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Tutoring the “Invisible Minority”: Appalachian Writers in the Writing Center

Introduction

Whether or not people visit Appalachia, they probably feel like they know something about the region. Movies, music, and television programs paint a grim and partial portrait of an area stretching from Northern Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia to Southwestern New York State. News media contribute to these representations as well. For example, a *New York Times* ranking of U.S. counties determining the “hardest place to live in the U.S.” featured six Appalachian counties in its bottom ten (Flippen), and numerous other pieces detail the ills of the region: poor access to healthcare (Portnoy), ecological disaster (Osno), and perhaps the most significant issue confronting Appalachia, systemic poverty (Gabriel). The representations of Appalachia often draw from economic realities, but consistently seem to also draw from caricatures and stories half-told. Poverty, for example, is a real issue in Appalachia. However, the way the story is told makes poverty in Appalachia seem like a self-inflicted wound when in reality, there is plenty of blame inside *and* outside of the region to go around.

For many in the area, education exists as one of few ways to escape systemic poverty. Sara Webb-Sunderhaus explains in her study of a college level composition course in Appalachia, “academic literacy practices and a college degree are forms of economic power and capital that will assist them in gaining even more economic power and capital—valuable commodities in a region as disenfranchised as Appalachia” (212). While education provides opportunity, some Appalachian students see classrooms and schools as a reminder of what they lack. Kim Donehower in writing about rural literacies argues that “Since many negative stereotypes about the rural intellect center on language practices, literacy, in rural areas, serves both as a site of stigmatization and as a set of tools to manage that stigmatization [...] In general, the acquisition of literacy was fraught with the potential for shame and stigma” (57). While not all Appalachian students come from rural backgrounds or experiences similar to those Donehower describes, many Appalachians will see college simultaneously as a place of opportunity and as a space where their real and/or perceived lack of preparation will be laid bare.

Given the complex experiences many Appalachians face with respect to education and literacy, Appalachians present unique challenges for writing center consultants and directors.

While much diversity exists in the region and amongst the Appalachian students who consult and visit the writing center at our small, public institution in Appalachian Ohio, we notice that many lack preparation for academic work, successful study habits, and familiarity with academic conventions. We also notice that many of the Appalachian students who visit our writing center work hard, handle significant responsibilities outside of their academic work, and possess unique perspectives of the world that make for often interesting and refreshing reading. In the course of the last year, we—two writing center consultants and the writing center director at our institution—have engaged in an inquiry project to determine how we might tailor our services to support the Appalachian students visiting our writing center. In the spirit of reflection and transparency, we note that the authors of this work are either from Appalachia and/or have strong ties to the area. We will refer to this fact later when it becomes relevant.

Our experience working with Appalachian writers and our understanding of scholarship relevant to Appalachians suggested three issues for further inquiry:

- How to discuss the language differences students bring to the writing center,
- How and when to integrate directive and nondirective tutoring approaches in a session,
- How to establish rapport effectively.

Our recommendations, while culled after a review of relevant literature and careful consideration of what might work in a tutoring session, will need implementation, testing, and assessment to contribute to the “replicable, aggregable, and data support[ed] (RAD) research” (12) called for in *Writing Center Studies* by Dana Driscoll and Sherry Wynn Perdue. Through such work, we may well find that other concepts may be more important altogether or that one or a combination of issues above will generally have more significance than others. Because there is little research in the field of *Writing Center Studies* that specifically addresses Appalachian writers, we will note instances where we consult scholarship that does not directly address Appalachian writers, and we will explain why that scholarship remains relevant for the context of our inquiry.

Despite this study’s limitations, this project and other studies are needed to make writing centers more responsive to the diversity of students visiting them. And while it might be tempting to think of working with Appalachian writers as an issue solely for writing centers located in the region, it is important to consider that Appalachia is a geographically large area and many Appalachian students attend college at schools across the midwest and institutions not located in Appalachia. In addition, Appalachians are, as both Amanda Hayes and Kim Donehower have argued, an invisible minority: a minority because Appalachians are a distinct culture with specific language patterns and social mores and invisible because they are often categorized as part of a monolithic, white U.S. culture. Our project seeks to honor the difference amongst Appalachians, an issue scholars such as Nathan Shepley notes in his work with Ohio’s Appalachian students in a first-year writing composition context (78), but we also want to introduce general yet adaptable

approaches to working with Appalachian students that can benefit directors and consultants, but most importantly, Appalachian student writers. In what follows, we will share our inquiry work and recommendations that may be applicable to other writing centers.

Language Differences

Not all Appalachian communities are identical. In discussing Appalachian Ohio, for instance, Shepley explained that it would be misleading “[t]o characterize all Appalachian Ohio students as identical because they hail from the same part of the state” (78). Appalachia is diverse due in part to its size, but also due to waves of European immigrants and African-American migration. Despite this diversity, Appalachians are often treated as a monolithic culture at once removed from and subordinated to mainstream U.S. culture. Victor Villanueva goes so far as to label such misconceptions about Appalachia as racism: “There’s an Appalachian ‘look’ and Appalachian ways: buck teeth or no teeth and freckles, laziness and loose sexual mores, inbreeding and infighting, and a disparaged dialect. Sounds like racism to me—prejudice based on stereotypes” (xiv). Amanda Hayes addresses the “disparaged dialect” of Appalachia directly and applauds the intent behind NCTE’s Students’ Right to Their Own Language position statement, and notes that the resolution states, “A nation proud of its diverse heritage and its cultural and racial variety will preserve its heritage of dialect.” However, given the way Appalachian English (AE) is characterized in popular media and ignored in the field of composition studies, Hayes also wonders, “If this is true, well, America ain’t so proud of us” (171). How writing center consultants engage Appalachians and the “disparaged dialect” some bring to the writing center can make a significant impact on Appalachian writers. Below we provide some background about salient features of AE followed by some recommendations for discussing language differences with Appalachian writers.

Based on our research and our experience in the writing center at Shawnee State University, we have found some common trends of AE include a-fronting, a different use of the suffix “ing,” a variation in vowel pronunciation, and words that are unique to the region. For example, *Mountain Talk*, a documentary that explores the culture and language of Appalachians, features the use of words such as *airish* (chilly or cold outside), *jasper* (an outsider or stranger), or even *gaum* (meaning cluttered, messy, or dirty) (Hutcheson). These Appalachian-specific words, combined with a variation of syntax unique to AE, can make it hard for a consultant to understand what the writer is trying to convey. Consultants might also notice that Appalachian writers use a-fronting, omit auxiliary verbs from their texts, and include double negatives and non-standard spelling and verb forms in their drafts. The following examples provide a glimpse at some of these linguistic features:

They wouldn’t tell ‘em they lived down hur because they hear’d some of ‘em a-talkin’ about the people that lived hur [...] They was afraid they’d say something to ‘em. But they never did say nothin’ to me. (Smith Jones 149)

I lived in Virginia my whole life. I’m proud to be a plain ol country boy in Elkton, Virginia.

[...] In the country you can walk outside and it be peaceful and quit. . . You can sit out here in a chair and you want be disturb. (Crotteau 29)

The passages above possess complexity, but unfortunately academic readers rarely exhibit the patience needed to unearth the meaning in texts that deviate from Standard Edited American English (SEAE). Consultants want their clients to succeed, and given SEAE's cultural capital and the fact that SEAE is often the benchmark for measuring successful writing, texts like those excerpted above can seem woefully off the mark. Some faculty at our institution, for example, have a frequent habit of requiring their students to visit our writing center specifically to address some of these issues and sometimes insist that they won't read the student's text until the essay has been "corrected." Clearly, ignoring the issue won't help Appalachian writers.

When writing center consultants work with students using nonstandard Englishes such as AE, how the consultant broaches the subject will make a significant difference to the student and the effectiveness of the session. Beth Bir and Carmen Christopher suggest that consultants can discuss language differences by beginning a conversation about a student's home language and "acknowledging the validity of the tutee's home dialect" while also keeping in mind that learning or taking on a new dialect is frustrating. Bir and Christopher recommend that consultants "accept frustration and anger as possible and reasonable responses" from a student writer (5). Scholarship in the field also suggests that when discussing a student's home language use in an academic context, educators should avoid what Jennifer Beech describes as "false binaries: all-or-nothing assimilation into middle-class discourse or total legitimation of students' home dialects" (183). Amanda Hayes, in writing specifically about students use of AE, urges for a move away from "The perception of Appalachian English as deficiency" (172). Writing center consultants can assist Appalachian students in learning more about the contexts in which their home dialects might be appropriate and the contexts in which other Englishes might be better suited, and they can take one step in the right direction by resisting the impulse to position a language difference as an issue of "right" or "wrong." Rather, the issue is always context. Consultants can also take another step in helping Appalachian writers by sharing their own experience of learning the conventions and uses of academic writing. As we mentioned earlier, several of the consultants and the director at our writing center have close ties to Appalachia and in our collaborations in writing this article, phrases such as "this part needs revised" and "this section ain't workin'" occurred frequently. When we share those experiences and the contexts in which we communicate, we can assist Appalachian writers—or any writer struggling to find a voice in academic discourse—in demystifying SEAE.

We can also help Appalachian students succeed and reposition their language practices by placing language choices first in the student's home context. There are privileges that come with the ability to write in SEAE, and ignoring language differences can hurt students. Amanda Hayes suggests that composition instructors should practice "Foregrounding regional language, and by extension regional culture" (176) in order to honor students' home languages while also equipping

Appalachian students with the ability to employ SEAE when the context calls for it. In a writing center context, we can enact this approach by beginning a discussion about language differences on the students' terms first. Once a consultant and student arrive at an understanding of the students' home language, consultants should help students understand other contexts and how writers approach those audiences. This might occur by simply asking, "could you talk to me about what these words mean to you?" instead of treating the language difference as inappropriate or an issue of "correct" or "incorrect." By asking the student to explain or define her language choices, the consultant might be able to better understand the writing and gain a better appreciation for the piece. That appreciation or understanding is essential for establishing trust between consultant and student, which is important for every writing center session. However, for Appalachian students whose home languages are often the source of ridicule, seeking understanding of a student's home language may prove essential to the writer's development.

Directive/Nondirective

When working with a student who may have a language difference, it is important to identify effective tutoring method(s) tailored to the student. However, due to fears of plagiarism and due to influential scholarship in the field promoting a "hands off" approach, consultants and directors have been trained to adhere to nondirective tutoring methods. While practitioners will also keep directive approaches in their repertoire, nondirective approaches are often the orthodox approach in many writing centers. Nondirective tutoring, though, may not always facilitate learning for some writers. While recommendations such as making the student the primary agent (Brooks 129) can lessen the threat of plagiarism or dependency, this approach could become frustrating and embarrassing for some Appalachian students who are already anxious about visiting the writing center.

Many Appalachian students are the first person in their family to attend college and may have little familiarity with academic culture. That unfamiliarity may leave them unsure about the writing process and unaware of terminology associated with the writing process. Because terminology such as revision (as opposed to editing), thesis statement, and topic sentence are ubiquitous to writing centers, consultants and directors may assume all college students are familiar with terms related to writing. However, Appalachian students unfamiliar with academic writing might have a difficult time communicating with consultants about assignments. For example, an Appalachian student might visit the writing center and request for a consultant to "look over" or "correct" a paper. For most consultants, such phrases raise red flags and when confronted with such a situation, many consultants spend the beginning of a session explaining that their writing center doesn't proofread or correct essays for writers. Nonetheless, many students may use a term such as "correct" or "edit" a paper when they may simply mean, "Will you help me understand how to make changes to my paper?" In many cases a student is aware of the process but lacks the proper term to describe what she needs help with. The lack of terminology is an issue

that can be found among English Language Learning ELL writers as well as Appalachian writers. Sharon Myers explains that many ELL students depend on natives of a language to explain and teach them effective approaches to academic writing (290). Consultants and directors can better assist Appalachian students in learning about the writing process and communicating in academic contexts by providing more directive instruction about that terminology and how it's used in academic contexts.

While nondirective approaches are the orthodoxy in most writing centers, directive approaches can be more beneficial to Appalachian writers who lack understanding of the writing process or who lack exposure to academic writing. Linda Shamon and Deborah Burns illustrate the effectiveness of directive instruction by providing examples of graduate students receiving directive tutoring. A graduate advisor might take a student's paper and rewrite sections or replace words with his own (137). Many would see this as appropriation, however, as Shamon and Burns revealed, this process gave students more knowledge about academic writing and the ability to complete the next assignment with confidence (137). Rather than creating dependency, directive approaches give consultants the ability to show a student options for approaching an assignment. After a consultant shows a writer how to structure a paragraph or clarify a sentence for an academic audience, the hope is that the student will be able to perform, or mimic, what the consultant showed. For instance, say a student visits the writing center and is unsure of how to format a paper in APA. Instead of telling the student, "your format and citations are wrong," a consultant might show the student how to fix the error. A consultant might find a style guide or handbook that provides APA examples, show the student how to locate information in the book, discuss the examples with the student, and write on the student's paper to show her how to cite. By doing this, a consultant shows the student not only the proper way to format but also models effective study habits that can help the student on the next assignment. In our writing center, consultants have found that when working with underprepared Appalachian students, directive approaches, such as showing, can create learning opportunities and more successful sessions.

While directive tutoring benefits students unfamiliar with academic writing conventions—like many of the Appalachian students we work with—that does not mean that writing center consultants and directors should abandon nondirective approaches. Peter Carino argued for a sliding scale informed by the knowledge and authority a consultant and writer bring to the session:

- More student knowledge, less tutor knowledge = more nondirective methods
- Less student knowledge, more tutor knowledge = more directive methods (124).

A session might begin with nondirective questions that seek to probe the familiarity and comfort level the student has with her essay. Carino's example of nondirective questions might be appropriate for a student with more knowledge and confidence in her writing. In his example, consultants ask, "Is this the way you want it? [...]" "Do you see what I mean? [...]" "Could you add a transition to get the reader from one to the other?" (118). While this approach may work for

students with a knowledge of academic writing conventions, for students with less familiarity they may not. Appalachian students who lack familiarity with academic writing often become frustrated when we rely too heavily on nondirective questions. Sometimes, identifying a place needing a transition, for example, and then providing writers with a few options can better facilitate learning. We often follow up that example by identifying another place needing a transition and using some nondirective questions that help students apply what we initially show them.

Nondirective questions at the beginning of the session can help us assess a student's comfort level, but once it becomes apparent she is uncomfortable or unresponsive to the questions, abandoning the questioning and becoming more directive may be the most effective way to help a student writer. Carino provides an example where directive methods result in a successful session with a student who is unfamiliar with academic writing. In his example, the consultant asks questions including "Have you ever written this type of assignment before? [...] Did your teacher explain the assignment" (120). After receiving responses that revealed the student was unfamiliar with the assignment, the consultant proceeded with a directive approach by explaining to the student the purpose of the assignment. The consultant told the student what

to cut from her paper and what sentence to use as a topic sentence (120). Many will view this as editing the students work, but Carino sees this as the consultant using power and authority appropriately by sharing knowledge and assisting the student in learning the proper way to write the assignment (121). For the Appalachian students we work with in our writing center, a blend of methods is essential to gauge a student's knowledge and respond adequately. We employ directive approaches not because Appalachian students are inferior writers, but because some have simply not been exposed to formal academic writing.

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Rapport

Rapport is an important part to working with any writer, and naturally it's a ubiquitous part of writing center training. For example, the textbook for many writing center pedagogy courses (our institution's included), *The Longman Guide to Peer Tutoring*, refers to rapport as a way to "create an atmosphere of trust" and describes it as "one of your best assets as a tutor" (Gillespie and Lerner 8). Recent studies of rapport suggest that it may be an even *more* important issue for working with students lacking familiarity with academic culture. This scholarship, which mostly includes studies of ELL students, addresses populations different than Appalachian

student writers. However, their work remains relevant because the issue is not necessarily the linguistic differences students bring to the writing center, but the lack of familiarity they possess with regard to academic writing and culture. In the context of this inquiry, rapport appears a uniquely important issue for Appalachian Writers. According to Kathryn Russ, a professor of Counseling and Human Development at Lindsey Wilson College, Appalachians often have difficulty communicating with people whom they do not know. The issue stems not from an inability to communicate, but a distrust of outsiders that's steeped in how Appalachians have been portrayed, represented, and in many respects, oppressed by individuals and institutions both inside and outside of the region. Gaining the trust of any writer is important in a writing center consultation, but with Appalachian students, it's essential. The rapport we build in a consultation doesn't just set a positive tone, it establishes trust, and in the context of Appalachian writers, rapport alone may determine the effectiveness of a session.

Rapport can be created in how a consultant greets a writer, but in many respects consultants generate and maintain rapport by how they respond to a student text (Bell, Arnold, and Haddock). Some scholars who study rapport in writing centers focus on politeness and how consultants use politeness strategies to establish connections with student writers. Politeness theory posits that when people interact—particularly in a scenario that might be awkward or embarrassing—individuals will seek ways to protect and preserve “face.” How this is accomplished is often overlooked, but when observed and examined, efforts to save face are an intricate dance combining recognition of issues that might be awkward and employment of strategies that seek to minimize that awkwardness. According to Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, “it is in general in every participant’s best interest to maintain each other’s face, that is to act in ways that assure the other participants that the agent is heedful of the assumptions concerning face” (61). Writing center consultants certainly “threaten face” because they are expected, on the one hand, to act as equals with the students they work with, and on the other hand, they’re also expected to review a student’s work and call the writer’s attention to aspects of the text that work and to parts that need revision. Consultants have to couch their feedback in such a way that they impress upon the writer the importance of the needed changes, but do so in a way that “saves face” and even encourages students that they can make the needed changes. Writing center consultants accomplish this by employing strategies that minimize the severity of their feedback (negative politeness) or buffer a negative comment with praise (positive politeness) (Bell and Youmans 35–36; Bell, Arnold, and Haddock 39–40). Again, studies of politeness strategies in a writing center context are not specifically related to Appalachian students, but they do take as their subject students who lack familiarity with academic writing and the customs of higher education—a central issue in working with Appalachian students who are often the first in their families to attend college.

To better establish rapport with Appalachian writers, writing center consultants will need to reconsider politeness as a rapport building strategy and engage in practices that may

seem unnatural and counter to ways we work with other students. In particular, when tutoring Appalachian writers, consultants may need to rethink positive politeness norms and how they couch critical feedback. Mimicking the genre of instructor feedback that Summer Smith describes in "Genre of the End Comment," many consultants often provide praise statements in order to "set up" a critique or recommendation. Most students familiar with this convention will understand that the consultant or teacher provides praise in order to help the student "save face" before providing the suggestion or criticism that the consultant or teacher really wants the writer to address. In studying this issue with ELL students, Bell and Youmans write that ELLs become confused or unsure how to interpret praise setting up a criticism, and rather than "recognizing the L1 consultant's rhetorical stance through text-based praise, the L2 student takes the praise at face value and becomes confused" (40). The politeness norms employed by consultants, in other words, is a product of U.S. academic culture that many consultants and directors may take for granted and that many students unfamiliar with such conventions will find confusing and misleading. Some Appalachian students may be more familiar with U.S. academic conventions than the students Bell and Youmans investigated in their study. However, for many first generation college students in Appalachia, they will likely have comparable misunderstandings about academic norms such as positive praise.

To address this issue, writing center consultants can employ strategies that are more directive and transparent. Rather than use the "congratulate then criticize" approach, consultants can generate rapport by spending more time on the positives in an Appalachian writer's paper. As long as the feedback is genuine and grounded in specifics from the text, consultants can generate rapport by explaining specifically why and how an aspect of student writing is successful. It may seem perfectly normal to quickly mention to a student, "I like the story you began your essay with" before setting up a critique such as, "But, I'm concerned because I'm not sure what your argument is until page three." However, a student unfamiliar with such conventions may think that the good introduction might trump the need to clarify the argument early in the paper. In other words, to some students unfamiliar with politeness norms in higher education, the essay is more or less on the right track. However, explaining *why* the introduction successfully eases the reader into the paper's topic can make the success of the paper clearer to the writer. When the consultant has to point out aspects of an essay that need to be addressed, they should make that transition clear and provide specific feedback that articulates the issue and why it should be addressed. For example, a consultant might note, "So I've talked with you about your introduction and why it does a great job of getting your reader interested in the topic. I also want you to know the lack of a thesis or clear central idea early in the paper is an issue that confused me and that you'll need to address when you revise." Writers unaccustomed to academic response

conventions, like many Appalachian writers, will benefit from a clearer separation between praise and criticism. Providing more directive responses runs counter to calls for nondirective feedback advocated by Jeff Brooks and other scholars, but as we mention earlier, some Appalachian students unfamiliar with academic writing conventions may have no other avenue to obtain such knowledge.

Conclusion

Appalachian students, many of whom may not have a background that would inform them of academic writing and feedback conventions, will need consultants to make the implicit explicit. Writing center consultants performing this kind of work operate in ways similar to the "cultural informants" that Judith Powers describes in her work with ELL writers; according to Powers, her colleagues "found themselves increasingly in the role of informant rather than collaborator" (98) when working with such writers. Writing center consultants do become informants with respect to language, as Sharon Myers argues, but they also become informants with respect to a variety of other issues that ELL writers confront. ELL writers will certainly be different than Appalachian writers for a number of reasons, but many Appalachian writers will, like ELL writers, be confused, frustrated, and unfamiliar with many aspects of communicating in colleges and universities. Directive feedback and a frank discussion of academic response conventions with Appalachian students can make the writing center less of a place where attention is drawn to what Appalachian writers lack and more of place "where directive tutoring provides a sheltered and protected time and space for practice that leads to the accumulation of important repertoires, the expression of new social identities, and the articulation of domain-appropriate rhetoric" (Shamoon and Burns 145). If writing center consultants and directors can develop an understanding of Appalachian language differences, integrate appropriate uses of directive feedback, and help Appalachian writers understand response norms, writing centers can succeed in helping Appalachians develop their ability to write and succeed in college.

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