network society,”

civil societies shrink and disarticulate because there is no longer continuity between the logic of power-making in the global network and the logic of association and representation in specific societies and cultures. The search for meaning then takes place in the reconstruction of defensive identities around communal principles. Most of social

action becomes organized in the opposition between unidentified flows and secluded identities. (*The Power of Identity*, 11)

Despite the nation-state's crisis of legitimacy, as welfare state commitments are undermined by global economic ones (342), Castells, writing in 1997, notes that "local democracy" flourishes under conditions of increased participation enabled by technology, and more broadly, such online developments offer opportunities to engage in alternative political formations outside the media and political establishments – albeit with the risk of such opportunities being limited to an "élite" section of the population, and with the risk of the result being an increased "show politics" as the sphere diverges beyond "the rationalizing power of parties and institutions ... to a point where integration, consensus, and institution building would become dangerously difficult to reach" (350–351).

Pedagogically proposing a new or a nostalgic infrastructure for public discourse through the valorization of a particular mode of argument becomes, then, perhaps less important than enacting a pedagogical space, or finding positioning within the institution, where relations to potential public spaces are opened up. Castells' analysis suggests the importance of attention both to local participatory spaces and to building or sensing relations that enable the work of decentralized social movements to occur:

the second and main agency detected in our journey across the lands inhabited by social movements is a networking, decentered form of organization and intervention, characteristic of the new social movements, mirroring, and counteracting, the networking logic of domination in the information society ... these networks do more than organizing activity and sharing information. They are the actual producers of cultural codes ... Because our historical vision has become so used to orderly battalions, colorful banners, and scripted proclamations, we are at a loss when confronted with the subtle pervasiveness of incremental changes of symbols processed through multiform networks, away from the halls of power. (*The Power of Identity*, 362)

Circulation becomes crucial, as Philip E. Agre argues; while spaces of deliberation still exist, they "are thoroughly embedded in longer-term, multiply-scaled political processes that extend far

beyond the walls of any given meeting-house,” and rather than supporting deliberation, the “democratic potential of technologies like the Internet ... rests mainly in their ability to support the work of issue entrepreneurs: identifying and researching emerging issues, distributing analyses of current events to an audience, organizing events, and networking with other entrepreneurs in the issue lattice” (“The Practical Republic: Social Skills and the Progress of Citizenship,” 213–4). In this model, the work of the citizen becomes, crucially, one of coordinating circulation, and this kind of “issue-networking” should thus be part of the curriculum in many educational domains (Agre, 214).

The uncertain sociality remaining when national democracy loses its hold on “the public” might invoke a generic idea of the global citizen, but any cosmopolitan ideal must also contend with the ways in which such social being is drawn into the logic of the global economy. Castells offers a comprehensive picture of the political and social consequences of the “informational, global, and networked” economy (77) emerging in the late twentieth century, in *The Rise of the Network Society*: the nature of neoliberal reform, which was “politically constituted” but cannot be “politically undone” (147), increasing asymmetry and inequality (134), and while only an élite labor force is “truly globalized,” “increasing migration, increasing multi-ethnicity in most developed societies, increasing international population displacement, and the emergence of a multi-layered set of connections between millions of people across borders and across cultures” (131–2). He considers whether the majority of people worldwide, bound significantly to the local, may be excluded from the networked capacities of “the new professional and managerial classes living symbolically in a global frame of reference,” despite the potential such networks offer to social movements (*The Rise of the Network Society*, 393). Much recent work on

cosmopolitanism has been concerned to reclaim the idea from its historically élite associations, but real questions remain concerning the economic privilege of the so-called “global citizen.”

It is evident that the university today is crucially located both in local spaces and in the context of the globalized realm of the professional-managerial class. Castells names the transition from the industrial economy into a knowledge/service economy as not so much post-industrialism as “informationalism” (218–9), to emphasize that while knowledge was key to productivity in industrialism, what has changed is the centrality of information systems in maximizing this productivity. The role of the university in this economy is clear: to engage in research and development in conjunction with various government and corporate partners, and to provide education for human resources, even though national investments might result in non-national goods (see Castells, 126–7). Thus, I contend that the transnationalism or cosmopolitanism “from below” that might enable civic work in the information society would do well to take seriously the strategies the university offers its students, forced to negotiate this complex space. This problem has been the object of some attention in composition studies, with its particular attention to students’ experience and its attachment to forming particular kinds of student subjects. Min-Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner, for example, critique the rigid terms within the field of “the debate between critical and pragmatic pedagogies” (114) – pragmatic sometimes shading into “instrumentalist” – as they usefully analyze the position of students who are already workers, if not yet professionals, and how that position shapes a relationship to education.

Students experience the instability of globalization at a local level:

... a significant number of our students are coming or returning to school bearing stories of themselves and those close to them having to reckon with the threat of the current recession, outsourcing, and shifts from manufacturing to service-industry employment. Their investment in higher education is materially, intellectually, emotionally, and viscerally costly and risky: it’s not clear how, when, or whether that investment will “pay off,” and what economic, emotional, or intellectual form the “return” will take. Thus, the

nature of what teachers might imagine they will be working with students to resist, accommodate, oppose, or even pursue alternatives to is historically specific, and so cannot be determined in advance. Instead, it is a matter that requires both student and teacher investigation and articulation in and through writing. (115)

Lu and Horner are concerned to explore the ambiguity of students' relationship to the ideology of a flexible, global, elite worker through attention to the ambiguity of local attachments, when the local is always constituted in part by global economic conditions, in a project akin to those termed "studying globalizing forces from below" (126). Attention to these frictions reconceives composition teaching's frame of reference: "the discipline's grappling with the ethical and pedagogical dilemmas of insiders and outsiders to, say, the academic or home community also needs to be informed by attention to the operation of the hegemonic value of extra-territorial mobility on the ground—in the day-to-day thoughts, feelings, actions, and interactions of actual teachers and students" (128).

As Lu and Horner propose the significance of thinking globalization from below, in all its "friction" with the local, for composition, I draw that project more deeply into the university itself: how the university generates, mitigates, or addresses this friction, in intertwined realms of academic, professional, and public. Their looking beyond a for-or-against pedagogical bind, where attention to the university must be critical or instrumentalist, is useful here, and for me recalls Reid's work in *The Two Virtuals: New Media and Composition*, where part of the exigence of considering the transnational university in more depth is its status as a constraint on our possible pedagogies, not simply as a context to which we must respond. Reid notes that experimental pedagogies in relation to emerging technologies have been common in English teaching for a long time, but that "in an academic context, the constraints on discursive practices have less to do with how we might be able to imagine composition than they do with other institutional values and interests" (*The Two Virtuals: New Media and Composition*, 157). He

describes the neoliberal logic of “limited flexibility” as it informs the production of ideal students, subjects who can respond to whatever “input” the workplace presents and who “must be able to function with ‘others’ in their midst, in their relative professional class, but ... should not be encouraged to identify with the problems of others in any substantial way that might lead them to employ their creative, aggressive problem-solving skills *against* the post-Fordist economy” (187, emphasis in original). For Reid, the university’s “diversity” project, restricted to particular realms, echoes such “limited flexibility,” as students are poised to enter into the lifelong learning, migration, expansion of the boundaries of work, and encounters with difference that the transnational corporation demands: “trained to recognize the fluidity of their own identities, students are prepared to deconstruct and reassemble their selves in order to fit into the modulations of the global economy” (187). Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari, Reid argues that “the university is transformed from a site of discipline, where students are molded into particular kinds of people, into a site of control, where students are matched to a series of modulations reflecting and shaping their desires. These modulations take the form of virtual commodities that student-consumers purchase” (189). Pedagogy might respond to these pressures even though it is “fundamentally indeterminate,” that is, cannot control its own outcomes – and despite the fact that the university is unlikely to reverse its direction towards increased marketization.

I take this account, in conjunction with Lu and Horner’s work, as proposing a set of terms for an investigation of the writing classroom, and for the position of literacy work in the transnational university. At the level of pedagogy, we can work towards classroom spaces that anticipate new democratic infrastructures, establishing relations that facilitate the work of decentralized social movements, exploring ethical questions for an age of globalization, and

proposing ways of thinking the local in transnational terms. These pedagogical concerns are more concerned with activity than with identity. I take as salient the way in which, in his exploration of post-dialectical pedagogies in *A Counter-History of Composition: Towards Methodologies of Complexity*, Byron Hawk argues for the importance of a deeply relational sense of embodied agency, against a notion of the subject oriented to or created by rational-critical debate (119). Even as new media pedagogies emerge as the most productive place of exploration in this regard – “technology makes the fact that the body is immersed in networks of complexity much more immediate and harder to ignore” (Hawk, 234) – a concern with the material, ecological situation of the classroom is broader; it is important to consider how a detailed sense of transnational “conditions” of writing, like that we find in an account like Canagarajah’s *A Geopolitics of Academic Writing*, for example, might form part of an awareness of this embodied agency. Indeed, one way to think about how to articulate the significance of the “local” in the transnational university is to look to embodiment up against the ideal of the cosmopolitan global citizen. Interested in assignments such as micro-mapping, to allow “people to link from their local situations to the global networked spaces” (198), Hawk sees a need to move from “a nostalgic form of community” (204) towards “inventing new forms of contact” across something like Castells’ spaces of flows as well as spaces of places, that is, including the “nonplaces” of global elites (205). Reading Sharon Crowley’s *Composition in the University*, Hawk suggests the notion of a particular kind of student subjectivity – “the citizen rhetor” (216) – is less useful than “a model of the subject that responds to rhetorical exigency” (217), embracing “the particularities of situatedness” (218) – and that such a shift challenges the field’s desires for just that citizen-rhetor. It seems imperative to consider the classroom’s “conditions of possibility for emergence, for invention” (249) as we look to those new forms of contact: in this

more open yet still civically-oriented space, Hawk argues, “a pedagogical act would be evaluated based upon the relationships it fosters and the relationships it severs – on its ability to increase rather than decrease a student’s agency, power, or capacity to produce new productive relations” – even in the knowledge that pedagogy “does not generate a definitive outcome” (Hawk 256). In this spirit, I investigate the place of the “local” in the university in relation to public writing, even as I work in transnational contexts. In this regard, I take my work as diverging from much scholarship engaged in “transnationalizing” composition pedagogy, which has tended to focus on the transnational politics of English language use and world englishes as they emerge within the U.S. classroom. I argue that more attention might be paid to the university as a transnational institution, which has seemed to largely drop out of this inquiry so far; we can look to other national sites to investigate composition-in-the-university, not simply differences in pedagogy, and to transnational currents in university reform as consequential for compositionists everywhere. These are significant questions if we wish to retain a sense of the university as a dynamic participant in the composition that takes place outside it, rather than a credentialing mechanism looking on while the real dynamism of public writing happens elsewhere; the university as *a point in an ecology*¹ of publicity – and privacy – is worthy of our attention.

III. Places of Public Work

My concern in this dissertation lies, then, not only with composition pedagogy, but with the institutional location of literacy instruction and its implications for understanding the nature of the university. Public writing pedagogies, to my mind, call up significant questions about the “public” nature of the university: in an institution that is increasingly *less* public, what does it

¹ I’m grateful to Jamie Bianco for this phrase.

mean to try to name literacy instruction as having public purpose? I would suggest that this version of literacy instruction is not only a space to work towards whatever civic possibilities we can find, but also offers a theoretical contribution to scholarship investigating the “public” university. As Craig Calhoun has argued, the “public” mission or nature of universities today is a conceptual challenge. The term “public” in this context can refer to a range of aspects of the institution, including funding, governance, conditions of knowledge production and dissemination, and institutional effects (“The University and the Public Good,” 10), all of which are interrelated. Calhoun notes that public funding depends on a notion of knowledge production and training as having good public effects, today not least economic competitiveness, despite the fact that universities also distribute private goods, notably in terms of graduates’ employability and the fruits of commercialized research (10–11); the distribution of these effects is also part of what makes a university “public,” but

over time, universities themselves have come increasingly to emphasize both the extent to which they deliver private goods and the extent to which the public goods they offer are economic in nature: new technologies, for example, and contributions to local industries. In other words, they focus on more instrumental justifications rather than either value-rational claims about the inherent virtues of knowledge, culture, or religious inquiry or non-economic accounts of public contributions, such as individual self-development or improved citizenship. (12)

My work does bracket some dimensions of the “public” problematic that concerns Calhoun, such as how autonomous governance is increasingly compromised, and to what extent knowledge can be “freely” exchanged between scholars and enter into “public discourse” (11–12). But I take as salient his conceptualization of the stakes of this problem, in an age of decreasing public funding:

Indeed one of the problems faced by universities is the generally weak articulation of the nature and rationale for public expenditure and public governance in pursuit of public goods – a problem that extends well beyond universities (though one might think they have an interest in addressing it). How universities understand themselves and address

these questions of their ‘public’ nature and role, however, cannot be separated from how they manage the tensions between excellence and accessibility. (12)

Calhoun accepts Bill Readings’ concern with “excellence” as a way of naming a recent rhetorical shift to foreground a notion of institutional recognition and superiority in the discourse of the university – but he argues this concept has a longer history of negotiation with another institutional concern, “accessibility” (9). While this latter term also refers to the accessibility of the knowledge produced within the university, in my project its key meaning is the opening up of previously elite credentials to a broader population.

Calhoun’s formulation is particularly pertinent to composition studies because of its long commitment to questions of access, as a consequence of its historical ties to key moments of expansion in higher education and indeed with postwar “massification.” As composition studies has become an increasingly research-oriented field and a so-called discipline, with concomitant advances in status for many members of the profession – but without such advances for a significant adjunct labor force – it has in turn become less clearly tied to the project of remedial or developmental academic literacy, at least at its theoretical edges; thus the attachment to an “access” project has become distributed across different sites within the field in different ways, although one could argue it remains fundamental. Beyond classroom pedagogy, then, we might take the transnational university, as a site operating to some degree outside the domain of national questions of diversity and equity, as placing particular pressures on historical and present commitments to “access,” and ask how the form and meaning of that term changes, and changes the domain of literacy work. To explore this problem is to assume that there is more than a little variability and contradiction in the current university – that it is layered with older projects even as it lurches toward the new. Simon Marginson, for example, questions the totalizing arguments (of which Castells is certainly not an instance) that cast the current

university in terms of its complete domination by neoliberal economic reforms and its complicity in regimes of competition, prestige, and revenue, superseding concerns of scholarship or education. For Marginson, such arguments – and perhaps a little unfairly, he counts Bill Readings’ among them – are

merely descriptive, and a schematic description in the face of a highly complex problem. The transformation is never so complete, nor solely engineered from above by managers and governments, let alone cosmic forces of ‘capitalism’ and ‘globalization’. It involves also changing identities and desires, and new kinds of reflexivity and self-investment. And there is much national and local variation. More important than description is explanation. (“Putting ‘Public’ Back into the Public University,” 46)

Marginson looks to ways to theorize the university as shaped both by an outside and an inside: “it is clear that the university is shaped simultaneously by (1) its own varying, inner capacity for self-alteration; (2) the field of higher education; and (3) other networks and interests in which it is implicated” (47). My dissertation explores some of these layered dynamics in relation to literacy instruction, taking for granted that as a pedagogical site it can provide some of the texture Marginson sees as lacking – and I argue that doing such work across a range of national sites is crucial to any astute analysis of university dynamics. In this way, composition instruction’s attempt to articulate a civic project and a space for teaching it suggests both new limits and new approaches to arguing for the value of public education. Calhoun is clear that “we need a stronger analysis of how universities can be public” (37): I argue that it is crucial that composition studies attempts to offer such an analysis.

In Chapter One, “Writing Classroom to World: Civic Education and the Composition Curriculum,” I undertake an extended case study of several kinds of writing classes in an American university, exploring how public purpose runs through these classroom spaces in unexpected ways. Part of my interest is in destabilizing the architecture with which we conceive writing instruction, where the academic, professional, and public are often seen as distinct

spaces; I look to how professional writing might take part in cosmopolitan education, even as a specifically “public” pedagogy can be drawn into the logic of the professionalizing imperative of the university, and I consider the indirect ways in which the teaching of academic writing might invoke civic purposes even as it moves away from a straightforward valorization of rational-critical argument. I frame the public purpose of writing instruction in terms of a transnational ethics of circulation that takes into account the peculiar scene of the university, an institution mediating between national and transnational imperatives. What happens if we take circulation to be as crucial as argument, for our conception of a student writer’s ethos or agency, and we think of the university as itself a culture of “circulation” of some consequence? How might we teach towards these new conditions in the context of university dynamics? Ultimately, I argue the writing classroom’s public purpose is indeed one characterized by an uncertain sociality – that is, the transnational university does not offer a straightforward substitute to replace the notion of national democracy as the object of public work. Nonetheless, in conjunction with questions about the modality of public writing, the field might consider the institutional conditions which shape the ethical conditions under which any modalities might be deployed; in this spirit, I look to frictions and possibilities in the writing classroom that angle towards more open relations in imagining publicity.

In Chapter Two, “‘The Very Antipodes of the Centres of Learning’: Composition and the Idea of General Education in the New Zealand University,” I suggest how the nature of the university and its mission shapes the field’s self-definition, in New Zealand and by implication elsewhere, through my version of a history of “composition” in the New Zealand university. I trace “composition” instruction oriented towards public purposes in the context of changing notions of university education and constraints on pedagogical possibilities. This tracing is not a

linear narrative of heroic pedagogues and empowered students so much as an investigation into various projects concerned with naming teaching as having a civic function. New Zealand's small size has meant that the imperatives of the global research economy and national policies of essentially open access to higher education have been located within the same institutions, rather than distributed across a differentiated tertiary education sector; I argue this offers a particularly incisive context in which to assess the work of composition and other general education initiatives in the transnational university. Drawing teaching more substantively into a history of institutional reform, a history that in New Zealand is usually concerned almost entirely with policy, offers us crucial perspective on the present: it illuminates the most significant areas of contestation today, by resisting the reliance on an idea of a "golden age" of the university and looking instead at long-term constraints to illuminate actual change, and it examines some of the limits and the imaginative power of New Zealand's famous egalitarianism in education, to better conceive of the meaning of that project today. Examining the period of the establishment of the University of New Zealand and its maturation, I situate some early teachers of English – whose approaches I argue have affinities with "composition" – in terms of a history of the attraction of a notion of liberal education and the difficulty of enacting it with strained resources, and suggest that civic purpose is tied to a colonial imaginary. I trace how literacy work is slowly shifted to the edges of the university, as the model of the "research university" takes over, and these priorities ensure questions of access and standards are reframed even as teachers worry about the plight of the average student. In considering "writing studies" in the current research university, I explore this curricular formation's complex relationship with academic literacy, with research, and with student-centered teaching in a lecture-heavy institutional environment. In all these ways, I suggest the value of composition as a site from which questions about undergraduate

education – increasingly overshadowed by graduate education and research culture as funding priorities shift – can be reframed and addressed.

In Chapter Three, “Writing in the Virtual University: Towards a ‘Transnational’ Composition Studies,” I examine writing instruction in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand in conjunction, considering the various ways in which writing instruction is emerging in these places and how such institutional formations can be explained via a shared context of neoliberal university reform as well as distinctive national practices. I use this analysis of how writing instruction inscribes transnational imperatives in higher education even as it remains deeply local to respond to current accounts of the value and purpose of “transnationalizing” composition as a field. I argue that scholarship invested in “internationalizing” or “transnationalizing” composition studies has neglected the location of literacy work in the university as a question that warrants transnational investigation, in the context of global currents of neoliberal reform in higher education and diverse responses in different national contexts. Attention to these dynamics makes evident the challenge faced by tertiary literacy teachers in places without the same history of composition instruction as the United States to articulate civic goals for their teaching, as concerns with democratic equity and access are reconfigured by reforms and as such teachers often work from a position of offering student support within a specialized research framework, rather than designing the curriculum. I argue the emerging *distribution* of projects affiliated with composition is of interest as we consider the changing form of the university, and its conflicting discourses. To some degree, this distribution allows for diverse projects to proceed without being reconciled, but as the value of the humanities and the public nature of the university are increasingly questioned, we might turn to composition as a site

of theorizing – by way of, crucially, attention to undergraduate education – the public work of the university, in its complex local/global nexus.

1. WRITING CLASSROOM TO WORLD: CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE COMPOSITION CURRICULUM

This chapter asks and addresses the question of what public writing might look like in the composition classroom. I draw on student writing produced in three different kinds of writing courses – professional writing, public writing, and first-year composition – to examine the complexity of teaching writing in the name of civic work. I have, in the introduction to this dissertation, expressed an interest in having the “public” pedagogical work of the composition classroom contribute – or at least be framed more deeply – in the context of a necessity to better articulate the value of “public” higher education. As I have suggested, I am interested in disrupting a simple series of logical leaps wherein logical argument as taught in the composition classroom maps onto public discourse, which in turn maps onto “the public,” which in turn maps onto public education. More compelling connections between classroom work and the value of public education deserve to be articulated, even if – as this chapter will suggest – certain kinds of indeterminacy are crucial to the public work of the classroom, and the degree to which this indeterminacy can be easily translated into arguments for public education is a question in itself. This statement will make evident that I do not argue against the teaching of argument! But I am concerned to not make “better arguments” the only measure of our civic work in the classroom, and to consider how we might articulate the value of our work while keeping its possible effects more open.

It will be useful at this juncture to say something about the terms “public” and “civic” as they will be used in this chapter. Without venturing too far into the shifting meanings of “public,” as the critiques and expansions of Habermasian theory are well known, in our current moment it is important to acknowledge the range of challenges to a liberal model of the public

sphere, some of which I have discussed in the introduction, and also the degree to which it is difficult to determine a purely public space for civic work, especially as the notion of “civic” comes to encompass more uncertain kinds of community than the nation. As Zizi Papacharissi has argued, much civic action today is inevitably initiated in private spaces, through “convergent online technologies”: “in contemporary democracies ... not only do these [civic] pursuits progressively emerge out of the private realm, but it is frequently necessary for the individual to return to the private realm in order to practice these newer civic habits with greater autonomy, flexibility, and potential for expression” (*A Private Sphere: Democracy in a Digital Age*, 17; 21). Even as we are aware of the privatization of previously public spaces, then, we might view civic behavior as negotiating this territory via emerging modalities and associations, even if such formations do not fit easily into a model of deliberative, representative democracy. In this chapter, I am interested more in the preconditions for the emergence of civic thinking and action in as yet undetermined formations than I am interested in the project of proposing new transnational civic formations, though that latter project is important.

I do not aim to resolve the complexities of private and public space and work here; what I end up characterizing in this chapter, as I look at excerpts from several different classes, are instances of civic thinking being enabled or constrained by the institution of the university. It seems fair to say that the space offered to students by this institution is, too, both private and public at once, but in this blurring the university is not unusual. As Papacharissi argues of certain online spaces,

These commercially-funded spaces may not render a public sphere, but they provide hybrid economies of space where individuals can engage in interaction that is civic, among other things. ... While distinct from the public sphere of the past, these tendencies may present a more accurate reflection of contemporary and post-modern public needs and wants ... they present personal and creative interventions into the logic of the

capitalist imaginary, that effectively blend the capitalist and creative imaginaries into a sphere of civic interaction defined by the individual. (129)

In this chapter, too, I consider the classroom as a globalized space in itself – not just a place that reflects globalization elsewhere, or might address globalization or public life elsewhere.

Consider these dimensions of the university today: the institution's marketing to and recruitment of international students, those students' disciplinary/curricular locations, and possibly their immigration rights or lack thereof; the history and rationale behind "foreign language" or ESL requirements and "global" or "international" curricular requirements in general education programs, courses or degrees in such subjects as "global business" and their relationship to other curricular offerings, and "study abroad" opportunities; the university's membership in transnational consortia or networks; the place of transnational corporations in academic publishing, graduate recruitment, and research funding. And consider these local, regional, and national forces that coincide or conflict with the global: state or national education policies, systems, and rankings; "community outreach," "diversity," or "multicultural" initiatives; "national" projects that are traceable in academic curricula and professionalizing activities. It is striking that as teachers, scholars, and administrators, we often think of "academic writing" without this context, or somehow above and beyond it – particularly, I think, when we think about the *teaching* of academic writing, or indeed of "writing" more broadly conceived in composition and rhetorical studies, that is, writing with civic or public import. Much of the context I have listed here is imposed from above, at the level of governance, programmatic decision-making, and economics; I consider my discussion here an attempt to consider these transnational conditions from below, by attention to the classroom as a space where they are negotiated and reconstituted. I invoke Castells for a sense of how this negotiation is constitutive of our current moment:

Although there are places in the space of flows and flows in the space of places, cultural and social meaning is defined in place terms, while functionality, wealth, and power are defined in terms of flows. And this is the most fundamental contradiction emerging in our globalized, urbanized, networked world: in a world constructed around the logic of the space of flows, people make their living in the space of places. (*Network Society*, xxxix)

To draw this equation into the university and to consider it from “below” is to acknowledge that while the university may not be a pure, unconstrained public space, its civic work might still be articulated through attention to students’ negotiations of its global and local dynamics.

While composition’s relationship to the transnational has been addressed in some productive ways within a disciplinary framework, I argue that crucial perspective on how such work might proceed is offered if we add the university more substantially to our analytical apparatus. For example, in “Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach,” Bruce Horner, Min-Zhan Lu, Jacqueline Jones Royster, and John Trimbur crystallize some of the key questions surrounding the transnationalization of composition studies and composition pedagogy, at least as far as such a shift is embodied in what they call a “translingual approach” – an openness to linguistic diversity, broadly conceived, and to the possibilities that “the fluidity of language” offers for the production of meaning. Some of the questions these scholars imagine and respond to include, and I quote, “*How do monolingual teachers of writing teach a translingual approach? Wouldn’t teachers of this approach have to be multilingual themselves?*” (306) and perhaps most pointedly, “*My students are all English monolinguals. Why would they need to learn a translingual approach to writing?*” (307). Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur can only briefly address these concerns – although their brief statements are generative. Some of the advice they offer includes acknowledging the heterogeneity of the languages even “self-identified monolingual” teachers and students use, and the likelihood that their colleagues and fellow citizens are similarly heterogeneous in language use; and that their approach is most

crucially about a “disposition of openness and inquiry that people take toward language and language differences” (307).

I would suggest that “self-identified monolingual” students and teachers better “transnationalizing” work in composition and rhetoric depends, as do other “transnational” pedagogical projects, on an acutely contextualized assessment of how students are already engaging, and might in the future engage, in linguistically heterogeneous and/or globalized environments – that is, we need to pay more attention to how the university and the professions (in their entanglements) structure a relationship to linguistic diversity and to transnational concerns more broadly. Without such attention, I think, we risk positioning ourselves as teacher-missionaries, bringing enlightenment (by way of permission to employ an open attitude to linguistic diversity, including one’s own) to the monolingual or to those who think they need to be monolingual. Instead, we might capitalize on our students’ already-complicated understandings of writing in the context of globalism, and learn as they do to be careful readers and composers in this context, of their work and our own. This stance towards students is not only important because it takes all students’ knowledge and experience seriously – it is important because if our students are to take up this project of embracing linguistic diversity, they will do so in educational, professional, or civic forums where “critical reading” is always institutional or “circulatory” reading, that is, where meaning is made as much in how text circulates and in what forms, as it is in the play of language. Perhaps most crucially, such a project cannot be separated from questions of identity and ethos in the context of transnational communicative practice.

It is significant that student writing be at the center of this argument. In using my students’ writing to build theory – pedagogical and otherwise – I do not aim towards generalizability, of course. As John P. Myers says of his study described in “Making Sense of a

Globalizing World: Adolescents' Explanatory Frameworks for Poverty," "the goal is to provide insight into the process of teaching and learning global issues in the context of globalization. This research also acts as an exploratory case study to contribute to the planning of further research with diverse samples" (105). While I find Myers' work interesting and his methodology instructive, I am cautious of the kind of implications for education at which he arrives: in his study, the student writing is evidence of more-or-less uptake of existing theories of globalization, and his ultimate framework concerns teachers' expectations that adolescents might synthesize complicated frameworks. I aim to read student writing as theoretical in itself, even if it is as much theorizing about the university, professionalism, publics, or agency, in globalized terms, than it is theorization about globalization per se.

If we recall some of the concerns I outline in the introduction – including a kind of reclaiming of “instrumentalist” pedagogies, in the manner of Lu and Horner, and attention to the “limited flexibility” the institution attempts to engender in students, as Reid describes – the task becomes to articulate pedagogical priorities, without proposing a different kind of ideal student subject as the object of our classroom work. What, then, can we call “civic” in the actions or relations our pedagogies provoke, even if, with Hawk, we work in the knowledge that pedagogy “does not generate a definitive outcome” (256)? Crucial to Reid’s vision is an idea of a “post-disciplinary, academic community better prepared to meet the technological and ideological challenges of a globalizing, information culture” (178–9); I read his anti-disciplinarity as trying to escape the tug of war between “our” version of the student and the university’s version of the student. Part of his concern is that teaching is not entirely hostile to/entirely complicit with the market logic of the institution, and the impetus towards professional training – it “draws energy” from it but exceeds it (177). While many scholars point to new versions of the university as

enabling public-oriented pedagogies – a more interdisciplinary version, for example, in the writing of Wells and Sheridan, Ridolfo, and Michel – I am interested here in the version we have, even as we might anticipate its changing.

I. Public Feeling and Professional Action: “Written Professional Communication”

In this section, I explore what the teaching of professional writing might offer as a version of cosmopolitan education. In the context of renewed calls for the humanities to be the site of such education, I argue that education in writing – even professional writing, with its sometimes-strained relationship to the humanities – allows us to move beyond general invocations of empathy, reflection, and self-awareness as the desired results of cosmopolitan education, to thinking about practices, because of composition’s emphasis on student production. My discussion of cosmopolitan education through professional writing instruction attends to how the professional writer is situated in relation to distant others, to the discourses of “flexibility” and “diversity” that Reid notes are so pervasive and constraining, and to linguistic diversity. In looking for spaces of friction and openness that promise potential cosmopolitan actions, I look to theories of rhetorical circulation that recast rhetorical agency in ways pertinent for thinking about “transnational” composition pedagogies.

This is an attention to “context” that I see as different from that offered in the arguments of numerous scholars for “real workplace” dimensions to the teaching of professional writing – for examples, one only need look at the literature on the teaching of professional genres and how it is increasingly oriented towards having students reflect on genres produced through experience in or collaboration with real workplaces, because contextual analysis is key. However, the ultimate aim of this work often seems to be a more nuanced understanding of genre or of the

workplace in itself, not an understanding of professional contexts as part of larger national or global dynamics, or in their complicated affiliations with civic or academic forums. In this chapter, I argue that this is an aim for the teaching of professional writing that should be more fully theorized and articulated as a pedagogical practice and curricular goal. In addition, I consider what it would mean to cast academic writing or public writing (with their intersections) in this space: that is, to name this as the work of the composition class broadly conceived. If composition studies is to take the idea of civic-mindedness or agency seriously, our sense of the capacity to reflect, write, or act has to take into account professional capacity, even as it questions the all-too-easy invocation of global professional as “global citizen.”

In this section, I examine writing produced by students in my Written Professional Communication class in Summer 2010. The students I quote are – as many of the students in that class were – junior or seniors majoring in Engineering, although not all intended to pursue careers as engineers. The first excerpts I’ll discuss were generated at the beginning of the semester as part of responses to a class reading: a short, provocative piece by Jeffrey T. Grabill entitled “Globalization and the Internationalization of Technical Communication Programs: Issues for Program Design,” which raises a series of related issues concerning globalization and the teaching of professional communication: Grabill asks what pedagogies and programs should look like in the context of the questionable political consequences of both corporate and cultural globalization, the development of organizational and production systems to address global markets, and the emergence of (limited forms of) global citizenship and “civic cultures” (376). Grabill ends with a call (that he himself admits is “vague”) for a “broad and integrated education,” a new kind of liberal arts for the era of globalization, complete with deeper forms of internationalization for the American university – the university that Grabill says exists in

“relative isolation” (377). This idea of the university’s “isolation” can be contested, as we will see both in my students’ writing and in the work of various theorists of globalization and/or the university that this chapter discusses, but in this chapter I do articulate what some of the priorities for a pedagogy taking up Grabill’s concerns – less vaguely – might be.

The prompt to guide my students’ responses to Grabill echoes these three concerns, albeit somewhat obliquely:

When you imagine your future “professional life,” how is it detached from or overlapping with your life as a citizen, a community member, a consumer – as someone, that is, with a range of private and public interests and identities? And how does this inflect your understanding of the term “professional”?

What impact do you anticipate the forces of globalization that Grabill describes will have on your future “professional life”?

Where do you stand – at least at this moment, early on in the course – on the conflict that Grabill describes as central to the teaching of professional communication: that is, the tension between teaching students to conform to professional norms and teaching them to critique those norms?

I am concerned here with the ethos and positioning students employ as they link globalization to their location as students and/or budding professionals. While much discussion has focused on the linguistic “resources” students bring to the classroom and how these might be made more of, in all their diversity, I think it is also crucial to ask how students’ identity-work of self-fashioning and reinvention, as it is structured by the professions and the university, structures a relationship to linguistic diversity, and to transnational academic and professional environments.

I want to start with my student Whitney Kazer’s writing, because I read in it a student trying to grapple with some of the largest questions surrounding globalization, transnationalism, or cosmopolitanism, as economic realities and socio-political ways of being. These questions are certainly questions we ask ourselves, or at least priorities that we espouse, as educators: relatively recently, for example, Domna Stanton, in her 2005 Presidential Address to the Modern

Language Association, argued that the primary work of language teaching and literary and cultural studies is to “exemplify and promote a cosmopolitan education and to engage in research and writing whose impulses and goals embody cosmopolitan thinking” (629). Stanton here draws on a groundswell in recent scholarship towards redefining “cosmopolitanism” for our time, rejecting the term’s dilettantish associations and reclaiming it for a kind of situated critical worldliness. As Papacharissi summarizes, the cosmopolitan civic actor takes part in constructing “hybrid discourses of the global” (97) that reconcile local and global tensions, as Appadurai, Castells, and others have theorized; *cosmopolitanism* names the “sense of multicultural fluency and cultural logic” that enables the move from observation to participation in a globally-networked civic sphere (98). Crucially concerned with fragmented solidarity and plurality, the cosmopolitan imaginary is initially concerned with feeling and with establishing relations, holding out for the possibility of uncertain institutionalization but not prescribing it (Papacharissi 100), and in this sense seems particularly relevant to educational contexts, if what we aim to generate in the classroom are kinds of *association* that are civic, without taking the nation for granted as the scene of that civic work – kinds of association that might underlie the formation of new civic spaces and activities.

Stanton argues that crucially, for those of us living in an “imperial nation,” the teaching of foreign languages and texts in translation automatically invokes cosmopolitanism in education: “by implicitly rejecting parochial, chauvinistic beliefs in the exclusive value of our language, culture, nation, or ethnos and by inherently embracing diversity as fundamental to the construction of the self in—and as—its relations to others, the I-in-you who accepts with joy the multiplicity of identities that make up the richly woven texture of human existence” (629). Perhaps a speech is not the place to look for nuance, but I question a general idea of reflection

and self-awareness as the outcome of this generalized cosmopolitan pedagogy of the humanities (even as Stanton laments the small number of students of foreign languages in the United States). Similar limitations are evident in the argument of Martha Nussbaum in *Cultivating Humanity*, cited by Stanton – the argument that studying literature, and the development of the “narrative imagination,” is key to the kind of empathy and compassion that underlies world citizenship (see, for example, Nussbaum 85; 109). I am interested in the possibility of a more substantive movement from cosmopolitanism reclaimed – in all its complexity – to pedagogy. Rather than pursuing abstract notions of empathy, a more situated or contextual pedagogy would follow the situatedness of the new cosmopolitanism, and consider how students as students or workers are implicated in a particular set of relations with various others at a distance, and what it means to act – or compose – ethically in that situation.

Perhaps the most fundamental questions in the reimagining of cosmopolitanism have to do with the nature of our relationship to others, to others at a distance – what kind of imaginative relation can we have with such others, and how might that relation change our behavior or our decision-making or our politics. Whitney Kazer’s writing makes evident that these are not self-indulgent questions, but ones bound up in daily working life and in identity. Whitney writes:

Even the small polymer plant that I currently work for, in rural, run-down Donora, PA, is affected by globalization. Every project that I worked on last semester involving production plants outside of the United States posed new issues, from difficulties in sending and receiving samples through customs, to language barriers while attempting to communicate needs, and everything in between. Yet at the same time, I find that I myself, the Junior Intern from the University of Pittsburgh, just like the polymer product that the company produces, have already been exposed as a globalized “product.” A product created without needs for adaptation or “additional modules” across national borders. My knowledge base and ability to apply it to abstract situations has been impacted and utilized through said globalization, from day one in the real working world, as have the products I work closely with, and I do not expect this impact to wear off any time in the near future.

Whitney makes evident here why the teaching of professional communication is a particularly useful site for thinking through some of the stakes of writing in the globalized university. In a more explicit fashion than in other kinds of composition classes, the status of writing, literacy, and knowledge as global commodities can be a subject for reflection and analysis – and education and literacy learning as a kind of self-fashioning, a reinvention of identity, is also a conscious concern for students of professional writing, who always compose with awareness of how their texts construct a professional identity that can feel more or less authentic. Whitney acknowledges the extreme of this spectrum, perhaps, with her vision of the student-as-global-commodity as a way of understanding the purpose of her education. In *Inside the Teaching Machine: Rhetoric and the Globalization of the U.S. Public Research University*, Catherine Chaput’s account of the long history of the American university’s corporate links and practices, Chaput presents “human capital” – the idea that Whitney is writing about, though this critical frame was not available to her – as presently a kind of corporate-oriented “multicultural subjectivity,” instilled by internationally-themed programs at multiple locations within the university, and functioning as a “technology of the self” that requires “constant self-assessments that go hand in hand with the professionalizing practice of self-presentation” (211–214). That is, in Chaput’s framework, the student’s mobility is crucial to the development of professionalism; that mobility depends on an at-least-benign, at-most-neo-colonial, corporatized attitude towards other cultures and places; and the university (at least at a programmatic level) helps to institute both this professionalism and this multiculturalism. The similarities here with Reid’s account of how “diversity” plays into the “flexibility” espoused by the university are evident.

In a rather conventional assessment, then, the work of the professional writing class would be crucial to this ideology of human capital, and automatically subordinated to the needs

of the global marketplace. Chaput argues that “the accreditation of embodied skills revises the notion of professional from one who is broadly knowledgeable about a collected area of study to one who can prove knowledge of multiple and transferable skills regardless of in-depth professional expertise” (215). At first glance, we might read Whitney’s writing as rather naively instantiating this perspective, although she casts her transferability as deeply connected, not incidental to, her expertise. I am interested, though, in how the place by which Whitney’s use of this perspective is framed – “rural, run-down Donora” – intervenes in any straightforward affiliation with the idea of the global professional. It’s obviously difficult to imagine oneself as a globe-trotting highflyer when one works at a small polymer plant in a rural, rust-belt town. That does not mean that global dynamics are not at work, as Whitney makes clear. But her position as she articulates it here seems both to embrace the idea of mobile “human capital” in a global framework even as it makes clear the deeply localized, deeply constrained location of that “human capital.”

To my mind this calls into question the totalizing framework Chaput establishes between the university, professionalism, multiculturalism or diversity. It was apparent in class discussion that a number of students were rather affronted by the idea of the professional as “cosmocrat” – a term from the Johnson-Eilola and Faber excerpt on professionalism – and this inspired a sense of regional/local affiliation for professional work. We might recall here the dynamic between fear and aspiration discussed in Lu and Horner’s “Composing in a Global-Local Context: Careers, Mobility, Skills”:

Thus, mobility—a crucial class marker in capitalist economy—often connotes powerful but competing sets of meanings, images, and responses, in a variety of ratios and degree of tensions for differently situated teachers and students. On the one hand, one’s own and one’s loved ones’ lived experience of the rigidity and monotony of work routines under fordist regimes often accentuates, paradoxically, the appeal of (extra-territorial) mobility, and drives efforts to master the flexibility demanded of the (job) seeker-consumer. On the

other hand, the remainder of a fordist market in people's immediate locales, and stories of the stability and security once enjoyed by their elders (in union or white-collar jobs), in contradistinction to neoliberal capital's capricious "flexibility," make possible the lingering appeal of pursuing "vertical mobility" through lifelong commitment to a vocation. That is, aspirations to achieve the extra-territorial mobility of global elites are accompanied by (1) the fear of remaining localized (bound not only to locales and people one cares deeply about, but also to the consequences visited upon these locales and people by the capricious flexibility of capital); and (2) a longing for work that values long-term commitment to an area of expertise and one's colleagues while also providing secure income, stable benefits, and rights to negotiate how one tackles one's work (an improved version of the fordist company man or union worker, mixed with nostalgia for the "independent" craftsman of preindustrial times). ("Composing," 123)

My students appear to extend this argument, as "the fear of remaining localized" was not apparent in their work: instead, in conversation at least, students tried to articulate a value in local, detailed, skilled work, whether in healthcare or engineering or food service – a value in attention to and pride in localized detail that a globe-trotting manager could not claim. For example, Charles Kovach writes, in his response to Grabill, that

Grabill seems to share the mentality of the cosmocrat that favors the overall operation of things rather than the health of the individual components ... in my opinion, the cosmocrats' dream of smooth overall operation is not possible without the proper function and health of the individual components: overall operation is derived from the sum of the components, not the other way around. Will an engine run if you don't lubricate it, or if you punch a hole in the valve cover? It might, but not for long.

There might be a sense of the "fordist company man" here, in the pride and responsibility found in the individual's part in a larger system – but I'm not sure it is dependent on a fear of globalization's pernicious flexibility. A number of students displayed sensitivity to tensions that arise because of circulation across public and professional contexts, in the sense that they did see some of the risks of professionalism or professional identity seeping in, even corrupting, family or community life. And some wrote about commitment to a home town and local communities, even as they saw themselves as working in other places, and thus experiencing multiple, conflicting identities. The value of the "local," then, to which I will return, is contested; the

subject of professionalism offers an immediate window into its negotiation with the global. Broadly, Whitney's writing alerts us to the fact that "the humanities" as it is traditionally conceived does not have a monopoly on the imaginative work of global relations. The kind of imaginative or affective work involved in professional writing is interesting in itself *and* in terms of making connections between the humanities and the professions, and between the academy and the larger social and political world. This applies, I would argue, both to relatively "professionalized" students like Whitney, and to students who had a less established, and often uneasier, relationship to professionalism, all of whom are engaged in thinking about professional identity as part of their education.

More particularly, relations to distant and not-so-distant others are clearly situated in this imaginary. Like many of my students, Whitney writes about globalization within a kind of cost/benefit paradigm – in this particular instance, despite the "costs" of an increasingly complex and difficult communicative environment, she comes to value herself and her education in a new light, because of her/its transferability. I am interested in her vision of her educated self as so globalized as to not require adaptation, and how it encounters another way my students commonly write about globalization: as an opportunity for learning in itself, as presenting opportunities for change and development. Evoking Chaput's idea of the link between professionalism and diversity within the university, in addition to wide-ranging discourses of globalization-as-progress, my student Zachary Sweigart writes, for example:

Grabill asserts that, in respect to cultural interaction, universities are "inadequate for the needs of students, workers, and citizens in this century". From personal experience at the University of Pittsburgh, I have been made aware of other cultures and have worked and lived with students of other cultures. Universities are one of the best locations to view the intellectual interaction of professionals from diverse backgrounds. Professors, students and even faculty come from various parts of our country and from others and interact in a manner to produce ideas that are globally acceptable. This allows students to learn what professional norms are while challenging their thinking in all areas including the idea of

professionalism and its intellectual and cultural aspects. These vast cultural differences seen in a university are a small scale model of the globalization of products throughout the world. The professional aspects of intelligence and culture will be altered by the shift of the economy toward globalism and will affect my future in the telecommunications industry because I will have to design and create products that will be usable throughout the world and interact in a professional manner with persons of different backgrounds.

Zach describes the university as a “professional” site of “vast cultural differences” (not Grabill’s language) that are bridged through collaborative practice, even to the extent of collaborating on norms for behavior. This obviously contrasts with how Whitney depersonalizes her account – to the extent of commodifying herself, as we’ve seen – but also in terms of her global co-workers, who are represented only as “issues,” “difficulties,” “language barriers.” I think we can trace both these attitudes to cultural or linguistic “others” – the collaborative and the adaptive – in the ideological or structural work of the university, and it is only in acknowledging and working with this thinking explicitly that critical work towards “a translingual approach” can be undertaken – especially as both orientations towards globalism impact self-creation, to the extent that the student is the end result of both these micro-narratives. It would be straightforward to read Zach’s writing as once again instantiating Chaput’s framework – that is, as suggesting that the diversity within the university exists to provide experience that is valuable in the professional world, largely because of the needs of transnational corporations to produce commodities for different national or transnational markets. There are traces of a discourse of awareness and difference in Zach’s language here that might be understood as the language of the corporate multiculturalism Chaput derides. And there is also a sense that this idea of diversity, linguistic or otherwise, is one that masks inequality, particularly in terms of labor. But even though in Zach’s sentences the “professional” is blurring with the “intellectual” and the “cultural,” and “living and working” are blurring, too, this does not necessarily mean that professionalism becomes the uber-value here. As the specific circumstance of Donora suggests, the extremes of harmonious

collaboration and depersonalized transferability are just that – extremes. Part of the work of the professional writing course is to make evident the compromised contextual work between these extremes. At the early point in the semester where I asked students to respond to this particular prompt, most minimized the sense of conflict implied in the first question in the series, whether they pursued the “detached” or the “overlapping” route: “When you imagine your future ‘professional life,’ how is it detached from or overlapping with your life as a citizen, a community member, a consumer – as someone, that is, with a range of private and public interests and identities? And how does this inflect your understanding of the term ‘professional’?” I interpret this minimizing of conflict as a tendency not only to idealize or compartmentalize professional life, in the context of genuine ambition or desire, but also an indication of the crucial work of the writing course: a layered sense of public and professional affiliations has to emerge through contextual exploration of actual textual practices, not be asked for abstractly before that exploration begins.

In these excerpts, Zach imagines himself as an architect of globalized products, in conjunction with the kind of self-fashioning Whitney sees as central to the meaning of globalization. In this model, the ideal product of globality is a kind of consensus – the “globally acceptable” – even in the context of radical difference, with Whitney’s student-as-globalized product the embodiment of this consensus. We could locate this notion within an ideology that links globalization with progress, particularly in the realm of science and technology – an ideology in which my students, majors in engineering, are obviously invested – and we could propose that a kind of “antidote” would be the critical awareness gained through a humanistic approach to globalization, which would at least ask my students to question how their actions and use of language as engineers might assume consensus or progress when it is absent. This

sounds somewhat patronizing, and I think it is, but perhaps even more problematically, it seems as though it would have little impact. I want to suggest a more compromised critical goal: rather than disabusing students of this thinking, then, their education in writing should further textualize their understanding of transnationalized literacy practices – theirs and others. To take up linguistic diversity, for example: we might ask, even when my students write eloquently in their exploratory or informal assignments about the linguistic diversity in their professional environments, how does this translate into the “professional documents” they produce in my class? A critical awareness of linguistic diversity is in itself a way into thinking about how education, language use, and professional or civic ambition or identity is embedded in global systems, certainly – and it is certainly telling that traditional values of professional communication like clarity and expediency are actually *compatible* with linguistic diversity, not antithetical to it – but this awareness only has force if translates into rethinking and reworking practices of writing.

On the issue of linguistic diversity, for example, attention to dynamics larger than disciplinary dynamics might reframe our sense of the openness advocated in “translingual” pedagogies; while we sometimes assume that the linguistic diversity in our classrooms is only suppressed in the workplace, my students suggest that their understanding of professionalism and professional development cannot be extricated from global, linguistically diverse environments. Consider how one of my students, who gave me permission to use his writing without naming him, writes in response to a reading about linguistic diversity in the workplace and the idea of Business English as a lingua franca, discussing his work experience at BMW:

... a German company with an international presence in the United States. Though all knew English very well, most of the native German speakers would group together and talk in German. Rank and position no longer existed as German managers not only hanged out with other German executives, but also with German interns and people of

other titles. English and German collectively gave associates identities as BMW employees, but together they also created a cultural split between the two. ... Because the person who knows the language of the company will be able to understand that information, her/she holds virtual power over those who do not. BMW tries to correct this problem by producing weekly corporate reports, titles of processes, names of places, and many more with mixed English and German, sometimes even creating hybrid words of the two. For instance, my department is in the FZ group, pronounced “F-Zet” and uses the German title, while the TS departments use the English title and stand for “Technology Services.”

My student offers here a critique of a corporate “solution” to linguistic diversity – a formal bilingualism with the occasional innocuous “hybrid.” His account of this corporate environment invokes the layered loyalties, the multiple affiliations, that are so important to a reinvigorated cosmopolitanism – but suggests how their formalization within the institution fails to account for the dynamics of practice, or to do much to change practices. Notwithstanding this critique, however, we could obviously compare corporate cultures and university cultures here in terms of innovativeness, or at least explicit accommodation. That is, we could consider the degree of acknowledgement of linguistic diversity – how central or marginal it is thought to be to the work of the institution, and how it is seen as behind-the-scenes or preparatory, or alternatively as part of the crucial functioning of the institution. We could consider the degree of formal or official intervention, and whether that intervention is gate-keeping, or superficial, or positive, flexible, innovative. Students and teachers are often very aware of enclaves of language use within the university, whether in classrooms, laboratories, or social environments, but perhaps not so aware of linguistic innovations or accommodations within the institution – especially if they are not made official to a degree, as in this corporate example. But it is evident that the division in composition studies between “mainstream” and the obverse does not only not reflect the kind of corporate innovations taking place in terms of language diversity – it does not even reflect practices elsewhere in the university. For example, in *Academic Writing in a Global Context*:

The Politics and Practices of Publishing in English, Theresa Lillis and Mary Jane Curry discuss, in a series of case studies, the extent to which academic text production occurs through local and transnational networks, and how this “calls into question the predominant focus on individual competence in EAP (English for academic purposes) and academic writing research and pedagogy more generally” (61). In their account, such projects often succeed or fail according to the relative strength or weakness of ties between people – or nodes – in the network, including the work of “literacy brokers” (88) of various kinds. Calls for the use of international networks in the teaching of professional writing are not new (see, for example, Grabill, and in particular the work of Doreen Starke-Meyerring) but the implication of Lillis and Curry’s work seems to me to be that writing programs and pedagogies have to consider the nature of such links, not just assume that the establishment of any transnational link will be an educational success. That is, the institutional and other *constraints* on networks and nodes within them are crucial and must be acknowledged, not least the hegemony of English. It is this kind of awareness of conditions of writing that we should be exploring with our students, if we want their engagement with linguistic diversity to be critical, and their practices in circulating or recirculating linguistically diverse compositions to be more open.

This is another dimension of the work of transnationalizing composition pedagogy, and perhaps the most challenging: the idea that there is a great deal of progressive language use in the university, or at least complex use, as Lillis and Curry and indeed my student Zach make evident – but, crucially, it often occurs in contexts of circulation. What happens to our pedagogy when we think about the university as a “culture of circulation,” to use Lee and LiPuma’s term²

2 As Gaonkar and Povinelli describe: “As a result, it is no longer viable to think of circulation as simply a movement of people, commodities, ideas, and images from one place to another. ‘Circulation is a cultural process,’ say Lee and LiPuma (2002: 192), ‘with its own forms of abstraction, evaluation, and constraint, which are created

– wherein what circulates includes discourses about and forms of globality, education for a global business environment, and language diversity, along with written products, information (as capital), even students, as students, and prospectively as global workers or professionals? Indeed, attention to textual negotiation of this kind is where, I think, composition studies might contribute to theories of cosmopolitanism in our time. In “Youth, Risk, and Equity,” Hull et al.’s framework for surveying some of the recent work in global youth culture uses such categories as: globalization’s diverse impacts; hybridization; identity formation; agency through consumption, resistance, receptiveness, and reflexivity; an “aesthetic turn”; and the claiming of and production within actual and digital spaces (133). They note, crucially, however, that

If not silent on the absence of rewarding trajectories through school and into work and adulthood, most of the global youth literature that we have reviewed mentions these in passing, on its way toward vibrant descriptions of popular cultural sites, aesthetically primed participation, and the agentive production of hybrid cultural forms. [...] There is a similar and related absence of accounts of the power and promise of schooling as preparation for living in a global world and developing cosmopolitan sensibilities. (143)

Already, the students I’ve cited so far offer an understanding of being “implicated” in globalization that casts a different light on what a number of scholars depict as the key problem of the cosmopolitan imagination: that is, how to imagine yourself implicated, or even with any feeling, for the distant other – how to do something other than marvel at the spectacle of global suffering – but at the same time to resist over-identification. In my students’ writing, even imagining oneself as part of a march towards global progress, in its emphasis on consensus and achievement, does not prevent an acknowledgement of the odd, messy present of globalism: the

by the interactions between specific types of circulating forms and the interpretive communities built around them.’ And those interpretive communities, whether they be coffeehouses and publishing firms or banks and stock exchanges, set the protocols for interpretation by inventing forms, recognizing practices, founding institutions, and demarcating boundaries based primarily on their own internal dynamics. Lee and LiPuma call these structured circulations cultures of circulation. The crucial insight here is rather simple: Although a culture of circulation can be identified by the objects circulating through it, it is not reducible to them. More is at stake, or, in circulation.” (391)

degree to which one's thinking is "challenged," the feeling that even in "rural, run-down Donora, PA" one cannot escape. My students do not seem in danger of just marveling at the spectacle, or over-identifying with workers in other "production plants" – but nor do they seem detached. If anything, they see themselves are already involved, not only in "feeling global" – to borrow the title of one of Bruce Robbins' books – but in acting global. While they might benefit from thinking further – both empathetically and systemically – about global politics, they are too aware of an explicit self-fashioning, a remaking of the self in global terms already, for this to be an educational mission to save them from themselves.

But the means of this remaking does deserve attention in the classroom, particularly as it can be situated in terms of the recent ways in which rhetorical scholars have tried to imagine what agency looks like in contemporary political and professional contexts. The class discussions around the question of whether professional communication courses should teach students to conform to professional norms, or teach them to critique those norms, revealed my students' high degree of sensitivity to their positions of relative power in professional institutions, to the tension between hierarchy and professional responsibility, and to the odd, inefficient ways in which institutions change their practices. For example, in their responses to that same prompt concerning the Grabill reading, my students answered this question: "Where do you stand – at least at this moment, early on in the course – on the conflict that Grabill describes as central to the teaching of professional communication: that is, the tension between teaching students to conform to professional norms and teaching them to critique those norms?" What was most apparent in my students' writing about institutional critique was that many of their responses cast the role of critique as part of global or industrial progress: revision of standards and creative advancements, in this framework, come from people willing to question existing

systems, and this questioning occurs in order to solve “problems” or address “weaknesses,” to make things more “efficient,” to “enhance ... lifestyles” or to “improve the product of the communication,” as various students wrote. And although my students write about how “professional” identity might seep into “family” life – which could be read as something of a submerged discussion about class – the issue tends to return to whether professional identity might constrain one’s individuality, whether it’s possible to still be “yourself.” This idea sits uneasily with what my students also commonly acknowledge as necessary to professional development – *some* degree of change, some kind of self-conscious control of one’s speech and behavior, in accordance not with individual character but with professional cultures and standards. Students often pointed to a kind of situational or contextual awareness as determining the degree of creativity or accommodation. For example, Bahar Ahani writes:

The better solution to the conflict between teaching to conform to professional norms or to critique them in my opinion is to simply provide students with the professional norms and allow them to critique those norms. Based on Grabill’s curricular model, these intellectual and skilled students should be able to critique these norms and choose to adopt or reject them based on their own values and logic.

This focus on individual rights, responsibilities, and concessions is entirely expected, given education and professional contexts where students are highly conscious of being evaluated and compared to peers. A number of students were explicit, furthermore, in not overestimating how much individual power they have to enact change. For example, Matthew Goldstein writes:

I believe it is first of most importance to teach what these norms are, how to deal with them, and how they will be expected to communicate in a corporate, professional environment. That being said, it does not hurt to teach students to critique these norms a little bit, but I do not believe that students should be leaving college thinking that these professional norms are terrible, as they really will have no way of changing them at that stage anyway. If someone is to change the standard, it will only be after years of hard work climbing ladders, where they will be able to learn for themselves any problems within the system.

In a manner that questions the collaborative model of work that Zach imagines, Matt allows for only a “little bit” of critique, which might only be implemented after paying one’s dues.

Together with Bahar’s notion of leaving the choice of critical work to a student’s judgment, these students raise questions about teaching that aspires towards endowing students with *critical* rhetorical agency.

In her article “Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism: Neoliberalism and the Overdetermination of Affective Energy,” Catherine Chaput theorizes the nature of rhetorical agency in the context of neoliberalism, using Ronald Walter Greene’s notion of rhetoric as “communicative labor” rather than action towards a democratic, deliberative ideal. For Chaput, understanding “how individuals and collectivities argue, deliberate, and determine future courses of action in a world shaped by neoliberal rationalities” means focusing not on the rhetorical situation but on rhetorical circulation or “transsituation”: “while liberal epistemologies search for the true match between rhetoric and audience, neoliberal epistemologies seek knowledge by following rhetoric as it energizes different audiences throughout diverse situations—a move that adjusts our focus from agentive power to value production” (5–6). Affect and its circulation is key here, perhaps more so than argument or information: Chaput argues that rhetoric’s

persuasive power can be seen as deriving from the repetition of values added and exchanged through disparate communicative acts. Indeed, I maintain that the economic and rhetorical circulatory processes work in tandem to sustain the vitality of late capitalism in much the same way that the muscular and skeletal systems work together to animate human motion. Circulating material values, which form the backbone of capitalist production, are attached to the affective energies circulating through communicative exchanges, providing connective tissue and giving motion to the economy’s skeletal framework. (14)

For Chaput, affect, in conjunction with ideology, is an appropriate area of investigation for rhetorical scholars because of the fluidity of contemporary capitalism and its power to shape and reshape identities and practices, in the context of an expansive terrain of circulating value.

We might recall here – and Chaput discusses it briefly – Jenny Edbauer’s argument in “Unframing Models of Public Distribution: From Rhetorical Situation to Rhetorical Ecologies,” in which Edbauer proposes “rhetorical ecologies” as an alternative to models of rhetorical analysis that are satisfied with attempting to isolate exigence, audience, constraints, and so on. Attempting to capture rhetoric in flux, in network, in broader context, a “rhetorical ecologies” approach, as Edbauer conceives it, takes the rhetorical situation as “a mixture of processes and encounters,” and “reads rhetoric both as a process of distributed emergence and as an ongoing circulation process” (13). The kind of transformations undergone by the “keep Austin weird” slogan, Edbauer’s example, indicate the need for classroom work that has students engage in circulation (for example, through blogging) – which destabilizes the distinction between research and writing up, thinking and doing (22–23). Chaput, taking a slightly different tack, proposes that to

understand rhetorical constraints as determined by affect rather than ideology means that we do not have to shape our discourse through someone else’s imaginary, nor do we have to change that imaginary. The new goal is simply to increase communicative exchanges that circulate positive affects—to deliberate in such a way that we all become more open to the world’s creative potential. (21)

This focus on movement seems particularly apt for pedagogies interested in transnational public work, but the difference between Edbauer’s and Chaput’s arguments suggests a choice for teachers, however: whether students should be attempting to “circulate” kinds of textual production, and study the circulation of existing texts that are reasonably similar to forms often taught or studied in writing classes – or whether a different kind of rhetorical education is at stake, one that takes attention to circulation to reconstitute writerly agency more radically. For Chaput, part of the appeal of her model is that rhetorical scholars and students can move away from the “anxiety over agency” and instead focus on rhetoric as the “production of value”; while

Bitzer's rhetorical situation remains relevant, as kinds of situational "knowledges" will always be important to rhetorical production, it is supplemented by a concern with the "rhythms of capital" (21–22). Her argument for the necessity of a model beyond the rhetorical situation is persuasive, but the exact relationship between rhetorical circulation and the rhetorical situation – that is, how the two can productively supplement rather than undermine one another – lacks articulation, at least in this brief piece.

It is a common move in composition scholarship to "test" a theory's validity or value through classroom application, but I want to do something different in drawing Chaput's discussion further into the realm of education: I argue that the tension or productive relationship between rhetorical situation and rhetorical circulation can be better articulated through attention to the educational context. The teaching of professional writing might seem an unlikely place to begin this theoretical work, but I want to suggest that professional contexts make dynamics of circulation particularly apparent. For example, in her work on writing in corporate settings, "When People Write for Pay," Deborah Brandt notes that even though others or corporate bodies take credit and responsibility for the text that is produced, and even as "multiple sets of interests" determine production, and self and corporate interests "intermingle," the writers she studied take pleasure in seeing their phrases or numbers from their work circulate, a pleasure she calls a "residue of authorship" (177–8). This "residue" extends to aesthetic pleasure in acts of composition and to a sense of personal risk or personal development through writing. Composition that involves acts of voicing other people or corporate bodies is common. It must be noted, however, that the teaching of professional writing in university contexts, with its necessary emphasis on individual credentialing or collaborative projects among students as equals, often does little to capture this felt context of professional writing – but perhaps this need

not be the case.

To pursue this point further, I want to examine one of my students' responses to the following brief reflection assignment:

In this reflection, you will describe the “communication culture” of a workplace you have experienced. By “communication culture,” I mean the practices of communication common to this workplace and the constraints and values that underlie those practices. Some questions to consider, in no particular order, are:

- What acts of speech or writing did you commonly engage in as an employee in this workplace? What ways of speaking, listening, reading, writing, acting, or interacting were valued or devalued, and why? How was silence valued or devalued?
- How were communication practices shaped by the relationships between workers, workers' quality of life, workers' wages or salaries, working conditions, or company policies?
- What were some of the unwritten rules for behavior or conversation, or for the use of physical space – rules that perhaps you only discovered after accidentally “breaking” them, or that you noticed new employees accidentally “breaking” after you had worked there for some time? Can you recall instances when employees actively subverted these “rules” – engaging in, perhaps, purposeful “unprofessional communication”?
- Was there a specialized vocabulary – either official, such as words for tasks or equipment, or unofficial, such as slang for different types of customers or typical situations?

You only have a couple of pages, so you need not present a comprehensive picture of the workplace culture – rather, choose certain practices or dynamics that stand out to you and describe them in some detail.

This assignment asks students to describe the “communication culture” of a workplace they have experienced. The reflection is an opportunity for students to demonstrate both nuanced description and thoughtful analysis: not simply a record of what the student communicated or observed, the reflection is an attempt to explain those communication patterns in terms of the organization's functions, power structures, and interpersonal dynamics. Broadly, I designed this assignment as a complement to the more formal work of the course, as I want my professional communication students not only to be competent producers of professional forms, but also to demonstrate awareness of how context shapes communication, and how professional agency and

ethics might be both engaged and constrained in communicative environments. The examples that students generated in the writing of this assignment often provided material for a genre analysis and a research-based report later in the semester.

Here is an excerpt from a response written by student Charles Kovach:

As a young and inexperienced engineer, it was quite intimidating to work with older guys that could count more years of work experience than I could claim in age. There was a distinct dynamic at work here, and you had to almost approach each individual differently when asking for help or talking about a task. Some guys were willing to help, and some were not as friendly. You needed to remain respectful, while demonstrating some confidence and competence in the subject material. Judging when to listen and when to speak or ask questions definitely required some time to get a feel for. If you listened too much, you might be viewed as incompetent, lazy, or disinterested. If you spoke too much, you could be viewed as arrogant. If you asked too many questions, you could be viewed as incompetent or annoying. I found a balance by first defining what I wanted each of the activities of listening, asking questions, and speaking to accomplish. I used the activity of listening as a means of absorbing and gaining information that may have been a little out of my grasp. I asked questions once this background information was gained to both show interest and to gain more specific information. Finally, I would speak to demonstrate further interest and that the information I gained had been internalized. In my experience of the engineering professional setting, you need to be careful regarding when you speak and what you speak about. It is extremely easy to out yourself on something you know very little about if you aren't. If you don't know, it's often better to just say so and listen than to clutch at straws and waste everyone else's time.

I also noticed differences in the ways different groups of people would communicate, i.e. management, engineers, shop technicians. It was easy to see that managers were under pressure from their bosses and from the responsibilities of their jobs to behave a certain way, in that it demanded a constant focus. Many of them were very short in conversations because it is in their interest to keep the conversation on topic and their employees on task.

The engineers seemed to be willing to take more time to explain things, because it is in the nature of their jobs to be thorough. Often their information steered the decisions of management, so it is in their best interest to understand what they are talking about. It wasn't uncommon to find individuals who were eager to prove it, either.

The shop technicians were an interesting group to interact with. They didn't really adhere to the strict 'business professionalism' model that the office workers did. While there were strict communication practices in place with respect to documentation and work instructions, the shop technicians were definitely the least filtered of the bunch. If they thought you were incompetent in the way you designed something, they were not afraid to call you up on the phone and tell you so. Interaction between shop workers was also less formal, probably due to the less formal nature of their work environment.

Instead of sitting in a quiet office in khakis and polos, they blasted the radio while wearing jeans and steel toes.

There were also many unwritten rules at play when working at ----- . As far as behavior and conversation, you definitely did not want to be too informal. There was a time and a place for joking around or holding off-topic conversations, but those periods were limited in supply. The most important thing was to show that you were there to contribute, and that you were serious about your work. Personalities would kind of shine through naturally over time, so there was no need to force it out.

The kind of work that Charles describes here in learning to negotiate the verbal practices of the workplace is complex. He describes strategies of filtering, of elaboration and abbreviation, open and submerged confrontation, and his own work of establishing ethos through a range of verbal tactics. His negotiations evoke Chaput's sense of the importance not of location but of "connective tissues": "In the rhetorical circulation model, success derives from a better understanding of differently situated positions and an enhanced ability to engage differently situated people, processes that open dialogue rather than win debates" (19). Identities in Charles' account are determined by working conditions, but also something formed by one's own communicative strategies – and it would be an interesting project to have him consider the dynamics he observes in a larger framework of circulation than merely that within the artificially bounded workplace that the assignment asked students to investigate (indeed, he mentioned union politics in another part of the response).

It seems impossible, however, to give away entirely the notion of a rhetor acting with some degree of agency in a rhetorical situation, when one is teaching and credentialing individual rhetors. Perhaps a case can be made that rhetorical agency, and the *ideal* of the rhetorical situation, is an important ideal to teach – even if fictional. Less cynically, while attention to circulation might construct the role of the rhetor as smaller than before – the role being primarily concerned with circulating and recirculating, and adding value – and the situation as larger, in that it encompasses extensive patterns of circulation, space might be made

for kinds of rhetorical production that are less concerned with persuasion and more with possibility, with the openness that Chaput names as a potential goal. Again, I think professional contexts make this work particularly apparent, given their widely perceived constraints. While public or academic writing courses can be – strangely or productively – idealized spaces in relation to the real world or the real academy, professional writing offers ways to think quite concretely about the reality of circumscribed agency. Thus, a key question for teachers of professional writing is how professional writing can acknowledge or enact some of the ways of representing a complicated relationship to historical or others’ experience that are commonplace in other kinds of composition. For example, if a kind of self-consciously deconstructed, poly-vocal collage, that makes evident authorial anxiety, is a common kind of strategy for indexing the complexity of one’s relation to history or distant others, how are we to map this on to professional writing? Charles makes evident here that in learning workplace communication, he learns different communication styles and rules, and learns to shift in context – and he learns that some subtle negotiation between convention and “personality” emerges “over time.” How might we recognize this kind of multiplicity in workplace writing, with its concerns of authorship, consistency, propriety, and so on?

Brandt’s account of studying workplace writers clues us in to some ways in which we might trace and thus encourage this openness. We might look to locate rhetorical agency not in choices on a grand scale to advance this or that argument, or to compose a coherent professional identity, but on the level of micro-strategies that help to negotiate and broaden circulating dynamics within the workplace and between the workplace and other contexts. In Charles’s account, communication works within competitive, hierarchised, stratified social space – and yet the individual claims a certain agency or identity that’s a hybrid of this structure and prior

identities. This is embodied and affective as well as textual; the meaning of the “communication” is about taking on roles or forming identities, and the way that feels. Helping students to see agency in this stratified space may be a question of where other identities or practices get to break into the seemingly rigid space of professional communication – whether through Charles’s humor, or Whitney’s reflection on Donora, or through “translingual” experiments with linguistic diversity in composing that we can imagine revising BMW’s official policy, having students become attuned to their own part in producing this space, and subtle ways of marking their participation in it and their distance from it, is an alternative to the model of professional communication which sees them as merely subjected to an overdetermined environment.

This concern with kinds of rhetorical production less oriented to explicit argument, and more towards complex contexts of circulation, and in turn, to micro-strategies that might work to open up affective and linguistic possibility, has clear connections to composition’s “public” work, even as it emerges through engagement with professional writing. Given continual incursions of private interests into public spaces, opening up students’ sense of the rhetorical agency incorporated in their future professional agency, and thus what professional agency might entail might seem small, but is nonetheless significant. And examining the possibility and flexibility in the circulating practices within seemingly rigid institutions has important parallels with ways that composition is invested in opening up the university, even as both school and work contexts sustain conservative notions of standards and individual merit and achievement. Looking outside that framework, and outside a generic notion of empathy, the negotiations of possibility and empathic work with others in the stratified contexts of professional writing have important resonances with broader public projects. One conversation with my students concerning the phrase “hungry for opportunity,” used by a student in a draft business letter,

sticks in my mind: the class worried about this phrase, eventually concluding that while it was important to convey the strength of the writer's desire in the letter, "hungry" was too embodied and too extreme, to sound "professional" – which by extension is something disembodied and genteel. If professional writing is often concerned with removing affect, then, reintroducing it into the course has a powerful effect, radically complicating what professional identity can mean. Our teaching practice might then be oriented less towards "improving the document" – which is in many ways about concentrating meaning while removing anything that might be "read wrongly," any excess seen as non-professional – and instead looking for excess and considering how it might be reintroduced. How can texts be made more open and inclusive in their audience or address? How might self-conscious practices of citation reflect the complexity of circulation?

As I draw these questions into my discussions of classes in public and academic writing in subsequent sections, I'll offer here one last angle on professional writing, to end this section: it is interesting to consider how composition courses not falling under the banner of "professional writing" might enable a similar kind of self-awareness and engagement with linguistic diversity, and global dynamics more broadly, to emerge – that is, when we bring these concerns to teaching more oriented towards academic or civic forums, how we can encourage students to see themselves as equally implicated and active. I would argue that it is important to make evident the links between professional activity and academic and civic work – that is, rather than see these as separate domains (and it is teachers in the humanities who often see professional writing as irrevocably compromised), we need to help students consider how the university and civic forums are similarly compromised as environments engaging linguistic diversity and offering agency, but which still allow for innovation and radical possibilities.

II. A Problem of Address: “Writing for the Public”

In this section, I discuss some of the ways in which the university has been described as transnational in its current incarnation, in order to argue for the importance of thinking in detail about pedagogy in addition to analyzing these dynamics at the level of institutional discourse. I turn to writing my students produced in my Summer 2011 course Writing for the Public; this explicitly civic-oriented pedagogical site offers some perspective on arguments that civic work has left the terrain of the university. I examine how the university imperatives of professionalism, flexibility, and diversity surface again in this site, and how these imperatives shape what happens with some of my attempts to destabilize audience-oriented argument as the only way of thinking about public writing. Ultimately, I situate my class’ work in the context of composition scholars’ challenges to such audience-oriented argument, as a key part of conceiving the work of composition in the transnational university.

Scholars in composition and rhetoric, education, and writing and literacy studies have long claimed – unsurprisingly – that literacy and language arts education is central in the reconfiguring of education for the new political, economic, and civic paradigms of our time (see, among many others, Cope and Kalantzis’ work on multiliteracies and designing social futures). I would indeed argue that thinking about the question of cosmopolitan education in relation to the teaching of writing does add a new dimension to much of the scholarship on cosmopolitanism, adding a emphasis on production to the common focal points of circulation, reception, and transformation. I do not mean to disregard these latter concerns, of course, but I am interested in what happens if we add an emphasis on education-in-literate-production to the analytical framework – rather than rely on a kind of “critical thinking” idea of what a cosmopolitan education might accomplish. Zach Sweigart and Whitney Kazer – and my other students –

imagine themselves as (professionals) *acting* in a global future: creating, not just reflecting or consuming.

But I'm interested, of course, not only in what these students are writing as individuals, but in what they are writing *as students*. As Bruce Robbins writes in his introduction to *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, the new "cosmopolitanism" is evidently multiple, situated cosmopolitanisms, plural: that is, various particular ways of experiencing transnationality, even "unprivileged" or "coerced" ways (Cheah and Robbins, 1). This awareness seems to me to sit oddly with Stanton's vision for education, which does not seem to acknowledge at all that students might experience the transnational in ways variously un/privileged, coerced or created; if we extend Robbins' idea to education, and resist the idea of a cosmopolitan education at the university as some kind of enlightenment from above, we might better perceive the situated cosmopolitanism offered by the university. After all, Pheng Cheah's question about the difference between a globality of the everyday and a global political consciousness – do we just have or seek "a cultural consciousness without political effectivity" (Cheah and Robbins, 32; 36) – makes evident the importance of thinking cosmopolitanism through institutions. Stanton herself writes:

... the actors of a rooted cosmopolitanism will not deny their traditional privileges, including literacy and mobility, but use them productively to claim solidarity with those whose movements are not voluntary but forced, for work, for survival. So saying, I part company with James Clifford, whose well-intentioned efforts to define cosmopolitanism from the bottom up, to find its hybrid forms among labor migrants and servants, strike me as essentially romantic. It is more important, in my view, to recognize the specific situation of power/ knowledge in which we are individually located and to engage in the forms of a rooted cosmopolitan praxis that privilege affords us. (637)

While I'm not sure it is necessary to dismiss work like Clifford's as romantic, I echo this perspective in that I argue we should acknowledge the university as a specific situation of cosmopolitan power/knowledge/praxis.

Thus, the move is not simply to ask prospectively, what might we teach, but to think about how the teaching of composition, and the university more broadly, structures a relationship to others and to linguistic diversity – so our classroom interventions are not just “into the world,” but are more explicitly placed in terms of the ideological economy of which they are a part. There seems to be a gap in the scholarship, that is, between much work on transnational education – often to do with establishing networked exchanges between students in various places – that relies on broad or banal generalizations in regards to globalization, and work on cosmopolitanism that does not address educational institutions, pedagogy, or curricula in great detail or at all. Even Hull and Stornaiuolo, for example, who are relatively familiar with the literature on cosmopolitanism, are not, to my mind, locating their analysis in a framework that takes into account educational institutions. In some ways, we could think of this work as teaching our students to read for and respond to institutional or circulatory meaning, not only for/to textual meaning. In this chapter I consider the classroom as a globalized or public space in itself – not just a place that reflects globalization elsewhere, or might address globalization or public life elsewhere.

It is useful at this point to consider some accounts of the way in which the university has been explained as a global institution, and the implications for pedagogy. For example, in *The University in Ruins*, Bill Readings makes his now iconic argument concerning the contemporary “posthistorical” (6) university: that the corporatization of the university, including the rise in power and prominence of administrators and the consumer-oriented pursuit of a dereferentialized “excellence,” threatens the position of the humanities, and makes evident that the production of a

liberal subject is no longer the center of the work of the institution.³ Making reference to British policy changes towards a “national curriculum,” Readings writes:

in making such a wide-ranging diagnosis, I am, of course, going to tend to ignore the process of uneven and combined development, the different speeds at which the discourse of “excellence” replaces the ideology of (national) culture in various institutions and various countries. ... This is a book about the spinning off of *tertiary* education from the nation-state, and such a move will probably accentuate the structural differences between secondary education and universities, especially as concerns their link to the state. (3–4, italics in original)

One could make a case that the school, rather than the university as Readings claims, has historically been at the center of the inculcation of national culture, but in any case his argument that broadly the university has been severed from its national mission seems pertinent. Complicating his depiction somewhat, although still concerned largely with broad policy statements rather than actual practices, Chaput argues in *Inside the Teaching Machine* that the American public research university has always been “corporate” in its affiliations: as opposed to both commentators who commonly lament the “decline” into corporatization in recent decades, and those who emphasize the democratic or civic project of higher education, Chaput details how the American public research university developed “in lockstep with an evolving market economy” (ix) – which in turn, she argues, has contributed to its global dominance as a model of tertiary education. Chaput uses a historical materialist methodology that she terms “a rhetorical hermeneutic of valuation” (x): an analytical framework that considers how “truths” about higher education are produced and circulated, as a result of political, cultural, and economic

³ This sentiment is succinctly rephrased in an article in the Harvard Gazette, which looks towards the university’s 375th anniversary, and recounts the university’s history: “When [Harvard President Drew] Faust took office in 2007, she said that higher education has an ‘accountability to the future.’ At Harvard, that mission includes pushing ideas out of the laboratory and into the marketplace. From 2006 to 2010, Harvard research spawned 39 start-up companies, 216 patents, and 1,270 faculty inventions. Institutionally, the players include the Wyss Institute for Biologically Inspired Engineering and Harvard’s Office of Technology Development, which considers sharing innovation a form of public service.” (Ireland, my emphasis)

imperatives. For Chaput, the fundamental question is “how do we invent ways of locating ourselves within capitalist institutions at the same time that we attempt to invent anticapitalist knowledge and practices?” (2). Unsurprisingly, she wants to refocus our attention on economic dimensions of cultural analysis, bringing together post-colonial and Marxist theory, and critical rhetoric.

Chaput makes several broad connections between global capitalism and “the global university” – the pressures on working life that come from technological innovation and constant communication, the increasing use of adjunct labor, and the recruitment of foreign students (169–170) – but focuses most specifically on the rhetoric of university mission statements and how this rhetoric reflects the “needs of global capitalism” (175). Tracing the production and revision of public research universities’ mission statements, while aware of the gap between statement and performance (174), she argues that such statements shape material conditions – not just locally, but globally, because of the influence of the U.S. institutional model. For Chaput, this model is characterized most obviously by “its diverse funding sources, its stratified institutional makeup, its relative independence from state power, and an autonomy balanced by significant accountability and surveillance mechanisms” (197), and such varied bodies and agreements as NAFTA, the GATS, the OECD, and the World Bank support such a model to the extent of promoting a “U.S.-led global education scheme” (201).

While these accounts of the university make evident some of the ways that education – or at least educational policy discourse – is implicated in global dynamics, neither scholar makes particularly thorough links to institutional practices. To my mind, this is what is of crucial interest, as curricular and programmatic intervention is where teachers claim some influence. Both Readings and Chaput do acknowledge that they cannot really account for the relationship

between institutional practices and, for example, the discourse of university mission statements, but it does seem worth investigating actual university structures and programs that *enact* a relationship between research, teaching, service, and citizenship. Chaput sometimes uses the blanket term “university structure,” or more particularly “monolithic structures and curricula” (219), which blurs curriculum with larger institutional formation and financing – when it does not seem evident that these are always straightforward connections. Indeed, she argues as much in her discussion of the conflict between the research and teaching mission of the university, that is, the tension between broad access (“the democratic interests of teaching for citizenship”) and the specialized research mission (driven by the market) (184) (see Calhoun, as I discuss in the introduction, and much of my discussion in Chapter Two and Three). It seems to me, then, that pedagogy, curricula, and programs – particularly concerning “general education” and/or education in writing, which tend to be subject to civic or democratic rationales for education – are places to examine closely, to see how institutions make manifest the global or public dynamics of which they are a part.

As Thomas Rickert notes in his review of Chaput’s volume, the culmination of the book in a call for a variety of critical pedagogy is dissatisfying for a number of reasons, not least because as a result of Chaput’s account – among others – of the university’s origins, “one wonders if the university can in fact be the seat of the institutional and social transformation she claims it can be” (Rickert 303). Chaput’s proposed pedagogy engages the globalizing dynamics of the university for critical ends: with a pedagogy oriented towards “working-class professionals,” her term for a reappropriation of “professional embodiedness” (2), Chaput explicitly rejects “teaching for citizenship” (235). She argues that citizenship as an object of teaching is largely a hollow idea that helps to sustain inequality – and, writ globally, citizenship

is a neo-colonial construct. Students as “worker-critics” (239) should engage in transdisciplinary critique, conscious of local-global dynamics and counter to dominant theories of globalization.

Chaput characterizes this student work in this way:

We can ask students to do rhetorical analyses into the cultural, political, and economic arguments for globalization and the modes of thinking they both enable and reproduce ... Such a course might focus specifically on the rhetorics of globalization, but it might also focus more narrowly on the rhetorics of globalization within the university. For instance, students could study the many international partnerships within a university or they could look into globally focused curricula or statements of mission. ... An inquiry like this will require students to work through the contradiction between arguments about globalization and practices with regard to globalization, enabling them to evaluate and reevaluate individual and collective consciousness as well as the processes that create our dominant consciousness. (257–258)

This is so broad as to be difficult to contest, at least in terms of what it is supposed to enable.

Marginally more specific are Lu and Horner, whose pedagogical recommendations include a kind of critical pedagogy that engenders “literacy skills for studying global forces from ‘below,’” as opposed to teaching “marketable skills” in a manner that does not acknowledge the difficulty of even knowing what such skills might be in an employment environment where they quickly change; that is, we might teach towards a more complex engagement with the uncertainties or paradoxes of global capitalism (“Composing,” 125–126). Lu and Horner imagine, then, “a form of literacy that, while not precluding those teacher and student investments in a fuller identification with the needs, desires, and beliefs of extra-territorially mobile global elites, for example, nevertheless allows for the possibility of ambivalence toward such hegemonic interpellation” (“Composing,” 126). They resist, however, the idea that such a pedagogy means certain “themes” for courses – rather such a pedagogy depends on students’ individual negotiations of career ambitions, local affiliations, and aspirations of mobility.

I appreciate these scholars’ attempts to begin to imagine pedagogies that both account for the university’s constraints and work outward from them, and I hope to continue in this vein in

this section – with more attention to micro-strategies, or micro-negotiations, at the level of student composition. To do so, I take as a point of reflection a course called Writing for the Public, which I taught in Summer 2011. Courses like this, which are framed broadly as allowing students to work on writing about a public issue and intervening in a public debate, are increasingly common, whether as variations on a first-year course or, as in this case, a more advanced writing course for a class of mostly juniors and seniors. Such a course might seem like an oddly civic moment in view of Readings’ argument that the liberal individual is no longer the “centered subject” of the institution: “no one of us can seriously imagine him or herself as the hero of the story of the University, as the instantiation of the cultivated individual that the entire great machine works day and night to produce” (9). But such a course is an obvious place to consider whether the possibilities Chaput sees for the university to still work in the public interest, or the critique she makes of education explicitly for “democratic citizenship,” are valid.

Many manifestations of a “writing for the public” course are possible, needless to say, and the course I discuss here does not take the form of one focused on a particular kind of activism or a single prominent public issue or a site of service learning. Instead, in the standard form of this course at my institution, the course is designed to have students determine their own “public issue” of interest and work towards composing a “complex document” accordingly. The “document” might take any designed form that is appropriate, including electronic form, but it should present a research-based argument. Various smaller assignments help students work through a process of selecting and refining their topics and arguments.

From the outset, then, it is evident that the kind of public engagement being modeled here is somewhat “professionalized” – indeed, the course is one fundamental to a certificate in “Public and Professional Writing,” and has as a reference point potential careers for students in

the non-profit or government sectors. Thus students who enter into the course are implicitly being asked to assume a professional relation to a public issue, and advocacy is cast in this model, rather than a more flexible activist model. This certainly makes “public writing” easier to evaluate, in the sense that nebulous “professional” standards can inform assessment, along with nebulous academic standards involving “research.” In this formation, the question of who or what the public *is* or *might be* can easily be lost – or at least, reduced to the choice of a more or less specific audience for research-based policy arguments. My discussion in this section in some ways chronicles an attempt to introduce a more open idea of the public into this course, and what that means or might mean for student writing.

I do not want to simply dismiss this “professionalized” model of public writing, however, as it is a powerful one linked to the role of the university, whose contribution to the public is often conceived of as the delivery of innovation or expertise. In this sense, a course in “Writing for the Public” is deeply reliant on that “for” – the public is the recipient of the writing, and how fortunate they are. Just as a course in written professional communication might be seen as benefitting the individual soon-to-be-professional, this course might be seen as a space for students to take their professional expertise and direct it towards public argument rather than corporate ends. Indeed, my Writing for the Public students’ responses to one of the readings, Simmons and Grabill’s “Toward a Civic Rhetoric for Technologically and Scientifically Complex Places: Invention, Performance, and Participation,” tended to involve their positioning themselves both *as* professionals or technicians, and as the *objects* of professional or technical discourses. This reading, and others to which I had my students respond – including pieces by Warner, Edbauer, and Lu – were included in the syllabus in an attempt to destabilize too much of a feeling of comfort, that is, a feeling of a stable writerly position and a known audience as

defining public writing. Even before the course began, that is, I felt a need to undermine any potential simplification of writing for public purposes – which seemed to me implied in the design of the course, although I was unsure where this destabilizing might lead. What would it mean to teach public writing without, as it were, operationalizing the public, without having it exist solely as the object of one’s public argument? I want to spend some time discussing the productive tension between composing and undoing the public that I found to be at play in my course, even though the “document” may have ultimately reigned supreme; in other words, I’m interested in how the course tried to negotiate different versions of what it means to be a person-who-argues-publicly, trying to inculcate both a research-driven authority and a duty of care.

This might sound so far like the beginnings of a moral mission, but challenging the notion of agency encapsulated in the individual student’s production of a research-driven document with putative public efficacy – indeed, the implied equation of the course seems to be the more research-driven, the more efficacious the argument – is in line with the complexity of rhetorical theory interested in ecology or circulation, as we have encountered with Edbauer. As Marc Santos writes in his response to the question “Why Study Rhetoric,” written for the introduction to his department’s self-published FYC textbook, and republished on his blog:

In the contemporary electrated era, rhetoric emphasizes the importance of ethics, focusing on responsibility and relations. Under this developing rhetoric, the task of the rhetorician is to analyze social systems and maximize opportunities for engagement, sharing, and diversity. These aims, I would argue, are affordances made possible by digital connectivity (through radios, telephones, televisions, computers, mobile phones and whatever comes next). ... This third movement, still in its infancy, strictly concerns itself with neither persuasion or hermeneutics. Rather, it concerns maintaining ethics, in the sense that it seeks to ensure that humans learn to attune themselves to all the voices, objects, and forces that permeate decisions. Given the increase in complexity of political, economic, social, and educational institutional systems, we require new ways, and attitudes, of ensuring all voices receive representation. This third rhetoric, that which I am naming ethical rhetoric, a rhetoric of alterity, ensures that all entities are accounted, represented, and—most importantly (and what distinguishes this somewhat from

hermeneutic activity) are offered the opportunity to respond. Others have called this rhetoric dispensation learning how to listen.

Part of the work of public writing needs to be this working towards multiplicity of voice and a sense of agency as something distributed across the network of circulation. That is, if “the task of the rhetorician is to analyze social systems and maximize opportunities for engagement, sharing, and diversity,” then the research-driven document, the argument to persuade a specific audience, is insufficient as the culmination of a public writing course. Some potential alternatives that maximize “voices, objects, and force” have to do with student work involving mash-up or juxtaposition – for example, in the mode of Jeff Rice’s schema of rhetorical gestures common to new media practice: appropriation, chora, juxtaposition, non-linearity, and so on (see Rice, *A Rhetoric of Cool*). I am interested here, however, in pursuing a sharper delineation of agency than advocacy of these broadly defined practices, as provocative and productive as they have been, has so far provided. I think this flexibility with form and elements of composition *combined with* closer attention to (rather than the dismissal of it as constraining) the institutional environment, is how to accomplish this better description of agency.

I want to use Michael Warner’s influential depiction of the workings of publics to approach this question, because in its complexity it cuts close to the issue of agency at stake here. Ronald Walter Greene, in “Rhetorical Pedagogy as a Postal System: Circulating Subjects through Michael Warner’s ‘Publics and Counterpublics,’” usefully describes the challenge Warner’s work poses to rhetorical studies, long concerned with a communication model of the public: rhetoric’s moral project, the improvement of public life through the promotion of rational-critical discourse (or any of the other touchstone genres in communication studies), is challenged by Warner’s prioritizing of circulation. As Warner writes, “The interactive relation postulated in public discourse, in other words, goes far beyond the scale of conversation or

discussion, to encompass a multigeneric lifeworld organized not just by a relational axis of utterance and response, but by potentially infinite axes of citation and characterization” (91). What becomes important here is not the individual utterance, but the rhythms and temporality of circulation and patterns of attention. And Warner’s primary interest is not even in the deliberating capacity of publics, but with their world-making capacity. As Greene paraphrases, “a public exists as a modern form of power by creating the norms that organize interaction as a space of stranger relationality ... publics and counterpublics are more than spaces of persuasion; they are poetic-expressive forces that imagine particular worlds of stranger sociability” (438). Warner is interested in the work of the counterpublic *before* it becomes a social movement, and is thus inevitably compromised, by the focus on transforming policy rather than “the space of public life itself” (124).

If we draw this set of concerns into the educational realm of the productions of individual rhetors, we can locate agency in the sense that each contributor adds to the “space of public life,” even though deliberation or decision-making might not be the goal or result – what is at stake is how an utterance or response is oriented towards opening up or closing down the space of public life. The kind of “professional” attention to the public valued in my course might be seen as narrow or constrained in this way, even though its “research-driven” arguments are actually elaborate exercises in aggregation and citation – which the institution values as individual productions, as “participation” in the public sphere rather than circulation or co-construction. Were the course to be reoriented towards attention to the temporality of professional attention to the public, and the dynamics of circulation involved, this might provide a sharper model of “the public” at stake – but that would also reinscribe its validity. I directed students to look at social media and journalistic sources as well as solely non-profit and government sources, to try to get

a sense of how their chosen public issues circulated across those domains – to try to disrupt the “world” that was being made and remade in the course being one where the public is the object of the university’s expertise. In addition, the standard course requirement that each student conduct an interview with someone and work that interview into his or her project offered, I thought, an opportunity to see how an interviewee’s experience could be an argument for reconceiving the concern at hand. I would surmise, however, that more formal “research” dominated both these alternative approaches, which students tended to see as adding interest or novelty but not any fundamental challenge. At times, I was left wondering how to make visible what was at stake in public argument beyond knowledge or expertise.

Looking to “the space of public life” rather than research-based policy arguments has, of course, an ethical component or precondition, which we can trace in the work of scholars who have tried to put the ontologies of Derrida and Jean-Luc Nancy to work in rhetoric. In *Inessential Solidarity*, Diane Davis describes that relation which is prior to symbolic action: “In as much as rhetoric names a language *relation*, an approach to the other, an address, it is always already exposing you to your assignation, to the obligation to respond, and therefore to the ‘surplus of sociality’ that always already ‘is.’ This task pursues you relentlessly, aggressively ... mercifully” (112). I find this useful in trying to recast the public work of composition, in that if we think that what we are doing is not only or less about teaching symbolic action, and more about teaching a *condition* for symbolic action, the possibilities for understanding our teaching open up. By “condition,” I do not mean simply encouraging students to think they can participate in public life, or alerting them to textual strategies that can enable such participation. Rather, I mean something more specific, concerning teaching a relation to others. Following Derrida, Davis acknowledges that it is both “impossible” and “necessary” to deduce a politics from this

ethics; the content remains undetermined (118, 123). But while acknowledging the many critics who have refused the relevance of this kind of ontological ethic to the public sphere, she argues that this ethic is the condition of possibility for publics and counterpublics (118, 186–187 n.4).

And this cannot be ignored in our teaching:

It is necessary for rhetoricians to study and teach argument and a vast repertoire of rhetorical principles and strategies. But these principles and strategies are dependent on an altogether *other* sort of rhetorical “situation,” which it is also our responsibility to study and teach. The “responsibilities of rhetoric” involve both a determination to analyze and use the available means of persuasion and a willingness to attend – relentlessly, imprudently – to the inessential solidarity that makes rhetorical practice both necessary and possible. (143)

Thus, Davis is interested in rethinking agency as something that constitutes the agent, not the other way around – that is, “agency as rhetorical affect” not the source “for rhetorical effect” (87). I take this to be a concern with how an orientation to others gives an actor a sense of agency, rather than assuming that that actor operates with a public/audience as the object of an argument.

I do not assume to address this question of solidarity in all its dimensions here, but I am interested in what this framework reveals about my course: I examine two examples from my class to consider how strategies to marginalize certain kinds of public presence surfaced, and what alternatives might be. The first example begins as follows: in an attempt to show the class some examples of how an argument might be shaped for a particular audience, I compiled a packet of documents on the topic of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields. My thinking behind choosing this particular topic was that it was quite relevant to a class made up largely of students from the sciences and engineering, and that it would allow us to revisit the notion of counter-publics or enclaves, which had been introduced when we read Warner early on in the course. That is, it was easy to find examples of documents

all concerned with improving conditions for women in STEM fields, but making markedly different-looking arguments depending on the scope of their audience. The documents I chose in the end were excerpts from: (1) a report on girls' STEM education and women's status in the field from the American Association of University Women, aimed at a broad social and institutional audience (Hill, Corbett, and St. Rose); (2) an Association for Women in Science position statement on applying Title IX to STEM disciplines, aimed at institutional administrators; (3) a brochure from the Women in Science & Engineering Leadership Institute at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, specifically addressed to campus leaders, about how to create women-friendly policies; (4) and a blog post and series of comments about women in STEM from the feminist blog site Feministing, where the commenters express supportive messages to women struggling or achieving in STEM and share strategies they themselves have used to survive or succeed in the field ("Chloe"). While similar "research-based evidence" is used in all these documents, the differences between them make clear the significance of framing, genre, and address to the composition of each argument.

In many ways this packet worked along the lines that I had intended it to, although the conversation nearly derailed at one point because of some of the (male and female) engineering students' hostility to the notion that women should get "special treatment" in their field. This in itself was useful for having the class think about the argumentative value of the act of defining an issue as a public issue – as opposed to a private issue – which Nancy Welch has discussed instructively in *Living Room: Teaching Public Writing in a Privatized World*. What struck me, however, and what is pertinent to the discussion here, is that while all the documents were making essentially the same case for ways in which the underrepresentation of women in STEM should be addressed, the students who were hostile to the idea of addressing it at all were most

hostile towards the blog. This was despite the blog being perhaps the least strident and the least specific in its argument – many of the comments are women congratulating other women or making suggestions, in no more condemnatory a fashion than the more formal reports. I found this striking, that the most “enclave-like” or counter-public example – the one *least* concerned with convincing a hostile audience – became the object of hostility. I would explain this by hypothesizing that the blog’s informality made it more accessible and also seem more vulnerable to attack, with its lack of “professional” veneer, but also that it became the target of the hostility because the world-making dimension is more evident – its clear orientation to an enclave seemed offensive at its core to some of my students, representing as it did the idea that women in STEM could confer without orientation to a larger consensus.

To move to my second example, my students read Min-Zhan Lu’s “An Essay on the Work of Composition: Composing English against the Order of Fast Capitalism,” and I prompted them to respond accordingly:

Lu is interested in language diversity, including “global englishes,” and its implications for how we compose and how we value the compositions of others. This is not simply a matter of putting aside notions of standard English and “correctness” – as if that were entirely possible – but, for Lu, a matter of changing how we respond to and interpret diverse uses of language. For example, she writes, in regards to the designer of the sign, “I have imagined the person who had composed the sign as a designer having options and making decisions on what and what not to do when using English but also having to assert her agency in specific conditions (social, historical, cultural, linguistic, economic) that are not all and always of her own choosing” (26).

In your response, consider how “dissonant discursive resources” might be operating around the public issue you’ve chosen to explore in this course. Remember, this doesn’t only mean different languages, or different englishes – it might include the ways of speaking and writing and thinking of any public or counterpublic involved in your issue. Another way of putting this question might be: who gets to speak, and in what ways, about your issue? What ways of speaking are marginalized or ignored, and why? What might happen if those discourses were “read” with the kind of attention that Lu is advocating?

Try to use concrete examples in your response. Feel free to use your own “dissonant discursive resources” as examples. You should quote Lu at least once to anchor your discussion.

Lu makes a case for being “responsible and responsive” users of English in the context of the place of English in global capitalism, challenging the notion that such a stance only need involve students and teachers who are not native speakers. Asking us to pay attention to “dissonance” in our own “discursive resources” (38), she discusses the intensifying conflicts over regulating global englishes, and the influence of U.S. curricula on teaching abroad. Through an extended analysis of an example of “Chinglish” and the possible intellectual work and agency behind what is interpreted as a corruption of language, she makes the case for why we must take into account how world englishes “enliven” the language that a standardized English would seek to suppress, and why we should resist a commodity notion of language that serves the interest of fast capitalism. Lu argues we should consider all users of englishes as equally engaged in “actively constructing” their languages (25). The argument that the self of global capitalism – the self-as-portfolio (43) – resists attention to the dissonance between constitutive discourses is a powerful one, I think: Lu takes up what is a familiar argument, that composition is a curricular space whose disciplinary positioning enables reconsidering or rethinking of language norms, and redirects that impulse towards composition as “boundary work” – specifically the boundaries between diverse englishes and discourses.

The response of one student, who gave me permission to use her work without naming her, interests me in its range of approaches to the topic, and in the way these approaches sit uneasily with one another; I include it in full below. This student writes about imagining herself “struggling” or “striving” to communicate in a language not entirely within her grasp; modifying her language to more effectively persuade an audience, by imagining herself as that audience; imagining an opening up of language use, that may or may not have an audience as an “argument”; and reflecting on existing linguistic variation as appreciation or exploration.

When I read this essay, I had an easier time understanding Lu's points when I imagined myself as the "Other," Non-Native Speaker. I imagined using a Chinese-English dictionary to try to translate a sign from English to Chinese, encountering the difficulties of subtlety, idiom, and grammar. It helped me think about the choices I might make while struggling to communicate, or striving for "linguistic perfection."

This is an extreme example in terms of my project (I'm not going to try to address a Chinese audience), but I think it reminds me how important it is to not just recognize an audience, public or counterpublic, but try to "put yourself in their shoes" in some way. This involves not only using language that is familiar to the audience (perhaps technical language), but also striking an appropriate tone, determining effective persuasive strategy, and anticipating possible counter-arguments. It's not just about using the "right" english, but using an english effectively to serve a particular purpose.

I tried to think about the marginalized voice within my topic. Since my topic is addressing verbal ability, communication and technology, I began thinking about internet-speak and chat-language as its own english. I think one counter-argument against the negative influence of technology on verbal ability could be that grammar and English instruction should assimilate some of the aspects of computer-mediated communication, as abbreviations and internet slang become widely recognized and accepted. Rather than focusing on preserving the integrity of language, perhaps the constraints of language should be loosened to reflect usage in reality. As Lu noted, "we rank users of English into those qualified to design the Tools and those designated to merely use them" (25). Maybe the voice of technology-modified language is not considered qualified to design the Tools; this relegates those who embrace internet slang into a User of the Tools, and resistant users at that. It might be difficult to find support for this argument, as it seems like preserving the integrity of language is encouraged, and anything that challenges this notion should be quelled.

"Please do not surmount the balustrade" is from a sign at a Chinese tourist attraction. Sometimes I think Chinglish helps explore the variety and poetry within the English language that are lost during our day-to-day "native speech." Perhaps text abbreviations and internet slang have that same effect.

This writer seems to be working with contradictory impulses – which is at least in part the result of the course – when she offers a version of a position that to write well is to suit your audience, but also contends that writing is about imagining an argument that might not have an "audience" (and this student is wondering if that not-yet-audience status invalidates what she might argue). And this conflict also has to consider language as a sometimes flexible, sometimes intractable, material. I am reasonably happy that the course generated this sense of conflict, without necessarily resolving it. But these two examples, concerning student responses to the women in STEM documents and the above response to Lu, to my mind present some key opportunities and

challenges of writing for the public *in the university*; there are traces of educational dynamics emerging in these imagined relations to the public that should be acknowledged.

In *Rethinking Racism: Emotion, Persuasion, and Literacy Education in an All-White High School*, Jennifer Seibel Trainor accounts with great sensitivity for the ways in which a kind of affective curriculum complicates and often undermines the school's explicit antiracist initiatives. Most resonant to my mind is her identification of "emotioned rules" of schooling, reiterated constantly in all kinds of ways, and underwriting much of the racism she hears and sees: the two broad categories that emerge seem to be (1) the value of self-reliance and individualism, which surface variously as making the best of what you have, being positive and upbeat, making "good choices," and hard work equaling success, and which extends to the "dismissal of critiques as 'complaining' or 'whining'" or as creating potential chaos, and (2) the value of tolerance and diversity, where it is vitally important that everyone get along, and everyone is equal, which extends to the notion that racism happens elsewhere, and is what other people think, not here, not us (88–101). I think Trainor's findings, while deeply situated in the race and class politics of a particular high school and community, do point to some key aspects of the discourses of schooling that have resonance for projects concerned with public writing. In the examples above, the notion that "all voices should be heard" is instantly a value that maps onto tolerance and diversity, and is recognizable to students as something important, but the hint of chaos or critique-without-solution that comes with discourse not oriented to consensus, to having "us all get along," can be unnerving or frustrating. The "emotioned rules" of the university, where discipline plays out differently, might be more open to "chaos" and to the "critical" as a kind of uber-value, in some ways, but it is possible to see these dynamics layered on the more fundamental ones of the school. Even with Zach and Whitney's collaborative and

transferable relations to the global, discussed in the previous section, a similar valoration of diversity and self-reliance might be identified.

The “professionalized” relation to the public instantly offers a more complex middle ground, however, as the value of professional/expert/research discourses means an inevitable space of negotiation, and decisions to be made, concerning which exclusions of which voices are necessary – and the policy- or argument-orientation means that consensus as well as world-making is inevitably a concern. What seems crucial, then, in expanding the possibilities for this writing, is pursuing something other than this kind of educational discourse, this version of diversity-as-long-as-it’s-not-disruptive. We need to ask, how can “diversity” change the meaning of the institution or of civic thinking, by becoming part of its authority? This became a live issue for my class when I asked them to consider if, in composing their documents and quoting interview sources, they would correct non-standard English usage, identify it with [sic], or leave it intact and uncommented upon. There were a range of answers and arguments, about both the writers’ authority and the ethics of quotation, but what was striking to me was the notion that for some students, leaving such language use intact would serve to add “character” to the document, increasing the “impact” or “interest” of the argument. This domestication of difference, a kind of non-disruptive diversity, seems a real threat to expanding students’ sense of what public writing can do, within the university. What, then, might these inevitably compromised documents, or the process of their composition, do to decrease domesticity, and instead amplify the boundaries of what counts as public work?

Some scholars in composition studies have argued that the whole framework of “public writing” is problematic in this sense. In “Against Publics (Exilic Writing)”, Michael Bernard-Donals offers a relevant caution to rhetoric and composition’s embrace of “the public” as the aim

of writing instruction. He argues that even with attention to different models of public deliberation, for example in the work of Patricia Roberts-Miller, and the corresponding critique of the possibility of consensus, the focus on reaching a decision to act or even merely existing in the same space without consensus means that scholars “remain wedded to a notion of ‘publicity’ – a common location, a communitarian ‘we,’ a polis – that takes rationality (even in the “agonistic” model of argument) as argument’s stock in trade, and the establishment of common ground (if not agreement) as its ultimate end” (30–31). Even scholars such as Susan Wells, while attending to the “unreasonable” and to the role of desire in public space, or Iris Marion Young, with her attention to difference, retain the principle of working in or towards a shared public space. Bernard-Donals argues that such an orientation is fundamentally problematic, despite the importance of such theories – and here he includes the work of Canagarajah and others who approach these issues from a “post-colonial or minority studies” position – that try “to account for the radical particularity of the self that, regardless of its public location, is nonetheless hard-pressed to construct a “we” in which argument, rational or not, can take place” (37). For Bernard-Donals, following Emmanuel Levinas and Jean-Luc Nancy, this notion of the collective should be problematized, or at least bracketed, in order to consider the more fundamental problem of identity, and how language and argument make difference evident rather than overcome it.

Levinas’ “singular situations” – the radical openness of any speech situation, wherein any naming of the interlocutors or the action is possible, and where naming might be resisted altogether – provides for Bernard-Donals an alternative to thinking in terms of the “public,” and a way of resisting the related marginalization of the “anomalous individual” (40). Drawing on both Levinas and Derrida, Bernard-Donals writes: “the location of utterance involves a double

displacement ... when the individual enters into a discursive relation with the other, she resides in a kind of no-man's land, in which she is both at home and in exile, neither completely apart from, nor completely a part of, the community or the location in which she speaks" (42). This radical instability, and a public modeled after it that allows for the "surplus" or difference that cannot be reconciled to an identity or origin, that leaves us troubled, is for Bernard-Donals a more ethical public than that organized around rational argument (45). His notion of "exilic writing," the writing that might take place in such a public, is described as follows:

... a sense of history, of the collective – the language of a "we" – is in tension with the contemporary moment in which the public is bracketed in favor of the demands of the face-to-face encounter. This is the ethical orientation, and this is a kind of *writing*, that challenges the predicates – both spatial and temporal – of traditional moral thinking, and that takes account of the variety of times, or memories, or collective consciousnesses that move in parallel with, and sometimes cut across (sometimes with violent effects), what we call, for lack of better terms, history or discipline, or subject position. (46)

For Bernard-Donals, a poetic, hybrid writing would be better than rational argument for approaching this kind of public in language, to make clear "the space that cannot be traversed" (48). In her earlier book, *Breaking Up [at] Totality: A Rhetoric of Laughter*, Davis espouses the same sentiment:

... it is to say that genuine writing is "the act that obeys the sole necessity of exposing the limit" ([Nancy, *Inoperative Community*] 67). Writing is the singular gesture of touching that limit and so of *reaching for others*. Anyone who writes, as Nancy notes, "for the same, for himself, or for the anonymity of the crowd is not a writer" (66). Writing: attending to inscription's exscription. It follows that there is a precious little bit of *writing* going on in comp classes today, where students are commanded to "know" their audience and their (lone) purpose, where they are rewarded for grounding their inscriptions in "common places" (the same), for pretending to have mastered something, and for perpetuating the myths of community and identity via the strategies of clarity and linear presentation – for effacing inscription's exscription. (238–239)

The kind of writing that might satisfy Davis' critique is, according to her, that which works towards trying out questions, not concluding, contradicting, and employing multiplicity of voice, and is rhizomatic and paratactic rather than hypotactic, hypertextual, and so on (243–248).

The limitations of audience-based public writing, with its connotations of large-scale consensus and thus relatively rigid form, can be made evident even in a classroom which takes that mode seriously, as I have indicated, but Davis' and Bernard-Donals' move to alternative or hybrid forms is salient. I think, however, that Kelly Pender makes an important critique in her attempt to recover some indeterminacy for "instrumental" uses of language, when she notes that "the message ... is conflicted, as critics seem caught between the need to point out how instrumental approaches to rhetoric require (and, indeed, produce) a style of writing that does not allow the materiality of language to shine forth and the need to show that the materiality of language shines forth no matter what we do to make it disappear into usefulness" (14 n.14). We might both recover "professionalized" forms from this resignation to corruption, and look beyond the boundaries of the document to circulation for some of this openness we seek, given the ways in which circulation destabilizes authorial control. The issue of language diversity and translatability disrupts the fiction of efficacious rational, research-based argument being all that is needed to achieve public discourse as fully-realized democratic reality – there is loss and excess there even in the fundamentals of language, and underlying associations between rational argument and nationalism are exposed (in that sense diversity and self-reliance are both schooled and nationed discourses). For Davis, politics without the polis is essential (198). And if the better public argument is one that does not shut out excess, is not so "managed," even finds authority in that opening to its excess, the work of the writing class may not be to find this opening within the single argument or document at the culmination of a class, but to find it in ecologies between arguments and documents, as in the acts of translation on which Lu and my student above reflect.

An important theoretical touchstone for this work is Jean-Luc Nancy's work in *The Inoperative Community*, where community exceeds signification (xxv): "only a discourse of

community, exhausting itself, can indicate to the community the sovereignty of its sharing” (26).

Community resists completion, and writing inscribes this resistance (80–81):

If the political is not dissolved in the sociotechnical element of forces and needs (in which, in effect, it seems to be dissolving under our eyes), it must inscribe the sharing of community. The outline of singularity would be “political” – as would be the outline of its communication and its ecstasy. *“Political” would mean a community ordering itself to the unworking of its communication, or destined to this unworking: a community constantly undergoing the experience of its sharing.* To attain to such a signification of the “political” does not depend, or in any case not simply, on what is called a “political will.” It implies being already engaged in the community, that is to say, undergoing, in whatever manner, the experience of community as communication: it implies writing. We must not stop writing, or letting the singular outline of our being-in-common expose itself. (40–41, emphasis mine)

This is explicitly not programmatic, opposed to the programmatic, and as I discussed in the introduction, scholars such as Reid and Hawk have argued for pedagogies that foster new kinds of community in the context of fundamental indeterminacy; although education does to some extent require the programmatic, such a program might not be oriented towards “a public” in the sense that that would be nameable, or in the style of Roberts-Miller, achieved through a particular style of deliberation, and instead have more to do with the act of writing a “between” people with more open goals. As the excerpts below make evident, students see learning public writing as having to do with much more than just better persuasion – it has to do with generating opportunities for listening, experimenting with participation, and with destabilizing conventional authority, and these are deeply transnational concerns that question the flexible “diversity” and orientation to consensus offered by the university. The question I posed to the class as a final reflection (not subject to assessment or further discussion) on the course was as follows: *What does it take for us to have productive discussion and debate? And what should students learn to make this discussion and debate possible?* While many students wrote about compromise and open-mindedness, collaboration but also individual tolerance, progress and evolution, and “there

are always two sides to every argument,” some looked more sharply to relations with others, and between writers and readers:

There are probably many ways to create a successful debate but I believe the most important is that each discussion party is as passionate about listening as they are about persuading. (Jacob Yatsko)

To have productive discussions, I think the most vital need is to have clear, equally represented counter-arguments. I think something that hinders these debates is that there is often disproportionate representation in the media. ... For [young adults] to be engaged, I think a great deal more creativity needs to be employed. Instead of partisan news sites and theoretical academic readings, the language/rhetoric and structure needs to be refreshed. Discourse should be interactive to be productive; thus the forums and platforms presenting the problems need to be interactive and approachable. I think public discourse needs to blatantly invite participation instead of presenting information and hoping the public is moved enough to take part. Students should be pushed to explore new creative media and be innovative. (Jordan Grier)

In order for good public debate to occur, all parties need to be active. Experts, who are more educated, and non-experts, who are less educated, must be able to communicate and spark debate amongst each other. We can't leave the stimulated thinking to the educated people. (Jaren Bailey)

III. The Public Work of Academic Writing: “Seminar in Composition”

As Christian Weisser discusses in *Moving Beyond Academic Discourse: Composition Studies and the Public Sphere*, “public writing” is an increasingly popular theme for teaching and theorizing in composition studies, perhaps even threatening “academic writing” as the central object of instruction. For Weisser, the advantages of “real” exigencies over staged, “artificial” exigencies for student writers are clear, and the kind of engagement offered through academic writing seems cast in a problematic realm of the artificial. Without subscribing to these reductive categories, and having labored in this chapter so far to make the university quite a “real” presence, I think it is productive to ask perhaps the obvious question: what is the public work, or value, or meaning, of the elaborated, critical essay that, with the research essay, is the usual

manifestation of “academic writing” in the first-year course? Can it be recast as other than a luxury, or as a diversion from the “real” work of public writing? And can it be seen as something other than a nostalgic nod to a rational-critical public sphere, as is it in Duffy’s “Virtuous Arguments”? Few today would question the value of teaching multimodal composition, for example, in order to have students produce public texts, but the relationship between the critical essay and civic work is more often taken for granted than explored.

In this section, then, I discuss a student essay from a first year “Seminar in Composition” class, in Spring 2009. I will admit that I begin with the suspicion that there *is* value in public terms, in the critical student essay. This is a feeling that comes from reading my first-year students’ work and finding more in it to admire than increasing facility with academic gestures or prose style, or inventive reading and interpretation. I will freely admit, however, that my sense of what “the critical essay” entails is very flexible, grounded as it is in a tradition of teaching composition perhaps best known through the textbook *Ways of Reading*, where the academic essay is a site to both negotiate and critique academic conventions and to engage in stylistic innovation and collage. In this sense, and in looking at the sheer variation in syllabi and approaches to the first-year course across the United States, I do think of the first-year course as an oddly free curricular space. This might seem a peculiar way to think of a space that is so often assumed to contain quite a narrow pedagogical exercise by people outside the field, including various institutional actors with stakes in its work; certainly, I do not wish to make light of the constraints under which many teachers of composition work, especially in institutions less well-resourced than the one I have been privileged to teach in. I do consider, however, in this section, how in my experience with relative freedom over classroom activities and assignment sequences, an odd openness emerges in the first-year course. I think here of Reid’s depiction of how his

pedagogy takes up his notion of the composition process, derived from Lessig's "rip, mix, and burn," as characterized by citation, "proliferation," and stabilization regardless of mode (130–131) – i.e. even in print – and directs it towards "the pedagogy of the event" (170). This pedagogy is crucially concerned with open-endedness – a new focus on process without the same notion of an author or project's goals, a "learning to unfold in unpredictable ways" (178). Reid is clear that an open-ended pedagogy is difficult to instantiate in the institution, and certainly there are clear "goals" for Seminar in Composition. The relationship between the arc of coursework and these goals is hardly direct or linear, however, or even predetermined.

This does not mean, of course, that issues of "academic literacy" are of no concern to the first-year course, as I understand it. While I think it is neither possible nor desirable to teach students in a composition course to master the writing practices of some or all other departments in the university, such a course might usefully take as its object, firstly, certain *values* embodied in literate practice that characterize academic literacy, and that are imagined to characterize an ideal public culture more generally – and, secondly, a critical investigation into those values and their effects. The first-year course, in particular, can be imagined as a theater for the confrontation of these values and practices with those that students bring to the university. The obvious objection to this understanding of the work of composition is that there is much more to writing than what "the university" might endorse; this is certainly true, but to rationalize a universally-required course, I would argue that some negotiation with the values and practices of the academy must take place.

The question of how to name the values and practice of the academy is hardly a settled one, however, particularly if one wants to link academic work to a broader public culture, and to take into account currents of change in both those domains. Of course, teachers can foreground

academic writing as engagement in a restricted public culture, creating a sense in the classroom of a public conversation about intellectual concerns into which students can enter, albeit in restricted ways. I try to make clear to students that the values I bring to the assessment of their work often have to do with responsible participation in this conversation: not misrepresenting a reading or a classmate's argument, for example; reading "generously"; taking care to support assertions; making evident "what's at stake" in an argument or analysis, how it addresses an issue of public concern (however narrowly one wants to define one's "public"). This would seem to echo Duffy's values of virtuous argument, although I do not labor under the illusion that teaching this kind of argument will rehabilitate a degraded public sphere. But I can well remember the first class I took as a student in which a professor talked about student work as if it were knowledge-generating, as if it were partaking in a critical enterprise involving a community of scholars, and in which I regularly read the work of my peers – this class was a revelation to me. There is, of course, a significant strain of idealism in associating this with public participation more broadly, but the power of the vocabulary this professor used to conceptualize student work remained.⁴ But I was doing graduate work at this point, and could not help but wonder what my undergraduate experience might have been like had I had this understanding of academic work then – a sense of that work tending outward, looking beyond the narrow path to the professor in the name of assessment.

I would agree with Gerald Graff's argument in *Clueless in Academe*, then, that the academic "culture of ideas and arguments" (2) is not entirely distinct from that of the broader public domain, and there is value in making this evident to students – and I share his sense of an educator's responsibility to the larger culture, of needing to prepare students for "public life" and

⁴ All credit to Roger Nicholson, University of Auckland.

to explicitly problematize what this might mean with them. At the same time, I would resist Graff's simplification of this "culture" – even as I acknowledge that, to some degree, we are bound to teach toward an idealized public culture rather than to try to replicate in the classroom anything like the complex structures of differential access and mediation that actually characterize public life. Graff himself expresses cynicism about the efficacy of public argument, and his vision for the work students might do in the composition classroom rests on a faith that such public arguing might find new efficacy in new forms (57–58) – but for his recommendations to hold good, these new forms will have to retain many of the dimensions of traditional academic argumentation, which casts their "newness" in a problematic light. For Graff, writing assignments that explicitly require students to engage in public debates rest on "an increasingly hollow pretense that what we think and say about such issues can actually make a difference" (57). We might see more relevance, then, in writing assignments that demonstrate both situated reflection on public issues, and the blurring of traditional boundaries concerning public and private writing that characterizes much composition with new media, not to mention shifts in journalism and non-fiction in recent decades – as these qualities define much public engagement today. For example, one way to approach a more complex rendering of public life in the classroom is to give more prominence to students' self-implicating, self-examining moves – not merely as moves to make an argument more effective, as Graff would suggest with his nod towards the argumentative force of "good stories" (4), but as recognition that argument in the public sphere is always situated, always calling into being particular discursive identities.

This thinking influenced my choice of a chapter from Richard Rodriguez' *Hunger for Memory*, "The Achievement of Desire," for a final unit when teaching Seminar in Composition. The excerpt is an example of writing that investigates the nature of the writer's identity in order

to engage with matters of public concern, and public policy; having students work with “The Achievement of Desire” and write in response to it was, for me, a way of demonstrating how both they and professional writers can negotiate public argument without pretense of neutrality, or even without an orientation to consensus, in response to pressing concerns from one’s own experience, and as a way of constructing that experience discursively. Rodriguez’ text is also particularly useful in that I am interested in foregrounding education as a site for analysis and critique in the first-year composition classroom, as part of building students’ self-awareness about their engagement in the university and with its literate practices.

My central assignment for the Rodriguez unit represents an attempt to set up for students an engagement with the text that would crystallize these concerns. Following a brief summary of Rodriguez’ argument that foregrounds his problematizing of the kind of change prescribed by education and how we understand educational achievement, the essay assignment asks students to discuss Rodriguez’ essay with reference to both their own experience as students and the work of another writer we read earlier in the term. The openness of the key term “discuss” was a deliberate move this late in the semester, after a series of more directive assignments. That is, while setting up an argumentative framework within which students can work, the essay assignment does not isolate which elements of Rodriguez’ text the students should bring into conversation with their own experience. In class, we discussed the necessity of narrowing the focus to a few key elements of Rodriguez’ essay, rather than attempting to account for the whole. For me, this is important work for students to do consciously, as it involves several dimensions of what I would call advanced literacy: acknowledging what falls outside the scope of a writing project, in conjunction with isolating what is significant to that project and making explicit the reasoning behind that choice. Such work explicitly calls for awareness of writing as an act that

embodies a tension between boundaries and responsibilities: the responsibility to represent Rodriguez and one's own experience fairly, fully, is in tension with the limits of the length and scope of the paper and the perspective of the writer, and the ever-present limits, as Robert Pattison describes, that language places on our powers of representation.

The text of the assignment adapts a *Ways of Reading* assignment as follows:⁵

He has used education to remake himself. ... Those who would take seriously the boy's success – and his failure – would be forced to realize how great is the change any academic undergoes, how far one must move from one's past.
“The Achievement of Desire,” 559–560

In “The Achievement of Desire,” Richard Rodriguez presents an account of his own education that theorizes about education more broadly: particularly, the ways in which the culture of schooling can prescribe change to “the person” (559) – to a person's identity and to how that person understands his or her identity – even as it prescribes a body of knowledge to be learned. In presenting a narrative that associates educational achievement with pain and loss, Rodriguez challenges the commonplace representation of education in American society as a straightforward path to unambiguous “success.”

With these arguments in mind, write an essay in which you discuss Rodriguez' essay in the context of your own experience as a student. You can make reference to an experience that took place on a single day, or to your development over a number of years, or something in between – whichever seems most useful for your purposes. *In any case, you should take care to present the reader with specific, detailed scenes from your education, as Rodriguez does, to generate and/or ground your analysis of his argument.* You will need to consider how your representation of yourself will shape your interpretation of Rodriguez (and any “others” who might be represented in your paper). As you illuminate how your experience both intersects with and diverges from Rodriguez' discussion of the process and aims of education, you should also contextualize your position with reference to another scholar whose work we have discussed this semester: Edward Said, Mary Louise Pratt, or Susan Griffin.

In this assignment, students do have some degree of flexibility to write according to their own priorities, but with significant constraints of form and subject, and with certain academic moves mandated. Returning to the semester's previous readings, for example, in order to juxtapose

⁵ This assignment is similar in some ways to the second “assignment for writing” in *Ways of Reading*, which asks students to imitate Rodriguez' style of description and analysis to represent an experience from their own lives (564–565). I retained something of this imitative-critical mode, by requiring students to represent particular scenes, but otherwise made the essay assignment more clearly argumentative in focus, and expanded its argumentative scope by requiring reference to the work of another writer.

Rodriguez' arguments with those of Edward Said, Mary Louise Pratt, or Susan Griffin, is an invocation of another dimension of academic literacy I find important – that which is built into *Ways of Reading* in the form of the “Making Connections” sections after each reading. For me, an essential element of advanced literacy is the capacity to draw disparate texts into dialogue – the capacity to both acknowledge the differences between texts' concerns or approaches even as one identifies places of common ground. While we worked specifically in class to draw connections between extracts from the other essays we had read so far this term and Rodriguez' essay, in their papers the students were ultimately responsible for establishing the connections between Rodriguez and one of the other writers, in the service of whatever argument they wished to make. As a result, some foregrounded the connections and disconnections between, say, Rodriguez and Said, including their own experience as support, while others foregrounded the connections and disconnections between Rodriguez and their own experience, using Said as support. Regardless of the balance between the elements they sought, all had to produce relatively focused and angled summaries of the writers' arguments in order to establish these connections and disconnections. An additional benefit to this kind of work is the recursiveness built into the assignment, which in my mind is a key quality of academic literacy: to have students return to texts, with concerns derived from subsequent reading in mind, seems to me to enact a literate practice fundamental to the academy.

While there are many aspects of this work, then, tied to notions of (a flexible) academic literacy, I want to consider how this very flexibility starts to blur the academic purpose into the public realm. I think it is useful here to work with a notion of pedagogy put forward by Elizabeth Ellsworth in *Places of Learning: Media, Architecture, Pedagogy*, where she describes a “civic pedagogy” by drawing on the writing of the architecture critic for the *New York Times*, Herbert

Muschamp, who is in turn writing about the architectural plan for the reconstruction of Ground Zero. In his advocacy for a particular design option, which Muschamp argues offers ways to rethink public space and invent new public spaces, he writes: “The point is that with abstraction meanings can expand without limit. In this sense abstraction is democratic. It reinforces the concept of the public realm” (Muschamp, quoted in Ellsworth, 83). Ellsworth’s notion of the civic pedagogy enacted by such architecture is inspired by the design plan’s offering an elevated path, a path that offers a view of the city that reveals the borders and the blurring of public and private space, of insider and outsider space – “a path that materializes the simultaneous separation and connection that is being in relation” (85). For Ellsworth, then, this pedagogy “binds pieces of memory, experience, and anticipation into a cultural fabric and, at the same time, productively frays the edges of the social identities that compose such a fabric” (85).

In trying to draw some of these theoretical threads towards the teaching of writing, I run the risk of participating in what Ellsworth describes as the tendency to draw any extra-institutional pedagogy into the world of school and classroom, judging its relevance or meaning by its potential to be implemented in the confines of educational practice. She is justifiably interested and invested in keeping her “places of learning” separate from that context, and separate from the hierarchy of curriculum and instruction, wherein curriculum is privileged over pedagogy/instruction (12), and retaining those places’ potential as indirect, speculative, and thus generative, sites of provocation. Ellsworth does offer her readings of places of learning as providing “inspirational data,” “data that can stimulate educational imaginations and pedagogical design rather than simply define a set of presumably replicable pedagogical strategies” (115). It does strike me, then, that composition is one rather unique place, where the hierarchy of curriculum and instruction is questioned, indeed where Ellsworth’s challenge “to make

something else of pedagogy – not simply to make pedagogy’s subordination to curriculum obsolete but to think pedagogy in ways that make pedagogy encompass curriculum” (12) – has been taken up. I think this in several ways. The first is in composition’s problem with “content,” of course – the fill-in-the-blanks curriculum that surrounds so much attention to strategies of instruction, designing and sequencing assignments, and responding with some degree of spontaneity or with some “organic” quality to a particular class, their progress, the projects they’ve chosen. The second, less obviously, is in teaching an act rather than a subject, there is a kind of learning-as-immediacy, or as-immersion, that is assumed. Hence that oddly reverent way of talking about “the composition classroom” as a kind of abstracted place – talked about in scholarship as a kind of public place, transversed by educational imperatives of testing and grading and all the rest, and by public imperatives, too, but also as a gateway, a place of intersection or where things happen (not so much where something is taught).

This is not to challenge Ellsworth’s critique of the way that education maintains its narrow sense of what is and is not relevant to its enterprise, but to wonder whether acknowledging composition’s rather unique – I say “rather,” as art, design, and multimedia instruction might also work in this way – curricular space is key to thinking of it as civic pedagogy with all the resonance that Ellsworth finds in her places of learning:

This brings us back to the paradox at the heart of pedagogy. If teaching is about thinking and not complying with the one who holds the superordinate knowledge, if thinking is an encounter with the unthought, then for pedagogy to put us into relation with each other in ways we have never been before, for pedagogy to be a democratic civic pedagogy, it must create places in which to think about “we” without knowing already who “we” are. It must keep the future of what our engagements with those places make of us open and undecided. (95)

The extent to which such open relationality is possible within the critical essay remains a relevant question, if we take seriously this notion of publicity; Ellsworth follows Brian Massumi

in critiquing critique, or at least its taking time away from “augmenting” or “fostering” (128). I want to work with an essay written by my student Maria Bruno, in response to the assignment discussed above, to explore some of the civic possibility lurking in the apparently “critical” essay. Here it is reproduced in full:

The Measure of Achievement

In *The Achievement of Desire*, Richard Rodriguez analyzes his academic success. He addresses the meaning of a “successful student.” Being a very “successful” student, he did not find himself worthy of all the praise that he’d received. He points out, “Always successful, I was always unconfident. Exhilarated by my progress. Sad. I became the prized student—anxious and eager to learn. Too eager, too anxious—an imitative and unoriginal pupil” (Rodriguez, 546). This self-analysis intrigues me, because I was always on the opposite side of this social norm.

Rodriguez noted his lack of inquiry. He never questioned his teachers, and they much appreciated his unwavering respect for their authority. I was surprised to learn that many teachers were unprepared for the possibility of a student enquiring “Why?” I, myself, have always been a why-er. For me to learn and absorb information best, I not only needed to memorize the theory, I needed to know why the theory exists. I didn’t just want to know the facts, I wanted to understand them. Rodriguez, perhaps due to his different home-life than myself, did not inquire at all. “I came to idolize my grammar school teachers, I began by imitating their accents, using their diction, trusting their every direction. The very first facts they dispensed, I grasped with awe. Any book they told me to read, I read—then waited to tell me what books I enjoyed” (Rodriguez, 549). Rodriguez was the star pupil because he was the most convincing clone of his teachers. I have always been more resistant, and both of us had suffered consequences due to the extent of our stubbornness.

I was the stubborn one—too analytical, too inquisitive. Astute—or delusional—by nature, I concluded that the teachers that were not fond of me often felt threatened by me. I was often told to accept the answer, “because I said so.” This effort to institutionalize and standardize the student body often frustrated me. In *Arts of a Contact Zone*, Mary Louise Pratt analyses the goals – and limited results – of this kind of standardized teaching. She cites her son’s fourth grade paper, “Despite the spelling, the assignment received the usual star to indicate the task had been fulfilled in an acceptable way. No recognition was available, however, of the humor, the attempt to be critical or contestatory, to parody the structure of authority” (Pratt, 509). Pratt questions the nature of modern academic education, saying “Are teachers supposed to feel that their teaching has been most successful when they have eliminated such things and unified the social world, probably in their own image? Who wins when we do that? Who loses?” (Pratt, 509).

Pratt raises an interesting question about the pros and cons of standardizing education. Who does win? Our society today has a large emphasis on equality, as it should. However, there is a very fine line between being fair and being inflexible.

Teachers are constantly judging both concepts. They try to avoid confrontation with parents while still attempting to provoke students to think. Teachers must help facilitate and mold a child's creative mind without imposing their points of view. Some have a tough time finding this balance.

Many of my teachers took a very passive route. Perhaps this is the way school district's policies were framed. Teachers often favored the kids with involved parents. This, I infer, has more to do with the teacher's fear of student complaints than with their desire to educate. My teachers often responded to my challenges of authority in two ways: they sent me to the office, or conceded to my every request. Were teachers really more willing to act radically than to risk a possible dispute with parents? The truth is: yes. Most teachers act out of submission to the school's rules. However, some are audacious and disagree with the school's policies, and therefore appreciate atypical opinions and challenges. My favorite teachers were the ones that chose to facilitate my creativity rather than suppress it. I respected them, and they respected me. It was a simple and effective relationship.

Rodriguez's favorite teachers, and his relationships with them, were very different. "To his teachers he offers great satisfaction; his success is their proudest achievement" (Rodriguez, 558). He was his teachers' trophy, whereas I was my teachers' challenge. Rodriguez and I seemed to have entirely different social experiences due to our different academic ones. He became the subject of ridicule for his ambition, and was often called the "kiss ass" (Rodriguez, 558). I, however, was always better known as the spokesperson for the students. Though other students did not have the nerve or wit to effectively participate in my coup, I often found myself with an army of support, as they repeated and rallied behind my argument.

Rodriguez and my stubbornness stems from different—perhaps opposing—reasons. I admired, and admire still, the courage and originality of my father. He's strong, moral, helpful and extremely intelligent. He has always been my Atticus Finch, the embodiment of moral character. He is aggressive but not mean, strong but not a bully. He has always chosen doing what's right over what's easy. That is who I want to be. Rodriguez saw his parents in a less praising manner. He saw his parents as an embarrassment, admitting "A primary reason for my success in the classroom was that I couldn't forget that schooling was changing me and separating me from the life I enjoyed before becoming a student" (Rodriguez, 547). He saw school as a means of separating himself from his parents, whereas I saw it as a chance to grow up just like mine.

While our resistance towards social norms seemed to be entirely opposing, Rodriguez and I had much in common. Both he and I suffered from a common illness: abnormal self-awareness. He realized that his admiration of his teachers alienated him from his peers, while I knew that my questioning of education practices could lead teachers to dislike or punish me. I, respecting my father's (and in turn, my) opinion more than my teacher's, often doubted my teachers. He, on the other hand, lacked confidence in his parents' (and his) opinions, and always took his teacher's work over his parents'. We both saw the flaws of this. His ability to analyze and witness his own speech and mimicking opinions left him feeling unconfident. I struggled with contradicting expectations to think independently and accept direction, and often struggled balancing being educable and keeping my own point of view.

Rodriguez noted the adjustments he eventually had to make when he studied at a collegiate level. He says, “He even repeats exactly his professor’s earlier comment. All his ideas are clearly borrowed. He seems to have no thought of his own. He chatters while his listeners smile—their look one of disdainthe scholarship boy makes only too apparent his profound lack of *self*-confidence (Rodriguez, 559). He had a hard time adjusting to the expectation to think on his own. Rodriguez was not prepared to question his teachers or fellow students. He was not ready to be seen as an equal in the eyes of his professors. While in high school I was constantly told to accept the standards, in college I am often praised for my ability to doubt. My concerns are now noted as original, not undermining. Professors do not mind that I don’t always agree with them.

Our different reactions to college are just more proof of our different expectations of education. Rodriguez wanted formal education to tell him what is important and what is not. He wanted to know the facts, and be taught what to conclude from them. I, however, wanted to know the facts, and then infer my own conclusions. He thought of academic theories to hold the same irrefutable truth of statistics, while I thought of theories as one possible explanation. There are flaws to both of these extreme views.

Who is more right? While it is not wise to assume that all theories are fact (note the world is flat theory proved to be entirely false and laughable), it is also not wise to assume that all theories are made up. Most theorists have studied facts, statistics, and patterns of their subjects. There is often at least some truth to these theories, but it is important to balance inquisitive questioning and respect towards experts. It comes down to balance. It is important to know when to question and when not to. This is a learned skill, and both Rodriguez and I are learning more with age.

On an initial read, Maria’s essay might seem too mired in comparison and contrast, with its back-and-forth between shared and divergent experiences, and not yet moving from this to a fully developed argument – which, with its moments of nascent systemic critique even amongst the more flippant remarks, the essay certainly has the potential to do. I want to focus here, however, on precisely this work of comparison and contrast, and the relationship Maria establishes between the writerly persona and Rodriguez, which because of the lack of movement towards argument, works more at the level of exploration of common cause than at the level of policy recommendation. Rather than castigating Rodriguez as some of my students did – for not relaxing, or for exploiting his point of difference, and so on – Maria positions herself-as-student and Rodriguez as equals considering a system from different perspectives. She may be overwhelmed by all the differences, but does not try to resolve these away: the question “who is

more right?” indicates the temptation to end this way, but she resists it, and keeps the conclusion undecided. Without the burden of the “document,” the having-to-go-somewhere, the essay can meander to a more vulnerable writerly position. The conventional reading of the work of this kind of essay is that the student has to situate his or her own experience in relation to a powerful academic text, thus reconfiguring both: this is usually seen as an act of textual negotiation of authority, even a kind of aggression in terms of the unempowered student writer taking on the powerful author, rather than an act of empathy or community. And when audience is thought about in relation to this act, it’s as a literal constraint – the classroom, the teacher, the deadline, the number of pages, the academy – or as the invoked – the imaginary – defined by the topic, the history of discussion of this topic, the “roles” the writer wants the audience to take on, or the qualities she wants it to have – not as any kind of empathic object. The criticism of this kind of essay might be also that it’s an intensely private project: *Ways of Reading* asks its student readers to define their own projects, often autobiographical, and revision often involves developing the student’s project as it has been nascent in the draft. But we might cast this into a more public frame if we consider the question of public writing as one that involves a tension between agency and relationality.

The writerly vulnerability here is resisted in turn by the equalizing gestures, which put Maria and Rodriguez on the same footing; given that for my students, Rodriguez is both authoritative, educated writer and academic *and* disadvantaged student, his authority is an interesting question to begin with, but by considering his story as largely a matter of “views” or “experiences” or “expectations,” rather than a story of class and race disadvantage, Maria is better able to draw herself into an equal position from which to compare and contrast. This is a problematic move, but it offers the possibility that in revision the student might be asked to

revise to open up and complicate the relationship between herself and Rodriguez, revise to draw more into the idea of the civic being composed here, *not* to develop or refine her “argument.” Not all my students’ essays were particularly innovative, or even particularly strong analyses of Rodriguez, but the extent to which they enact a moment of saying, here is disparate yet connected experience, a kind of fellow-feeling across time and space, a kind of relation, is perhaps more powerful than speaking for or to a public – it is speaking solely as part of a public. This interests me in terms of our thinking about writing and writing pedagogies as concerning the establishment of kinds of relationality or affective effects, in contrast to seeing public writing pedagogies as engaging in social action (and that social action being the worth of the pedagogy) – the obverse of this is not just defaulting to criticism, but considering how student writing might enact affect or relationality even if that writing is not projected out into circulation, or the end goal is circulation of affect.

Thus I think it is possible to read an essay such as Maria’s as “augmenting” or “fostering” as much as it is taking something down or apart. The notion so central to *Ways of Reading*, the idea of seeing one’s own experience anew through someone else’s terms, or someone else’s experience anew through one’s own terms, is a kind of training in public thinking. But more than a passive empathy or a felt relation, the connection has to be forced a little, through the act of writing “argument” or analysis. We might replace or supplement Crosswhite’s notion of including more and more diverse viewpoints into one’s argument – trying to get the agreement of larger and larger audiences – by considering the sphere of circulation, bounded by notions of capacity, power, and language, as itself expanding/malleable, so the juxtaposition offered in Maria’s essay becomes a particularly meaningful mode. In some ways, the kind of work involved in the “issue lattice” civic action described by Agre is oddly modeled by Maria’s essay, where

she sees moments of connection and potential paths by which to take up Rodriguez' ideas, but in a way more open-ended than it would be if she presupposed an audience. In this odd way, the curricular space reserved for inculcating generic "academic" literacy, a notion of literacy that is reified by the existence of the first-year course and thus institutionally validated, might provide one of the few places where academic writing retains a kind of mobility as intellectual exploration, somewhat removed from a research/corporate/professional model pervasive elsewhere in the university. Slipping its service function is a possibility because it is undisciplined.

Perhaps this work of Maria's essay is premised on identity in a way that would be problematic for Ellsworth, who with Massumi values a prior, open-ended sociality (136). Is composition open-ended enough, or could any curricular staging be open-ended enough, to meet these criteria? For Ellsworth the importance of undoing, of feeling the self in dissolution (141) and awareness of the limits of knowledge (155), is clear; recalling Bernard-Donals' discussion of the fundamental problem of identity, I would argue this can happen in the work of the critical essay. And it does seem to me that if we take seriously Ellsworth's claim that pedagogy is a way of "conceptualizing the present's problems" (149), then writing instruction should see the public as a problem rather than as an object. Given the degree to which the field has tried to reimagine the *academy* in this way, it should be familiar terrain.

Of course, the public work of the critical essay in the composition classroom cannot be considered outside of that classroom context. Ellsworth writes, "The questions of pedagogy, therefore, are not 'What knowledge is of most worth?' or 'Whose knowledge should be taught?' or 'Which practices will be most effective in teaching these knowledges?'" Rather, the question of pedagogy is how to use what has already been thought as a provocation and a call to invention"

(165). Following Massumi, she asks for pedagogy to indicate constantly how things might have been otherwise directed or made, helping students to see the limits of what is known and practiced (165). But she opposes this work of pedagogy to what is institutional, or, less strongly, at least ties the institutional or infrastructural context of education – and the “civic endeavor” contained therefore – as premised on the predication or control of the “learning self,” not to this opening or remaking (166). To some extent this is unquestionable, given a system oriented towards credentialing. If we want to think that some openness is possible within institutions, that the work of the classroom is not always about predication or control, we need to account for how the institutional context shapes the “public” writing that might emerge from it. I have been concerned in this chapter to extend a project like that of Bruce Horner’s *Terms of Work for Composition: A Materialist Critique*, in which Horner looks to redefine “academic” to take into account its “material location and interrelation to work at other sites” (105). In his work, the materiality of writing – including writing technologies, socio-economic conditions of production, (global) networks of production and distribution, subjectivities produced, social relations (xviii) – and the materiality of the work of teaching composition – including working conditions, student population, institutional and professional relations (xix) – is worthy of note as we try to explain writing practices:

Otherwise, it is all too easy to leap from a set of global relations – as in the “global” postmodern economy, say – to the sensibility depicted in a student paper: finding in a student paper the “turbulence” of postmodern sensibility without examining the relation of the specific, local, material conditions of the production of that paper to more general “postmodern” conditions. (xx)

In examining some of the ways in which student work is both constrained by and opens up against the transnational university, I have tried to make evident this version of the university as a mediating force between student writing and broader conditions. Invoking the public and the

transnational in this way may seem to call up a paradox for the field, as composition studies has traditionally privileged local institutions and contexts of literacy, and grounded its practices in deep knowledge of such local contexts. Even as the university is increasingly oriented to a thin version of global citizenship, it may be our responsibility to attend in particular to the local as we work with emerging forms of civic practice. In subsequent chapters, I consider this work in some alternative national contexts.

2. “THE VERY ANTIPODES OF THE CENTRES OF LEARNING”: COMPOSITION INSTRUCTION AND THE IDEA OF GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY

As Craig Calhoun notes in “Free Inquiry and Public Mission in the Research University,” as most rich countries experienced massification of higher education in the postwar era, hierarchies of universities emerged in order to preserve an élite space within the system (905). It is evident that much of the association of composition with a democratic project has depended on this massification, and that notably the teaching of composition has been historically associated with those institutions lower on the hierarchy, as with, for example, the open admissions era at CUNY and the work of Mina Shaughnessy in rethinking the teaching of “basic writing.” In this chapter, I offer a kind of partial history of the teaching of writing in New Zealand, in the context of the relative absence of such a hierarchy, at least until very recently; I argue this context allows us to more sharply delineate the place of composition in the university today, as in New Zealand its development has been so integrated with the development of research capacity at the same institutions. Thus, at those institutions today, questions about the place of undergraduate education in the age of the research “university of excellence” are particularly pressing, because the project of democratizing access to higher education has not been long devolved onto other institutions; “research” and “access” must contend more explicitly with one another, and not only in terms of “diversity” quotas but in the most blunt form of the question of open entry. Thus the question of education for civic purposes is more crucially placed at odds with the research imperative, or at least, the trade-off is visible and has to be worked out explicitly; the research imperative can clearly be analyzed in terms of the access imperative.

In this context, I examine how the changing imperatives of the university shape the self-definition of what “composition” can be, as I trace a history of writing instruction for which teachers have claimed civic value; while this might risk becoming a “heroic teacher” narrative, even though it is largely impossible to trace the effects on students of such civic work, I am more interested in the act of delineating a pedagogical project as having civic function, and the positioning of this project in relation to the rest of the university. In the early colonial university in New Zealand, I examine how teachers imagined their work as civic, even as strained resources challenged notions of liberal education and increasingly pushed a concern with student literacy to the margins of the university as the colonial university matured. I also examine attempts in recent decades to bring student writing back into the mainstream curricular fold, despite research imperatives and shifts in funding priorities that challenge the centrality of undergraduate education to the university’s mission – indeed, I argue that this context suggests composition teaching is an important site from which to reframe and address questions about the university’s teaching mission.

Within the large field of literacy work that might be called “composition,” then, I focus in this chapter on several aspects that I have consciously chosen to prioritize. That is, although there is a long, largely unwritten history of teaching writing in New Zealand one way or another, I want to demarcate “composition” as a field with particular commitments, namely: a democratic project for university education that is fundamentally committed to “general” or “liberal” education, rather than privileging the professional, vocational, or technocratic; a pedagogical project at times remedial, developmental, and critical, that works to enable students’ access to university education or survival or success within the institution; and a critical project that takes the university as an object of analysis. A history of literacy work with these “composition”

priorities, to my mind, brings teaching and student work back into a history of institutional reform that often operates solely at the level of political and institutional discourse. A longer history might sharpen our responses to neoliberal reform, making such reform less monolithic and more vulnerable by throwing our present situation into relief. Even institutions deeply reformed in this way maintain commitments to equity and the undergraduate experience, and this history speaks also to those commitments.

Educational scholarship often has a micro-focus on classrooms that prevents a larger appreciation of context; I hope to suggest some key aspects of that larger context here. Conversely, Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee, and Howard Lee note that education historians in New Zealand have tended to privilege official accounts, not least because policy and administrative texts are more often preserved, and that as a result “the dynamics of the classroom, the relations between teacher and taught often remain hidden to us” – and ways in which practice might have complicated or challenged dominant thinking is neglected (*Challenging the Myths*, 15–16). In my attempting to represent pedagogical practice, their concern to not “mythologise” the past in the service of a “presentist” history-writing is salient, and one I also hope to avoid, while acknowledging alongside them the ways in which educational history-writing is always subject to the claims of both social historians and teachers/teacher-educators (14). I do not present my examples here as part of a coherent project across time, nor as natural precursors in a kind of disciplinary progress that culminates in present practice. All my examples are historically distinct, and are connected largely in the sense that they show university teachers attempting to work with a kind of “public” edge to the discipline, although there are broad continuities, such as under-resourced teaching conditions. At a meta-level, I offer the examples I use here as sites to

think creatively and critically about what might “count” as composition in New Zealand, and why we might want it to count.

I hope, in putting these examples together, that several things happen. Firstly, by attending to pedagogical practice, and to institutional dynamics between teacher and student, I hope to counter in my own small way the marginalization of teaching in the university, by representing it with a kind of detail that it is not usually accorded in New Zealand today, and by making evident that it is an act that is creative, innovative, and self-conscious within constraints – that is, that practice is conditioned or constrained by policy, but practice is always more than those constraints. Overall, this is certainly a partial and interested history, but one that I hope offers glimpses of pedagogical practice that might point to opportunities for further scholarly work. I also hope, secondly, to suggest the importance of historical perspective in developing present practice. As Stefan Collini has argued in *The London Review of Books*, many arguments against neoliberal university reform lack impact because they rest on an ahistorical notion of the “idea” of the university that ignore the conditions of its formation and the constraints under which it has operated, rather than taking into account the diversity of functions of the institution: “it is no good just saying that universities are autonomous bodies and what goes on inside them is no business of the state’s” (“HiEdBiz,” 6). History makes evident that there was never a golden age of university teaching in New Zealand, where small classes and ample resources enabled a democratic educational project independent of students’ professional ambitions or national economic goals. However, teachers have found space despite constraints to work towards what versions of democratic projects have seemed important, and composition as an evolving field in New Zealand now, with ample scope for determining its future direction, might take note. In addition, the “project” of composition as I imagine it here has something to say to

the broader question of how to articulate alternative purposes for teaching in the research-oriented institutions of today. This indeed is a third intention: to argue for the stakes of the teaching of writing in this place as being determinedly public. Openshaw, Lee, and Lee note “the continuing strength of the egalitarian myth” (10) in discussions of education in New Zealand, which informed much earlier historical work written by historians who were also education policy-makers. The official record itself speaks back to this myth – although it has most strongly been located in relation to primary and secondary education, not university education – but my pedagogical case studies also complicate our sense of how egalitarian principles might inform the curriculum. To argue that this is a history that is consequential for writing studies in New Zealand today – even as my discussion in Chapter Three shows how writing instruction in the neoliberal university struggles to attach itself to a public purpose – is to not merely fill a gap in the existing history, but to begin to articulate a place for composition in the transnational university, in New Zealand and elsewhere.

In some ways it is an odd problem, to consider what composition studies might look like in New Zealand, as composition instruction in the United States seems to face continual calls for its dissolution, at least in regards to the compulsory general first-year writing course – which remains in many ways the anchor of an unwieldy, even incoherent disciplinary structure. One of the most notable arguments of this kind is David Smit’s 2003 *The End of Composition Studies*, with its play on the word “end,” in which Smit argues that we are at the limits of what we can know about the nature of writing, writing processes, and transfer, in general, and so we should abandon the general first-year course, and diffuse our teaching into aiding our students’ pursuit of contextual literacies: writing in the disciplines and professions, public writing, and composing in digital environments. These are indeed areas of significant development in recent years, and as

Smit notes, programs and sometimes even Departments of Writing and Rhetoric are increasingly breaking away from English Departments. Indeed, another argument for the end of composition studies has been made recently by Sid Dobrin, in his advocacy for “writing studies” as a replacement – that is, an argument to shift the center of gravity of the field away from student writing and towards writing itself, in all its designed and material complexity, outside the privileged space of the university.⁶

“Composition and Rhetoric,” to use its most common name, is, then, at an interesting disciplinary moment in the United States, although it is difficult to imagine that compulsory first-year course ever being fully dismantled, given its long history, and the investment that the broader university and the public have in students’ being taught to write – an investment that perhaps happily does not usually encounter composition scholars’ arguments about the degree to which this teaching is possible. This chapter addresses the idea of a broad or general “literacy” for university students, and some of the ways this notion has surfaced in the New Zealand context. This might seem like the least pressing concern in that context, as attention turns to developing majors in writing studies, as several institutions have already – majors which might position the first-year course as an introduction to this field and not a “general literacy” initiative (see, for an American reference point, Downs and Wardle, although work in New Zealand does not seem to have taken up this curricular commitment to writing research). But I argue that as composition – or “academic writing” or “writing studies,” as it is often called in New Zealand – takes on a more established curricular formation, it remains important for New Zealand scholars and teachers to consider what stake we have in students’ “general” literacy, and how this might shape curricular developments as we reinvent the field in this place.

⁶ See Dobrin’s address at CCCC 2011, “A Future of Writing Studies,” summarized here: <http://www.ncte.org/cccc/2011ccccvirtualconf>

My approach to this question here involves bringing together some unlikely companions, including a university professor in the nineteenth century and students in the twenty-first. I argue that a long history of writing instruction and discussion of student writing in the New Zealand university is important in understanding our current conditions and bringing issues of pedagogical practices and resources to the fore, as part of the intellectual work and research agenda of “writing studies” (rather than having these be the backdrop to the development of a field). Even if in New Zealand teachers may be open to possibilities that a more established institutional infrastructure denies the teaching of composition in the American university, I want to argue for this focus on student writing as significant not only for awareness of our own context and our pedagogies, but for our understanding of the New Zealand university.

To offer a sense of the literacy policy climate that forms a backdrop to my discussion: university students’ literacy is certainly a live *policy* question in New Zealand today, even without the presence of the kind of high-stakes testing that dominates much of the discussion in the United States. It is worth reviewing one recent example in order to glimpse both the indeterminate nature of “academic literacy” and its broad framing in relation to the university in terms of *access* and *standards*. In a 2010 discussion paper put out by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, concerning proposed changes to university entrance requirements in New Zealand, the following paragraph stands out – in amongst the technicalities of standards and requirements – as a rather bare kind of justification:

Universities have voiced concern about the low standard of literacy of some students. They have asked, in particular, that the literacy component of the university entrance requirement be strengthened. This is reflected in the proposed change. (“Review of University Entrance 2010 – Discussion Paper 5”)

The key changes to UE requirements recently proposed and successfully enacted include a higher level of achievement at Level 3 NCEA,⁷ including ten literacy credits (five in reading and five in writing). Even in recent history, literacy has long seemed a subject of particular dispute: after NCEA was introduced in 2001, and the measure of readiness for university-level work changed accordingly, a series of reviews took place, each one noting that the “literacy requirement” needed further consideration (NZQA, “Review of University Entrance 2010: Summary of Proposed Changes Related to University Entrance”). At present, a number of initiatives are ongoing in relation to this problem of defining the literacy students need to succeed at university. By April 2012, NZQA is, firstly, attempting to determine “a definition of literacy for academic purposes,” in consultation with tertiary education providers, in order to identify literacy achievement standards for UE, and developing “a Level 3 common assessment task (CAT) administered by NZQA to assess literacy for academic purposes” (“New University Entrance Requirement from 2014”). They are also considering expanding to all students the use of two ESOL English for Academic Purposes standards, 22750 *Write a crafted text using researched material for an academic purpose (ESOL)* and 22751 *Read and process information for academic purposes (ESOL)*.

The summary of NZQA’s consultation process notes that in regards to the broad changes concerning NCEA Level 3: “Most of the universities support this proposal. They see it as a slight lifting of the standard. Other universities are concerned about the impact of this proposal on Māori and Pasifika students. For this reason, some do not approve of the proposal while others want to see more data before making a decision” (“Review of University Entrance 2010:

7 NCEA is the National Certificate of Educational Achievement, the multiple-level New Zealand high school qualification. It incorporates unit standards-based credits that aggregate into a qualification, and uses both external and internal assessment.

Summary of Proposed Changes Related to University Entrance,” 17). This tension between prioritizing standards and prioritizing access has of course a long history in this place, part of which I’ll discuss in subsequent sections within this chapter. In regards to academic literacy standards in particular, the universities generally needed more information to be fully supportive, and were divided on the idea of a CAT, with those against worrying that it “sits outside of schools” (“Review of University Entrance 2010: Summary of Proposed Changes Related to University Entrance,” 18–9). We seem, then, to lack a substantive formulation of the nature of this academic literacy, in addition to disputing the extent to which it can be judged independently of a specific curricular context. Part of the problem here is confusion over what particular standards “count” in the system. But part of the problem may also be that we lack strong accounts of literacy in the New Zealand university and a place to advocate for the complexity of that literacy – a place that composition studies might provide. A version of composition studies that *does* retain its focus on student literacy might serve as an opportunity to shift more responsibility for university literacy to the university itself, in a more substantive and well-resourced way than has been the case historically. It may be naïve to imagine that pedagogical or curricular initiatives could have much impact on the broad provision of resources, but there are small examples of internal redistribution to allow more intensive teaching already. If nothing else, a composition studies that has student writers as its central concern might increase awareness of student literacy within the university, not as a problem to be solved or a problem restricted to international students, but as a shared pedagogical project – which might also address longstanding issues of retention and completion. The university’s role in relation to student literacy might then move to one of more fundamental advocacy, research, and instruction, rather than being centered on gatekeeping and notions of remedial education.

This work is particularly important given the current changes in the system of university funding. In New Zealand, university funding is no longer largely determined by student numbers, which were capped in 2008 (with those caps in some cases being exceeded in 2009), and it will increasingly be tied to students' retention, degree completion and progression to advanced research degrees; "this change in the funding criteria will invariably focus institutions' attention on their students' performance" (Engler, 3). The Ministry of Education anticipates that attention to student support services will increase, but notes that discussion of more difficult entrance criteria (by such organizations as the New Zealand Vice-Chancellor's Committee) have already resulted from the changes – despite the fact that a Ministry study shows that while "using academic success at school as an indicator of tertiary performance will, in the main, select potentially higher achieving students, it will discriminate against some minority groups, and potentially deprive the universities of some of their better-performing students" (Engler 3). This is because "lower-achieving" students from low-decile schools perform better than expected at university, possibly as a result of school achievement assessment systems overestimating the ability of such students in high-decile schools or underestimating the ability of such students in low-decile schools (Engler 1).⁸ As tertiary teaching is increasingly located in a "quality assurance" framework,⁹ it becomes more pressing to articulate a more expansive view of what teaching and learning can do.

Crucial to this enterprise, I think, is a first-year writing course that is general but not remedial, in addition to increased work in writing in the disciplines. Towards the end of this

8 New Zealand schools are classified into deciles, according to the socio-economic status of students, and then partially funded accordingly, with, for example, Decile 10 schools (the ten percent of schools with the lowest proportion of students of the lowest socio-economic status) receiving less funding than Decile 1 schools (the ten percent of schools with the highest proportion of students of the lowest socio-economic status).

9 See, for example, Haigh 8–9, in regards to how teaching-related scholarship is valued (or not) in the PBRF research assessment exercise.

chapter, I describe some of my recent research into the teaching of writing at one New Zealand university, the University of Auckland, to both reflect on and complicate this proposal. But before I get to the present, I want to suggest the value of casting our current concerns with student literacy into a long history of discussion of student writing in the New Zealand university. As will soon be evident, I cast a wide net to construct this history. Sometimes I refer to classes that were seen as and called “composition” classes; sometimes I look more broadly at the teaching of English for traces of the teaching of writing; sometimes I look at the teaching of English as it might be seen to embody a kind of relation to the student that I consider relevant to the disciplinary commonplaces of composition studies or rhetoric; often, I contextualize these pedagogical practices in relation to a history and historical discourses about “general education,” access to the university, and standards of student work, which I consider crucial to teaching that calls itself “composition.” In this multiplicity, I hope to reflect my view of the teaching of composition, which – in keeping with its complex evolution – I see not as a unified set of practices, but as a multiplicity of practices and potential practices organized most evidently around an idea of the relationship between teacher, student, and institution. This is in turn not a stable relationship, but what I take to be any attempt to open up the practices of teaching in the university to respond to a perceived public need for literacy, defined in social and historical context. I do not try to map the American discipline’s present sense of democratic practice (which in itself is hardly uncontested) onto teachers in earlier times who were certainly men of their time, complete with the sometime elitist and racist views that one might expect, but to look for pedagogical innovation or pedagogical practice that attempted to reconstruct even some tiny part of the university towards more democratic ends. I am interested in the constrained conditions that shape what this innovation looks like and what it can accomplish, and in what

actual classroom practices looked like up against the rhetoric – then and now – of the purpose of the university. My access to classroom practices is extremely limited, given the limitations of the archive, but I hope to demonstrate a way of reading what we do have that begins a history of the teaching of composition in New Zealand.

One theoretical touchstone here is Richard Miller, whose project to recover the student in histories of educational reform, most notably in *As If Learning Mattered*, both establishes an intellectual interest in the work of the “intellectual bureaucrat” and tries to determine what possibilities for genuine reform there are in a highly bureaucratic system. Miller writes:

Teachers at all levels regularly convene to lament that “education is now being treated as if it were a business,” determinedly ignorant of the fact that ... education has been a business *for well over a century* and is sure to remain one for the foreseeable future. Because bureaucratic detail and business interests are seen to be inimical to our fond notions about the pursuit of knowledge – ideally a selfless act, a spiritual adventure, a pure quest for truth – discussion about how to carry out the business of higher education has floundered. Consequently, those who have been willing or have been compelled to do the work of setting admission standards, designing curricula, establishing appropriate modes of assessment, and generating adequate grievance procedures – those people, in other words, who have had to choose between one set of bureaucratic procedures and another – have been left to labor in a kind of critical darkness. (203)

The kind of strategies he locates educators pursuing in this “critical darkness” share a ground with those I am interested in tracing in this project of the history of education in New Zealand: constrained and small as they may be, and combined with moments of utopian ambition as they may be, where pedagogical practice meets institutional logic. This chapter is also, however, a history of what didn’t happen – of a notion of general or liberal education at university level that is essentially a permanent foil for what does actually happen. I draw a kind of implicit link between access and small classes and the work of composition, even when this does not happen as desired, or even when it is located in a related but distinct site from the university, as with the Workers’ Educational Association.

Towards the end of this chapter, I discuss the present-day teaching of writing in one New Zealand university. My own personal history with the teaching of writing in New Zealand necessitates any ethnographic work I undertake there being cast as compromised, as over-determined – not least because I bring to my analysis there a sense of practice learned in my experience teaching in the United States, and affiliations with the discipline in both places that are impossible to extricate from one another. During my research trip to New Zealand, my presence in lectures and classrooms and meetings with course tutors and interviews produced unknowable shifts in behavior and responses to questions, less so in lectures perhaps, likely more so in smaller classes and meetings. The permission granted to me as a researcher to obtain access to these forums was predicated on working relationships and friendships with teaching faculty involved, but my access to student writing depended on my project not being “interventional” or quasi-experimental – that is, I was not researching an educational program that I myself was implementing, and such an intervention would have required a much more complex set of permissions and a more complex research design, so I tried to be as inconspicuous as possible. But in a meeting with tutors, for example, where genuine questions are on the table, and the anxiety of inexperienced teachers is emerging, several times I had to take the role of a kind of expert, who might have answers. I felt ambivalent about this; I was not there to “help,” and I did not want to feel like the “expert” with the answers. But it seemed rude not to help, to privilege some notion of research over the personal relationships that were allowing me to research there in the first place. I am also ambivalent about the nature of my knowledge of this teaching and learning environment. On the one hand, broadly speaking, it is one I experienced myself as a student and as a beginning teacher. I was not a student in English 121, the first-year writing course at Auckland, but I was a student in the same English Department, and I tutored 121, with

anxieties like those I saw in the tutors I observed. But on the other hand, every tutor is different, every iteration of 121 is different, every group of lecturers and tutors together create a different dynamic. And I never did take a writing course as a student at Auckland. What kinds of generalizations can I make about the course broadly, let alone any act of teaching it? All of these anxieties inform not only my account of the teaching of 121, but my reading and my sense of local context that shapes earlier sections.

This chapter, then, offers a history of the development of the university in New Zealand¹⁰ with particular attention to issues of student literacy and student access, and how both these concerns are situated in relation to the “public interest” in tertiary education. Not incidental to this history, too, is the way in which the university in New Zealand develops in constant tension and exchange with trends in tertiary education elsewhere. I aim to show how students’ literacy moves from being central to the work of the university, and a clear locus of public interest in increasing participation in education, to being seen as marginal to the work of the institution as access to it increases across the century. This history, then, is almost a history on two parallel

10 In its brief history of universities in New Zealand, the Report of the Royal Commission of 1925 mentions the decision in 1867 – fewer than three decades after the formal establishment of the colony – to set aside tracts of confiscated land for the future establishment of universities. With the establishment of the University of Otago in 1868, and then the University of New Zealand in 1870, into which the University of Otago was eventually absorbed, the system that included teaching colleges and a “non-teaching body” that controlled examinations and the granting of degrees was established (Report, 6). An 1878 Royal Commission recommended that secondary schools and theological colleges affiliated with the University of New Zealand be replaced by new university colleges, with the eventual result that Auckland, Victoria (Wellington), Canterbury (Christchurch), and Otago (Dunedin) formed the four teaching colleges of the University of New Zealand – and would do so until their gaining independence in 1961. The early decades of the University of New Zealand saw many debates about the merits of federation, or lack thereof, and the degree to which this represented an unfortunate borrowing of a British model (that of the University of London) that was unsuited for the new colony, and the development of government funding. The other universities making up the current total of eight institutions developed as follows: Massey University began as an agricultural college and acquired university status in 1964; Lincoln University, also historically an agricultural college, separated from the University of Canterbury in 1990; Waikato University evolved from a branch of the University of Auckland, achieving independent university status in 1964; and AUT University, historically the Auckland Institute of Technology, acquired university status in 2000. See Fig. 1 (page 133) for a sense of increasing tertiary enrolment in the population over time, with particularly dramatic increases in the post-war “baby-boom” period, and in recent decades (those much at sub-degree level).

paths: on one, the nation increasingly takes research rather than teaching to be the university's key mission with significant consequences for student access, and on the other, the work of teaching writing occupies increasingly diverse sites across the curriculum and at its edges. In some ways, if we take university literacy to have something to do with the national public, this history can be seen as a history of educational projects that looked to project or to create a kind of public, with or without institutional support. This is in itself another lens on New Zealand's famous equality of educational opportunity.

It is important to note the degree to which the civic or public work of the university is articulated (and restricted), in my earlier examples, as part of an explicitly colonial project; in many ways, the legibility of the colonial project makes it a more straightforward task to link literacy work to the development of a public. This project does develop, from one kind of expansionist outlook at the beginnings of the university in New Zealand to a different kind as the institution matures in the first decades of the twentieth century. The reasonably slow rate of development through most of the twentieth century, notwithstanding post-war enrolment increases and the post-war movement to emphasize research over teaching, met neoliberal reform in the 1980s and an era of significant change. My last example considers the place of writing instruction in this neoliberal institution; as will be evident, while transnational currents have shaped the university in New Zealand from its beginning, the outlook towards a global educational and research economy changes the meaning of literacy in the university.

This attention to the colonial university, even as its work in that fashion is not made so explicit today, inevitably incorporates a broad silencing of Māori experience in the colonial period. As New Zealand nationalism is predicated on excluding Māori self-determination in most respects, the national university is no less complicit, although its modes of exclusion have

changed with increasing transnationalization; indeed if “civic” is taken more narrowly to mean citizenship, that very term is a contested one in relation to Māori self-determination. Thus perhaps the most significant elision in my discussion is specific attention to Māori education, given that projects of democratizing literacy education must inevitably face the ways in which the education system still marginalizes Māori. In part, my lack of sustained attention to this question is because it is a subject worthy of attention in its own right: a project investigating Māori tertiary literacy and the work of the university would be an important one. There have of course been numerous expansions and diversifications of the literacy curriculum at preschool, primary, and secondary levels, in bilingual and Māori-medium educational initiatives, and at the tertiary level, with the development of bilingual policies and wānanga, which offer alternative ways of thinking literate citizenship in local context, not only in terms of language but in terms of Māori epistemology and ontology. Wānanga, as tertiary institutions operating according to kaupapa Māori principles, offer a particularly interesting model of resistance to what might be seen as the neocolonial imperatives of the research university. There exist both an independent history of Māori education and a history of Māori subjugation and resistant Māori activism within the Pākehā education system (see for example, Openshaw, Lee, and Lee), and the question of Māori marginalization within the system today must address calls for an independent education system (see, for example, Benton) based on kaupapa Māori. As Penetito argues, “mainstream” education, i.e. Pākehā education, can only ever dabble in inclusiveness, as opposed to offering a genuine dialectic between Māori and Pākehā knowledge, and even the question of participation elides the bigger problem (see Penetito, 101; 129). While my focus is on the civic work of the colonial Pākehā system, I acknowledge this can never account for the range of civic possibilities within Māori society. Even such efforts as the development of

institutional marae, which in theory might offer sites by which to reconfigure the university as a civic space, have had little influence on the academic curriculum; Penetito argues that

despite the fact that tertiary institutions have been willing to use the institutional marae as a bridging mechanism, their establishment is unlikely to bear fruit until such time as at least most schools, departments and faculties on campus are able to achieve a modicum of what might be called dual epistemologies within the structure of the courses they offer, the staff they appoint and the material they produce. (220)

Where my project has something to say concerning Māori education might be in its attention to where *any* articulations of the public purpose of the university are emerging or disappearing, because potential for reform of the kind Penetito imagines can only be made more unlikely if local and even national claims on the purpose of university education are subordinated to the demands of a global research economy. This is not to consign Māoridom to the “local,” of course, as Māori are as subject to globalizing forces as anyone, and indeed in terms of activism have looked to transnational organizations of indigenous peoples – but any claim about the primacy of the local must privilege Māori experience. In light of work on indigenous rhetorics in the U.S., we might question how, if in New Zealand we genuinely subscribe to bicultural language policies in the university, this could be reflected in a New Zealand writing studies curriculum, and how “academic writing” that uses both Māori language and epistemology might be integrated into the reading and writing for such courses.

I. “Raw Untrained Material in this Pioneering Settlement”: John Macmillan Brown and “Practical” Composition

In his memoirs, John Macmillan Brown provides us with what is, to my knowledge, the first account of the teaching of writing in a New Zealand university. To offer some brief context: Macmillan Brown arrived in New Zealand as Professor of Classics and English at the newly established Canterbury College in 1874. He describes resolving in 1880 to make his “chief aim

the teaching of the art of writing English,” in the manner of some of his teachers at Glasgow and Oxford – because his “raw untrained material in this pioneering settlement of New Zealand” included many “who would be incapable of putting their thoughts into everyday English” (92). This teaching is as much a public matter as an academic one, for Macmillan Brown, especially as more than half his students are not matriculated or planning to pursue a degree, many are potential primary and secondary school teachers, and many are professional people who could not attend many classes but came to what he called his “composition or laboratory class and essay class” (109).

We might initially read Macmillan Brown’s pedagogy as concerned with literacy standards and conservative in that sense, even if innovative in its delivery. He writes:

Many of those who came to my classes, though they knew the rules of grammar and the meaning of words, were incapable of accurate and idiomatic expression. Nor were they able to think out any subject in a systematic and logical way. I therefore instituted not only an essay class (which would do its work in my lecture room so that I might know that all the essays to be compared were written without the aid of books and under similar conditions), but also a special weekly lecture on a subject connected with the books set for the degree course in the university. In this they would have material well arranged and logically or imaginatively thought out – ample enough to let each choose his own course for his essay. Lastly I began a composition class in which I could teach practically, as in a laboratory, the art of accurate and idiomatic English. Singularly enough I found that this always had the most numerous attendance. All the professions seemed to be conscious that this supplied what they most needed. (92–3)

This pedagogy, however, is so attentive to students’ positions – their compromised access to the university and public discourse – that it seems already oriented towards something more expansive than policing a standard. It challenges Carol Bond and Jane Robertson’s account of early teaching at Canterbury, part of their history of the relation between teaching and research, in which they argue that the lack of a dynamic research environment at this point in the university’s history “supported and reinforced a form of instruction that militated against the development of reason, the use of imagination, and inquiry” (“The Research Teaching Relation:

A View from the Edge”, 529). While Bond and Robertson’s account of the development of research capacity is nuanced, the same cannot be said for their account of teaching, which takes the goal or project of teaching for granted. I think we would do well to attend in more detail to past pedagogies, to articulate their overdetermined complexities, rather than disavow them in order to laud our present practice. In such a way we might move away from a simplified history along the lines of Bond and Robertson’s pronouncement that assumes teaching only becomes dynamic when a research paradigm takes over the university:

Barnett (2003) notes that the Oxbridge tradition was largely a teaching tradition. Unsurprisingly it was the conditions for teaching that were of greatest concern in the early years at the University of Canterbury. However the teaching ideal was constrained by multiple layers of governance, lack of finance, and the pressures inherent in needs of the local community. Academics were marginalised by the separation of key aspects of their work. They were also situated quite literally at the ‘edge’ in terms of distance from the academic ‘heartland’ in the northern hemisphere (see Altbach 1998). Evidence suggests that these conditions *supported and reinforced a form of instruction that militated against the development of reason, the use of imagination, and inquiry*. As conditions changed and research became established, research and teaching were acknowledged as co-dependent – teaching was informed by research – research as knowledge was transmitted. Access to the ‘heartland’ was made easier through the use of technology and accessible air travel. By the last phase, research at Canterbury had become – “the dominant project of university life” (Barnett 2003, p. 147). (529, my emphasis)

Contradicting this account quite dramatically, in another section of the *Memoirs*, Macmillan Brown describes his pedagogy in some detail.¹¹ He corrects students’ essays, not only noting faults but rewriting the faulty sentences, and then writes what he calls a “full criticism” of every essay, taking into account the student’s previous work – and needless to say becomes overwhelmed by the time he has done 140 or 150 of these at a time (109–10). He reviews and organizes the types of faults, and collects examples of good writing from the students, too, so he

¹¹ I have been unable to find materials from Macmillan Brown’s composition classes among the extensive collection of his papers at Canterbury, so this self-description is perhaps the only resource with which we can access this work.

can lecture on these examples at the next class meeting, naming only the student writers he praises (the number of whom increases over time, of course) (110–111). His students translate long complex sentences into more concise modern prose, and write sentences around synonyms to mark the distinctions, and learn to analyze examples of great prose to improve their own style (110–111). He has his students write original compositions in-class, providing prompts but an openness to “any form they liked, sonnet, epigram, lyric, story or dramatic scene” and then these compositions form the basis of the next class discussion, with students choosing those pieces they deem “first-class” (110). Macmillan Brown, then, appears both to encourage his students to experiment with form, and to think of themselves as a community of writers – in this sense I would argue his teaching offers standards for public discourse but also projects a public as something participatory, something to be remade through textual practice. He sees his work as crucial to students’ development as professionals as well as citizens, and although his students may have been more concerned with the former, judging by their attendance, this does not prevent Macmillan Brown from trying to teach from “where they are” towards a larger public good.

Macmillan Brown is also notable for his arguments concerning the integration of teaching and research, and that English, and English composition, should be central to the whole idea of university education – and he appeals to American models to make these arguments, placing the production of an active citizen-subject at the center of the university’s work. In his 1908 book *Modern Education*, he argues that the key problem for the university, in addition to poor teaching methods, is the need for the institution to be research-oriented and knowledge-generating – but in terms of teaching students “to find out for themselves,” rather than simply absorbing the old knowledge of the professors, and having the high school curriculum reiterated

(40). While specialization is necessary, particularly in relation to the primary industries and in terms of solving the country's problems, Macmillan Brown reserves the end of his pamphlet to argue for the importance of general education, the true purpose of the university, and to warn that "the general aim is apt to be lost in the special"; he appeals to American models:

The large American universities make English a compulsory subject for all those who are being trained in their professional and specialist departments. But it goes without saying that it is not English treated philologically, a subject no more worthy of being made the basis of culture than Sanskrit. It is English literature and composition, i.e. English as a "humanity" and as the practical art of expression, English as a revelation of life and character by its greatest authors, and English as a training in the ready and correct manipulation of ideas and phraseology in oral or written form. No professional man, no specialist, no citizen, no citizen of the world, but has need of these. (42)

Perhaps of particular interest to our current moment, with its radical expansion of opportunities for civic action through digital means, are Macmillan Brown's deep reflections on how education might address the opportunities offered by the expansion of the press in his time, and particularly how the mass of untrained journalists might more clearly work in the service of society. He was greatly concerned with the morality of the press, and its independence from commercialization, as he saw the popularity and proliferation of journalism in the country as placing such writing even above religion in its centrality to people's everyday lives. Accordingly, Macmillan Brown offers a kind of pedagogical innovation that involves trying to actively change the communication culture – a new form of rhetorical education that offers students the language practices and rhetorical strategies that might permit them to have influence in public discourse. In his *Modern Education*, he argues for journalists' special training, even a training college devoted to journalism, as Arts courses are too diverse for journalists' purposes: instead, English composition, "the manipulation of expression ... should be the beginning and end of the course" – and "not one, but four or five expert teachers, would be needed for it" (16).

Here, in this account of the five teachers he imagines would provide the ideal journalists' training, we glimpse what Macmillan Brown's writing classes may have valued. One teacher deals with mechanics and error; one with teaching multiple styles and their uses through analysis and imitation. Another addresses logic and arrangement and emphasis, complete with "the arts of abbreviation and expansion" and "perspective." A fourth teaches observing and reporting and interviewing, and the study of human nature involved therein; and the last teacher addresses the kind of thinking necessary for the composition of longer articles (16). And the journalists' education does not stop here. Macmillan Brown recommends, essentially, a liberal education in addition to this detailed work in composition – lectures on the sciences, the arts and art criticism, literature and history, economics and civics, statistics and modern languages, and how to use libraries and books for research purposes.

In all these ways, then, I think it's possible to read Macmillan Brown as offering a much more substantive idea of "literacy" than we often see put forward for debate today. That is, he articulates, firstly, what students need to participate in society, in relation to (secondly) new forms of communications technology and public forums, and, thirdly, in the context of professional aspiration and demands – but (fourthly) with a sense of communal interest at stake, and, lastly, in an educational institution that operates to some degree on democratic principles – or at least where those democratic principles are openly discussed in relation to literacy. This rich history might help us push against a narrow notion of literacy standards, or literacy as a "problem," and allow us to think seriously about what it might take to articulate the same kind of vision today – something I revisit when I discuss recent work in writing studies in New Zealand.

Scholars have tended to read Macmillan Brown's teaching practice as part of a history of the teaching of literature in the colony, with the writing instruction thus somewhat anomalous. In

her account of Macmillan Brown's career and influence, "The Encyclopaedic God-Professor: John Macmillan Brown and the Discipline of English in Colonial New Zealand," Erica Schouten notes that Macmillan Brown's use of literary texts as models for students in his composition classes, rather than treating them as "sanctified," suggests "his allegiance to the Scottish rhetorical method of literary study"; she also argues that Macmillan Brown also maintained Arnoldian sentiments about literature's moral force – although he placed this moral influence in the context of religion's losing influence, and the classics' distance and foreignness from the experience of the modern "common" man (115–116). Thus, Schouten argues, Macmillan Brown is a proponent of both a practical utilitarian, instrumental English studies – given the importance of journalism and the reading public in an outpost of Empire – and one that invokes high ideals.

I take some issue with Schouten's interpretation of Macmillan Brown's pedagogy as "instrumental" – indeed even her use of the term "practical" seems disparaging in a way that it was not for Macmillan Brown. Rather than reducing literature to the level of popular discourse, as Schouten argues Macmillan Brown does to reconcile his conflicting views of English studies, we might understand his idea of "practical" teaching as a high calling, as one to do with elevating popular discourse. His "practical" composition imagines a critical space – not an instrumental one – in the university, and even if it is framed in terms of the development of the colony and empire, we can still appreciate the sense of educating for civic action. In fact, Chris Worth argues in his discussion of Macmillan Brown's teaching of literature, "'A Centre at the Edge': Scotland and the Early Teaching of English Literature in Australia and New Zealand," that the writing pedagogy is in part what marks out something other than a straightforward imperial project: Worth writes, "the initial development of literary education in the southern colonies was marked by a robust validation of rhetorical composition and philosophic thought, as

opposed to cultural refinement or national myth-making” (207). For Worth, while this teaching propagated “ideas of tradition and Englishness,” it also supported emerging antipodean literary cultures which were not strictly English, and which defined themselves “by both their relationship to the metropolitan centre and their difference from that centre” (208). This “practical” work on the part of Macmillan Brown might be less anomalous, too, if we had a fuller account of the history of writing instruction in this place.

The history of English teaching in New Zealand is, as it is anywhere, a set of oddly recursive, sedimented, and strange connections across time and space. For example, the major assignments in English 121, the first-year writing course at the University of Auckland, are a narrative, an analysis, and an argument. (Currently, these are interspersed with smaller composing tasks that include blogging, visualizing, and other ways of reforming and shifting text through writing technologies.) Those three larger assignments, however, have survived multiple iterations of this course over its twelve years in existence, during which time almost everything else about it has been modified. And actually, those three assignments are based implicitly on a model (and a hierarchy) of the “modes of discourse,” which can be traced back as far as Scotsman Alexander Bain’s rhetoric textbook *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1866), in which Bain organizes – in a way his predecessors had not – the “kinds” of composition into the five categories of “description, narrative, exposition, persuasion, and poetry” (see Carr, Carr, and Schultz, 63). Ian Gordon, in his 1947 study *The Teaching of English: A Study in Secondary Education*, notes the extensive use of Bain’s textbook in the high schools in 1880s New Zealand – and, Gordon also notes, Macmillan Brown’s criticism of such books and other sources of the dominance of “parsing and theoretical grammar,” which to Macmillan Brown’s mind was effectively preventing English from functioning as “training of the mind” (26). While a thorough

history of this teaching is likely impossible, given the paucity of records of student learning and classroom work, and it is certainly made complex by the endless transnational circulation of teachers, textbooks, and traditions, I argue it is a worthwhile enterprise, as we imagine a future for a New Zealand composition studies.

There are other scant records of other early composition classes in the first decades of the New Zealand university. For example, while much of Thomas Gilray's *Rules for the Work of the English Classes at the University of Otago*, published in 1905, concerns the formalities of sitting examinations and guidelines for annotating passages, a few snippets reveal something about the nature of writing instruction. The text notes that "in order to secure a 'pass' in Junior English, it is necessary to pass in Rhetoric as well as in English proper" (8) – acknowledging the existence of "Rhetoric" classes. The section on "A Good Examination Paper" adds another glimpse, stating that "something more is required than the possession of the requisite knowledge; candidates must know how to manipulate or arrange it" (5–6). The summary of the qualities of a good paper read as follows: "1. *Accuracy* – no blunders. 2. *Fulness* – nothing essential omitted. 3. *Relevance* – nothing put in unless it is asked for. 4. Attention to neatness, orderly arrangement, and logical sequence. 5. Good composition. 6. Clear, precise, vigorous thinking" (6, italics in original). According to a 1905 Cyclopedia of New Zealand entry on the University of Otago, Gilray, Professor of English Literature and Language at Otago, was an Edinburgh graduate like Macmillan Brown, and "was for three years assistant to Professor Masson, a man of world-wide fame, who held the Chair of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh for thirty years." The connections between the work of Scottish professors of rhetoric such as David Masson, or John Nichol who influenced Macmillan Brown at Glasgow, and the teaching

practices developed in the colony might be more fully elaborated, especially in relation to the democratic work of the university.

In *Modern Education*, Macmillan Brown's account of access to the university is passionately in favor of widening access, and "broadening" the entrance examination system to allow for more diverse talents than the narrowly "intellectual" (38). Rather presciently, he discusses how the availability of cheap books has made lecturing redundant, and archaic as a pedagogical method – and instead, what is essential is "laboratory practice" and concrete application to real life experience, particularly with the study of languages and literature, the value of which is being increasingly challenged by the sciences (39). Likewise, we could look to some of the pronouncements of Sir Robert Stout, Chancellor of the University of New Zealand from 1903 to 1923 – and a noted politician, lawyer, Spencerian, and secularist in education – who made significant contributions to the development of the university system in New Zealand. In his 1920 address, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University of Otago, Stout notes that both men and women were admitted to the university from the beginning, and locates the settlers' enthusiasm for education in their Scottish heritage (*The Otago University and Its Aims, Being Addresses Delivered by Him on Occasion of the University's Jubilee*, 4). Even the rather prosaic statement of the Provincial Council establishing the University, quoted by Stout – "that the branches of education taught by the different chairs should be of a thoroughly practical character, suited to the circumstances of the colony, and calculated to suit the requirements of the youth who are in future years to take a more or less prominent part in its affairs" (4) – is seen by Stout as an echo of John Knox et al.'s sixteenth-century "The First Buke of Discipline," which proposed the education of rich and poor for the benefit of the Commonwealth. There is something of an odd contradiction here between the valoration of education's practical effects –

public health, for example, and the solution of “social problems” so evident in contemporary life – yet a rejection of vocationalism in favor of moral development and discipline, peace and civilization, as ultimate goals.

How do we fit education in writing into a liberal model of education? Always to some degree associated with “skills,” it may seem far removed from knowledge for knowledge’s sake, as John Henry Newman would have it in *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University*

Education:

we contrast a liberal education with a commercial education or a professional; yet no one can deny that commerce and the professions afford scope for the highest and most diversified powers of mind. There is then a great variety of intellectual exercises, which are not technically called “liberal;” on the other hand, I say, there are exercises of the body which do receive that appellation. ... Manly games, or games of skill, or military prowess, though bodily, are, it seems, accounted liberal; on the other hand, what is merely professional, though highly intellectual, nay, though liberal in comparison of trade and manual labour, is not simply called liberal, and mercantile occupations are not liberal at all. Why this distinction? because that alone is liberal knowledge, which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be *informed* (as it is called) by any end, or absorbed into any art, in order duly to present itself to our contemplation. The most ordinary pursuits have this specific character, if they are self-sufficient and complete; the highest lose it, when they minister to something beyond them. (175–177)

Alternatively, if communication “skills” or literacy broadly conceived are taught toward open-ended public ends, like citizenship, and as “self-sufficient” – then perhaps composition instruction can be counted as liberal education. It is difficult to map such defining terms as “liberal,” “practical,” and “skills” with any certainty onto educational practices that encompass everything from grammar drills to inculcating a critical disposition. Our task in assembling a history of composition in New Zealand may be to look for the idealistic and open amidst the practical.

Of course, aspects of Stout’s and Macmillan Brown’s politics are anathema to today’s, and there is much about Macmillan Brown’s moment in the history of New Zealand higher

education that is strikingly different from our current one: the size and diversity of the student population and the curriculum, the depth of the university's research imperatives, and the complexity of its administration, to name the most obvious dimensions. The path from his moment to our own is very relevant to our thinking about student literacy, however. While we could cast the movement away from his version of what "English" is as part of an existing history of English Studies, we might also cast it into a history of student writing in the New Zealand university and its increasing marginalization.

I argue this is the result of two structuring conditions of higher education in New Zealand from its inception. Firstly, the New Zealand university seems to have always existed in tension with a notion of higher education for civic or public purposes, namely, a liberal arts model. What versions of this broad-based degree existed in New Zealand disappear in the early twentieth century (see, for example, Beaglehole's *The University of New Zealand: An Historical Study*). By 1925, the Royal Commission which had been commissioned to investigate the organization, administration, facilities, and potential for improvement of university education notes that the professional schools attract more full-time students, while students working towards the B.A. or B.Sc. are largely part-time. Their report attributes the relatively small number of full-time students to public misunderstanding – which equals commodification – of university degrees:

... the popular view [is] that a university is a place which students attend merely to secure degrees which have definite occupational value ... the late President Wilson, formerly head of Princeton University, pointed out that a university was not to be regarded as a department store where a student came to purchase with the smallest outlay of time and money some definite commodity. The ideal was a university with the twofold objects of 'the production of a great body of informed and thoughtful men, and the production of a small body of trained scholars and investigators' ... (16)

From Macmillan Brown's *Modern Education* in 1908 to the lectures of the Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, David Smith, in the 1950s, there is admiration for and flirtation with

the tempting commitment of American programs of general education, but this does not take hold, and the research mission of the university only goes from strength to strength, particularly after World War II (see, for example, Robertson and Bond). This elusive notion of public or civic purpose drives a back-and-forth debate between the merits of broad access (for the social good) and high standards (for the benefits of specialized research) for the university. The kind of explicit links between the English curriculum and the state of society that Macmillan Brown offers have morphed by 1959, when the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand tries to make an argument for the national interest in higher education, in *The Crisis in the Universities: Some Facts and Figures*. The report foregrounds the practical usefulness of universities, in that they produce the necessary teachers, doctors, lawyers, and engineers without which New Zealand society could not maintain its standard of living, but with a caveat:

... yet these services show only one aspect of their work in the community – the essential material fruits of university education. The Universities do not aim to produce narrow specialists, but men and women who can apply their highly specialized training all the better, because they possess a rounded education for living. We need men and women who not only do specialized work well, but also know the meaning of their work in terms of life and history. (4)

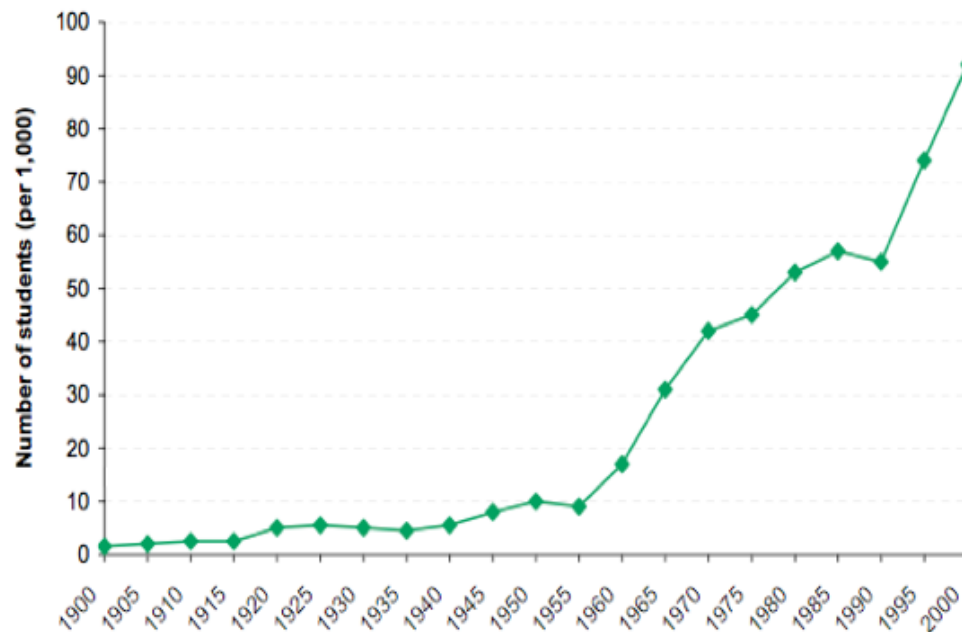
The piece then goes on to argue for this well-roundedness emerging not as a consequence of teaching or research – after all, no liberal model is present, in this domain of specialized knowledge – but as a consequence of the social environment universities provide for young people. As universities allow young poets and artists to mix with young scientists and historians, students “become aware of the complexities and the harmonies and disharmonies of interests and disciplines which weave the larger pattern of human life” (5). This fascinating argument for liberal education without, well, liberal education is complemented by an argument for universities’ value in terms of cultural nationalism, where New Zealand universities have produced the artists, writers, musicians, and – unexpectedly – typographers, who have developed

the nation's talents. Even an argument for the practical crisis of teaching and learning in the nation's institutions holds on to the value of liberal education in this way, even though the material resources and curriculum for that education do not exist, and the mere social environment of universities is all that can be counted on to produce it, out of the control of any teacher (who presumably is concerned with specialized research). Perhaps most telling is that the value of liberal education is cast in terms of professional work – that is, rather than some kind of citizenship or intellectual state constituting the ultimate value, this education is important as a means of understanding one's work – and even if that work is creative, it's in the nation's interest. A small coda to this strand of university history is the introduction in the past few years at a number of institutions, including Auckland and Waikato, of minimal general education requirements – an intriguing new invocation of liberal education – which will be discussed in more detail in the third section of this chapter, and in the final chapter.

The second structuring condition I want to raise is that the New Zealand university seems also to have always been straining at the limits of its teaching resources. Certainly Macmillan Brown felt this strain, and numbers of students have been ever increasing since his time, with regular moments of expansion (see Figure 1). The 1925 Commission raises the debate over whether to restrict admission or increase staffing, to raise standards and lower pressure on overworked instructors: “intimate teaching and discussion in the tutorial class or the laboratory” must be preferred to lectures, “which can never in themselves do much to produce the highly trained mind which is one of the objectives of university teaching” (15). The writers of the Report hope that “in the near future, ‘tutorials’ as a supplement to the lectures will be the rule in such subjects as English, History, Latin” (83). Ultimately, restricted access is seen as desirable,

as long as it is accompanied by substantial programs of adult education affiliated with the university colleges (17).

Figure 1. Number of students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary education providers per 1,000 of the working-age population.



Source: Statistics New Zealand, *New Zealand Official Yearbook 2006*.

Indeed, the 1925 *Report of the Royal Commission* argues that *access* to university in New Zealand is extraordinary, with much flexibility in terms of how students can attend classes – but the standard of *education* is poor, with too much reliance on examinations. In a similar vein to Macmillan Brown’s criticisms, the *Report* notes that while such subjects as composition require individual thought, many other subjects can be crammed for in such a way as to bypass genuine education, relying simply on memory (12). The *Report* quotes a similar report from a commission on the University of London in order to critique the system of the common syllabus and external examinations, which restricts teachers’ freedom and limits students’ interests and

ambitions (13–14). The *Report* deals in some detail with the question of the relationship between the university and the schools, concluding that university interests should have equal weight with the distinctive interests of secondary schools on the question of the nature of public examinations that determine secondary school qualifications (26). In any case, the *Report* argues,

the university teachers are not concerned so much with what a freshman knows in certain subjects as whether, in addition to a sound general knowledge gained by a full course of secondary education, he has developed the power to think clearly and express himself accurately, and whether he has been trained to work purposefully and diligently and to take pleasure in intellectual exercise (25).

In the *Report*'s view, the research mission of the university is inherently connected to its teaching role: "The function of a university is not so much to conduct researches as to train students to that inquiring attitude of mind which inevitably makes them investigators" (74–75). However, the emphasis on examinations and the fact that many students are part-time means that in practice this ideal was seldom met. Indeed, in 1924 ten percent of enrolled students were "exempted," as in, exempted from attendance – meaning that they took examinations but did not attend classes (83).

In 1926, The University Teachers' Association of New Zealand published a memorandum for presentation to the Minister of Education, entitled *Some Aspects of University Teaching in New Zealand*. The memorandum detailed the increase in university student numbers in the four Colleges of the University of New Zealand since the turn of the century – from 800 students in 1900, to 2257 in 1914, to 3822 in 1920, to 4236 in 1924 – and the resulting complexity of administration and pressures on teaching staff (*Some Aspects*, 12). Of particular note is the discussion of growth in class size, "many classes in the Colleges numbering from 100 to 150 students each at the pass stage alone," in the context of increasing diversity of subjects taught, most particularly an increase in the teaching of social and health sciences (12). The

Association notes the problematic position of teaching assistants, the “sub-professorial” staff whose services are more and more necessary, and whose abilities, skills, and responsibilities are increasingly required to be more advanced and specialized, given the increase in the numbers of students, but who are paid as little as £400 per annum, and have no opportunity for career progression: “the positions are really blind alleys” (12–13). Originally “the marking of papers,” along with supervision of laboratory work, was the purview of these teachers, but increasingly they are responsible for “complete charge of the teaching in some divisions of their subjects” (12). It is evident, then, that Macmillan Brown’s teaching practices cannot be sustained largely because of institutional conditions, and so the fading away of the first New Zealand model of the teaching of composition becomes part of a story of these strained conditions.

The international competition for teaching staff – with New Zealand salaries lagging behind even Australia’s – is evident in *Some Aspects of University Teaching in New Zealand*, and the American practice of the sabbatical is desirable (23–24). On the argument for funding sabbatical years, and for addressing the problem of insufficient staff to replace professors who venture on such sabbaticals, because there is “a lack of inducement to members of the sub-professorial staff to become sufficiently experienced and qualified to act as understudies to the professors” (21), the Association writes:

No provision has yet been made in New Zealand to enable University teachers to visit centres of learning so that they may refresh their minds by contact with the world’s leaders of thought, and have the opportunity of seeing new methods and new developments in University teaching, research and administration. Situated as we are at the outpost of Empire – the very antipodes of the centres of learning – all who realize the nature of University teaching and research must see clearly that without such regular opportunities for re-inspiration the best of men are liable to lose their freshness and keenness of mind. If the Universities of Europe and America find it desirable and even necessary to give their University teachers suitable opportunities for renewing their mental strength and inspiration, then surely it is even more necessary that similar opportunities should be given in the case of New Zealand. (21)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the memorandum emphasizes the value of teaching staff and the University's teaching mission. Quoting the *Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in New Zealand* (1925) approvingly, the Association endorses that report's description of "examinations and curricula" as mere "adjuncts" to more central mission of "the co-operation of keen and enthusiastic students with able and stimulating teachers in study and investigation" (22). With a more public than research-oriented purpose in mind, this co-operation was certainly part of Macmillan Brown's pedagogical practice, as he interpreted standards and posited their shift with his students. He establishes the teaching of composition in New Zealand as dynamic from its beginning, even as it comes under ever-increasing strain. Students may always have been to some degree interested in professional advancement, always been purchasers of education – but Macmillan Brown is able to articulate a public purpose to his teaching that encompasses students' professional development, yet looks beyond it, with the student still at the center of the institution. And he is the first of many examples of a lack of resources translating into innovative pedagogical practice.

Why should we pay attention to this historical figure, in thinking through the possibilities of present-day composition studies in New Zealand? Perhaps most obviously, paying attention to this history alerts us to the fact that there is a history – that in developing composition studies in this place, we do not start from a blank slate, or from a simple importation of American practices or traditions. Secondly, it is striking that many of the challenges university teachers face today have always or long been with us, at least in terms of the history of the university in this country; that is, a history can serve to denaturalize and explain some of our present-day assumptions about the teaching of writing and literacy in the university. And thirdly, Macmillan Brown's pedagogy is notable in itself in a broader history of the teaching of composition, and offers a

relationship between English instruction, academic success, and professional and public life, which remains relevant and provocative today.

II. “A University within a University” – or Without?: James Shelley, “General Education,” and the Problem of First-Year Students

In this section, I look more closely at what happens to the idea of a general education at university level as the New Zealand university matures in the decades preceding the second world war. I argue that in this period we can see the project of “composition” – a broad, civic-minded, production-oriented education in English – developing on the edges of the university or outside it, and in relation to changes in the high-school English curriculum and as post-primary schooling becomes compulsory. I examine the work of one teacher in detail: James Shelley, Professor of Education at Canterbury College. I place this work in the context of a moment in the history of education in New Zealand where “general education” was a concept seriously at stake, but when the democratic project of the university begins to be shifted to outreach, to the “extra-curriculum.” There is still interest in general education at university level, but this interest does not formalize into curricular change, most likely because of bureaucratic and financial impediments. In the last decade or so before the University of New Zealand breaks into independent universities in 1961, its Chancellor makes a number of statements in favor of reforming higher education to encourage breadth – but at this time we can already see research beginning to dominate the question of the national interest, and the idea of global competitiveness in relation to other universities reconfiguring the question of access to and standards in the university. In the final section of this chapter, these very concerns will be examined in the era of neoliberal reform. The era examined by this current section is distinct, I

would argue, precisely because such questions were more open to debate and to innovative curricular response.

In composing a history of composition instruction of larger scope than my project here, there are a number of sites to which we might attend that have taken shape outside the mainstream New Zealand university curriculum: bridging education, or academic support services, for example, which have historically been seen as marginal to the key work of the university, could be brought to the center of discussions of student literacy. Perhaps the earliest example, and one relevant to my discussion in this section, is the Workers' Educational Association. Drawing on the model from England and Australia, and initially funded by the University of New Zealand, the W.E.A. was established in New Zealand in 1915 to extend university education to the larger public, and its ideal form (in addition to public lectures) was that of the "tutorial" class: a maximum of thirty students and a mix of lecture and discussion, requiring the submission of written work (Sharfe, 27–8, 35–6). In the discussion that follows, I evoke a number of themes of collective and experiential learning that are perhaps most closely associated with Raymond Williams' work in post-war British adult education (see, for example, Williams' "The Teaching of Public Expression").

According to the 1925 *Report of the Royal Commission*, the W.E.A. had over three thousand students by 1924, working through tutorial classes and receiving government grants through the university colleges (11). However, the problem of staffing extension classes, and the connection of such staff to university professors, comes with a warning: that this work might come to be seen as "inferior though necessary" and "entrusted to men not good enough to be considered for ordinary college appointments" (86). According to the *Report*, this teaching involved intense tutorials, and students regularly writing essays, and while popular lectures had

their place, “a habit of reading and reflection on subjects requiring sustained thought” is to be encouraged (85); such classes were “humanistic” rather than “utilitarian” (86). This education is explicitly described in terms of broadly uplifting the population in the national interest. In practice, Jean Sharfe notes, this ideal tutorial was hard to achieve due to funding pressures. Sharfe discusses the problem of written work in the tutorial classes, which ideally was “an essay at least once a fortnight,” but which the annual reports of the Canterbury W.E.A. lament as lacking: the reports acknowledge that students’ home lives often hinder the production of written work, but insist that “written essays prevent the work of the class from degenerating from serious study to the pleasure derived from a popular lecture” and “this feature of the W.E.A. must improve if the education it gives is to be of a more intensive sort, and raise the Association above the level of a mutual improvement club” (Sharfe, 47–48). Economics was the most popular and commonly taught subject, but classes in English Literature appear from the beginning of the movement, around New Zealand.

This ambitious idea of writing-intensive instruction across the curriculum took particular form in English classes, although the details of such instruction are largely lost to us. There is a Christchurch W.E.A. course in English composition in 1920, according to Ian Carter (134). The Wellington W.E.A. offered a course in “English Composition and Literature” in 1917 (“Workers’ Educational Classes.” *Evening Post*), and that same class, taught by school headmaster W. H. L. Foster, published its syllabus for 1920 in the *Evening Post* as follows:

Worker’s Education Association
English Composition and Literary Class
Tutor: Mr. H. L. Foster, M.A.
Syllabus for 1920:
Grammatical Rules and Correction of Common Errors
Meaning and the use of words
Synonyms – their distinction and correct use
Letter Writing – Social, Commercial, and Official Letters

Essay Writing. Choice of subjects, arrangement and production.
Literature – Set Books: George Eliot’s “Romola,” Tennyson’s “Revenge” and other shorter poems, Shakespeare’s “King Lear”
 (“Workers’ Educational Association. English Composition and Literary Class.”
Evening Post)

This curriculum sounds somewhat rigid at times, and we might read into the order of subjects a hierarchy that privileges literature instruction, but other accounts of the work of the W.E.A. suggest a curriculum that could be negotiated. For example, an *Ellesmere Guardian* report on a 1926 address by George Manning, a Canterbury W.E.A. organizer, concerning the purpose and function of the W.E.A., describes its significance thus:

In New Zealand, the University was a national institution, and every person should have opportunity of utilising its services. But so far, the University of New Zealand had met the demands of only a small proportion of the people. Apart from the efforts of the W.E.A., it was imparting its knowledge only to those privileged students who could attend lectures within its walls—not to the mass of the people. This meant that the best brains procurable at Canterbury College were teaching only six or seven hundred students a year—a very small proportion of the population. Last year the W.E.A. had taught over 4,000 students, who probably would not have had any interest in the University except for its influence. It was bringing the University down from the high pedestal on which it had previously stood to the level of ordinary people. Mr. Manning explained the system of instruction followed by the W.E.A., which differed from the University in that the students were given an opportunity to discuss among themselves and with the instructor the subject under study. Often the tutor encountered in his class students who had practical experience of the subject which the former knew only theoretically, and they could challenge his statements if not correct in detail. It was therefore the duty of tutors to prepare their lectures as carefully as possible. The students were encouraged to express their own views and to note wherein they conflicted or coincided with the views of others. By this clash of ideas, the nearest possible approach to the truth was arrived at. (“W.E.A. Class. Address by Organiser.” *Ellesmere Guardian*)

This explicit relationship between the work of the W.E.A. and the university is increasingly made more tenuous over the period under discussion, however. The 1935 Labour Government established a Council of Adult Education in 1938, to coordinate the growing number of adult education organizations and their funding – and which began the increasing control of the Department of Education, rather than the University, over adult education, even as the University

tried to take over some of the W.E.A.'s functions under the name University Extension (Sharfe 205, 211).

To attempt to examine at least one pedagogy circulating through the W.E.A., I want to look more closely at the work of James Shelley, the Professor of Education at Canterbury College who was also heavily involved in the W.E.A. Sharfe notes that Shelley was instrumental in extending the W.E.A. to rural areas (104), and indeed his “box scheme” is particularly notable: as Shelley himself describes it in an article in the *Journal of Higher Education* in 1931, these boxes, containing lecture notes, study questions, and materials like gramophone records, allowed small self-started groups in rural areas to run their own study sessions, spending as much time with each box as they wished before mailing it on to the next group (Shelley, “The Box Scheme”). Partly a matter of low cost, but also desirable for the degree to which it encouraged self-directed and engaged learning, Shelley advocates the box scheme in terms of a great need for adult education, not only concerning the “economic and industrial problems that are torturing the age” but “the zest to understand and appreciate those expressions of life found in great art, science, literature, and drama” (393). He explicitly positions it as equally valuable to the more obscure work of the university: “it is common belief that learned courses of academic instruction are necessary to approach these remote shrines, but this is by no means true, as the experience of the adult education movement in far-away New Zealand goes to show” (393). This idea of the value of liberal education in a time of crisis is interestingly put here, I think – with the notion of the “zest” as crucial, that is, the self-motivation or enthusiasm of the learner being prioritized over whatever cultural value the learning might have.

Ian Carter's *Gadfly: The Life and Times of James Shelley* describes Shelley arriving in Canterbury in 1920 to take up the country's first professorship in education. He was hired with a

view to making Canterbury the center of teacher training (which did not eventuate), after a fascinating educational career: a bright working-class boy who won scholarships and just scraped through Cambridge, a pupil-teacher of elementary students, a crafts and drama tutor turned lecturer in education at Manchester, an instructor in the Army Education Corps during the First World War. Carter notes that Shelley is little-known today (3), and that, despite his influence on a number of his students who were to become significant New Zealand educationalists, he had little effect on the education policy of his day (101).

Carter is thus interested in Shelley's more "oblique" strategies to change educational practice, and discusses at length Shelley's involvement in the Workers' Education Association – but pays little attention to Shelley's one published book, the textbook *Speech, Poetry and Drama*, published in 1932. For Carter, this text is not of much interest – it warrants a paragraph's treatment in a biography of nearly three hundred pages. The book, begun during Shelley's time at Southampton from 1914 to 1916, and reworked on his American tour in 1931 to 1932, is rather disparaged by Carter as a "safe" tour through selected poets in an attempt to teach students "appreciation," and an endeavor – not Shelley's first – to "place gadgets at the service of liberal education" (161–2). The "gadgets" here referred to are gramophone records, which were intended to accompany the text; there are frequent instructions in the text to play a particular record at a particular point, to hear the poetry being read. Carter hypothesizes that the copies of the book that Shelley brought back to New Zealand were intended for adoption in schools – but given Shelley's problematic relationship with the Department of Education, and the fact that because of an unfortunate technical fault, the records warped "beyond repair, and beyond reproduction," the book was destined for obscurity (162).

I am interested in what we might gain by looking at this text more closely, as a record of Shelley's attempt to make evident, through pedagogical instructions, a desired relation between the student and the discipline and practices of English, and the desired outcome for the teaching of English as part of general education. The introduction by J. J. Findlay, the radical British educationalist who was Shelley's mentor and colleague at Manchester, explicitly positions the book's use of the technology of the gramophone as a reaction to the overly "analytical, formal" access to literature offered by printed texts and "learned philologists," and thus an orientation towards a less specialized audience: Findlay writes, evoking the view of Cornell's Hiram Corson decades earlier,

[Shelley] is not an anarchist; he respects the conclusions of academic research and uses these as he needs them, but he declines to thrust on beginners the method of scholarly research. He writes and speaks as an artist, living in literature instead of talking about literature: his arguments are just introductions, aiding the student, also an artist, also a performer, to enter the temple itself. (vii)

This less specialized audience is not, I think, seen as a lesser audience to be patronized – on the contrary, Shelley is concerned to make genuinely accessible a kind of artistry. Findlay assures the reader that high school students can later engage the dry "intellectualistic" curriculum of English even if they initially encounter Shelley's method (viii), while also mentioning the Worker's Educational Association and adult education as possible venues for the book (ix). The "value of 'fine' utterance" is something of a universal public value (ix). Shelley in his own preface also projects the reader's autonomy, when he writes that teachers should feel free to work with the book as they see fit, even "critically" – "inspirational teaching is, of course, a very individual matter" (xiii–xiv).

The whole text is addressed in a rather inclusive voice, as if the teacher is speaking directly to a class of students, often in the first person plural. Shelley discusses a range of poetic

devices and their effects, but of crucial interest to us is his notion of the purpose of learning the delivery of poetry in the manner he favors. The last lines of the book are quite polemic in their statement of the value of the language arts:

This book has been written and the records spoken in order to show that words serve higher purposes than that of assisting in the business transactions of the market place. The essential character of human beings is that they have a nature which always seeks to free itself from the tyranny of *facts* and *things*, and it is to the poet they must look for their liberation. True poetry is not a leisured amusement for the few, but a necessity for the many; and as the poet laureate of England says, “Perhaps no poetry can be widely or lastingly popular that is not made to be spoken.” (150, emphasis in original)

For Shelley, poetry “gives a sort of embodiment to that which is unfulfilled and frees us from its tyranny,” alerting us to the unexpressed within ourselves and the complexity of the reality surrounding us (27–8). Crucial to this liberating practice is its embodiment – the capacity to interpret through performance the words of the poets. This act of delivery in turn becomes a kind of art; anyone can develop an “expressive voice,” no matter their natural gifts, and in developing vocal expression “our own writing will be enriched” (77, 79). Delivery is an art in the sense that it is not something to learn by rote, but is an interpretive act: “do not think that you can learn breath control, or any of the other controls we have mentioned, by mere meaningless exercises. The best way to proceed is to try to speak actual passages which appeal to you with more and more expressive subtlety and power” (84). Paraphrasing, too, is “harmful to appreciation – it develops habits of mind that are inimical to aesthetic development”: so Shelley’s advice is to avoid it, as “you cannot paraphrase the poetry of a poem – you can only lay bare the dry-bones of its facts” (151). By micro-attention to the residual elocutionary concern of speakerly choices in where and where not to pause and inflect, for example, Shelley dramatizes the interpretive quality of what he calls “expressive rendering” (96). He is certainly operating with a notion of poetic or artistic unity (see, for example, 131, 138) – but, as opposed to the bad interpretive work

of schools of elocution, with their practices of artificial over-emphasis, this unity should be the object of delivery *once its nature is determined* by the speaker/reader (138–40). This may or may not be a particularly innovative text in the history of speech and drama textbooks – such a question is outside the scope of this study, and much time might be spent tracing the influence on Shelley of such people as Findlay (see, for example, Carter’s discussion of Findlay’s valuing the teacher as a “personal influence” (43)). What interests me here is the application or circulation of these ideas in the New Zealand context of “general education.” This text resists the study of literature as an object in itself, positing it as much as anything as grounds for lessons in delivery – and implicitly in composition. “Good style in writing is *clear* style,” says Shelley, in a discussion of figures of speech, and he casts poetry as a “higher, more skilful employment of very natural modes of speech,” just as “the artistic use of the voice is a disciplined and more highly conscious employment of quite natural ways of expressing emotion in ordinary speaking” (112–3, emphasis in original).

In addition to his work with the W.E.A., Shelley is notable for advocating at Canterbury, Carter tells us, for a degree structure for trainee teachers that made the early years of their degrees a broad education, before the advent of professional training in the advanced years – in opposition to an entirely professional model. It makes sense that the Training Colleges, at this time both connected to yet distinct from the university, might be places to think deeply about where the boundaries of higher education should fall – but Shelley’s desire to shape the education curriculum towards breadth was echoed by other educators in professional schools. For example, under the heading of “No General Education,” the *Evening Post* reports in 1925 on the address of A. R. Entrican, a civil engineer and one-time lecturer at Auckland, to the

University Commission, and his argument about the unfortunate “abstraction” of university education. Entrican argues:

There has been little attempt to preserve the classical tradition and the cultural atmosphere of the universities both of the Old World and the New World. The basis of education is general culture, yet New Zealand university authorities have consistently moulded public opinion in favour of specialisation. Now the country cries for more specialisation, and still more specialisation, without realising that such education cannot meet the demands of industry and commerce. Whether a student is trained for management, technical, or research work in any profession or industry he requires a general cultural background which makes for personality, initiative, and precision and clarity of thought and expression. From the day he enters a New Zealand university college until the day he leaves, the B.Sc., the B.Sc.(Arch), the B.E., or the M.B. graduate received not one single hour of instruction in the classics, English composition and literature, rhetoric, economics, or any other cultural subjects. Is it therefore surprising that so few representatives are found in high positions of public esteem and trust or that our literature is so deficient in well-presented technical expositions. The remedy for this situation is very desirable. With the exception of Australia and South Africa, practically all English-speaking universities require instruction in a number of cultural subjects for the engineering degree. Many engineering graduates and associates to whom this matter had been referred are unanimous in support of some reform along the lines suggested. (“Abstraction. Fault in University System. No General Education.” *Evening Post*)

This issue of breadth in university education is put into perspective by a number of writers in the 1940s and 50s, including the Chancellor of the University of New Zealand from 1945 until its dissolution, David Smith. In his 1948 address *University Pioneers ...*, Smith writes:

I had contemplated concluding this address with some discussion of the question whether we should establish in our university, courses in what the Americans call “General Education.” These courses, if compulsory, ensure, on the one hand, that the specialists in the physical and natural sciences engage in studies in the humanities and in the social sciences which present human nature in various aspects, which disclose the course of history and which involve the discussion of moral, aesthetic, social or economic values. These courses ensure, on the other hand, that those who specialize in the humanities or the social sciences have some understanding of the history, methods, achievements, and lines of development of the physical and natural sciences. (26)

Smith refers to reports from Harvard and Columbia for further reading on “general education.”

His address to the Senate the next year almost entirely concerns general education, as it is a report on a tour of British and American universities and their provision of general education.

There is discussion of Great Books courses, with some mention of “English prose” and “a basic course in English” in America, but the challenge of implementing such education in New Zealand and the British belief that liberal education belongs at the secondary school level are noted.

Britishness – and American-ness – is key to contemporary thinking about the issue. In his 1951 address, *The Comity of Universities...*, Smith quotes A. E. Campbell’s Centennial Survey for the NZCER in 1941 as describing New Zealand’s University as trying to follow the British model while having to attend to “local conditions,” which is to say, incorporating alternative features such as “a lower standard of entrance than the British, comparatively many more students, including part-time and external students, much teaching by syllabus and lecture, and the provision of a wide range of courses” (Campbell quoted in Smith, 15). Campbell describes the choice going forward as trying to make the university conform more to the British model or have it follow the model of the American state university – that is, a choice between, firstly, tighter admission standards, a less technical curriculum, and the development of other institutions in order to narrow the scope of the university, and secondly, increasingly open access and diverse curricula, and systems of stratification within the university itself (16). Smith himself acknowledges that while the British model has guided developments since the war, with the focus on the development of research capacity, questions remain about the provision of education for part-time and external students, and particularly for the students who fail before graduating, particularly those many students who fail in the first year – about fifty percent (18). The ever-present idea of raising entrance standards is here qualified: Smith suggests that such students have a place, and indeed that “the public is entitled to ask the University to consider how deeply the conditions out of which these groups have arisen are rooted in our social fabric”

and to make provisions accordingly, even as it pursues its “highest purpose” (21). Following C. E. Beeby’s address at the Auckland capping ceremony in 1950, where Beeby suggested that, while research and the teaching of a select élite would remain the university’s mission, there is space also for opening up and diversification of the American kind, Smith summarizes thus:

Dr Beeby considers that we have gone a considerable distance towards the American idea of higher education, though we have tended to retain the internal structure and methods of teaching of the European university. He thinks this fact is the source of some of the dissatisfaction of university teachers with the standards of their students. He points also to the difficulty in supplying the country’s needs for teachers, public servants, and technicians, if the university develops only in accordance with the European tradition. (20)

Smith anticipates the country’s developing industry and diversity through immigration, and thus the need for broad-based general education, although such education might take place in two-year colleges of the American kind or technical colleges.

Campbell’s 1941 book *Educating New Zealand* had indeed offered perhaps a uniquely plain-spoken critique of the system of higher education. While he acknowledges the country’s experiments in merging “the classical education of the gentleman and the strictly utilitarian education of the labourer” (15) at earlier levels of education, the capacity of the university to cater for a wide range of ability and preparation is sorely lacking; despite the institution’s concern with practical life in New Zealand, an attachment to tradition has disabled the institution’s response to its cultural surrounds:

Some there were who believed it was a function of the university to bring critical intelligence and a sense of values to bear on the colonial scene, but their ideas found little expression in practice. ... It has only gradually been realized that a body of students who come, as many New Zealand students have, from bookless and art-starved homes, present an entirely different educational problem from that which faces Oxford and Cambridge. An interest in things of the mind has to be created. There is a special need for lively teaching, for opportunity for discussion, for a scheme of education that will show the linkages between text-book knowledge and the student’s own experience. A conception of teaching that does not go beyond the dictation of notes and the correction of exercises is quite inappropriate. So much is now generally recognized, but in comparison with

American colleges, which have just our problem, we have been much more inclined to assume trustfully that what we teach really functions in the life of the student and, quite apart from practical difficulties, much less inclined to experiment in method. The neglect, until recently, of all the arts with the single exception of language, is also symptomatic. Here again the Americans were well ahead of us and it is partly through their influence that we are coming to see that the arts have an essential place in general education at the university level. (166–168)

This interest in general education, and the sense of the university system facing a choice of how to proceed, seems to be fading by the approach of the time when the constituent colleges of the University of New Zealand gain independence. In Smith's 1955 address, *The External Examiner* ..., the professional needs of the nation are growing: he discusses the shortage of university graduates, especially for agricultural and teaching professions (7), and thus the idea that the BA and BSc degrees are both general and professional for teachers. With this shortage in mind, national interests have to be taken into account (12), and standards must be ensured to be not "excessively high" lest potential graduates be unable to access the professions. Smith also advocates more official cooperation between teachers at secondary schools and professors at the university colleges, with an eye to improving the education of potential undergraduates (13). He is concerned with what he sees as future demand for more and more "technical" education, degrees and certificates that serve the growing industrial needs of the nation, and which have increasingly become offered at American and British universities: Smith argues that the university should be prepared to answer this demand, but also be on its guard lest the principles of liberal education be lost. Liberal education must be seen as "the basis for professional and technical studies" (16), according to Smith, and he quotes Cardinal Newman to suggest the importance of breadth, analysis, and synthesis to the professional, but also of the necessity of liberal education in the development of a graduate's "philosophy of life" (20). However, he admits that science students already have little time for "general reading" (22), and technical

complexity and the need for specialization grow apace. The “great problem” for universities in the years to come is how to ensure a “balanced education for specialists” (22).

Clearly, then, we have entered the period when the research mission of the university begins to redefine and supersede its teaching mission. R. S. Allan and his collaborators – including the philosopher Karl Popper, then teaching in Canterbury – write in their 1945 pamphlet *Research and the University: A Statement by a Group of Teachers in the University of New Zealand* that “we do not accept the point of view that teaching is the main function of the University, but even from this point of view it should be clearly seen that, as the highest school in the community, the University has inescapable duties to the most talented members of each generation, that is, to those capable of making contributions to the development of knowledge” (1). This is certainly not the first argument for better provision for research in the university, but now this provision is not primarily to improve teaching, but because this is the primary mission of the “research institution” – and because developing centers of scientific research is central to keeping the country’s intellectual talent. There is explicit discussion of how specialists should teach their specialty, not a general introduction to their subject (3), and the pamphlet ends with the statement that “the great influx of students now in progress endangers university standards” (4) – which might seem to be almost unrelated to the thrust of the argument, were the implication not that the pressure to teach the masses is taking time away from research, and indeed compromising the research mission, as teaching the underprepared is not contributing to the production of knowledge. This is also an issue addressed in the Hughes Parry Report of 1959, which argues the “pioneer tradition” of the university must be modified, and “theory” – that is, research – brought into context with practice (Parry, *Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities*, 8–9). Macmillan Brown’s integrated idea is no longer.

The changing paradigm was also agreed upon by the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand, in the 1959 publication mentioned in the previous section, *The Crisis in the Universities: Some Facts and Figures*. The Association aims here to intervene in an existing public discussion on such problems as “rapidly mounting student numbers, the almost crippling pressure on staff and facilities, the increasing loss of valued teachers and researchers to universities overseas, the recent failures to fill vacancies or obtain new staff at the salaries now offered ...” (2). The Association gives figures of student enrolment of 5,979 in 1939, and 13,486 in 1959 (3), and projected to be as high as 30,000 in 1972 (9), but in addition to the increase in students, more global concerns are pressing: for “New Zealand to hold her own as a democratic nation,” new fields of research that have been developed in response “to the rapid and accelerating expansion of University work everywhere in the world” must be pursued (3). The example fields listed are an intriguing combination of a concern with industrial or military advantage – Aeronautical Engineering, Nuclear Physics – and emerging cultural and national dynamics: Asian Studies, Māori Studies, Social Science, and Town Planning (3). The multi-faceted argument that the country needs “trained men” to “serve the community,” that New Zealand needs to continue its record of producing world-renowned scientists and scholars of various kinds, and that New Zealand needs to hold its own in global comparisons (3–4), suggests the complex of local, national, and transnational rationales for university teaching and research.

In the context of arguing for better salaries, the report states that “*scientists and scholars, more than any other section of the community, are recruited on a world market, and therefore move freely from country to country according to conditions prevailing in different universities*” (10–11, emphasis in original). And the “brain drain” theme of present-day discussions is at least as old as this, although it is here called the “traditional ‘export of brains’” (11). We see, then, the

intensity of the global context for decision-making in New Zealand university policy. Indeed, an entire section of the report compares New Zealand universities with “other English-speaking countries,” in terms of facilities, salaries, and staffing, and finds New Zealand resources “inadequate” on every level, even in comparison to “provincial universities in the United Kingdom” and those in Australia, with which New Zealand universities had previously kept pace (7–8). The quality of teaching is directly impacted: “sound teaching and needed research are grievously impeded by the burden of routine and mass-class lecturing placed on very few shoulders,” and lecturers are sometimes forced “to hand over to external markers a great deal of the students’ written work” and “to apply so much time to the preparation of lecture material that individual contacts and personal guidance for students are at best inadequate – sometimes impossible” (8). At Auckland, the staff-student ratio at the time was 1:14 (full time students), with Australia 1:10 and the UK 1:7 (9). But the report, in addition to mentioning that a larger proportion of young New Zealanders attend university than in “most other countries” except the U.S. and Canada, insists that

The problem of staff shortages cannot and should not be met by restricting enrolment at the universities. The great majority of New Zealanders properly insist on the principle of equal educational opportunity for all properly qualified persons. But it must be recognized that limitations of enrolment will be forced upon the universities by staff shortages. (9)

This philosophy of trying to embrace the (at some fundamental levels) open-access institution and the high-powered research institution as one and the same would be maintained for the rest of the century, although as I discuss in the next section, the era of neoliberal reform poses significant challenges to this idea.

What prevented the idea of general education from taking curricular hold decades earlier, when it seemed more possible to prioritize it over specialized research, and more possible to

enact it before the baby-boom strained teaching resources even further? It would seem one key answer is in the bureaucratic challenges facing any curricular reformers. In his essay “Administration in the University,” published in 1946 in the volume *The University and the Community: Essays in Honour of Thomas Alexander Hunter*, Ian A. Gordon both complains about the over-administration of the university – which is certainly of note in a *plus-ça-change* kind of way – and notes specific ways in which the particular form of administration used by the New Zealand university works against the interest of the institution. His account of the intricate layers of administration operating between the University of New Zealand and the teaching and agricultural colleges that operate under its federation makes evident the problematic division between the domain of curricular decision-making and assessment, and the domain of teaching and learning. Gordon writes:

... the division of control which is a characteristic of university education in New Zealand is a main reason for its low standard of staffing and equipment. Were there but one voice (it need not be the voice of an individual but of a group) which could speak plainly of the University’s needs we should not be the under-staffed and ill-equipped institution we have always been. Here the clean break between examining University and teaching college has been particularly harmful. Hardly ever in its history has the Senate of the University considered teaching conditions within the colleges which prepare for its degrees. It has never attempted to see that adequate funds were available to teach the subjects the standards of which it has so jealously and so inexpensively guarded. (276)

Even decisions about updating syllabi, to account for new knowledge or approaches, must be made through a process of consultation with professors at the other teaching colleges, and approved through the Senate. (Here we might consider the relative freedom of someone like Shelley teaching in the W.E.A., in comparison to teaching within the university – as McIlroy and Westwood suggest in regard to Raymond Williams’ teaching in the context of adult education (4)). Ultimately, Gordon argues for self-governed universities in each of the major centers – a state of affairs which comes into effect in 1961, although it had been discussed much earlier. Part

of the anxiety at this moment is, of course, a post-war boom in student numbers, and the degree to which the system of funding cannot respond to this boom, in part because of the administrative complexity of pursuing extra funding (277). Bureaucratic complexity is always intertwined with a fundamental lack of teaching resources.

In addition, I want to suggest that because the nature and distribution of general education was also being debated in regards to post-primary schooling in the early decades of the twentieth century, some of the momentum for reform might have been redirected there. The questions here concern not the liberal education associated with the most élite American universities visited by Smith in the 1940s, but rather the degree to which secondary education should be vocational or general. The term “general education” in this period is one meaning “academic” education in the sense of “non-vocational,” and is at the center of disputes over how to address the schooling of pupils of differing abilities; Lee and Lee discuss how the Inspector General of Schools until 1915, George Hogben, struggled with the strong association between academic subjects and “general education” in the mind of the public, given his inclination to try to reconceive general education in prevocational terms (59), and the Minister of Education from 1915 to 1919, J. A. Hanan, felt the same way as Hogben (60). However, the aspirations of parents and teachers, and the philosophy of the Labour Party, demanded an increasingly academic curriculum (but not too narrowly so) rather than a prevocational one, and this won out over arguments about the “civic” efficiency of differentiated schooling at an early age (see Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, 133; 142; 151–154). Debates in the first half of the twentieth century over the degree to which post-primary schooling should be selective – that is, differentiated along prevocational and academic lines – culminated in the Labour Government’s “comprehensive” secondary schooling policy, with the lack of selection embodying a democratic

ideal: as Peter Fraser called it, an “elastic system of secondary education” that would not restrict students too early (Lee and Lee, 62). The 1944 Thomas Report endorsed a model of secondary education that had a common academic core with much provision for optional specialization (including technical/vocational) at higher levels. Over subsequent decades, the technical high schools slowly evolved into fully-functional comprehensive secondary schools, removing the officially stratified system of post-primary education, although the debate over how to cater for a diverse population of secondary school students continued (Lee and Lee, 71).

The democratization of post-primary schooling, then – including its becoming open to all with the abolition of the “proficiency” examination in 1936, its becoming compulsory until age 15 in 1944, and its increasing framing in terms of “general education” – presumably reduced the pressure on universities to do that very work. Reforms also attempted to address the dominance of the university entrance examination – “matriculation” – over the high school curriculum, with the introduction of School Certificate. Openshaw, Lee, and Lee note, however, that a “qualification inflation” (194) process is inevitable, and that the debate over increasing access (“democratisation”) and lowering “standards” centers first on the proficiency exam, as the gateway between primary and post-primary schooling, but then shifts to subsequently higher and higher qualifications, and ultimately to the university entrance examination: “the price to be paid for freer access to higher educational opportunities was the decline in scarcity value of the entrance qualification” (202). The kind of curricular reform that accompanied each instance of qualification inflation does not seem to have extended to the university, however, which is understandable given its relative autonomy. But the question of access and “standards” certainly occupied commentators on the institution.

In his 1948 *University Pioneers* ..., Smith discusses standards of entrance to the university, and the complaints that first-year students are not appropriately prepared: such complaints include those of Professor Rutherford of Auckland, who in his capping ceremony address in 1947, said that “at least half the first-year students were not able to express themselves clearly in simple correct English; and that fewer than half had learnt to read intelligently – i.e., to discern the significance of what they read, to select the chief relevant items of a passage and to relate those items to other knowledge” (Rutherford, quoted in Smith, 9). Smith notes that there have been criticisms of the standard of Entrance English for several years, and his own review of the examiners’ reports details the examiners’ critiques of students’ spelling, grammar, and style, including in subjects other than English where the examiners suggest allocating marks or failing students for composition as well as content. The faults of secondary school English teaching, particularly the neglect of grammar and composition, and the effects of wartime upheaval, are entertained here, and the comparison made to British universities where composition is taught and graded in all courses, not left to the English department (15). Smith investigates the accusation that so many students are failing – as high as seventy percent – and thus “public money is being wasted” (16); Auckland and Victoria are found to have fewer students passing at Stage I than the two older colleges. Tabling the question of making the entrance to the university more difficult for the moment, Smith concludes:

The goal is an Entrance standard which will assist the University of New Zealand to take a distinctive place for learning and research among the Universities of the Western World while, at the same time, it adequately equips the professions of this country with men and women who are not only skilled in their special field but who are wise as citizens. (25)

Here we can see both how global competition between universities is already reconfiguring the prioritization of access, and how students’ literacy is a key point of focus in relation to standards, if not curriculum – that is, how discussion of students’ proficiency and the civic value of English

teaching is pushed to the failures of post-primary schooling, not made a question for the university curriculum.

Such a move has a long history – indeed one that incorporates Macmillan Brown, in his later years. In 1915, the *Grey River Argus* reports on Hanan’s review of schools and his displeasure at the standard of education: “composition ... was the subject that was the weakest of all” (“Hon. J. A. Hanan has always ...” *Grey River Argus*). The piece becomes a general lament at the English curriculum; invoking the complaints of “business men” over young people’s inability to write business letters, the writer blames the syllabus’ emphasis on grammar and definitions, rather than on students’ “gaining facility in expressing themselves in terse and vigorous English,” even in the secondary schools and technical schools where teachers have some choice over the syllabus:

We are afraid that some of the teachers are still so bound down by this love of formal grammar that they fail to make English as attractive and instructive as it should be. A paper set at a recent examination in English aptly illustrates the style of instruction that is imparted in some of our colleges of learning. The paper contained five questions. The first required from the pupils definitions and examples of various figures of speech. The second consisted of four sentences for correction, the third a piece of analysis, the fourth words and phrases from the “Merchant of Venice” for annotation and the fifth an essay —of not more than ten lines— on any character in the “Merchant of Venice.” The main purpose of instruction in English is, we take it, to enable the pupils to write and speak fluently and gracefully, and yet, if we may judge from the paper to which we have referred, the question that is most capable of testing the pupils’ powers is restricted to a ten line essay. Why any ordinary third standard pupil who had heard the story of the Merchant of Venice should be able to write at least thirty lines about Shylock, yet here we have pupils who are finishing their English studies called upon to write not more than ten. ... The people of this Dominion are paying a large and ever increasing sum for education and must see that they get some return for their money. This is not the case at present. (“Hon. J. A. Hanan has always ...” *Grey River Argus*)

An *Evening Post* report on the discussions of the Senate of the University of New Zealand in January 1921 includes, in a discussion of the need to raise the standard of entrance, a recounting of Macmillan Brown’s remarks on the standard of the matriculation examinations: Macmillan

Brown “agreed that the English composition of many entrants showed that the standard had dropped below zero. Some of the answers given were perfectly infantile; some might have been conceived in a mental hospital. The English was simply deplorable. The University would fall below the secondary school, except for a few brilliant students, if this deterioration of intelligence persisted” (“A Low Standard. Entrance at the University.” *Evening Post*). (We might think here of I.A. Richards’ experiments in *Practical Criticism* at about this time.) These comments moved Hanan to suggest a special report from the examiners on the standard of English composition, but he was placated by assurances that the examiners would have discussed spelling and composition in the course of their normal reporting, and also by being reminded of the struggles of schools during the war (“English as Taught for Matriculation.” *Evening Post*).

In his 1947 *The Teaching of English: A Study in Secondary Education*, Ian Gordon documents the teaching of composition in New Zealand secondary schools in the late nineteenth century, sometimes paired with grammatical study, or with English literature, or with translation from the classics, and thus following a range of different teaching traditions imported from England variously known as “composition,” “theme” writing, or “construing” (21, 26). Gordon argues this initial diversity eventually became homogenized under the influence of the matriculation examination (28). In Gordon’s account, Macmillan Brown tried and failed to make a pass in composition – as distinct from grammatical knowledge – compulsory in 1906, but his version of “composition” takes shape as a requirement concerning “the essay,” thanks in part to his influence on the entrance examination, and “letter-writing and description” become part of the entrance examination for a few years, too, although literature (and blends of literature and history and geography) begin to take prominence (30, 32, 35). By the 1920s, the essay – one literary analysis, one on an “easy subject” to test “composition and expression” – is the basis of

the English portion of the entrance examination, and formal grammar is fast disappearing from the curriculum:

[In 1928] of the twenty-three [all or most British] textbooks in the 1923–4 lists, six only remained. The casualties were formal grammars (including all of Nesfield's), composition manuals, and composition books based on imitation of passages of standard authors. An increasing use was being made of collections of extracts for critical analysis (three of Pritchard's "Extract" books were included in 1926), and the acceptance of the inductive method, of starting with the written passage of living English rather than with the rules for writing it, lies behind the choice and continued use of Hammond's 'Exercises.' By 1932 the older grammars had almost completely given place to the two New-Zealand-written grammars of Caddick and Lawson-Gudex. (36)

In the 1930s, the two essays in the examination merged into one essay testing both literary knowledge and composition; in the 1940s, the requirements changed to include a prose essay and a essay on literature (Gordon 37, 59). Composition's meaning, in this account, slips uneasily between the more defined poles of grammar and literature: how "self-expression" might be assessed in conjunction or independently of these two opposing forces in the English curriculum remains unclear – but always the object of a desire for improvement. "The writing of informative, narrative, and imaginative prose" emerges as the primary component of the English secondary school curriculum in the 1940s, in the report on *The Post-Primary School Curriculum* and subsequent legislation (Gordon 60, 62). Gordon himself argues for the importance of teaching a plain style in the writing of English, against the artificially ornate style of the literary school essay – for the "workmanlike English" of the "citizen" rather than the English of the "potential literary artist" (87–95). Drawing on one Philip J. Hartog's *The Writing of English*, which in 1908 recommended a planning and drafting process and writing with a rhetorical purpose, Gordon recommends training in writing scientific/expository and narrative prose, both of which provide building blocks for argumentative prose (98–101).

Despite the evolution of the secondary school curriculum, then, there is some consistency across the first half of the twentieth century in complaints about students' composing at the point of entrance to the university. Such complaints are part of the only ever-increasing challenge of responding to a diverse population with too few resources. The Hughes Parry Report of 1959 argues that the university has actually been *too* responsive to student need, prioritizing scheduling that suited students over their education (12). The authors of the report survey a range of statistics that represent the diversity of students enrolled in terms of preparation, and summarize thus:

A Stage I class at the university may thus include students of ages ranging from 16 to 60, some of whom will have had no post-primary schooling, while others have had six years or more. Some members of the class will have no entrance qualification; some will have had entrance scholarships. Often, the class will be a mix of full-time and part-time students and frequently the part-time students will predominate. These variations, added to variations in the intellectual capacity of the students, make the Stage I class anything but a homogenous group. It would obviously be difficult, particularly when staffs are small, to devise a course of instruction which would be satisfactory for all students in the class or to devise tests which would fairly measure the capacity of the students to profit from further study at the university. (29)

The authors discuss the possibility of allowing superior entering students to advance to Stage II without having to go through Stage I courses. Following Parkyn, they argue that high rates of student failure are best attributed to the difficulty of adjusting to the university environment, which is only exacerbated by the low staff to student ratio (35). This is presumed to be largely a matter of counseling/welfare services, but as the discussion of the woeful level of understaffing indicates, the academic implications are clear. Students at Stage I feel keenest the effects of large lecture classes and lack of feedback on written work (57), as is revealed by a fascinating quotation from one submission from a head of department (a department with "a full-time staff of nine and about 800 students, over 500 of them at Stage I"):

This system depends on survival of the fittest. The student from a good sixth form comes up well prepared, fits in, is welcomed and looked after. The inadequately prepared student gets shabbier treatment. If he can emerge from the mass he too is welcomed and looked after. But in the first year, especially, it is up to the student. We have not the manpower to discuss individual difficulties, to help a shy or ill-prepared student around the corner ... The whole process is, I am afraid, rather brutal. Perhaps not as brutal as the rat-race it sounds when written out on paper – we are, fortunately, teaching a very humane subject, and we try to be decent and human with all students we deal with. But nine academics cannot really be decent and human to 800 undergraduates. ... Within its limits, this system of a ‘university within a university’ works. From the survivors it produces an able group of hard-working honours graduates who go on to research, academic positions, diplomatic posts etc. and do well. But – to paraphrase the Murray report – New Zealand does not need merely a small number of very clever people but a large number of competent graduates. We shall, I think, continue to do a good job with the very clever people. The large numbers coupled with small staffs mean we shall be doing an increasingly second-rate job with the merely competent, while the competent but ill-prepared, the slow maturer, the reticent whose abilities lie beneath the surface, the odd man out – these are liable to sink without trace and their merits go unrecognised in the mass meetings of first-year classes. (58)

Given the numbers and the reference to the humanities, it seems highly likely this professor is head of a Department of English, and quite possibly the one at the University of Auckland.¹²

Such a statement suggests that no matter the pressures to move to a more globally-competitive, exclusive university system, some university staff remained committed to the open-access project and saw it as a responsibility of their teaching, not of entrance standards. In such a frank admission as this, we glimpse a pedagogical history largely lost to us – the efforts on the part of dedicated teachers to work with the “competent,” towards an extended educated public rather than a restricted élite.

¹² Keith Sinclair’s history of the University of Auckland mentions the staffing crisis and the first-year enrolment of 560 students in the English department around 1958 (215). His list of academic staff for each department, with their dates of appointment, has nine academics who were members of the department in 1959: M. K. Joseph, S. Musgrove, E. A. Sheppard, J. C. Reid, T. A. M. Curnow, T. Crawford, W. H. Pearson, W. J. Cameron, C. K. Stead (313). So this writer seems likely to be the then-department head, Sidney Musgrove.

III. “Equal Opportunities for All Those of Ability to Succeed”: Writing Studies and the “World-Class” University

In recent decades, literacy work in the New Zealand university has taken on increasingly distributed form, with the making official and significant resourcing of “study support” programs, ESOL teaching, and bridging education. These initiatives largely operate independently of departmental curricula, with New Zealand lacking, for the most part, the significant work in WID undertaken in Australia in the same time frame, for example (which will be discussed in the next chapter). In this period, the research focus of the institution that we saw emerging in the previous section has only intensified, albeit with accompanying concerns about the implications for undergraduate education. These parallel developments place the project I call “composition” – a kind of *disciplined* English teaching with a public edge – in a difficult position.

In this section, I examine the University of Auckland’s Writing Studies program, which is distinct from English language support, Linguistics, academic support, and foundation studies programs, and which exists uneasily at times with the rest of the English Department. Here I offer an interested and necessarily partial account of this program’s history and the pressures under which it operates, to elucidate some of the dynamics of contemporary composition teaching in New Zealand. But there are clear connections to the pedagogical work discussed in the previous two sections. In a current environment where teaching tends to become but one aspect of “performance evaluation,” it seems important to discuss it not as content delivery but as an open-ended project (among many possible projects) that does not predetermine its ends, that cannot be fully measured, that is concerned with the student’s agency in civic contexts. My previous examples, and the one with which this section is concerned, show teaching as a professional judgment and a civic commitment, not as something whose worth is in its narrowly

measured efficacy. While we might admire the way “writing studies” entertains complex notions of literacy that do not privilege the academic, its separation from literacy work elsewhere in the university that is more explicitly concerned with “academic literacy” risks locating “academic literacy” in a more rigid framework than it might otherwise have, as something to be standardized and monitored rather than opened up as part of an enquiry into multiliteracies. And writing studies itself, without the strong connection to academic literacy, faces more of a challenge in making itself institutionally legible, and in claiming resources or standing separate from or within English studies. To articulate these tensions is not only to acknowledge the complexity of negotiating institutional spaces and the haphazardness with which any program develops, but also to raise questions about how composition might best articulate its commitments, as it continues to develop in the New Zealand university.

It would take far more space than I have available here to account for all the initiatives in the teaching of writing in the eight current New Zealand universities. I have chosen what I believe to be salient examples to address in detail, from the university with the earliest fully-developed writing studies program, to establish some of the key priorities in trying to describe this field in this place. The pilot study I undertook at the University of Auckland, with its mixed methods, is largely a theory-building study that establishes priorities for more sustained subsequent projects. I spent time observing lectures and tutorials in English 121, the first-year writing course at the University, interviewing academic staff, and reading portfolios of student work once the semester had concluded. I also conducted archival research on the history of the program. While this section deals substantially with work in recent decades at Auckland, then, it is important to acknowledge that writing course offerings in New Zealand universities range

from single courses within English Departments to minors and majors in Writing Studies.¹³ In some universities, only EAP-type courses are offered, outside of English Departments. To my knowledge, only Massey University has made a first-year writing course compulsory. Massey was the site of the first writing course in recent decades, *Writing: Theory and Practice*, conceived by Roland (Roly) Fread and developed by Robert Neale from 1979 onwards (Emerson, 56).¹⁴ This course, certainly worthy of more discussion than I can devote to it here, used literary texts to investigate theories of language and develop understanding of such concepts as “irony, mimesis, metaphor” (Emerson, 56). It also had students collaborate and peer edit, and published volumes of student writing in which students reflected on their experience in the course and their awareness of writing’s complexity, in a range of genres (Neale, personal archive). It is a quite

13 It is of interest to note the names of prominent American writing scholars who visited New Zealand in the 1980s (most funded by Fulbright) and who were instrumental in the development of the pedagogies of some of the significant courses: Emerson mentions Richard Adler, Hank Harrington, Ruie Pritchard, and Richard Young (then of CMU). Others include Donald Graves and Alan Purves. A New Zealand branch of the National Writing Project was begun in 1986, although later abandoned for financial reasons (Emerson 49; see also Catherwood; Pritchard; Philips, all in *The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand’s Educational Policy, Practice, and Thinking*, eds. David Philips et al.).

14 The work of Brian Opie at Victoria University also stands out around this time; see, for example, his occasional paper of 1983 on “Writing, Curriculum, and Assessment,” in which he undertakes a thoughtful examination of pedagogy within English departments, and its neglect of student writing. He argues that the amount of reading should decrease and the amount of writing should increase if students are to develop the abilities in “critical analysis” that the discipline purports to teach, and that “the curricular changes deriving from this change in emphasis lead to a redefinition of the goals and purposes of undergraduate study” (1). An examination of students’ reading and writing practices within his own discipline of English leads him to question the orientation of undergraduate education towards specialization despite such specialization being essentially unachievable within the time of an undergraduate degree and the reality that most students do not go on to further specialized study after a bachelors’ degree; a top-down notion of the curriculum unfairly dominates our sense of what undergraduate education is for (6). For Opie, the term “literacy” more usefully represents the goals of undergraduate education, rather than specialization, as “literacy” is both more accurate to students’ experience of that education and it opens up a space to think about education outside of narrowly vocational or research-oriented paradigms; the adoption of “literacy” as a goal would require disciplines to examine what is most essential in what they offer students, and for Opie suggests a common curriculum in the first year for all students (7). Although writing courses at Victoria did not develop within English for a number of institutional reasons, discussion about student writing skills began in the 1970s, and Opie was significantly involved in bringing a number of American scholars to New Zealand “following personal involvement with the Bay Area Writing Project” (Emerson 49). The University endorsed *Writing Across the Curriculum* in 1987, but the recommendations “were never implemented – in the words of Brian Opie, ‘the document just vanished off the map’ (17.6.96)” (Emerson 50).

fascinating merger of a writing course with the literary studies curriculum, and of “theoretical” and “creative” approaches, and deserving of a study in its own right.¹⁵

The literacy infrastructure of the New Zealand university today begins to develop in the 1970s, in part because of the influence of developments in Australian universities. The increasing numbers of international students and the growing population of permanent resident students for whom English is an additional language shifts the institutional language with which student writing is discussed at Auckland from condemnations of “illiteracy” to one concerned with student need and service provision, albeit still within a largely remedial framework. Before focused initiatives in writing instruction begin in the English Department in the 1980s, student literacy was a concern within the larger institution, as articles in the Auckland *University News* make evident. In 1973 the *University News* reports that Monash University in Australia is to have “a remedial teacher in English as part of the study skills unit, following the example of the Australian National University, where the service has been expanded into a Communication and Study Skills Unit” to address “bad” writing in the university (*University News* August 1973, 37). The October 1977 *University News* reprints an article by Gordon Taylor of Monash’s Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit, here called “The Higher Illiteracy Problem,” but published as “Coming to Terms with English Expression in the University,” which argues for university-level writing across the curriculum initiatives, following work in the schools. Taylor argues that while it is important to have subject specialists engaged in teaching their own

¹⁵ The genesis of one other course stands out as of particular interest in regards to public writing pedagogy: a rather unique course at Otago University, which evolved as a response to a perceived public need. Following the colossal Cartwright Report scandal in the late 1980s over medical ethics, where Otago-trained doctors were implicated, a course was developed to improve health sciences students’ “communication skills” (Emerson, *A Collaborative Approach*, 55). While Emerson does not provide much in the way of detail about this course (a collaboration between the departments of English and Health Sciences), she notes that it was addressed to a very competent student population (medical students), not a population deemed in need of remediation, and that it involved training in “rhetorical analysis” (56).

discipline's rhetoric, this cannot be left entirely to them: English specialists might be better suited to explaining the complexities of disciplinary language and conveying them to students. This may well be the first mention of the term "writing course" and "the 'service' English specialist" and the first mention of patterns of error as something to be studied and explained in the New Zealand tertiary context (10–12). Taylor advocates collaboration between subject specialists and English specialists, but when it comes to entrance requirements, he notes that currently

"service" English is no-one's responsibility. The vacuum has usually been filled by English departments. But unlike the English faculty of North American colleges (whose "freshman English" programmes have not proved conspicuously successful), our English departments do not regard their duties as encompassing "English for others." Consequently, they are not in a position to establish precisely the language requirements of the university as a whole. (13)

Taylor argues that rather than face the misplaced calls to "return to the basics" or to teach grammar drills, and expensive American-style "writing clinics," Australian institutions have to find a way to institutionalize English writing specialists in a way that is well-resourced and involves contact with staff and students (13). In 1977 the Auckland University Senate asks the Higher Education Research Officer to investigate "study skills" courses for university students, which ends with a report arguing that the university is under-resourced to address students' needs, and that a unit be created with staff dedicated to this purpose; a popular program is run in the first weeks of the term in 1978. In 1979 the HERO is asked to investigate the numbers and success of students from low socio-economic backgrounds in the university; reviews in 1980 and 1981 deem the study skills program "adequate" and that the socio-economic affects "access to but not performance in" the university (*University News* October 1980, 20; March 1981, 23). In 1982 the case for a language center for remedial purposes is made, and the Student Learning Centre is set up in 1985.

In March 1986 a survey of faculties reports the impression of standards in literacy having declined (23), and in 1992 there is discussion of problems in inadequate English of permanent resident students. In 1992 an external report on the English Department – which mentions the rapid roll growth, with increase in non-tenured faculty, and the admirable teaching taking place under severe strain in terms of resources – mentions language and literacy concerns:

At the end of its report the committee briefly discussed the various English Language assistance courses provided by the University for both resident and overseas students. The committee felt a more coherent policy was needed in this area but it should not be the English Department's responsibility. It suggested that the advisory committee for the Student Learning Unit, the Wellesley Programme and the teaching of English for academic purposes discuss the University's English language programmes with the department and the involved units and report to Academic and Deans Committees. (*University News* July 1992, 5)

In 1995, an article discussing English language standards across the university notes the impression that even native speaker competence has declined, because of specialization too early at secondary school and students not taking language-intensive subjects (*University News* December 1995, 3). There is discussion of imposing entry standards in English, which seems concerned with maintaining standards and institutional quality, not with educational value, except in the sense that graduates need valuable “communication skills.” Some professors respond that this cannot only be a matter of entry criteria, and that work has to happen within the university (12). As Cathie Elder and Janet von Randow discuss in their article on the introduction of the Diagnostic English Language Needs Assessment (DELNA), “Exploring the Utility of a Web-Based English Language Screening Tool,” the use of DELNA came about as a response to university concerns over changing student demographics and resulting language needs in the 1980s and 1990s, both in regards to international students and Asian and Pacific immigration, and an increasing number of permanent resident students who had English as an additional language but could not legally be subjected to entry requirements different from New Zealand

citizens (174–175). The 1995 Report of the Sub-Committee on English Language and Entrance contains recommendations over entrance procedures, but also proposes “that the Department of English extend its writing related papers to make them more fully available to meet the needs of students in all faculties; and that all departments be encouraged to use expository English as a form of assessment” (Sept 1995, 3–6, quoted in Emerson, 43). DELNA, as a post-entry screening to diagnose language needs and then direct students to appropriate language resources, was piloted in 2002, and in 2005 English as a secondary school subject was made a compulsory part of university entrance requirements (Elder and von Randow, 175). Currently, all first-year students at Auckland do the DELNA screening to test English language proficiency, and the test is advertised thus on posters around campus: “DELNA provides you with a fantastic opportunity to have your academic communication skills assessed FREE!”

Throughout the period of development of the Writing Studies programme, initiatives in writing instruction took place elsewhere in the university: for example, the development of the Student Learning Centre; the Wellesley Programme, later the Tertiary Foundation Certificate, which included relatively personalized English instruction for students without traditional qualifications; and of course work in the Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics, which took responsibility for ESOL writing and “English Writing” courses for native speakers, namely “English Writing for Academic Purposes” and “Writing in the Professions,” and works with staff from other disciplines on language-learning initiatives. While a comprehensive history of these initiatives is outside the focus of this particular account, it is important to acknowledge this work, especially in terms of its consequences for what Writing Studies might consider its “territory,” in the large landscape of literacy work across the institution.

This development and distribution of “remedial” literacy work is shaped, as is the development of Writing Studies, by broader trends in the university system. As neoliberal reforms take hold, notions of the social good of university education are increasingly marginalized; while the increase in literacy work is a response to on-the-ground need felt by instructors dealing with a more diverse student population than ever before, the notion of “standards” has new force in a sector increasingly subject to accountability and efficiency drives. Such pressures do not simply originate with the greatest reforms in the 1980s, but can be sensed much earlier, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. For example, as technical colleges develop in the 1960s, there is some thought given to making them like “junior colleges” in the United States, with a general education purpose as well as more vocational aims – this does not eventuate, leaving some notional burden of general education on the university. Various writers in the *University News* or *Gazette*, including Keith Sinclair, are concerned with the impact on this general educational role of increasingly specialized staff, even as research capacity grows. University Extension is developed in the 1960s, along with adult education programs run out of secondary schools. (Eventually the Department of University Extension becomes the Center for Continuing Education, as if to emphasize the division between university work and adult education. The history of university extension is a fascinating one in itself, but for our purposes here perhaps it is enough to say that its development indicates that the conversation about the general education of all university students is at least partly displaced onto a kind of division between specialized degree courses and initiatives elsewhere for educating the community.) The New Start programme, for students over the age of 25, begins in 1977. However, arguments in favor of the university as a training ground for professionals are prominent, too. A submission to the Advisory Council on Educational Planning discussing the purpose of the university, by

several professors, and reproduced in a volume of the *News*, hierarchises the duties of a scholar in the university as “to his branch of learning, to his students, and to society outside the university – in that order of importance,” and the teaching mission is then categorized as the training of professionals (*University News*, September 1973, 5). A piece called “Graduate Supply and Demand” from 1974 surveys the occupations of graduates, drawing on students from Victoria University, and concludes that:

understandably enough, employers will tend to seek those graduates whose skills can be immediately and profitably utilised. If anything, employers will tend to look on the university system as being another facet of vocational training. ...the majority of graduates work in occupations to which their degrees are relevant and ... in a broad sense, the idea of a person with general university education using his broad knowledge is not a realistic concept for New Zealand.” (*University News* August 1974, 35)

The chairman of the University Grants Committee, David Hall, in a speech to a graduation ceremony in 1986, makes reference to an OECD report on “The Role and Functions of Universities,” and remarks that much of what the report says is hard to apply to New Zealand universities, implying that these institutions have always been interested in professional education, in applied knowledge and research, in interaction with society, and in catering to a diverse population of students – the degree to which they have to adapt to current conditions is perhaps less, then, than more traditional institutions overseas (*University News*, May/June 1986, 8–9). The current challenge of reduced public funding combined with public demands for “accountability” and “relevance” is one shared by New Zealand institutions, however – Hall notes the increasing demand for universities to respond to national employment needs with more specialized and technical education, from students, government, and the public.

The 1988 Report on Post-Compulsory Education and Training, known as the Hawke Report, established key priorities for reform of the tertiary education sector. The implications of neoliberal reforms will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but for the moment

it is necessary to sketch the broad framework outlined in the report: a higher degree of private investment in PCET (Hawke, 8), namely a system of fees and student loans, and a more economically “efficient” sector characterized by increased competition (24); increased accountability and performance monitoring accompanied by decentralization of control of provision of education to institutions, and an emphasis on developing research capacity (12, 17); and a blurring of the distinction between “education” and “training” (14), with the notion of “lifelong” (16) learning emerging to characterize the individual’s responsibility to retrain to meet the demands of the market. Government remains partly responsible for the pursuit of “equity” in the sector (18), with particular reference to access for Māori and Pacific peoples, and while there is some concern for eventual pressure on public funds, there is resistance to any system governed by “barriers” on the grounds of “intellectual ability” (11), because the sector should be responsive to student demand: “Open entry is largely a myth, but there is still a sense in which young New Zealanders with modest school records or anybody over 21 can expect to try some university education. This is worth preserving ...” (38) This report crystallizes the trend wherein the notion of accountability for public funding takes on greater force, and the notion of the social good in a broad public sense retreats into the background.

These priorities of competition and efficiency dominated the sector in the 1990s and into the new century. Two other policy developments in the last ten years are important to mention. The Performance-Based Research Fund was introduced in 2003, to allocate funding based on “research productivity.” The scheme is intended to increase research “quality” in the sector. Academic staff at participating tertiary organizations are rated on research “output” to produce an aggregate score of the institution’s research quality, which is combined with a score based on the number of completed research degrees and another based on the amount of external research

income, to calculate the allocation from the research fund for the institution. The quality evaluations take place every six years, although initially there was one in 2003 and another in 2006 – the next takes place in 2012.

The second policy change of note is the move away from funding based on the actual number of EFTS (equivalent full-time students). While institutions have for many years been funded according to the number of students they attract (i.e. more students equals more funding), in 2008 funding arrangements changed so that only a limited number of undergraduate EFTS were funded, in order to direct more of what has become limited government funding towards post-graduate research degrees. This prompted several institutions, including the University of Auckland, to cap enrolments, so as to reduce the numbers of students being taught but not being government-subsidized (what is known as “over-delivery”). This capping applied even to courses such as arts and sciences that had always been “open entry” – that is, prior to the introduction of capping, if a student met relatively minimal entry requirements, or if the student was aged over 20 with or without meeting the entrance qualification, entry was assured. A number of other policies that look towards restricting access – in the name of improving “quality” – in the university sector are also under consideration by the current government, which is committed to not increasing spending on the tertiary sector.

With this overview of the university climate, both broadly and in relation to literacy, we can now turn to examine the genesis of the Writing Studies program within the English Department. While the department seems to have long had an interest in student writing, and develops a kind of writing skills infrastructure – more developmental than remedial – some time before there are writing courses, the Writing Studies program develops in some ways by chance,

much according to the drive and inclinations of individual staff members, and as a way to position the English Department within the larger institution.

The English Department annual reports that I draw on here offer a detailed history of writing initiatives in the department. From the earliest available report, enrolments are increasing: the numbers of Auckland internal students at Stage One, for example, are 467 full-time students and 164 part-time in 1964, 587/153 in 1966, 666/224 in 1968, and 675/177 in 1970. In the 1960s, classes in “English for everyday use” and “critical reading” are part of the university extension program. In 1967, the Department Head, Musgrove, writes: “The problems of the “megaversity” are not yet with us, but they can be seen looming up in the not too distant future. In 1967, reckoning essay works, exercises, and degree papers, the English Department handled approximately 10,000 pieces of written work. Individual attention is somewhat difficult under the circumstances” (Annual Report 1967, 2). The position of “tutor” is created that year to strengthen staff capability in relation to the first-year tutorials.

Other departments in the university offer us some perspective on issues of student work at this time. The movement in the early 1970s to a “paper” system – that is, a system where students can choose units of study in a more flexible way – means increasing abandonment of a “core” to programs of study (see the History Department Annual Report for 1974, for example). In the History Department Report for 1976–1977, then head of department Nicholas Tarling cites his thirty years’ teaching experience in reflecting on the improved pass rates in his discipline, for example, from 64% at Stage I in 1954 to above 80% in 1977:

The great increase in the proportion of full-time students is a major factor. In my opinion we do not get so many barely literate students as we used to. The students work harder. They are evenly divided into small tutorials (of about twelve students) and their work is more highly organized than it used to be. They have the regular spur of coursework counting for 40% of the final mark. (The first-year students have to write two essays and a test.) The library has improved beyond belief and on many topics there are multiple

copies of key texts. We also duplicate key articles. Thus the students' reading is directed to the essential literature more accurately than used to be possible. These seem to be some of the relevant factors in the improved performance of students. I have never felt, in reading exams, that our standards have slipped. There is, however, more *coaching* by tutors than used to be acceptable. (1, emphasis in original)

Eventually, in 1982, the History Department introduces essay-writing tutorials and considers ways to address students' "general historical knowledge," which is seen to be lacking and not addressed through the plethora of "options." In 1977, the Higher Education Research Office proposes that "study-skills programmes" might be offered, had it more resources. In 1979 HERO develops "a test of functional literacy" and offers a study-skills course (see John Jones, "Writing, Setting, and Marking Essays" from this year).

In 1980, the English Department report discusses increase in enrolments, "especially at Stage 1," and tutor Gabrielle Hildreth gives a staff seminar on "Freshman English in North America." As reported in detail in the *University News*, she visited a number of American universities to investigate the teaching of composition and was impressed by what she found, in terms of the staff/student ratio, teacher training, emphasis on coursework rather than examinations, and the degree to which the teaching is not remedial – to the extent that there are upper-level courses in some places (*University News* May 1980, 15–16). Hildreth considered it unlikely, without the hiring of specialist staff, that similar courses could be instituted at Auckland, but there is the possibility of initiatives outside the departments to respond to "the problems of organized writing which all departments lament in Auckland" (16).

Tutorial size rises in 1981 to 25 in the first year after an increase in 1980 enrolments. The 1981 annual report mentions that "as a result of discussion in 1981 a study skills workshop has been set up by the Stage I tutorial staff. It is hoped that this will help students of English for whom English is a second language." A creative writing class is offered for the first time in

1982. But the problem of class size does not go away: D. I. B. Smith, head of department, writes in the 1988 annual report: “The large and increasing numbers at Stage I have put a great strain on the tutorial system, with tutorial size this year edging toward 25, hardly a *tutorial* in the accepted sense. With an average class size of 45 at Stage III spread over 15 courses, we are graduating a large number of students who have *never* had the advantage of small class teaching” (11, emphasis in original). In the late 1970s and early 80s, then, a number of developments in writing instruction occur: creative writing courses, study-skills initiatives, and testing for speakers of English as a second language. A Diploma of English Language Teaching is introduced in 1987. In addition, research into higher education and the evaluation of teaching at that level becomes more widespread, and administrative work expands – most wittily remarked upon in the 1977 report’s discussion of “the University’s endemic mania for writing to itself” (1).

In the late 1980s, attention to student writing in the English Department becomes even more focused. In 1989, the annual report states that: “A longstanding concern of the Department (and indeed of the University at large) has been the standard of written expression in students. We are considering dedicating a special tutor to deal with this problem. Meanwhile the Department has set up a committee to consider the whole matter of writing standards and difficulties” (1). In 1991, a paper (a course, in New Zealand terminology) emphasizing “language and writing skills” is proposed for the new Tamaki campus, which is taught in 1994 as English Writing for Academic Purposes: the 1993 report describes this course as one that “examines texts used in academic settings, and different styles of writing” (1). Lisa Emerson writes of English Writing for Academic Purposes, drawing on communication with Donna Starks, then the staff member in charge, that this paper “emerged not out of a concern or dissatisfaction with student writing skills, but out of a need on the part of the department to offer

a paper which would increase enrolments at the new campus, be attractive to a wide range of students, and distinguish the offerings of this particular campus from those of the main campus” (Emerson, 41). Framed as developmental rather than remedial, the course offered lectures on such topics as the writing process, invention, essay structure, research, citation and plagiarism, and key academic genres (Emerson 41–42). Starks’ account in Emerson’s work suggests the course was well-received:

Tutorials followed the structure of the lectures, giving students practice at writing different forms. The class was small in comparison to other generic writing papers taught at other universities in the country. In 1996 it comprised 80 students, allowing the lecturer to conduct research with the group, constantly eliciting feedback and assessment which enabled her to adjust the content and pedagogy. The paper coordinator also worked closely with academic staff to clarify the writing tasks students were likely to confront in all disciplines. Student evaluations were generally positive with 100% of students in one year agreeing that they were able to write faster and more effectively as a result of taking the paper. (Emerson, 42)

In 1993, a tutor is still devoted within the Department to assisting students with writing essays: “this year, [the tutor] continued to help students individually and in groups, ranging from Stage I to Stage III and the Diploma in English Language Teaching. She worked with at least two hundred students” (1994 Annual Report, n. pag.). In 1996 workshops on essay writing skills are introduced, as separate from tutorials that form part of courses, and in addition to individual consultation; these are described in the 1988 report as covering such topics as essay structure for expository and close analysis essays, exam preparation, grammar, and quotation. This is reported to be a very successful program, but has to be suspended in 2000 due to budget constraints. In 1997 the department produces a “Guide for Writing Essays.” In 1999, Film, Television, and Media Studies and Linguistics become separate academic centers, no longer part of English; this significant change ushers in a period of rethinking of the English curriculum and the department’s purpose. (FTVMS, with high numbers of ESOL students, goes on to establish

special ESOL tutorials and a writing support program of its own, particularly in relation to its hugely popular courses at Stage I, as part of “equity” programming.) In English, despite losing enrolment to FTVMS, staff: student ratios remain at high levels; the 1999 report notes that what was unacceptable in previous years is now acceptable, with ratios up to 1:18.7, and with the recommended limit being 1:20.

It is at this time that what will become the Writing Studies program begins in earnest. In 1999 the department proposes English 121 Reading, Writing, Text, to be taught by Roger Nicholson, along with a new form of the paper English Writing for Academic Purposes. (This latter paper moves with Linguistics when it becomes a separate department, and is thus not part of the English papers in the category of “Writing Studies,” although it is an option within the program offered in DALSL.) The 2000 report has this comment on the success of 121:

175.121 *Reading, Writing, Text*: not just a new paper, but an important new direction for English studies in the Department. The paper was devised by Mr Nicholson to develop competence in critical thinking and writing practice for students from all disciplines where writing plays a significant role. It emphasizes the link between analytical skills and writing competence, and also functions as an introduction to issues in textuality and aspects of critical theory. 122 students enrolled and close to 100 completed the course, with measurable improvements in competence and confidence, in general, and work of real distinction from some students. Student response to the course was enthusiastic, valuing both the training it offered and the small group style of teaching upon which the course depends. The Department intends building on this success to take the leading role in developing a writing programme in the Arts faculty.

In 2001 enrolments in 121 increase by over fifty percent, and from 2002 it is taught every semester; also for 2002, a more advanced paper, The Art of the Essay, is introduced. A proposal for the writing program continues to be developed, with courses planned for all levels and possible collaborations with Commerce, Computer Science, and Education – although it will take a number of years for the program to actually be approved. In the meantime, enrolments in writing courses continue to grow, and a graduate course called Rhetoric and Composition is

introduced by Roger Nicholson in 2002. In 2003 Writing for Professional Purposes is taught in an exploratory fashion in summer school, a literacy course is taught in the Faculty of Education, and Stephen Turner proposes English 257 Writing, Literacy, Argument for 2004, as a more advanced paper in “argument and textuality, especially in the communications of the public intellectual.” The New London Group is mentioned as an influence at this time; the annual reports make evident that the courses in writing are attracting students to the department, and small-group teaching in the form of twice-weekly tutorials is important. In 2006 Mark Amsler is appointed as Senior Lecturer in Writing Studies, and the proposal for the new Writing Studies major is approved by CUAP in 2007 and instituted in 2008, with FTVMS and DALSL contributing courses. 121 is offered as a “general education” course for the first time in 2006. Courses added since then at Stage Two and above include: From Rhetorics to Writing; Writing Theory into Practice; Writing and Culture; Writing, Literacy, Argument; Writing Technologies; Writing as Critical Discourse; and a number of creative writing courses. The current description of the major on the Department’s website is as follows:

You will study the theory and practice of writing, the role of language in written communication, and writing and culture. You will also develop your skills in writing across different genres. Stage I courses in Writing Studies are an opportunity for you to improve your writing practice. They also introduce you to ways of thinking about writing, both as text and performance. From Stage II you will focus on either cultural literacy or creative writing. (University of Auckland, “Writing Studies”)

Roger Nicholson was instrumental in beginning the program at Auckland, and tells the convoluted story of its origins. When the English Writing for Academic Purposes course was brought from the Tamaki campus back into the main campus, where it went to Linguistics, and after unsuccessful attempts to couple it with the English Department, Nicholson says, “English decided to do its own thing. And that was when – and I don’t recall *offering* to do this, but I wasn’t hostile to it [...] – so following certain leads of [Brian Opie’s] and what leads I could get,

and with the Department's support, I started investigating what happens in the North American scene, to see what could be developed here" (Nicholson, personal interview). Nicholson toured a number of North American campuses, and was drawn to Gail Stygall's 1999 textbook *Academic Discourse: Readings for Argument and Analysis*, a book which appears broadly affiliated with Bartholomae and Petrosky's *Ways of Reading*. This kind of approach appealed to Nicholson's desire to not have the writing course be a "basic writing/skills" course (in part to distinguish it from the EAP course and to appeal to English Department academic staff), but in gathering a set of readings, he looked for pieces that were of more local relevance, and at least some that were shorter and less demanding, to cater to non-majors and ESOL students. He designed a sequence based more on the modes of writing than on the kind described in the paratextual elements in *Ways of Reading*; such paratextual elements never made it into the Auckland course reader.

Nicholson argues that it could never have been well-planned – the "history of [teaching] writing in this country has been haphazard, to say the least – developments have been random" (Nicholson, personal interview) – but from the beginning of planning the first-year course at Auckland, it was envisaged as part of a set of courses that would include upper-level offerings. Accounts of the program's history, then, make evident the desire and the need (in terms of institutional success and survival) to articulate the work of writing instruction as a specialized, disciplinary enterprise – and yet these accounts also make evident connections, particularly at first-year, to this teaching as a civic project. The graduate course was the first course instituted after 121, with a view towards training tutors to teach in the first-year course; other courses soon followed, developed along faculty interests, such as Stephen Turner's in cultural studies. Nicholson says:

We introduced something like eight or ten courses ... a hell of a lot of energy went into it really ... At a certain point we tried to think about what this should all look like and in

particular what central courses we would need if students were going to claim they had a concentration in Writing Studies, or as eventually it happened, a major. And suddenly that placed the whole thing under strain, as we were expected to put on courses that didn't come out of interest but out of the needs of the program. (Nicholson, personal interview)

Staffing was always a challenge, and when a staff member would develop a new course, an older course would sometimes be unable to run; as Nicholson points out, none of the academic staff are solely teaching in Writing Studies. In this manner, well-loved courses like *The Art of the Essay* fell away.

But the notion of the connection between 121 and upper-level work meant that the first-year course never fell into being simply a “skills” course, although that work has always been an important dimension of the course – as Nicholson says, “[121 has] always had to be taught with a view to producing students who would be interested in writing at advanced levels” (Nicholson personal interview). It is likely that the “skills” resonance had some part to play in Nicholson managing to convince the Faculty for more teaching resources: “when we began, at my insistence, we had two tutorials ... I was persuaded by the American campuses I visited that [the standard one tutorial/two lectures] was never going to be an adequate way of teaching. We did bring in the second tutorial and emphasized that as the work space” (Nicholson personal interview). The struggle to convince the university at large of Writing Studies’ validity has not been easy, however, as a recent review’s threat to absorb it back into English suggests. Nicholson has not lost all hope: “if we had support, then the possibility of making clear the distinctive character of this bunch of courses, going from 121 to Stage Three, would become more evident. I do think if it survives this current attack, then it eventually will happen... I do think our instincts were right – to make it intellectually serious, in discipline terms” (Nicholson, personal interview).

For Mark Amsler, the most recent hire, the answer to the question of what the program teaches is “reasoning, argument, and textuality” – a kind of “textual studies” as an alternative English major, with “a commitment to doing theory in the humanities sense” (Amsler, personal interview). Amsler notes some of the challenges in instituting a writing program in New Zealand, in comparison to the American context: a more cumbersome bureaucracy around curricular change; no obvious tradition of teaching writing; instrumental assumptions about writing; and a customary focus on end-products and exams, and a suspicion of “coaching” and thus of scaffolding work that might be embedded in a course. In light of the recent review proposing the folding of Writing Studies back into the English major, Amsler believes the university’s new emphasis on post-graduate research, as part of the Strategic Plan, “is fundamentally undermining the whole point, to me, of a Writing Studies major, and puts us in the position of becoming even more instrumentalized, which I think is going to be an ongoing battle” (Amsler, personal interview).

Stephen Turner, who was convening 121 during my research trip to Auckland, hopes that Writing Studies remains an independent major: he understands it as “a part of the English Department that actually thinks about what English is, and if it was returned to English that kind of energy and invention, which has led to the development of a lot of new courses, would ... dissipate” (Turner, personal interview). For Turner, 121 involves attention to “construction,” not “composition”:

The idea of construction to me is more environmental and ecological, I think, and it’s not simply about a kind of writing that we’re attempting to get students to master in a certain situation. It’s about thinking about the kind of situation they are actually in, so that the idea of 121, then, is broader, and the teaching is more, in this regard, holistic and experiential, and embodied, and vernacular... The setting that one is in is something that is at stake in 121, so that you teach the university, apart from anything else. And you teach the university to students who spend a good part of their lives not in the university but in other kinds of environments, and you make that part of the interest of 121 for the

students in it. [Those] worlds that they live in are constructed worlds, designed, and shot through with narrative and codes ... and the idea of the course is to get students to think about those worlds with a view to understanding their conceivable agency in them, that they are intervening in these worlds the whole time because they're constructing, they're designing, they're not just living in worlds that are given to them. This is especially obvious in digital worlds ... When I think about 121 in this way, as sort of a theory of construction, which is sort of a holistic philosophy, and a kind of up-building a student in order to give them a sense of their capacity to participate in their built environments, and then I think about the method as being a vernacularisation, it seems to me that this separates out Writing Studies, it makes it much broader, it encompasses a lot more than simply academic writing ... and separates it out from English by separating out what we're doing as attention to design, as opposed to attention to the aesthetic attributes or qualities of a given text ... If you attend to code [...] writing has to concern itself with the setting. ... Reading and writing in these technologised environments, the reflexivity can't stop with the text-object; language about language isn't enough, when you're reading ... a text on a website, language about language ... becomes that whole setting in which that communicative act is operating or being mobilised. (Turner, personal interview)

For Turner, while the course's larger assignments (the narrative, analysis, argument sequence) remain responsive to university imperatives to teach certain sorts of skills, the smaller assignments (including exercises in visualizing, versioning, and blogging) contain "the seeds of the kind of creative performative work that we want Writing Studies students to be doing, which includes this element of not just creating something, but creating something that contains a kind of reflection on the world around them" (Turner, personal interview). Creative assignments are more possible at later levels, such as in Turner's Writing Technologies course at Stage Three. Turner argues that ultimately Writing Studies looks to have students develop a disposition or set of values, looking beyond critique (and the university's notion of "critical thinking") to critical re-construction, with "society at stake." And this work is explicitly located in, shaped by, oriented to the site of teaching:

I don't make any excuses for what we're doing any more – I know there are really large classes, I know that there's a lack of funding, I know that there's a lack of understanding about what I think is going on in 121, but that's just the place that it is, and if you teach the setting, you are the setting that you're also teaching. And it's not a kind of making-do – it's a case of making the setting that you're in an object of your own intervention and reimagining. So this is what we have to work with, this kind of place, this kind of space,

this number of students, this amount of funding and so on, and you think, what can I do with that, and you can't – this is a problem of theory – have a fantasy about in another world, it would look like this. (Turner, personal interview)

Macmillan Brown's intensive teaching methods were something of an object of wonder in his own time, and perhaps seem unimaginable today. Auckland has managed to secure increased tutorial time for its first-year course, but in many ways, because of relatively strained resources, the teaching of writing at Auckland challenges U.S. notions of writing instruction at a fundamental level: it is not as writing intensive, nor student-writing centered, nor based around a small writing community. There are no regular conferences with students, no policy of trying to start from "where students are," and little substantial class time grounded in micro-practices or micro-choices at the level of the sentence. Yet it is as invested in complex notions of public argument and textuality as an American writing program might be. The "writing studies" model has allowed the development of a range of courses in rhetorical theory, public argument, and new media. There is still a strong "academic writing" strand in the first-year course, even as "the academic" becomes one site in a broad awareness of text types, and a flexible one at that.

Why, then, do I claim student literacy and its history as central to composition studies in New Zealand, when the program at Auckland suggests we do not have to? I am concerned that without it, we lose leverage, or make leverage more complicated, if we are trying to devote more resources to student writing (and in part this may well be to address issues of access and equity). With the development of "writing studies" as the dominant formation, the evident public purpose of first-year writing in the U.S. as an access/equity project may become less feasible in New Zealand, even as a complex notion of *public writing* emerges in courses like 121's wide-ranging readings and experiments with form. Like Macmillan Brown's experiments with form, this offers students a sense of their capacity to choose modes and opportunities to write, in a way that seems

only appropriate. I argue, however, that if we want to claim Macmillan Brown's public project as our own, attention to pedagogical practices and resources must be at the forefront of a New Zealand composition studies, even as we admire innovation within constraints. And his version of the public project of teaching English – not only to have students writing in the wider world, but with a thoughtful relation between academic, public, and professional work – is something in which we should be interested.

To elaborate, I want to discuss some samples of student reflections on the 121 course – all of which I have permission to use in my work – in order to think through some of the possibilities of a “writing studies” model for New Zealand composition studies, and its relationships to the kinds of public or civic purposes for writing instruction that I have been interested in throughout this chapter. There is no such thing as a “representative” comment of this kind, but even without the possibility of generalization in that way, this student writing points to some of the tensions visible in the teaching of first-year writing at Auckland. One English 121 student writes:

My highlight is the feedbacks I get, for me it's a self-assessment so I can evaluate the level of my performance, from area that I did well on and to maintain it, to where I need to work on for improvement. Getting opinions about my writings is the best thing because I got to develop my confidence in writing and speaking English daily and to give up my greatest fear of shy; that people may not care about what I get to say and write. At the end English 121 is my key to the mysterious world of reading and writing in English.

This passage is a little heart-wrenching, to be sure, but I am most interested in the multiple definitions of literacy that are circulating within it. Most obvious is the way the compartmentalizing discourse of assessment pervades this student's understanding of her literacy: the vocabulary is one of “feedback,” “self-assessment,” “evaluate the level of ... performance,” “maintaining” the “areas” done “well” and “working on” the “improvement” of others. Submerged under this language is a greater question this student is struggling with: who

is she to speak, to write, to expect to be heard. As powerful as that assessment thinking is, then, there is a sense that in the writing course she feels “heard” – and even, with the last sentence, alert to a “world of reading and writing in English,” something larger than academic success or individual voice, indeed something so beyond that compartmentalizing discourse as to be “mysterious.” In a way I think this captures some of the potential of composition studies in New Zealand – a kind of teaching that offers substantive feedback that is more than a discourse of assessment, but looks towards civic participation.

Indeed, in responses to my survey of approximately 100 students enrolled in English 121, the perceived benefits of a course like 121 were described by students as everything from academic, artistic, and professional, to critical, civic, and personal, and students’ curiosity about varieties of texts, media, and genres they had not yet encountered, and their questions about the nature of language and the purpose of English studies, all point to the scope of Writing Studies and its capacity to reinvigorate work in English, for a very diverse student population – many of whom use English as an additional language and/or are first-generation university students in their families. I surveyed students across several tutorial groups, and 64 students returned the form, which constitutes approximately one-fifth of the total number of students enrolled that semester. Thirty-one students (48.5%) were aged 18 or under; 21 students (32.8%) were aged 19 to 21; 12 students (18.7%) were aged 22 or older. Forty-four students (68.7%) were in their first year of university education, 14 (21.9%) in their second year, and 6 (9.4%) in their third or fourth year. Twenty-three students (35.9%) did not have a parent who attended university, while 41 (64.1%) had at least one parent who attended university. It was not a specific question, but four students mentioned that English was a second language at some point in the survey; I would

estimate the number of students for whom English was a second language is significantly higher than this figure.

Other survey questions revealed a heavy emphasis on essay structure/form in students' previous instruction in writing, with little accompanying emphasis on intellectual or critical purpose. One survey question asked students to describe any rules, models, or methods of essay writing they had been taught prior to this class. The most common answer, mentioned by 19 students, was the "SEX/Y" model, i.e. "Statement, Explanation, eXample + analYsis/Your opinion"; 18 students mentioned the "introduction, body, conclusion" format. Twelve students mentioned the idea of topic sentences and one topic per paragraph. Other rules/models/methods mentioned by several students included: transitions; focus/no digression; "structure"; thesis statements; and the hamburger or sandwich method, i.e. introduction, three "fillings," and a conclusion (a kind of "five-paragraph theme" but an even thinner model). Answers from individual students included: comparison/contrast; "beginning, middle, and end"; short and simple sentences; factual, structural, and interpersonal; conclusion reiterates introduction; argue both sides of topic; PEEL, i.e. point, explanation, example, link-to-task; TEXT, i.e. topic sentence, example, explanation, tie-up-sentence; five paragraphs; and no personal pronouns. Six students said that they had never been taught any rules/methods/models. I also asked students to describe "how" essay writing was taught, that is, with what classroom activities or exercises. A number of students referred back to the previous question, i.e. the rules/methods/models question. Those who did answer differently listed the following: sample/model essays/plans/templates (13 students); practice drafts with feedback (13 students); ordering/deconstructing paragraphs (5 students); peer review (4 students); freewriting (3

students); learning the different modes (description, explanation, argument); mind-mapping; and feedback on plans/outlines.

A much broader range of investments in writing instruction was evident in responses to the last questions on the survey, which asked students about the perceived benefits of 121, in addition to helping students succeed at university, and about students' personal goals for and anticipated difficulties with the course. Across those two questions, common answers included the following: preparation for other subjects, such as law (16 students); improvement in academic/essay writing (15 students); improvement in creative writing (11 students); preparation for workplace writing or careers such as English teaching or journalism (9 students); improved confidence in writing (6 students); critical reading/thinking/analysis (6 students); work with sentence structure and grammar (6 students); improved skill at or understanding of "formal" writing (5 students); improve English, as English is a second language (4 students); self-expression/developing a point of view (4 students); exposure to new genres (4 students). Other answers mentioned by one or two students included: logical thinking, skills of persuasion, enjoyment of writing, skill at invention, style, referencing, and vocabulary. Some of the most provocative answers included:

"to understand different forms of writing, different texts, how to use those texts to target specific audiences. Also how to write in a more critical and focused way. To learn more about writing itself"

"writing is about searching and understanding yourself and your life. That's what I want to achieve in 121"

"a gateway for students to find out what type of writer they are, or if writing is even for them"

"to explore what is the point of studying literature in the first place, which is never/should be discussed in high school, which would actually motivate students to study English!"

I want to point out, however, that despite the impressive scope of the course and the possibilities its students see in this work, many questions of pedagogical practice remain, and

there are challenges with this teaching of which English 121 teachers are well aware. One student captured some of the limitations that institutional conditions present:

I feel that English 121 has not resulted in my writing developing in a way that corresponded to the aims of the course. I found the constant emphasis on technical terms, and the method of reducing a text to “codes and conventions,” conflicting with my own way of writing and reading. As a result I often felt frustrated and that my writing was being confined. The section of the course I found most helpful was the argument essay; here for the first time I did feel a sense of development. The essay had to go through several drafts – unusually for me – to reconcile the way I wanted to write it with what was actually required.

As a writing course with a large student population and a lecture/tutorial format, 121 faces certain challenges to which this student alludes. The lecture necessitates a degree of abstraction – the “technical terms,” such as “intertextuality,” for example – that can be difficult to reconcile with the student-centered discussion in tutorials. While all of the “terms” are useful, it seems hard to establish these “terms” as opaque, flexible, intellectually rich (even though they of course are) *because* of their very nature as *terms* in a lecture; they can seem stable for students, items to be learned (or even to rename existing practices) rather than aspects of writing that might be the subject of student-directed *investigation* in a course. Auckland tutors are also too time-poor to make substantive revision assignments feasible, as much as course convenors would like this to be part of students’ work. How to make the wide range of theoretical interests of the course cohere with intensive work on student writing remains a challenge.

Both the efforts of teachers in 121 and the challenges they face need to be situated in the context of the dynamics of undergraduate education in the university at large. Some of the most recent discussion of student literacy in the university acknowledges that the quality of undergraduate education has not been the research institution’s first priority, even as it is obviously difficult to think outside the “research-based teaching” doctrine. As the various reviews and reports I discuss below indicate, “general education” emerges as a kind of response

to the problem of the undergraduate's narrow education, and by extension some of the concerns with student literacy – with the tightening of entry standards still haunting the conversation. Here, we see some institutional recognition that intellectual work and not “skills” is the issue in relation to student language and writing, and an effort to differentiate this as an issue from concerns with students learning English as an additional language. However, when funding mechanisms change, institutional priorities shift again to post-graduate students, and equity concerns appear to be heading down a path of increasing subordination to other institutional priorities. Within this framework, the concern with a graduate's breadth of education – which may ultimately be imagined as a mark of an élite education, rather than something having civic value – again registers as less important than specialized post-graduate work.

The Report of the Curriculum Commission (University of Auckland, 2002) offers a useful summary of attitudes towards undergraduate education in the university. It was as a result of this report – which recommended four courses outside the major as a general education requirement – that a two-course general education requirement was instituted for undergraduate degrees in 2006. As the Report states, while in the 1990s there was a significant increase in the number of students involved in tertiary education in New Zealand – from 20.5% of people aged 18 to 24 in 1990 to 32.9% in 2000 – there was not a corresponding increase in the participation rates of Māori and Pasifika students, despite these students constituting an increasing proportion of school leavers (7). These students' relative lack of competitive school-leaving qualifications as a group, in conjunction with the increase of young people in the Māori, Pasifika, and Asian population, and a general weakening of preparation for university study as a result of changes to the qualifications framework, lead the committee to conclude that students will be entering the university increasingly underprepared (7). The committee acknowledges the neglect of

undergraduate education in many research universities, and the problems facing institutions where professional education starts early – as in New Zealand universities – when they seek to have their students acquire a broad education, as well as a specialized one (8). Somewhat amusingly, although the report states that “universities in New Zealand have a legislative responsibility to engage in research-based teaching” (11), neither employers nor students, as surveyed by the committee, initially expressed much interest in having undergraduate education be more research-oriented (12). The more explicit concern was apparently with the nature of teaching:

Students come to The University of Auckland expecting to receive a rigorous education. Anecdotally, some are disappointed with a first year in which they sit in large lecture rooms taking notes from a prepared lecture, to be learnt and repeated in an examination. This impression is also supported by the aforementioned survey, which found that student perception of the University changed after their first year. (12)

In a section entitled “Responses to Interim Report,” anonymous comments discuss support for a general education initiative, and link this initiative specifically to writing skills – but critique is offered of the four-course requirement as being too time-consuming in the context of the demands of professional degrees, and attention to “reading” as well as “writing,” i.e. “literacy,” is deemed important (12). The critiques of the proposal include the idea that general education is important but not the responsibility of a “research-led University,” and the idea that while science students’ literacy is a key concern, it should be improved via stricter entry requirements rather than through coursework.

Referencing the emphasis on the undergraduate core curriculum in American universities since the 1998 Report of the Boyer Commission on Educating Undergraduates in the Research University, and in particular the emphasis on “enquiry-based learning” rather than regurgitation of content, the committee

came strongly to the view, when it considered data indicating a substantial proliferation of degrees, qualifications and specialisms in the University over the past decade, that many of our undergraduate students are receiving too narrow an education, and that the principles underlying the University's commitment in the past to a broadly based education (on which and alongside which specialist and professional knowledge and skills are built) have become eroded. In no other aspect of the University's curriculum is the *gap* likely to be so apparent between the professed aims of its Graduate Profile and the actual outcomes for many students. (21–22, emphasis in original)

In addition to educational concerns, the general education requirements are proposed to give Auckland a distinctive identity among New Zealand universities (12). And, crucially for my purposes, student and employer enthusiasm on the prospect of general education is largely concerned with communication skills (13). Options such as a general education year or even a general degree prior to a professional qualification were seen as too likely to affect enrolment adversely to be feasible, hence the recommendation of four general education courses (23–24).

The Report indicates some of the challenges in persuading others of this idea:

In its Interim Report the Commission suggested that there be five broadly defined areas and that there might be an overarching theme to these areas which would ensure the relevance of the courses to New Zealand. Not surprisingly the areas and the theme attracted considerable attention and some criticism. In particular the components designated as 'Writing' and 'Mathematics and other Quantitative Studies' were construed as in some way being 'remedial'. This is not at all what the Commission had in mind. As with the other courses that might be included in General Education, these courses would be designed to challenge students and to meet the aspirations of the graduate profile. (24)

In particular, the literacy component is challenging, because articulating it depends on drawing a distinction between skills-oriented language initiatives like DELNA and a general education "communication" requirement. The Report acknowledges that students' "communication skills and literacy" have been the subject of intense debate, especially in the context of changing demographics, but it suggests teachers have always "bemoaned falling standards in these skills" (25). The pressing issue is how to build language and communication more substantially into the curriculum, given that the graduate profile "identifies, as a characteristic of The University of

Auckland graduate, the ability to access, identify, organise and communicate knowledge effectively in both written and spoken English and/or Māori, the two official languages of New Zealand” (25). This curricular change

needs to be a matter of ongoing address within all disciplines and throughout students' academic careers, and would be a primary aim of the General Education courses in communication. There might be some courses already in existence which fulfill such an aim. However, the rationale of the General Education programme requires courses which do more than simply teach skills. The Commission would hope that new interdisciplinary courses would be offered that would provide students with the opportunity to explore and reflect on the nature of language and communication and their use. [...] In general the emphasis of the Commission in proposing General Education has been less on the acquisition of discrete sets of 'skills' (this 'training' model is more appropriate to the valuable work of polytechnics), than on development of the intellectual capacity to analyse, interpret, synthesise, discriminate, and on the capacity for independent, self-motivated, enquiry-based learning. Undergraduate students who have imbibed the values, and something of the range of innovative knowledge, of the research university, play a key role in the transmission of those values and knowledge to society as a whole. (25)

The report proposes limits on admission, given resource constraints, in all faculties (with a number already having limited entry), and by extension a more elaborate American-style admissions process post-2005 and the introduction of NCEA (43–44).

This increased attention to a well-rounded graduate, and the “transmission” of university values to “society as a whole,” might seem promising for a civic-minded writing studies, or at least 121 – especially as it does not only reference writing in the disciplines, but advocates for general writing courses. However, other institutional forces insist that undergraduate education is becoming more exclusive, and research-oriented. Reflecting changes in funding priorities, in the University of Auckland’s *Strategic Plan 2005–2012*, which was confirmed in 2006, there is a noticeable shift from the general term “student” to “students of ability.” Given that the first priority of the *Strategic Plan* is to increase the university’s “international standing” – by which tautology one can declare oneself a “world-class” institution – and as the *Plan* itself points out, “staff: student ratios” and “the quality of student intake” and “investment per student” are criteria

upon which international rankings depend, a smaller and more élite undergraduate population is clearly desirable (2–3). This single amendment seems telling:

The Strategic Plan 2005-2012 was reviewed in mid-2006 and was endorsed by Council on 21 August 2006 with one amendment. Objective 13, which originally read ‘Recruit and retain a high-quality staff and student body that draws upon the widest possible pool of talent’, has now been re-worded as follows: ‘Recruit and retain a high-quality staff and student body, striving to create equal opportunities for all those of ability to succeed in a university of high international standing’. (1)

It seems, then, the “widest possible pool” is actually only as wide as international standing dictates, and “high international standing” means, to an extent, the opposite of “equal opportunities”; the former is obviously the privileged term. Hugh Fletcher, University of Auckland Chancellor, writing in the *2007 Annual Report* of the necessity of restricted enrolment at undergraduate level, phrases it this way:

It was thus disappointing to see, in the debate on this issue towards the end of 2007, the argument that having an “elite” university is somehow a bad thing. To the contrary, every one of the world’s leading universities restricts entry to its programmes, and from 2009 The University of Auckland will be no exception. However, as a university that seeks to serve New Zealand by taking its place among the best in the world, Auckland will be highly motivated to attract able students wherever they are, and whatever their personal circumstances. In those programmes that already have restricted access, we operate successful schemes to assist students from underrepresented groups to enter the University and succeed in it. I am confident that we will be able to replicate that success as we move to limited entry for all programmes, and that excellence and equity need not be in conflict. (3)

The notion of “benchmarking” requires the university, then, to “address the issue of its ratio of undergraduate to postgraduate research students, and increase the number of academically excellent students enrolling in postgraduate programmes” (*Strategic Plan*, 3). While equity remains a concern, student “quality” becomes a key value, a kind of bizarre institutional economics that seems far removed from actual educational practices: “The ability to attract top quality students is a key issue for The University of Auckland and in any trade-off between quality and numbers, quality must always be the winner. That said, modest growth in

the size of the organisation provides financial flexibility that is not available to an organisation which is static or shrinking” (*Strategic Plan*, 5). In the same paragraph, the equity project is invoked even as it seems to slip under the prioritization of “quality,” as the *Plan* discusses predicted population growth in Auckland among “Māori, Pacific and Asian peoples”: “the continuation of growth among Māori and Pacific populations will constitute a challenge for this University as it seeks to recruit students with the potential to succeed from populations not previously enrolled and graduated in large numbers in the University” (*Strategic Plan*, 5). Even as writing studies looks to a civic project that is not a national one, the university as a local civic space seems increasingly constrained for its students. If a general education becomes the mark of an élite, well-rounded graduate, this puts some pressure on education in writing in 121 as a civic project – although we might trust that the teaching can always in some ways escape this logic, the notion of the university as an élite space only works against it. The space of 121, however, presents an important reframing of undergraduate education in this university, even as it presents teaching as an act where the nature of the university can be contested; the power of a civic imaginary for the work of university teaching continues. As Turner argues in a piece written with Sean Sturm in *Arena*, “The Idea of the University,” the response to the constraints of the neoliberal university must return teaching, and students, to the centre of university life; while academic econometrics seeks a “template student” to supply the “template university” with material, classroom talk escapes the logic of counting and performance evaluation, and rehabilitates some notion of the university’s civic work – “against the global citizenship of the neo-liberal university, with its flight from community.” Turner and Sturm conclude:

This community is a non-countable but real good, though it escapes the utility calculus of the U 2.0. It follows that our idea of the university makes the classroom central to education, a classroom that works Socratically, in an open-ended and open-eyed process of question and answer. Nor is the idea of the university itself exempt from this process.

Indeed, we think the ‘university’ is constituted by this process, so that a university can be said to operate wherever such talk takes place—not a transnational *floating* or *flying* university, but a local *face-to-face* university, a talking place (*wahi korero*). And the humanities are well placed to foster such talk. Such a place of talk can promote an open exchange *of* learning and *about* learning: it becomes, to recall Newman, a true place of education—not just academic, but civic education. This is how we think the university ought to work and how we teach. We certainly feel responsible for giving an account of teaching, but this isn’t the same as counting teaching objectives and outcomes. Teaching cannot be end-stopped—preset and calculated—in this way. If the design-drive enacted in the neo-liberal university is technocapitalist, it nonetheless unfolds, particularly in the classroom, in affective terms. Its outcomes, whatever its objectives, are neither calculable nor preset. And if technology mediates that design-drive, its remediation by academics and students can nevertheless serve to redesign—or redirect the design drive of—the neo-liberal university.

IV. Coda

As I have shown, pedagogical projects that we might align with “composition” were at the center of the colonial university at its beginning, could be found at its margins as the university matured and expanded, and now have emerged again in the context of rethinking the discipline or major in English in the university today. A sense of global competitiveness and a drive towards professional education have long been part of the university’s ethos, but recent neoliberal reforms have intensified this environment as education has increasingly been framed as a private good, in conjunction with political and social changes in the post-war years that have made evident the incoherence of the national public. “Writing studies” must now contend with notions of literacy skills that permeate the university, skills which many suppose should be addressed through a skills/standards infrastructure located outside of English. As the institution becomes more *élite*, the idea of English as a repository of culture may have more institutional cachet than the idea of English as a kind of outfitting for public life, even if that work is highly theoretical, and even if it explicitly takes up the technology so lauded in other areas of the university’s work. Perhaps a sense of an alternative teaching tradition can help to arrest the inclination towards

elitism – even as the nature of “the student,” as a kind of civic object of teaching, changes with each iteration of the university. Certainly amidst the ambitiousness of the “world-class” university, there is new urgency to examine and privilege local public argument and public life, in its interaction with global forces; if the new “breadth” in higher education is a marker of an élite cosmopolitan education, not a nation-oriented civic education, then the pedagogical work of questioning or reworking that cosmopolitanism in relation to the local becomes important – not as part of a new resistant nationalism but as a critical act. I would argue, too, that even if “composition” in the New Zealand university is not particularly tied to the old equity project of helping students who otherwise might not succeed, it can still expand the notion of literacy work within the university. One 121 student, in a final argument paper, articulates being caught between the insufficiency and the rigidity of “guidelines” for writing, and makes this plea for student writing to be seen beyond that framework:

We know what an academic essay consists of and the protocols that are operating, and fashion our own writing on this model. We are aware that a penalty could occur for using casual prose, or incorrect formatting. Consequently this causes us to stick to the guidelines, and less likely to experiment with style and approach. For each department, there are particular “Essay Writing Guides” that are presented to the students. For each department, the guidelines vary. It is simply not enough to know how to write a solid essay, you must know how to manipulate it. In the English Department’s “Essay Writing Guide,” it is stated that a well written essay should include “freshness of approach, elegant, lucid writing, and a sense of enthusiasm and engagement” (Dept. of Eng.). These so-called “ingredients” to a good essay are somewhat subjective, in the sense that even if followed exactly, there could be other aspects to the essay that have not been considered. Therefore the concept of having these “guidelines” is made redundant. There should be less emphasis on the way in which we go about writing these essays and more on the *who* is writing it. To succeed in the literal sense is not necessarily to achieve a good grade, but instead for the marker to recognize the unique voice within the piece.

Education research in writing began in earnest in New Zealand in the 1980s, alongside a crop of new courses in university English Departments and elsewhere; today, new courses are still emerging, often tied to majors in writing. As I have tried to argue, placing these

developments in a long pedagogical history offers a sharpened critique of the excesses of the neoliberal university; as the universities argue for more public investment, paid back by the institutions' contributions to key industries and the commercialization of research, we might look to a "history of composition" in New Zealand to ask questions about investment in the public itself, and the "quality" of undergraduate education. In this version of English studies, where teachers look to shape publicity through their students' work – work with changing technologies of print, radio, and digital media – composition is not a remedial project, but a civic, intellectual project.

One question for composition studies in New Zealand, going forward, then, may be how we can best have "writing studies" as a theoretical field, central to a reinvigorated English studies, but yet attend to student work in detail, with the resources we have – *and* how do we reconcile a commitment to working with academic writing in general and in the disciplines in particular with other projects concerned largely with rhetorical theory, public argument, and new media. Without a long history of the first-year general writing course as a kind of anchor and provider of resources for intensive teaching, as is the case in the U.S., a New Zealand composition studies seems both more flexible and more insecure. However, it seems conceivable that in developing first-year courses in New Zealand that are broad but not beholden to generally raise the standard of writing in the sort of impossible way the American course is, there is opportunity to get outside that narrow vision of literacy standards altogether – and perhaps even contribute to public discussions of literacy which sorely need complexity, as is evident in the recent discussion of university entrance requirements. These first-year courses – more integrated with public writing or writing in the disciplines from the beginning – might serve as the basis for a "writing studies" less unwieldy than its U.S. counterpart that so bothers Smit in *The End of*

Composition Studies. In this chapter, I have tried to establish some additional priorities, not least the connection of whatever versions of composition studies that develop here to a long history of teachers and teaching, and innovation despite constraints. This has been a significant strategy in American composition studies, which as we have seen even in Macmillan Brown's time was a productive foil for work in New Zealand. In naming this teaching and learning as part of composition studies' history, we define it in the present as not only an emerging area of scholarly work, but as another argument for valuing the public work of the university in this place.

3. **WRITING IN THE VIRTUAL UNIVERSITY: TOWARDS A “TRANSNATIONAL” COMPOSITION STUDIES**

In this chapter, I discuss the teaching of writing in several different national sites – the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand – to consider the value of thinking about the teaching of composition in “international” or “transnational” terms. Examining distinctive national instantiations of literacy education in the context of transnational imperatives linked to neoliberal university reform, I argue that attending to the various ways in which literacy instruction is positioned within the university enables crucial perspective on how composition’s civic functions can be articulated, although this has been somewhat neglected in “transnational” composition scholarship. I consider the *distribution* of literacy instruction as significant in itself; while diverse pedagogical projects proceed independently, their very independence raises questions about the university’s conflicting discourses and how composition might respond.

I begin by discussing some of the current scholarship concerned with “internationalizing” or “transnationalizing” the field of composition studies, in order to explain where I see my analysis diverging from current thinking. In “Internationalization and Composition Studies: Reorienting the Discourse,” Christiane Donahue questions the nature of the “internationalization” that she sees as currently an important trend within composition studies, acknowledging that this term encompasses a range of concerns from diversity within the U.S. college classroom to teaching and academic publishing practices taking place in world englishes or English around the globe. Donahue’s concern seems largely to lie with a kind of proprietary expertise – an “export” bias – projected from U.S. composition scholarship over writing instruction and writing research in other countries, a practice that simultaneously homogenizes the range of U.S. practices and “others” and simplifies traditions from other places (214). For

Donahue, “we need, essentially, to begin thinking about where our work fits in the world rather than where the world’s work fits into ours, and move beyond an “us-them” paradigm, in particular as it appears in “discovery of difference” scholarship” (214). She notes, “surely there are major embedded political, economic, and historical factors at work in each context. These will matter a great deal to those interested in understanding how writing is taught and why, in contexts around the globe, and how that might inform our own approaches rather than the other way around” (222).

These good-spirited injunctions are not so easily translated into practice. In the limited space she has, Donahue does not really delve into the scholarship that falls into her category of “teaching mother tongue writing in other countries”; she notes that writing center theory and pedagogy has been the site of most international exchange, because of the writing center’s relatively similar formation across national sites (as opposed to the actual university curriculum, which is much more subject to differences in national education systems) (220–223). Donahue takes particular issue with the common observation that in countries where there is no compulsory first-year course, writing is not taught; her own work, for example, has been to document different iterations of writing instruction in France. This dissertation takes for granted that writing is taught in sites other than the compulsory first-year course, but remains interested in the “general” orientation towards writing instruction represented by the first-year course, and its associations with both a democratic project involving access and equity, and a democratic project involving civic participation. I am interested to see what forms that project takes in other places, and to examine those forms in relation to the nature of the university.

Thus I take issue with some of Donahue’s central concerns in “internationalizing composition.” To crudely summarize her article’s imperatives, we – U.S. scholars – should not

be insular, as our teaching environments are not; we should not be merely colonial, exporting our expertise and/or “othering” work elsewhere; we need to be sensitive to contexts elsewhere, and rethink our own. I agree that it is a crucial question, how and why to “internationalize” the field – but this work has to better take into account the context Donahue raises at the beginning of her piece but does not really address, the context of the globalization of higher education. Much of the work in “internationalizing” the field, I would argue, at least in regard to teaching rather than research, has been concerned with how to respond to immediate classroom contexts in the globalized university, without significantly questioning how such contexts came about and what they mean for the work of the field overall, *or* it has been concerned with accruing examples of writing pedagogy from countries other than the U.S., pedagogical examples which are as deeply locally-embedded as any one might sample within the U.S. – and while these examples might be interesting in themselves, the question of what the consequences are for the field go unasked. That is to say, if we are doing something more than just cataloguing all the different iterations and strategies of writing classrooms and programs everywhere, what are we doing? And how is this a different project when its borders fall outside the U.S., given that there is enough diversity of programs and curricula within the U.S. to occupy any cataloguer forever? I do not argue the existing approaches are entirely without value – only that, in and of themselves, they do not allow us to better approach the real question at hand, or to argue that there is something important about “globalizing writing research,” as opposed to researching the determinedly local practices that characterize much composition instruction. Many existing approaches to “internationalizing” composition merely expand the number of institutional dimensions/contexts that composition as a field has to “address,” rather than considering composition as a curricular initiative in the context of globalization that might be as much creative and constructive, as

simply comprehensive. (Donahue's lament over the field's "gaps and skips" (231) and the lack of empirical and replicable studies – and thus of internationally "aggregable data" (230) – is telling here.) The question should not be, how is writing taught everywhere, but how should we teach writing in a globalized world?

That question has been better addressed in scholarship more often labeled as working to "transnationalize" the field, rather than internationalize it, for obvious reasons. For example, in "Importing Composition: Teaching and Researching Academic Writing beyond North America," Mary N. Muchiri and her collaborators establish some criteria by which a comparative investigation can proceed. With particular attention to their experiences as teachers in Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania and the United Kingdom, they discuss various features of U.S. composition that are not so taken for granted elsewhere. These include: what can be an individualistic positioning of students (where collaboration between students has to be actively encouraged, for example), in contrast to a sense of solidarity between students as a group and/against teachers as a group; the resources available to teachers and students, and how the lack of the funding or staffing that is available in the U.S. shapes the roles teachers take on and the writing students can produce; the sense of students' gradual development across time and an active approach to preventing student failure. Muchiri et al. also note that ideas about "novelty, evidence, discipline" (as conversation) (187), research, respect, authority, and the politicization of education all shift depending on national, historical, and institutional constraints. Canagarajah, in *A Geopolitics of Academic Writing*, has also argued that the material practices of academic writing differ across contexts and shape what comes to be valued in that writing, although he focuses more on research than on student work. All these scholars take an explicitly transnational rather than simply comparative approach – that is, an approach interested not in differences between discrete

national systems but in the interrelations between those systems, particularly the power differentials involved in the circulation of academic knowledge.

The work of theorizing the consequences for U.S. composition instruction of this “transnational” orientation has so far centered on rethinking the politics of language standards in an era of world englishes, and how composition instruction is implicated in such standards. In “English Only and U.S. College Composition,” for example, Horner and Trimbur locate the monolingualism of the teaching of writing in the U.S. in a history in which composition is distinguished from the study and teaching of modern languages, privileging and reifying standard English and thus supporting a sense of (a purified) national identity. They argue that this stance reappears in recent debates over English Only legislation, wherein distinctions between “the foreign and the native, the citizen and the immigrant” are reified (610). Horner and Trimbur argue that this debate intersects with those around the teaching of writing, because writing is held up as “the standard against which other usages of language are judged” (613) and similar reifications are common in relation to student writers. As well as arguing for valuing the heterogeneous and the contingent in writing practice, as a response to such reifications, Horner and Trimbur gesture toward the limits of a nationalist framework for teaching writing: “the task, as we see it, is to develop an internationalist perspective capable of understanding the study and teaching of written English in relation to other languages and to the dynamics of globalization” (624). Horner, Samantha NeCamp, and Donahue characterize the various challenges to “English monolingualism” within the field as

salutary in [their] challenges to using problematic language “standards” to exclude populations from postsecondary education or from mainstream college classrooms and in the directions to which it points in developing pedagogies that would better prepare students for writing in a world in which it is no longer clear that an Anglo-American elite “owns” English ... and in which there is greater traffic among languages and their users ... it is a movement that helps those of us who work “in” composition make the shift from

seeing composition primarily as located in, responding to, and having effects on only the U.S. sociopolitical scene to adopting a global perspective on our work. (“Toward a Multilingual Composition Scholarship,” 271)

This movement has pedagogical ramifications, of course. For example, taking up Horner and Trimbur’s concern with composition’s monolingualism in “The Place of World Englishes in Composition: Pluralization Continued,” Canagarajah looks towards developing transnational relationships through writing pedagogy by considering the place of world englishes in composition teaching. He discusses how world englishes currently enter into composition teaching in distinctly limited ways: in “literary” but not “serious” texts, for “informal” or “spoken” or “local” communication, not for “formal” or “written” or “international” production, and so on (594). Canagarajah argues that we should consider “English as a plural language that embodies multiple norms and standards” (589) and that varieties of English travel – they do not merely function in their place of origin (590). He contends that while movements such as CCCC’s Students’ Right to Their Own Language recognize the rights of national minorities, the rights of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities are not so noted – a situation which does not acknowledge the changing role of the now-“porous” nation-state in the context of globalization. Canagarajah presents code-meshing as an approach for pluralizing academic writing; the “translingual approach” offered by Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur, which I discuss in Chapter One, is another variation on this theme.

Less clearly articulated have been attempts to think about the work of composition instruction in terms of global politics beyond those of language use. For example, Wendy S. Hesford reviews the “global turn” in rhetoric and composition studies, mapping the various directions this scholarship has taken: this rather sprawling map includes work taking up such issues as the globalization of the university as an institution and its place in nationalistic

imperatives like “homeland security”; literacy, citizenship and identity; ideological critiques of language policies (explicit or tacit) or problematic multiculturalism or service-learning initiatives; interest in multilingualism/multiliteracies; problematizing ethnography as a methodology that privileges localism in the context of globalization, without necessarily acknowledging the intertwining of global and local; or studying transnational, often activist, publics (a concern shared with scholars in other disciplines). Other work Hesford mentions seems less directly relevant – trying to cast work addressing spatial metaphors for disciplinarity into the frame of imagined geographies, for example – or fraught with problems (which Hesford does her best to play down) when one tries to bring it into the realm of globalization, such as archival and historical studies of rhetoric. She also ends with a rather utopian call to imagine global citizenship free from the problems of, well, global citizenship – to a degree, the underlying politics of the “turn” she’s concerned with overall in this essay – which she acknowledges can be seen as predictable and simplistic. This work has perhaps been at its sharpest when it has argued for the field’s blind spots; for example, Hesford and Eileen E. Schell introduce a special edition of *College English* devoted to transnational feminist rhetoric by examining how the field of rhetoric and composition has treated celebrated post-colonial writers like Gloria Anzaldúa: ironically, risking “institutionalizing certain forms of resistance, romanticizing mobility and certain hybrid identities, and tokenizing individual writers over and above a contextual and geopolitical analysis of alternative rhetorical practices” (462). They argue the field “would benefit from a more critical engagement with its use of “transgeographical concepts,” “transnational constructs,” and “transnational ethnic configurations” – not via a simple comparative approach that treats nations or cultures as “discrete entities,” but with a transnational approach that can articulate the complex place of nationalism in globalization and

intertextuality and hybridity between cultures, and promote self-reflection (463). I take as particularly salient their recognition that the field often slips into “nationalist rhetorics on the one hand and uncritical cosmopolitanisms on the other” (463), and the value they see in trying to identify the “national narratives – overt or covert – [that] organize knowledge in our field” (466).

As is evident in prior chapters, I have been interested in thinking about language diversity as part of expanding the micro-strategies of “public writing,” with transnational implications, and I value that work; I also appreciate the move to try to think in terms beyond language politics, and see myself as working for such expansion by attention to the university. However, I see something of a gap between the detailed thinking about pedagogy that the “translingual” approach and affiliated scholars are offering, and the broader analysis of global politics that lacks detailed classroom implications. This is particularly salient given that even a kind of pluralization of englishes available in the classroom would not fully address the politics of which those englishes are only one dimension; the flexible language policies of a global corporation like BMW, for example, as discussed in Chapter One, suggest that more is at stake than our policing (or not) of English in trying to teach towards a kind of transnational awareness. While “English” is a key dimension of the teaching of writing, I argue we have not paid as much attention as we might to what a transnational framework can reveal about composition, which as a curricular framework has as much to do with the university itself as it does with writing or language use independent of that institution.

This is one way of thinking about the limits of the “internationalizing composition” framework. Donahue writes, “U.S. composition instructors do not often report being in the position of adopting teaching practices from these other contexts around the globe. We might ask ourselves why” (220), with the implication being that we should do so, if we expect teachers in

other countries to adopt our practices. This notion of “adopting” – i.e. importing and exporting – is far too simplistic to account for movement in either direction, given that composition instruction is always inevitably shaped by the particularity of the student body, teaching traditions, and institutional infrastructure, as I have suggested in the case of New Zealand in Chapter Two. It also ignores the fact that in comparison with most institutions of higher education worldwide, “U.S. composition” devotes a simply colossal amount of resources towards literacy work, and thus there is scope in the U.S. for many kinds of literacy work that are unimaginable elsewhere; for scholars and teachers elsewhere to be interested in this work is quite possibly as much *activist* as it is a result of anything especially “colonial.” Acknowledging this is one way to be “sensitive” to our contexts.

The caution not to be “colonial,” then, is both simplistic and misguided. As the previous chapter makes evident, the university and the discipline of English is itself a transnational enterprise, and even when composition is offered as explicitly as part of a colonial project as it might be, as in the early New Zealand university, it is still deeply embedded in local contexts that constrain and transform the pedagogical project, and subject to transnational exchanges of scholarly expertise and labor. Anxiety about “importing” and “exporting” may serve as a caution against assuming one knows too much when one does not, but it does not help us to assess the actual context in which composition instruction always takes place, or to answer the question of how it should take place in always already transnationalized contexts. In addition, using the term “colonial” does seem to radically overstate the importance and coherence of “U.S. composition” as a discipline and institutional force; that is, “English” might be colonial, but I am not sure “composition” can be. Donahue herself acknowledges this when she writes that “many of our composition theories and conceptualizations have been grounded over decades, and in this sense

‘internationalized,’ in the work of scholarly authors from other countries from a variety of fields other than what we might designate as ‘composition’” (223), although this might be to point to teaching rather than research as the real site of “colonial” anxiety. U.S. composition studies cannot deny the degree to which the American research university predominates in a global university system – and hence the research university has been my focus in this dissertation – but rather than looking to “adoption” of other pedagogical practices to assuage anxiety, we might look both to local transformations of American influences and to a shared situation of trying to find pedagogical space for composition’s work in the midst of transnational university imperatives.

All this is perhaps only to argue that rather than just advocating for a better quality of comparative scholarship – somehow more detailed, more sensitive to context, more ... – as Donahue seems ultimately to do, it would be useful to more clearly articulate the frame within which our “international” scholarship proceeds. What I believe is required is theorizing that will not be oriented so much towards aggregating literacy/composition work at university level in multiple places, but rather will enable us to locate such work in a global “eduscape,” to read differences across spaces in relation to that nexus, and to consider strategies for carving out institutional territory that may be meaningful or useful in other local contexts. As Carmen Luke has suggested, Appadurai’s “scapes” metaphor might be extended to education to reveal the way in which education constitutes “a more indeterminate space of uneven and disjunctive exchanges, flows, and interests than the hyperglobalists’ allusions to globalization as a one-way current emanating from Euro-American centres to undifferentiated peripheries” (“Eduscapes: Knowledge Capital and Cultures,” 100). The “eduscape” of which literacy education is a part is not to be glimpsed through aggregation of discrete examples so much as through tracing

connected developments in educational practices, and examining how in their variance they speak back to a logic of standardizing higher education in the name of benchmarking and differentiating it only to better compete in a global market (see Luke, 99; 105–6).

I. “Academic Literacies” and Civic Aspirations

In this section, I establish some of the concerns of this literacy “eduscape” with attention to the “academic literacies” movement in the U.K., its attachment to an older access project, and its somewhat vulnerable institutional position. A useful opening formation in this regard is that offered by Aihwa Ong, in “Higher Learning: Educational Availability and Flexible Citizenship in Global Space.” For Ong, the turn towards “global” education initiatives and recruitment – concentrated in business, engineering, and the sciences – is one indication that higher education in the U.S. has shifted from a project of “democratic nation building” to one of “globalizing values linked to democracy and also to neoliberalism” (55), with the traditional focus on “inculcat[ing] Western humanist beliefs and nationalist values” being challenged by “a stress on skills, talent, and borderless neoliberal ethos” (57). The object of this education, “the neoliberal anthropos,” is “a particular kind of educated and enterprising subject who works in global cities” (57). Ong’s notion of “flexible citizenship” (60) describes the varied strategies of families who might work in one country (or more than one) while children are educated in another, perhaps aiming ultimately to immigrate, but in the meantime negotiating multiple values, cultures, and languages across nations and education systems; this “multicultural, multilingual, and mobile population” is key to the formation of “education without formal sovereignty in global space and a grading of embodied talent among locals, newcomers, and foreigners that have direct implications for the meaning and form of citizenship at home and abroad” (63).

Crucially, Ong notes, she is *not*

talking about a simple cause-and-effect relationship between American universities, overseas students, and the new capitalism. Rather, the circuit of educational power can best be thought of as centers of knowledge production and the production of knowledge workers, that is, coevolving assemblages of diverse functions that put into play particular spaces, sentiments, events, norms, and populations. (63–64)

She notes these processes include both deterritorialization and reterritorialization, and the work to produce an “ideal figure” who is defined not by “nationality or “culture”” but by mobility and flexible skills (64–65). Where, then, does that leave education for “democratic citizenship”? For Ong, there is a disconnect between the university’s work in producing democratic subjects and neoliberal subjects – as she so neatly puts it, “a profound tension and potentially radical disjuncture between an equality of rights that stresses equal opportunity and diversity at home and an equality of worth that stresses equal opportunity and diversity globally” (66). She does see a need for humanistic education – particularly one embedded in business and science programs – to address the questions of collectivity and reciprocity in this environment, Hall’s “cosmopolitan limit” (67).

Ong’s “questions for research” ask for more detail about how different disciplines and pedagogies have negotiated or found balance within this problematic, and what forms or norms of subjectivity might be thus promoted. I want to suggest that literacy education is a useful site from which to consider this problematic. I am not, of course, arguing that the only kind of education towards democratic ends is general education or composition – much of what happens in the disciplines could be construed this way. However, composition, and more broadly general education, is a key site where a democratic project can be articulated for the university, or not; it is perhaps the ultimate microcosm of the conflicting agendas of the transnational university. Unlike more clearly “cultural” instruction in other areas of the humanities, composition can

conceivably be entirely instrumental, so it has to contend with that version of itself even as it articulates others. It is concerned with subject formation in a very explicit way, or has been; more than most curricular sites it has been concerned with entry to and success within the institution, not with a content-delivery imperative, and it has been oriented towards a kind of collective literacy as much as the production of a particular individual graduate.

The most obvious way of locating composition in this problematic, perhaps, is to ask to what extent composition instruction is tied to an older project having to do with access and equity that remains inside a university that has broadly shifted to a new model – and if so, what it means to situate our work there. Perhaps this nostalgic space is a useful one, if it makes a claim for what some recent literacy instruction initiatives in the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand are doing: given the overlapping timeframe of neoliberal reforms in the tertiary education sector and the beginnings of much of this work, it may be important to articulate it by any means necessary as something other than the pedagogical work of the university turning increasingly towards the “flexible” “skills” valued by the marketplace, the commodification of knowledge, and even increased testing, monitoring, and accountability in relation to students. I will first consider these concerns in relation to the “academic literacies” movement in the U.K., the most clearly identifiable emerging project concerned with student writing in the countries other than the U.S. that I am examining here. This project has from the outset been more a research project than a teaching one, but one clearly tied to an increasingly diverse university population. In “Exploring Notions of Genre in ‘Academic Literacies’ and ‘Writing Across the Curriculum’: Approaches Across Countries and Contexts,” David R. Russell et al. present an account of the emergence of “academic literacies,” or ACLITS, that foregrounds its similarities and differences with U.S.-based WAC. They note ACLITS’ origins in early 1990s England, as a response to “widening

participation” in tertiary education, and its focus thus far on theory and research rather than “pedagogy and reform,” in an attempt to draw the discourse around student literacy away from remedial concerns towards a more complex picture of university literacy practices (395–6). ACLITS is read as emerging in tandem with study/learning support provision for this new population, as a theoretical way to account for multiplicity and meaning-making within academic writing (with much in common with the New Literacy Studies) (399), and in contrast to the more narrow concerns of EAP (415). Russell et al. note that this work in student learning centers is often marginalized and low-status, and thus the opportunities to implement ACLITS pedagogies are limited (404). I am primarily interested in their characterization of ACLITS as interested in “institutional practices, power relations, and identities” (Russell et al. 400), that is, in marking it as distinct in this way in comparison with models of literacy learning that emphasize skills or acculturation (see Lea and Street 1998). ACLITS researchers focus on “subjectivity and agency” (Russell et al. 407) in the contexts of academic writing:

As we have already discussed above ACLITS has tended to focus on unpacking micro-social practices, such as “gaps” between student and lecturer perceptions of particular writing activities, often embedded deeply in traditions of essayist literacy and the assessment of writing. Researchers in this tradition have also focused on theorizing and researching new genres of writing in HE teaching, in different modes and media ... and on the ways in which students are called upon—often implicitly—to switch between different genres and modes (which also raises the more general issue of how genre and mode are theorized in relation to other traditions of genre analysis and multimodal studies). Arguably what distinguishes academic literacies research from WID is its tendency to focus at this micro level and also upon the different interpretations and understandings of genres of the participants in any particular writing encounter in the university. (406)

According to Russell et al., ACLITS defines itself in part by resisting institutional pressures – pressures that extend to the regulation of faculty writing through the RAE (now called the REF, and akin to New Zealand’s PBRF) – to see writing as solely demonstrating knowledge, and instead defining it as a learning activity (413–14).

My own reading of ACLITS as a field pays particular attention to the strategies by which it attempts to legitimize literacy work in the university, and how the priorities and the form of the university shape those strategies. What is apparent in Russell et al.'s account is how ACLITS is characterized by something of a divide between pedagogy and research, with the latter a much more developed dimension of the field and seen as crucial to its continual validation. The research-oriented university climate, characterized most notably of late by the RAE/REF, is undoubtedly a factor here. As this field is still emerging, with what is argued for, and how, still open to debate, it seems useful to consider some of the consequences and limit points of framing the field in this way. There is an evident contrast with histories of composition studies in the U.S. which, broadly speaking, describe a research tradition growing out of a much longer teaching tradition, as teachers try to establish disciplinary legitimacy for the field; the legacy of this teaching tradition – a tradition often revised, often celebrated, and sometimes questioned in terms of the productivity of composition scholarship's "pedagogical imperative"¹⁶ – is seldom in doubt as crucial to the formation of the discipline. While it is difficult to generalize with certainty, it seems like the lack of opportunity to develop courses in ACLITS creates a kind of perspective on the student that is tied to support provision, often centering on a notion of the student-as-victim, or student-as-vulnerable, or student-as-neglected, to whom the university might be better attuned. For Lillis and Scott, in a seminal ACLITS piece "Defining Academic Literacies Research: Issues of Epistemology, Ideology and Strategy," "what marks out those which can be characterized as adopting an 'academic literacies' approach, is the extent to which practice is privileged above text. The 'textual bias' (Horner, 1999) – that is the treatment of language/writing as solely or primarily a linguistic object – is evident in the public outcry against

16 See, for example, Karen Kopelson, "Sp(l)itting Images; or, Back to the Future of (Rhetoric and?) Composition."

standards of student writing” (10). This argument seems oddly rigid in the context of much current U.S. work in composition studies where, particularly in relation to digital media, a renewed interest in the “product” in all its technosocial complexity and variability seems to have allowed teacher-scholars to move past a process/product divide. I would suggest that U.S. composition studies has a kind of freedom to rethink itself as a “product”-focused enterprise now, not because it is rigidly a service discipline with a notion of a “product” to be inculcated, as some of the U.K. accounts of it suggest, but because in having curricular control it has more flexibility to consider textuality (and composition outside print text) in a range of ways.

ACLITS makes a strong case for the lingering importance of the access/equity project within the university; I would argue, however, that the domain of this project is limited because of the attempt to instantiate it within a WID context. Tamsin Haggis offers an interesting critique of the notion of responsiveness to individual needs as a governing principle, in “Pedagogies for Diversity: Retaining Critical Challenge amidst Fears of ‘Dumbing Down’”: her argument rather starkly reminds us that the sheer volume and diversity of need is simply beyond complete response, and so a fundamental shift in pedagogical attitude would be useful. Haggis suggests that while “radical” approaches such as expanding academic genres are valid, more traditional pedagogical approaches might be made more effective, were they to engage in such strategies as alerting students more explicitly to university processes, considering how to appeal to “those new to the field,” structuring engagement with a discipline so its orientation to “questioning and creating knowledge” becomes evident, and modeling reading and writing processes (526–30). Ultimately for Haggis this becomes an argument for collaborative WID-type work, but she does note that “focusing on ‘the learner’” can play into thinking about “pathologising” students as much as it might empower them, and that such a focus can detract from thinking about how to

best challenge students: “the demand to meet the diverse needs of students as paying clients clashes resoundingly with the more conventional idea that the purpose of many forms of higher education should be that of providing a challenge to students’ values, assumptions and habits of thought” (532). This contradiction seems peculiar, I would argue, to the tension in study support services/ACLITS as an add-on to disciplinary teaching, and not to the situation of the composition classroom. That is, while ACLITS scholars wish to instantiate a developmental/critical model that does not pathologize learners, their work is cast in a study support mode which can easily slip back into notions of skills and a kind of “helping” without “challenging,” all of which is a consequence of institutional positioning. In general, I would argue, the characterization within ACLITS of the student-as-object-of-support is also frequently concerned with a subject who is more “diverse” and also who writes more in the professions after education – that is, with a student subject who is at a nexus of conditions, rather than one who might create new conditions. Indeed, as ACLITS scholars try to institute broad pedagogical change, the focus on student practice as it has so far been conceived appears to be limiting: this self-situating in terms of “access” and “diversity” does not result in institutional valorization and opportunity, and might even work against ACLITS’ ambitions to diversify academic writing. Lea, for example, in a 2004 article, attempts to draw ACLITS from a critical method into a “pedagogy of course design,” saying:

The tendency of the research in the field to concentrate on the non-traditional entrant and their writing, whether in terms of age, gender, race or language, at best might mask the implications of the research more broadly across the academy and at worst recreate a deficit or study skills model (cf. Lea & Street, 1998). There is, then, a case for a pedagogy of course design based on the research into academic literacies which is able to embrace much broader contexts of higher education, whatever courses are being followed and whatever the level of study. (742)

The institutional logic challenges the usefulness of the nostalgic project, at least in terms of institutional positioning.

This is perhaps only a reflection of the difficulty of articulating a civic project in the neoliberal university where disciplinarity and research prevail. The edited collection *Student Writing in Higher Education: New Contexts*, for example, is framed by the editors' concern to establish "academic literacies" as a legitimate scholarly area of investigation, premised on the complication of a "skills" model of writing, a model they disdain in favor of a literacy-as-social-practice model (34). This notion of social practice is, however, entirely limited to disciplinary and inter-disciplinary manifestations, including various professional genres (as a result of vocational education imperatives) – the notion that university writing could be oriented toward anything else is not considered, and as it is the authors see their work as a radical opening up of assumptions about writing in British higher education. The collection does explore students' writing in the context of various changes in the British university as an institution – students' experience as writers, their frequent returning to higher education at various points in their lives, and most significantly in the minds of the editors, the changing nature of disciplinarity. A number of the essays focus on academic disciplines whose disciplinary status is relatively new or contested, and/or in which the relationship between theory and practice is fraught, such as nursing, education, and dance. Others look more generally at issues like instructors' comments on student work or the expansion of possible genres of writing, such as the use of learning journals. In an even more recent collection, *Teaching Academic Writing in UK Higher Education: Theories, Practices, and Models* the U.S. compulsory course is disparaged as "a sentimental favorite" (157) and ineffective, while the British focus is clearly on the development of WAC/WID and independent writing centers: writing studies is characterized as "support

provision not a subject” (Ganobcsik-Williams, 10). The project of general writing instruction is marked as responding to industry and public concerns about surface correctness and a narrow notion of skills (168). Certain terms from public policy or university administration are important for talking about institutions’ concerns about writing: “graduateness,” “transferable skills,” “competencies,” “outcomes-based education,” and so on (12). Ganobcsik-Williams locates the driving force behind the development of ACLITS as fears of decline in writing standards as universities became accessible to large numbers of students, an anxiety shared by the public and academics alike (although some academics are interested in this from the more benign point of view of student development) (xxii).

An interesting contrast to “academic literacies” is provided by *Writing Matters: The Royal Literary Fund Report on Student Writing in Higher Education*, a report compiled by Fellows of the Royal Literary Fund, an organization that since 1999 has placed professional writers in university departments in the U.K. to work one-on-one with student writers. The authors of the report explicitly describe themselves as writers rather than academics, who can therefore impart “general” rather than theoretical or disciplinary expertise, a practice that is described as particularly useful and successful (vii). The report is very different, then, to the edited collections I have just discussed, whose project is to establish and justify a writing research framework. What is interesting about this report is the degree to which (not uncontroversial) elements of the U.S. system are called for, without specific reference to that system – even the “universal requirement” in the first year is seen as desirable (29). The concern with writing is oriented largely toward students’ success in the institution, and by extension the workplace (35), but there is a brief statement about how writing is essential in order to “articulate

... make sense of ... even control” our ever-changing world (4) – more an issue of personal wellbeing than for public or civic interests, but not disciplinary in its reach.

We could obviously read this contrast as the generalists’ self-interest in the general, and the specialists’ self-interest in the specialized. But it seems significant that the generalists are the ones who mention an extra-disciplinary rationale of sorts. The WID formation means that the teaching of academic literacies in the U.K. appears to have the dereferentialized quality Bill Readings ascribes to U.S. composition – but it is not (yet?) in competition with the teaching of literature, which significantly complicates Readings’ framework. Given the long history of U.S. composition in contrast to the only very recent work in the U.K. in a similar direction, perhaps there is a kind of evolution yet to happen: that, like composition in the U.S., “academic literacies” in the U.K. has to be institutionalized in some form, as a response to a perceived literacy crisis, before it can try to make bigger claims for its work than the terms of its initial institutionalization. And the positioning of “academic literacies” may be a useful position in that this teaching is perhaps not so blatantly implicated in the nationalist gatekeeping that Lu, Canagarajah, Matsuda, Horner and Trimbur suggest composition can be. It does also seem, however, that there is a concomitant loss of scope, when questions of national, transnational, or public relevance get sidelined in the context of the privileging of teaching whose principal object is have students better negotiate institutional or professional norms. I think such a feeling of loss can be read in the dismissal of U.S. composition as “sentimental,” in the Ganobcsik-Williams volume. And perhaps an even more intriguing example in this regard is what happens in one of the only – perhaps *the* only – published account of writing studies in New Zealand universities, an article by Lisa Emerson and several collaborators, “Writing in a New Zealand Tertiary Context: WAC and Action Research.” In their description of implementing WAC initiatives,

they invoke at the essay's beginning and end the significance of the New Zealand context for this project, and the difficulty of translating some North American terms and practices – but this context does not explicitly inform the account of the course *at all*. That is, there is a clear desire registered in the article to have the writing initiative speak to the particular national context in which it takes place – but the writers do no more than invoke this context as significant. I read this not as a failure on their part so much as symptomatic of an absence of a way of articulating the value of college-level literacy in relation to the public, despite the desire to do so. Stefan Collini suggests as much when he writes of the various “justifications” for the existence of the British university:

A fourth justification, one that has had considerable purchase in the United States and, in a different idiom, in France, concerns socialisation in civic values, but has never played very well in Britain, where the implicit nature of the political and social ideals allegedly governing our lives have not, to most people, seemed to need explicit formulation and inculcation. That complacent view has been considerably shaken in recent years, and official recognition of the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous population suggests this justification will become more and more prominent in the future. (“HiEdBiz,” 6)

One could argue that the colonial university has always had an explicit project of social invention on its agenda, and so as in the U.S. so in New Zealand has university education been located in a “civic” framework. The question for ACLITS in the U.K. is, perhaps, what happens when the “access” project of literacy instruction is introduced at a moment decades later than its initiation in the U.S., a moment when (and a place where) the university system is highly specialized, and when and where public funding for education is increasingly strained and contested.

While ACLITS has broadly taken up an access/equity project, then, there are ways in which the value of this work is questioned by the dynamics of the contemporary university – and on occasion ACLITS scholars have attempted to think this problem through. In “Academic

Literacies and the ‘New Orders’: Implications for Research and Practice in Student Writing in Higher Education,” Brian Street attempts to map – roughly, for the purposes of provoking further research – the three models of academic writing instruction from ACLITS onto the new “orders” – work, communication, epistemology – with which he characterizes the context for contemporary literacy learning (see Gee, Hull, and Lankshear). For Street, if such new practices as multi-modal literacies are incorporated into literacy instruction in terms of “skills,” a kind of atomization and “hierarchy and discipline” will characterize this incorporation, and apply to new modes as they have historically to print text; if “academic socialization” is the model, then the narrowness of a skills model opens up a little to at least acknowledge the complexity of the learner’s position (18). If “academic literacies” is to be the model, then changing literacy practices

would be interpreted more reflexively as sets of resources to be deployed and developed appropriate to context and the contested nature of such new modalities would be uppermost. Critical approaches would question the nature of the transformations being required and it would be likely that the testing instruments introduced to assess the learner’s facility with the new communicative order would be subject to rigorous scrutiny, of the kind currently being applied to student writing in higher education from the academic literacies perspective. (18)

To my mind, Street himself points to some of the terms under which this work might proceed in a different section of this article, where he notes that

Words like ‘collaboration’, ‘participation’, ‘devolution’ and ‘empowerment’ – all cherished terms of oppositional groups, such as those working in Freirean literacy campaigns – are now used to indicate a partnership between managers and workers. Gee and his colleagues are highly suspicious of these claims and would have us examine them critically, whilst acknowledging that changes are indeed taking place in both the work order and the communicative demands associated with it. Literacy programmes now need to take account of such shifts and such critiques if they are to handle the complex communicative needs of the new work order. (11)

The question is whether disciplinary literacies can offer a kind of critical distance from this blurring, when increasingly disciplinary research is both paramount and linked to professional or

corporate demands. Street unceremoniously links U.S. composition instruction with a “technical and instrumental” skills model of literacy instruction, focused on remedial work with surface language features, albeit with a vague gesture towards how the extremes of this model have been revised “in recent years” (14), but he sees both a need for subject-specific writing instruction and the place for the “general course” – if that general course can be reconfigured from a skills or socialization focus to one that allows students to compare disciplines:

A metalanguage would then emerge for describing and analysing the conventions and norms of different disciplines’ communicative practices: this would involve both linguistic knowledge about the features of writing that characterize different fields and also social knowledge about the relationship of disciplines to each other and to the wider discourse community. Here too the role of the institution becomes subject to the kind of analysis indicated by the academic literacies approach, rather than simply providing a transparent context for disciplinary work. (16–17)

I find it intriguing that Street does not identify this project with work in U.S. composition studies, but in any case, it is unclear how the role of the institution automatically emerges as the object of critique here, with no reference point for its work beyond the work of the disciplines. Certainly the kind of curricular space Street imagines here seems called for; as Lea herself notes in regards to her extended example of a graduate education course, when institutional implementation is limited to accompanying the delivery of disciplinary content, some ACLITS initiatives seem to “fit more comfortably into an ‘academic socialization’ approach rather than an academic literacies approach. When writing guidance and support materials for students it is easy to be apparently explicit about the discourses or written genres students are expected to engage in during their study, but it is more difficult to help students to work with their own meanings and construction of knowledge” (750). Without a curricular designation like English, and thus the capacity to point to literacy practices outside the university/workplace nexus, even expansions of literacy instruction to include innovations in modes or genres may eventually get

co-opted into the same economic logic, as academic literacies is ultimately seen as support provision for the disciplines. While Lea states that an ACLITS approach “does not create a dichotomy between other literacies and academic literacies” (Lea 2004, 744), it appears that ACLITS’ institutional formation means that it is rather confined to do exactly this; the models of ACLITS may be useful in articulating a field’s priorities, but they are a constrained frame with which to think about pedagogy, as a turn after the fact. As my previous chapters indicate, the critical project that is so crucial to ACLITS is happening in writing studies in English departments, in New Zealand and the U.S., not in Writing in the Disciplines, precisely because those programs have the capacity to examine the borders and emerging genres of “academic writing” and its intersection with other literacies, and to bring public literacies to the fore, and to enact kinds of “collaboration,” “participation,” “devolution” and “empowerment” that are more difficult to enable in a “study support” model of literacy instruction. U.S. composition’s curricular location is not simply powerful in terms of autonomy over teaching, but also in terms of seeing the work *as* curricular rather than as learning support, as knowledge-based rather than inculcating supplementary skills.

This is not to critique ACLITS’ work so much as to suggest one way that institutional context is key to what “composition” can be, and to point to its struggle in both finding ways to legitimize itself in a current university climate – where research is privileged and funded so as to make innovation in pedagogy or inter-/extra-disciplinary terms more difficult or at least a divergence from work that secures careers – and instituting pedagogical initiatives that better instantiate the field’s concerns. It is also to note that “models” of literacy instruction are largely of heuristic value, when institutional climate and practice so constrain their implementation. My attention to such constraints in New Zealand in Chapter Two, for example, show what happens

to a “model” of “general education” – and while one might contend that such models are useful in arguing for institutional change, the accounts of the ACLITS initiatives at Queen Mary University of London, for example, suggest that what has real argumentative value in terms of institutional change are influential peer institutions or institutions that are highly competitive globally (in the case of QMUL, Cornell – see Evison). Ursula Wingate and Christopher Tribble state that “so far, there is scarce evidence of this [ACLITS] approach being used in U.K. universities; rather there is evidence that academics are unwilling to get involved with developing students’ writing (Haggis, 2006; Mitchell and Evison 2006), or lack the confidence to offer this kind of support (Bailey, 2010)” (8). In Chapter One, I examined some of the ways in which academic writing and public thinking can blur; the question of how possible this productive blurring is in a literacy instruction much more embedded in the disciplines, indeed subordinate to them in terms of institutional positioning, is a significant question. ACLITS’ “critical” stance may compromise its creative capacity to itself expand what counts as academic discourse, even though the field has declared its interest in embracing new genres and writing technologies. I do not wish to understate the significance of the access project in itself – but as Ong’s formulation suggests, this project is a difficult one in this era because of its location in the transnational university.

Where claiming a commitment to student access to the academy might have some institutional currency, as I suggest in Chapter Two, is when it assists the connection of a curricular formation like Writing Studies to a reassertion of a commitment to undergraduate education, and to claims to the university’s local significance over or against global imperatives. The expansion of literate practice in the university that has been one edge of the access project undoubtedly has more force if it is more curricular and constitutive, and more connected to

education's effects. That is, the access project can involve our "letting" students use their own languages/literacies, in an attempt to make the academy more accessible, or it can involve the more radical act of letting those languages and literacies change the way we educate within the academy, and even our own scholarly practice (as, for example, Canagarajah's work illuminates). Access and equity are measurable indications of one kind of public good that has to do with education's "effects," but as Marginson argues in "The 'Public' Contribution of Universities in an Increasingly Global World," a corrupted idea of "fairness" is what "mostly prevails in higher education. It confers on competition for entry into higher education, and the university rankings attached to this competition, a public good veneer they would otherwise lack, but this merely legitimizes the unequal allocation of private goods" (17). He argues that rather than thinking about the "public" in higher education as simply that which is not market-driven, we should look to education's effects, such as "its contributions to the agency of self-determining citizens" (9). To state the argument polemically, the question of effects has to involve more than entry to/success in the university at large, because if we rest there we rest on an assumption about the university's inherent democratic effect, which there is little reason to believe exists. A more radical position is to take something like composition as a place to interrogate the university's hierarchies at the same time as it opens the university to the range of work that might be called public and intellectual that happens outside its putative boundaries. Calhoun usefully observes that the project of differentiating institutions to address mass education has focused on a hierarchy of scale and resources more than it has generated "a proliferation of different intellectual missions, institutional styles, and innovations in teaching" ("Free Inquiry" 907). Even some degree of shifting the terms of the conversation to acknowledge

a range of possible pedagogical practices, then, would be a kind of progress, and it is something in which I argue composition can play a role.

II. Distributed Composition

This attention to education's effects seems to be a site where composition/literacy instruction might have something to contribute to debates about current university reform, and the place of the humanities. In *Academic Capitalism*, their study of entrepreneurial activity and policy in the public research university in multiple countries, Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie note the general trend towards increased funding for research (particularly "targeted" or "commercial" research (14–15)) and decreased funding for instruction, with particular attention to "the growth of global markets, the development of national policies that target faculty-applied research, the decline of the block grant (undesignated funds that accrue to universities, often according to formulas) as a vehicle for state support for higher education, and the concomitant increase in faculty engagement with the market" (11). There is, then, a clear trajectory away from a focus on educational effects in the research university and towards what we might call market or knowledge effects. This is a particular problem for the humanities, which cannot be easily located in this economy. Collini, critiquing a British tertiary education white paper, notes that a framework in which universities are supposed to be engaged in international competition with one another for the best researchers and students, and thus the fruits of applied science, not only ignores that even applied sciences' benefits are difficult to locate in a single nation at any point in their development, but crucially has no way of valuing scholarship in the humanities which is not so much competitive as part of a "common transnational intellectual enquiry":

scholarship of this kind, scholarship in the humanities that may be undertaken by individuals but which relies on and contributes to cumulative intellectual enquiry which

transcends boundaries between nations as well as between generations and which has no direct economic utility, scarcely figures in the White Paper, so preoccupied is it with science seen as a source of technological applications. About a third of the way into the chapter on ‘Research Excellence – Building on Our Strengths’ there is one numbered paragraph that consists only of a single, short, breathtaking sentence. In its entirety it reads: ‘2.10: Some of these points are equally valid for the arts and humanities as for science and technology.’ (9)

The lack of “direct utility” has led to a range of other ways of conceptualizing the work of the humanities, although few that can actually challenge the market logic. One example is J. Hillis Miller’s notion in “Literary Study in the Transnational University,” where, acknowledging that the humanities must find new ways of arguing for its existence, and disdaining the assumption of various funding providers that the humanities is for teaching “communication skills,” he argues that “the university is the place where what really counts is the ungoverned, the ungovernable” (12). For me this recalls Stephen Turner’s point about teaching escaping the logic of institutional accounting (see Chapter Two), although Miller is more concerned with how to value the “new knowledge” (12) of the humanities in this economy than the students it educates (except when they might be the source of new ideas (Miller, n.4)). In Chapter One I have considered at length what we might do pedagogically when, as Miller says “no Habermasian dialogue, conversation, or communicative discourse” can resolve the diversity with which we are faced into “consensus” (9–10). Such pedagogical efforts do not, however, speak necessarily to the position of literacy instruction within the university, especially in places lacking the curricular freedom of “composition.” I turn now to discuss composition’s relationship to TESOL, and then to some of the multiplicity of literacy projects that have emerged in the Australian university, and their connection to recentering and decentering discourses that characterize the university. These instances of the distribution of literacy work raise questions about how important it is that a

range of kinds of writing instruction are interarticulated, either towards recognition, reorganization, or future possibilities.

If at one time the project of learning to speak and write in the university could be unproblematically linked to participating in democratic deliberation – each underwritten by the notion of a national public – it seems undeniable that this link has fractured in multiple ways, even as composition has more forcefully asserted its association with a civic ideal via a reinvigoration of classical rhetoric. Learning in the university is increasingly oriented towards professional or managerial work, not to a broad education; university education is increasingly stratified, as policies encouraging competition work to “differentiate” the sector; democratic deliberation itself is globalised, less obviously “deliberative,” in many ways technocratic; and even the project of broadening access to the university is caught up in a neoliberal logic whereby barriers are removed so the education “market” can operate to best advantage. We might observe that this leaves a democratically-oriented composition studies trying to teach the professional-managerial class of the future how to expand their technocratic skills into more democratic realms, even as it retains some part of an access/equity project to level the playing field in national terms – except it is increasingly international students, Ong’s “flexible citizens,” who are subject to this latter work.

Perhaps these conflicting projects need not be reconciled. In “Knowledge in the Marketplace: The Global Commodification of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education,” Rajani Naidoo and Ian Jamieson argue that in our current moment “apparently oppositional discourses” that ultimately complement one another are what constitute the scene of work for university teachers:

On the one hand, de-centring discourses need to orient the subject towards change and complexification (see Tyler 1999). For example, strategies are devised at the level of the

state (policy positions, funding guidelines, regulatory mechanisms) and the institution (mission statements, organizational structures, teaching units) to orient university teachers to meet the changes wrought by increases in student numbers, diversity in the student body, reductions in public spending, and the exponential growth of knowledge internal and external to the university sector. On the other hand, re-centring discourses need to orient the subject towards stability. For example, retrospective discourses about the scholarly tradition of universities, the ideal scholar, and the professional ethic of care between academic-teacher and student-learner are evoked to ensure that external market-orientations are complemented by introspection. (66–67)

Composition has been cast in the role of a “decentering” force against the old stability of English as a repository of national culture, in Readings’ brief mention in *The University in Ruins* (16). It is of interest to us, however, to consider composition as having a key role to play in a kind of re-centering – not one that has to do with Western scholarly tradition so much as a nostalgic idea of democratic participation. I read this in the tendency to explain the development of some kinds of writing instruction within the national sites I discuss in this chapter solely as a kind of natural outgrowth of increased student diversity within institutions, eliding the complex ways in which literacy work can be seen to both embrace and manage “diversity.” Lillis and Scott, for example, argue that

the link between policies of expansion and inclusion and high profile debates about language and literacy issues in the UK mirrors patterns in other national contexts, either contemporaneously or at other historical moments. Thus, whilst writing provision and related research in the form of ‘composition’ has been part of US academic debate for more than a century, debates and research exploring diversity of language and literacy practices grew notably in the US from the 1970s onwards, following open access policies which led to the participation of large numbers of students historically excluded from university (Rose, 1989; Crowley, 1998; Horner and Lu, 1999). (8)

We can of course question the national analytical framework here, as it is evident that transnational influences are at work, and have been in a long, often submerged history of writing instruction – at least in New Zealand, as I discuss in the previous chapter, but quite possibly also in the U.K. and Australia. In any case, the argument that the field arises in response to national priorities or exigencies may be one that has a certain political or institutional cachet, but

“diversity” in the transnational university is not so easily explicable as a project of national inclusiveness.

It is important to recall Readings’ notion that “diversity” is the companion institutional watchword to “excellence,” with the latter’s flexibility preventing “diversity” from threatening the unity of the system (32). The neoliberal paradigm opens the university to a more diverse student body, and competition, increased consumer costs, and reduced public funding – as Slaughter and Leslie summarize, “greater participation at lower national cost” (15). And one moment of expansion is not equivalent to all moments, because of crucial changes and differences in institutional funding and political climate. A celebration of our now more attuned response to “diversity” neglects the degree to which composition/literacy instruction has been a curricular project implicated in delimiting a space for democratic participation, i.e. in maintaining exclusions, as much as it has worked to increase access and inclusion, because it has historically been, and can newly be, a gatekeeping exercise. While the teaching of composition is in some respects hard to “commodify,” at least in Naidoo and Jamieson’s framework, as its intensive, active, social character conflicts with the kind of standardization and packaging that they argue characterizes commodified learning – in other words, while it resists standardization in terms of delivery – composition can be deeply connected to a notion of standards.

The complex relationship between new literacy initiatives and diversity is perhaps most evident in relation to language diversity. Some of the work I discussed earlier indicates the challenges of incorporating world englishes into even the relatively flexible teaching environment of the U.S. Ironically, the imperatives of the transnational university might reasonably involve the decentering embrace of global englishes and a more flexible orientation to language (albeit one focused on English) – recall BMW policy and its “flexible” bilingual

workplace that my engineering student encountered in Chapter One – but the university in general, in the countries under discussion, seems to remain concerned with a unified communicative field at least at the level of overt planning. In this sense an older idea of a standard language remains a recentering force, even as English is globalised.

In the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand, where applied linguistics has long had responsibility for ESOL students, but where a long history of composition teaching is less visible, the prospect of integrating the work of composition and TESOL seems even more challenging than it has in the U.S., because as writing studies or “academic literacies” have emerged they have done so in part by explicitly positioning themselves as kinds of theoretical enterprises that are distinct from well-established ESOL and EAP programs. ESOL teaching has a very prominent place in the university system, and as a result, tensions arise even within the field of applied linguistics within which ACLITS is most obviously located.¹⁷ ACLITS’ self-positioning has not gone uncontested within the larger field of applied linguistics in the U.K.; the ACLITS “models” have been questioned, for example, by Wingate and Tribble, who offer a critique of ACLITS’ limited characterization of EAP scholarship and pedagogical practice, particularly with regards to the complexity of academic genres and the critical and student-centered component of any “academic socialization” pedagogy (“The Best of Both Worlds?”

17 Perhaps because of its subordination to disciplinary writing, work in ACLITS appears to some extent to be largely limited to circulating within the field of applied linguistics, rather than having broader impact. In her survey of student learning research across several decades in three (U.K.-centered) higher education journals, Haggis notes that “discourse” and “writing” appear in journal article titles with increasing frequency from the 1980s onwards, with significant increase in the 1990s and 2000s; while no titles include these terms in the 1970s, by the 2000s between 5 and 10 percent of each journal’s article titles fall into this category (Haggis “What Have We...”; 380, 385). Observing the emergence of “academic literacies” work in the 1990s, Haggis nonetheless notes that most of this work is published in linguistics journals rather than higher education journals, and thus “despite its extraordinary relevance for developing a wider range of understandings of teaching and learning, and, even more importantly, as a source of potentially generative/transformational critique of higher education cultures and practices,” its audience among higher education staff is limited (386). According to Haggis’ survey, research in higher education using cognitive psychology, and “approaches to learning” work emerging out of cognitive psychology, is prominent in these higher education journals, whereas sociolinguistics and “critical” approaches have been slower to gain a foothold.

Towards an English for Academic Purposes/Academic Literacies Writing Pedagogy”). The part translingual approaches might play in reconceiving writing instruction is thus, I would argue, less evident in these places, at least at this point, despite the fact that such approaches are all the more desirable because of the dominance of narrow institutional discourses about English language learning.

These dynamics can play out slightly differently in the U.S., I contend, because of the institutional positioning of composition as on a more equal footing with TESOL. The relationship between composition and applied linguistics has historically been a somewhat distant one in the U.S., where composition and ESOL teaching have historically been quite distinct. In “Composition Studies and ESL Writing: A Disciplinary Division of Labor,” Matsuda explores how the professionalization of both TESOL and composition teaching in the middle of the twentieth century contributes to a “disciplinary division of labor” between the two; he recounts how TESOL aligned its practices with scholarship in applied linguistics to advance the cause of professionalism, despite resistance from teachers, and ultimately developed a journal and professional organization, in a similar manner to the professionalization of composition. In Matsuda’s account, both composition teaching and TESOL come to define themselves against each other in order to professionalize – the classic formulation in the 1960s was that English teaching for native speakers dealt with the subject as an art, while the teaching of non-native speakers dealt with the subject as a science (711). By the mid-1960s, the interest of CCCC participants in ESL issues had radically declined, and the divide has been difficult to cross substantively since – Matsuda argues that compositionists should pay more attention to ESL issues in teaching, research, and administration. With every acknowledgment that seeing the work of composition and TESOL as intertwined is complex in this context, it does seem that the

notion of composition as responsible – somehow – for “writing” in general, and its significant institutional status, opens up institutional space for more integration to happen. This is suggested even in a journalistic account of international pressures on education, “Taking More Seats on Campus, Foreigners Also Pay the Freight,” in which New York Times reporter Tamar Lewin describes some of the tensions emerging as U.S. public universities enrol increasing numbers of international students at undergraduate level, in part motivated by the revenue overseas students bring in by paying higher tuition (a development that has been very much present in New Zealand and Australia in recent decades). In Lewin’s article, the director of writing at the University of Washington’s College of Arts and Sciences, John Webster, suggests that working with students who write, as they speak, “with an accent,” means that the now-global university should encourage professors not to correct students’ English but to assist students in developing their writing – as these students’ writing will be “accented” for years. It is significant that composition is positioned here both at the heart of the university and its culture – it’s the only substantial curricular reference point in the piece – and at the frontier of its “deeper” transnationalizing process. Instead of this process being confined to the work of ESOL teaching and language skills testing, it is seen to be somewhat constitutive of writing in the university.

At the same time, this innovation proceeds in the midst of the university’s local and national public claiming a preeminent right to the institution; in Lewin’s article, in-state students and state representatives express ambivalence or hostility to the notion that in-state students might miss out on places at the university due to increasing international student enrolment. Much more so than in regards to long-internationalized graduate education, the issue of who the public university is for emerges as crucial in this discussion, even as public funds diminish, and as that university’s “culture” is seen to be changing at a “deeper” level – with the example of this

depth being the evaluation of student writing. Writing here is attached to the decentering work of opening up the university to world englishes because of economic imperatives, not the recentering notion of a (nationally “diverse”) community of students. The explanation of U.K. practices as part of an older, more nationalistic “diversity” project elides some of this tension.

Without composition as a central site forced to address various competing discourses about writing, U.K., Australian and New Zealand universities are characterized by a distribution of literacy work across the institution that allows the university’s competing objectives to co-exist. I turn now to examine varieties of writing instruction in Australian universities, which make this evident. Historically a more open system than the British system, although with deep connections to it, the Australian university presents a range of different curricular projects in relation to literacy – evidence that an actual teaching tradition is negotiating recentering and decentering discourses in different ways.

The strength of WID work in Australia, now established for several decades, is evidently connected to systemic functional linguistics as a powerful force in Australian academia. The *Selected Proceedings of the First National Conference on Tertiary Literacy* indicate that a range of WID initiatives began in Australia in the 1990s, often through language support staff collaborating with subject teaching staff, and that this work took place amidst a growing interest in universities developing official language and literacy policies (Golebiowski, 13). A tension in balancing equity concerns with developmental/institutional concerns is evident, as is the framing of this work in a larger context of response to public concerns about literacy standards.¹⁸ In

18 A related “standards” debate in Australia can be found in the back-and-forth in popular media over “critical literacy” as a framework for English teaching in Australian secondary schools, and its underpinnings as a progressive political project (and thus a “threat” to “literature,” “basic skills”, and so on) (see, for example, Freesmith).

“Learning to Write in the Disciplines: the Application of Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory to the Teaching and Research of Student Writing,” Janet Jones offers an account of Australian initiatives in writing pedagogy, with particular attention to learning centers, such as that at the University of Sydney. For Jones, in contrast to accounts of similar sites in the United Kingdom, learning center work has become *less* marginalized over the past decade or two, in the context of increasing student diversity and demand for “flexibility” and “quality” in higher education (254). She offers a detailed account of how SFL has shaped programs (see also Skillen for explanation and examples of this influence in a learning centre; and Cope and Kalantzis, *The Powers of Literacy: A Genre Approach to Teaching Writing* – although the critical edge of their work in genre seems not to have transitioned into the tertiary teaching context). Jones describes how the center is quite intricately involved in developing disciplinary-specific diagnostic tests – so while it has a “service” orientation it is one not marginalized so much as well-instituted.

While Halliday and SFL have been extremely influential, in some ways that work lends itself to WID much more than it does to “general” composition, even though it does gesture to another way of thinking about university literacy (and it does so even when – perhaps especially when – it is marginalized within the institution). Robyn Henderson and Elizabeth Hirst, for example, in reflecting on a short course they taught at an “Australian regional university” for first-year “disadvantaged students,” consider the degree to which they “reinscribed a singular view of academic literacy” (“Reframing Academic Literacy: Re-Examining a Short-Course for “Disadvantaged” Tertiary Students,” 36), and in turn how “academic literacies” even though expansively does not really address the literacy requirements of citizenship as it is lived today; they argue it is very difficult, within an academic literacy framework, to acknowledge and develop students’ facility/flexibility in the new and hybrid genres and practices that actually

characterize civic – and professional – life today. Certainly at the high school level, Australian genre theorists have been deeply involved in critical literacy projects, as is evident in the work of the New London group, who in *Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures* conceptualize how literacy pedagogy should change to reflect “increasing local diversity and global connectedness” (Cope and Kalantzis, 6), and the multimodality of communication. Ultimately they argue for the importance of “an open-ended and flexible functional grammar which assists language learners to describe language differences ... and the multimodal channels of meaning now so important to communication” (7). The key shift in their literacy pedagogy is an orientation towards “design” – of various modes of meaning and ultimately of “social futures.” In the context of fast capitalist discourses and shifting notions of public and private, the Group looks towards a pluralistic understanding of literacy, emphasizing the importance of students’ learning to negotiate dialects and registers and code-switching across different contexts, reflecting the need for states that peacefully “arbitrate differences” (14–15). This collection focuses on K–12 schooling, rather than higher education, but it is useful for its articulation in some detail of the connections between education and nationalistic projects, and education and newer versions of “civic pluralism” (131–140).

Some of the newer Australian universities have reconfigured English towards writing in this mode, but in a manner far removed from the WID work prominent elsewhere. For example, in a series of articles concerning the development of a writing program at the University of South Australia, Claire Woods offers an account of a curriculum that reconceives literary studies as “not involved in a traditional hermeneutic process of reading but rather with a reading that is predicated on a commitment to making – to designing a way of representing that reading of text and texts in a made/constructed object,” often in multi-modal and digital form, and with an

active performance component (“A Program Evolves”). This curriculum here seems oriented towards a kind of literary – rather than a public/academic – scene, even in its innovations, although in a more recent piece on the same program Woods and Paul Skrebels argue that “academic and professional contexts” are prepared for by the practice of such “multiliteracies,” and students are willing to bring extra-curricular literate practices into the curriculum if given the opportunity (“Perceptions”). Conceived as an explicitly extra-/inter-disciplinary program in 1993 (Woods, “Review”), the B.A. in Professional Writing and Communication offers a range of course including “an introductory writing workshop; studies in linguistics and sociolinguistics; studies in professional and technical writing; research studies in literacies and written communication in community and professional contexts; studies in texts, media, culture and society” and creative writing courses in a range of genres (Woods and Skrebels, “Students”). The University of South Australia does not have an English Literature department or degree offering, and the writing program exists alongside a media and communications programs (Woods, “Review”).

Alternatively, at least one older and more prestigious university (the top or among the top in Australia as far as global research-oriented rankings are concerned) has begun to seek out forms of “general education” for undergraduates, as the University of Auckland has done in New Zealand. The University of Melbourne offers as a compulsory part of its undergraduate degrees a number of “breadth tracks,” each of which proposes a series of courses distinct from the major, including a “communication and evidence” track that offers courses in science writing, creative writing, and “critical thinking with data,” and a “creativity and learning communities” track that offers courses in narrative, multimedia production, and artistic practice in community settings (see University of Melbourne, “Breadth Tracks”; also, Gooch). All breadth tracks are designed to

offer students in sciences or arts a kind of “coherent” exposure to different disciplines/skills, and some tracks – such as “poetics of the body” or “natural systems and our designed world” – are open to both arts and sciences students. Perhaps such a move to breadth is a mark of élite status, or perhaps it is a recognition of the kind of civic complexity that has shaped the development of more clearly writing-oriented programs elsewhere. Marginson and Considine note in *Enterprise University: Power, Governance, and Reinvention in Australia* that in order to compete, universities must try to offer a “distinctive product” – yet, though this distinctiveness is likely to come through attention to the local or at least the national, there is little attention to how the local or national might be addressed in ways more substantial than marketing, that is, in ways that might actually strengthen the sector and create innovation (246–7). Their complaint is of course that the competition breeds sameness and threatens collaboration. Such “breadth” or general education initiatives are oddly legible as both such a “distinctive product” and a civic act.

In these various ways, then, a diverse “composition” field has emerged in Australia: a strengthened study support sector, in part because of notions of “flexible” skills and other neoliberal doctrine, in part inflected by an at least once-critical genre school; élite universities looking towards “breadth”; a longer history of WID; and newer universities reconfiguring English towards writing. In many ways this range of practices might recall the U.S., as Gooch suggests in regards to the “breadth tracks” in her discussion of Melbourne’s initiative. Marginson and Considine make clear that there is a clear hierarchy of Australian universities – from the more élite “sandstone” and “redbrick” on downward (but without the undergraduate student mobility of the U.S., because of less on-campus accommodation (208)); in this respect, the Australian context serves as something of a middle ground between the significantly differentiated British tertiary sector and the less differentiated New Zealand equivalent, with the

age of institutions and the size of the population as obvious contributing factors. As Marginson argues in “Living with the Other: Higher Education in the Global Era,” while the Australian university system was modeled on the British equivalent, “without the aggressive British structuring of social class and with less of the old British-European stand-off between conservatives and moderns” it has affinities with American education but incorporates a much more significant role for government (6). This *public* notion of education is indeed key to all three national sites, the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand. But it seems evident that New Zealand’s relatively undifferentiated university sector has allowed the project of “writing studies” to enter into the prestigious research university curriculum, albeit in a highly theoretical way, when versions of English oriented towards writing are consigned to the newer universities in the Australian context; while ACLITS as a research initiative has focused squarely on writing in the disciplines, it is possible that teaching practices in newer U.K. universities may head in the same direction towards rethinking English studies, although in many ways the U.K. sector seems less malleable.

In all these places, the vestiges of the public commitment to higher education create nostalgic spaces, despite the overwhelmingly neoliberal governing logic of the university today. The extent of neoliberal reform in Australian universities, as in universities in the U.K. and New Zealand, has been well documented: see, for example, Marginson and Considine on governance and management in *The Enterprise University*, or Slaughter and Leslie on entrepreneurship in *Academic Capitalism*, or for a useful summary of the theoretical underpinnings of neoliberal restructuring in New Zealand, the U.K., and Australia, see Olssen et al. (164–65, and in regard to education policy in particular, 174–78 and 187–92). Marginson and Considine note that despite public institutions being subject to increasing marketization, and government focus on regulation

rather than vision, universities are still seen as distinctively beholden to national priorities and local communities, and so must consider what their “public” quality can mean in this blurred domain:

one way to address the national (‘public’) identity of universities is to focus on their contribution to local needs. Another way is to focus on their contribution to national identity and national needs in a global environment. A third way is a longer term project, though one in which universities might be central. It is to rework the notion of the ‘public interest’ by developing new global forms of public that span national borders – in other words, to construct the global in the form of sustainable organic networks, rather than markets. (245–246)

Perhaps we could be content with saying that “composition” is distributed awkwardly across these projects: if we consider our Australian examples, some offer development of flexible skills to suit national needs in a global economy; some offer models of local or national civic engagement or inclination through “breadth” or explicit writing pedagogies; all draw a globally diverse student body into a university-based network with uncertain effects. It is a commonplace of current commentary on the university to say that it is an institution that gathers under its title an extraordinary range of activities, many of which are disconnected if not at odds with one another. And indeed an increasingly “differentiated” sector is in line with neoliberal models of efficiency. In many ways, without the umbrella of “composition” to awkwardly gather beneath, literacy work in the U.K., Australian, or New Zealand university can simply be distributed across different sites – with the only problem being the distribution of resources and institutional power (and any movement away from the study support project can mean less of both). However, it is at least important, I would argue, to consider how these projects might be reconciled, or at least put into conversation with one another, in order to consider how their distributed work modulates the communicative and communitarian practices instantiated by the transnational university.

Scholars such as David Held have argued for kinds of top-down mechanisms that might enable transnational democratic participation: for example,

the possibility of a cosmopolitan polity must be linked to an expanding framework of states and agencies bound by the rule of law, democratic principles and human rights ... a cosmopolitan polity would need to establish an overarching network of democratic public forums, covering cities, nation-states, regions and the wider transnational order. It would need to create an effective and accountable political, administrative and regulative capacity at global and regional levels to complement those at national and local levels. (“Democratic Accountability and Political Effectiveness from a Cosmopolitan Perspective,” 383)

Until this eventuates, we might consider part of the work of the humanities, and particularly composition, to offer an analysis of the “actually existing cosmopolitanism” (to use Bruce Robbins’ term) offered by the university’s distributed literacies, and its implications.

III. The Public Work of the Transnational University

It is noticeable that undergraduate education is not at the forefront of the work of many notable scholars discussing public higher education and globalization, such as Marginson and Calhoun. It could be argued that rather than thinking deeply about the individual student’s experience of civic feeling or thinking in the university, we might better view the institution’s public good as something that is abstracted and generalized, like advanced literacy across a population, rather than as effects an individual student might represent. While this is certainly one way of thinking, I would argue it only distances us from the immediate context in which we work, and dulls our ability to imagine other pedagogies and practices. There are many potential versions of global citizenship education, and I am interested in the implied one offered by the positioning of literacy in the transnational university, even as my first chapter looks at actual pedagogical interventions. Composition as an educational project is less concerned broadly with civil liberties and rights – although this is not a domain separate from education – than with access and

capacity to engage in democratic deliberation, or to expand its terrain towards new civic practices, with this framework to some extent having been backloaded from classical rhetoric; although scholars have considered which among the existing models of democratic deliberation we might offer in the classroom (see Roberts-Miller), it is incumbent on us rather to consider the classroom and the university as public spaces in themselves, and to ask, in amongst a multitude of civic practices, which are validated by the university, and what is the relationship between these and institutionalized citizenship practices elsewhere. Such thinking has the potential not only to be of use to theorists of education policy such as Marginson, but for critical projects derived from that of Readings but which seek to think in a way that Readings does not, at the level of complexity of actual practices and programs rather than at the level of “discourse” about the university.

I turn to New Zealand, again, finally, to consider some of the stakes of the university’s public work. In examining “writing studies” in New Zealand, we can see that composition need not be restricted to a position of being the last bastion of the civic priorities of the “university of culture” – the part concerned with access while the rest of the university has moved on. Indeed, writing studies might take part in – and help bring an undergraduate education focus to – what Marginson sees as the positive potential of the current moment for universities in fundamentally public university systems like New Zealand, Australia, and the U.K.:

... in an age of self-regulating persons and institutions, it is inevitable that mission and identity will be largely locally determined, even while the resource conditions enabling mission continue to be partly public, particularly in basic academically directed research. We are moving into a ‘post post-public era’ in which the momentum towards deregulation and corporatization will be balanced by a renewed concern about public purpose and conditions, often with universities themselves defining the public interest. This era will be framed by markers of market competition, such as university rankings, and also by self-regulating specialist missions that are publicly responsible and accountable. Research universities cannot evade the challenges posed by global rankings and specialization, but they can interpret and adapt those trends in such a manner as to

enhance their control over their own destiny. Here the challenge is to take the question of mission and identity beneath the level of new branding or marketing strategy, to the core academic activities wherein lies the distinctive character of universities and the potential for fundamental improvements. (“University Mission and Identity for a Post Post-Public Era” 118)

The obvious challenge to considering the work of teaching “public writing” the domain of the university is that this work happens most dynamically outside it, via all kinds of media; what the version of public writing that might be distinctive to the university is, and why, remains a real question. This will only become a more pressing question as the transnational university is also experimenting with new kinds of “mass education” projects – the offering of course material to mass global audiences, including interaction with professors and kinds of certification (consider, for example, Sebastian Thrun’s recent Udacity initiative; see also Anya Kamenetz on innovative pedagogical practices that can reconfigure the university towards increased participation in an era of spiraling costs). The contrast here with notions of mass education for national purposes is stark. Given Kamenetz’ argument about the long-term unsustainability of small university classes, paying more attention to large first-year writing classes as manifested outside the U.S. and their work may be one way in which pedagogical practices elsewhere have necessary bearing on the U.S. context; in large-lecture or otherwise large-scale delivery format, fundamental pedagogical questions concerning demonstrating, modeling, and abstracting and their relationship to student practice come to the fore, and also, clearly, questions concerning the labor of teaching writing and how that labor is valued or rewarded. In the context of this expansion, the “local” or “distinctive character” of a place and a university in it must emerge as something beyond a reinvigorated cultural nationalism.

Almost any account of New Zealand nationalism would observe that it is so fraught, so fragile, that it is constantly reinforced and referenced in public discourse, albeit not in a critical

way. It is “threatened” by both transnational and local forces: by the fact that things from other places make up much of the public culture, and the fact that rather than be easily absorbed into “New Zealand” culture, as much public discourse tries to make this possible, Māori represent a permanent challenge to New Zealand nationalism by their very presence. Along these lines, in “Compulsory Nationalism,” Stephen Turner argues that in settler states – such as New Zealand, Australia, and the United States – not only does national identity play a role in the political economy of the state, but such identity is effectively compulsory, suggesting “a latent fear of the failure of settlement” (9). Turner discusses how both Māori and a problematically “purified” landscape are appropriated to supply the “uniqueness” required for New Zealand national identity, and how the handling of the recent debate over Māori rights to claim customary title over the foreshore and seabed suggests that even law is subject to the dictates of a national identity (11–13): ultimately, “culture and criticism” is only deemed legitimate if it works in the nation’s interest, limiting the possibility of “multiple modes of identity and belonging” (18).

Drawing on the work of Miles Fairburn, Turner notes that:

The short logic of globalization means that New Zealand was not only colonized in the first instance by Great Britain ... but also by other, older, settler colonies. Globalization, from the point of view of New Zealand, includes the development of other Anglo-colonial settler states, notably America, Canada, and Australia, and the globalizing economy of the nineteenth century of which they too are a part. The separation out of their ‘identities’ over time from the ‘mother’ country, and from each other, follows a feral logic. This means that despite the drive to identity of settler states – to make each old country over in the new settlers’ idea of it – what might be considered unique about New Zealand is how unexceptional the making of the country truly is, or was, and how great a proportion of its public culture actually comes from somewhere else (namely Great Britain, North America, and Australia). (10)

Turner’s scholarship forms part of a growing concern in New Zealand historiography to move past the nation-forming histories so dominant in the twentieth century (see Pollock, among others, and a recent series of public lectures at the University of Auckland). A similar concern is

present in what little writing there has been on public intellectualism in New Zealand: for example, in his essay “The Public Intellectual is a Dog,” Turner evokes Michael Warner’s work on the textual constitution of publics, their capacity to be made and remade through text, in his argument for more sophisticated, expansive thinking about the (transnational) nature of the “New Zealand” public – as against the framing-while-undermining of the role of the public intellectual in national terms (Turner 88–89) that is so common a feature of New Zealand public discourse.

I want to suggest that higher education operates within the same dynamic: that is, it is transnationalized in practice, yet talked about as serving the nation, and yet does not do enough to be accountable to the politics of the local – at least in terms of a general educational mission, if I can bracket academic research for the moment. Universities in New Zealand are charged with the mission of serving as “the critic and conscience of society” (a phrase enshrined in the Education Act 1989 (Section 162) (4) (a) (v)), but the connection between this rhetoric and the undergraduate curriculum could bear more discussion, to say the least. As Laurence Simmons argues in his introduction to the collection *Speaking Truth to Power: Public Intellectuals Rethink New Zealand*, a perceived decline in public intellectualism has been linked to the “elitist retreat of the university into specialization and professionalization”: “these shifts were solidified in the 1980s and the 1990s in our [New Zealand’s] education policy, which moved away from a model of input, where society accepts a civic role in educating its population for the greater good, to one of output, in which educational settings and goals are framed according to the commercial considerations of an emerging post-industrial economy” (14–15) (see also the work of Michael Peters and Peter Roberts). While this representation of changing policies and perceptions could obviously be complicated – not least by mention of the corresponding shift in the university student population to a broader cross-section of society – certainly there is currently an emphasis

on professional and economic rationales for higher education in New Zealand, and this presents a challenge to notions of kinds of education (such as the teaching of composition) that depend on a commitment to “general education” and a related sense of public or civic motivation for such education. Simmons poses many questions about the university and its relationship to public intellectual life in New Zealand, but one he does not pose is what students are or should be learning about such intellectualism (from self-described public intellectuals who work in the university, or anyone else). In the context of the collection’s multi-faceted account of New Zealand’s anti-intellectualism – an anti-intellectualism in turn contextualized by the familiar tropes of isolation, small population, pioneer/rural/egalitarian sensibilities, “brain drain,” and so on (Roger Horrocks, “A Short History of ‘the New Zealand Intellectual,’” 34–35) – it is apparent that universities and schools are a key site of work toward the contrary. However, Horrocks’ discussion of this site of intellectual life focuses on academics, and hostility towards them, and barely mentions students or curricular goals. We are left wondering, then, what kind of relationships do students have toward “the public,” or to “intellectualism”? How are they positioned by the institution – or what does the institution do to help them imagine themselves as civic actors?

My discussion in Chapter Two illuminates a history where writing instruction has made public or civic work its work, and I contend that writing studies in New Zealand can be a key site where answers to these questions can be entertained – and, more broadly, where analysis of public culture can take place, in all its complex intersections with university cultures (Readings’ notion of the university as a place “where *the question of being-together is raised*” (20)). Brian Opie argues in “Locating the Virtual University in the Antipodes” that as civil society will only continue to be increasingly marginalized by the ways in which the information society and global

capital reinforce one another, the university will simply collaborate in this project unless we “foreground” the “cultural work” of higher education:

... the role of the university in the reproduction and evolution of civil society will be very much diminished if the virtual university is constructed on the basis of the universality of scientific and technical knowledge ... it is the *cultural work* of education as part of the public sphere ... which provides the basis on which democratic institutions and practices, and whatever is distinctive about the “New Zealand university,” are founded and sustained. (223, emphasis in original)

Work in writing studies might provide some of what writers concerned with public culture in New Zealand lament as lacking in that place – a democratized, trans- or post-national conversation about the nature of the public and of public education – if it can address constructively the problems Ong and others have articulated: how to imagine kinds of collectivity and reciprocity, in addition to building individual skills, and how to find ways to think about participation in and rights to education beyond a meritocratic framework. Thinking at the level of pedagogy and student participation will be important for determining this project, as I have suggested with my analysis in Chapter One; that is, the discussion should proceed with attention to teaching in some detail, rather than resting in the common fashion on an invocation of teaching as an unspecified public act.

This is not to suggest, as Duffy does in the U.S. context, that there might be visible “improvements” in New Zealand public discourse, were writing studies to be more widely instantiated. It is rather to assert a space for the university to work in the civic interest in a less direct way (with acknowledgment that Duffy’s version of the connection between classroom and public might have more rhetorical force because of its very directness). The history of “composition” in New Zealand, and my attention to the U.S. classroom, indicate some of the space available for expanding what English teaching can do in this regard, even as it illuminates constitutive institutional constraints. For New Zealand, this is a different way of establishing the

discipline of composition studies than the “research” framework of ACLITS. It is also to articulate a different logic to university development than the race to be as “world-class” as possible, even when it’s impossible; it is to think the university as in part locally determined and locally responsible, whether to markedly local literacy practices, or to students’ presence in the university.

My attention to a range of pedagogical projects in the transnational university has indicated a shared grappling with neoliberal reforms as well as the variations in possible responses, and suggested this is a reason to value a “transnational” composition studies. This attention to various sites of composition instruction outside the U.S. might contribute to the recent impetus in the field towards attending to “place.” In Nedra Reynolds’ *Geographies of Writing: Inhabiting Places and Encountering Difference*, Reynolds proposes to investigate how place and space might be theorized in relation to composition – that is, what role space and place, both actual and imagined, might take in both acts of composing and in writing pedagogy, in the context of Reynolds’ broader political concern with how space and place work to construct or negotiate “difference.” She looks to cultural geography in particular for its attention to the dynamics of built space, and tries to draw this attention into the realm of the writing classroom. In what is a very diffuse survey of a wide range of scholarship on “space,” the pedagogical payoff is slight: at the end of the book, Reynolds proposes briefly that we might more often have students consider the university as a geographical entity, with a particular “sociospatial” logic, as a way of having students enter into the university’s cultures. I would suggest that attention to the global/local dynamics of the university, and their shaping of composition instruction, might be a more forceful and useful version of this “sociospatial” logic. Likewise, I see my work lending some sharper distinctions to concerns like those of Christopher J. Keller and Christian R.

Weisser's edited collection, *The Locations of Composition*, which is broadly interested in how place, space, and location inform or constrain the work of composition – with those terms referring to almost any entity, real or imagined, material or otherwise, and thus seemingly without limit. What value there is in considering a public sphere alongside a classroom alongside an essay, all as “places” or “spaces” or “locations,” seems theoretically unclear, although the argument that all these “places” are significant to composition seems self-evident. What seems to be at stake in this framework for the editors, in their introduction, is that spaces/places/locations carry meaning, are dynamic (as opposed to a static “map” of the discipline (5)), and exist relative to other spaces/places/locations. But this nondiscriminatory take on the “where” of composition seems to bracket the crucial import of the *interrelation* of these key sites of composition's work – the university, the public, the classroom, the nation – and the negotiations that result because they are all, indeed, sites of composition's work.

The university is a specific context that mediates between the flexibility of global cultural flows and the durability of educational theories and practices often allied with nationalist projects – even as the university offers peculiar possibilities for troubling the assigning of “flexibility” to the one and “durability” to the other. It is easy enough, that is, to see education as a conservative force, always struggling or failing to catch up to the changing world for which it purports to prepare students. On the other hand, in that very effort, the university juxtaposes professional, public, and private realms, and makes evident continuities between seeming oppositions like “national” and “global,” in dynamic and instructive ways. In examining some of the possibilities within the university's layered formation, we might recall Raymond Williams' remarks on adult education:

The true position was, always essentially was, that the impulse to Adult Education was not only a matter of remedying deficit, making up for inadequate educational resources in the

wider society, not only a case of meeting new needs of society, though those things contributed. The deepest impulse was the desire to make learning part of the process of social change itself. That was what was important about it. How to do it was always in question and always being changed, but if one forgets that underlying intention then it becomes just one of many other institutions with an essentially different kind of history. (“Adult Education and Social Change,” 257)

In this spirit, I have suggested that acknowledging composition instruction as promoting civic thinking, action, and space changes the space of the university, in offering or modeling kinds of participation and collective work and alternative relationships to the production of knowledge, and claiming particular kinds of autonomy and responsibility for teachers. What is at stake in thinking composition in transnational terms is much more than an array of pedagogies – transnational attention to literacy instruction makes visible shifting understandings of the student, of education, and of the university in a global economy, with which we all must contend.

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