A Catalog of "Community" in CCC from 1980 to Present

In April 2016, the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) released a position statement titled "CCCC Statement on Community-Engaged Projects in Rhetoric and Composition." The position statement replaces an earlier statement, the "CCCC Position Statement on Faculty Work in Community-Based Settings," which was produced in November 2009 and reaffirmed in November 2014. Both position statements address writing studies' increasingly disciplinary investment in literacy projects located within community contexts and the need for institutional guidelines to value the work of faculty, students, and administrators in conducting such projects.

The 2016 "CCCC Statement on Community-Engaged Projects in Rhetoric and Composition" begins by recognizing the importance of community-engaged work to writing studies practitioners in higher education. Although individuals and institutions value community-engaged work, few institutions have guidelines that can be used to recognize, assess, and value community-engaged work. The statement continues by defining community-engaged projects as "scholarly, teaching, or community-development activities that involve collaborations between one or more academic institutions and one or more local, regional, national or international community group(s) and contribute to the public good" (National Council of Teachers of English, emphasis added). The definition of communityengaged projects is significant for several reasons. The first reason is the changing terminology used to describe literacy work in community contexts. The 2009 statement on "Faculty Work in Community-Based Settings" used the term "community-based settings" rather than "community-engaged projects" to describe literacy work outside of traditional academic contexts. The change in terminology over a seven year time period suggests a difference in how disciplinary practitioners theorize literacy work outside of the university. "Community-based settings" suggests academic research that just happens to occur in community locations. In contrast, "community-engaged projects" suggest a more reciprocal and substantial relationship among the practitioner, the institution, the community group, and the community members to determine the shape and scope of a project. Furthermore, the 2009 position statement did not define faculty work in community-based settings. Defining "community-engaged projects" in the 2016 statement suggests there was a need for the discipline's major organization to define these terms in a policy document. Second, the act of defining community-engaged projects sets disciplinary expectations on what does and does not count as community work. The 2016 statement follows the definition with an extensive list of activities that may be considered projects with the additional caveat that communityengaged projects take many different forms based on local contexts. However, the "community-engaged" part of the definition is less flexible. Community-engaged projects include at least one academic institution working with at least one "community group" on a geographical scale ranging from the local to the international. It's not clear from this definition what constitutes a "community group"; unlike the definition of "projects," no examples of community groups are provided. The project examples include projects on African American, Latinx, Jewish, immigrant, homeless, and incarcerated communities, so it appears that the position statements considers such racial, cultural, religious, regional, and other underrepresented groups as community groups. Academic institutions do not appear to be community groups based on the provided definition of "community-engaged," which suggest that community-engaged research does not include work at or across academic institutions. Based on the definition of "community-engaged projects" offered in the 2016 position

statement, community-engaged projects in rhetoric and composition studies are collaborative endeavors between academic institutions and groups that are external to these institutions.

I present the 2009 "CCCC Position Statement on Faculty Work in Community-Based Settings" and the 2016 "CCCC Statement on Community-engaged Projects in Rhetoric and Composition" as two recent examples of how disciplinary understandings of community and its related projects have shifted even in a short time period. Writing studies' disciplinary attention to community is not limited to these two position statements; in fact, "community" appears in writing studies scholarship and practice.

Recent texts that focus on defining threshold concepts and key terms in writing studies demonstrate the various ways "community" has been and continues to be a foundational concept in the discipline. In Keywords in Writing Studies, Paul Prior provides an overview of the ways that community has been theorized, criticized, and employed through writing studies scholarship. Prior presents "discourse community" as one of the first ways that community became a foundational concept in writing studies in the 1980s; through the work of Patricia Bizzell, John Swales, and others, discourse communities provided a way of understanding the social contexts of writing and literacy (Prior 27). Scholars critiqued the idea of discourse communities for several reasons including the difficulty defining the boundaries of discourse communities (Swales 1988; Bizzell 1992) and the utopian visions of the community experience (Pratt 1987; Harris 1989). To counter these critiques, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger offer "community of practice" to account for the various ways that a community may form and the social interactions between members in the community (1991). Writing studies as a discipline also studies "community" as a location of writing outside of school and work, and a vast body of scholarship examines the practices, relationships, and contexts of literacy in the community setting (Heath 1983; Barton and Ivanič 1991; Kinloch 2010).

In Naming What We Know: Threshold Concepts of Writing Studies, community does not appear as its own threshold concept but is embedded within several disciplinary threshold concepts. Throughout the text, community functions as a social context for the formation of identity and literacy practices. Within the threshold concept, "Writing Enacts & Creates Identities & Ideologies," Kevin Roozen elaborates on how "Writing is linked to identity" (Adler-Kassner and Wardle 50). Roozen argues that writing enables individuals to "develop and perform identities in relation to the interests, beliefs, and values of the communities they engage with" (51). Members participate in the community by interacting with texts and language in the ways valued by the community and individuals can display identities by conforming to or resisting the accepted discourse of a particular community. In a section on the threshold concept, "Learning to write effectively requires different kinds of practice, time, and effort," Kathleen Blake Yancey defines writing "as a practice situated within communities" (65). As presented in Naming What We Know, community is an important concept in writing studies because community provides the social context and purpose for writing.

Keywords in Writing Studies and Naming What We Know present disciplinary knowledge related to community as accepted, yet even within these representations of disciplinary knowledge are moments where community is contested. Prior ends his overview of community by noting that the term continue to be "critiqued, refined, and taken as givens" (29). Joseph Harris offers one such critique, warning that "since it has no 'positive opposing' term, community can soon become an empty and sentimental word" (13). Calling on writing studies scholars to think critically about the idea of community within the discipline, Harris asks writing studies scholars to reserve the use of "community" to describe specific and local

groups like disciplinary discourse communities (20). Today, however, community is still present in large degrees in the scholarship and pedagogical practice of writing studies including conference themes, presentation titles and abstracts, research articles, teaching philosophies, and course syllabi. The continued presence of community in disciplinary contexts suggests that limiting the usage of community as Harris suggests is unlikely.

This article is a call to initiate again the conversation begun by Joseph Harris in the late 1980s and to ask those of us involved in writing studies to reconsider what we mean when we use the term "community". We must pay attention to our own disciplinary usages of "community" to consider how the term "community" operates, what it means, what it obscures, what values it contains, for whom it means under what circumstances, and the tensions that occur within and across these aspects of community. I ask how writing studies scholars use the term "community" in disciplinary scholarship, how have these usages changed over time, and what are the implications of these historical trends? Specifically, I am interested in historically tracking the disciplinary usages of community and contextualizing these trends in the broader setting of higher education. This type of work, to assess our definition of a term with such power, is vitally important as it requires us to reflect on the assumptions and values that underlie our use of the term "community," which in turn impact our theory and practice as teachers, scholars, and administrators in the discipline, the university, and non-institutional contexts.

Methodology

To track how "community" as a term has been utilized in writing studies scholarship, I selected *College Composition & Communication* as the source for scholarly articles. *CCC* is one of the major journals in writing studies and as such provides a focused perspective on how concepts are incorporated into both writing studies scholarship and pedagogy. The sixty-year coverage offered by *CCC* enables historical contextualization and the ability to analyze long-term and short-term shifts in the use of community. To engage in analysis of *CCC*, I employed what I refer to as a scalable methodology. This methodology combines distant reading (Moretti 2005; Mueller 2012) with close reading. Scalable methodology enables me to examine both the macro- and micro-levels in which a particular text is situated. To borrow Moretti's map metaphor, a scalable methodology allows me to trace the broad terrain of multiple articles by considering the major characteristics (trends over time, peaks and valleys of usage) as well as to zoom in on a particular region represented by a specific text to consider smaller characteristics (specific usage and shifts within one article) that may be less noticeable at the larger scale.

I conducted an initial, full-text search for the term "community" in *CCC* using two online journal databases. This search of the term "community" produced a total of 1,791 sources from 1950 to 2013. I excluded sources from the study if they were not original scholarly articles or if "community" appeared only in the author's institutional affiliation or works cited. The resulting 871 articles became the source material for the coding process. I divided these articles into decades beginning with the 1950s and ending with 2010 to analyze trends over consistent time periods.

I utilized a grounded-theory approach to develop a coding scheme for the articles. Through this inductive approach to data collection and analysis, patterns, themes, and codes that emerge from the data rather than from established literature and theory on the subject

(Gasson 2004). I adopted the grounded theory method because it best accounted for the various usages of the term "community" in the large data set by preserving the historical and social contexts of the usage. As I coded the set of 871 articles from *CCC*, I generated *in vivo* codes (Gasson 2004) representative of the terminology and language used within the articles. This process resulted in 467 codes divided into 16 coding categories and a total of 4,792 code instances. Because the coding process from code development to code collection to code analysis is an iterative process that requires constant shifts and accommodations to address the data, I coded the data set twice to ensure coding consistency. From this iterative process of coding, it is possible to see trends regarding the functional usage of "community" as they appear over the sixty-year history of *CCC*.

To introduce the findings from the qualitative coding process, I begin by presenting the most frequent codes of each decade, contextualizing the understanding of community within a particular socio-historical moment. I additionally examine at least one article from that decade that is representative of the rest of the articles in terms of the usage of community. Following the decade analysis, I offer some general insights into the use of community in writing studies scholarship.

1950 to 2013: An Overview of "Community" in Context

Over the course of *CCC*'s publishing history from 1950 to the present, significant shifts have occurred in writing studies, and the use of the term "community." Writing studies moved from an adherence to current traditional rhetoric characterized by a focus on correct usage and themes to process-based and social epistemic theories (Berlin 1987). Furthermore, scholars have worked to define writing studies as a discipline and subject of inquiry (Miller 1991; Crowley 1998; Downs and Wardle 2007; Adler-Kassner and Wardle 2015). Writing programs have flourished alongside writing centers and Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) programs. These shifts in writing studies, about which I'll comment in the decade analyses that follow, demonstrate an ultimate move from writing instruction as locations of remedial instruction based upon teaching lore to writing studies as an established discipline based on a tradition of empirical research.

These shifts in higher education and writing studies specifically are reflected in the use of "community" as a term in *CCC*. Out of 871 articles from 1950 to 2013 that met the criteria for this study, there were 4,792 instances of the term "community" in the following code frequencies:

Most Frequent Codes from 1950-2013		
Rank	Code Name	Total Occurrences
#1	Non-specified Community	1060
#2	Community College	490
#3	Discourse Community	264
#4	Academic or Scholarly Community	184
#5	Racial Community Nonacademic	130
#6	Geographic or Local Community	97
#7	Community Figure or Member	92

#8	College Campus/University Community	86
#9	Community Space or Location	78
#10	Community Group	73
Total	4792 occurrences in 871 articles	

Fig. 1 Most frequent occurrences of term community in CCC from 1950-2013

The most frequent uses of community from *CCC* can be roughly divided into three groups: Non-specified community, academic community, and characteristics of non-academic community.

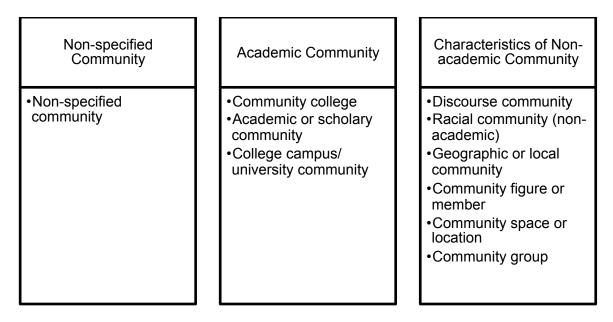


Fig. 2 Categories of Most Frequent Codes

The academic community grouping includes community college, academic or scholarly community, and college campus/university community. Characteristics of non-academic community contains discourse community¹, racial community nonacademic, geographic or local community, community figure or member, community space or location, and community group.

Non-specified community is the most frequent code throughout all of the decades of CCC^2 . I used non-specified community code to refer to uses of "community" that were

¹ Here, "discourse community" refers to instances when authors used the term to identify discourse communities located in non-academic settings such as workplace settings and social contexts. Additionally, "discourse community" refers to a group that was identified as outside of an academic setting. Because these uses of "discourse community" referred to non-academic settings or were ambiguous in meaning, I include them in the "Characteristics of non-academic community" category. I generated other *in vivo* codes such as "academic discourse community" and "disciplinary discourse community" to identify instances when authors were referring to discourse communities located in academic and institutional settings. These codes did not appear frequently enough to warrant their inclusion in the most frequent codes.

² The exception is 2010-2013, but as this is not a full decade's worth of articles, it remains to be seen what the most frequent code will be.

intended to be general or when I could not categorize the use of community based on contextual reading. For example, I coded for non-specified community in the following: "Standard English is that usage which is recognized and accepted as customary in any particular *community*" (Hartung 60, emphasis mine). In this case, Hartung (1957) is using "community" generically; he is not discussing a specific type of community or a characteristic of it, instead he is employing "community" to refer to a general collective. Non-specified community also applied in the following instance: "...she contributes to her school's Web site and designs visual PowerPoint texts like 'Honduras 2001,' about a social action project she undertook with members of her *community*" (Hawisher et al. 661, emphasis mine). Here "community" refers to a specific community that the student belongs to, but it is not clear what community this is. Is it an academic, religious, linguistic, or racial community? In this case, the non-specified community code category might be considered a positive aspect; the scholars are not presuming to identify the type of community that the student is part of and instead choose to leave it a relatively open understanding of community.

On its own, the non-specified category of community is not negative or a code to be avoided. Often it is used to stand in for a general community experience or characteristic. And in the case of the Hawisher article, "community" refers to a community experienced by the student but that remains unnamed, possibly so the student can define her own community. But the presence of non-specified community still underscores a reliance on the concept of community in writing studies. Why do writing scholars utilize community as a metaphor or a descriptor to refer to a group? What does it mean that writing studies scholars choose overwhelmingly to use community in a general sense? What values or assumptions are present about community or the subject of inquiry when a writing studies scholars employs the term?

To contextualize the use of non-specified community as well as other instances of the term "community" in *CCC*, I present in the following sections historical accounts of writing studies alongside the most frequent occurrences of "community" in the decades ranging from 1980 to 2010. This study focuses on the 1980 to 2010 time period because this period contains several major theoretical shifts regarding "community" that influence contemporary disciplinary understandings of "community" today. Articles published in *CCC* during the 1980s used "community" more often than the previous decades. Figure 3 includes a decade comparison of the number of articles using the term "community" and the total number of times "community" appeared in the decade:

Time Period	Number of Articles Using "Community"	Total Number of Times "Community" Appears in All Articles
1950-1959	55	106
1960-1969	79	163
1970-1979	120	288
1980-1989	106	470
1990-1999	208	1447
2000-2009	206	1695
2010-2013	97	623

Fig. 3 Decade Comparison of Number of Articles and Total Uses of "Community" in *CCC*

As shown in Figure 4, there is a substantial increase in how many times "community" appears in CCC articles between 1980-1989 and 1990-1999.

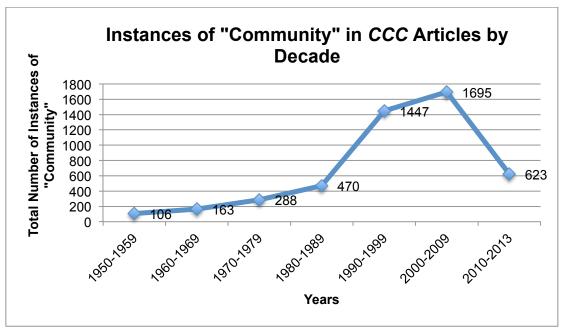


Fig. 4 Instances of "Community" in CCC Articles by Decade

The increase in both the number of articles that utilize the term "community" as well as the total number of times "community" occurs in the decade warrant greater analysis. To contextualize this increase, I begin by analyzing "community" in *CCC* beginning with the 1980s. Although there is a historical trend from the beginning of *CCC*'s publication history for each decade to feature more occurrences of "community," I focus on the 1980s to contextualize the state of writing studies with regards to "community" before the substantial increase in usage during the 1990s. I then present the 1990s as a case study for "community" in writing studies. The sudden substantial increase in terms of the frequency and complexity with which community is discussed during this time period makes the 1990s a critical moment for community in writing studies. Following the 1990s, I present an analysis of *CCC* articles from the 2000s to show more recent trends in the usage of "community" in writing studies scholarship.

1980 to 1989: Discourse Communities as Research and Pedagogy in Writing Studies

The 1980s represents a period of disciplinary development in writing studies. Fulkerson (1992) retrospectively describes the 1980s as a time when "Composition Studies has moved toward homogeneity of purpose within diversity of method" (410). For Fulkerson, disciplinary identity and purpose began to solidify in the 1980s around a rhetorical axiology, although there were continued debates about how to best incorporate rhetorical methods. Scholarship of the early 1980s emphasized writing as a process and then developed in the mid-to-late 1980s to consider writing as a social action (Bizzell 1982; Bruffee 1984; Heath

1983). In 1982, Maxine Hairston recognized a paradigm shift within composition studies from a traditional method of teaching writing based on expository writing, a one-size-fits-all approach to writers and writing conditions, and an emphasis on the writing product towards an emerging paradigm. Based upon significant work from Linda Flower and John Hayes, Sondra Perl, and Nancy Sommers, the new paradigm featured a focus on the individual writer's process and strategies for composing within a specific rhetorical context in a variety of modes and for a range of purposes (Hairston 86). This paradigm shift further set the stage for the social turn in composition studies.

The social turn in composition studies is also represented in *CCC*. During the 1980s, 106 articles used the term "community" a total of 470 times. Three new codes emerge in the 1980s including discourse community, interpretative or rhetorical community, and community of writers. Geographic or local community and language community nonacademic return to the most frequent codes after appearing last in the 1960s.

Most Frequent Codes from 1980-1989		
Rank	Code Name	Total Occurrences
#1	Non-specified Community	114
#2	Discourse Community	37
#3	Academic or Scholarly Community	34
#4	Interpretative or Rhetorical Community	23
#5	Community College	20
#6	Community of Writers	14
#7	College campus/university community	11
#8	Geographic or local community	9
	Language community nonacademic	9
	Speech community	9
Total	Total 470 occurrences in 106 articles	

Fig. 5 Most frequent occurrences of the term community from 1980 to 1989

The appearance of discourse community and interpretative or rhetorical community notably stems from Martin Nystrand (1982) and Stanley Fish's (1982) respective works. Nystrand and Fish argued that texts had meaning within a particular social and cultural organization. Their works are examples of scholars in writing studies and the humanities more generally recognizing the social nature of textual production and reception.

The articles published in *CCC* from 1980 to 1989 reflect writing studies' interest in the social context of writing through discourse communities for scholarly and pedagogical applications. In the 1987 article "Discourse Communities, Sacred Texts, and Institutional Norms," Richard C. Freed and Glenn J. Broadhead trace composition studies' recent attention to discourse communities and set an agenda for future research into discourse communities. Freed and Broadhead provide several reasons for writing studies recent interest in discourse communities such as writing studies' desire to establish itself as a discourse community, the field's recognition of discourse communities in academic and non-academic settings, and the discipline's focus on writing as a social process (156). Some *CCC*

articles from the 1980s examined specific discourse communities in academic and non-academic settings to contextually analyze writing processes and purposes. For example, Freed and Broadhead examine the discursive norms of two sites: business consulting firms and the freshman composition class. In the workplace setting, the authors consider how management structures and client needs develop a particular business proposal genre to accomplish specific tasks. Freed and Broadhead also consider the freshman writing classroom as a discourse community as participants in the discourse community (including students, instructors, and administrators) must adhere to normative writing practices to be successful in their role. Freed and Broadhead's article is reflective of the trend in the 1980s to describe specific discourse communities in the hopes that such description will reveal some of the often unstated practices and values about writing community members need to be successful in the discourse community.

In addition to studying the production of text within individual discourse communities, writing studies scholarship addressed discourse communities as a pedagogical method. For example, in "Computer Conferencing and Collaborative Learning," Delores K. Schriner and William C. Rice research the textual productions and social relationships of a specific discourse community, assisted by an early classroom communicative technology known as CONFER. The authors argue that due to the frequent textual exchanges through CONFER, students formed a community of writers and inquirers. Schriner and Rice's article demonstrates the trend towards examining the process of writing as well as the social context and affects of composing, as influenced by composition's new paradigm that taught and researched writing as a social process. However, the articles in CCC feature debates about the pedagogical application of discourse communities. Joseph Harris' "The Idea of Community in the Study of Writing," an article which sparked a critical conversation about "community" in the 1990s, critiques community in writing studies and offers new pedagogical ways to view discourse communities. Harris acknowledges that students, like all people, are part of multiple discourse communities. However, Harris suggests that these discourse communities are not separate and discrete but instead the various discourses interact and influence each other. Rather than introduce students to the specific discursive practices of individual discourse communities, Harris argues, "our goals as teachers need not be to initiate our students into the values and practices of some new community, but to offer them the chance to reflect critically on those discourses—of home, school, work, the media, and the like—to which they already belong" (19). The goal of writing instruction is not to teach students to assimilate into new discourse communities; instead, writing instruction should prepare students to negotiate their own discursive differences and those of others. Although their approaches to discourse communities differ, Schriner and Rice and Harris' work are two examples of articles within CCC that relate discourse communities to writing instruction.

The 1980s articles in *CCC* show a commitment to examining the research and pedagogical applications of discourse communities, as shown in the previous analysis of Freed and Broadhead, Schriner and Rice, and Harris' articles. As part of the social turn in writing studies, discourse communities provided a method of identifying and describing normative writing practices within a specific context. Scholars like Freed and Broadhead engaged in ethnographic descriptions of particular discourse communities, often in business and academic institutional settings, to characterize the specific practices. Such description enabled new members of the discourse community to acclimate to the community's often unstated discursive norms. Discourse communities also functioned as a pedagogical model

for writing instruction. Some scholars like Freed and Broad and Schriner and Rice presented ways that writing classrooms could prepare students to participate in various discourse communities. Often these articles focused on "initiating" students into the academic discourse community and the expectations of college writing. However, Harris suggested that writing instruction help students negotiate discursive differences and their membership within multiple discourse communities. Regardless of their orientation to discourse communities, it is clear that scholarship in *CCC* during the 1980s was focused on the location of writing within specific social contexts and how the context impacted writing practices.

1990 to 1999: Questioning and Researching Community in Writing Studies

The process approach to writing continued from the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s to be the dominant paradigm for researching and teaching writing. Writing was also viewed as a social action (Hairston 1982, Bruffee 1984, Cooper 1986), and this social and process approach continued from the 1980s into the 1990s. In addition to the social and process paradigm, there was also a perceptible shift towards cultural studies in the 1990s. Scholars such as Diana George, Geoffrey Sirc, and John Trimbur called attention to popular culture and previously unexamined genres and texts as methods to research and teach composition skills. Additionally, the increased availability and relative affordability of computers allowed for the introduction of electronic technologies into the writing classroom for "instruction, research, and professional preparation" (Hawisher and Selfe 2). These technologies provided benefits to writing instruction for students as they expanded the audience for student work and enabled students to collaborate both in and out of the classroom (Schriner and Rice) and also benefited instructors for document management (Lake).

Shifts in disciplinary debates contributed to expanded usages of community in *CCC* during the 1990s. Over 208 articles in *CCC* used the term "community" between 1990 and 1999, "community" appeared 1447 times in this data set. As in the 1980s, more articles utilize the term "community" and incorporate it more frequently into the articles, which may represent a more sustained or complex engagement with the idea of community. Four of the most frequent code categories remain from the 1980s (non-specified community, community college, discourse community, academic or scholarly community). Six new codes emerge including idea of community, community literacy, community space or location, community as a term, community as a feeling or sense, and community figure or member.

Most Frequent Codes from 1990-1999		
Rank	Code Name	Total Occurrences
#1	Non-specified Community	359
#2	Community College	172
#3	Discourse Community	132
#4	Academic or Scholarly Community	53
#5	Idea of Community	47
#6	Community Literacy	37
#7	Community Space or Location	35
#8	Community as a term	30

#9	Community as a Feeling or Sense	22
	Community Figure or Member	22
Total	1447 occurrences in 208 articles	

Fig. 6 Most frequent occurrences of the term community from 1990 to 1999

These emerging codes can be grouped into two general categories: "Critique of community" and "Research of community." The category "Critique of community (idea of community, community as a feeling or sense, community as a term) respond to Joseph Harris' argument from the late 1980s article "The Idea of Community in the Study of Writing." "Research of community" (community literacy, community space or location, community figure or member) expands on the previous scholarship in which a community and its constitutive elements (space, members) become a research site for writing studies.

The category "Critique of community" represents a common trend in CCC articles from the 1990s in which scholars consider the affordances and implications of community in writing classrooms. Critics of community argued that community erases difference in favor of similarity, and subsequently, some individuals in the community are marginalized and therefore cannot participate equally (Kent 1991; Young 1990). CCC articles such as Stephen M. Fishman's 1993 article "Explicating Our Tacit Tradition: John Dewey and Composition Studies" and Gregory Clark's 1994 article "Rescuing the Discourse of Community" may be characterized as critiques of community. In "Explicating Our Tacit Tradition," Stephen M. Fishman details composition studies' indebtedness to educational theorist John Dewey. specifically his belief that education is a social process and the skills and knowledge from this education should benefit the larger community (316). Fishman ultimately argues that Dewey and his conception of education as a social community can be applied to the writing classroom to improve the acquisition of discursive skills and knowledge and to prepare students to join various communities outside of their education. Clark's "Rescuing the Discourse of Community" responds to criticism of community and considers how community could function with an ethics based on the practice of reciprocity and response. Clark offers a practice of community founded on difference and constituted through writing and reading, a practice in which all participants "learn to function socially as differing but interdependent equals" (71).

For articles in the category "Critique of community", "community" is primarily a term and an idea to interrogate. The primary purpose of these articles is not to examine a specific community but rather to interrogate the very concept of community: where this idea of community originates, what community means in the writing classroom, how community relates to composing practices, how difference is experienced and negotiated in the classroom, among other topics of consideration. These articles are primarily theoretical with some limited applications for how community can be more ethically developed and sustained in the writing classroom to address some of the critiques from other scholars. These critical articles tend to include codes such as idea of community and community as a term, codes that refer to community as an abstraction (as in the idea of community) or the definition of community. It's also important to note that these critiques of community tend to focus on community within the university structure, specifically within the writing classroom. The potential danger of this focus on university-based community is that it may lead to a singular understanding of community itself, how it is created and experienced, and the benefits and limitations to community.

The second theme of community present in the 1990s centers on engagement with communities. As opposed to the strand of previously discussed articles that critically examine the concept of community, these articles address specific elements of community (discourse, literacy) often within case studies and call for engagement with the community. These articles are also outwardly-directed when it comes to community; as opposed to examining community within the university setting, articles such as Wayne Campbell Peck, Linda Flower, and Lorraine Higgins' "Community Literacy" and Ellen Cushman's "The Rhetorician as an Agent of Social Change" consider the community outside of the campus grounds. Peck, Flower, and Higgin's "Community Literacy" provides both a case study analysis for a specific community program, the Community Literacy sponsored by the Pittsburgh Community House, as well as a theoretical framework of community literacy. "Community" in this article tends to set up a distinction between the academic location and the non-academic, in this case the urban area served by the Community House. This distinction does not value one location and community over the other but instead considers the various discourses and literacies present and valued within each setting. Whereas typical community engagement projects between the university and the local community, such as the community service projects from the earlier decades of CCC articles, tend to be directed by the university, Peck, Flower, and Higgin suggest a community/university collaboration based on an ongoing process of inquiry to meet the needs of the local community with the community members as equal partners (206). Similarly, Ellen Cushman's article "The Rhetorician as an Agent of Social Change" addresses the role of rhetoricians historically within communities and the need to return to this community-engaged activism. As in Peck, Flower, and Higgin's article, Cushman notes the separation between universities and the surrounding communities, and she argues for rhetoricians to engage in these communities as activists. Like Peck, Flower, and Higgin's work, Cushman positions the rhetorician within and alongside the community to engage in reciprocal actions that are dictated by the community members with the scholarrhetor to meet the needs of both groups.

The 1990s represents a period of divergence and increasing complication in how "community" is used in the *CCC* scholarship. On the one hand, community is a topic of contention. As the diversification of higher education allowed for more access to college campuses, this access did not necessarily mean equitable experiences on campus. The culture of the classroom looked and felt different to the point where scholars like Harris, Pratt, and others argued for a different metaphor or social experience within the classroom. The idea of community, experienced as a homogeneous erasure of difference, was no longer compatible (if it ever was) with the diversity within the classroom or on the campus grounds and was thought to reify hierarchies and inequalities in educational structures. One the other hand, community also continues to be an object of academic inquiry, and simultaneously, community engagement becomes a professional obligation. For scholars like Peck, Flower, Higgins, and Cushman, community is a space for research, but more importantly, a space to use discourse for activist purposes. Both threads of community respond to the need to adopt and adapt to diverse social situations in and outside of higher education institutions.

2000 to 2009: Globalized Communities in Writing Studies

The subject of writing studies continued to shift in the 1990s in response to internal disciplinary conversations and external changes in higher education. The focus of writing

instruction continued to expand; themes and correctness-based writing, the foundation of current traditional approaches to rhetoric and writing from the mid 20th century, were no longer the single focus of writing instruction or research. Instead, scholars continued to expand the understanding of composing to include visual rhetoric and design (George: Hocks; Wysocki et al.) and new alphabetic and non-alphabetic texts like blogs (Gurak et al.), discussion forums (Matsuda), and others. In addition to expanding the object of writing instruction and research, writing studies also continued to expand its understanding of the writing process itself in the 2000s. Alternative models of the writing process and rhetorical situation expanded beyond the individual writer and the produced text to include ecological (Edbauer; Rivers and Weber) or network models (Brandt and Clinton). These new models emphasized distribution, circulation, reception, interpretation, and response to texts in an increasingly connected, technologized, and globalized world. In addition to disciplinary debates, writing studies also responded to changes in higher education more generally, specifically the increasingly diverse and globalized institution. Higher education in the 2000s continued to experience an increase in diversity partly fueled by globalization and the internationalization of higher education. Higher education institutions in the United States continued to model undergraduate and graduate education for the rest of the world, and as a result, many international students came to U.S. institutions to pursue their education. In 2000, approximately 547,000 international students were enrolled in U.S. institutions, and by the end of the decade in 2009 over 690,000 international students were enrolled, which accounted for about four percent of the total college population (Institute of International Education).

In spite of the changes to writing studies from disciplinary conversations and its location in higher education more generally, the usage of community in *CCC* articles from the 2000s shows little change from the 1990s. "Community" appears in 206 articles from the decade with 1695 instances of the term, continuing the trend of more articles employing the term more often. Of the ten most frequent code categories, six of these categories remain from the 1990s (non-specified community, community college, discourse community, community figure or member, academic or scholarly community, community space or location). Three categories (racial community nonacademic, geographic or local community, college campus/university community) reappear from previous decades. Racial community nonacademic and college campus/university community last appeared in the 1970s, and geographic or local community last appeared in the 1980s. Only the category community group makes its first appearance in the most frequent occurrences.

	Most Frequent Codes from 2000-2009		
Rank	Code Name	Total Occurrences	
#1	Non-specified Community	350	
#2	Community College	97	
#3	Racial Community Nonacademic	82	
#4	Discourse Community	71	
#5	Community Figure or Member	50	
#6	Academic or Scholarly Community	49	
#7	Geographic or Local Community	41	
#8	College Campus/University Community	39	

#9	Community Group	36
#10	Community Space or Location	30
Total	1695 occurrences in 206 articles	

Fig. 7 Most frequent occurrences of the term community from 2000 to 2009

What is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the 2000s is what does not cross over from the 1990s, namely, codes related to the debate over community as an idea or term. Gone are the meta-level analyses and critiques over the implications and politics of the term community; instead, "community" refers to a research site. Most of the codes from the 2000s focus on elements of specific communities such as the infrastructure, members, or linguistic characteristics of the community, or the use of community refers to the academic community and its disciplinary discourses.

In CCC articles from the 2000s, "community" is used as a way to identify a location or group and its constitutive elements under study. For example, John Duffy's 2004 article "Letters from the Fair City" presents a case study of the immigrant Hmong population in Wausau, WI. Duffy examines how the Hmong population appropriated the local "constituents, topics, genre, language, and audience and used these to author their own narratives of culture and experience" and "expanded their repertoire of literacy practices to include forms of public and civic writing" (Duffy 225). Duffy considers how discourses and rhetorics are produced, developed, and valued within communities, specifically immigrant, migrant, and refugee communities. Duffv's article relates back to the earlier interest in discourse community in the 1980s CCC; as in the 1980s, Duffy's work describes how a specific discourse community produces texts based on their social context and group needs. Pegeen Reichert Powell's 2004 article "Critical Discourse Analysis and Composition Studies: A Study of Presidential Discourse and Campus Discord" also examines a discourse community, but unlike Duffy's article, Powell focuses on a specific academic institution as a discourse community. Powell presents a case study of the production and circulation of discourse by various stakeholders after a hate crime on Miami University's campus. The vandalism of the campus' Center for Black Culture and Learning and subsequent protests of the university's handling of the hate crime occurred within a larger campus culture of changes focused on access, diversity, and standards (Powell 440). Throughout her analysis of the university president's remarks on the hate crime, Powell identifies the use of "community" as a way to unify the Miami University identity as encompassing all of its members while simultaneously distancing specified individuals (protestors and vandals) from this community. The Miami University presidential addresses establish an ideal university discourse community where certain discursive productions like vandalism and protests are not allowed, thereby removing those individuals from the university community. Both Duffy and Powell's articles recall the 1980s focus on discourse communities, yet these authors also complicate the idea of discourse communities by introducing issues of power and difference into their analysis. So although Duffy and Powell's studies may appear, their work also aligns with Harris' call to consider the negotiation of various, competing discourse communities.

Powell and Duffy's respective articles demonstrate the shifts in "community" usage in the 2000s; what had been a contested term in the 1990s began to stabilize in its meaning and usage. Whereas articles in the 1990s had engaged in debates about the implications of community, articles in the 2000s tend not to critically participate in the debate beyond references in the literature review to the discussions surrounding Joseph Harris' work.

"Community" becomes primarily a marker for collectives that exist outside of the university. When community refers to the university or campus, as in Powell's article on Miami University, the image of a homogeneous, unified campus community is problematized and deconstructed to emphasize the diverse nature of the university, the tensions on campus, and competing institutional discourses. However, most of the uses of "community" in *CCC* during this time period refer to groups based on shared characteristics outside of the university, as in Duffy's work with the Hmong population in Wausau. These articles position community as a concrete group or location that can be studied especially for their discursive practices. The location of these communities also widens as part of the global turn in composition studies; although local communities are a significant part of the 2000s, there is also increased attention to global communities and their presence in the local. The use of "community" in the 2000s begins to gain popular acceptance to describe the discursive practices within a specific social group or to identify the location of research as external to the higher education institution.

Conclusion: Identifying Disciplinary Commitments to Community

As a key term in the field, the usage of "community" in writing studies scholarships reflects its location within a particular disciplinary moment. The question may still remain, why does this type of work matter? I argue that this historical catalog matters for understanding the disciplinary commitments to community in our past, our present, and our future.

The meaning and usage of "community," like all terms, is located within a particular historical, social, and cultural context that is continually shifting. "Community" is a popular term throughout the 60 years of *CCC*, yet there is not a singular disciplinary definition. As evidenced by the 467 codes I generated, writing studies scholars mean or refer to at least 467 different things when they use "community." So although "community" is a term that writing studies scholars continue to use, and there maybe be more popular or accepted usages within a particular period, when we examine the discipline as a whole there is not a clear singular meaning. "Community" in 1950 does not refer to the same "community" as in 1990, 2000, or even 2010. There are certain uses of "community" that consistently appear like "community college" and "academic or scholarly community." These frequent codes represent a consistent commitment in writing studies to research related to community colleges and the academic setting.

Other uses of "community" appear and disappear depending on the disciplinary or national historical context. For example, "Discourse community" appears for the first time in the 1980s and remains in the top 10 most frequent codes to present day. The appearance of "Discourse community" in *CCC* coincides with publications by Stanley Fish and Martin Nystrand on language development in social contexts. Discourse communities have continued to be a productive method of writing studies researchers to describe the sociolinguistic characteristics and practices of groups in academic and non-academic settings. Another code, "Racial community nonacademic" appears for the first time in the 1960s, disappears in the 1980s, and reappears in the 2000s. The appearance of "Racial community nonacademic" in the 1960s may be attributed to the national focus on racial issues brought to the mainstream media by the Civil Rights movement. As concerns about race in society and on campus diminished (but did not disappear), other forms of community

research (like "Discourse community") took precedent in writing studies scholarship. The return of "Racial community nonacademic" in the 2000s suggests a shift in disciplinary and institutional awareness of diversity issues, possibly as a result of the increasingly diverse student population on campus. These shifts in the usage of "community" and historical events do not necessarily mean there is a direct causation; however, these shifts do suggest that there is a relationship between disciplinary understandings and commitments to community and the larger sociocultural context of writing studies and higher education.

In addition to understanding how the larger historical, social, and cultural context of writing studies and higher education impacts and is impacted by the use of "community," this catalog also reveals the presence and absence of certain types of community in published writing studies research. For example, "community college" is consistently represented across the sixty years of CCC's publications, which suggests the importance of community colleges to writing studies as a discipline and specifically in the discipline's research. And yet, what does this disciplinary understanding of "community" leave out? What are the most frequent commitments to "community" within CCC, an important writing studies journal? The least frequently occurring codes may be just as important to analyze as the most frequently occurring codes for community. For example, "classroom community" never appears in any decade's most frequently appearing codes, and "classroom community" only appears 33 times over 24 articles beginning in the 1980s. However, "classroom community" is a critical concept in writing studies pedagogy as evidenced by its inclusion in popular teaching guides like Informed Choices: A Guide for Teachers of College Writing. The emphasis of "classroom community" in pedagogical publications suggests a disconnect between the published research of writing studies and the teaching of writing studies. The absence of "classroom community" in CCC may suggest the need for more critical examination of "classroom community" in writing studies research, or perhaps the absence simply means there are other journals more interested in pedagogical concerns. The example of "classroom community" and its relative underrepresentation in the published articles of CCC is only one example of a surprising absence, and further research and analysis is needed to uncover other usages of "community" that may be obscured.

The study presented here presents some limitations and opportunities for future research. The catalog is based only on one journal within writing studies. Future work would entail coding multiple journals from writing studies and related fields like Composition Studies, College English, and English Journal to offer additional insights in the disciplinary understanding of community. Additionally, more specialized journals such as Computers & Composition and Community Literacy Journal within writing and English studies should be consulted to see if specializations within writing studies provide differing or similar uses of "community." Finally, this study employed a scalable methodology, which combined distant reading with strategic close reading. This methodology enables me to track disciplinary historical trends and then to focus more specifically on specific articles that exemplify these trends, and yet, it also offers only one perspective on this data set. Beginning on the macrolevel of distant reading prioritizes the most frequent uses of "community." What gets lost at this macro-level are the smaller instances of "community", the debates and usages within a single article that may offer poignant perspectives but do not register. This micro-level analysis may offer a more nuanced perspective on "community" in writing studies; what appears to be a whole, unified picture of a disciplinary concept may actually be a mosaic with many pieces and breaks.

In spite of the limitations of this study, the findings from the catalog of "community" offered here have implications for current and future administration, engagement, research, and teaching for writing studies. Community is a concept with a rich history in writing studies, and it continues to influence the work of writing scholars. Although this catalog offers a general map of composition scholarship has been with regards to community, where the discipline go next remains up to us. We must think critically about our professional and disciplinary attachments to community as individual scholar-teachers and as participants within a larger disciplinary and academic collective.

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