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Abstract:

According to the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, from 2004 to 2008, the number of Catholics worldwide who reported that they rarely or never attend mass increased from 25% to 32%; however, within the past year, several countries report congregational increases as high as 20%. On March 13, 2013, the papal conclave elected Pope Francis whose rhetoric has since changed the world's perception of Catholicism. Since then, he has made rhetorical moves that differ from other popes that may continue to draw people back to Catholicism. In this article, I use Michel Foucault's panopticon theory and Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* to understand the difference in rhetoric between Pope Francis and his predecessors. From this we can begin to understand why Pope Francis's rhetorical approach to Catholic doctrine ceases to alienate and, instead, causes worldwide increases of congregational attendance.

Flocking to the Fold: Pope Francis' (De/Re)Territorialization of Catholicism

A decreasing trend of affiliation would alarm most organizations whose cultural construction—or assemblage—relies heavily on membership and participation. In his essay, "Embracing Pop Culture: The Catholic Church in the World Market," Michael Budde (1998) argued that the Catholic Church made a great effort to keep up with other culture industries (as used by Adorno and Horkheimer) by having the pope's "image licensed to makers of hats, mugs, and T-shirts" as an attempt to make him a household name like "Mickey Mouse, Batman, and the Rolling Stones" (77). Despite the rebranding of Catholicism from 2004 to 2008, the number of Catholics worldwide who reported that they "rarely or never attend mass" increased from 25% to 32% (CARA 2013). Catholicism saw a decrease in activity, and after Pope Benedict XVI resigned in the winter of 2013, the solution to the inactivity may have arrived. On March 13, 2013, the papal conclave elected the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Jorge Mario Bergoglio, to be the new pope for the Catholic Church. Since then, Pope Francis' rhetoric has been working to reconstruct the face of Catholicism. Using Michel Foucalt's theory of the Panopticon, I will illustrate the Catholic assemblage's use of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Then, drawing heavily from Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, I will analyze the *America Magazine's* September 30, 2013 interview of Pope Francis to show how he deterritorialized the assemblage's striated space into a reterritorialized smooth space, thus showing the constant play and interactions between deterritorialization and reterritorialization and between smooth space and striated space.

The quest for power and influence is nothing new to the Roman Catholic Church as seen via the Western Schism between 1378 and 1418; the Inquisitions in the 12th, 13th, 15th and 16th centuries; and the crowning of kings under the Holy Roman Empire from 800 to 1530. The

Catholic Church as a governing body remained in a relationship of power over its members for centuries. In his thesis, John Nelson (1997) builds on R.B. Kershner's idea that the Catholic Church has strong similarities to Foucault's interpretation of Bentham's Panopticon, and Nelson goes as far to coin the term "Catholic Panopticon" (5-6). Foucault (1975) describes the purpose of the Panopticon prison as "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power, . . . in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers" (201). With religion, the terminology shifts. Catholics are not inmates, but they begin to discipline themselves to the standards of the Church based on the teachings of the pope. According to the Vatican's official website, each member looks to the pope for guidance on matters of both the spiritual and the carnal: the pope "is the perpetual and visible principle and foundation of unity of the bishops and of the faithful" and "[exercises] supreme, full, and immediate power in the universal church." Using Foucault (1975), we see that the pope's omnipresence can represent the "the supervisor in a central tower" of the Catholic Panopticon (200). This is not, however, to conclude that the power relationship is necessarily a negative one.

Foucault prefaces his "Panopticonism" chapter by stating: "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms. . . . In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (194). Although it may seem from an outside perspective that the Catholic assemblage restricts, Foucault's perspective shows that the relationship produces reality and truth. In his interview, however, Pope Francis (2013) acknowledges the inherent danger of such a power system, "The view of the church's teaching as a monolith to defend without nuance or different understandings is wrong" (36). If the church

functions as an immovable stone pillar, where it stands without question, then people may begin to think of the relationship in the negative terms Foucault asks us to avoid.

Foucault's interpretation of Bentham's Panopticon relies heavily on the assumption that the Panopticon is "a laboratory" used "for experiments on men [and women], and . . . must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men [and women]" (Foucault 1975, 203-5). He even suggests that it "may provide an apparatus for supervising its own mechanisms" (204). This function of the Panopticon is key to understanding the relationship of deterritorialization and reterritorialization[1]. The papacy, in its position of power, can see when and where the assemblage begins to disintegrate and call for the need of reterritorialization.

Pope Francis (2013), however, offers a caution that the Church should not function like a laboratory. According to him, it should function more like a journey to the frontier, or rather a journey to those on the fringes who are leaving Catholicism: "There is always the lurking danger of living in a laboratory. Ours is not a 'lab faith,' but a 'journey faith,' a historical faith" (34). If Catholicism treats itself like a laboratory, then its members may ultimately withdraw because they do not live in laboratory-like circumstances. They live in the real world with real problems. Pope Francis emphasizes the risk, "I am afraid of laboratories because in the laboratory you take the problems and then you bring them home to tame them, to paint them artificially, out of their context. You cannot bring home the frontier, but you have to live on the border and be audacious" (36). According to Pope Francis, an effective reterritorialization should be one that

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[1] The best way to conceive of the relationship between deterritorialization and reterritorialization is in one of the many metaphors used by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in their work *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Think of a territory with constructed boundaries. As circumstances change, boundaries must be renegotiated. When they are deconstructed or broken down, they are deterritorialized. When they are reconstructed or finalized, they are reterritorialized. What interests Deleuze and Guattari most are not the final boundaries set, but how the play of (de/re)territorialization (500).

addresses the frontiers and the borders—not just the surface. His rhetoric shows that one should

go among them as he did: "[I]t is one thing to have a meeting to study the problem of drugs in a

slum neighborhood and quite another thing to go there, live there and understand the problem

from the inside and study it" (36). One does not simply place a face on a mug in place of visiting

the frontiers.

In his essay, Budde illustrates that the laboratory-like attempt to reterritorialize at the end

of the 20$^{th}$ century was one driven not by piousness or faith, but one driven by capitalism on the

same caliber as the culture industries described by Adorno and Horkheimer's (1944) work, "The

Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." At the end of his essay, Budde (1998)

explains, "In ways like this, Christianity's hopes for the Kingdom of God blend into Disney's

Magic Kingdom—a promise fulfilled in the here and now, and one with abundant merchandising

and shopping opportunities" (86). It is easy to see how Budde would draw his conclusion that the

Disney kingdom could slowly absorb God's kingdom by matching the declining attendance with

the capitalist rebranding by Pope John Paul II. Pope Francis (2013) advocates the need for deeper

change. He explains, "I believe that we always need time to lay the foundations for real, effective

change. . . . The thinking of the church must recover genius and better understand how human

beings understand themselves today, in order to develop and deepen the church's teaching" (17).

With Pope Francis's appointment as pontiff, he seems to have identified a need for change and

began a reterritorialization that went to the fringes of the assemblage—not a capitalist rebranding

as Budde believed. Exactly how does Pope Francis plan "to lay the foundation?" To answer this,

I turn to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus*.

In the self-prescribed schizophrenic nature of their work, Deleuze and Guattari (1987)

explain that all cultures and subcultures exist in what they term assemblages: "All this, lines and

measurable speeds, constitutes an assemblage" (4). They use a book as one of the many examples throughout their work, "There is no difference between what a book talks about and how it is made. Therefore, a book has no object. As an assemblage, a book has only itself, in connection with other assemblages" (4). They claim that the reason a book has any significance in the first place is because it has relations to other assemblages—or rather—other cultures and subcultures. With Catholicism (and every other assemblage), each individual is his or her own assemblage, but gains significance when crossed and combined with other assemblages. Pope Francis (2013) offers a much clearer, less schizophrenic explanation: "There is no full identity without belonging to a people. No one is saved alone, as an isolated individual, but God attracts us looking at the complex web of relationships that take place in the human community. God enters into this dynamic, this participation in the web of human relationships" (20-2). This web of human relationships can be seen as an assemblage. Using Deleuze and Guattari, I claim that the center to the Catholic assemblage constantly shifts despite the attempts at making the papacy that center. Pope Francis explains that members of the Jesuit Society (the religious order of Catholicism to which he belongs), Christ and the church are at the center of the society, which gives it "two fundamental points of reference for its balance and for being able to live on the margins, on the frontier. If it looks too much in upon itself, it puts itself at the center as a very solid, very well 'armed' structure, but then it runs the risk of feeling safe and self-sufficient" (Pope Francis 2013, 18). Although Deleuze and Guattari would claim a shifting center, Pope Francis believes that there should be two centers always working with one another: Christ and the Church.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) explain that deterritorialization of an assemblage is a never simple matter. The act of deconstructing—in this case attitude—always involves immediate

reterritorialization as well: "[Deterritorialization] is in turn inseparable from correlative reterritorializations. [Deterritorialization] is never simple, but always multiple and composite" (509). In other words, once something is deconstructed, it is then immediately reconstructed into something else. For example, with Pope John Paul II the deterritorialization that tried to make him a household name by placing his image on hats, mugs, and T-shirts immediately reterritorialized into a capitalist culture industry, at least in Budde's perspective. What makes Pope Francis' rhetoric more effective is the difference between striated space and smooth space.

Deleuze and Guattari compare the difference between striated space and smooth space using fabrics. Striated space is like woven fabric, everything has its proper place and its equivalent function; smooth space is more like felt, where everything is fused together with no apparent pattern, but still functions (475). They are quick to remind us "that the two spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space" (474). The two are always at play, going back and forth, much like deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Antonio Spadaro, S.J. (2013), the interviewer, described the interview itself using vocabulary strikingly relevant to Deleuze and Guattari's explanation of striated and smooth space. He said:

> Talking with Pope Francis is a kind of *volcanic flow* of ideas that are *bound up with each other*. . . . Our time together was, in truth, more a conversation than an interview, and my questions served simply to *guide* the discussion in a general sense, rather than *enclose it within rigid and predefined parameters*. . . . There was nothing mechanical about it, and the answers were the result of an extended dialogue and a line of reasoning that I have tried to render here in a concise manner and to the best of my abilities. (15-6, emphasis added)

The interview was so fluid and so similar to the definition of smooth space (and unlike a classically constructed question and answer interview resembling striated space) that Spadaro and Pope Francis switched "back and forth from Spanish and Italian, often without even noticing" (36). This shows the smooth spaced nature of the way Pope Francis speaks, not just the things he says.

What then is the connection between Pope Francis' reterritorialization and striated and smooth space? We see his answer from the interview (2013), "The dogmatic and moral teachings of the church are not all equivalent" (26). The practical difference is one of defined structure of dogma (striated space) and one of moral teachings (smooth space). Pope Francis saw the need to deterritorialize the dogmatic striated space and begin to reterritorialize with the smooth space of moral teaching.

The most relevant of dogmatic versus moral teachings is that of homosexuality. Pope Francis' predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI, like several of the previous popes, took a strong stance on homosexuality. In his 2011 Christmas address, Pope Benedict said about gay marriage, "[Marriage] is not a simple social convention, but rather the fundamental cell of every society. Consequently, policies which undermine the family threaten human dignity and the future of humanity itself" (Pullella 2012). While Catholic dogma suggests that marriage between a man and a woman is the only acceptable form of marriage, Pope Francis (2013) takes an entirely different approach—a less striated, smoother approach: "A person once asked me, in a provocative manner, if I approved of homosexuality. I replied with another question: 'Tell me: when God looks at a gay person, does he endorse the existence of this person with love, or reject and condemn this person?' We must always consider the person. Here we enter into the mystery of the human being" (26). Pope Francis did not jump to classic dogma concerning

homosexuality, he taught principles of love and mercy. He continued, "[I]f a homosexual person is of good will and is in search of God, I am no one to judge. By saying this, I said what the catechism says. . . . It is necessary to accompany them with mercy" (24). His comment shows the natural relationship between deterritorialization and reterritorialization—between striated space and smooth space. The Catholic doctrine on homosexuality remains quite strict: it is not allowed. This doctrine is in striated space, a structured space defined by strict laws. Pope Francis's comment reexamines the approach to that doctrine while not changing the doctrine itself, making it smooth space. In 2010 before being elected to the papacy, he called Argentina's law legalizing same-sex marriage (the first of its kind in Latin America) the work of the devil (Luongo 2015). This attitude reflects the striated space of Catholic dogma while his later comment as Pope, "I am no one to judge," reflects the smooth space of his rhetoric towards the LGBT community. He deterritorialized his own attitude and the attitude of Catholic dogma and reterritorialized it as Pope.

Homosexuality accounts for only one of several examples of Pope Francis's deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Catholic striated dogma. Perhaps one of the more public topics for the Church is that of child abuse from Catholic priests. Pope John Paul II received heavy criticism for what they perceived as inaction concerning the boom of sex scandal in the church during his 27-year appointment. According to David D'Bonnabel, an Austrian victim of sexual abuse by a priest and member of the Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP), "In Austria, the Church has paid token compensation to 1,800 victims of sex abuse in return for their silence, and not a single priest has been defrocked or removed" (Squires 2014). Many other critics claim that Pope John Paul II's inaction is "his abject failure to bring to justice sexually abusive priests and the bishops who covered up their crimes" (Squires 2014).

While the same critics claim that Pope Francis "has taken no tangible steps during his 13-month papacy to crack down on abusive clergy" (Squires 2014), his rhetoric since those claims provides further evidence of his deterritorialization and reterritorialization concerning the topic. In early April 2014, Pope Francis "personally [asked] for forgiveness for the damage [priests] have done for having sexually abused children" (Povoledo 2014). He went on to say, "The church is aware of this damage. . . . It is personal moral damage, carried out by men of the church, and we will not take one step backward regarding how we will deal with this problem" (Povoledo 2014). Later that month he formed a special commission for the protection of minors. In July 2014, he called the sex abuse scandal a "leprosy in our house" and admitted that "1 in 50 Catholic clerics are pedophiles" (Neuman 2014). A 2014 article from CBS News reported that Pope Francis blamed the disturbing numbers on priest celibacy, which further deterritorializes that particular dogma calling "the ongoing requirements of celibacy in his church a 'problem' and reportedly said 'there are solutions and I will find them.'"

When Pope Francis deterritorialized the striated dogma of Catholicism and reterritorialized it using the smooth space of moral teachings, his peers reprimanded him. He bluntly suggested that "it is not necessary to talk about these things all the time. . . . The church's pastoral ministry cannot be obsessed with the transmission of a disjointed multitude of doctrines to be imposed insistently" (Pope Francis 2013, 26). Then, emphasizing the relationship between the striated and the smooth, he said, "We have to find a new balance; otherwise even the moral edifice of the church is likely to fall like a house of cards, losing the freshness and fragrance of the Gospel. The proposal of the Gospel must be more simple, profound, radiant" (26). He is not suggesting that Catholic doctrine has at all changed, but the rhetorical approach to that doctrine has drastically changed. Cardinal Timothy Dolan, the Archbishop of New York, commented in a

CBS article (2013) that "The way [Pope Francis is] doing it is so fresh and is so captivating, but he's not really changing anything of the essence of the church." He isn't condemning; he is encouraging love and acceptance. As Pope Francis (2013) said himself, "The structural and organizational reforms are secondary—that is, they come afterward. The first reform must be the attitude" (24).

Thus, enters the crucial question: Has it worked? According to a report by *Vatican Insider* (2013), "In the eight months since Francis began his pontificate, British cathedrals 'have seen a rise of about 20% in congregations, drawing in both new and lapsed members.'" The Pew Research Center (2013); however, shows no increase in Mass attendance in the United States, but polls suggest that more people are reporting that they do. Fortunately, Britain isn't the only one reporting an increase, "It goes on to add that over half the priests surveyed in Italy said they had noticed a rise in support for the Church. . . . Spain too seems to be experiencing this turnaround. . . . In the Pope's homeland, Argentina, 12% more people define themselves as believers compared to before" (2013). In the same article, Archbishop of Westminster, Vincent Nichols, calls it "the Francis effect."

With the increasing numbers of Mass attendance around the world, Pope Francis' reterritorialization certainly seems to be effective. He believes that "[t]he people of God want pastors, not clergy acting like bureaucrats or government officials" (Pope Francis 2013, 24). The balance of striated and smooth space—the play between the two—becomes essential. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) said, "What interests us in operations of striation and smoothing are precisely the passages or combinations: how forces at work within space continually striate it, and how in the course of its striation it develops other forces and emits new smooth spaces. . . . Never believe that a smooth space will suffice to save us" (500). Or, in other simplified, less

schizophrenic terms, Pope Francis (2013) counsels, "We must walk united with our differences: there is no other way to become one. This is the way of Jesus" (28).

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A Tutor's Audience is Never a Fiction:
Leaving the Role of Audience and Becoming a Reader in the Writing Center

Eric James Stephens and Susan Andersen

Abstract:

Often, tutors in the writing center do not understand their rhetorical roles during a session and end up entering the role of the student's audience. Entering the role of audience sacrifices an excellent opportunity to ask critical questions about audience awareness. In this microstudy, we hope to discover how tutors see themselves in the rhetorical situation and how they approach audience awareness during a session. To determine this, we surveyed 17 undergraduate tutors, observed 22 of their sessions, and then coded the results looking for their understanding of the rhetorical situation, how often they act as the audience, and how they discuss audience awareness during their sessions. We discovered that most of the tutors we surveyed did not make a significant connection between their roles and the rhetorical situation, which caused 18% of tutors to take ownership of the paper, 30% to refer to the instructor as the audience, and 90% to enter the role of audience themselves. Coupling these results with surrounding writing center literature shows that current writing center theory and practice lacks guidance to help tutors understand their rhetorical roles. Once tutors begin to understand those roles, they can begin to better serve students with more critical questions concerning audience awareness.

A Tutor's Audience is Never a Fiction:

Leaving the Role of Audience and Becoming a Reader in the Writing Center

**Introduction**

On a Tuesday afternoon, Holly came to the writing center to revise her argumentative research paper for her freshman comp class with Eric. She wheeled over a chair, and we began reading it together. Under her name and other heading information it read, "Audience: Parents who enter their kids in glitz beauty pageants." Once she read through her introduction, I asked her to define a "glitz" beauty pageant, which is a beauty pageant where the girls have make-up plastered faces and stuffed bras — even though they are six years old.

Then I asked about the definition based on past training and suggestions from writing tutor guides like *The Bedford Guide for Writing Tutors*. Then, almost like second-nature, I suggested that she define the term for clarification for the reader. Epiphany struck. As my mind raced, I asked himself, "Who is the audience for this essay? Is it me? Or is it 'Parents who enter their kids in glitz beauty pageants' like she identified at the top of the paper? What would happen to her credibility if she took an already sensitive topic to an already sensitive audience and then defined the paper's basic foundation? The answer: completely condescending." After sharing my epiphany with her, I recanted my suggestion and began reading the rest of the essay looking for ways to tailor it to Holly's specified audience. The rest of the conference centered on "parents who enter their kids in glitz beauty pageants."

In his *Writing with Power*, Peter Elbow (1981) compared the relationship between writer and audience as two people on a bicycle. Ryder, Lei, and Roen (1999) explained, "As writers, we can steer; but the readers have to pedal" (p. 54). While this metaphor rings true, it asks an important question: where is the writing center tutor in this relationship? Tutors do not write the

student essays, so they aren't steering, but they are not (usually) the audience either, which means they aren't pedaling either. Writing tutors often find themselves at an interesting intersection between the writer and the audience and, in the confusion, enter the role of audience. This is founded on the assumption that being *a reader* means being *the audience*.

In this microstudy, we explore the relationship tutors have with their students surrounding the concept of audience awareness. We wanted to discover how tutors saw themselves rhetorically in a writing session. Do they enter the session in the role of reader but act as the audience? How often do tutors discuss audience awareness? Do tutors see audience awareness as a rhetorical tool? Is there a difference in what tutors believe and how they actually tutor? It is our hope that this research removes some of the confusion concerning audience awareness and helps tutors to ask their students more critical questions rather than assuming the role of audience.

**Review of Literature**

The concept of audience awareness is nothing new. Aristotle spoke of its importance: "[He] defines the rhetorician as someone who is always able to see what is persuasive. . . . Correspondingly, rhetoric is defined as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case" (Rapp, 2010). However, when Aristotle defined what it meant to be a rhetorician by being able to persuade an audience, he spoke of oral communication, which left commentary concerning written communication lacking. Walter Ong's (1975) work, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction," explains, "Over two millennia, rhetoric has been gradually extended to include writing more and more, until today, in highly technological cultures, this is its principle concern" (p. 9). He goes on to say that "when orality was in the ascendancy, rhetoric was oral focused; as orality yielded to writing, the focus of rhetoric was slowly shifted, unreflectively for

the most part, and without notice" (p. 9). As the title of his essay suggests, the role of the writer

is to create a fictional audience to address, "the writer must construct in his [or her] imagination,

clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role" (p. 12). This idea seemed, at the time,

quite reasonable. What followed were several theories and practices about how to best teach

audience awareness in the composition classroom like Flower's (1979) "Writer-Based Prose: A

Cognitive Basis for Problems in Writing." Later though, in their essay, "Audience

Addressed/Audience Invoked: The Role of Audience Awareness in Composition Theory and

Pedagogy," Ede and Lunsford (1984) claimed that "when one turns to precise, concrete

situations, the relationship between speech and writing can become far more complex than even

Ong represents" (p. 162). Audience awareness is much more complex than creating an

abstraction from a greater abstraction. Unlike the purpose of Ede and Lunsford's work, however,

the purpose of this paper is not to determine which method of teaching audience awareness in the

composition class works the best; it's what happens when written and oral communication

collide in the writing center.

     Communicating with an audience through oral communication presents its own

problems. Communicating with an audience through written communication adds several more

layers of complexity to an already difficult issue. What happens, then, when those roads intersect

in the writing center? As Ong (1975) illustrates, "For the speaker, the audience is in from of him

[or her]. For the writer, the audience is far away, in time or space or both" (p. 10). What happens

when a student comes to the writing center with a piece of writing—hopefully with an audience

in mind—and sits down with a tutor whose audience is not a fiction, but a real person? What is

the rhetorical role of a tutor during a session in the writing center? First, it should be noted, as

Ede and Lunsford (1984) do, "One of the factors that makes writing so difficult . . . is that we

have no recipes: each rhetorical situation is unique" (p. 164), and so it is with tutoring. There is no one way to tutor, but in this essay we hope to distinguish which roles will best help tutor and student.

Much of the literature surrounding audience awareness treats the words *audience* and *reader* as near identical. Douglas Park's (1982) work, "The Meaning of 'Audience,'" has the first to make a distinct division between the two terms: a reader is "[a]nyone who happens to listen to or to read a given discourse," while audiences are "[e]xternal readers and listeners *as* they are involved in the rhetorical situation" (p. 250). Essentially, a reader could be anyone while an audience is actively involved in the rhetorical situation. Park cautions composition instructors that the two words "are often used interchangeably [which] allows great confusion" (p. 250). This caution, however, is not unique to the classroom. In fact, the entire premise of Flower's (1979) essay, "Writer-Based Prose: A Cognitive Basis for Problems in Writing," confused these two terms. The essay operates on the assumption that a reader is an audience. Her opposing method of instruction, "Reader-Based prose," substitutes the term audience for reader: "Reader-Based prose is the deliberate attempt to communicate something to a reader. . . . It also offers the reader an issue-centered rhetorical structure" (p. 20). Although a reader may read the "issue-centered rhetorical structure," that does not necessarily mean that a reader is involved in the structure the same way an audience is. Perhaps her method should be called "Audience-Based prose" instead. Peter Elbow's (1987) essay, "Closing My Eyes As I Speak: An Argument for Ignoring Audience," committed the same error, even within the same sentence, "[W]e can teach students to notice when audience awareness is getting in their way—and when this happens, consciously to put aside the needs of readers for a while" (p. 52). Certainly, Elbow makes a compelling argument to ignore an audience during the early stages of the writing process, but

does he mean we should ignore people walking by who may pick up the text to read it? or should we ignore the audience, the people involved in the rhetorical situation. We argue the latter, but the distinction in the essay is near non-existent. This lack of clarification is present in professional publications for composition teachers and even more present in writing center literature.

The disparity between *audience* and *reader* finds itself missing in several articles in *The Writing Lab Newsletter*. In her article, "Siamese Twins: Helping Writers Cope with the Elusive Concept of Audience," Virginia Davidson (2006) attempted to do just as the title suggests: make the idea of an audience clearer for students. Upon a close reading of the text, however, we find it difficult to understand the "elusive concept of audience" when Davidson uses the terms *audience* and *reader* interchangeably throughout the article. After telling the story about Mike who has audience awareness issues in his mountain biking paper he wrote, Davidson tried to explain the importance of having a specific audience: "How can Mike revise the paper for readers who are not experts? How can he focus the writing for a different kind of audience?" (p. 2). The more important question we pose is how can a tutor explain the importance of audience when they operate on the assumption that readers and audiences are one in the same? Later she writes, "[Aristotle's] cardinal rule was: know your audience. But how can tutors help writers adapt to their readers?" (p. 2). This lack of disparity between the two terms may lie at the foundation of the advice she offers tutors about how to handle these situations, "Have writers brainstorm about techniques to get an audience hooked. Have them ask how they can engage readers. . . . If tutees have already written something, explain why the writing has or has not hooked you. Be open and honest. Use your own instincts and visceral reactions" (p. 4). The problem we see is the underlying assumption that the tutor is a reader and, therefore, the audience. In one breath

Davidson suggests that writers engage readers, and in the next she tells tutors to respond as the reader/audience. While this advice may be helpful, it reinforces the above assumption that readers are the audience. Davidson concludes, "So despite the many contradictions and theoretical debates concerning audience, tutors can facilitate and clarify in many ways" (p. 5). Unfortunately, her article only added to the contradictions concerning audience.

Jennifer Jefferson's (2011) article, "Tutoring Survey and Interview Questions: A Tangible Lesson in Audience," also suffers from similar assumptions. She writes, "The tutoring situation can be considered an 'everyday social interaction' in which student and tutor play the roles, respectively, of writer and reader" (p. 3). Later in the same paragraph she refers to that "role of reader" synonymously as "role of audience." Unlike Davidson (2006) who alternates those roles in her advice, Jefferson's advice becomes a bit more problematic. Rather than suggesting to tutors to ask questions concerning audience awareness, Jefferson suggests that tutors take on the role of audience (p. 3). Despite the caveat that "it's not likely the faculty tutor or peer tutor would in reality be a member of this target audience" (p. 3), tutors are still encouraged to respond as a reader/audience, "tutors do not belong to the demographic and will have to perform more imaginative role plays, picturing themselves as hotel managers or coaches" (p. 4). While this task may help students, is this the best practice? Should we be teaching tutors to act—the way Jefferson concludes—"Tutors, as in all situations encountered in the writing center, must be able to play the role of reader/audience" (p. 5)? The disconcerting use of reader/audience aside, one possible reason for the lack of disparity may rest in one of Jefferson's comments about writing an academic paper, the "tutor, no matter how well able to imagine him or herself in the role of the professor reading the paper, is not an actual professor" (p. 3), which implies that the audience for an academic paper is the instructor.

Although the professor may be both the reader and the audience in many cases, it is not safe to make the assumption every time. Even though the assumption is refuted by some like Bryan Householder's (2002) article, "Audience: Getting Student Writers to See Past the Professor," many still struggle with the idea. Householder explains, "It seems such a simple concept. When a paper is written, it is intended for a larger audience than just the teacher" (p. 8). A simple concept, yes, but not an easy one to let go of. Householder, a peer tutor at the time, proposes that tutors help students understand the audience while Thom Hawkins (1980), the coordinator of the Writing Center at UC—Berkeley, takes a different approach that reinforces the teacher as audience, especially in the writing center. No wonder such confusion exists. In his essay, "Intimacy and Audience: Revision and the Social Dimension of Peer Tutoring," Hawkins writes, "Conversing with a peer tutor is, for many students, their only chance to thoroughly know the academic audience by talking at length to that audience in the language of that audience" (p. 67), and claims that peer tutors are a "sympathetic representative of [students'] intended audience" (pp. 67-68). Essentially, Hawkins believes that student writers need to write to professors, and the tutor's job is to act as the teacher's representative—just a nicer version—in order to help students "know what the academic audience really wants" (p. 67). How can both Householder and Hawkins both be true? Even more important, is it realistic to expect academe to accept a peer tutor's column over an article written by the coordinator of the Writing Center at UC—Berkeley and published in *College English*? The answer is certainly debatable.

Robert Dornsife's (1994) article, "Establishing the Role of Audience in the Writing Center Tutorial," asks another intriguing question relevant to this discussion: "in the reported absence of an understanding of the role of audience, is it acceptable for a the tutor to begin by explaining the role of audience and having the student decide to what audience the paper was or

should be written?" (p. 2). Dornsife admits the risk, "allowing the tutor's own pedagogy to intrude upon the primary relationship between student and teacher" (p. 2). His answer is yes, "to risk intrusion in the name of establishing audience is a necessary and productive risk for the tutor to take" (p. 2). Although Dornsife offers some suggestions of questions that tutors can use— suggestions with which we agree—the problem of responding as a reader vs. an audience still remains. Should tutors respond as readers, or should they respond as the audience?

Unfortunately, many of the tutoring guides offer little illumination. One of the standards for writing tutor instruction, *The Bedford Guide for Writing Tutors* (2010), adds to the confusion:

As an intelligent, interested, and friendly audience, you will find it relatively easy to talk and learn more about the assignment and the writer (p. 19); [D]escribe your reactions as a reader, and ask questions that invite [writers] to further examine, explore, and clarify [their] ideas and approaches. By reacting as a reader, you are facilitating—that is, assisting and making the process easier (p. 25); [By] functioning as a reader, you encourage writers to think through problems and to find their own answers (p. 29); Read the paper as a naïve reader, and indicate those places where it needs more details or more specific details. (p. 49)

And *The Longman Guide to Peer Tutoring* (2008) continues in the same vein:

Consider these questions about purpose and audience: "What is my purpose for writing? Who are my intended readers? . . . Most writing assignments are quite artificial, and your audience—your instructor—holds tremendous evaluative authority (pp. 20-21); Assume the role of the writer's audience, rather than the role of a writing expert (p. 100); [W]e suggest you respond to the writer's draft as a reader, and that means primarily asking

questions or indicating something that works well or some things that need clarification.

(p. 163)

And *What the Writing Tutor Needs to Know* (2006):

It's helpful to think about three levels of response when tutoring writing. The first level is

the *transparent reader* approach. This means responding more like an ordinary reader. . .

. On the second level, you not only express your reaction as a reader but also explain the

reasons for your reactions. . . . On the third-level response, you begin by responding as a

reader, not only identifying the problem but also suggesting how to solve it. (p. 28-29)

Despite being tucked away in topic-specific essays in writing center anthologies, a few

refreshingly instructive comments find themselves into the discussion. In an essay addressing the

topic of tutoring students in advanced writing classes, Pavel Zemliansky (2005) writes, "Because

the instructor is part of the audience who sets the parameters for writing, her preferences in

reading and evaluating the piece need to be considered" (p. 92). Yes, the instructor is part of the

audience, but not the assumed whole of the audience, "Emphasize that the instructor is only one

member of the audience for the paper" (p. 92). In an essay addressing ESL tutoring strategies,

Judith K. Powers (2001) writes, "Experienced writing center faculty can lead native-speaking

writers to a fuller awareness of certain writing principles though questions about their audience"

(p. 370). Even with the caveat that this is accomplished by "experienced writing center faculty"

rather than student tutors, this advice holds great value in this discussion.
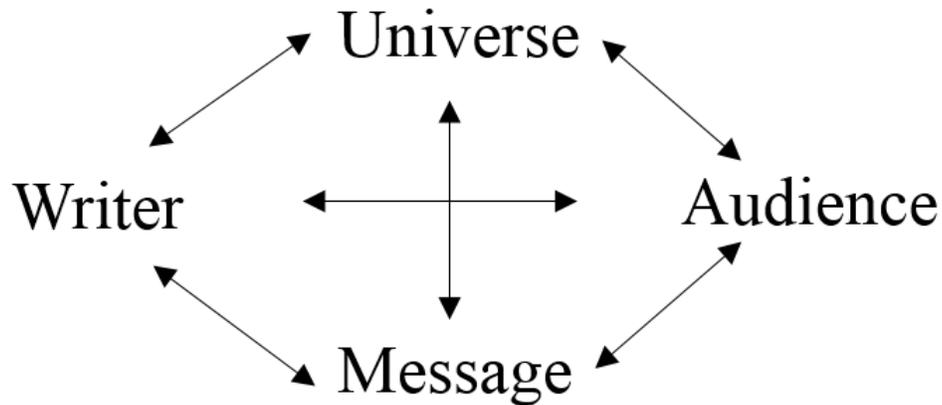
[Fig. 1. Corbett's model of "The Rhetorical Interrelationships." *The Little Rhetoric and Handbook* (1977).]

When it comes to teachers of composition, Park (1982) argues that "they expect situations in which the student writes within some kind of rhetorical context and in which the teacher serves not as audience but as editor and judge of success" (p. 255). Ede and Lunsford (1984) discuss in depth the depth of audience awareness for student writing, referring to Corbett's (1981) model of "The Rhetorical Interrelationships" found in his *Little Rhetoric and Handbook* as shown in Figure 1. The problem we see is the role of the tutor in this process. As discussed earlier in this essay, Ong (1975) describes the differences between oral and written communication and the implications each has on audience awareness, and the role of the tutor lies in between oral and written communication. Adding to the already complex nature of audience awareness as shown in Figure 1, tutors enter the discussion using oral communication in order to discuss written communication. In order to help writers establish an audience, writing center tutors must understand the difference between a *reader* and an *audience*; they must understand that their role is not to respond as an audience, but respond using questions to help students think critically about their own audience. Ede and Lunsford (1984) claim that "writers

create readers and readers create writers. In the meeting of these two lies meaning, lies communication" (p. 169), and where we believe lies the writing center tutor.

**Participants**

For this study, we emailed and asked 19 writing center tutors from our institution to participate. Two of the tutors serve in a supervisory role and do not tutor on a regular basis, which left 17 other tutors who responded. We only invited tutors who were still completing or had just completed their bachelor's degrees. We decided to not include graduate students who also taught their own sections of writing. We received IRB approval for this research (#5763).

**Methodology**

We began the microstudy by asking each tutor to fill out a survey. We provided ample time, approximately one week, for the tutors to respond to the survey. These are the survey questions:

1) How do you describe your role as a writing tutor to students?

2) How often do you describe your role in a session? Please explain.

   Never? Sometimes? Often? Always?

3) How do you explain the rhetorical triangle in a session?

4) How often do you explain the rhetorical triangle in a session? Please explain.

   Never? Sometimes? Often? Always?

5) On a scale of 1-10 (1 being the lowest and 10 the highest), how comfortable are you with explaining the rhetorical triangle in a session? Please explain.

6) How do you explain audience awareness in a session?

7) How often do you explain audience awareness in a session? Please Explain.

   Never? Sometimes? Often? Always?

8) On a scale of 1-10 (1 being the lowest and 10 the highest), how comfortable are you with explaining audience awareness in a session? Please explain.

9) What kinds of questions do you use in a session concerning audience awareness?

10) Would you be willing to answer follow-up questions pertaining to this survey?

Once the surveys were completed and collected, we began to look for patterns in their responses:

- how/if they inserted themselves as the audience or as a reader when they described their roles or when they discussed audience awareness in a session;

- certain circumstances when they would discuss their roles as tutors or the concept of audience awareness;

- if they assigned or assumed an audience for the student writing;

- triggers they used to discuss audience awareness in a session; and

- how often they assumed ownership of the students' writing.

While surveys were being distributed, completed, and collected, Andersen observed at least one session of each tutor, a total of 22 observations. We decided Andersen would best be suited for this role as it is one of her regular responsibilities as associate director. This way, tutors would be less likely to alter their natural method of tutoring. Afterwards, we reviewed her notes looking for situations where audience awareness was discussed in the sessions. Specifically, we looked for times when the tutor would respond the student writing and questions as an audience or as a reader, and if the tutor used the terms *audience* and *reader* interchangeably. Then we compared the tutors' answers to the observations of their sessions.

**Analysis and Results**

From the survey, we learned that when describing their roles, several tutors talked about how they help students as peers: 78% percent of the responses used the word "help" specifically

while 41% of the responses referred to themselves as "just another student" or a "peer." Another

41% percent of respondents explained that they only discussed their role with first-time students,

while only 24% claimed that the always explained their roles. Of the respondents, 18%

responded to the question using the royal "we," with one tutor emphasizing the fact, "First, I

usually explain the Writing Center's role rather than *my* role, though I do refer to 'we' as in 'we

at the Writing Center'" (original emphasis). This use of the royal "we" shows how the attitude

that a tutor is a representative of the academic institution from Thom Hawkins' (1980) work at

the writing center at UC-Berkeley still lingers nearly 25 years later.

When asked about using the rhetorical triangle during a session, 41% of tutors said they

never discuss it and 53% said they only discuss it sometimes. This may be due to their familiarity

or lack of familiarity with the term. Even though 71% of tutors claimed a seven or higher on the

scale of how comfortable they are with the term, 29% rated their familiarity a five or lower. The

contrast is shown in the comments. One responded to the question, "Never; most students are

familiar with it," but another wrote, "Never, I'm unfamiliar with it." We saw some students who

said it "is a big part of starting a paper for [their] tutoring," while another said, "The words

'ethos, pathos, and logos' scare me. I don't even know where I may have needed to explain it, or

where it would help students."

Perhaps this lack of consistency and familiarity relates to how little respondents related

the rhetorical triangle to audience awareness. Only 18% used the term *audience* in question three

of the survey and 6% in question four. Of the 18% who used the term *audience* in question three,

all of them connected the term to *pathos*, discussing the emotional aspect of the term. Although

the respondent from question four said, "[The rhetorical triangle] is too technical, so it's easier to

explain it as writing to an audience," 82% of the tutors lacked the same connection as the tutor

from the above quotation. A response from question five shows again the lingering attitude of institution as an audience from Hawkins' work, "I usually always qualify my suggestions with statements like, 'But make sure your instructor is okay with [this].'"

The most intriguing results came from questions six, seven, and eight. When asked how comfortable they are with explaining audience awareness in a session, 24% wrote a ten, indicating they were extremely comfortable; 65% rated a six to nine with the rest, 12% noting a five on the scale. This shows that tutors are much more comfortable discussing audience awareness outside of the context of the rhetorical triangle. We thought that this would result in a higher discussion rate during a session.

Despite the overall level of comfort with audience awareness, an alarming 65% of respondents shared that they only sometimes explain audience awareness in a session, and the rest, 35%, explain it often. Understandably, not every session requires a discussion of audience awareness, but we do not believe this is the reason for these numbers. In their answers, 29% only referenced it in relation to persuasion; 12% referred to the students' class or teacher as the default audience; and 53% only discussed it if related to a specific assignment (a research and/or persuasive essay), a teacher's comment on the student paper, or if the student brought it up. One comment in particular shows this general attitude, "I explain audience awareness as who the writer would want to read their paper. It's who the writer feels needs to hear their words, especially if they're trying to persuade an audience."

Other comments from the tutors confirmed our beliefs discussed previously in this study. Several of the comments discussed the audience in relation to the reader of the paper and used the terms interchangeably. For example, "This paper is supposed to be read, so we have to keep the audience—or the reader—in mind." We found that those who used a specific example to

illustrate the concept of audience awareness understood the separation of the two terms, but only 24% described a specific example—the same amount who claimed a ten on the level of comfort scale. Unfortunately, 18% of respondents implied taking ownership of the paper with comments like, "Sometimes it's hard identifying an audience for the student," and "Sometimes it's hard for *me* to figure out who their audience should be" (original emphasis). These issues arise from the lack of rhetorical understanding of audience awareness. Because some tutors do not make the connection between rhetoric and audience awareness, they use the terms *audience* and *reader* interchangeably, begin to take ownership of student papers, and only discuss in relation to outside influences like teacher comments, specific assignment descriptions, and explicit student questions.
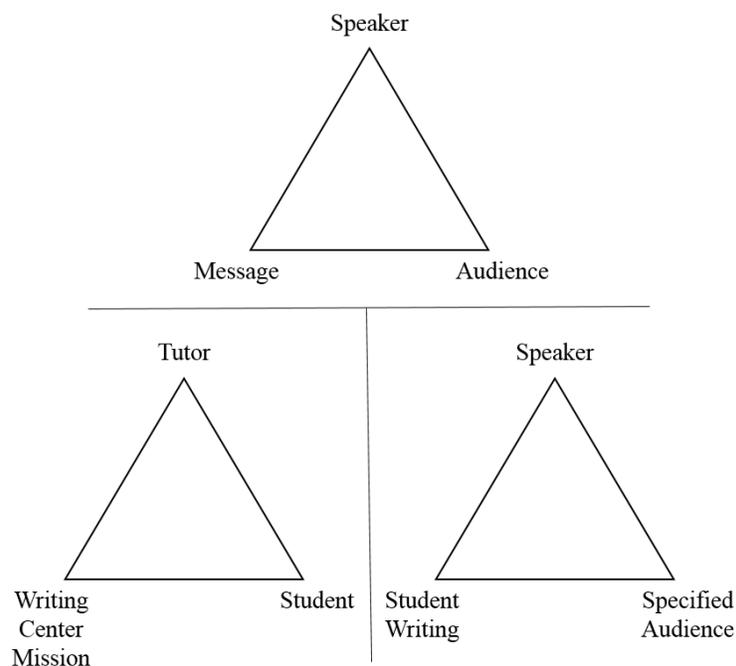
Once we completed the analysis of the survey questions, we turned to the 22 observations to compare self-perception to reality. Not surprisingly, we found that 55% of the observations did not discuss audience awareness in any way. Of the remaining 45% where audience awareness was discussed (the remaining statistics refer to these ten sessions), only 30% discussed it in relation to a specific form of persuasive writing, which mirrors the survey response almost exactly. Although 53% of tutors in the survey said they only bring up audience awareness because of an outside influences, 30% of the sessions discussed it because of outside influences. When referring to an audience, only 10% referred to a specific audience that was not the instructor while 30% did refer to the audience as the instructor. Concerning the language used in the sessions, 50% used the term *reader* in place of *audience,* and 30% used *audience* and not the term *reader*. We noted that none of the sessions used the terms interchangeably; if a term was specifically used, the tutors stuck with the same term. In an astonishing 90% of the sessions,

tutors responded to the student writing and their questions as the audience, confirming our belief that there is an issue here that needs attention.

**Discussion**

We readily acknowledge the size of our participant group. It is small and located in one institution. However, we do not believe this discredits our research but calls for further research from larger sample sizes from more institutions. Based on the lack of current literature on the subject, we believe the results will be similar.

From our surveys and observations, we conclude that too often tutors enter the rhetorical situation playing the role of audience rather than asking questions that would challenge how students understand their own, specific audience. We began by questioning how tutors perceive themselves in a tutoring session, and while their survey answers seem well-intentioned, they reflect a need for increased training on the subject of audience awareness. A better understanding of both rhetoric and their rhetorical role during a session will provide the opportunity for tutors to better serve their students. In order to illuminate what we mean, we turn to an illustration that we hope will provide further clarification (see fig. 2).

Speaker

Message                    Audience

Tutor                              Speaker

Writing                    Student   Student              Specified
Center                                Writing              Audience
Mission

[Fig. 2. The rhetorical situation during a writing center session.]

From the above illustration, basic rhetoric teaches us that writing involves the speaker,

the message, and the audience. When a tutor enters a session in the writing center, two separate

rhetorical triangles begin to play with one another. The tutor's rhetorical position (with the tutor

as speaker) shows that her message is the same as the writing center: peer-to-peer help with

writing. The student's rhetorical position (with student as speaker) shows that his message is the

content of his paper. The crucial element is audience. Notice that the audience for the tutor and

her message is the student while the audience for the tutor and his message is the defined

audience—*not* the tutor. The results of this microstudy show the confusion tutors face: in an

effort to help the student, tutors often fail to stop and think about their audience in the rhetorical

situation. Even if the student's audience is a fiction, it is important to know that the tutor's

audience is never a fiction because their audience is sitting at the same table.

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