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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and
Writing in
Composition Studies

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

Iris Deana Ruiz

Committee in charge:

Professor Rosaura Sánchez, Chair
Professor Jody Blanco
Professor Jorge Mariscal
Professor Bud Mehan
Professor Nicole Tonkovich

This Dissertation of Iris Deana Ruiz is approved, and is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microform and electronically:

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2010

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VITA

Education:

Ph. D. Literature, September, 2010: University of California, San Diego, emphasis:
Composition and Rhetoric

Dissertation: “Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing
in Composition Studies”

Master of Arts English, May, 2003: California State University, Fresno, emphasis:
Composition Theory

Master’s Thesis: “Generation 1.5: A Border Culture in Ethnography”

Bachelor of Arts, May, 1999: California State University, Fresno
Golden Key Honors Society

Dissertation

“Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing in
Composition Studies”

My dissertation, *Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing in Composition*, elaborates the theory, history, and practice of critical historiography as a pedagogical approach for students who live in an increasingly multicultural, multilingual society. Critical historiography is founded on the premise that the lost histories of composition, which are inextricably tied to black normal schools as well as schools that catered to students of color and lower class students throughout the twentieth century, at once call into question established histories of composition, and serve as models for developing alternative pedagogical approaches to the teaching of composition today.

Awards:

2009-2010 CCCC Chair’s Memorial Scholarship Recipient

2007-2008 Social Justice Award, UCSD
2005-2006 Dream Travel Award Winner 4C's Composition Conference
2002-2003 Distinguished Presenter at EGSA Colloquium
1999 McNair Scholar: "Richard Wright and the Politics of the Personal"
1999-2002: Golden Key Honors Society
1993-1996 Dean's List

Presentations:

2003, CSU, Fresno: "Generation 1.5: A Border Culture in Ethnography" (EGSA Colloquium)
2003, CCCC: New York RNF – "Generation 1.5: A Border Culture in Ethnography"
2005, CCCC: San Francisco RNF – "Generation 1.5: Pedagogical Implications"
2006, CCCC: Chicago Panel Speaker 3 – "Border Pedagogy or Contact Zone?"
2008, UCSD: Townhall Meeting on the Status of Chicano/Latinos at UCSD
2009, CCCC San Francisco Workshop facilitator for the Latino Caucus
2010, CCCC Louisville Panel Speaker 3 – "Critical Historiography in the Composition Classroom"

****Abstracts of Presentations available upon request.

Organizations

President, Graduate Students of Color Coalition, UCSD
Member, RAZA Grads, UCSD
Member, National Council Teachers of English
Member, Modern Language Association
Member, UCSD Graduate Student Association
Member, University of California Student Association

Professional Experience:

2008 -- Current University of California, San Diego La Jolla, CA

Warren College Writing Instructor

Teach academic argumentation to two sections of fourteen college students.

Attend weekly teaching assistant meetings directed by both senior faculty and experienced writing program administrators.
Teach classes concerning Identity and the Internet and Sports Ethics.

2006 -- 2008 University of California, San Diego La Jolla, CA

Office of Graduate Studies Intern

Liaison between the Administration and graduate population at UCSD.
Student advocate and consultant to the administration.
Attended Dean of Graduate Studies cabinet meetings.
Served on numerous committees to provide graduate student input and recommendations.
Involved in administrative decisions regarding graduate student life at UCSD.
Worked with the Graduate Student Association to communicate about and organize a campus-wide conference which provided an opportunity for graduate students to present their research locally.
Contacted various publications such as Union Tribune and The San Diego Reader for press releases regarding major events pertaining to graduate students at UCSD.
Introduced ideas for improving the quality of graduate student life at UCSD.

Fall 2003 – Spring 2005 University of California, San Diego La Jolla, CA

Warren College Writing Instructor

Taught academic argumentation to two sections of fourteen college students.
Attended weekly teaching assistant meetings directed by both senior faculty and experienced writing program administrators.
Taught classes concerning Identity and the Internet, Globalization in the Pacific Rim, Private Life and the Law, Revisiting the American Past: The Spanish Conquest, Rights of Juveniles: The Warren Court, Legal writing, and Access to Higher Education.
2005-06, Senior Teaching Assistant responsible for making new TA's feel comfortable and for providing relevant pedagogical instruction during incoming TA orientation and throughout the academic year.

Spring, 2003 California State University, Fresno Fresno, CA

First Year Composition Instructor

Taught two sections of introduction to college writing (25 students in each class).
Themes concentrated on: Discrimination, Perception vs. Reality, and Academic Research intended to lead to service-learning.
Used a movie as a source for writing – successful in teaching concepts of Perception and Reality.
Student used Blackboard to check daily announcements, assignments, discussion questions and to turn in work on-line.

Fall, 2002 Fresno City College

Fresno, CA

Developmental English Instructor

Taught developmental English to a cohort of women who were training to be Child-care assistants.
Taught developmental English to students who were pursuing an A.A. or an A.S. or planning to transfer to a four year University.
Most assignments focused on culture, language and identity.
Used current process pedagogies and collaborative techniques to allow students to share their writing meaningfully.
Taught in a computer lab where students were often encouraged to engage in idea generation and reading responses in the classroom in cooperation with the daily assignment.
Kept meticulous records of attendance and grades (work turned in).

Spring, 2002 California State University, Fresno

Fresno, CA

English A Instructor/TA

Taught two sections of developmental English.
Attended weekly small-group training sessions, which focused on teacher concerns for the week. Class themes were: Language of Resistance and Change, Challenging Stereotypes and What is Culture?
Participated in mid-term and final portfolio readings – high pass rates in both of my sections.

Spring, 2001 California State University, Fresno

Fresno, CA

English 1 Assistant Coordinator

Planned and periodically directed weekly teacher training meetings.
Created a listserv for all English 1 instructors (about 35) and managed it.
Organized the English 1 mass-portfolio reading.
Conducted frequent writing assessments (“norming sessions”)
Wrote reports to track student progress throughout the semester to ensure student success in course.
Taught one section of Composition: Critical Approach to Language (Pedagogy and Curriculum)

Spring, 2001 California State University, FresnoFresno, CA

English 1 Instructor/Research Assistant

Workshop Leader in Mainstreaming Pilot Project (Engl 1LP)
English 1LP was a pilot program that has now been permanently implemented. It was designed to approach remediation by streamlining remedial students into Freshman Composition.
Chosen as 1 of 5 pilot members.
Led two workshops both semesters.
Participated in the research of this program.
Coded data for the senior professor leading the programs
Helped to finalize data in order to present it to Provost with the intent of implementing the program permanently.

University Service and Leadership

Subcommittee Member: Graduate Professional and Student Satisfaction Committee 2006-2007

Coordinator of UCSD All-Grad Research Symposium 2006-2007

UCSD Representative: University of California Student Association Summer, 2007

Coordinator of UCSD All-Grad Research Symposium 2007-2008

Committee Chairman: Director of Graduate Students of Color Coalition Talent Show 2007-2008

Committee Member: Standing Committee on Graduate Professional and Student Satisfaction 2007-2008

Graduate Student Association Representative for Literature 2007-2008

Committee Member: Teaching Development Advisory Committee 2007-2008

Committee Member: Student Health Services and Insurance Committee 2007-2008

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Shattering Glass Mirros: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing in Composition Studies

by

Iris Deana Ruiz

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2010

Professor Rosaura Sánchez, Chair

My dissertation, *Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing in Composition Studies*, elaborates the theory, history, and practice of critical historiography as a pedagogical approach for teaching composition in an increasingly multicultural and multilingual society. Critical historiography is founded on the premise that composition classes have much to gain from the incorporation of lost or neglected histories in the curriculum. The field of composition itself needs to be aware of the lost histories of composition, that is, the history of Composition in Midwestern and black normal schools as well as in schools that have served students of color and lower class students throughout the twentieth century, developing alternative composition pedagogical approaches in the process. The absence of this history calls into question established histories of composition and suggest that we look at these alternative approaches as models for developing alternative pedagogical approaches to the teaching of composition today.

More specifically, in my dissertation, I examine the histories of Composition written by John Brereton, James Berlin, Albert Kitzhaber and Richard Ohmann. I do so to

argue, in part, that these histories do not adequately address minority populations such as, Chicanos/as-Latinos/as or African-Americans. While Sharon Crowley, Lynn Z. Bloom and Susan Miller provide a critical analysis of histories of Composition, these histories also overlook these populations. This dissertation thus calls into question the very historiographies of composition, even those by scholars who would identify as revisionist historians.

Thus, in my dissertation, and in my historiographic approach, I employ critical race theorists, Richard Delgado and Kimberlé Crenshaw , critical historians, Michel Foucault and Eric Foner and a critical education theorist, Paula Moya to challenge notions of traditional multicultural curricula. These curricula, as defined by Moya, are often based upon exclusionist premises in that they solely concentrate on identity politics. Instead, an inclusive multicultural curriculum challenges the victimhood status often applied to minority students. I, then, argue that an inclusive multicultural writing pedagogy can be one that makes use of alternative accounts of history for the purpose of looking at subordinated experiences to benefit all students, not just minority students. This approach goes beyond the use of culturally relevant material by focusing on developing students' argument skills through a critical reading of histories of particular periods or groups.

Introduction

Shattering Glass Mirrors: A Case for Historiographic Theory and Writing in Composition Studies

My study takes place in the state of California, a state with one of the largest Latino/a populations. The 2006 U.S. Census Bureau reports that 35.9 percent of the State of California's total population is comprised of Hispanics or Latinos/as of any race. In San Diego, where I carried out my research, 30.1% of the population is comprised of Hispanics or Latinos/as and 35.0 percent of the city's population speaks a language other than English. As the 2000 U.S. census bureau reports, the language spoken more often by American's other than English is Spanish. Yet despite this large Spanish-speaking population, many of our educational institutions still practice English-Only curricula and genuine bilingual programs can only be found at sparsely distributed "magnet" schools where educational experiments are carried out without looking closely at what is needed to enable the Spanish-speaking or bilingual populations of California and, more specifically, San Diego to be successful in higher education.

In states along the US-Mexico border, the majority of public school students are ethnic minority students: in fact, today, people of Mesoamerican descent constitute the majority of Texas public school students. As the Latino/a population continues to grow, so does the need for the Composition profession to change how we teach writing. Latino/a compositionist, Jaime Mejía feels that current cross-cultural and multicultural readers that Composition publishers are currently producing have yet to provide reasons

for endorsement by the Latino Caucus associated with the Conference on College Composition and Communication. These publishers, according to Mejía, are committing gross oversights of current domestic realities associated with the growing, heterogenous Latino/a population. If this trend continues, not only the publishers, but also the scholarship associated with the field of Composition that overlooks the composition needs of Latinos/as will result in the low scholastic attainment of these students and contribute to cultural misunderstandings which have plagued people of Mexican descent in the US for over a century and a half.

Composition Studies History: A Comparative Approach

This dissertation employs a comparative historical approach to Composition Studies¹, a field dating back to the nineteenth century when education was seen as playing a significant role in establishing a national community after the divisive civil war. From this point on, national crises have been followed by reconstructive periods that seek to create and promote equal rights and the inclusion of various cultural minority populations in society. Inclusion and equality have been major educational and political objectives. In the 1870's, during the reconstruction era, for example, attempts were made to incorporate lower-to-middle-class Anglo-Saxons and African-Americans into the national body. One hundred years later, in view of the failure of earlier attempts, it was clear that various communities, including both African-Americans and Chicano/a-Latino/as had still not been granted equal access to education. Eric Foner affirms that

¹ The reader will notice that I interchange a capital "C" with a lower-case "c" when referring to "Composition". The upper-case indicates the field of Composition and the lower-case indicates the practice of composition also known as the practice of teaching composition (written texts). Also when referring to Composition Studies I am also referring to Composition (the field).

there are two decisive reconstructive moments in American history: “. . . the parallels between the period after the Civil War and the 1950s and 1960s are very dramatic, as are the retreats from the Reconstruction ideal of racial justice and social equality in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and again in our own time” (Foner 18).

This dissertation will argue that, despite major subsequent retreats, the inclusion of minority populations reached levels previously unheard of during these two historical moments. Both of these periods saw attempts at inclusion of previously disenfranchised populations into civil society at large by providing an increase in opportunities for higher education. The formation of new course offerings, departments and disciplines in institutions of higher education in the aftermath of struggles during these two historical moments, that is, after The Civil War (in the 1870’s) and after radical protests (1960’s), was meant to attract marginalized groups of students (See Kathryn Fitzgerald, Jacqueline Jones Royster and Richard Griswold Del Castillo and Arnold De León). However, neither attempt was successful in reaching a satisfactory level of inclusion of minority populations. According to Foner, “Just as the failure of the first Reconstruction left to future generations an unfinished agenda of racial and social justice, the waning of the second has shown how far America still has to go in living up to the ideal of equality” (18). Today, we continue to witness attempts at inclusion of cultural minorities in the public and private sphere in the face of exclusionary measures like Proposition 209²,

² Proposition 209 was a 1996 state ballot initiative that barred public colleges and other agencies from considering race in admissions or employment. Jim Casey, writer for the UCSD student newspaper, *The Guardian*, gives an interesting picture of the effects of 209 on the UCSD student population: “In the past decade UCSD’s undergraduate population has grown by 46 percent. At the same time, there are fewer black and Native American students than before the legislation passed. And while the number of Latino student has nearly doubled, it still constitutes the same percentage as when Proposition 209 arrived” (Casey).

Arizona's new anti-immigration law, SB1070, and Arizona's attempt to ban ethnic studies, and, lastly, Texas Board of Education's attempt to erase certain Latino historical figures from their public school history textbooks.

One inclusionary practice of the 1870's led to educational practices that sought to include a larger segment of lower-to-middle-class white students and the sons and daughters of farmers in the Midwest to facilitate quality education for all: the creation of the Normal School. However, there were still large populations of Americans that were not included in the educational reform mission headed by Horace Mann and the spread of the Common School. These excluded populations were located in the South (African-Americans) and the Southwest (Mexican-Americans). The formation of Black normal schools and colleges in the South was recognition of this exclusion (see Jacqueline Jones Royster); however, there is not a parallel institutional formation for Mexican-Americans who were largely concentrated in the Southwest of the United States at this time³. A partial explanation for this institutional neglect is likely based on the absence of a large middle-class Latino population interested in pressing for educational reforms. Thus, while aims at educational inclusion are apparent in the 1870's, the presence of a large number of U.S. citizens still disenfranchised from American educational institutions clearly points to the fact that this historical moment did not live up to its promise of education for all, nor was it inclusive (See Rosaura Sánchez' "Mapping the Spanish Language").

³ Hispanic Serving Institutions, recognized in the 1980's, are the closest relative to Historical Black Colleges today. These institutions will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Almost a century passes between the 1870's and the Civil Rights Era; nevertheless, these moments have been characterized as having parallel historical effects by both Composition historian Albert Kitzhaber and historian Eric Foner. The parallelism is found in calls for reform and social change during both of these periods. The first reconstructive moment was a result of the Civil War and the second reconstructive moment was a liberal response to American conservatism heightened by the Cold War, the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. and protests against the Vietnam War. The Civil Rights Era was in large measure, although not exclusively, about equal educational and employment opportunities for African-Americans and other minority populations such as Chicanos/as. In discussing the aftermath of inclusive traditions brought about by the Civil Rights Era, Foner, specifically discusses his experience with the City University of New York which, "was in the throes of adjusting to open admissions, with a faculty bitterly divided against itself" (13). Creating a policy of open admissions at CUNY was another attempt to provide equal educational opportunities to those who might not have had them otherwise.

The Civil Rights decade, widely known as a moment of struggle for freedom, equality of opportunity and equal rights, in both the popular and political arena, is also known for the enfranchisement of various "alternative" knowledges within institutions of higher education that brought about the creation of Ethnic Studies programs and a move toward considering "social histories", also known as "new histories" (Eric Foner).

Now, almost 40 years later, what do we see when we look back and evaluate the inclusive attempts of the Civil Rights Era? In an age of increasing conservatism and backlash against liberal notions of "academic freedom", there is still a significant gap

between the numbers of African-Americans and Chicano/a-Latino/as in universities and in the U.S. community at large. How, then, can educators in the sphere of English Studies continue to foster the inclusive tradition evident in the Reconstruction periods of the 1870's and the Civil Rights Era while teaching in an era of conservative admissions policies?

While admissions policies are largely political issues and drop-out rates are attributed to a number of factors, both economic and, sometimes, even cultural, critical educational practices can play a role in helping to retain minority students in school evidenced by the use of multicultural pedagogies within Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI's) (see Christina Kirklighter and a discussion of HSI's in chapter 5) and the success of their students. I will argue that literacy educators can play a major role in addressing this issue of inclusiveness by providing culturally relevant curricula, also known as critical educational practices that are often in contrast to traditional curricula in place to maintain the status quo. Because of the sometimes controversial nature of culturally relevant curricula and critical educational practices, Composition Studies has struggled with creating and implementing a variety of pedagogical approaches in composition classrooms that serve cultural and linguistic minorities such as African-Americans and Chicano/a-Latino/as. The difficulty with coming up with an appropriate curriculum can be traced to the ultimate aim of the composition classroom: that is, to impart Standard English literacy skills in order to function in a manner that places one in the category of the literate, according to U.S. higher educational standards.

Composition Studies is a field of pedagogy and scholarship that is largely reduced to first-year composition courses at universities. It embraces theories of writing that are

widely implemented in classrooms around the U.S. that do not necessarily consider the cultural affiliations of students. These theories, while not overtly political are inherently political in nature in that they are involved in imparting a type of cultural literacy (see E.D. Hirsch)⁴. Only one culture is deemed acceptable and allows for entrance into the Academy in these Composition classrooms. This culture is the white, Anglo-Saxon middle-class culture. James Berlin, a Composition theorist and historian, claims that Current-Traditional rhetorical theory is still the dominant writing model practiced in composition classes⁵ today. This theory does not consider the culture of students. Within such constraints, how is it possible to create culturally relevant curricula and critical educational practices without being termed a radical and perhaps anti-American? I, however, wish to argue for a more culturally relevant writing pedagogy that follows the precepts found within Paula Moya's universalist multicultural curriculum, discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6.

Multiculturalism is not a new concept to Composition Studies. Critical and culturally relevant Composition scholarship does, in fact, exist and has been put into practice in some schools and colleges. Likewise, there are Composition theories that are inclusive of cultural and linguistic minorities who may be in need of a writing pedagogical practice which concentrates on demystifying the Academy, as David

⁴ E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*, has been criticized by critical compositionists such as Patricia Bizzell. She describes his call for a cultural literacy as addressing a "problem involving the lack of shared discourse . . . [a] national, public discourse community in which issues of grave collective importance are discussed" (661). Furthermore, she laments that ". . . according to Hirsch, not all American citizens can participate in this national discursive forum" (661). Bizzell questions Hirsch's assumption that a stable, national discourse community that all students could be inculcated into. She, instead, believes that any discourse community is, "more polyvocal—and that this instability is a sign of its health, its ability to adapt to changing historical conditions" (663).

⁵ Berlin states that CTR ". . . arose in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, establishing a paradigm for teaching writing that has survived to the present" (*Writing Instruction* 62).

Bartholomae claims in his famous Composition article titled, “Inventing the University”. However, even attempts to demystify the Academy by exposing the particulars of academic writing have not succeeded in enfranchising both linguistic and cultural minorities in institutions of higher education. For example, a group called, The Concilio (a community of Chicano/Latino faculty, staff and students at the University of California, San Diego) attributes the lack of underrepresented students at UCSD to factors such as a hostile campus environment, lack of critical mass of Raza (Chicano/Latino faculty, staff and students), low numbers of Chicano/a faculty, and limited visibility for Chicano/a issues in the curriculum. They argue that this lack of representation is particularly unacceptable because some areas of San Diego County are over 30% Chicano/Latino. Even worse, the African-American student body is virtually invisible at UCSD (See “Report Card on the University of California, San Diego: A Legacy of Institutional Neglect”). Disparities between the number of minority populations present at institutions of higher learning and in the community at large, point to major social and educational problems that need to be addressed. At the level of education, Composition is clearly in need of finding innovative ways to enfranchise minority populations through critical literacy. Since composition is an entry-level college course, it is a site where writing skills as well as social activism can be promoted. I would like to suggest that composition courses can be fruitful sites for trying to deal with problems of unequal access to a university education when a composition instructor implements a critical writing pedagogy that meets the needs of both minority student populations and mainstream student populations.

Implementing a critical writing pedagogy in the Composition classroom, however, has not always been an easy task. At times, there have been detrimental conservative backlashes to what is being taught in university classrooms and attempts to dictate what should be taught in the composition classroom. One extreme example of the public's control over what happens at Universities is the case of Linda Brodkey, who is known as a critical Compositionist and a Foucauldian. Brodkey attempted to utilize critical legal texts in a composition classroom in order to provide students with critical tools with which to read and analyze Supreme Court cases surrounding racial discrimination issues (Faigley 74-75)⁶. This attempt at providing students with a critical literacy was met with a blatant conservative backlash and criticism. Such conservative attacks are akin to present attacks on Academic Freedom, attacks which make it very difficult for educators to implement critical versions of writing pedagogy in the classroom.

Such considerations serve broader social interests. For example, the obvious current discrepancy between what is said to be equal access to education and what is actually practiced, especially if we consider who is allowed into college classrooms and who is put in jail or prison⁷, calls for a reexamination of current admission policies and sentencing practices (Sánchez 542-543). If as much time as is devoted to policing were expanded on finding creative avenues to teach cultural minorities, more minorities would

⁶ See also page 255 of Sharon Crowley's book *Composition in the University*.

⁷ See González, Juan Carlos and Portillos, Eduardo L. (2007) 'The Undereducation and Overcriminalization of U.S. Latinas/os: A Post-Los Angeles Riots LatCrit Analysis', *Educational Studies*, 42:3, 247 — 266 for an in depth discussion of the relationship between criminal policy and educational policy of the last 15 years that have negatively affected the perception of Latinas/os in the U.S. and have also had detrimental consequences towards achieving access to higher education versus access to institutions of incarceration for criminals.

be in school and out of jail. I would argue that culturally relevant curricula can lead to higher levels of minority representation at all institutions of higher education not just at institutions such as Hispanic Serving Institutions (which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 5).

In my pedagogical implications section of this dissertation, I argue that a historiographic method can provide students with the critical analytical tools needed to analyze current social problems of inequality as well as combat feelings of inadequacy or alienation from mainstream academic culture (See L. Esthela Banuelos' "Here They Go Again with the Race Stuff"). By providing students with these critical tools, education can continue in the tradition of the 1870s and the 1960s by providing students with critical perspectives on history and current social inequalities. The inclusion of these critical practices also necessarily implies making previously excluded histories of minorities or subordinated experiences, available to students. Thus, publications in Ethnic Studies, Ethnic Literatures and Cultural Studies programs have become important sources of textual material that can be incorporated in the writing curriculum.

These publications include "new histories", which concentrate on history written from the bottom up – moving away from historical accounts which only concentrate on the role of institutions in shaping historical change while ignoring the popular effect on historical change. Eric Foner describes them as, contributing to a "far more complex and nuanced portrait of the American past, in all its diversity and contentiousness" (11). These "alternative knowledges" are now available to those wishing to be critical literacy educators within English Studies. Through a continual commitment to critical pedagogy, one that relies on a critical historiographic method, educators, I suggest, will be able to

continue the tradition of reform that has characterized periods marked by attempts at inclusion of cultural minorities in institutions of higher education. Thus, in the very last chapter of my dissertation I suggest the writing of a “new history” of Guatemalan immigrants in the U.S.

Outline of Chapters

In chapter one, I present the theoretical grounding for both my study and the historiographic writing methodology employed to provide a comparative analysis of traditional composition histories and alternative histories. First, I consider the way in which Foucault questions the idea that history serves as the consciousness of man (Foucault 12 Archeology). I also consider the way he presents the post-structural understanding of history as always being incomplete and non-static. While this post-structural understanding of both history and experience have been largely accepted within the field, there are reservations about the post-structural school of thought expressed by Paula Moya, a critical post-positivist realist theorist.

For a Critical historical approach, I turn to two critical historians: Eric Foner and Michel-Rolph Trouillot. Both critical historians allow me to problematize seemingly coherent and complete historical narratives, in this case the traditional histories of Composition that ignore subordinate experiences.

Since my focus is on contributing subordinated experiences to the contested traditional histories of composition, I also consider Critical Race Theory (CRT). Given its focus on race and ethnicity, CRT allows me to concentrate on the experiences of racial

groups not addressed in texts representative of a discipline or field of knowledge, like Composition.

The way that these theories come together for me influences how I understand textual representations and textual artifacts. A critical historical approach, which relies on the focus found in critical race theory (race) as its motivation for textualizing experiences of minorities is also consistent with Paula Moya's post-positivist realist theory, which validates experience and post-structural theory, yet questions the ability of texts to represent total experience. After presenting these theories and how they work together to inform this study, in chapter two, I review what is considered a traditional history of Composition Studies. It is important to become familiar with this history so that any critical contributions to this history can be made in manner that questions both the wholeness and truth value of this history. Considering this history in such a manner becomes a political practice that allows one to question the omissions in this history. I argue that the role of politics in Composition becomes evident through comparing and contrasting the traditional history of Composition with a critical history of Composition.

Before presenting the late nineteenth-century history of Composition Studies, I call upon Eric Foner to give a contextual background which concentrates on the nation's status right after Reconstruction. Foner, as previously noted, describes this time period as a foundational moment in U.S history, marking the beginning of an evolving Nation that was trying to unite itself after a major war and after the prohibition of slavery. This time period forced the nation to confront new social relations as well as new means of production as industrialization increased, especially in the northern part of the country. Thus, this chapter serves as a traditional historical review of Composition's history

beginning in the 1870's. The historical context of the nation also established herein serves to contextualize the changing nature of the University during this era.

In chapter two, I also examine how Sharon Crowley's book, *Composition in the University*, as well as other composition scholarship that has been devoted to examining the historical politics of the field, the political nature of composition as well as the politics involved in composition pedagogy. For example, Composition historians such as Richard Ohmann, Wallace Douglas, Susan Miller, and Lynn Bloom see Composition as being involved in the cultural endeavor of middle-class creation.

Chapter three compares the Reconstruction Era with the Civil Right Era, which was also concerned with notions of equality and the definition of citizenship. Foner's work has been especially helpful to me in making connections between these two time periods in which the field of Composition Studies saw itself as having to respond to a changing nation.⁸ One cannot make historical connections between these two time periods without considering, however, both traditional and non-traditional histories of Composition because nontraditional populations are also associated with variations in the conceptualization of the nation, especially after the nation-state embraces equality and civil rights. As such, this chapter focuses on the periods right before, during and after the Civil War and the next chapter focuses primarily upon the Civil Rights Era. Along with the two time frames guiding this and the next chapter, I concentrate upon alternative geographical locations, that is, I look beyond the east, towards the Southwestern United States and the Southern states because doing so allowed me to consider Spanish-speaking populations and large African-American populations. Considering both of the alternative

⁸ See Foner's "Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction" in *The New American History*.

geographical areas in conjunction with the eastern United States allowed for a more accurate and informative analysis of the history of Composition and also enabled me to mark the omissions in the field's traditional histories.

It is evident when I look at these historical junctures and geographical locations that the field of Composition has changed along with the changing educational institution. I find that American educational institutions, faced with many types of U.S. citizens and residents seeking an education, have called for alternative Composition pedagogies while attempting to form an English literate middle-class in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, in the Southwest, the predominantly Spanish speaking population has posed new challenges to English Only legislations and when looking at the South, it is apparent that teachers have often discounted literate practices of people of color (see Jacqueline Jones Royster).

In chapter four, I emphasize the connection between the inclusive and changing 1870's, as evident in Eastern and Midwestern educational institutions and the accomodationist and revolutionary 1960's and its effects upon the field of Composition Studies. I also considered the Chicano movement as a possible missing historical contribution to the field and contribution to critical pedagogy. While my account does not focus on the participation of Chicanos in the field of Composition Studies in the 1960's, it does deal with the impact of the Chicano Movement on educational institutions and especially on curriculum and suggests that Composition was indeed influenced by this educationally focused struggle.

I then examine the conservative backlash of the 1990's as the cause of reversing gains made in the intellectual arena in the 1960's, reactions which ultimately halted the

efforts of minorities to gain equal access to education and equal consideration within academia's mainstream scholarship. After the 60's and 70's, American citizens witnessed the decline of civil rights and in the 1980's there was a backlash to the equality rhetoric common to the prior two decades; this backlash manifested itself as the heated response to "reverse-discrimination" as no one, many Americans argued, should receive special treatment or preferential treatment in the professional or academic arena. I examine the effects of this conservative political climate upon Composition and call for a counter-conservative pedagogy which utilizes revolutionary historical critique within the writing classroom. This chapter calls for the reconsideration of traditional histories of Composition Studies and also calls for a new pedagogical strategy that emphasizes the inclusion of previously omitted historical texts.

In considering the impact of the decade of the '60's, I present Lester Faigley's discussion of the influence that MLK's death had on the field of Composition. During this era, Compositionists began to encourage students to think critically about their current positions in society and to question the power structures that were largely responsible for their situation. This was the beginning of Critical Pedagogy. From the '60s onward, Composition begins anew to reconsider many of the concerns previously raised in its history, albeit under new theoretical and political lenses.

In chapter five, I concentrate upon the political climate of the 1990's and its effects upon multicultural curricula. I provide some important statistics relating to the heterogeneous and growing Chicano/a-Latino/a population within the United States to establish the importance of providing appropriate pedagogical strategies with which to meet the needs of this growing population. Because of the population increase of

Chicano-as/Latinos-as in the U.S, I also argue that it is imperative for mainstream students to learn more about these populations. I then examine “brands” of multiculturalism defined by Paula Moya and consider the ways in which these “brands” of multiculturalism are practiced at Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI’s).

I choose to look at HSI’s because I want to take a closer look at these institutions by defining what they are, their educational mission and examining how the populations present at these institutions have influenced the way that Composition pedagogy is practiced there. Such considerations challenge traditional conceptions of Composition Pedagogy such as Current Traditional Rhetoric and the Harvard Model.

I rely on Christina Kirklighter et al’s path-breaking book, *Teaching Writing with Latino/a Students: Lessons Learned at Hispanic Serving Institutions* (2007), to provide a snapshot of the type of pedagogical innovations taking place at these non-traditional institutions that are another part of non-officialized experience in the history of Composition. One of my initial findings reveals that there is a conflict between traditional multicultural pedagogies and more universal educational pedagogies amongst and in between HSIs.

In chapter six, I briefly explain Paula Moya’s taxonomy of various types of multicultural curricula (145-146 Moya); moreover, in this chapter, I concentrate on illustrating an example of the fifth item of her taxonomy titled, “Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist.” It asks students to look at the social structures that create inequalities such as racial, gender or class disparities in an effort to better understand the dynamics of social relationships and possibly alter them. Thus, it seems to be representative of a critical universal multicultural pedagogy or curriculum.

Because no instructional model is provided in Moya's work, I provide a pedagogical moment in a composition class as one example of an instructional model that can be labeled "Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist". It allows one to critically analyze the social structures that have historically been put in place in order to ensure certain social relations that are inextricably linked to positions of power and prestige in U.S. society.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed case study of a composition class which took place at the University of California, San Diego in the year of 2006. This composition class concentrated upon teaching a critical historical approach to the Spanish Conquest. Through the description and analysis of this course, I make the case that critical historiography in the composition classroom allows one to teach a multicultural curriculum that is universal and not exclusive following Paula Moya's universal multicultural educational theory called postpositivist realist theory (see chapter 1). Because of constant criticism of multicultural curricula, it is very important that any curriculum that appears to be inclusive of the minority experience and to affirm minority identities also make clear its "sound intellectual and *universalist* justifications" (Moya 144). This chapter provides those justifications by demonstrating that a critical historical approach to a minority experience provides universal critical thinking skills while paying particular attention to a minority experience; in this case the experience that is salient to Mexican-American students is the Spanish Conquest of Mexico. The study of the history of one's ancestors is a way to cement identity. I agree with Moya's claim that experiences are real and that because these experiences form identity, identity is also real. I am also a proponent of multicultural education and ethnic studies because I think that the

progressive movements that took place in the 1960's and 70's were a step in the right direction for educational institutions that claimed to be inclusive of a wide variety of students.

I end this chapter with this classroom example in order to ground my pedagogical implications which have largely been implicit up until this chapter. The results of the classroom study discussed in chapter 6 are consistent with the critical educational goals of one of Moya's taxonomy of multicultural curriculum items. The pedagogical tasks proved to be social reconstructionist in that the students were encouraged to consider a variety of critical historical texts. In this class all students, regardless of their race or cultural affiliation, considered the history of a U.S. cultural minority group. This group's history, relayed through both primary and secondary historical sources, became important content to analyze when thinking about their current social standing and status. The material discussed in this class allowed students to problematize a colonial and imperialist history from the eyes of the conquered. It allowed students to critically consider this group's current status as a U.S. cultural minority with a conquered past that is different from the usual black vs. white dichotomous histories often discussed in more common and traditional U.S. historical accounts. It also allowed us to see that categories such as Mexican, Chicano, and Latino all have particular definitions that can be historically traced and problematized in order to challenge stereotypical notions of these groups.

I end this dissertation with chapter 7, which serves as a reminder of why it is important to consider the various histories of Latino/a populations in the U.S. I argue that as this population continues to grow, that it is important for educators and composition

scholars to become aware of the heterogeneity of this population and their histories. In doing so, I present statistical data on immigration trends of various Latino/a populations to the U.S. and remind the reader that within the fairly narrow conception of writing instruction and the rhetorics of Composition Studies, that there needs to be an expanded knowledge of these various populations as they continue to enter our writing classrooms. I do this by looking at what both James Berlin and Jaime Mejía say about the traditional goals of composition studies (Berlin) and the lack of Latino/a scholarship within the field (Mejía). Furthermore, I include Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita's concept of the "Latino Bloc" to demonstrate the many complexities that Latino/a populations bring to educational and civic institutions that are often overlooked or misunderstood. Their concept enables me to problematize common misconceptions of the Latino/a as only being one monolithic group such as: immigrants, Spanish-speaking, uneducated, and uninterested in politics.

I then move on to discuss a specific Latino/a population, namely, Guatemalans. I introduce this group to problematize common notions of the Latino as homogenous and as, perhaps, coming from Mexico and in search of jobs. I argue that immigration is a complicated matter. Through a more in-depth understanding of the turbulent history of Guatemala, we discover that this group came here seeking political asylum. These immigrants were often escaping violent political circumstances, even genocide. Thus, I argue that looking at some historical documents that study the tumultuous history of immigration for Guatemalans, allows students in composition classrooms to problematize notions of immigrants as possessing monolithic and homogenous characteristics and

rationales for their growing presence in the U.S.

Chapter 1

Post-structuralism, Historical Theory and Critical Race Theory: A Tripod for Critical Historical Analysis

I will begin this chapter by discussing my own theoretical leanings as well as my writing methodology for two reasons. The first obvious reason is that I am a Composition scholar and it is common practice in the field for Composition scholars to reveal their theoretical leanings concerning the practice of both reading and writing. The second reason is that I find it necessary to share my methodology even though by doing so, I run the risk of being marginalized as a Composition scholar of color. I am a Latina interested in the field's attention to Latinos/as in the field and in the composition classroom. However, I am also a Latina with a Master's degree in Composition Theory. Thus, I am familiar with mainstream scholarship in Composition that serves as the "foundation" of this field I have noticed that this foundational scholarship is not necessarily concerned with the education of minority students. I have taught composition in a variety of settings that have been comprised of various populations of students ranging from lower to upper-middle class students and ranging from minority students (90-95%) to majority (white and Asian) students (85-90%). My experience has allowed me to test the theories underlying these foundational texts and I have found the need to be more inclusive in my theoretical and pedagogical approaches. Thus, while I realize that both the subject matter of this dissertation and my last name may lead to my being marginalized as a "colored" composition scholar (much like Delgado's professed "colored" legal scholar), I still write with the intent to be considered by mainstream scholars in Composition, Cultural Studies

and history. My familiarity and understanding of mainstream Composition scholarship and writing theories allows me to place the needs of Latinos/as in composition classrooms in a larger context and doing so is one of the main goals of this dissertation.

My theoretical leanings are plural and this is not meant to portray a theoretically irresponsible position. Indeed, it is my intention to bring together the main tenets of several critical theories in my study that will allow me to problematize and question concepts such as Current-Traditional rhetoric, objectivity and positivism. In positing the importance of pursuing alternative histories, I recognize that historical narratives are never neutral or objective. Post-structural theory as delineated by Michel Foucault allows me to make this claim since he argues that all discourse is involved in power relations.

Foucault's notion of history as the consciousness of man and of society is of particular interest to me (Foucault 12 Archeology). Traditional historians postulate that History is capable of weaving an obscure synthesis that leads one endlessly towards the future. This type of approach to History would provide a privileged shelter for the sovereignty of consciousness. However, for Foucault, History is not continuous. Foucault was aware, however, that many historians think of history as being continuous, a notion to be found within post-structuralist literary studies as well, especially in relation to questioning stable subject positions in literature. While these notions have been largely accepted within the field, there are, however, reservations expressed by some scholars like Paula Moya, a critical post-positivist realist theorist, who states that:

As a result of the influence of poststructuralism, the terms of the debate in the academy regarding selves and cultural identities have shifted considerably. Broadly speaking, postmodernist scholars in the United States who have been influenced by poststructuralist theory have undermined conventional understandings of identity by discounting the

possibility of objective knowledge. Instead of asking how we know who we are, poststructuralist-inspired critics are inclined to suggest that we cannot know; rather than investigating the nature of the self, they are likely to suggest that it has no nature. The self, the argument goes, can have no nature because subjectivity does not exist outside the grammatical structures that govern our thought; rather, it is *produced by* those structures. (7-8)

Moya critiques the reduction of individuals to discursive constructs which allows scholars who do not value identity politics to dismiss notions of a stable identity altogether. Foucault says that it is okay to dismiss notions of stability when thinking about narratives, but when thinking about subjectivities which result in groups of similar identities, dismissing notions of stable structures begins to break-down critical dialogue about the value of lived experience, especially for minority groups. Moya would say, however, that because discourses do construct us, understanding experience as the material results of those constructions is crucial in any discussion of minority subjectivities. *This connection between discourse and experience is a problem that this dissertation seeks to problematize and I argue that bringing both elements of post-structuralist theory and post-positivist realist theory in the classroom is crucial for understanding how constructs function to assist in maintaining current power structures.* See chapter 6 for an in depth discussion of a multicultural strategy that asks students to look at the social structures that create inequalities such as racial, gender or class disparities in an effort to better understand the dynamics of social relationships and possibly alter them.

Thus, I do not want to dismiss the importance of experience and subjectivity. Just as subjectivity is created through linguistic structures, experience is also constructed in relation to particular contexts and practices that enable one to situate what is observable

and capable of making meaning for groups of people. This position would be similar to the importance of identity politics and multiculturalism in the 1980's which was based on the notion that what can be known about a people can only be known through a textualized experience. A previously unknown group's customs, beliefs, values, achievements can only be known through their use of discursive practices that convey them.

While post-structural theory disrupts the continuity of constructed experience, it cannot deny that there is continuity amidst discontinuity. Even as one rejects essentializing, one also has to bear in mind, as noted by post-positivist realists, that the consideration of experience is fundamental to any study of minority populations. Experience is more than discourse. It is material and produces real consequences for groups of people who share common experiences.

A critical perspective that considers discourse or discursive structures must also be concerned with the notion of perspective, as all discourses are ideological. These discourses provide versions of reality or history from a particular social position as proposed in Berlin's third rhetorical writing theory; thus, the way in which historical continuity is communicated is always in the interest of those who share the same social position (such as the same class, race, gender, geographical location, historical time period, etc). Thus, my yearning to problematize historical narratives is situated in these discussions and theories.

Dominant historical narratives serve to form the U.S. subject's consciousness and, thus, it is not surprising that these narratives are often to be found in U.S. classrooms. Interestingly, these narratives and the discursive fields to which they belong, in effect,

determine who will identify with them, who will be encompassed in them and who will be marginalized from them (similar to what Eric Foner and Michel-Rolph Trouillot argue below).

While Foucault's questioning of the process of historical continuity is crucial to understanding the constructive nature of one's reality, so too Moya's call to legitimize experience as a form of 'objective' truth is crucial to recovering experience otherwise unknown, under-researched or ignored altogether. John Rajchman best summarizes some of Foucault's earlier premises. For the purposes of this essay Rajchman contributes the following understanding of Foucault:

In the place of universalist narratives, he looks for the plurality and singularity of our origins; in the place of unified science or rationality, he looks for many changing practices of knowledge, in the place of a single human experience, based in our nature or in our language, he looks for the invention of specific forms of experience which are taken up and transformed again and again (4 Rajchman).

In sum, Foucault has helped me to understand that subjectivity is a construction that one enters into through discursive practices which are created and controlled by various power-technologies and apparatuses. Louis Althusser calls these power-technologies, "ideological apparatuses of the state". They consist of, for example, the state, the educational institution, the prison, and the church. History is disseminated by one of the apparatuses, namely, educational institutions. Foucault also helps me to understand that one cannot immediately escape subjectivity because power dynamics that surround subject formation and stem from "universalist narratives" (such as historical narratives) are complex and binding. Thus, this last understanding of the binding nature of narratives seems to be consistent with a post-positivist realist theoretical stance. Moya argues that

texts and experiences of marginalized people are important to understand, because of the subjects that these texts concentrate upon and the subjects that these texts also contribute to and create: “In the course of making an extended theoretical argument for the epistemic significance of identity, I demonstrate that studying the texts and lived experiences of Chicana/os (and other marginalized people) is necessary to construct a more objective understanding of the (social and economic) world we live in” (2-3).

Thus, it seems important to understand a number of subjectivities which texts create to have a better view of our social networks and the social networks of others. Again, I would like to stress that these subject experiences, once understood, should not be essentializing but should provide opportunities to engage in otherwise understudied populations.

Since Michel Foucault is not a self-proclaimed critical historian, but is often appropriated for such a position, I also rely on self-proclaimed critical historians for my theory of historiography and the production of history as contested but seemingly closed texts. The connection between these theories, I argue, is one of a parallel nature. History is composed of narratives and these narratives are important as they are all that we have at our disposal to experience the past. Yet, these narratives should also not be thought of as totalizing and essentializing. Thus, I turn to critical historians such as Eric Foner and Michel-Rolph Trouillot. Foner claims that as a result of the social movements of the 1960’s and the 1970’s American history has been remade. He further claims that

American historians redefined the very nature of historical study. . . [They were] inspired initially by these social movements, which shattered the ‘consensus’ vision that had dominated historical writing--and influenced

by new methods borrowed from other disciplines. The rise of the “new histories,” the emphasis of the experience of ordinary Americans, the impact of quantification and cultural analysis, the eclipse of conventional political and intellectual history—these trends are now so widely known (and the subject of much controversy) that they need little reiteration. The study of American history today looks far different than it did a generation ago. (vii)

Similarly, Michel Rolph-Trouillot, author of *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, claims that the production of History, which consists of narratives, involves the uneven contribution of compelling groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production. He considers both the material means needed for such production as well as the academic qualifications needed. Rolph-Trouillot calls for a better rounded approach to history. This approach can be initiated by asking such questions as: Why is the word *history* itself accepted as meaning an unambiguous account of events as if the words that make up the history are transparent conveyers of historical facts? What happens when historical events are told in isolation? Who benefits from such unified historical accounts and who is unduly marginalized in the process? What does power have to do with the way in which historical “facts” are revealed? According to Trouillot, asking such questions begins to problematize a “one-sided” history based on positivist views. Trouillot positions Western scholarship as misguided by positivism which sees the role of the historian as that of researcher who reveals the past and the truth with only one side in mind (5). The extreme alternative to this positivist response is to regard history as merely another form of fiction. However, Trouillot claims that deciding history is only fiction does not problematize historicity in a productive manner. Of course there is some truth to every historical story; at least this is what Trouillot would posit. Instead of a positivist point of view or a capitulation to history as

mere fiction Trouillot offers a third perspective on the complication of a “one-sided” history: the constructivist view of history. He defines it as, “a particular version of these two propositions . . . it contends that the historical narrative bypasses the issue of truth by virtue of its form . . . they necessarily distort life whether or not the evidence upon which they are based could be proved correct” (6). This view contends that historical narratives are not just fiction; they are a production of an attempted conglomeration of the social historical processes of events (he calls them referents that combine to produce events). Trouillot’s understanding of historical theory is stated as follows, “I have noted that while most theorists acknowledge at the outset that history involves both the social process and narratives about that process, theories of history actually privilege one side as if the other did not matter” (22).

Thus both critical historians, Foner and Trouillot, allow me to problematize seemingly coherent and complete historical narratives, such as those making up the traditional history of the field of Composition Studies that either obviously or covertly ignores subordinate experiences. This critical historical practice is consistent with the positions found in post-structural, Foucauldian theory and post-positivist realist theory outlined by Paula Moya.

To put Foucault’s contribution and usefulness to this dissertation in the words of another critical Foucauldian and Composition scholar, it is helpful to consider Linda Brodkey’s discussion of the violence of literacy in “Poststructural Theories, Methods, and Practices.” At the end of this essay, Brodkey states her theoretical position:

In much the same way that theorists argue that the unity of discourse is a necessary illusion, I view resistance or interruption as a necessary illusion, if only because I need to believe that social change is possible and, further,

that the possibility of shifting discursive positions and articulating positive representations of oneself is a more effective, a more inclusive and lasting, form of political resistance than either silence or violence. (23)

This quote, for me, represents the possibility for agency since subject positions change.

The possibility for agency and change lies in the demystification of the oppressive effects of discursive practices as well as the liberating effects of discursive practices. Thus it seems that a theory which allows often silenced voices to express experience in a critical, credible and scholarly manner is suitable for an analysis of the experiences that Moya validates as representative of identities, also known as subjectivities.

This type of discursive possibility now leads me to Critical Race Theory (CRT), a theory proposed within critical legal studies. Given its focus on race and ethnicity, CRT allows me to concentrate on the experiences of racial groups not addressed in texts representative of a discipline or field of knowledge, like Composition. An analysis of texts representative of a field or discipline is crucial towards establishing the credibility of the field but so is an analysis of what and who is left out of these texts. A scholarly field is also comprised of discursive practices, albeit exclusive discursive practices; and when particular populations are left out of texts that are thought to represent a foundational understanding of a field, then the needs of those populations will also be marginalized. The exclusion of minority pedagogical considerations will have drastic effects upon minority students. These absences need to be especially considered when addressing the largest minority population within the United States: Latinos/as.

Critical Race Theory, as outlined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, allows for the examination of covert racist practices which depart from the outright racist practices that are associated with the Jim Crow South--the outright exclusion of people from public

facilities and places such as schools, buses, restaurants, universities and even restrooms. Because the language and practice of jurisprudence determines race relations and minority rights, the practice and language of law is the critical focus of Critical Race Theory.

Critical Race Theory embraces a movement of left scholars, most of them scholars of color, situated in law schools, whose work challenges the ways in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in American legal culture (Xiii Crenshaw et. al.). Critical Race Theory gained popularity in the 80's and was sparked by the initial critical approach to jurisprudence created by the Critical Legal Studies group formed in the 1970's. Although Critical Legal Studies criticized the formalist approach to jurisprudence and the rule of law as well as the influence that this approach exercised on the ways that cases were argued and decided, this same group did not promote race-consciousness and there was not a conceptual basis from which to identify the cultural and ethnic character of mainstream American institutions; they were thus deemed to be racially and culturally neutral. This cultural neutrality, in the eyes of those legal scholars who felt that race is and has always been a key factor in the decisions of legal cases, needed to be unmasked. Critical Race Theory, then, explicitly embraces a critical race consciousness of law and public policy making. It aims to reexamine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness, and to recover and revitalize the radical tradition of race-consciousness among African-Americans and other cultural minorities such as those addressed by Richard Delgado as being in the realm considered "colored-scholarship".

Kimberlé Crenshaw states that those who claim a Critical Race Theorist approach do not necessarily commit to a

. . . canonical set of doctrines or methodologies . . . But CRT is unified by two common interests. The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.” The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it. (xvi)

Critical Race theorists are deeply dissatisfied with traditional civil rights discourse first popularized in the *Brown vs. The Board of Education* case and often spoken of as color-blind rhetoric utilized by Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. This “color-blind” rhetoric rests upon the ideal of equality of opportunity for all Americans regardless of color or creed. While the Civil Rights act of 1964 and the Equal Voting Protection Act brought about positive changes utilizing this same rhetoric, the Reagan Era, marked as the beginning of a renewed neoconservative period within United States history, has created a new meaning for this color-blind rhetoric that chooses to ignore the historically blatant unequal circumstances of African-Americans and other minorities. This meaning is justified in legal rhetoric as a strict adherence to the law which is in direct contrast to the judicial activism practiced by the Warren Court in the 1960’s. This new conservative court renewed the racist practice of a restricted and narrow interpretation of the law once popular in the pre-Civil Rights era. Thus, with critical legal interpretation as their modus operandus, Critical Race theorists “intend to evoke a particular atmosphere in which progressive scholars of color struggle to piece together an intellectual identity and a political practice that would take the form both of a left intervention into race discourse and a race intervention into left discourse” (xix). One progressive discursive practice

found to be common among Critical Race theorists is counter-story telling, described by Edward Said as a type of “antithetical knowledge” which is characterized by the development of counter-accounts of social reality by subversive and subaltern elements of the reigning order. This position is also consistent with a post-positivist realist theoretical stance and can be considered critical race pedagogy.

Although this pedagogy has direct correlations with legal scholarship, other disciplines have benefited from critical race pedagogy. Since, according to Critical Race theorists, racism is perpetuated by textual practices, any discipline which closely analyzes language using practices and rhetorical devices may employ Critical Race theory and pedagogy in their analyses of texts as well as in their writing of texts. For example, in the sphere of literary studies it can be used as a reading tool. Consider that dominant narratives, often found in traditional canonical texts and in traditional histories, are utilized to create one’s consciousness and to keep dominant populations in positions of prominence, there will be minority populations that will not be accounted for or represented in these texts. The effects of this exclusion are detrimental to these populations because they will not have access to the same representation, consideration and, thus, equal opportunities in society at large. Linda Brodkey would call these types of textual practices violent. She argues that language has real consequences on the ways that society operates and the ways that people interact with one another; minorities will notice their absence or subordinate status within society in the ways that language is utilized in dominant narratives that exclude their experiences and thus negate their consciousness (Brodkey 22-23). More specifically, she argues that there exists a covert relationship between discursive practices and authoritative institutions.

The conjunction of violence and the word in a legal interpretation is grounded in the powerful discursive hegemony of the state, which confers on judges the authority to reconstruct the lives of plaintiffs and defendants with words. Legal discursive practice may be a powerful interpretive practice, but it is the authority of the state in the person of the judge that makes legal discursive practices (both legislative and juridical) consequential. And it is the authority of the state in the person of the teacher that makes educational discursive practices consequential (Brodkey 23).

The power of discursive practices can be understood in various ways, but one obvious concept that allows one to identify and analyze absence and violence in discursive practices is: textual racism. Thus, Critical Race Theory allows me to focus on the absence of different U.S. minority populations in various historical narratives and practices found in mainstream educational institutions and in mainstream U.S. scholarship and academia.

In his book, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva gives a useful understanding of racism as practiced in contemporary society. While his analysis parts ways with the “cynicism” of Critical Race Theory (see Derrick Bell’s “Racial Realism”), he also embraces many of its tenets. He specifically acknowledges the subtle racist practices that have taken place since the civil rights era, often alluded to as “color-blind” racism, or that choose to ignore that color has anything to do with the differences in experience for various racial groups in U.S. society. He also gives suggestions for scholars who wish to focus on the concept of race in their scholarship. He states that

Racism should be conceptualized in structural terms. Whereas the collective interests of the dominant race (Whites in contemporary United States) lie in preserving the racial status quo, the interests of the subordinate race or races (blacks and other minorities) lie in attempting to change their position in the system; one group tends to fight to maintain the social, political, economic, and even psychological arrangements that provide them privileges and the other tends to struggle to alter them.

. . . [Thus,] analysts of racial orders must study the practices, institutions, and ideologies that help sustain white privilege. (11-12)

In trying to analyze the practices, institutions and ideologies that help to sustain dominant privilege, post-structural methods of finding silences, ruptures, challenging continuity and coherence and order and objectivity enable one to always question the obvious and lead me to also embrace a brand of critical race theory that questions subtle racial exclusions and distortions within texts while validating both the identities and experiences of these same excluded peoples (see Moya on post-postivist realism).

These theories allow me to focus on what is not obvious on the surface of experiences whether textual, personal or political. If educational scholarship can be said to be imperialist (see Delgado's "The Imperial Scholar") because most humanities disciplines are dominated by white, Anglo-Saxon males, then it is important to question the implications of this scholarship for other racial populations that are also part of those bodies of knowledge. Richard Delgado, for example, writes of Civil Rights scholarship as being imperialist in the sense that it marginalizes legal scholars of Color. In the process of marginalizing scholars of color, a monopoly of mainstream legal scholarship is created at the expense of marginalizing "colored" scholarship. Even after 10 years, when Delgado decided to revisit critical legal scholarship, he argued that colored scholarship, although cited more often now than a decade ago, is still connected to a marginal status by mainstream legal scholars (see his article titled, "The Imperial Scholar: Reflections on a Review of Civil Rights Literature" written in 1984). Delgado states that this 1984 article, ". . . showed that an inner circle of twenty-six scholars, all male and white occupied the central arenas of civil rights scholarship to the exclusion of contributions of

minority scholars.” He argued that this exclusion of minority scholars’ writings about key issues of race law caused the “literature dealing with race, racism, and American law to be blunted, skewed, and riddled with omissions” (1349 “10 years later”). He also states that in 1994, ten years later, marginalization of minority voices is still occurring but in a different light: “With a few notable exceptions both the original group and the newcomers rely on a panoply of devices, ranging from the dismissive Afterthought to the wishful Translation, to muffle and tame new voices” (1372). These devices are responsible for the covert textual racism that occurs in many humanities disciplines. Marginalization of voices that do not contribute a melodious addition to existing hegemonic scholarship is the result of the use of such textual devices (listed above) seen in traditional venues for scholarship such as the most well-known journals of a discipline as well as the canonical version of a discipline.

Because of the tendency, then, for much scholarship in the U.S. academic institution to ignore minority perspectives and suggestions for curricular change at every level of the education tier, there is a need to engage in a different type of scholarship that distinguishes itself from the objectified, heavily cited kind of prose found in much academic, post-secondary scholarship representing the “elite culture of knowledge” responsible for creating and maintaining dominant perspectives. This type of textual engagement has been termed “critical counter-storytelling” by many critical race theorists. This type of textual engagement is consistent with Moya’s post-positivist realist theory discussed earlier. Because racism is not as blatant as it was in the Jim Crow era and happens at more structural levels (in the ways that institutions, laws, politics and powerful, wealthy people interact) then it is not enough to merely engage in the scholarly

conventions which are manifested in the main textual productions dominated by these institutions. In addition to engaging in these scholarly conventions to show credibility, critical counter-storytelling needs to be engaged in by scholars of color and needs to be considered as a scholarly convention within traditional scholarly venues of a discipline. Critical counter-storytelling departs from traditional academic prose and argumentation to show a realist side of one's experience or of a group's experiences. This type of textual realism⁹ which relies on the telling of events from a personal perspective is a crucial textual maneuver that should be utilized by minorities in the academy. Engaging in such a practice allows the focus of such texts to show how race plays an important role in the ways that they navigate the "higher academic track"¹⁰.

Tara J. Yosso, author of *critical race counterstories along the chicana/chicano educational pipeline*, argues that scholars who identify as racial minorities should challenge dominant ideology. Specifically, she states that:

Critical Race Scholars argue that traditional claims of race neutrality and objectivity act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society. A CRT [Critical Race Theory] in education challenges claims that the educational system offers objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity. A critical race praxis (practice informed by critical race theory) questions approaches to schooling that pretend to be neutral or standardized while implicitly privileging White, U.S.-born, monolingual, English-speaking students. (7)

⁹ I realize that textual realism implies that experience can be regarded as real representation of individual experience often questioned by a post-structural position. However, for the purpose of this argument, such textual realism seems warranted if it represents that of "silenced", subordinate populations. I also acknowledge that such experiences are in and of themselves constructed experiences. I am interested in whose experience is allowed to be heard and authorized and whose is not.

¹⁰ By "higher academic track", I mean the academy, the bureaucratic processes that are in place in order to gain entrance into the academy and the practice and politics of academic publication and scholarship. This term is very similar to the "educational pipeline" that Tara J. Yosso refers to in her book, *critical race counterstories along the chicana/chicano educational pipeline*.

Thus, the act of relying upon critical counter-storytelling for challenging dominant ideology seems appropriate in its reliance on personal story telling that is often deemed subjective and non-academic. However, these labels are another attempt to marginalize and thus object to the experiences of those who are most likely not to be considered worthy of academic initiation. However, if one looks at the basic tenets of positivist realist theory, experience is a credible source of scholarship research.

Relying on this complementary set of theoretical schools, the next chapters will seek to rely on these precepts referred to here on an “as needed” basis. What this means is that when I run the risk of being politically neutral or seemingly objective I will stop and ask myself and the reader, what is missing. What race is missing? What geographical area is missing? What historical story is being ignored? What are the implications of these silences? I will then attempt to add to these missing portions and then analyze these gaps and see what contributions these additions might produce for both the theory and practice of contemporary Compositionists of the twenty-first century.

Theoretical Merging: Complicating traditional textual representations of academic fields:

The ideas that these four theoretical schools contribute to this study (Post-structuralism, post-positivist realist theory, critical race theory and critical history) are important to understand when considering this study’s purpose. The way that these theories come together for me influences how I understand textual representations and textual artifacts. I understand experience to be socially constructed, textualized experience, while at the same time, not being representative of a total experience. I also

understand through a combination of these theories that the experiences of minority populations are not textualized enough. A critical historical approach, thus, which relies on the focus found in critical race theory (race) as its motivation for textualizing experiences of minorities is consistent with both post-positivist realist theory, which validates experience and post-structural theory, which questions the ability of texts to represent total experience. Traditional historical accounts that do not include experiences of minorities, thus, need to consider minority experience and this can only be done by expanding that same traditional textualized history to include minority experiences. Thus, textual representations of traditional histories of U.S. academic disciplines need to consider textual additions to their contingent textual histories by considering other experiences that are too textualized. The goal then of this dissertation is to textualize minority experience so as to add to the scope of experience accounted for in traditional histories of Composition. The pedagogical implications discussed in this dissertation for first-year composition classrooms are also based on these premises.

Chapter 2

Introduction to the field of Composition: Politics from the Start

The goal of this chapter is to critically consider the current field of Composition Studies from a traditional historical perspective. Since I espouse a critical historical perspective in this dissertation and in my pedagogical practices in the writing classroom, I want to note that the history of Composition to be included here is the most commonly known and, thus, is a traditional history that is largely an unquestioned history of Composition. To critically understand the scope and contours of Composition Studies, it is important to become familiar with this common history so that current Compositionists can assess their pedagogy's effectiveness and effects on students in relation to what has come before (i.e. Have previous practices been concerned with inclusiveness? Does one's current pedagogy consider the peculiarities of students in its precepts and ultimate goals?). Current Compositionists can also add to this history.

Interestingly, Composition Studies, on the surface looks like a simple field which has as its only goal to teach first year college composition (writing). When looking at the traditional history, writing practices are largely seen as positivist, scientific, academic and objective. On the other hand, when one exposes the silenced history of Composition, one sees that the teaching of writing addresses much more than just the production of academic, objective essays. Being able to discern the purposes behind various forms of writing and thus the theories that support these different writing practices, however, is only possible through becoming familiar with Composition's silenced past. I argue that through presenting first a traditional history and then a more contested history that the

practice of composition, since its first appearance on university campuses, has been and is still a political practice. The role of politics in Composition, I argue, becomes evident through comparing and contrasting the traditional history of Composition with a more critical, contested history of Composition.

This argument is possible to make because of prior scholarship written by Composition historians, such as Wallace Douglas, who have argued that Composition has been involved in constructing culture, specifically, middle-class, White male culture since its inception at Harvard. As a direct result of such scholarship, compositionists understand the practice of teaching composition as being involved in creating culture as well as being affected by larger national, cultural goals. The practice of composition, like any educational practice which creates culture, is, thus, inherently political; it ensures that certain nationalistic goals and cultural climates of a historical period will find their way into the writing classroom to affect the culture of individual students. Composition scholar, Sharon Crowley argues that “. . . practices are never politically pure. Institutional practices in composition typically represent the general history of the course as well as the history of influential teachers and administrators on a given campus” (Crowley 220).

Along with Sharon Crowley’s book, *Composition in the University*, other composition scholarship has been devoted to examining the historical politics of the field, the political nature of composition as well as the politics involved in composition pedagogy. For example, Composition historians such as Richard Ohmann, Wallace Douglas, Susan Miller, and Lynn Bloom see Composition as being involved in the cultural endeavor of middle-class creation. Before looking at traditional, elite versions of Composition’s history written by majority composition scholars, the following is a look

at these critical composition historians' scholarship. I want to start with these critiques in order to provide the reader with a critical eye with which to view the traditional history of Composition.

The critical focus on middle-class values present within Composition pedagogy touched upon in more traditional Composition histories is elucidated by popular composition historians, Susan Miller, Sharon Crowley and Lynn Bloom. For example, Susan Miller, states that the history of Composition is political because it stresses certain middle-class values. However, according to Miller the field's history has been largely depoliticized by using abstract terms to describe curricula for writing. She states that the predominant images that are associated with Composition are associated with developing traditional, middle-class values that

encompass popular images of what it means to write well. It [Composition] stresses upward mobility, imitation of a largely hidden American upper class, and stringent mores, as against improprieties imagined to be shunned by that upper class. The history of English in America has been depoliticized by imagining this particular scholastic brand of writing. Abstractions like 'the curriculum,' 'regressive education,' and 'rhetoric' hid many considerations for nationalistic, colonizing, and pointedly political programs. (34-35)

Similar to Susan Miller's argument, both Sharon Crowley and Lynn Bloom would agree that Composition's continuity of purpose is and always has been to create and maintain a hegemonic middle-class. Lynn Bloom claims in her essay, "Freshman Composition as a Middle-Class Enterprise", that freshman composition encourages students to think and write in ways that will make them good citizens of the academic (and larger) community and viable candidates for good jobs upon graduation. She further identifies a number of major notions pertaining to social class that freshman composition often emphasizes such as: Self-reliance, Responsibility, Respectability ("middle-class morality"), Decorum,

Propriety, Moderation, Temperance, Thrift, Efficiency, Order, Cleanliness, Punctuality, Delayed gratification and Critical thinking. These characteristics all pertain to the creation and maintenance of the U.S. middle-class population. Many may disagree with Bloom who believes Composition has always had this normalizing function. However, she makes it clear that although many Composition models are possible, “the middle-class pedagogical model, replete with Franklinesque virtues, has remained normative and dominant from the emergence of composition as a college course in the late nineteenth century to the present (see Brereton)” (658).

Regarding Composition's role in the creation of the citizen/subject or the bourgeois subject, Sharon Crowley similarly argues that Composition, since its inception, has metamorphosed with society's expectation of what skills an ideal national subject should possess:

Over the years . . . first year composition has been remarkably vulnerable to ideologies and practices that originate elsewhere than its classrooms. An amazing number of rationales have been advanced to justify the universal requirement in composition. [These are] in rough historical order: . . . to develop taste, to improve their grasp of formal and mechanical correctness, to become liberally educated, to prepare for jobs or professions, to develop their personalities, to become able citizens of a democracy, to become skilled communicators, to develop skill in textual analysis, to become critical thinkers, to establish their personal voices, to master the composition process, to master the composition of discourses used within academic disciplines, and to become oppositional critics of their culture (6).

These rationales, which Crowley discusses above, are undoubtedly tied to greater cultural and historical goals of the university in creating and maintaining the middle-class subject/citizen. The variability seems to stem from what the educational institution regarded as appropriate literate behavior for its students in the interest of larger political and cultural goals. Only recently has the last goal (to become oppositional critics of

culture) become part of the critical pedagogical practices of Composition. By recently, I mean since the late 1960's when other cultural groups started to become more visible in the field of composition (i.e. African-Americans associated with The Civil Rights Movement)¹¹.

Continuing this critical discussion of the middle-class creation in which Composition participates, Susan Miller argues in *Textual Carnivals* that the composition course has both indoctrinating and normalizing functions:

Acting from its own traditions, composition can repress and commonly assimilate the majority of American writers who obtain credentials in higher education, indoctrinating them into openly middle-class values of propriety, politeness, and cooperation. By taking as one of its goals the 'conventional,' composition assures that these values will maintain their continuing, if disguised or displaced, status. (7)

Considering these critical Composition comments before reading a traditional history of composition may provide the reader with a critical historical perspective with which to view Composition's commonly accepted history.

Before considering a traditional post-Civil War history of Composition, a brief contextually aligning historical backdrop to this history can be summoned by the reader if she consults works devoted to the U.S. historical period of the Reconstruction Era. Eric Foner, a critical historian addresses this period exclusively and makes connections between the Reconstruction Era to the civil rights era. He characterizes this era as follows:

The era of Civil War, Slavery and Reconstruction raised the decisive questions of America's national existence; the relations between local and national authority, the definition of citizenship, the meaning of equality and freedom. As long as these issues remain central to American life,

¹¹ This time period will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

scholars are certain to return to the Civil War period, bringing to bear the constantly evolving methods and concerns of the study of history. (89)

As Foner describes, this time period was a foundational moment in U.S history, marking the beginning of the solidification of a Nation that was trying to unite itself after a major war and after the dismantling of a very oppressive institution, slavery. With the destruction of this institution also came the need to confront new social relations as well as new means of production as industrialization increased at this time, although more pronounced in the northern part of the country. This dissertation seeks to compare this period with the Civil Right Era which also looked at ideas such as the meaning of equality and the definition of citizenship. For this reason, Foner's work has been very helpful to me in making connections between these two time periods in the field of Composition Studies.¹²

The Reconstruction period can be characterized as one of extreme national transformation and upheaval. Every institution was affected by the union of the North and the South as well as by industrialization, including the university. It was undoubtedly affected by the changing demographics and economic interests of an increasingly capitalistic nation. Since slavery was no longer legally sanctioned and education was a goal sought not only by previously disenfranchised African-American slaves ("Negroes" at this time) but also by the sons and daughters of previous plantation owners, the training of teachers to teach these growing student populations became a priority. However, in the North and specifically in the Northeast, the university elite was more interested in maintaining and continuing to contribute to an elite class of white, male managers and a

¹² See Foner's "Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction" in *The New American History*.

culturally and technically trained capitalist class. While the training of teachers was also a goal of these universities, much of the teacher training took place at teacher's colleges also known as Normal Schools¹³.

The history of Composition Studies, thus shows us how the practice of rhetoric and teaching writing underwent transformation in an effort to serve the needs of a newly conceived society that was interested not only in becoming a stronger capitalist nation-state but in disseminating a unified nationalist ideal through curricula that were suitable to the various populations entering into both university and normal schools. Furthermore, when analyzing these two sites of education varying in geographical concentration, it becomes apparent that whites were considered for certain social roles while blacks were delegated to different social roles; moreover, white men were trained for public sector jobs while women were trained for private sphere jobs with the exception of teaching. Thus, women in general were meant to be domestic queens with the ability to teach children while white men would ensure the economic management (not necessarily man power) of our increasingly bourgeois nation. With this short historical background, I now move on to the traditional history of Composition and then I will give a more contested history which includes both the African-American and Mexican-American contributions to this history as well as the Normal School mission which sought to train teachers.

Composition's Traditional History

Albert R. Kitzhaber wrote a dissertation titled, "*Rhetoric in American Colleges, 1850-1900*". It was completed in 1953; however, it was not published as a book until 1990. Kitzhaber was, thus, the author of the first book-length historical study of rhetoric

¹³ The parallel history of the Normal School will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

in Composition. His study helped make the paradigm shift in Composition during the 1960's possible. John T. Gage, author of the introduction to Kitzhaber's book, claims that this book was long called for since previously students of Composition had access only to Kitzhaber's dissertation.

The importance of Kitzhaber's study lies in his initiation of the reevaluation of rhetoric in American education. He made a very important claim for compositionists who wish to understand the current history of Composition in relation to the past. In his book, he describes the second half of the nineteenth century as a "transitional" period for the field of composition and rhetoric. John Gage states that, according to Kitzhaber's book, the current shifts that the field has experienced in the past twenty years (this book was published in 1990) are not unlike those of the mid-nineteenth century:

If the watershed year were changed from 1870 to 1970 and 'eighteenth' changed to 'nineteenth,' few, I think, would quarrel with the accuracy of such a description [of the dissatisfaction with college curriculums] applied to our own more recent history. The words raise the salient possibility that the discipline of composition, which seems to have changed so much in the past twenty years, has in fact changed relatively little, or has changed along familiar lines. (Gage ix)

Gage makes this controversial historical claim by recognizing the move from rhetorical training to the teaching of practical skills already in composition classrooms of the late nineteenth century as noted by Kitzhaber. One cannot make historical connections between these two time periods without considering, however, both traditional and non-traditional histories of Composition. As such, I begin here with a traditional historical review of Composition's history beginning in the 1870's. It is my hope that the historical context of the nation established above will serve to contextualize the changing nature of the University during this era.

The Beginning:

By 1900 every college had an array of composition and English literature courses. The creation of the modern university transformed writing instruction. Of all the complex factors that influenced the university's formation, four stand out: the influence of the German university model, the changing nature of knowledge, the dramatic expansion of higher education, and the efforts of a few visionaries to update the university's purview. (Brereton 4-5¹⁴)

Composition is a field of knowledge that grew out of classical rhetorical training common at Universities such as Harvard and Yale. Rhetorical training was common for most nineteenth century colleges which were reserved for the prosperous elite who were predestined, because of their socioeconomic status and gender, to become the nation's clergy men, doctors and lawyers. Most of these college students were white Anglo-Saxon males. However, because of the move from a *laissez-faire* market economy to a managed economy which was intimately tied to governmental alliances, colleges changed their educational mission. This mission was to "train certified experts in the new sciences, experts who could turn their knowledge to the management of the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption activities of society for profit" (Berlin 185). Thus, the elitist institution was transformed by both economic and social changes taking place within our nation as a result of Reconstruction and industrialization. The mid and late nineteenth century U.S. called for and required a managerial class to maintain its progress. This managerial class could be created by specialization and training in the sciences. These specialists were to become well-equipped by education and specialization to contribute to the economic development of our burgeoning nation.

¹⁴ As a result of the influence of the German university, of the impact of science, of the Morrill Act and of a weakening faith in the credibility of the old faculty psychology, the 1870's saw the beginnings of extensive revisions in the traditional curriculum. (Kitzhaber 17)

Wallace Douglas also understands the elite university as responding to a growing college population and the scientific needs of late nineteenth century society. He confirms that Harvard was one of these colleges where men from all walks of life could be refined and “. . . was to be a selection mechanism, a recruiting ground for new men for the apparatuses of state and industry, some few of whom might even come to walk the corridors of power themselves” (Douglas 132).

This new educational mission was also largely influenced by the German Model of education and the passing of the Morrill Federal Land Grant of 1862¹⁵. Under such educational legislation, populations granted admissions into higher education were no longer solely white upper-class males. Brereton states that “the American college moved from a unified small, elite school to a diverse, large fragmented university organized by academic disciplines” (4)¹⁶. Thus, as more populations were gaining access to higher education, elite colleges were also faced with a more eclectic, non-elite student population with differing abilities and talents. Law, medicine, and the ministry were no longer the only options for higher education; instead, the new goal was to create a managerial class to oversee businesses or to fulfill governmental bureaucratic roles. Thus, more white Anglo-Saxon males, who represented a wider range of social castes, began to attend college along with the elite upper-class. As such, the old curriculum of classical

¹⁵ Within five years after the act became law, twenty-three states had availed themselves of its provisions. These new state institutions, founded squarely on the notion that it was the responsibility of American colleges to offer a wider selection of courses than had been commonly available before, were very influential in breaking up the older pattern and in supplying a new one for the next century. (Kitzhaber 12) This act funded educational institutions by granting federally controlled lands to the states. The mission of these institutions, as set forth in the 1862 Act, is to teach agriculture, military tactic, the mechanic arts, and home economics, not to the exclusion of classical studies, so that members of the working classes might obtain a practical college education. In 1890 this act was again enforced to the confederate states which began the creation of some of the well-known historically black colleges.

¹⁶ W.E.B. Dubois was a graduate student at Harvard in the early 1890's.

language training and rhetorical recitation common in Harvard's previous rhetorical program became impractical.

In addition to a growing population of students, the formation of the modern university also included an increasing interest in specialization. This interest developed in elite institutions along with the American exposure to the German model of education.

John Brereton comments on the influence of the German model in the early nineteenth century:

Americans in search of advanced degrees went to Germany and returned imbued with the university ideal. The German universities they studied at stressed research, the creation rather than the transmission of knowledge. In 1876, Johns Hopkins University was founded on the German model and overnight became the single most potent force for upgrading the educational standards of American scholarship. (5)

However, the German university did not include rhetoric and Americans interested in English studies came home with a German doctorate in philology (study of language and literature), not rhetoric (the art of persuasion, oratory and recitation). Brereton further informs us that the German model influenced an increasing interest in science in the American universities and the move from a required curriculum to an elective system which allowed students to specialize¹⁷:

The German model stressed innovation, electives, and specialization. Following this German ideal, professors immersed themselves in their studies or laboratories to produce research, the disciplines organized themselves on scholarly rather than pedagogical lines, and universities slowly abandoned much low-level teaching to an underclass of instructors and graduate student assistants. (6)

¹⁷ "While German universities were approaching their peak in prestige and enrollment, there were in 1868-69 only eight graduate students in residence at Yale, five at Harvard, and none at all at Brown, Columbia, Princeton, or the University of Pennsylvania." (Kitzhaber 13)

Brereton hints at the future of Composition professionals and their lowly status; however, what interests me here is the turn to scientific research and specialization in the American university, which influenced rhetoric departments to focus more on the study of English language and literature.

Thus, by 1869, when Charles W. Eliot was inaugurated as Harvard's president, the conditions were ripe for a transformation of the American college into a modern university and of what we now know as English Composition. In 1872, Eliot appointed Adams Sherman Hill to develop Harvard's composition program. "Harvard went about composition, like everything else, in a big way. At its height in 1880-1910, the Harvard system included three elements: a particular kind of writing; a wide array of course work; and an eminent, highly visible staff" (Brereton 11). Under Adams Sherman Hill, the Harvard Entrance Exam (1873-74) was implemented to test the incoming students' familiarity with both English language and literature by writing about "great cultural works" in grammatically correct Standard English¹⁸. In fact, the first-year required composition course was created partly because of the results of this exam and the university's increasing specialization. The results of the Harvard Entrance Exam showed a less-literate entering class.

Thus, the first year composition course was created to accommodate and cultivate the increasingly diverse populations that Harvard was admitting. It strived to remedy students' English language and literary knowledge so as to prepare them for arguably more "advanced" and cultured subjects such as English Literature. Brereton confirms that "[b]y the time the literature-based composition course became popular a hierarchy began

¹⁸ See Harvard English Entrance Exam in Appendix A.

to develop: the better the student, the more literature in the composition course” (16). These new populations were to be cultivated into cultured men through the act of reading and writing about Literature in current-traditional rhetoric (see definition below). They would later serve the larger economic need for a managerial class. And, as a result of a very pointed curricular aim, the push toward scientific research caused the university’s English department to be dominated by a positivist view of knowledge.

Thus, Harvard’s focus on scientism and specialization, influenced by the German Model as well as the results of the Harvard Entrance Exam, proclaimed Harvard, under Charles William Eliot “as the most extreme in its elective system, reducing required courses to freshmen in 1894, and decreasing even these to a year of freshman rhetoric in 1897” (*Writing Instruction* Berlin 59)¹⁹. Freshman Composition became solidified as a required freshman class in the late nineteenth century with its conception at Harvard and proliferation to other well-known colleges and universities.

Contributing to this traditional history of Composition, Richard Ohmann provides a “radical” view of the English profession. This critique of the profession of English logically includes critiquing the purpose of Composition. He concludes that Composition was responding to the needs of powerful groups in the larger society at this time. Ohmann also explains how Composition assumed the place it currently holds in the university curriculum. He states that “there are complex causal relationships among the university teaching of composition, social class, and the management of our society” (173).

¹⁹ “The entering student, [Eliot] said, ‘ought to know what he likes best and is most fit for. If his previous training has been sufficiently wide, he will know by that time whether he is most apt for language or philosophy or natural science or mathematics. If he feels no loves, he will at least have his hates (p. 14)’” (Eliot quoted in Kitzhaber 18).

Wallace Douglas, who wrote a chapter in Ohmann's book²⁰, argues that the first year required composition class was created in response to the growing needs of society for a managerial class while also trying to accommodate a broader range of students who were attending Harvard before, during and especially after World War I.

In his chapter, Douglas states that in the nineteenth century, "[c]omplex industrial firms needed a corps of managers who could size up needs, organize material, marshal evidence, solve problems, make and communicate decisions" (93). In other words, writing became a tool of production and management and veered away from being mainly a private art to being a public art. Douglas takes special care to make the transformation from rhetorical training to modern composition very explicit. According to him, this conversion led towards the creation of a required freshman composition course that focused upon problem solving and discipline (and perhaps taste), catering to the needs of an economically changing society which needed individuals who could manage capital, both human and monetary (131-132). In addition to supporting a society which increasingly relied upon an individual's ability to perform managerial tasks, another partial explanation for the creation and continuance of Composition is its focus on the scientific rhetoric that it espoused at this time, namely, current-traditional rhetoric.

While the next section of this chapter is aimed at providing a detailed definition of Current-Traditional rhetoric, I would like to briefly mention that the traditional history of Composition and the dominant writing theory, namely Current-Traditional rhetoric, are historically interdependent. The type of writing theory espoused during this historical era undoubtedly reflected the needs of a larger nation. However, it is my intention to show

²⁰ Titled: "Rhetoric for the Meritocracy"

how this type of writing theory marginalizes minority populations when taking a critical look at its definition, and asking who benefits from this type of rhetoric and, at the same time, who is excluded?

The Rise of Composition/Rhetoric outdated: Scientism/Managerialism and Current-Traditional Rhetoric:

Current-traditional rhetoric (CTR from this point on) grew out of the impracticality of classical rhetoric. Classical rhetoric was configured into a more practical use of language which aided in creating a managerial class because of the changing nature of the modern university. This configuration was related to the scientific concentration of the elite university. Thus, CTR does not consider pedagogy so much as it considers the product to be evaluated. The practice of teaching CTR, as a result, contrasts with other practices within pedagogically centered educational institutions such as normal schools. Identifying this contrast allows underrepresented populations to problematize the legitimacy of CTR by looking at the value placed upon CTR in elite universities in contrast to normal schools (discussed in depth in the next chapter). The difference can be summarized as follows: Unlike the psychological theories which underlie the pedagogical practices of composition in Midwestern and other normal schools, Current Traditional Rhetoric does not consider critical pedagogical questions such as: Who is writing? Why might s/he have difficulty producing CTR? Is CTR in close proximity to her home culture or usual manners of speaking/writing? Furthermore, populations that have not been considered in elite universities or who were located in normal schools come to light when questioning the history, use and value of CTR. The following section, thus, seeks to expose how the redefinitions of classical rhetoric within

the new scientifically oriented university led to the creation of Current-Tradition Rhetoric (CTR).

Rhetoric Outdated

Rhetorics arise, fall, or alter in accordance with the conditions that make for a change in society as a whole. They are engaging in themselves, but, because they are sensitive indicators of the extent of change in society, they are also a useful index of larger social developments. Thus, studying a rhetoric in its relationship to society reveals a great deal about both a rhetoric and the society producing it. (*Writing Instruction* Berlin 3)

Producing a managerial, working middle-class was the aim of the modern university and this aim was not unlike training individuals in a language that would promote mental discipline such as classical rhetorical exercises claimed to do. John Brereton states that proponents of classical rhetoric “claimed that the ancient languages provided mental discipline and trained the powers of the mind, pointing to the extremely close attention to the details of language . . . that characterized college Greek and Latin classes” (4). However, as Richard Ohmann claims in “Writing and Reading, Work and Leisure,” “the emergence of the new university would make a traditional, unified subject like rhetoric obsolete and replace it with a new, utilitarian writing course, more attuned to the times” (Ohmann qtd in Brereton 7).

The influence of an Aristotelian view of language was especially noticeable in classical rhetoric. According to James Berlin and other contemporary rhetoricians the influence of Aristotelian rhetoric can be explained as follows: “[C]lassical rhetoric defines the real as rational. The universe is governed by the rules of reason, and the human mind is so constructed that, at its best, it is governed by the same rules. Knowledge is therefore found through the formalization of these rules of reason—in

Aristotelian logic” (*Writing Instruction* 4). Because the focus on logic was already found in Aristotelian rhetoric, it was easy to forge connections between classical rhetoric and current-traditional rhetoric. Objective logic was needed for the managerial class to function according to the new focus of the university. Thus, a scientific purpose of language was easy to connect to classical rhetoric. For example, Berlin states that “[l]anguage for Aristotle is little more than a simple sign system, with thought and word enjoying a separate existence, to be brought together only for purposes of communication” (7). Language was capable of conveying truth, scientific truth, in uncomplicated ways. Thus, rhetoric’s connection to Composition is very much in line with the scientific mission of the university. Language was regarded as a sign system which conveyed something without ever considering who is conveying what.

Because elite universities were focusing more upon scientific theories which represented truth in an objectified manner, English departments followed suit. Therefore, the view in English departments became dominated by the belief that language (Standard English) could transparently relate the derivation of truth or experience, but only in standardized forms or modes--narration, description, exposition, and argument-- without any attention to the individual student and his/her background. Fortunately, for the field of Composition Studies, CTR has increasingly come under critique. Critics of CTR, such as Donald Stewart share this sentiment. He stated the following in his CCCC chair address: “I have become convinced that a writing teacher's development can be measured by the degree to which that person has become liberated from current-traditional rhetoric. And the progress of that liberation, I further believe, is closely linked to that person's accumulating knowledge of the history of composition as a discipline” (105 Stewart).

Thus, familiarizing oneself with Composition Studies' history allows for the possibility of becoming liberated from current-traditional rhetoric. It is important to become liberated from current-traditional rhetoric because learning any language (whether to speak, read or write) should involve much more than merely the relaying of facts. There is, without a doubt, always a situated author behind every text who has a perspective and a purpose in his/her writing, even if that author is a socially constructed individual.

A Critique

After considering a traditional account of Composition's history and becoming more aware of the dominant writing theory connected with this theory, it seems logical to return to the critical perspective introduced before the recounting of this history and Current-Traditional rhetoric. This critique is based largely on the connection between Composition's historical roots in eastern-elite universities and the types of composition that were taught and produced at this time for the creation of the late nineteenth century middle-class white, male subject.

However, while the creation of the middle-class subject through the act of writing has been established in the field's scholarship by Ohmann, Douglas, Crowley, Bloom and Miller, certain aspects of the history are not widely questioned and thus largely accepted. Such aspects are: 1) A North American view of teaching writing as a set of skills to be mastered. This view of writing is in contrast to a European view of teaching writing which emphasizes pedagogical aspects of learning. In such a view, teaching concepts and skills is based upon the psychology of learning²¹ (present in the pedagogical practices of

²¹ This distinction will be further explained in the next chapter. Heinrich Pestalozzi, the most influential European theorist argued that, "education's aim was to 'fit' or adjust, all children to society and that all learning begins with the child's perceptions" (231 Fitzgerald).

Normal Schools in the late nineteenth century), 2) largely, in these critical histories of composition, a racial and culturally blind version of composition pedagogy is prevalent. Thus, their critiques do not address non-elitist views of Composition's history that arose from: 1) European pedagogical influences on Midwestern normal schools and 2) a consideration of race. Both of these considerations bring up pertinent absences in traditional and even critical histories of composition. For example, when looking at race, the absence of African-Americans and Mexican-Americans in higher education and, as a result, Composition Studies comes to light. Still, Miller's, Crowley's and Bloom's critiques of Composition as multidisciplinary, yet still regulatory, are noteworthy in their contribution to the current understanding of the field.

Chapter 3

A History Untold: Composition's Connected Past to the Educational Reforms of the Reconstructive Era

Various historical moments--The Civil War (1861-1865), The Morrill Federal Land Grant (1862), World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945) and the Vietnam War (1959-1975)--have affected the status and practice of Composition across the U.S. Due to the scope of this dissertation, however, I will focus on the periods right before, during and after the Civil War in this chapter and the next chapter will focus primarily upon the Civil Rights era which also closely correlated with the time period of the Vietnam War. Along with the two time frames of this and the next chapter's focus, I concentrate upon alternative geographical locations, that is, I look beyond the east, the area on which common histories of Composition focus. Looking towards the Southwestern United States and the Southern states allows me to consider populations such as Spanish-speaking populations and large African-American populations that call for a critical-race counter story. Considering both of the alternative geographical areas in conjunction with the eastern United States allows for a more accurate and informative analysis of the history of Composition and of the gaps that mark the field.

It becomes evident when looking at these historical junctures and geographical locations, that the history of Composition is commensurate with a changing educational institution which is inhabited by Americans who derive from various cultures and classes. However, regardless of color, culture or class, the educational institution's mission has always been, since the reform era (1830's), the location where able individuals are trained to fulfill various socio-economic roles in the larger society ranging from

handmaids to presidents of the United States.

The American educational mission, faced with the many types of U.S. citizens and residents who sought an education, called for a new Composition pedagogy that encompassed many variables and challenges as it attempted to maintain an English literate middle-class in the late nineteenth century. For example, in the Southwest, the predominantly Spanish speaking population posed new challenges to English Only legislations and when looking at the South, teachers often discounted literate practices because of the color of the person's skin (see Jacqueline Jones Royster). Thus, some key considerations have emerged in view of these historical changes within the field of Composition, including: 1) What should be taught? 2) What is the desired result from what is being taught? and later, 3) To whom are we teaching? These changes are described by James Berlin who argues that larger political and social developments have led to transformations in society's rhetorics²² (*Rhetoric and Reality* 4). For example, he discusses the control of rhetoric in a democratic society which seeks to regulate who can and cannot speak and write:

In a democracy, those whose power is based on a particular notion of rhetoric (for example, a rhetoric maintaining that only certified experts may speak or write, or only those who have attained a certain level of financial success) will . . . restrict challenges to their conception of rhetoric because such challenges constitute a threat to their continued claim to eminence. [While a] free play of possibilities [exists] in the rhetorics that appear . . . these possibilities are obviously never unlimited.
(5)

Thus, the regulating function of rhetoric and, as a result, Composition in a democratic

²² Or, better yet, the sanctioned communicative methods of persuasion and identification. For further discussion of the relationship between rhetoric and identification see "Hybridity A Lens for Understanding Mestizo/a Writers" from *Crossing Borderlands: Composition and Postcolonial Studies* edited by Andrea A. Lunsford and Lahoucine Ouzgane.

society can shape and form competing rhetorics, also known as alternative rhetorics,²³ to serve the many populations that make up the U.S. Each cultural group present in the U.S. has its own rhetorics (manners of communication and persuasion). Berlin notes that changes in dominant rhetorics are largely influenced by notions of what it means to be literate in a democratic society such as ours. More specifically, he states that “the kind of graduates colleges prepare have a great deal to do with the conditions in the society for which they are preparing them” (5). Thus, writing curriculums are always responsive to changes within the economic, social and political conditions in a given society. If colleges desire to create a middle-class, then the way in which Composition responds to this goal has largely to do with what the requirements for middle-class initiation are at any given historical moment. These requirements are chosen and created by the dominant class. Today, the knowledge of correct Standard English and U.S. American rhetorics are part of what is required for middle-class initiation. Composition, again, is involved in creating culture.

The histories referred to in Chapter 2 by Crowley, Miller, Ohmann, Douglas and Bloom, although very important for the field when analyzing the role of class creation in composition, are limited by a focus that dwells primarily on issues of class. This focus leaves the consideration of race and geographical locations out of their histories and understandably so. Considering the racial dynamics and politics behind the history of Composition is not an easy task. I have only begun to uncover some of these considerations. However, since the examination of various geographical, gender and

²³ See Louise Rodriguez Connal’s “Hybridity A Lens for Understanding Mestizo/a Writers” from *Crossing Borderlands: Composition and Postcolonial Studies* edited by Andrea A. Lunsford and Lahoucine Ouzgane.

racial characteristics of Composition's history is left wanting, new grounds need to start being forged in order to begin to grapple with the many complexities of Composition's past and present.

It becomes important, then, to look at earlier alternative composition pedagogies. For example, what were some alternative pedagogical views associated with the Normal School? Was Current-Traditional Rhetoric the dominant pedagogy in the normal school as it was for the composition program practiced at Harvard? What contemporary theories are associated with the rise and fall of the normal schools of the late nineteenth century? As far as the minority populations (African-Americans and Mexican-Americans), one needs to consider additional factors, like alternative schools. Here, however, we find that the concentration of black normal schools in the south is not telling a story much different from the Midwestern normal school. What is different, however, is the new population attending these normal schools, African-Americans. While practicing a common brand of English language teaching for the black common schools, the south also was characterized by the literary training of African-Americans through alternative institutions such as the church, community activist groups and the public press (i.e. National Association of Colored Women—NACW and the African-American periodical press²⁴). Thus, it is apparent that these people were, from the start, developing alternative rhetorics--alternative ways of knowing, critical means of seeing the world from an outsider's distance, with a worldview that was colored by a black screen (everything seemed a different hue from an African-American perspective as

²⁴ There were literally dozens of women who, since the 1830's, found the African-American periodical press to be the platform from which they could speak and be heard both as creative writers of poetry, short stories, and serialized novels, and as fiction writers of informative prose, persuasive essays, personal narratives, biographical sketches, tributes, opinion pieces and so forth. (221 Royster).

W.E.B. Dubois' concept of the veil describes). These alternative rhetorics are those that James Berlin describes as being a challenge to the dominant rhetoric but also able to come into dialogue with democratic rhetoric in a society where equal consideration of opinions is permitted and the freedom of speech is guaranteed. He alludes to alternative rhetorics in his discussion of competing rhetorics above. Thus, modes of communication differed for groups situated in a sociohistorical perspective, or a subject position, that falls into one of three spheres: 1) white, middle class male or 2) non-white but willing to adapt to the communicative patterns of white, middle class males 3) or as non-white and distinct from the cultural attributes categorized as being associated as white, middle-class and male.

Unfortunately, it was not until the Civil Rights era that these alternative ideas and alternative rhetorics begin to seriously shake the fabric of a seemingly unified nation and that they, at the same time, began to be considered equal to the intellectual spheres of inquiry such as that afforded to Current-Traditional Rhetoric (being closely associated with a middle-class, white male perspective)²⁵. This chapter, however, exclusively deals with the late nineteenth century Midwest, South and Southwest as well as with the racial dynamics of the groups associated with these regions at this moment.

The goal of this chapter is to point to the need to stop cultural erasure: erasure of a culture's history. As such, this chapter seeks to shed light on the absence of both geographical and, as a result, gender and racial concerns in traditional histories of

²⁵ These alternative rhetorics are not to be confused with contrastive rhetorics associated with William Labov. These alternative rhetorics are more in line with the alternative rhetorics that are associated with identity in mainstream society. While the dominant rhetoric is closely correlated to the white, male and middle-class identity, alternative rhetorics are seen as somewhat in contrast and competition with this dominant identity and, instead, identify a minor identity (i.e. people of color, women and LGBT populations).

Composition referred to by Douglas, Crowley, Miller, and Bloom. Its' intent is to provide a more complete story of Composition and to contribute to the more common story of Composition connected to Eastern elite colleges such as Harvard.²⁶ Looking beyond the historical references in "elitist versions" of Composition's history allows the traditional/elitist and the forgotten history of Composition to come into dialogue with one another so that the future of Composition can be better informed.

An example of an alternative historical text is, Kathryn Fitzgerald's "A Rediscovered Tradition: European Pedagogy and Composition in Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Normal Schools". In this article, she documents a nineteenth-century presence of Composition in Midwestern normal schools beginning shortly after Composition's inception at Harvard in 1875. She argues that

the unique social environment, educational aims, and intellectual traditions of the normal school gave rise to attitudes about composition theory, methods, teachers, and students that are much more compatible with composition's contemporary ethic than those associated with the elite Eastern colleges where the origins of composition have most often been studied. (224)

Interestingly, connected to the Midwestern normal schools and their attention to pedagogy are connections between Composition and a critical history of pedagogy. It becomes evident that composition enjoyed a higher status in Normal schools because of its association with German Pedagogy and European Psychological theories of learning²⁷.

In order to understand the complexity of varying versions of composition pedagogy taking place in the same historical moment, one should be aware of the main

²⁶ See Sharon Crowley's discussion of the hierarchy of educational institutions in *Composition in the University* (222).

²⁷ This theory and pedagogy were based "on natural developmental patterns of the young mind, of the child's interest in a subject as a starting point for effective learning, and of instruction organized to move inductively from the familiar and concrete toward the unfamiliar and abstract" (231 Fitzgerald).

competing writing theories which represent the field of composition, not comprehensively, but broadly. These theories are the most commonly practiced and if one is familiar with these theories, then one can better gauge what was taking place at Harvard in comparison to, let's say, Fisk University or the University of Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century. Although studies analyzing these theories were not popularized or even published until the 1980's, they provide a progressive history of Composition by tracing Composition's ancient rhetorical past to Composition's more political and practical present in very interesting ways. What are striking about these studies are two things. The first is that they focus on theories or an adaptation of these theories that were practiced in the late nineteenth century, although we only find constant references to the first theory (Current-Traditional Rhetoric) in more traditional histories of Composition. Second, these studies enable us to see that all three of these theories are also practiced today. These studies also allow compositionists to note particular absences in the history that do not speak to today's classrooms. If the reality of our country's populations in the late nineteenth century posed new challenges to the practice of composition, today's constantly evolving diverse pool of students clearly presents new challenges to the purpose and function of Composition, if it is to create a literate English middle-class. As Composition has become solidified as a field since 1949, many scholars are devoting much of their research, time and publications towards defining, promoting and categorizing various practices and theories associated with the teaching of academic writing. Such taxonomies have been not only written by James Berlin, but have also been written by Alastair Pennycook²⁸ and Lester Faigley.

²⁸ (See Pennycook's "Incommensurable Discourses" and Faigley's "Competing Theories of Process: A

One of these taxonomies especially interests me: that of James Berlin, a Composition historian. He is known for the revival of rhetoric in the field of Composition in the 1980's. His taxonomy of writing theories is based on the premise that pedagogical theories in writing courses are grounded in rhetorical theories. The ways in which these theories are conceived to be different are the ways in which each one conceives of the relationship between: writer, reality, audience and language. So, for each one of these theories the way in which reality can be communicated through language differs. For example, one of the key questions is whether language creates reality or whether reality exists prior to language?

Briefly, the first of these theories is called Positivist or Current-Traditional rhetoric. This writing theory is affiliated with the Harvard Composition program which began in 1870. This theory views the world as rational and its system is to be discovered through experimental methods of scientism. It is in contradistinction to the old science of Aristotle which rested upon syllogisms. What is considered to be truth is only what could be shown to conform to the realities behind it. The world readily surrenders its meaning to anyone who observes it properly, and no operation of the mind – logical or otherwise – is needed to arrive at truth. Discourse, then is organized according to the faculties that it appeals to. As a result, college writing courses are to focus on discourses that appeal to the understanding of individuals. One can communicate his version of verifiable truth through writing modes such as – exposition, narration, description and argumentation. Thus, this rhetorical writing theory, while dominant in many Composition textbooks today, according to Berlin, does not account for personal experience, subjective

experience or qualitative experience. This writing theory is not very interested in democratizing the classroom.

The next rhetorical writing theory is claimed to derive from Plato who believed that truth is discovered through an internal apprehension, a private vision of the world that transcends the physical. It is largely referred to today as Expressionist Rhetoric, that which allows one to express and discover his/her authentic self. There is a collaborative element in this theory in that it is dialectic in its attempt at arriving at truth and allows for interaction between individuals to help one individual arrive at his or her own truth. This theory is correlated to the personal essay. The personal, expressive essay is taught in a variety of educational settings, but is not considered academically expository. The personal essay, however, is often used as an “entryway into academic prose.”

This brings me to the last rhetorical writing theory given to us by James Berlin, the New Rhetoric also known as Epistemic Rhetoric. In this view, Rhetoric is thought to be epistemic, as a means at arriving at truth. Truth is viewed as dynamic and dialectical, the result of a process involving the interaction of opposing elements. Truth is created; it is not pre-existing waiting to be discovered. Thus, communication is basic to the epistemology underlying this writing theory. Truth is always truth for someone standing in relation to others in a linguistically circumscribed situation. As such, the social context consisting of the: backgrounds, social circumstances, linguistic variability/s, and other cultural variables such as gender, class and race are considered in the discovery and communication of truth in this theory. I think this is the smartest writing theory and the most democratic, it also allows for the consideration of critical pedagogues such as those

of Paulo Friere and Henry Giroux that enable the consideration of alternative genres such as those written by Gloria Anzaldúa.

A further description of this theory is that it holds that the world requires interpretation. This interpretation is the result of transactions between events in the external world and the mind of the individual – between the world “out there” and the individual’s previous experience, knowledge, values, attitudes, and desires (243). According to this theory, language embodies and generates a version of truth and reality.

The belief that language creates a version of reality is much in line with the concept of discourse communities. Meaning can only be derived contextually, through interpretation so in the Academic Discourse Community, meaning has to be negotiated in ways that have already been established by an already formed “body of truth in the form of academic conventions (or academic language)”. Thus the Academic discourse community and their ways of knowing, seeing, communicating and revealing truth have to be taught in order to demystify the academy and to make interpretation feasible for various social groups. This is why I believe that of all these rhetorical writing theories, Epistemic rhetoric is the most democratic. It does not discount the prior experience of the individual. At the same time, however, it does not allow for the acceptance of alternative texts such as that of Gloria Anzaldúa as an entry ticket into the University. Such a mixed genre would be more appropriate, not for a proposed gate-keeping course as first year Composition, but for upper-division writing courses.

Besides Current-Traditional Rhetoric, both writing theories--Expressionist Rhetoric and Epistemic rhetoric--, while being identified as contemporary composition theories are also visible in the beginnings of Composition. Composition may seem as if it

is a new discipline, but an examination of its history makes it apparent that it is actually almost a century and a half old, if not older, if one considers the sphere of rhetoric (as a way that members of society make meaning). This is a conclusive statement. It says that since we have been doing all of this stuff already, then we should learn from our history what works, what effects each pedagogical, writing theory produces and gauge what the purpose of writing should be. Why should one become increasingly literate, to learn more about oneself? To become an oppositional critic of her culture? Thus, what ultimately should be the goal of Composition? My answer would be to teach students to critically analyze their present social position in current society as being somewhat historically determined or historically dependent. Yet, these goals have a historical context which finds their current resurgence in the field more curious as the field attempts to accommodate more diversity.

Composition that has not yet been widely written about or considered.

The following section seeks to locate contemporary composition theories, similar to Berlin's theories, taking place in the nineteenth century when considering various geographical areas. The following three areas will be considered: the Midwest (Wisconsin), the South (specifically Atlanta), the Southwest (specifically California and Texas); the populations tied to these regions will also be considered--working class Whites, African-Americans and Chicano/Latinos. Since the southwest was a growing region, the theories will be put into dialogue with one of the main issues of southwestern educational history, namely, the politics of bilingualism in predominantly Spanish speaking communities. To begin this critical historical analysis, I turn to the Midwest and

the creation of the normal school as associated with the common school movement and the state regulation of a unified public schooling system.

Alternative sites and voices:

The history behind the normal school is quite straightforward since it is tied to widespread educational reform in the United States during and after the 1830's. The creation of the common school, propagated by Horace Mann, who sought for unified education as was found in Germany, leads to the great need for qualified teachers to teach a unified curriculum to be regulated and sponsored by the state. As a matter of fact, Normal Schools were created and opened shortly after the creation of the State Board of Education (1837), which was formed to regulate the common school system.

The creation of the common school brought about the possibility of imparting a common education and cultural knowledge to many American children in the Midwest regions and later in the Southern regions of the United States. Since Germany was deemed to have a successful method for imparting a common cultural education, it was a fruitful site for investigating how to implement a similar educational institution and program within the United States. This common education would stress both common knowledge and common cultural values of a growing English-speaking nation. These values are described in *Preparing American's Teachers*, written by James W. Fraser. In this book, Fraser writes of the history of the common school as well as of the common values to be imparted through this school system:

. . . the campaign led by Horace Mann and Henry Barnard to bring order to the preparation of teachers, and, indeed, to all aspects of the common

schools . . . has [been summarized] by Jurgen Herbst [as being] essentially [comprised of] Whig values, ‘a middle-class morality, centering on a sense of human decency and on what has become known as the Protestant work ethic, a bourgeois conception of economic security based upon a commitment to hard work and the ownership of private property. Civil order, security of property, decency and gentility in interpersonal relationships among the members of a white, middle class, and overwhelmingly Protestant citizenry . . .’. (46)

Such an agenda is consistent with the goals of U.S. nation building at this time. Other elements of nation building and creating a unitary culture through the common school included teaching a common language and a common religion. “Herbst also goes on to note that common institutions, like the common schools and normal schools, were part of an even larger campaign to strengthen national unity through a common language—an Americanized English--and a common religion . . .” (46).

These common schools needed teachers who could impart this common cultural language and curriculum in an effective and unitary manner. Thus, the need for teacher-training institutions was great as, thus far, teachers were not bound by a common curriculum or common pedagogical tools. In *The American State Normal School*, author Christine A.Ogren, explains the extreme need for a specialized class of trained teachers that would be the rationale behind the creation of the normal school. She states, “Whether virtuous or scoundrels, teachers before the antebellum period had no specialized training. They were usually hired by town elders or some sort of community group, who attempted to test applicants’ subject matter and pedagogical knowledge, as well as character and religion” (11). Furthermore, the interview process was a bit of a farce. Thus school reformers called for a wider pool of better-prepared applicants as a step toward the professionalization of teaching.

The normal school was created in direct response to the desire for a unified educational institution. The history of normal schools within the United States is one that is connected to the educational history of Germany. Since U.S. states and boards of education looked to Germany for its educational models, normal school history is also closely correlated with a German educational tradition and influence.

The Creation of the Normal School/Praise of the German teacher seminary in Prussia:

The German influence on the creation of the normal school is apparent in the following three documents. The first of these documents is “Henry E. Dwight’s *Travels in the North of Germany in the Years 1825 and 1826*, published in New York in 1829, [which] praised the Prussian government for requiring teacher training and established institutions to instruct future teachers in ‘the best methods of educating and of governing children as well as the subjects they are to teach’” (14). The second document, titled, “*American Annals of Education and Instruction*” was published two years later by editor William Channing Woodbridge. This publication included published commentary and translated reports on Prussian teacher education.

While Woodbridge was spreading the word about Prussian teacher seminaries, French philosophy professor Victor Cousin, commissioned by the French government, spent several weeks visiting the school systems in the German states.

Cousin then published a third document, *Report on Public Instruction in Germany*. It was translated in English and spread throughout the Midwest. Ogren states that a large population read this document in Europe and that “the report appeared in translation in New York in 1835 and immediately made a splash among school reformers,

who began to use the term “normal schools,” a translation of the French *école normale*” (15). Ogren also states that Cousin’s report was less an objective account of Prussian schools as it was a portrayal of an ideal combination of a nation’s progress under responsible conservative guidance. This portrayal appealed to American education reformers who sought unified education for the purpose of U.S. nation building.

James W. Fraser *From Preparing American’s Teachers* states that

[a]lmost a century later , in 1923, G.E. Maxwell, president of Winna State Teachers College in Minnesota, captured the early history with his tongue-in-cheek description of ‘[t]hese institutions, the adaptation of a German idea, tagged with a French name, and developed in a new continent . . .’ Clearly, the normal school idea was in the air, though it took Edmund Dwight’s money and Horace Mann’s political ability to pluck it out of the air and make it real on the ground of several Massachusetts towns at the end of the 1830’s. (50)

It is clear that the normal schools began in the Midwest and were directly influenced by a German educational model. It is also clear that the mission of this educational institution was to assist in achieving national unity and culture. The normal school, thus, like elite schools like Harvard sought to contribute to the changing dynamics of our nation. While the U.S. needed a managerial class in the late nineteenth century, the U.S. also needed to create a teaching class to man the common schools resulting from educational reform associated with the late nineteenth century.

The ways that education was viewed by each of these educational institutions was very different, however. The processes behind becoming educated and behind teaching were a large focus of the state normal schools while these same processes were taken for granted at eastern elite colleges which produced graduates who specialized in certain subjects such as law, medicine, science or engineering. Thus, one can begin to notice a

closer association between the arts of pedagogy and the state normal school. Referred to as teacher's colleges now, the normal school was influenced by its unique educational mission: to train qualified teachers.

The pedagogical focus of the theories which were practiced in normal schools is telling of the value placed upon pedagogy. These pedagogical theories, as practiced within the writing classroom, become interesting to look at when being put within the context of traditional histories of Composition which do not discuss alternatives to current-traditional rhetorical theory in late nineteenth century composition classrooms. These pedagogical theories, while German influenced, resemble contemporary composition theory such as that which relies upon psychology and writing (also known as the cognitive/process approach)²⁹.

The differences in pedagogical approach between Harvard and the Midwest can be seen in the ways that normal school students were taught to teach versus the inattention to learning processes at Harvard. The ways that teaching modes were learned at Harvard were not based upon pedagogical research so as to offer the teacher the best way to teach, let's say, descriptive essays. In contrast, the normal school curriculum allowed for room to consider how a student would learn to effectively write a descriptive essay other than just modeling after another's descriptive essay or merely a definition of what a descriptive essay is as would be consistent with a current-traditional approach.

Christine Ogren explains that scientific theories of learning present in the normal school were found in a textbook which was based upon the educational methods of

²⁹ See Flower and Hayes on the cognitive process oriented pedagogies closely associated with psychological theories of human behavior. The results of these studies resulted in what most Compositionists refer to today as process writing.

German educator, Herbart. . . : This textbook is titled, *How to Conduct a Recitation and Elements of General Method Based on Principles of Herbart*. Published in the early 1890's, by author Charles McMurry. This textbook

spelled out the five formal steps that became the heart of scientific methods at American normal schools. In their methods classes, normalities in the 1890's and 1900's learned to plan and execute lessons through 'preparation, presentation, association and comparison, generalization or abstraction, and practical application' (131).

This attention to the processes of learning came about because, as Ogren states, in the 1870's state normal schools incorporated more sophisticated topics and approaches in their teacher-training curricula (122).

This time period is consistent with the beginnings of Composition at Harvard but, I argue, that these institutions and the pedagogical practices associated with them are not referred to in traditional histories of Composition. The "lower-tier" status and separation from a Greek rhetorical origin associated with normal schools could possibly be a reason for its absence. The normal school's association with pedagogy could also be a reason for its absence. For example, unlike the eastern elite universities, normal schools were influenced by an investigation into children's mental development. This investigation

. . . led to two overlapping movements at the normal schools beginning in the 1890's: Harbartianism and child study. Based on the teachings of German philosopher and educator Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), Harbartianism systematized psychological theories into concrete approaches to teaching based on engaging and fostering children's interests. (131)

The normal schools' commitment to the educational needs of the time is also evidenced by the courses offered by the normal school. According to historian Charles Harper,

normal schools offered classes in the History of Education and in the Philosophy of Education. These classes were believed to help round out “students’ liberal education in the field while also enhancing their practical training and emotional commitment to education” (133).

Kathryn Fitzgerald also comments on these same differences between the eastern elite institutions and normal schools. She argues that there is a tendency to overlook geographic regions and important conceptions of the meaning and derivation of pedagogy. She states that historians and rhetoricians like Kitzhaber, Berlin and Connors made important contributions to the history of Composition and Rhetoric. According to Fitzgerald, they contributed the accommodation of classical theory to written discourse and this was an important endeavor since professors of this time struggled to make this connection. These historians discuss the pedagogical focus of Composition as being in contrast to the expanding research-based model that was supplanting the classical tradition in higher education. These same historians, however, do not consider both the pedagogical practices of Composition and the large populations of students attending normal schools during this same time. Thus, according to Fitzgerald, when looking at a region of Composition’s history not common in traditional historical accounts, it becomes evident that the history of Composition is not complete.

For example, the emphasis on current-traditional rhetoric and the American pedagogical theories of scientism (from which CTR derives) were not present in Midwestern normal schools. More specifically, the mastery of skills was not the focus in

the Midwestern normal school. Fitzgerald makes this distinction come to light when comparing the pedagogical practices of the Midwest in contradistinction to the East.

She states that the main difference between the Eastern institution and the Midwestern normal school can be understood by looking at the pedagogical ideologies which informed these institutions' Composition programs. Midwestern normal school ideology came from German systems of teacher training and European pedagogical theories. Heinrich Pestaozzi was a Swiss teacher and philanthropist who was familiar with Rousseau's educational romanticism. His theories were passed on to his heirs John Frederick Herbart and Friedrich Froebel. This pedagogy began to spread vehemently after the Civil War. Edward A. Sheldon implemented European pedagogical thought at Oswego Normal School. In 1859-60 the eminent educator Henry Barnard was hired as Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin and simultaneously as an agent of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools (232). Herbart, however, went further than Pestaozzi's faculty-based psychology toward a more associationist view that held that students learn by comparing new ideas with old and reflecting on their similarities and dissonances. He also invented the lesson plan. Mariolina Salvatori, a historian of Pedagogy, comments on the influence of Herbart: "Herbartians had more in common with later socio-psychological views of the educational process than with Romantic concepts of individual development" (Salvatori qtd. in Fitzgerald 233). This pedagogical focus is in contradistinction to the American pedagogical model with its focus on specialization and current-tradition rhetoric as the discourse of scientism.

An example of a contemporary composition pedagogical concern shows the impact of the pedagogical foci of Eastern-elite institutions versus Midwestern normal

schools, namely, “linguistic competence”. Fitzgerald points out that the term “linguistic competence” has two different meanings for both historical approaches or the populations involved in each historical moment at each geographic location. This difference is largely due to complex ideological, professional, and economic circumstances associated with these two types of institutions. Nonetheless, students’ linguistic competence, according to Connors and Miller, resulted in professors at elite eastern institutions often attributing grammatical error to character deficits like stupidity, laziness, or moral turpitude.

However, “when the teachers talk about the linguistic competence of their normal school students, we see explanations for poor performance based on prior experience and learning with none of the ad hominum descriptors like ‘vulgar,’ ‘illegitimate,’ and ‘slipshod’ that we heard from Harvard men” (Briggs qtd. in Fitzgerald 234-235). In short, teachers at the normal schools saw linguistic competence as a socially-constructed and constantly modified process, not as a static, class-based character trait (244).

Furthermore, teachers in the normal school tended to regard students’ errors as the “natural outcome of a combination of inadequate teaching and incomplete learning—an explanation worthy of Mina Shaughnessy” (235)³⁰. Shaughnessy comments on the derivation of grammatical errors: “the grammatically less important errors these students frequently make in their efforts to write formal English, errors that do not seriously impair meaning, are often rooted in language habits and systems that go back to their childhoods and continue, despite years of formal instruction, to influence their performance as adult writers” (Shaughnessy 90). The fact that Shaughnessy was writing

³⁰ See Mina Shaughnessy’s book, *Errors and Expectations* for a more thorough discussion of the logic of error written in the era open-admissions at City University of New York which began in 1970 (Shaughnessy 1).

in the seventies and Fitzgerald is referring to normal schools in the late nineteenth century is quite telling. Compositionists, however, would not be able to make connections between Shaughnessy and Fitzgerald if other alternative sites, such as normal schools, are not looked at.

Fitzgerald further explains that the practice of pedagogy in the late nineteenth century enjoyed a high status but with the creation of the modern university, it came to be devalued. In such universities, pedagogy became relegated as a concern of Chairs of Education and Education departments at many universities across the nation. Pedagogy served a specific vocational purpose—to train teachers—and therefore was not worthy of any disciplinary status. There were, however, clear learning theories behind many of the pedagogies of the normal schools of the late nineteenth century (i.e. psychological theories). Fitzgerald states that “[b]y 1900 the changes in psychological thinking were no longer confined to Europeans like Pestalozzi and Herbart, for Americans like John Dewey, William James, and Stanley Hall were beginning their work on theories of learning and development that would render faculty psychology obsolete and begin to frame educational theory for the next century” (230).

However, the student, according to European pedagogical theories is always the focus of such pedagogy. This idea is in contrast to the current-traditional rhetoric that is often connected with the Composition pedagogy at Harvard and other elite institutions. Composition pedagogy at Harvard considered superficial correctness and the ability of the student to produce such texts. The student was not the center, the product was.

Furthermore, as composition became relegated to the first year as a required course, textbooks became formulaic versions of composition pedagogy at Harvard.

Fitzgerald quotes Robert Connors, composition historian, referring to his discussion of the centrality of textbooks in modern composition. The intellectual heritage and the typical practice of composition instruction largely convey the story of the nineteenth-century textual transitions from theorized rhetorics to reductive practical textbooks; however, the story at the normal schools is quite different (230).

In the case of the normal schools found in the Midwest, the focus was not on textbooks. As a matter of fact, the only reason why texts were referred to in many normal school classrooms was to figure out who the author of the book was addressing and what particular view or time period that text represented. Fitzgerald confirms that “conclusions [of textbooks] could be questioned. What’s more, the bias for challenging the conclusions could lie in the linguistic competence, experience, and reasoning capacity of the students themselves” (243). Textbooks in normal schools could be questioned; in other words, they were not always assumed to be right. The reason for this is that the students in many Midwest normal schools were exposed to European pedagogies which emphasized the student learner. Therefore, the current connection that Composition pedagogy has to politics and access is actually an occurrence that can be witnessed in a broader, more inclusive history of composition. Other critical scholars who contribute to this section are: Mariolina Rizzi Salvatori, Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, Anne Ruggles Gere, Albert Salisbury and Walker D. Wyman.

Midwestern Composition in the Context of Berlin’s rhetorics

Of the three major pedagogical theories outlined by Berlin, the German pedagogical practices of the normal school most resemble the New Rhetoric. Berlin states

that “[t]he New Rhetoric sees the writer as a creator of meaning, a shaper of reality, rather than a passive receptor of the immediate” (245). Individuals are shaped by their realities as they shape reality. The above two examples of differences between the emphasis placed upon students and upon textbooks when examining the role of pedagogy in both Midwestern normal schools and eastern elite institutions point to a consideration of the learner’s background and the ability of students to be makers of their reality. In normal schools, linguistic competence was attributed to the students’ background and students’ were regarded as the supreme authority over scientifically oriented textbooks. Consistent with the position of the New Rhetoric is the belief that “[i]n teaching writing, we are not simply offering training in a useful technical skill that is meant as a simple complement to the more important studies of other areas. We are teaching a way of experiencing the world, a way of ordering and making sense of it” (246). That way of experiencing the world that Berlin talks about can easily be applied to the ways that normal schools viewed the linguistic deficiencies of students as being “situation bound” instead of being lazy or immoral as proclaimed by elite institutions. Thus the distance from the educational institution and the student was a consideration of the normal school and is remarkably similar to some of the premises of Berlin’s new rhetoric considered contemporary Composition pedagogy. The objective and personal associated with current-traditional rhetoric and expressionist rhetoric are not sufficient to accommodate the political nature of learning nor the social processes associated with how one learns and what the consequences are when one learns it. A linear objective manner, for example, is a way to view the world that may not be consistent with a student’s individual background. Such a consideration of the student’s social background is

consistent when examining both Berlin's New Rhetoric and the normal's school's attention to individual learners.

One may wonder what became of normal schools beginning in the early twentieth century. Interestingly, the pedagogical focus of the normal school led to their transformation into "teachers colleges" and state universities.

While a handful of normal schools became teachers colleges before 1920, the majority, including those in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Kansas, Wisconsin, and California, changed their names during the 1920's. Many normal schools, such as those in Massachusetts and Maryland, waited until the 1930's and the institutions in Maine, Vermont, and most of state normal schools in New York did not become teachers colleges until the 1940's or later. (200)

Normal schools also began to resemble the larger universities with their attention to refinement and middle class culture. This institution would offer educational opportunities to a wider population of students interested in becoming educators or going onto to research universities. Such a desire of cultural and intellectual refinement was witnessed by the creation of literary societies within the normal school. Ogren claims that

literary societies [were] by far the most long-lived, popular, and far-reaching student organizations, where students worked hardest to refine themselves. . . . By the 1870's, college societies were giving way to Greek letter fraternities (and later, sororities) as growth in the formal curriculum satisfied student interests and wealthier students looked for a means of distinguishing themselves socially. (108)

While the history of normal schools shows its ability to more fully accommodate a larger student population than eastern private institutions, it is not complete without attention to other regions comprised of racial minorities. Thus the next section seeks to give a history of the black normal school and then consider the alternative forms of literacy present in both the antebellum south and the Reconstruction Era.

Chicanos and African-Americans: In/Visibility in Composition

The distance between the student and the language of the academy (or what was expected to be mastered) was not ever considered in private Eastern elite colleges such as Harvard in the late nineteenth century, evident in the comparison between normal schools and eastern elite institutions. Furthermore, the vast majority of students being educated at these institutions were middle-class and upper-class White Anglo-Saxon males. Thus, there seems to be an obvious need to look beyond the east towards geographical locations which consisted of different racial populations associated with the South and Southwest areas, that is, to consider African-Americans and Mexican-Americans who were seeking educational opportunities also in the late nineteenth century. What was happening educationally to these populations in this and other parts of the country around the same time? It seems an obvious fact that in the late nineteenth century and since then, women, African-American and Chicano-a/Latino-a populations were also seeking to attain economic rewards through receiving a college education that was previously considered exclusive to White Anglo-Saxon, protestant males. Brereton confirms that:

Similar to feminist efforts in education, African-American writers were forging a distinctive voice (or series of voices) in nineteenth-century America, but any concerns black educators had about college writing instruction were not at all part of the general discourse. In writing, black college faculty and students were forced to assume the white world's styles and standards, as Fisk University graduate W.E. B. DuBois did when he elected Barrett Wendell's writing course at Harvard (23). . . Black or Latino or Native American concerns seem invisible in the professional literature of writing instruction between 1875 and 1925, while most black colleges seem to have taught writing in strict accord with the standards of white America. (21)

It is quite a task to find out what happened to voices that are not part of a field's history. The voices have to be located in other places than traditional professional/academic venues. Thus I decided to look at some early 20th century school texts such as the Harvard "Crimson". This school's newspaper archives allow one to see how the university responded to the "Negro Problem"³¹ and the Mexican revolution. It seems that once political upheavals take place outside the University, the University responded with not only trying to research the problem further, but also with trying to be more conscious of the plight of racial minorities by contributing to their possibilities for higher education. However, the response to concerns related to Mexicans and African-Americans was to create better educational opportunities in a segregated manner. At this time, segregated education was the rule. W.E.B Dubois' presence in Harvard was an exception.

Thus, this portion of the dissertation seeks to begin to break the silences in the historical approaches discussed thus far in relation to Composition Studies' early history (1862-1950). The goal is to recover the lost Latino/a voices of Composition Studies in parallel consideration with African-Americans. Noteworthy compositionists who have begun to tread this historical ground are: Jacqueline Jones-Royster, Jean C. Williams, Keith Gilyard, Victor Villanueva, Jaime Mejia, Mariolina Rizzi Salvatori and Kathryn Fitzgerald.

³¹ This publication can be found at <http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=411931> (Want Americans to Study in Mexico), <http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=372660> (The Negro Problem in Boston), and <http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=284404> ("A Statement of Southern Problems")

African-American In/visibility: Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Century Composition:

Consistent with both post-positivist realist theory and critical race counter-storytelling method outlined in chapter one, I seek to place race relations at the center of the analysis of the absence of alternative racial considerations in elite histories of Composition. Doing so allows one to better understand the absence of African-Americans in educational institutions and, thus, the difficulty to find a textual presence in written histories of Composition. Such a viewpoint is consistent with the aims of Critical Race Theory. Jacqueline Jones Royster, an African-American Compositionist, states that

[c]omposition histories show that when we consistently ignore, peripheralize or reference rather than address non-officialized experiences, inadequate images continue to prevail and actually become increasingly resilient in supporting the mythologies and negative consequences for African-American students and faculty, and also for their culturally defined scholarly interests, which in their own turn must inevitably push also against prime narratives. (Royster and Williams “History” 582)

Thus, the need to place race at the center of examination of educational history to question the absence of African-Americans from mainstream educational histories seems obvious and necessary to challenge prime narratives of both educational and Composition history. The absence of African-Americans in Composition history contrasts vividly with the participation of African-Americans in both social activist projects and in alternative presses which represented African-American social interests in the Reconstruction era.

African-Americans have a unique social position in that they were the victims of slavery and later gross racial discrimination. As more African-Americans acquired literacy, their substandard position in American society became a major issue of contention. African-American Compositionist, Geneva Smitherman, states that “[b]lack were the first to force the moral and Constitutional questions of equality in this country

[and] of all underclass groups in the U.S., blacks are pioneers in social protest and have waged the longest, politically principled struggle against exploitation” (25 Smitherman). Their struggle dates back to before the Civil War; however, the result of the Civil War and the nineteenth-century emancipation of African slaves, was the first nationally recognized social gain for African-Americans. This gain was their freedom to work, live and learn as independent and legally sanctioned human beings. The right to freedom gained by Blacks also encouraged other minority populations to struggle for human rights, such as suffrage for women. One of the rights fought for by African-Americans was the right to become literate through formal education.

Jacqueline Jones Royster, another African-American Compositionist, wrote a book titled, *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African-American Women*. In this book, she claims that the importance of her study rests upon the claim that “[t]he presence of African-American women writers of worth has typically been neutralized and their achievements devalued” (4). Royster claims to “know quite well that . . . the rights of agency, and the rights to an authority to make knowledge and to claim expertise have often not been extended . . . to African-American women” (4). She argues that the absence of African-American women’s literacy history is a result of racism, sexism, ethnocentrism and political and economic oppression. For Royster, these are barriers that have been constructed around the African-American experience since emancipation, the exclusion of their literate practices have led to the absence of African-American women in historical accounts of literacy.

Royster’s contribution to the elite history of Composition becomes very interesting as she sheds light upon African-American literate populations who were

beginning to enter the schoolhouse doors before, during and after the Civil War.

Mariolina Salvatori, a pedagogy historian, confirms Royster's contributions concerning the creation and development of African-American normal schools in the South and Midwest. She states that "[i]n all, some thirty colored schools were in successful operation at the close of 1865," (Salvatori 173). The reason for so many "colored" schools of this time has largely to do with the results of the Civil War. Royster states that

[a]fter the Civil War, there was a tremendous need for teachers for both free-born and freed African-American men, women, and children whose opportunities to learn had been denied by law in the South for well over a century and severely constrained by predominant practices throughout the nation. Fortunately, even before the Civil War, teaching was a type of work that was sanctioned as being appropriate for women, so African-Americans [began] preparing themselves to fulfill the need. Atlanta and Fisk Universities, offered normal school training, which would equip them well to teach. (Royster 178)

Thus, in addition to the African-American presence of women in the field of teaching, was the achievement of black normal schools, institutions that were primarily pedagogical and relegated to the margins. Royster, states that in 1874, "[t]he Normal Course was the teacher-training curriculum, which accounts in large part for the numbers of women enrolled" (197). These women were committed to becoming institutional leaders who recognized the needs of the African-American community. They strived to create a community that could take care of itself "rather than be dependent on the kindness of the white community. Teacher training, therefore, was a top priority, as indicated by an appeal [for teachers in every community of Atlanta in their] university catalog" (196).

Given the above available accounts of African-American literacy projects found in locations such as Black normal schools of the late nineteenth century, it is surprising

that Compositionists have not incorporated their findings in Composition history. A closer examination of these alternative sources and contributions, points to a reason, perhaps, for their exclusion: the racial focus of these institutions. It is their marginalization on the basis of race that largely explains their being absent from educational history and, more specifically, the history of Composition. As such, it is imperative that, not only the contribution of normal school history to Composition be recognized, but also the contributions of African-Americans to the practices and definitions of literacy be recognized.

In addition to the work of Jacqueline Jones Royster, African-American Compositionist, Keith Gilyard, has written on African-American contributions to Composition in his article titled, "African-American Contributions to Composition Studies." For Gilyard, African-American contributions consist of ". . . various confluences inside African-American intellectual and rhetorical traditions. Free Black churches, culturally specific jeremiads, slave narratives, secret schools, Black women's clubs, and Black colleges all represent an enriching merger of African-American intellectual . . . concerns with writing instruction . . ." (626). Furthermore, in this article, Gilyard cites various historical Black figures as contributors to Composition's history as it is concerned with language using practices such as rhetorical prowess. In this article, such figures as Frederick Douglas, W.E.B. Dubois, Ida B. Wells and Hallie Quinn Brown are representative of a wide array of language uses including writing pedagogy, educational theory, essay writing, speech delivery and scientific teaching of writing to adults (628-629). Furthermore, in this article, Gilyard cites Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) as a complementary figure to W.E.B. Dubois' educational philosophy. In

Woodson's manifesto, *The Miseducation of the Negro*, there is a section titled "The New Program." In this section, Woodson advocates for a new language agenda for "Negroes":

After Negro students have mastered the fundamentals of English, the principles of composition and the leading facts in the development of its literature, they should not spend all their time in advance work on Shakespeare, Chaucer and Anglo-Saxon. They should direct their attention also to the folklore of the African, to the philosophy in his proverbs, to the development of the Negro in the use of modern language, and to the works of Negro writers. (Woodson qtd. in Gilyard 630)

This manifesto was written in 1933. It is interesting to note such a progressive writing pedagogy for African-Americans forty years before the adoption of Student's Right to their Own Language statement by Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) in 1974 (mentioned earlier in this dissertation³²). Such an absence in elitist histories of Composition seems tied to the racial climate of the historical time period. In the 1930's such a progressive pedagogy could not have been considered by professional organizations such as NCTE and MLA because at this time, African-Americans were barred from full participation in these organizations (630-631). Furthermore, CCCC was not formed until 1949 and it was not until 1968 that CCCC responded to the marginal position of African-Americans in its professional organization and, later, to the ways in which CCCC could respond to the unique linguistic circumstances of African-American students. As such, Woodson's contribution to Dubois' educational philosophy and the elitist history of Composition seems as if it was "manifested" before its time because of its attention to the specific literacy needs of

³² In 1972 the Executive Committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) passed a resolution on "students' rights to their own patterns and varieties of language." Based on that resolution, CCCC created a position statement entitled "Students' Right to Their Own Language," which was adopted at the CCCC Annual Convention in April 1974.
http://www.ncte.org/library/files/About_NCTE/Overview/NewSRTOL.pdf?source=gs

African-Americans. Woodson encouraged more than a common assimilation of American mores through American literature; instead, he encouraged African-Americans to learn about their own history in American literacy.

The South is also a particularly interesting geographical location when looking at the history of African-Americans in higher education because it is an area that has been rampant with racist practices which sought to exclude African-Americans from political participation and, more personally, from human dignity. Grim confirms that “[w]ith the restoration of Southern political, conservative, and democratic power during the late 1870’s, black men and women were excluded from participation in the dominant society’s politico-jural sphere, and were denied access to authority” (123). Furthermore, racial intimidation was used as a strategy to ensure the powerlessness of Southern African-Americans through violent acts such as lynching and the rape and sexual exploitation of black women. Thus, the South is an area that shows the racist practices which Royster mentions above. It is important to note that racial intimidation and disenfranchisement hindered full participation in educational institutions or common schools of this location and time period for African-Americans.

If I put late nineteenth century literary practices by women in dialogue with current composition theory, I find that African-American women were being oppositional critics of their culture ahead of their time and long before the theory of critical pedagogy popularized in the field of Composition in the seventies. In the history of Composition, being an oppositional critic is conceptualized as beginning after the educational field’s response to the Civil Rights Movement which undoubtedly affected the practice and theory of composition. However, upon closer analysis of the literary practices of African-

Americans, it becomes apparent that being in opposition to a culture was a literary practice evident in the late nineteenth century. In the next chapter I will go into further detail and development of the field of Composition as affected by the Civil Rights Movement. For now, it is interesting to see the connections between the two periods and critical agendas.

Now we will turn our gaze to the Chicano populations of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Where were they in relation to African-Americans at this time? What was similar and different about their educational struggles? How does their native language play into the differences experienced by them at this time?

Chicanos: In/Visibility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Composition

The situation of Chicanos in American history is quite different from that of African-Americans for numerous reasons. The first of these is the manner in which they were colonized in their own land (Northern Mexico) which it is now considered the Southwest (Texas, California, New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona, Wyoming and Nevada); the second is their geographical concentration (as a result of their internal colonial status); and third is their possession and persistent usage of a “foreign” language. While social and educational circumstances and opportunities for African-Americans changed quite drastically surrounding the events of the Civil War, the circumstances for Chicanos in the Southwest from 1846-1870, concerning education were quite dismal in comparison. Like African-Americans, they are a displaced people. Reginald Horsman, historian of the University of Wisconsin, states that “[f]or some, southern slavery taught that another route to a free, prosperous society was the total subordination of the inferior

to the superior race. . . . Mexicans and others might not be enslaved, but they would be subordinated to the rule of a superior people. . . . The United States would become a colonial power” (258). Although Mexicans were not slaves in the same sense that African Americas were in the past, their lands, at this time, were regarded as free and open territory to be taken by Anglo settlers who in turn would deliver freedom to the Mexicans who were under the reign of the oppressive Spanish government. This was the reasoning behind the Anglo-Saxon, American belief in “Manifest Destiny.” Thus, it has repeatedly been argued that the plight of Mexican-Americans is one of continued internal colonialism in contrast to the transplanted plight of African-Americans. In addition to differences between the manner in which the African-Americans came to the U.S. and the way that Mexicans were internally colonized on their own land, Mexican Americans never had the benefit of educational institutions equivalent to the Negro colleges. Thus, the absence of Mexican-Americans in both the history of education and Composition is more pronounced. It is also, as a result, a more tedious contribution to recover.

Making the above arguments requires a keen awareness of the colonial history of mid to late nineteenth century Chicanos (also referred to as Californios and Tejanos during this time period). The United States-Mexican War (1846-1848) occurred because of U.S. desires to conquer and expand into the northern regions of Mexico. Ranching was no longer desirable as a method of cultivating and using land and the pre-1848 practice of farming would be replaced by agricultural interests more suited to the needs of a growing capitalist market interests. As such, old systems of Spanish government, religion and property management as well as the Mexican race were devalued and replaced by English

governments, land management legislations, protestant religions as well as the Anglo-Saxon race.

The Mexican population, like the African-American population, also experienced displacement and, thus, transformations that were akin to those endured by the slave populations. The California Land Claims Act of 1851³³, which was passed after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican-American War, caused many Mexican-American land owners in United States territory to lose their land at a discouraging pace to Americans. Mexicans living in United States regions were often stripped of their rights to their land despite the Treaty's promise to ensure their property rights and recognize their legal property documents. Although the land act of 1851 recognized Spanish and Mexican land grants, only the wealthy ranchers could afford the lengthy legal process to prove their property rights. Thus, Mexicans' hopes of equality under the California Land Claims Act were annihilated. Moreover, landowners became the victims of American squatters who would take their lands piece by piece through violent means. As such, the former economic status of Mexicans was lowered to the extent that they could not afford to send their children to school or secure rights to basic civil liberties, such as the right to have land claims recognized in order to own property.

Carlos Munoz Jr., author of *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, argues that during the years of transformation of the Southwestern region (1846-1930),

³³ In 1851, the United States Senate passed Gwin's Act to Ascertain the Land Claims in California. The Act mandated that three members appointed by the President rule on land claims. The proceedings were formal, and either Mexicans or Americans could appeal to the U.S. District Court and to the U.S. Supreme Court.

few Mexican Americans gained access to college. The ones that did were from the small Mexican American middle class, located mostly in San Antonio and in New Mexico. The churches also played a large part in providing help for Mexicans in these regions to attend school. Munoz states that “[t]hose few [Chicanos] from the working class who were fortunate enough to attend college did so with the direct assistance of members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy, although the Mormon Church played a significant role in some areas” (127). In Richard Griswold Del Castillo’s and Arnolde De León’s book titled, *North to Aztlán: A History of Mexican Americans in the United States*, they discuss the role of the missions in education. They write that “[i]n New Mexico (and southern Colorado) the Protestants appeared to have had a special zeal for instruction; by the mid-1880’s they had established some 33 missionary schools in New Mexico that tended to more than 1,000 children” (55). These church schools shared another aspect of the Black Normal school and the Protestant mission school, namely, the dominance of female teachers. They claim that “[w]omen seemed especially determined to train Mexican-American children, primarily girls, and transform them into productive members of society” (55).

Most schools, however, were not considerate of the language circumstances of Mexicans in this area. Schools were, as they always have been, instillers of the dominant American culture and English language. Castillo and León confirm that teachers introduced Mexican-American children to the American dream in the public schools. Catholic Church instructors, many of them nuns, made it their commitment to replace Mexican customs with American ones (55). One of these customs was, of course the primary use of the English language by these students, although, after the United States-

Mexican War, the California state constitution of 1849 recognized Spanish language rights and stipulated the bilingual publication of state laws (Minority Rights 43).

However, as the Gold Rush brought an overwhelming influx of non-Spanish-speaking immigrants into the new state, a series of anti-Californio (a Californio was a Californian of Mexican heritage) laws—referred to collectively by the disapproving phrase “greaser laws”—were passed, including a law that ended Spanish-language schooling in 1855.

This law was not discarded until 1966 and currently English is the official language of California (98 Minority Rights).

However, despite English Only laws, Spanish is the second most frequently spoken language in the U.S. today. The 1990 U.S. Census Bureau cites 17,345,064 Spanish speakers in the U.S. with the third most frequent language, French, only reaching 1,930,404 (Sánchez 554). There are undoubtedly thousands more Spanish speakers today. There is a drastic difference in the circumstances of the Spanish language using populations in the U.S. Furthermore, because of generational differences, some Chicano-a/Latino-a speakers speak both English and Spanish: some are dominant English speakers. Some speak only Spanish and some also speak Spanglish. Today, the Latino/a immigrant populations from both Mexico and Latin America have led to a dramatic growth of this population in the U.S. These immigrants now largely comprise the dominant Spanish populations. This situation is unlike that of the Black English controversy of African-Americans. Latinos/as and Chicanos/as are a heterogeneous population.

In addition to the unique linguistic circumstances of Chicano-a/Latino-as, segregated educational opportunities with divisive instruction and facilities are and have

been similar to those found in the educational history of African-Americans. The *barrios*³⁴ located on segregated areas within urban areas developed with urbanization of the southwest. The schools, thus, associated with these barrios soon proved inadequate for preparing young Chicanos to become more than industrial laborers. As a matter of fact, many Chicanos did not see the benefit of receiving an education because of the inadequacies of educational opportunities. According to Castillo and León, Mexican citizens of the new regions saw little educational prospects even though all states and territories in the Southwest did order the establishment of public school systems. However, in the years following the cession of Mexico, few legislators made efforts to implement such opportunities for adequate schooling for this population (37).³⁵

Furthermore, David Gutierrez, a critical Chicano historian, argues that these dismal opportunities were largely due to the isolation of Chicano communities. Even the present-day Southwest is described as a colony by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, the key organizer of the Chicano Movement. Gonzales noted that “the Southwest is very much like one of the colonies that have been colonized by England, by some of the European countries and those places that are economically colonized or militarily taken over by the United States” (Gonzales qtd. in Gutierrez 288). Gutierrez lists pertinent sources to look at for the beginning of historical presence of Chicanos: *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (1979) by Richard Griswold del Castillo and *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and*

³⁴ “[This] term derived from both the Iberian and Aztec traditions and applied to city districts inhabited by individuals having common familiar ties. In New Spain and its frontier settlements, the term referred to particular urban neighborhoods. After 1848 people used it to denote a discernible section of a town site inhabited by Mexicans” (Castillo and León 24).

³⁵ See also, “*Let All of Them Take Heed*” *Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* by, Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr.

Southern California, 1848-1930 (1979) by, Albert Camarillo (290). These sources will undoubtedly contribute to the circumstances of segregation for Chicanos of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Interestingly, cultural isolation continues to be a contemporary phenomenon of both African-American and Chicanos in twenty-first century America. Thus, it seems that looking to their earlier history for an explanation of the ghettoization of both populations can provide some possible educational interventions for current educational concerns regarding both of these minority populations.

The educational history of Chicanos in the U.S., while quite different from that of African-Americans, shows a similar trend of dismal opportunities for education and, thus, cultural assimilation into the U.S. mainstream. If Chicanos were not visibly present in institutions of higher education, then, it is not surprising that they were not present in the early history of Composition. What can be recovered, however, are the language traditions practiced by Chicanos of this time.

In “Mapping the Spanish Language along a Multiethnic and Multilingual Border”, Rosaura Sánchez gives a detailed history of the Spanish language in the U.S. even before the U.S. existed. She states that written cultural productions such as newspapers, testimonials, theater, poetry, narratives were still written in Spanish long after the U.S. invasion of the Southwest. However, currently, in academia, written cultural productions by Latinos are largely written in English. Interestingly, the 1991 U.S Bureau of the Census reports that “only about 10 percent of Latinos complete four or more years of college, as compared to 22.3 percent of the non-Latino population” (Sanchez 551). Thus any amount of Latino/a scholarship, even if written in English, is only representative of 10 percent of the largest minority group in the U.S. This number is low considering that

in some parts of the Southwest, Chicanos/as comprise up to 80 percent of the total college population (i.e. The University of Texas-PanAm).

Although there are no specific connections made by scholars between Composition and Latinos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Chicano Student Movement of the 1960's stressed education, admissions into institutions of higher learning, and Chicano Studies content courses in high schools and colleges. The unique educational needs of Chicano populations were a major concern of the movement and later of compositionists who were interested in the language issues raised in documents such as Students' Right to their Own Language. Today, there are numerous people working in bilingual education who have struggled with the ideas of English language immersion and genuine bilingual/bicultural education. These educators work on analyzing the speaking and writing problems of Latinos/as. As a matter of fact, the University of California has its own research institute dedicated to the research of linguistic minorities called "University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute". These language-related issues as well as the circumstances surrounding Chicanos and educational attainment during the Civil Rights Era will be explored in the following chapters. More specifically the next chapter seeks to answer questions that are crucial to develop a critical counter-story that includes the concerns of Latino/a students in the fairly young field of Composition Studies. These questions are: why is the scarcity of Latino/a compositionists more pronounced than that of African-American compositionists? Second, how has Composition, as a field, responded to the history of the cultural and linguistic circumstances of each of these groups? What is the current

thinking within Composition Studies on the specific needs of Chicano/Latino/as regarding the educational barriers they face in institutions of higher learning?

In order to answer the above questions in the next chapter, I have examined the archives of *College Composition and Communication*, I have sought to analyze both the pedagogical responses to the inclusion of Latino voices in the composition classroom and determine the number of Latino/s who actually publish in the field on issues of in/exclusion of Latinos voices in the field of Composition and in the composition classroom.

Chapter 4

The Second Reconstruction: The Civil Rights Era and Composition's Response to the New "Egalitarian" University

"Reconstruction is an opportunity for critique; histories are interested rhetorical forms, and our work should include examination of whose interests are being served by them" (264 Gunner).

Both the 1870's and the 1960's were times of innovation and change. The innovation of mass education beginning in the late nineteenth century during the Reconstruction Era was a direct response to the changes that our nation was experiencing at the time. During this era, slaves became free and, supposedly, "equal", educational institutions became more formalized as our nation was securing its position as an industrialized capitalist nation that required skilled workers, technological development and professionalization. The U.S. responded to these needs by stressing education and calling for the training of more teachers to teach new populations entering the schools. The preparation of skilled workers to man the new industries called for creative responses by universities and colleges all around the U.S. The nineteenth century is commonly referred to as the first civil rights era for this reason; the civil rights period of the 1960's is often referred to as the second reconstruction era by historians. Historian Eric Foner notes that the changing character of historical scholarship has allowed for both the first and the second reconstruction to be seen in a more critical light. He states that

[t]he "Second Reconstruction"—the civil rights movement—inspired a new conception of the first among historians, and as with the study of slavery, a revisionist wave broke over the field in the 1960's. [For example,] Andrew Johnson, yesterday's high-minded defender of

constitutional principles, was revealed as a racist politician too stubborn to compromise with his critics [during the first reconstruction period]. (84)

Foner finds that the new historical interpretations of the first reconstruction era emerged out of the new political perspective that characterized the second reconstruction historical period. These new accounts of the past countered more traditional historical accounts written before the “new historical” movement which challenged older notions of history. Foner explains that the fact that change did not go far enough in the first reconstructive era made the changes witnessed in the sixties inevitable. He claims that “[b]y the end of the 60’s the old interpretation had been completely reversed. Most historians agreed that if Reconstruction was a ‘tragic’ era, it was so because change did not go far enough; it fell short especially in the failure to distribute land to the former slaves and thereby provide an economic base for their newly acquired political rights” (85). Similarities between these two time periods are evident in Foner’s juxtaposition of interpretations of the notion of “equal protection” of the law after massive unrest and national growth and change. It is this social change, after the 60’s, that impacted educational institutions as they responded to mass social movements with both innovative ideologies, curricular change and a political policy which emphasized color-blindness—at least at the discursive level.

National changes and growth also led to the creation of new bureaucratic institutions to help control and accommodate to new exigencies from the public. For example, the social unrest of the 1960’s that occurred all over the United States challenged a number of notions, including concepts of democracy. Such fundamental presuppositions had to be reinterpreted as they had been in the late nineteenth-century.

The meaning of equal opportunity was once again put at center stage to be contested and realized to a greater extent than the past had afforded. The assassination of Martin Luther King, after a series of social protests, boycotts and civil rights reforms within the legal arena crystallized the problem; racism could no longer go unnoticed by the educational institutions and academic disciplines. While King's death is the culmination of the civil rights movement in the U.S., there were other social struggles occurring in the nation and abroad that led to global social unrest during and after the 1960's.

Not surprising, the turbulent 1960's spilled directly into Composition Studies, as noted by compositionist, Lester Faigley, when on April 4, 1968, during the annual CCCC meeting in Minneapolis, Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis. A letter, written by Richard Braddock on behalf of CCCC was sent to Coretta Scott King, King's widow. In this letter he laments that

'. . . only recently we have realized that we have been hurting ourselves by not discovering and utilizing the rich resources of our Negro members we have not known well or of non-member Negro colleagues we have not known at all. . . . After all these years, we are finally taking steps to identify and establish closer communication with all our colleagues and to broaden the representation on our Executive Committee and, very soon, among our officers.' (Faigely 59)

One can discern in Braddock's words the language of remorse, regret and hope for future change within a field that, from its beginning, dealt with and still deals with acculturation and accommodation to a white mainstream. However, it was not until this moment that the circumstances of other cultures began to be given serious consideration.

The delay in reconsidering racist practices came to an end in part as a reaction to sixties and Martin Luther King's death. The outrage produced by his murder, as well as the struggles within the legal sphere and educational institutions, where a critique of

racial attitudes and unfair civil rights laws that discriminated against blacks and other non-whites had emerged, led to the formulation of new policies. Previously, as we all know, segregation was legal in society because of the “separate but equal” doctrine legalized in the Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*³⁶ (1896). The decade of the ‘60s also saw the emergence of an anti-war movement; people in this country were unhappy with their nation’s prolonged involvement in the Vietnam War. The time was, thus, ripe for mass social protest and for changes in civil rights laws. For example, in the *Brown v. The Board of Education*³⁷ (1954) Supreme Court decision was a fundamental recognition that segregation in the schools meant unequal education. The country had to wait ten more years for Congress to recognize the needs of racial minorities as it did in the Civil Rights Act of 1964³⁸, four years before Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination.

Faigley’s discussion of the influence that MLK’s death had on the field of Composition was continued in, Ernese B. Kelly’s essay, “Murder of the American Dream” in which she vividly elucidates the problems with the field’s inattention to

³⁶ In 1896, the Supreme Court struck down the first set of federal civil rights laws enacted to protect blacks from exclusion and segregation in public facilities. Ignoring the systematic state-supported terror blacks were suffering at the hands of the whites in that post-reconstruction era, the Court said that the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause did not apply to counter enforced separation of the races, as applied to the internal commerce of the State. This forced separation neither abridged the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprived him of his property without due process of law, nor denied him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.. (131 *Bell Race*)

³⁷ There, a unanimous Supreme Court finally gave voice to Justice Harlan’s color-blind constitutionalism by holding that separate education facilities for blacks and whites were inherently unequal. In so holding, the court recognized that de jure race consciousness in education proceeded from the same assumption as de jure segregation in railway transportation: black inferiority. Doctrinally, of course, *Brown*’s significance is that it dismantled the separate-but-equal doctrine that had been used to maintain dual school systems throughout the south. The central tenet of *Brown*, however, is not merely that race is an irrelevant variable in government decision making, rather it is that racial classifications, when used for the specific purpose or subordinating individual members of a particular racial category, runs counter to the equal protection guarantee in the Constitution. (147 *Bell Race*)

³⁸ This act expressly prohibits overt acts of racial discrimination. Now, as a century ago, the ideal of equality embodied in the Constitution is being effectively emasculated through the strict application of color-blind constitutionalism in a society where color continues to have primary relevance. (134 *Bell Race*)

Blacks in Composition. It was at this time that Composition began to encourage compositionists to critically engage both race and social status in the composition classroom. Only recently, then, has the theoretical goal, to become oppositional critics of one's culture, become part of the critical pedagogical practices of Composition. By recently, I mean since the 1960's, with their consciousness of racism also came the broader participation of other cultural groups in the field of composition (i.e. African-Americans and Chicanos associated with The Civil Rights Movement).

Donna Burns Phillips, Ruth Greenberg, Sharon Gibson also discuss Composition as a changing field during the time period of 1965 through 1979 in response to social movements, social needs and the assassination of Martin Luther King. They explain that

[n]ot surprisingly, the political and social upheaval of this era had a direct effect on the composition scene: many CCC articles focused on social and educational concerns as they related to the teaching of writing—Martin Luther King's assassination, minorities and teaching correctness, remedial teaching, democratizing freshman English, students' right to their own language, ethnic literature, and sexism. Other trends can be noted during this period: the number of pieces addressing only literary concerns diminished, while articles addressing the pedagogical application of theory increased. At the same time, the core topics established during CCC's first fifteen years continued to engage conversants and readers: grammar, teaching composition, usage, teacher training, and the state of the discipline. New topics could be noted as well: tagmemics, sentence combining, cognition, rhetoric, invention, critical thinking, and synthesizing theory, for example. (457)

During this era, Compositionists began to encourage students to think critically about their current positions in society and to question the power structures that were largely responsible for their situation. This was the beginning of Critical Pedagogy³⁹. However, it

³⁹ Consistent with the fear of a non-humanitarian mission of the university characterized by Lester Faigley, critical educator, Paulo Friere describes this type of non-humanitarian education as “necrophilous”. He states that such an education is nourished by love of death, not life (58). Furthermore, he calls this type of education “the banking concept of education” which is the exact opposite of the type of critical pedagogy

should be noted, that Composition never shed its regulating function even while establishing a close relationship between ideology, politics and pedagogy.

Compositionists, however, began to realize as Karen Spears notes that “[p]edagogy, itself a rhetorical process, is never innocent. The point here is to recognize that any approach to teaching writing is embedded in a host of rhetorical and ideological assumptions and that the more recent formulations attempt, more self-consciously than ever before, to foreground those assumptions for students and faculty alike” (327). Not long ago, Maxine Hairston complained that everywhere she turned she found Composition, “faculty, both leaders in the profession and new voices, asserting that they have not only the right, but the duty, to put ideology and radical politics at the center of their teaching” (Hairston 180). She obviously was not comfortable with this ideological shift taking place in the field. This trend undoubtedly began in the sixties.

Lester Faigley, a Composition specialist and cultural critic, has a chapter in his book *Fragments of Rationality*, in which he describes the changing politics of Composition Studies. In this chapter, he discusses another form of dissatisfaction that many Americans were experiencing at this time. He explains that Americans were afraid that bureaucratic practices were making people lose their humanity. He claims that, even

referred to in this dissertation. The banking concept of education is described as serving the interests of oppression. It is “[b]ased on a mechanistic, static, naturalistic, spatialized view of consciousness, it transforms students into receiving objects” (58). In short, it inhibits both men’s and women’s creative power. For a detailed definition of this model of education, see page 54. Instead of a dehumanizing method of education, Freire advocates a “. . . humanizing pedagogy in which the revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed . . . it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves” (51). Furthermore, students are seen as subjects who can not only attain knowledge but can discover themselves as its permanent re-creators. In short, they become agents of their own knowledge acquisition, knowledge making and, hence, their own education. Process pedagogy, Expressionist Rhetoric and Epistemic Rhetoric movements are characteristic outcomes of critical pedagogy.

[b]efore the Vietnam War and disruptions on college and universities during the Vietnam period, critics of education and society in general complained about uniformity and dehumanization and they used images similar to William H. Whyte's 'organization man,' a caricature of the thoroughly institutionalized bureaucrat with no identity apart from his niche in the organization, living a look-alike life in a look-alike house in a look-alike suburb [to demonstrate this problem]. (56)

Before the 1960's, Americans were not encouraged to challenge existing bureaucratic structures and were, instead, encouraged to uphold the status quo to further technological development and to maintain white cultural supremacy, despite the Civil Rights laws of the late nineteenth century. Thus, before this decade minority populations were encouraged to assimilate to mainstream culture if they desired to gain success in the form of college degrees.

Consistent with the above claim, Susan Miller claims that after World War II and during the 1950's "American literary curricula became almost exclusively New Critical in orientation" (21). Thus, superior literary texts were said to be able to avert the decline of the west by placing literature against religious discourses in an increasingly secularized nation. Furthermore, by reading the Great Works of American Literary Tradition, war torn American souls could be saved. Adherence to a great literary tradition was needed to establish a national consciousness; thus, a literary canon, instead of official religious texts, was established as the true equipment of America's educated. As a result of this nationalist project, "nationalistic, abstract ideals of literary study soon dominated as both the goal of and the justification for writing instruction" (31).

From the '60s on, however, Composition begins anew to reconsider many of the concerns previously raised in its history, albeit under new theoretical and political lenses. Literature as the foundation of education and, especially, of writing began to be

questioned. In 1949, the Conference on College Composition and Communication was founded; however Stephen North dates modern composition and its new modes of inquiry back to 1963 in response to the reform movement associated with the Cold War and the National Defense Education Act of 1958⁴⁰ (North 11). In Kitzhaber's 1963 CCCC address, he cited studies and conferences that had taken place during Project English, a U.S. Department of Education effort involving a number of Curriculum Study Centers at locations throughout the country (Gage xvi). As such, Composition Studies as a field with a contemporary research agenda can be traced back to the early 1960's. These National Defense influences on the field of Composition and education in general led to curricular reactions to a growing emphasis on scientism and research in Composition. James Berlin explains some pedagogical responses to the restrictions placed upon Composition scholarship and practice.

In "Rhetoric and Ideology", Berlin discusses how in the 1960's and early 1970's proponents of expressionist rhetoric (defined in chapter 3) were highly critical of American society and politics and saw the teaching of writing as a means of liberating students from that society (57). Current compositionists who embrace the process movement⁴¹ as a means to writing in first year composition and beyond believe that writing can free the mind of individuals and can be done through going through the prewriting, writing and revision stages of writing. This process also occurs through egalitarian collaboration in the writing classroom. This type of pedagogical practice in

⁴⁰ It was prodded by early Soviet success in the Space Race, notably the launch of the first-ever satellite, Sputnik, the year before.

⁴¹ See *Compositionists*: James Britton, Janet Emig, Peter Elbow, Linda Flower, Ken Macrorie, Sondra Perl for more on process pedagogy.

the writing classroom is credited by Faigley to the influence of the Feminist movement on theories of composing and communication. He states that

[w]omen in consciousness- raising groups explored alternatives to hierarchical and competitive male styles of discussion (Annas). . . . In the articles of the teaching of writing that appeared in *College Composition and Communication* and *College English* in the 1960's and 1970's there are few explicit connections made between the women's movement and the emerging process movement. But undoubtedly there was more mutual influence than one can find in the professional literature. (59)

Thus, the critical movements which were happening outside of the classroom, specifically, the writing classroom, undoubtedly influenced the ways in which curricula and pedagogical practices were imagined. They influenced the way that writing was taught. From this point forward, Composition would be faced with the task of how to accommodate the cultural and linguistic circumstances of minority populations both in theory and practice.

The results have been varied due to the varying theories that are evident in the growing scholarship of Composition. The theories defined earlier by James Berlin are miniscule, although important, in comparison to the array of pedagogical theories that are associated with Composition. However, his theories are representative of the main pedagogical theories; other theories can be found to be related to the Aristotelian Rhetoric, Expressionist Rhetoric and the New Rhetoric (a.k.a. Epistemic Rhetoric) which Berlin refers to and defines. Furthermore, because of the changing demographics of composition classrooms, teachers are faced with the possibilities of creating and utilizing a combination of new and competing pedagogical theories and practices that emphasize or deemphasize the acculturating practice of teaching to write in Standard, grammatically correct English. An example of competing approaches would be Lisa Delpit and Peter

Elbow. While Delpit emphasizes acculturation for linguistic minorities as essential for success within the University, Peter Elbow believes that writing can be done without teachers. In this dissertation, I contribute to this pedagogical spectrum while considering how to teach writing to Chicano/Latinos in the twenty-first century. However, one cannot move on to the present in Composition without considering its past.

The sixties and its influence on Composition Studies can be seen as a time when the notions of democracy and equal rights were put to the test and, as a result, reinterpreted within educational institutions. The many social changes which occurred during this era caused educational institutions to be more inclusive of various populations in order to provide national stability. Universities and colleges were, again, opening their doors to previously excluded populations. A well-trained population of teachers was needed to fit the changing demographics of these institutions. Ideologies within institutions also mirrored the changes in broader society relating to inclusion and to the questioning of objective, positivistic ideologies which dominated up until the 1960s as indicated above by Faigley. For example, walkouts, boycotts and war protests influenced broad institutional innovation and change. In the next section, I consider the Chicano movement and its influence on educational institutions and, as a result on Composition Studies. The most obvious reason for making such a connection is that no one has made it as of yet, despite the fact that recent statistics indicate that, the Chicano/Latino population in the United States is the largest minority population. It is still, however, not adequately represented in higher education and, as a result, in academic scholarship. The goal of this dissertation is, after all, to contribute to the growing body of scholarship on composition pedagogies with a view toward helping Chicano/Latino populations in the composition

classroom as well as in the University and community at large. While the following account does not focus on the participation of Chicanos in the field of Composition Studies in the 1960's, it does deal with the impact of the Chicano Movement on educational institutions and especially on curriculum and suggests that Composition was indeed influenced by this educationally focused struggle. The goal of this section is to provide a greater understanding of the Chicano population and its desires for inclusion in both intellectual and physical realms of the University and in political society.

Chicanos/as in the Civil Rights Era and in Composition Studies

This section first seeks to give an overview of gains made by Chicanos/as as a result of the Chicano Movement, often represented largely in relation to its projection of the mythic Aztec homeland, Aztlán, which is also known as the Southwestern United States. This 1960s and 70's re-creation was "meant to legitimize one's roots in the region of one's residence . . ." (47 Sánchez and Pita). I see the use of Aztlán as a symbol of Chicano/a cultural nationalism, a movement that instilled Chicano/a cultural pride in the everyday lives of Chicano/Latinos living in the U.S.

In 1969, the Chicano Movement gained great momentum with the celebration of the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, Colorado. Activists from all over the country who were involved in both campus and community politics attended this conference making the outcomes of this conference wide-ranging in terms of bridging community concerns with educational institutional concerns. While the majority of the students who attended this conference were student activists, there were many different walks of life represented by the youth of Mexican origin who attended this

conference. The national forum brought together students, as well as ex-convicts and militant youth from street gangs. The idea was that ethnic origin was what mattered, what brought cohesiveness to the group. The Chicano movement was much like other cultural movements of this time; the only difference, perhaps, was its awareness of its links to Latin America and Mexico.

A nationalist ideology characterized by Chicano self-determination and non-violence was professed at this conference by Corky Gonzáles. During this week-long conference, Gonzáles and his followers emphasized revolutionary behavior on behalf of Chicano students and youth in order to make the Chicano Movement successful. They argued that earlier generations of Chicanos, “had been Americanized by the schools, that they had been conditioned to accept the dominant values of American society, particularly individualism, at the expense of their Mexican identity. The result had been the psychological ‘colonization’ of Mexican American youth” (Carlos Muñoz 76). Out of these arguments which further emphasized the need for a nationalist unity, a series of resolution statements were approved by the conference participants. These resolutions emphasized the need for Chicanos to gain political and economic control of their own communities. Special attention was to be given to community control of the schools. Chicano Studies⁴², thus, was born out of this need to connect community activism and educational reform which would include previously ignored cultural and historical knowledge of Chicanos in the U.S. These and other resolutions were compiled in a

⁴² To see a more detailed treatment of the creation of Chicano Studies programs and the connection to bilingual education, refer to Rodolfo Acuña’s *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*.

document entitled *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* or *The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán* (77). The plan was prefaced by the following manifesto:

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal ‘Gringo’ invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility and our inevitable destiny(78)

This plan was able to have a long lasting impact when student leaders who had attended the conference in Denver were able to implement some of its resolutions at the Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education conference which was held at the University of California, Santa Barbara. This conference became the founding convention of the Chicano Student Movement (79). At this conference, the United Mexican American Students, the Mexican American Student Confederation, the Mexican American Youth Association, and the Mexican American Student Association became one unified Chicano student movement called El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (The Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán or MEChA) (79). Today, many strings of MEChA groups can be found across the country at community colleges, state colleges, and universities.

Such organizational achievements were long called for but created in a moment of historical opportunity due to larger national attention to the Black Movement and to changing social demographics and needs. George Mariscal, author of *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975*, explains the low political profile of Mexican-Americans up until this point:

In the case of Mexican Americans in the late 1960's . . . the experience of being perceived as foreigners by dominant U.S. society, the result of over one hundred years of marginalization dating from the 1848 takeover of the Southwest, had driven many to adopt a low political profile in the hope of peacefully assimilating into the melting pot of middle-class comfort and cultural homogeneity. (25)

However, the assimilation model did not ensure success for this population and cultural alienation was often the result of such a low political profile. Thus, seizing on the opportunity to become politically active, effective and visible was the goal of the Chicano Movement of the sixties.

One of the key results of this movement was the belief that the university was a means of becoming more politically effective and, thus, a means for Chicanos to gain larger control over their own communities at a political and economic level. The community needed to view universities as “strategic agencies in any process of community development . . .” (81). MEChA’s goal to establish itself as a power-base on campus meant that more Chicanos needed to be recruited in order to make this movement successful at creating a Chicano consciousness at this critical historical moment. In the process, Chicanos sought to change educational institutions in order to liberate Chicanos from prejudice and oppression and from feeling a need to assimilate to escape their “degraded social status” explained in more depth in “*El Plan Espiritual de Atzlán*” (80). The way that this power-base manifested itself on college campuses was through Chicano Studies Programs. However, it was very important that the implementation of these programs remain in constant dialogue with the community at large to ensure that Chicano Studies programs would not be, “put in the straightjacket of the usual, academic guidelines” (83). Thus, strong emphasis was placed on dissolving the academy-

community dichotomy in order to ensure that Chicano Studies programs would serve the direct interests of the larger Chicano community and not simply the academy's interests.

Thus, as a result of this conference at UC, Santa Barbara, Chicano intellectuals "identified the institutions of higher education as strategic targets for political change" (84) and Chicano Studies programs were instituted "at California community colleges located in areas with a substantial Mexican American community, at all the state colleges, and at virtually all of the campuses of the University of California" (84). Great gains were made in this era for the Chicano community, especially in California.

One may wonder, as I do, how the gains made by Chicanos during this historical era influenced and affected Composition. It is hard to say; part of the reason that this question is hard to answer is that the absence of any mention of the Chicano Movement in the scholarship representative of Composition during this historical time period (up until 1975 when the Conference on College Composition and Communication made a resolution statement titled Student's Right to Their Own Language (SRTOL). There was no direct consideration of the ideologies of either the Black movement or the Chicano movement in Composition Studies. In the following table, we see the breakdown of authors who wrote for the College Composition and Communication journal, which, as its name indicates, focuses on issues that are important to the field at the time. This table is provided by Sandra Gibbs.

Authors

Describing the evolving conversation prompted us to ask whose voices were most often heard. Those most often contributing major articles are listed in Table 1.

Table 1
Most Frequently Published Authors of Major Articles

1950–1964	1965–1979	1980–May 1993
H. Allen (4)	R. Larson (8)	R. Connors (6)
D. Lloyd	R. Lloyd-Jones (6)	A. Lunsford
R. Braddock (3)	F. D'Angelo	M. Rose
B. Kogan	R. de Beaugrande (5)	L. Faigley (5)
P. Wikelund	T. M. Sawyer (4)	L. Flower
H. Wilson	R. Gorrell (3)	M. Hairston
E. Steinberg (2)	E. Corbett	C. Berkenkotter (4)
V. Rivenbaugh	E. Suderman	D. Stewart
S. Radner	G. Sloan	S. Stotsky
	J. Lauer	S. Witte
	L. Odell	C. Anson (3)
	R. Hoover	L. Bridwell-Bowles
	R. Gebhardt	G. Brossell
	W. Ross Winterowd	E. Corbett
	W. Marquardt	F. D'Angelo
	W. Pixton	R. Fulkerson
	G. Cannon	J. Hayes
	S. Crowley	J. Hoetker
	M. Sternglass	D. Murray
	A. M. Tibbetts	L. Peterson
	F. Christensen	L. Podis
		G. Sloan
		N. Sommers
		E. M. White

What does the above picture say about the field's attention to minorities? In my opinion, it says that the field of Composition was indeed changing, witnessed by the inclusion of Composition scholars such as Donald Murray, Sharon Crowley, Maxine Hairston, Linda Flower and Mike Rose. These are all Compositionists who were contributing to a changing discipline that was considering the student's welfare over the

states' interests. These Compositionists considered not only the backgrounds of students, but also the distance between these backgrounds and the expectations of the University.

The list of the most cited scholars within the main journal of Composition cited above also implies something else, however, as noted by the authors of this article: this implication is similar to Richard Delgado's claim that the most commonly cited scholars in a field's academic journals determine what is appropriate to discuss and who is appropriate to cite for these same discussions⁴³. Quantitative measures of who is cited in a discipline, largely determines what the field or discipline pays attention to and, thus, also determines a power-base for that same field. Consider the following statement:

Such quantitative measures help determine what can be considered within the community as common knowledge, and common knowledge is the power base. Writers will construct their discourse around what their audiences can be assumed to know and accept. Researchers will see the investigative techniques as models. Initiates will ingest this core as part of the membership rite. CCCC members will rely on name recognition and elections shaping the organization that molds the field. In sum, work associated with these names becomes the traditional paradigm, and all subsequent work moves toward its support, its enlargement, or its overthrow. (454)

One CCCC scholarly document that sought to enlarge the field of Composition during this era was Student's Right to Their Own Language (defined earlier). It was the beginning of an inclusive tradition within Composition of difference. However, Linda Brodkey, a critical Compositionist, explains that although SRTOL sought to enlarge the field of Composition, it still did not have a significant impact on the field's attention to difference and to minority concerns in general. She states,

‘Student's Right to Their Own Language,’ a resolution adopted by the 1974 Conference on College Composition and Communication and

⁴³ See Richard Delgado's "Imperial Scholar" in works cited and in chapter one.

reaffirmed several times since, publicly denounces ill-informed and self-serving language policies as ‘false advice for speakers and writers, and immoral advice for humans’ (see preface to ‘Student’s Right to Their Own Language’ 1974). The syllabus drafted for “Writing about Difference” at the University of Texas may not address precisely the same issues as the 1974 resolution, but opposition to the syllabus is curiously reminiscent of the political climate in which the resolution on language was drafted and ultimately adopted. Whether the controversy is about dialect or difference, it seems opponents just say no, perhaps because difference and dialect alike challenge ‘many long held and passionately cherished notions about language’ (Students’ Right 1974:1). (229)

I will discuss the specifics of the syllabus of English 306 which Brodkey refers to above momentarily. My inclusion of the above quote, however, is meant to show that public opposition and scholarly power, demonstrated by the “canon” of a discipline, largely influenced the dismissal of serious consideration and implementation of the tenets of SRTOL. The ideology of inclusion which served as the foundation of this document was not closely tied to Composition pedagogy as Burns et al. suggests above; instead, what one finds in the SRTOL document is a discussion of linguistic attributes that considers dialect and whether or not one dialect is superior to another. The ideologies of the sixties movements and tradition of inclusion of differences, however, are only alluded to in the consideration of difference and cultural attributes of language. The language imperative, however, is still evident. The ultimate goal of SRTOL, then, is to acculturate students to eventually become proficient in grammatically correct Standard English. The long-held belief that English is a superior dialect established the ultimate imperative of Composition regardless of differences: to become a fluent and literate English speaker and writer. Furthermore, English Only legislations⁴⁴ undoubtedly affected the practice of

⁴⁴ See Gutierrez v. Mun. Ct. of S.E. Judicial Dist.: Cite as 861 F.2d 1187 (9th Cir. 1988) and Hector Garcia, etc., Plaintiff-Appellant v. Alton V. W. Gloor et al., Defendants-Appellees No. 77-2358, United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, May 22. 1980. Both of these cases demonstrate workplace discrimination

teaching Composition and currently influence new and creative responses to teaching students without forcing them to possibly lose part of their cultural dignity professed through language. However, due to the institutional bureaucracy of higher educational institutions, English is a force to be reckoned with. With this force comes the confrontation with possible cultural and linguistic annihilation; this possibility seems unlikely when talking about the Chicano/a-Latino/a population due to continued U.S. migration. Still, students must be able to read and write academic English in order to gain access to the Academy. This is what I call, the English literacy imperative.

Therefore, those of us academics who are committed to preserving the cultural and linguistic traditions of linguistic and cultural minorities have been faced, and are still faced with, a dilemma—how can we facilitate the political entrance of these students into the Academy without asking them to negate part of themselves? This question becomes difficult to answer because of the linguistic variability of the U.S. Chicano/a-Latino/a populations. For example, Rosaura Sanchez, author of “Mapping the Spanish Language along a Multiethnic and Multilingual Border”, gives a detailed history of the Spanish language in the U.S. even before the U.S. existed. She states that written cultural productions such as newspapers, testimonials, theater, poetry, narratives were still written in Spanish after the U.S. invasion of the Southwest. However, currently, in academia, written cultural productions by Latinos are largely written in English. The 1991 U.S. Bureau of the Census reports that “only about 10 percent of Latinos complete four or more years of college, as compared to 22.3 percent of the non-Latino population”

against the speaking of Spanish at the employment site. Both judgments were against the speaking of Spanish in the workplace other than out of absolute necessity such as the use of Spanish by court interpreters.

(Sanchez 551). Thus any amount of Latino/a scholarship, even if written in English, is only representative of 10 percent of the largest minority group in the U.S. This number is low considering that in some parts of the Southwest, Chicanos/as comprise up to 80 percent of the total college population (i.e. The University of Texas-PanAm).

Although there are not specific connections between Composition and Latinos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Chicano Student Movement of the 1960's stressed education, and making institutions of higher education more aware of the unique educational needs of Chicano populations. Unlike the death of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Movement, the Chicano Movement has not received enough attention of compositionists who are interested in the linguistic ideas which began with documents such as Students' Right. Recently, however, interest in historical rhetorics of Chicanos/as-Latinos/as has heightened.

The unique linguistic circumstances, however, of Chicano/Latinos in the United states has a strong and rich textual history beginning with the education of new U.S. citizens after 1848. The beginning of acculturation through education began with the English Only movements that soon followed the colonization of California, New Mexico and Texas. Since then, bilingual education across the country has struggled back and forth with the ideas of English language immersion and genuine bilingual/bicultural education. As a matter of fact, the University of California has its own research institute dedicated to research of linguistic minorities called "University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute". Changes that began in the sixties and impacted the field of Composition allowed me to perform a study of Latino/a Generation 1.5 students who demonstrate the educational dilemmas of both dominant Spanish speaking and

undocumented students who are striving to achieve the American Dream titled, “Generation 1.5: A Border Culture in Ethnography”. Studies such as this are now critical for informing the current field of Composition about the unique cultural, linguistic and migratory circumstances of the multidimensional nature of Latino/students striving to attain a college education while balancing two cultures, two languages and two places to call home (Mexico and the U.S.). Furthermore, because of changes that occurred in the 1960’s and resolution statements such as Student’s Right, programs which facilitate the entrance of Chicano/Latino student populations into four year institutions such as “Puente” have been made possible and have had beneficial consequences for both the educational achievements and self-esteem of these students. Still, these programs are few and far-between. What about tier-one universities? What about the elite universities? Programs such as Puente are predominantly found in community colleges such as the one I attended (Fresno City College) where I was a Puente student. Thus more studies need to be done at four-year universities where students are expected to perform at a higher level because of pronounced competition. In tier-one universities, for example, SAT entrance scores are expected to be high, performance is expected to be graded with A’s, and culture and background are not an immediate concern. However, the demand for high performance should not deny student opportunities to write at a tier-one level about subjects that deal with difference, diversity and politics of power. Thus, I will discuss the specifics of the course I taught in the Spring of 2006 at the University of California, San Diego in chapter 6.

There is also a need to reconsider documents such as SRTOL which mainly concentrated upon the linguistic circumstances of Chicano-Latinos and did not challenge

the subject matter that was taught in the University. During the sixties, however, there were changes in institutions of higher education which went further than considering the linguistic circumstances of the Chicano/Latino population. These changes concentrated upon an education that would be suitable for Chicano/Latinos and challenge higher education as a mere acculturating tool. Chicano Studies programs were implemented as well as programs that would help facilitate a greater admittance of Chicano/Latino populations into higher education such as EOP&S.

There are still questions that need to be answered, however, in the field of Composition Studies. Thus, this chapter seeks to answer questions that are not meant to concentrate upon a lack in the field but, instead, are meant to complement what Composition has already researched and learned about Chicano/Latinos, apparent in the field's scholarship. These questions are: first, in the nascent field of Composition Studies, why is the scarcity of Latino/a compositionists more pronounced than that of African-American compositionists? Second, how has Composition, as a field, responded to the history of the cultural and linguistic circumstances of each of these groups? What is the current status of Composition Studies concerning the plight of Chicano/Latino-as regarding their educational barriers to reach for the "top"?

While one obvious answer to these questions could be a dismissal of the consideration of any of them, this answer is exactly the reason why one should want to investigate such questions further. As noted above, the political climate of the period as well as the public's reaction to documents such as SRTOL and to composition classes such as English 306 are two main reasons why serious consideration of issues of difference are not apparent in mainstream scholarship. Consideration and implementation

of such considerations in Composition pedagogy become controversial and sometimes upsetting to a large segment of those committed to tradition, standards and cultural maintenance. However, seeking an answer to the question on Composition Studies' stand on the teaching of composition to Chicanos/as is a good reason to continue to investigate why the attention to difference is controversial. Is it simply because it runs against the grain of the status quo? In her work, Paula Moya stresses the importance of textualizing experience, that is, difference and I would suggest that this textualization needs to be considered by Composition teachers. I, myself, have had the experience of observing and teaching a class that ran against the grain of the mainstream, "imperial scholarship" of Composition (see Richard Delgado) by incorporating the textualization of Chicano/a experiences. Clearly, it is important to shed light on why a particular political climate can shunt such experiences.

I am not suggesting that there are not any attempts at inclusion in the current scholarship of Composition Studies; obviously there have been many contributions, some of which I will discuss in the next chapter. However, in the current practice of Composition, there are still exclusions that need to be considered. As Lester Faigley states, "[r]ecognizing the sources of contradictory and incompatible discourses runs squarely against both the expressivist and rationalist traditions that posit a unified self in the teaching of writing that deny the role of language in constructing selves" (Faigley 128).

Upon examining minority scholarship, I have found that many inclusions are still tokenized and feared at the expense of a genuine pedagogical response to inclusion. Why not have an alternative journal for pedagogies of color sponsored by CCCC? If genuine

inclusion of colored pedagogy does not exist in the mainstream journals of Composition, then why do alternative journals not challenge this exclusive scholarly journal? Is it a matter of funding? These are questions to consider especially in a continuously growing heterogeneous America.

One reason could be that both historical moments: the late nineteenth century and the 1960's were a time of change and resistance to existing structures and social relations. Both periods, however, provoked more resistance and counter-change: a counter-resistance to the innovation and change of the prior time period—or better yet, what could be called the regulation of innovation and change. After the 60's and 70's, American citizens witnessed the decline of civil rights and in the 1980's there was a backlash to the equality rhetoric common to the prior two decades; this backlash manifested itself as the heated response to “reverse-discrimination” as no one, many Americans argued, should receive special treatment or preferential treatment in the professional or academic arena. Derrick Bell confirms this political backlash in the following statement: “Notions of color-blindness were nurtured in the political campaigns of the early 1980's, when the Reagan administration, sensing that large numbers of whites were disgruntled by the attention paid to minority concerns, undertook to undermine the civil rights gains of the previous two decades” (134 Bell). Similar to the counter-resistance that grew in response to many policy initiatives which began in the mid-1960's, in the late nineteenth century, after the implementation of policies that helped to ensure schools with a more integrated student body, reactions to curricula that reflected the experiences of the newly integrated students emerged. Along with the establishment of Normal schools came the desire to be more like elitist educational

institutions. The politics of change promoted by institutions became diluted as it eventually devalued the concept and practice of civil rights. After the 60s, educational policies which sought to transform the educational institution (see Lowe and Kantor) were likewise transformed into a desperate call for a more meritocratic system of education that would question the earlier rationales for the transformation of educational practices largely witnessed in the civil rights era. In both periods of reconstruction those who gained access to another status desired to maintain their meritocratic position; in the late nineteenth century, those who were actually supposed to benefit from the initial democracy of education, for example through Normal schools, became disenfranchised. Similarly, those that were supposed to be recognized by alternative studies programs such as Chicano Studies and Ethnic Studies found themselves in institutionalized programs that lapsed into meritocratic intellectual views. The initial purpose of these programs became lost in the function of the university—to maintain and contribute to America's ever-growing middle-class citizenry.

Both the media and the middle-class responded against what seemed revolutionary outcomes and against those who attempted to reintroduce major social concerns into academic rhetoric with powerful opposition. For example, during the summer of 1990, at the University of Texas at Austin, the director of lower-division English, Linda Brodkey, and a committee of faculty and graduate students wrote a revised syllabus for the required first-year composition course. English 306, would encourage students to write about important public debates on racial, sexual, and ethnic diversity. U.S Supreme Court cases and cases from federal courts would serve as the text materials for the new syllabus and were to involve cases that would include at least three

arguments (the plaintiff's, the defendant's, and the court's), providing a balance of opinions. What is interesting to note is that the approach to argumentation taught in the course was to be based on Stephen Toulmin's *The Uses of Argument*, and the syllabus required the use of a handbook (texts that are characteristic of many first-year writing courses).

Before the syllabus was even finished, however, it came under heavy attack, both on and off campus, causing its implementation eventually to be canceled. The main reason for the attack was that the class did not maintain the status quo which was consistent with the function of literacy at this time and location, namely, the teaching of the classics and literary masterpieces to maintain cultural hegemony with the help of writing classrooms. When attention veered away from this status quo, most likely due to Brodkey's focus on argumentation and critical analysis, the middle class panicked. Brodkey was accused of teaching a multiculturalism course.

In 1992, Lillian Robinson wrote a transcript of an interview she conducted with Linda Brodkey regarding this course and the process which ultimately led to the indefinite postponement of this class at the University of Texas at Austin. She states that she believes Brodkey's story to be an important historical story in the history of Composition because she "... know [s] that the Texas story belongs in any survey of the backlash against feminist and multicultural studies," in the 1990's (23). In an article which appeared in the *Texas Monthly* just before the syllabus was being changed at UT, Austin under Brodkey's supervision, there was a paragraph that is representative of the sentiment of this time period and public attitudes showing disdain for multicultural curriculums. Robinson describes the paragraph as a sneer towards including

Sandra Cisneros in a course in American literature [instead of] an acknowledged classic like *The Great Gatsby*-with Cisneros being characterized as a 'currently trendy young Chicana writer.' Nothing was said about her work except that she was 'fashionable' among us, was young-that is, still living-and a Chicana, and that was supposed to be sufficiently damning in itself. (24)

Apparent at this time, evident in the above quote, is a clear backlash to the gains that were made in the civil rights era and were most visible in the late 1960's through the late 1970's. With the Reagan administration clearly attacking many of the reforms of these decades, many middle-class, mainstream Americans began both a public and an intellectual backlash against progressive politics within the universities around the country. Brodkey had a clear understanding of the connection between this conservative right-wing backlash against her course and the political motivation behind it that went above and beyond her syllabus for English 306. More specifically, she states:

When you start looking at it on a national level, you ask yourself: why the attack not only on this course but on other efforts that faculty are making to reform the curriculum on a larger scale, why this moment? And why was it effective? Because it really shouldn't have been. It shouldn't have been that easy to get Newsweek to demean faculty efforts to include new texts in classes or to recognize that the demographics are slightly different in most universities than they were ten years ago. (24)

In discussions surrounding the circumstances of English 306, it is apparent that the fears that multicultural curricula spurred were reasons why the backlash was successful at this time and place. First, conservatives felt that with the inclusion of minority voices within literature and writing classes signaled the reduction of standards and a growing disrespect for the old knowledges that comprised university curricula as a sort of religious canon. The inclusion of minority voices such as those of Chicanas went counter to this traditional curricula and was considered a form of affirmative action and affirmative

action was considered by the counter-revolutionists as a threat to the old order. In short, any kind of curriculum that focused upon difference was also a threat to the old cultural artifacts that, likewise, ignored difference. The textual cannon of scholarship for many mainstream disciplines were also careful about the amount of attention given to minority voices exemplified by the portrait of Composition scholarship above.

Robinson goes on to discuss the strong attachments that right-wing conservative intellectuals and individuals held towards the traditional curriculum and traditional culture. In the interview with Brodkey, Robinson states that

[t]he same paragraph continues by attacking me . . . for having said in *The Nation* that adherents to the traditional literary canon treat culture as if it were a ‘stagnant secular religion.’ I happen to be rather fond of the rest of the context they took that out of, which speaks of the alternative, ‘culture as a living historical process,’ but taking it out of context didn't distort it. I do believe that this secular-religion attitude is part of the problem. I meant it in the sense of fetishizing sacred texts. (24)

Brodkey responds with a historical parallel which took place in the 1950's, another conservative era in which “William Buckley launched . . . some version of God and Man at Yale,” that has resurfaced in the nineties, “. . . only in the secular version [where] there's no distinction between God and man, we just have man as god” (24). This discussion between Lillian Robinson and Linda Brodkey is quite telling of the era in which many of the gains in the revolutionary period of the 1960's were met with a vehement disdain during the “counter-revolutionary” period as many of these gains were subjected to a political backlash that led to the breach of academic freedom, until then supposedly protected within the university walls.

Referring to the reactionary counter-revolutionaries as “right-wingers”, Robinson continues to lament the effects of such a limiting intellectual reaction, namely, to stifle

the ability of instructors to implement a pedagogy that would allow for opportunities to critique widely accepted and unquestioned ideas. She states that “[t]hese people think of education as the teaching of fundamental facts and truths, so that we end up with higher education as a series of techniques. You learn computer science, you learn how to be a functionary in an advanced technological society. But you don't learn to ask questions about it” (24). What is unfortunate about this backlash, exemplified by the elimination of English 306 at UT, Austin is that the critical pedagogical responses to the accommodationist and inclusionist practices prompted by revolutionary thought and change in the 1960’s and Martin Luther King Jr.’s death became suspect and ultimately discredited to the point where such characteristics within pedagogy became akin to “brainwashing” and “indoctrination” at the expense of students learning how to become thinkers, questioners and social analyzers.

Brodkey also laments such a backlash which challenged the very practice of democracy, thought to be the ability to see all people as equal and as able, participating civic citizens. She explains:

We were saying that students here [at UT, Austin] are expected to be critical thinkers and reasoners. Eighteen-year-olds are not just large children. They're young adults. If the society grants them the civic responsibilities of adults, the function of the university should be to help them apply the resources of the intellect to the problems that are plaguing our culture. A course like "Writing About Difference" [English 306] presumes students are capable and willing to assume that kind of citizenship, and the committee I chaired assumed that democracy can only work if teachers are willing to teach students to confront real issues. (24)

Looking at ways that the intellect of individuals can be put to work in order to address problems that are plaguing our culture is one version of critical pedagogy. Looking at Supreme Court Cases, as the English 306 syllabus proposed, that centered on racial

discriminatory circumstances, might show individuals how legal processes work by encouraging an analysis of court documents as texts that, up until then, had largely evaded them because of their relegation to the legal arena. Such a pedagogical stance is consistent with Critical Race Theory in that a major tenet of CRT is that race can impact the way that cases are decided. Looking at such cases also allows for the critique of law as a construct that changes meaning; after the 1960s and 1970s it was seen as privileging previously disenfranchised races changed with a manipulation of the new “equality rhetoric” associated with the 1980’s. Thus the precept behind such a pedagogical stance hinges on the ideal that textual interactions and publications have real material consequences. The ways that these legal exchanges get decided says a great deal about how society views racial relations and about cultural, historic and national attitudes. Being aware of these exchanges and how they work can aid in the practice of participatory democracy.

As I mentioned above, this is one pedagogical response to instilling a greater social awareness in students. Unfortunately, this response was halted by a public which wholeheartedly believed that such practices constituted “brainwashing.” It is ironic that the ability to think here is translated as “brainwashing” and that teaching the canons and traditional knowledge is considered to be what teaching should be because it is right and true for a select few with power. The point I am attempting to make here is that my suggestion for the incorporation of critical historiography in the writing classroom is a response to the counter-revolution of “right-wingers” who believe that their version of truth that is commonly accepted and included in canonical historical accounts is the only one. Traditional historiography, while now believed to be contingent and incomplete, has

indeed ignored the history of large segments of the U.S. population and clearly needs to be questioned, reconstructed and supplemented with new and previously unknown histories and experiences.

What I have emphasized in this chapter is the connection between the inclusive and changing 1870's through the lens of the east and midwestern educational institutions, the accommodationist and revolutionary 1960's and its effects upon the field of Composition Studies. I have also considered the Chicano movement as a possible missing historical contribution of the field and contribution to critical pedagogy and looked at the conservative backlash of the 1990's as the cause of reversing any gains made in the intellectual arena and halting the efforts of minorities to gain equal access to education and equal consideration within a field's mainstream scholarship. I attempted to show the effects of political climate upon Composition and the current need to counter conservative pedagogical trends with revolutionary historical critique within the writing classroom. I have done so by concentrating on the need to reconsider the Chicano/a movement and its pedagogically critical attributes within the context of Composition Studies within the late 1960's and 1970's. This argument for the reconsideration of the history of Composition Studies as well as for a new pedagogical strategy that emphasizes the inclusion of historiographic texts will be continually argued for in the next chapter which concentrates upon the political climate of the 1990's and its effect upon multicultural curricula. I provide some important statistics relating to the heterogeneous and growing Chicano/a-Latino/a population within the United States to establish the importance of providing appropriate pedagogical strategies in which to ensure their educational success and the opportunity for mainstream students to learn more above

these populations. I then examine “brands” of multiculturalism defined by Paula Moya and then consider the ways in which these “brands” of multiculturalism are practiced at Hispanic Serving Institutions.

Chapter 5

Multiculturalism's Conflict: A Nation's Quest for Accommodation and Excellence in Education

After the conservative backlash in the 1980's against multicultural curricula, as exemplified by the public reaction to English 306 at UT, Austin, there emerged counter responses with the election of President Bill Clinton, who showed a commitment to increasing educational opportunities for minorities under the premise that greater educational opportunities enabled minority populations to contribute positively to the national economy. Thus, the rhetoric of race and culture gave way to the rhetoric of economics under Clinton's administration. The backlash of the 80's was met with a new discourse from the Democratic Party that offered a new platform focused on convincing white-working class and middle-class Americans of the need for new educational policies that would encourage universalism, and improve educational systems for all students without singling out particular groups for benefits, as was said to have occurred under Affirmative Action. Thus, during the 1990's, to avoid what some called the divisive policies of Affirmative Action, changes were instituted; as a result, many of the gains made in the 1960's were overturned as being too concerned with achieving racial equity and with being politically correct at the expense of national standards. Civil rights gains were now seen as "outdated" and replaced with policies that stressed "merit" at the expense of the goals of multicultural curricula. Affirmative Action was said to have led to decreased standards due to the educational leniency of the 1970's and the multicultural, divisive educational admissions policies which were based upon identity politics. In their work, *Racial Formation in the United States* (1994), authors Michael Omi and Howard

Winant explain that political expedience led to a democratic platform that focused upon universalism in educational opportunity:

The Democrats' approach . . . aspired to "universalistic" rather than 'group specific' reforms. With their appeals firmly directed toward white suburban voters, and their emphasis on economic stagnation. . . rather than social and racial inequality, the Democrats went on to retake the presidency. . . In 1992, for the first time in almost half a century, the Democratic Party platform made no specific pledge to address racial injustices and inequalities. (147 and 151)

Clinton's appeal to universal policies that did not concentrate on racial divisiveness⁴⁵ or identity politics came largely out of the political climate of the 1990s. The conservative backlash of the 1980's heightened in the next decade when political struggles over education led to efforts by conservatives to deny all but the most basic kinds of education to members of groups who they deemed to be unworthy (140-141 Moya). For example, voters in California passed (by a margin of 59 to 41 percent) Proposition 187⁴⁶ in 1994, and affirmative action came under attack as more white Americans claimed that minority recipients of this redress program were gaining an unfair advantage (141 Moya).

Critical educational theorist, Paula Moya explains that in the decade of the 1990's these policy initiatives from the culture wars of the 1980's made educational innovations in multiculturalism increasingly difficult, for progressive educators to justify:

The culture wars of the 1980s brought to the center of the American consciousness the link between politics and education. Faced with

⁴⁵ See also "The Racial Futility Component in Black Voting" (Bell 648-49). In this section, Professor Paul Frymer ". . . traces the party's move to the right, with emphasis on Clinton's call for welfare reform and for cutbacks on 'excessive' employment benefits, both widely perceived as benefiting 'undeserving blacks'" (648).

⁴⁶ That ballot measure, which was heavily funded by conservative political groups, sought to deny to the children of illegal immigrants (most of whom are assumed to be Latina/os) the right to any free public education whatsoever.

movements toward more inclusive and culturally sensitive educational curricula at the primary, secondary, and postsecondary levels—efforts brought about, in part, by the new social movements of the 1960s and early 1970s—political conservatives responded by decrying the decline of the national educational system. The chief targets of their attacks were multicultural education and ethnic studies, educational reform movements aimed at remedying discrimination in education. (139 Moya)

Faced with this conservative backlash, advocates of educational initiatives who support popular and curricular diversity in education have found themselves, since then, scrambling to respond adequately to the charges leveled against them alleging that they sacrificed standards in favor of “accommodationist” multicultural pedagogies such as those based upon identity politics (143 Moya).

Clinton’s focus on universalism and the improvement of the economy, nevertheless, made it possible for him to recognize those institutions that were already heavily populated by Hispanics as officially sanctioned Hispanic Serving Institutions, eligible for federal funds to improve their curricula, educational facilities and outreach programs. Thus, the Hispanic population in the United States became recognized as a growing economic concern with an increasingly expanding population and as being a critical portion of the U.S citizenry with real economic and voting power.

An example of this Democratic response is seen in Clinton’s official recognition of educational institutions which were comprised of 25% or more students of Latino/a decent. Cardenas et al, authors of, *Teaching Writing with Latino/a Students: Lessons Learned at Hispanic Serving Institutions* (2007), explain that “[i]n 1994, President Clinton signed the executive order, Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans, under the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. This act officially recognized the

government designation of HSI's [Hispanic Serving Institutions]⁴⁷” (3). Furthermore, Hispanic Serving Institutions (referred to as HSIs from this point on) are “accredited, degree granting, public or private, non-profit colleges or universities with 25% or more total undergraduate full-time equivalent (FTE) Hispanic enrollment” (Laden 2004, 186)

While these institutions were long in operation before this official recognition, the official status given to these institutions brought along opportunities for more funding and curricular development as well as recognition of the growing importance of an educated class of Latino/a workers. These changes undoubtedly enabled the curricula at these schools to reflect a pedagogy that was more inclusive of the needs of the unique student populations found at these colleges.

These institutions have become fruitful sites for further research in Education and in Composition Studies and should be considered in any discussion of the history of the teaching of composition at teaching universities, including State universities that grew out of the Normal School tradition discussed earlier in this dissertation. The Cardenas et al volume suggests an examination of HSI's curricula, including the teaching of composition; this research initiates a study that allows for a comparison with composition programs at other educational institutions. It is time for the composition needs of the Latino/a population to be considered in studies that focus on the way Composition is conceptualized and one way to begin this assessment is by examining how it is carried out at HSI locations. When we take a closer look at HSIs, we also see that there is a

⁴⁷ Another organization which further recognized the importance and increasing presence of HSIs' was the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans (Commission) in 1994. Established by President Bill Clinton's executive order 12900, and renewed by President George W. Bush, it issues a collective call to each executive agency to “increase Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs where Hispanic Americans currently are underserved.” (Laden 190)

geographic concentration of them in the Southwest, a region that has been largely ignored in traditional histories of Composition. Thus, taking a look at these institutions will enable us to further enrich the history of Composition and Pedagogy. In what follows, I take a close look at these institutions by defining what they are, their educational mission and examining how the populations present at these institutions have influenced the way that Composition pedagogy is practiced there. This pedagogy clearly challenges traditional conceptions of Composition Pedagogy such as Current Traditional Rhetoric and the Harvard Model.

What follows here is a general description of the heterogeneous population of Latinos/as in the United States that has become the largest minority population, as demonstrated by available statistics. I rely on Christina Kirklighter et al's path-breaking book, *Teaching Writing with Latino/a Students: Lessons Learned at Hispanic Serving Institutions* (2007), to provide a snapshot of the type of pedagogical innovations that are taking place at these non-traditional institutions, changes that are not recorded in the official history of Composition. One of my initial findings reveals that there is a conflict between traditional multicultural pedagogies and more universal educational pedagogies among HSIs. In what follows, I will first establish the population trends for Hispanic-Latino/a populations. I will then look more in depth into HSIs and their characteristics and provide an example of conflicting pedagogical approaches that cannot be easily classified as traditional or universal. In many cases the attributes of the student populations sought to educate make classification a difficult task.

A Growing Population: The Heterogeneous Latino/a Presence

In a 2002 Pew Report titled, “U.S.-Born Hispanics Increasingly Drive Population Developments,” the Hispanic population is reported to, “. . . defy simple characterizations.”

According to this study, this defiance results from,

. . . a diversity of groups that differ not only by country of origin but also by immigrant status and racial self identification. Having grown rapidly through immigration, its future dynamics will increasingly be driven by today’s young native born. Though concentrated in established urban areas, Latinos also retain a large rural presence and have recently spread to new areas of the country. (1 The Pew Hispanic Center 2002).

My study takes place in the state of California, a state with one of the largest Latino/a populations; here, I will address the rising Hispanic/Latino-a population trends in California and in San Diego. The 2006 U.S. Census Bureau reports that the California’s population is comprised of 35.9 percent of Hispanics or Latinos/as of any race. The San Diego population is comprised of 30.1 percent Hispanics or Latino/as. 35.9 percent of San Diego’s population speak a language other than English and as the 2000 U.S. census bureau reports, the dominant language spoken by American’s other than English is Spanish. The fact that more than one-third of the state’s population is Hispanic of Latino/a descent and that there is a growing Spanish-speaking population should have spurred interest in a bilingual curriculum; yet, many of our educational institutions still practice English-Only curriculums and genuine bilingual programs can only be found at sparsely distributed “magnet” schools where educational experiments are being carried out. Instead of these ad hoc measures, the state needs to look more closely at what can

make the Spanish-speaking or bilingual populations of California and, more specifically, San Diego, successful in higher education.

Nationally, in states along the US-Mexico border, the majority of public school students will be ethnic minority students; in fact, people of Mesoamerican descent constitute the majority of Texas public school students. These demographic changes point to a need for the Composition profession to reconsider how we teach writing and the type of materials we use in courses serving these students. Latino/a compositionist, Jaime Mejía feels that current cross-cultural and multicultural readers that Composition publishers are currently producing have yet to provide reasons for endorsement by the Latino Caucus associated with the Conference on College Composition and Communication. These publishers, according to Mejía, are committing gross oversights of current domestic realities associated with the growing, heterogeneous Latino/a population. If this trend continues, not only the publishers, but also the scholarship associated with the field of Composition shall further increase the cultural misunderstandings and racism which have plagued people of Mexican descent in the US for over a century and a half. These are, however, some educational institutions that are continuously providing new insights into the pedagogical innovations that successfully contribute to a growing Latino/a college-going and graduating population—Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs).

HSIs

According to Cardenas et al, fifty percent of Latino/a students in higher education currently attend HSIs: “HSI’s are among the most underserved and underrecognized sites

for teaching, research, and educational activism. While Hispanic populations represent the largest and fastest-growing minority group in the nation, the professional visibility and national prestige of HSI's have failed to keep pace" (Cardenas et al ix). Cardenas et al, thus, devote their book to looking at what is taking place at Hispanic Serving Institutions that, though mainly concentrated in California and Texas, can actually be found in several U.S. states. The following list shows which states have HSIs and how many HSIs each of these states have:

. . . Arizona (19), California(109), Colorado (7), Florida (19), Illinois (11), Massachusetts (2), New Jersey (5), New Mexico (25), New York (21), Oklahoma (1), Oregon (1), Pennsylvania (1), Texas (54), and Washington (1). As might be expected, California, Texas, and New Mexico have the highest number of HSIs reflecting Latinos' deep historical roots in that region of the U.S. (Laden 191)

The following map is from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It shows similar numbers of growing HSIs across the country.

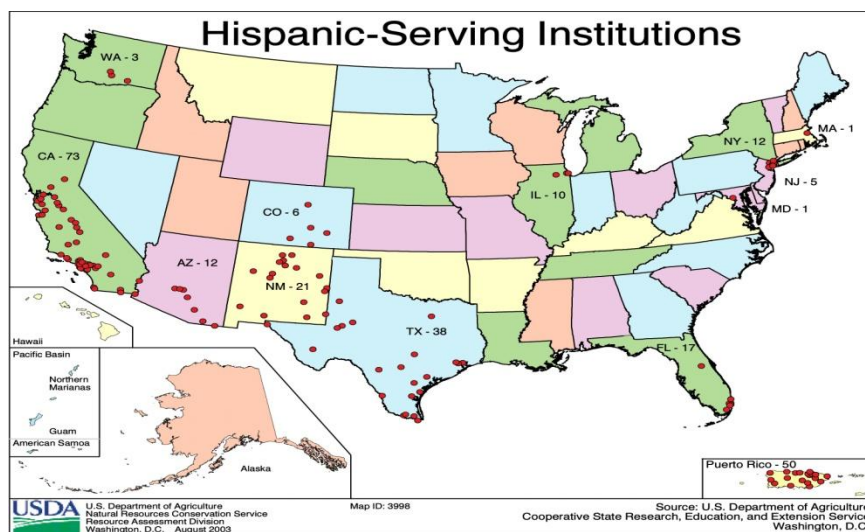


Figure 1: Map of Hispanic-Serving Institutions, 2003

The 2004 list of HSIs provided by Laden and the 2003 map above reveal that California is the state with the most HSIs which are steadily growing in numbers. This is the state that I am currently teaching in. Thus, it seems appropriate for me to consider these institutions even though my particular institution, the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), is not characterized as an HSI. Many students who attend HSIs strive to gain admission into institutions such as UCSD. Latino/a population demographics at UCSD are actually quite disturbing when compared to the community's Latino/ a population. Even more important to consider is that San Diego is comprised of thirty percent Latino/as and UCSD is only comprised of 8 percent Chicano/Latinos. Thus, there is a significant disproportion in numbers. Pedagogical practices and admissions policies utilized at HSIs and mainstream universities also differ. What, then, can be gleaned from HSIs and their success in educating Chicano/Latinos?

Heterogeneity/problems with traditional multiculturalism/analysis of what is happening at HSI's

According to Berta Vigil Laden, there is a reasonable explanation as to why there are few Latinos at mainstream universities. Laden explains the situation in terms of accessibility noting that Latinos take advantage of the educational offerings available to them, by enrolling in colleges and universities in their communities" (188 Laden). Most of the Latinos to whom she refers, who are taking advantage of higher educational opportunities, are largely concentrated in Hispanic Serving Institutions. However, their presence at these institutions does not absolve mainstream institutions from the poor

showing of Latino/as. In fact, the concentration of Latino/as at HSIs contributes to the segregationist pattern of education. Laden finds mainstream institutions at fault for not addressing the near absence of Latino/as in the University system. She states that, “It is not enough to let HSIs do the majority of educating of this population; other higher education institutions must assume their share and play significant roles, too, in this process or Hispanics will be stratified within higher education to only HSIs and the like” (195). The recurring argument for addressing the educational needs of Latinos/as in the United States is generally linked to the growth of the population. This argument is well articulated by Margarita Benítez and Jessie DeAro in their article, “Realizing Student Success at Hispanic-Serving Institutions”. They make clear that the problem is more than an ethnic problem: “Given the increasingly diverse population in the United States, and the national interest in fostering a skilled workforce and an educated and engaged citizenry, all educators must work to support these students; minority student success is no longer a minority issue” (35). However, they also lament the fact that there are no specific references to what is actually contributing to students’ success at HSIs. Laden agrees that “[t]he enrollment and completion rates for students who attend HSIs tell us that something good is clearly going on. What the statistical data do not give us is a detailed picture of how this is happening within HSIs nor do they tell us how many Latinos are still not doing well or why” (Laden 193). In what follows I examine what has been reported about an institution of higher learning comprised of a large Hispanic and Latino/a population, namely, a Hispanic Serving Institution: the University of Texas, Pan Am.

I am particularly interested in reports that attempt to gauge the degree of literacy success and access for students of Latino origin at Pan Am. These reports are part of a study that appears in the recently published book titled, *Teaching Writing with Latino/a Students: Lessons Learned at Hispanic Serving Institutions*. This book looks at a variety of curricular programs implemented at Hispanic Serving Institutions and evaluates their contribution to success or struggle. What characterizes the curricula discussed is that most of the programs consider the students' individual cultural and linguistic circumstances. While statistics cannot give a detailed picture of how success is being measured at HSIs, an analysis of the curricula programmed for use at HSIs can give us an idea of what takes place. The curricula addressed in Cardenas et al's book range from those that concentrate specifically on Chicano/Latino issues within the nation (such as bilingualism and feelings of alienation or inadequacy) to those that are more mainstream and focus on practicing argumentation and writing narratives.

Before talking about the specifics of what reportedly takes place at one of these institutions, I would like to give the reader a way to classify the pedagogical approaches that I will discuss in terms of whether they are traditional or universal multicultural programs. I will also analyze the curricula discussed to determine whether the multiculturalist practice seems to be in line with the current political trend of universalist education that avoids divisive curricula.

Paula Moya advocates for a universalist multicultural curricula. The universalism she refers to is a brand of multiculturalism that concentrates on the identity politics of the 1980's. While this may sound divisive at first glance and a bit out of touch with current post-structural and post-modern theories that dismiss the notion of identity, upon closer

analysis, one sees the benefits and the necessity of studying groups of people that come from underrepresented groups such as Chicano/Latinos and African-Americans in relation to issues of specific needs and skills. Moya's book, *Leaning from Experience: Minority Identities, Multicultural Struggles* (2002), dedicates a chapter to defining and analyzing the most popular "brands" of multiculturalism that have been heavily attacked by the conservative factions in the wake of the culture wars. Although she does not agree one should completely do away with identity politics of ethnic groups, she does advocate a brand of multiculturalism based upon universalist premises because the benefits of doing so are actually quite similar to the benefits suggested by Bill Clinton in his election for presidency--everybody wins. She states that one of the main goals of her book is to, "provide a reconstructed universalist justification for the kind of work being done by myself and other ethnic studies scholars" (2). The work she is referring to justifies why studying specific ethnic groups is a practice of scholarly inquiry that can actually help the university become more universal by studying previously understudied groups and cultures. I quote her at length in the following excerpt to show her rationale for such a curriculum:

I demonstrate that studying the texts and lived experiences of Chicana/os (and other marginalized people) is necessary to construct a more objective understanding of the (social and economic) world we live in. I show that while the experiences of Chicana/os are admittedly subjective and particular, the knowledge that is gained from a focused study of their lives can have general implications for all Americans. The texts and lived experiences of Chicana/os and other marginalized people are rich sources of frequently overlooked information about our shared world . . . if there did not exist entire groups of people such as "Chicana/os" or "women" whose histories and accomplishments have been systematically ignored or distorted by previous generations of scholars, then there would be no reason for present-day scholars to devote themselves to a focused study of

the histories, socioeconomic situations, political movements, or literary and cultural productions of those groups. (3)

Moya offers her argument for such a curriculum in response to right-wing conservative arguments against divisive multicultural curriculums. These arguments are based on the premise that divisive policies and curricula do nothing more than divide a nation of people that can only benefit from seeing their similarities and not their differences. This position is against quota systems that for them unfairly give advantages, such as college admissions, to people based upon their group affiliation.

I agree with Moya's claim that schools need to advance multicultural curricula that concentrate upon what can be gained through studying specific groups of ethnic peoples. This view is contrary to multicultural pedagogies which concentrate on "victims" of society that can only be granted true equal opportunity to higher education when their victimized status is recognized; instead of focusing on their victim status, this approach concentrates upon what is different about them. In my assessment of the curricula described at Pan Am I cannot provide a comprehensive taxonomy of what every multicultural curriculum looks like or classify each as universal or divisive. I can, however, provide comparisons of pedagogies found at alternative institutions with large populations of minorities such as HSIs with those at other institutions. The goal is to demonstrate that there are lessons to be learned from such institutions for mainstream institutions. Such was the goal of the Clinton administration by recognizing these institutions as an opportunity for Hispanics to receive the attention that they have long deserved in comparison to the Historically Black Colleges and Tribal Colleges in operation since the late nineteenth century. However, since the goal of both Clinton and

Moya is universalism and not segregationist institutions or curricula, mainstream institutions can learn from HSI institutions insofar as they are committed to implementing curricula that benefit all students and provide critical tools with which to become critics of their culture (one of the goals of Composition pedagogy for quite some time now).

Moya relies on her post-positivist realist theory of identity, explained further in chapter one, in order to argue for a multicultural curriculum that considers identities of multicultural populations:

. . . post-positivist realist theory of identity posit[s] one way in which progressive intellectuals might go about fostering the conditions conducive to working toward a better society. I argue that when we pay the right kind of attention to our own and others' particularity, we position ourselves to develop a more productive understanding of our universal humanity. Working with a reconstructed notion of the human universal, I end by defending the value of cultural diversity on the basis of an understanding of multiculturalism as epistemic cooperation. (15)

Moya emphasizes that her theoretical position is “post-positivistic,” that is, that it is not absolute or deterministic. She stresses that her notion of the human universal is reconstructed and that identities are constructed in the same ways that post-structuralists argue that knowledge is constructed, namely, by the interaction between people, knowledges and the discourses that produce those knowledges. Thus, there is no a priori identity or knowledge prior to individuals. Instead it is individuals who produce both identities and knowledges about what constitutes their experience. However, her theory encompasses the realist theory of identity as part of her theoretical framework because she does not dismiss identity altogether as many post-modernists do. She further explains her theoretical position in the following:

Against postmodernist theorists, I show that the extreme linguistic constructivism informing postmodernist conceptions of identity impedes

rather than enables the achievement of the liberatory political goals they claim as their own. Through an elaboration of the postpositivist realist theory of identity, I demonstrate that effective political agency is best located in the project of examining and explaining, rather than dismissing or subverting, identity. (12)

Moya's theory provides a lens with which to analyze the uses of identity in the following pedagogies practiced in various classrooms at HSIs

Description of Two Pedagogies at the University of Texas, Pan Am:

The essay that I will first address from *Teaching Writing with Latino/a Students: Lessons Learned at Hispanic-Serving Institutions* is titled, "Discovering a 'Proper Pedagogy': The Geography of Writing at the University of Texas-Pan American" written by Dora Ramírez-Dhoore and Rebecca Jones. It discusses their attempts at finding a proper pedagogy for a university writing curriculum at a university made up of more than eighty percent Latino/a students. The first interesting characteristic of this study is that the two writing teachers involved in this study come from two very different backgrounds:

Dora grew up in a farm-working, poverty-level household in a rural Oregon town and is now working as an assistant professor in American literature, focusing on Latina/o studies in her research. Rebecca grew up in a white middle-class family who owned their own business in a small town in North Carolina. She studied rhetoric and composition in her PhD program and now works as a writing program administrator. (Cárdenas et al 64).

The different backgrounds situate these teachers in differing spaces as they approach the competing "political material space[s]" of this South Texas university, comprised of 87 percent Latino/a students who are border dwellers between the U.S and Mexico. Students

in their classes are often Mexican Nationals who “drive across the border on a daily basis” (64). The other students often are coming from underfunded and overcrowded local high schools. Education for these students often comes second to familial obligations, a fact that these students are aware of, when they compare themselves to mainstream students who attend Universities and who are not burdened by familial responsibilities.

As far as these students’ writing abilities, they vary across the board. For example, “. . . in each course, professors have to address the needs of students at many different levels—challenging the advanced student while finding creative ways to help the basic writer catch up. Correlating to these various levels of ability is the retention and graduate rates of students. In 1999, for example, UTPA only graduated 8.4 percent of their students in four years and 21 percent in five years” (66). Jaime Mejia, a Composition scholar who also teaches at UTPA feels that the ability to change these retention rates, given the population demographics of this university, lies in implementing a proper pedagogy (66).⁴⁸

Mejía feels that such a pedagogy is one that includes ethnic literatures and that also ‘focus[es] on the literacy of not just Latino/as but also of the indigenous folk in the United States’ (Mejía 52). Focusing on these literacies would challenge older notions of literacy and colonialism that often ignore the literacy practices of these populations and their efforts in challenging assimilationist perspectives by retaining their own culture and language. Implementing pedagogical practices at HSIs that are cognizant of students’

⁴⁸ See Jaime Mejía’s essay titled, “Bridging Rhetoric and Composition Studies with Chicano and Chicana Studies: A Turn to Critical Pedagogy,” found in the book titled, *Latino/a Discourses: On Language, Identity, and Literacy Education* edited by, Michelle Hall Kells, Valerie Balester and Victor Villanueva.

backgrounds is the goal. The student demographics at HSIs are correlated to Mejía's call for such pedagogical application because he feels that such a curriculum would speak directly to the needs and interests of the students. Mejía's proposal encompasses a consideration of Anzaldúa's pedagogical suggestions that asks that we take into account "other ethnicities . . . races . . . cultures . . . and histories' alongside the demands of both scholars and university students to perform particular standards that mark success? Even more importantly in this political educational space, what are our options for best practices for teaching?"⁴⁹ (67). Like Mejía, Dora and Rebecca also explains that a "stock" pedagogy that is based on the premise of difference does not go far enough in addressing the local circumstances of the "political educational space" in question. They state that "we must examine the particular things within a political and educational space that necessitate differences in practice and theory" (68).

In Dora's upper division writing class, there was a mix of students "who spoke Spanish (in a both fluent and bilingual capacity) and others who knew only English, having been 'taught out of my language,' as one student [said]" (68). For Dora, the students' mixed language abilities constituted what Anzaldúa refers to as a linguistic nightmare, aberration and *mestizaje*. Dora explains that these varying language characteristics often result in what Anzaldúa has called "linguistic terrorism"⁵⁰ because the mixtures of language abilities are in a sense "orphan" because they are recognized as non-official, non-standard discourse and are, of course, marked by the students' Spanish

⁴⁹ For a more specific discussion on the controversial role between race and literacy, see *Literacy and Racial Justice: The Politics of Learning after Brown v. Board of Education*, by Catherine Prendergast. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2003

⁵⁰ Chicana poet, Gloria Anzaldúa wrote of "linguistic terrorism in *Borderlands: La Frontera*: "So, if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. I am my language" (80-81).

in/abilities. Dora notes that, because of these linguistic characteristics, the students struggled with constructing their identity in Standard American English. With this struggle in mind, Dora implemented readings that would allow students to identify with the authors' experiences as well. These readings included *Attending to the Margins* by, Michelle Hall Kells and Valerie M. Balester. This book examines the benefits of embracing the border as a myth of identity and asks whether embracing this position allows students to feel comfortable "within or against academic discourse" (69). Dora states that in the class, students find their voices for the first time. However, the students do not initially view the essay "as a format that can incorporate anything besides academic discourse written in Standard American English. Perfecting this is what they desire and expect to achieve in the traditional classroom" (70). They desire to know the rules of the game in their quest for educational and professional success. They know that their current linguistic abilities are not representative of the standards of academic discourse.

In this class, students wrote essays that elucidated "the ways students equate success with moving out of poverty, learning English well, and rising to middle-class status" (71). Thus, education for these students was closely related to upward mobility. Dora states that "[t]heir writing shows a clear understanding of the need to 'fit into' academic discourse. There is a struggle here, and one that reflects a power dynamic where one dominant group regulates and thereby influences the language and linguistic identity of another group". Interestingly, these students are very aware that there are rules to the "game" of academia. These rules also indicate what is counted as academic expression and academically acceptable. Thus, it seems that there is an implied negation

of these students culture, language and identity and the students play into it as if it were part of a game to be mastered. Dora confirms that these students view education as a game and ‘recreate’ the rules that regulate when they can and cannot speak their ‘foreign tongue’. As a result of this apparent struggle, Dora feels that it is her duty to reveal how linguistic terrorism plays a part in their fear of expressing themselves in a ‘foreign’ language and in their hesitancy to write in a language other than English in the essay format.

Through reading the students essays and seeing their hesitancy to write in a non-Standard form, Dora sees that her students are aware of their ambiguous positions in the academy. Thus, this pedagogical approach “allows students to articulate what they already know through experience” (72). Dora feels justified in her pedagogy because she frowns upon the idea that students are asked to negate their cultural and linguistic voices and, instead, adorn a Standard American English “mask”. She states that “[t]his game is tiring” and that educators need “to critically analyze how this ambiguity can move educators and students forward into that third space, the liminal space of possibility” (79).

Upon analysis, I would, at first glance, characterize this pedagogical practice as somewhat divisive. However, what she offers is valuable because she is intimately aware of these students home backgrounds and has experienced many of the hardships that they have. Her pedagogical practice might be interpreted as being divisive in that it relies on essentialist beliefs about students and their identities. It is not characterized as being universalist because of references to “masks of identity” and to “playing academic games”. While it is not enough to classify a pedagogy as divisive by simply having a

racial and linguistic focus/component, it is the ways in which this focus is implemented and the rationale that lies behind. If one considers the classification of multicultural curriculums provided above by Paula Moya, one will notice that her lessons learned from the political right and from their success in terminating racial programs are what can inform a more inclusive multicultural pedagogy. It is not enough for students to simply learn about themselves, especially if they are of a “minority population”, according to Moya. Students have to learn about each other in a constructive, inclusive and critical manner. However, this course is an upper division course.

I would, however, suggest some changes to this class if it was taught as a first year composition course. I would suggest changes to the current structure so that it more appropriately sets a goal that is able to accommodate students from other cultures and backgrounds. As an upper-division course, it does have clear objectives, relies on a clear pedagogical rationale and serves the student population well at this institution.

Rebecca’s class

Rebecca’s class is similar to Dora’s class and both teachers share students. Students are aware that they have to master academic discourse to pass the class and eventually graduate. Rebecca relies on the stance taken by Lisa Delpit and well as criticisms of her stance to negotiate her position in the classroom. Rebecca takes Lisa Delpit’s warning seriously. She says of Lisa Delpit, “She admonishes white middle-class professors for not recognizing their own position of power and especially for not sharing their knowledge of the discursive strategies of this position, explicitly, with their students who are not part of the “culture of power” (72). She also believes that “. . . it is fine to [t]ell [students] that their language and cultural style is unique and wonderful but that

there is a political power game that is also being played, and if they want to be in on that game there are certain games that they too must play' (73). Thus, Rebecca sees it as her duty to divulge her privileged position as the teacher in relation to the students while at the same time trying to negotiate her perceived "outsider" position because she is white.

She provides excerpts from several of her student essays from a composition classroom in which they wrote about their literacy experiences. She is particularly struck by the students' linguistic position, perhaps because she has only dealt with both white and African-American students who had to worry about dialect issues in the South. She realizes that not being able to express oneself in a comprehensible manner (in English) "leaves scars that follow students into college, scars that affect their confidence" (73). After providing these excerpts, she also offers her "tentative theorizing". She explains that the reason for assigning the literacy essays is because she wanted to "allow the students to express their past concerns with learning and to help [her] understand where these students begin when they walk into [her] classes in South Texas" (76). The unique linguistic circumstances of the students in Rebecca's class make the outcome of assigning this essay more useful to her than it has ever been in the past.

She chose literacy as the theme of her class. Her students were encouraged to juxtapose "different visions of literacy with their own narratives (80). They read Anna Quindlen and Judith Ortiz Cofer. These essays demonstrate both a privileged and deprived literacy experiences. These students also read David Bartholomae's "Inventing the University" and Deborah Brandt's "Sponsors of Literacy" to discuss what professors expect of their students. She also teaches the ethnographic essay that allows students to experiment with both academic and personal prose. These essays allow her to plan her

graduate course, which focuses on preparing high school English teachers, according to her students' experiences.

What is interesting about this class, then, is that there is dialogue that is taking place between the students' experiences and the teacher's manner of utilizing them to teach even more students (her upper-division students). As a result, Rebecca implemented lessons she learned in a graduate class she taught where they discussed how, by doing so, they could, perhaps, change these experiences for other students. There is a more inclusive approach at play here in that the literacy essay is one that Rebecca has taught in very different geographical areas: the South and the Southwest. Different outcomes from these essays produce different results for her in terms of her pedagogy and understanding of her students' needs. Unlike Dora's class which asks students to focus on their individual differences in order to express themselves in a linguistically unhindered manner without any further consequences, Rebecca's class has more far reaching possible consequences.

While I see the importance of classes such as the one taught by Dora, my argument, here, is to advocate for multicultural curriculums that are more inclusive of a broader spectrum of populations for the purpose of dialogue between different types of students with different life experiences. In this case, the dialogue that is taking place between the teacher and the student is very important in producing new goals and directions for teaching. Rebecca's graduate students become very interested in bilingual education and it is a goal of the class for students to be able to gain the skills to ". . . combat through more respectful pedagogies, the damaging misconceptions about bilingual students (in America) as being less intelligent and less willing to learn" (76).

Rebecca says that her graduate students “. . . want to avoid, for their students, the pitfalls [her] freshman students have written about in their literacy essays” (76).

Both of these pedagogical experiences, taking place at UTPA, a Hispanic Serving Institution, demonstrate the desire for both teachers to allow their students to be “able to talk about past literacy practices and to reconcile them with current expectations and to change those expectations through this interrogation” (82). However, the ways in which these teachers envisioned reaching this goal were different. I am struck by the way that these teachers characterized their different approaches as being influenced by their own literacy backgrounds. Dora, for example, is described as being a student who learned academic discourse by “mimicking (while learning to subvert) the discourse taught to her in the academic space” (81). Rebecca, on the other hand, is described as employing a discourse that was born out of her white privileged status. These two competing experiences seem to have influenced the different pedagogies implemented to reach the same goal at UTPA in addition to the level of class being taught. Is it possible that these two teachers were influenced by both exclusionist and inclusionist experiences?

Dora states that she had problems, for example, with learning the concept of argument. For her, argument meant not agreeing with another’s position instead of a type of scholarly prose. It seems then that Dora’s experience is marked by an ambiguous relationship to the academy as is the case for many Latinos/as in the United States. However, I argue that the way to approach this ambiguity is by implementing an inclusionist multicultural pedagogy that all students can learn from—a pedagogy in which students can learn about others’ experiences similar to the ways in which Dora and Rebecca learned about one another and their position in relation to the academy.

Experiences of exclusion, however, are not only found in multicultural practices and in mainstream pedagogies. In a paper delivered at the 2006 CCCC in New York, Jaime Mejia told his audience of an incident that demonstrates outright exclusionist practice that still plagues those of Latino/a descent, daily. He stated:

On November 17th, 2006, MALDEF, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Mexican American counterpart to the NAACP, issued a press release announcing their victory in a lawsuit against the principal of an elementary school in the Dallas Independent School District. The principal at Preston Hollow Elementary School, Teresa Parker, segregated English-speaking Latino and African-American minority students on the basis of their race, in violation of the U.S. Constitution. The federal judge in the case ordered the principal to stop the segregation and pay \$20,000 in punitive damages to injured plaintiff students. In this case, the Court found that the plaintiff students “were assigned in a grossly disproportionate manner to ESL-designated classes, while their Anglo peers were assigned, with few exceptions, to General Education classes, also known as neighborhood classes, which were predominantly Anglo” (MALDEF). MALDEF’s press release further stated that “The Court was ‘baffled that in this day and age, Defendants [relied] on what is, essentially, a ‘separate but equal’ argument” (MALDEF). The elementary school’s principal apparently instituted this intentional segregation in order to prevent white flight from the Anglo neighborhood where this school was located. (CCCC 2006)

In the face of such current exclusionary practices in educational institutions, Composition scholars should still strive to create pedagogies that might take these types of exclusionary practices into consideration. If linguistic, racial and social segregationist practices still exist then how can we, as front-line Composition teachers and scholars combat such practices? Some would say that we cannot because all we do is teach writing. However, the experiences of these students show just how much difference one teacher could make. If teachers decide to do something else besides the stock curricula or the assigned curricula, what might be the result? Dora’s and Rebecca’s three classes are just three examples of the differences a more “respectful pedagogy” could make.

Mejía also notes that in *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*, Jonathan Kozol argues that racial segregation still exists in our nation and that there are negative effects taking place upon our nation's students as a result of these practices. One such practice is the monolingual imperative present in America's curricula. Mexican American Legislative Caucus member, Rick Noriega, stated in an interview, that

We're the only country in the world that will to give the title of [someone being] an educated person and that person only speaks one language. Nowhere else in the world would a person be given that title and be monolingual, yet here in the United States, we only want to speak one language, when what we should be pushing is that every child can speak two or three languages, much like they do in other parts of the world. (Interview for MALC Documentary)

This exclusionist practice is exactly the experience discussed by both Dora's and Rebecca's students above. They have been scarred, as Rebecca realizes, in a manner that could have been prevented if exclusionist pedagogies and practices were reexamined in the context of the needs of international cooperation.

Mejía reveals that there is a "virtual absence of Rhetoric and Composition graduate programs in Texas which can serve the needs of Texas Mexicans [that] is coupled by the complete absence of existent programs elsewhere which are directly focusing on our needs". I share this sentiment with Mejía. In preparation for this talk by Mejía, he came across an e-mail I wrote as a response to a query sent by Cristina Kirklighter who sought information from the 4-C's Latino Caucus for the 4-C's Executive Committee about what writing classes should include. Here's what I stated about Latinos working within our field:

There is no marked entry point or recognition of Latinos/as in Composition. Our group has been one that has been largely ignored, yet called upon when it seems expert opinions and experiences are needed in order to understand the “bilingual problem” or the limited English speakers. We [in the Latino Caucus] are not akin to the African-American caucus in that our brands of English are not the only “dilemma” that we must deal with; we have to deal with an actual language being torn away and denigrated on a daily basis because it is [deemed] substandard. So, what seems to be a catch-22 for Latinos in Composition is that instead of fighting to retain our language and culture, we actually aid in the constant erasure and denigration of our own language in the name of an “official discourse.” We might come to Composition as one means of finding a respect for and an addition to that “official discourse”; however, oftentimes this does not happen. We become committee members whose goal it is to let the strange become familiar with the intent to know and perhaps annihilate those differences. I know this sounds harsh but this is the current state of our professional participation in the professional associations affiliated with Composition Studies.

When does a writing class become something else? A writing class is already something else when it is an attempt at denigrating the many at the expense of the few. Composition is involved in creating, maintaining and devaluing culture. It validates and negates at the same time. Therefore, one cannot say that simply teaching grammar in composition is what makes it a writing class, or teaching the five paragraph theme is what makes it a writing class, or teaching rhetoric is what makes it a disciplined writing class—because teaching all of these things inherently involves teaching and disseminating culture. Therefore, compositionists are almost always political actors, and the way that I see my group’s role in acting politically is to tell the students ahead of time that this is what is going to happen to them; otherwise, my group will have participated in what they have experienced in painful numbers. Therefore, maybe I see my group’s role as one of the demystifiers who realize that the institution is always larger than they are. However, Composition needs to realize the unique position that my group has [and has had] in [the] negotiation of identity and language, as we have probably the longest history in negotiating bicultural, bilingual, and multi-dialectical associations that have been comprehensively chronicled—just not in Composition. (Ruiz E-mail)

I will comment briefly on what I meant by this compact e-mail and connect this opinion with the purpose of this dissertation, which is to argue for a critical historiographic writing curriculum in composition classrooms. For the moment, I would like to demonstrate that other Latino/a Compositionists share my sentiments about the role of

Latinos/as in Composition. As stated earlier, we do occupy a marginal position. This marginal position, discussed by Richard Delgado, a critical race theorist, places Latino scholarship in the realm of the ambiguous and substandard and these labels are unjustified. However, given the demographics for the future trends for the Latino/a populations, it is imperative that Compositionists begin to be payed more attention to as the needs of students such as those that Rebecca and Dora write of are becoming more prevalent. Jaime Mejía also agrees with my sentiment about the lack of disciplinary respect within Rhetoric and Composition. He states:

What Iris Ruiz audaciously touches upon that I find so incisively compelling is that, as practitioners within the field of Rhetoric and Composition Studies, Latinos and Latinas have typically not been allowed to bring an important part of our culture or identity into writing classes. We have not been allowed nor have we been successful in creating an entry point into this field. Moreover, we will indeed be complicit in furthering the erasure of important parts of our ethnic identity. This complicity in furthering our ethnic cultural demise is something I have labored over for many years, both as a teacher and as a scholar within our field. Yet, as Ruiz informs us, Latinos and Latinas for centuries have been extremely talented negotiators of language and identity in the United States. As bilingual and bicultural negotiators, we have sought not to compromise our identity nor our proficiencies in more than one language, in more than one culture. Such negotiating skills should be the rhetorical coin of the national realm, yet the little value that the mainstream has recognized of such rhetorical skills all too often gets diminished throughout all of academia. At the crossroads of ambiguity, we're told to leave behind what we value most in the safe houses of our ethnic identity. (CCCC 2006)

A New Vision for Multicultural Inclusionist Curriculums

Mejía has a vision that many before have had. Unfortunately, this vision has not become a reality even when the reality of our nation's US-Mexico border states is that ethnic minorities are now the majority of public school students today, people of Mesoamerican descent, for example, constitute the majority of Texas public school

students. This vision of bilingualism includes the possible placement of Anglo school children in bilingual classes where these students studied both languages and our many Latino cultures. Jaime asks,

What if these same Anglo students had these two languages as centers of their academic study throughout their public schooling and then entered into our first-year college composition classes as bicultural bilinguals?" Where would our field be then? Would Latinos and Latinas then have the kind of entry point into our profession that Ruiz and Linda Brodkey envision?" (CCCC 2006)

He asks some interesting questions in relation to our shared vision. The vision is one that is consistent with a multicultural inclusive pedagogy that asks students to learn from one another instead of a more colonial relationship that asks many student to negate a very, very important part of themselves at the cost of the exclusionary pedagogical practices of the academy, including some of those practiced in Composition.

As Latinos/as continue to grow and participate in the electoral process, will Composition respond to this growing population and the reality of its linguistic and cultural circumstances in relation to the university? If we continue to marginalize this population and call for their acculturation instead of a greater understanding of them, cultural misunderstandings and racism will also continue to exist. Instead, as this dissertation argues, and as Jaime noted at the end of his talk, "we can create and facilitate the culturally based rhetorical changes in how we communicate with each other in the future, much as we've endeavored to do in the past" (CCCC 2006).

Criticism of Multiculturalism:

There are, however, some strong arguments against any type of multicultural curriculum. The main argument against multicultural curricula is that because these

curricula tend to focus on difference, they unfairly “coddle” minority students and aid in the divisive recognition of “us versus them” social relationships. However, cultural traditionalists such as “[t]hose who call for a return to the study of the Western tradition argue that a curriculum focusing on the “great books” transcends ideology because such works are intrinsically more valuable than the works that historically have not been taught” (Moya 140). This view, however, is also divisive in that it negates other great books not considered part of the traditional Western canon.

In the face of such conservative backlash that current intellectual circles are now experiencing it is imperative for multicultural educators such as those in ethnic studies “to have sound intellectual and *universalist* justifications for their programs, as well as for the salience of the identities around which such programs are organized” (144). While traditionalists argue for a divisive stance, this stance is consistent with arguments that multicultural curricula decrease standards and unfairly give “preferential treatment” to minorities. However, those of us committed to an enduring multicultural understanding of our society realize the importance of incorporating a variety of voices into the classroom. This is my rationale for embracing Moya’s position on universalist multicultural curricula. Such curricula cannot be easily dismissed as “coddling” or one divisive. How, then, can all students learn from one another in an engaging and critical manner?

Moya suggests a universalist multicultural curriculum that “should be structured to give greater emphasis to the cultures and views of non-dominant groups” because doing so will allow all students to study subordinated cultures “as containing a potential resource of alternative ways of living in and relating to the world” (170). At first glance,

this may sound divisive in that it focuses upon difference. However, the fact that traditional curricula naturalize dominant experience as normal provides the imperative for dominant students to learn about minority cultures. Furthermore, these cultures are by definition subordinated, and not “naturally” learned about through normal channels of cultural transmission. While it may sound as if the classroom is used as a space to “compensate” those who have been previously denied a place in the conversation, it is not. Instead, the classroom becomes a space to facilitate the emergence of alternative perspectives and provide students with the ability to offer more objective accounts of their experiences.

To support her argument, Moya refers to an ethnographic study of three teachers who were attempting to teach a multicultural version of history; the study was conducted by John Wills at a predominantly white middle-school in Southern California. The outcome of his study led him to suggest a “multiperspectival, truly multicultural history’ of the United States [that] has the potential to provide *all* students with the tools that they will need to deal effectively as active citizens with issues of structural (and especially racial) inequality (158). His suggestion stems from his observation of the multicultural history classes which claimed to teach a multicultural approach. He observed that the only time subordinate cultures were focused upon was in relation to how they contributed or related to European cultures. Specifically, Wills states that African-Americans are “discussed only in relation to the Civil War or the Civil Rights movement, Asian Americans are discussed only in relation to the building of the railroads, and Native Americans are remembered only as the friends of the early English colonists” (157). These cultures were never focused upon for their own sake or from their own perspective.

Wills' position is closely related to the perspective of a "New History" referred to earlier in this dissertation and explicated by Eric Foner.

Inclusionist, Universal Multicultural Pedagogy: Critical Historiography in First Year Composition

As I mentioned in the section before, I want to briefly elaborate on what I meant in the e-mail to which Mejía refers. I believe that Latinos/as are still marginalized in the field of Composition, not only within scholarly Composition Studies but also in terms of pedagogies considered for dealing with linguistic minorities in the writing classroom. I also believe, however, that there are beginning to emerge a number of interesting pedagogical responses to the needs of this growing population. My specific pedagogical proposal in this dissertation is the incorporation of a Critical Historiography within composition pedagogies. Critical Historiography allows for both an investigation into historical circumstances and current political debates. It can lead students to construct arguments which consider ways history is constructed and how perspectivism and politics influence historical positions, narrations and effects. Historiography also enables students to integrate previously ignored histories into their current understanding of inclusions and exclusions of populations of which they, themselves may belong to. The inclusion of Chicano Studies and Black Studies programs in institutions of higher education in the Civil Rights Era, is a good example of the impact that the incorporation of "new histories" can have, for by looking back to previously excluded histories these programs contributed to the "cultural pride" of students, an intended effect of the creation of Ethnic

Studies programs in the 1970's. As a matter of fact, Eric Foner reminds us that it is because of the changes that occurred in the Civil Rights Era that sought to include previously excluded experiences and knowledges that a "new" historiography exists.

Official and Non-Official History

Composition histories show that when we consistently ignore, peripheralize or reference rather than address non-officialized experiences, inadequate images continue to prevail and actually become increasingly resilient in supporting the mythologies and negative consequences for African-American students and faculty, and also for their culturally defined scholarly interests, which in their own turn must inevitably push also against prime narratives. (Royster and Williams "History" 582)

Royster and Williams' call to address non-officialized experiences in the above quote is a recognition of the value of implementing a historiographic perspective in the writing classroom because one obvious question that arises out of this dissertation is, why historiography? While I agree with Royster's intent to contribute minority experiences to the traditional history of Composition, I also find that we need to go beyond present-day experiences by examining participation in history. I suggest creating a curriculum that periodizes history and allows for a study of the intervention of various previously disenfranchised or excluded populations such as African-Americans and Chicano/a-Latino/as in U.S. history. Thus, in addition to adding minority composition experiences to the traditional history of Composition, I also argue for including critical writing exercise in Composition classrooms that address the writing of history, the exclusion of histories, and the need to recover the past. A critical analysis of history calls for examining

previously excluded historical accounts, or, rather, a historiographic perspective which considers historical accounts of particular populations as well as historical accounts relayed through narratives that often only capture part of a historical moment. Thus, I am proposing a historiographic method which, at its start, searches for the silences or the exclusions in the narration of past events and questions, “what is missing?” Specific historiographic theories that help me to implement such a historiographic method in the writing classroom as well as write critical historiography are outlined earlier in this dissertation. Specifically, I rely on Eric Foner’s “new historical method” and Michel Rolph Trouillot’s social constructivist historical method as well as Paula Moya’s theory of post-postivist realist theory which attempts to recover un-officialized experiences of people of color, specifically, Chicana feminists. Recognizing that experience is constructed and made accessible to us through texts will allow us to begin to see what is textualized in some version of history and what is left out, what is presented from the perspective of the majority population and what considers the perspective of non-dominant populations in the U.S.

Recovering excluded histories is akin to recovering identities in that the histories not previously considered are a necessary part of identity formation. As such the notion of identity also becomes one of interrogation in the same instance that history is questions. As such, the title of this essay is “Shattering Glass Mirrors...” This would be one possible way to see the mirror being shattered from without as well as from within. Once one begins to question history, one’s identity can become shattered and disrupted over and over. The notion of identity, however, is still central for trying to understand how various experiences are constructed as majority and minority. For example, in Paula

M. Moya's book, *Learning from Experience: Minority Identities, Multicultural Struggles*, she states that claiming alternative experience in the form of identity grants one the ability to challenge traditional labels and imposed identities:

I want to consider now the possibility that my identity as a "Chicana" can grant me a knowledge about the world that is "truer" and more "objective" than an alternative identity I might claim as a "Mexican American," a "Hispanic," or an "American" (who happens to be of Mexican descent). When I refer to a Mexican American, I am referring to a person of Mexican heritage born and/or raised in the United States whose nationality is U.S. American. The term for me is descriptive, rather than political. The term Hispanic is generally used to refer to a person of Spanish, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Cuban, Chilean, Peruvian, and so on, heritage who may or may not have a Spanish surname, who may or may not speak Spanish, who can be of any racial extraction, and who resides in the United States. As it is currently deployed, the term [Hispanic] is so general as to be virtually useless as a descriptive or analytical tool. Moreover, the term has been shunned by progressive intellectuals for its overt privileging of the "Spanish" part of what for many of the people it claims to describe is a racially and culturally mixed heritage. A Chicana, according to the usage of women who identify that way, is a politically aware woman of Mexican heritage who is at least partially descended from the indigenous people of Mesoamerica and who was born and/or raised in the United States. What distinguishes a Chicana from a Mexican American, a Hispanic, or an American of Mexican descent is not her ancestry or her cultural upbringing. Rather it is her political awareness; her recognition of her disadvantaged position in a hierarchically organized society arranged according to categories of class, race, gender, and sexuality; and her propensity to engage in a political struggle aimed at subverting and changing those structures. (41-2)

Each identity marker referred to above stresses the post-structural aspect of identity.

There are many identities that can be claimed by a woman of Mexican descent. Each one of these markers has a historical story behind its creation. The imposition of any of these terms upon one woman can affect the way that she is viewed and also the way that she views her experience in the world. By adopting her own identity marker and knowing the history behind that marker, she is able to practice a type of agency that is based off a rejection of imposed identities and a historical knowledge of an alternative experience

and identity. Teaching critical historiography in the writing classroom is one method of being able to bring about this agency while teaching critical writing skills.

Again, the problem of essential identities and experience arises when one talks of identity and experience as that which can be textualized and known. But, I would like to remind the reader here that the position I embrace is similar to Moya's when she states that: "I nevertheless contend that *some* forms of identity politics that are undertaken by members of marginalized groups in the service of creating economic, social, and political equity between different groups are epistemically and morally justifiable" Moya (130). and "[S]ince identities are indexical—since they refer outward to social structures and embody social relations—they are a potentially rich source of information about the world we share" (135).

As far as the benefits of implementing such pedagogy in a writing classroom that is composed of mostly non-minority students or a percentage of both minority and non-minority students, it is clear that looking at and writing about subordinate experiences

. . . when shared with people who have not been oppressed or have not lived in the same way, allows oppressor and oppressed alike to have a more complex and adequate understanding of their shared world than either of them could have by themselves. I argued that as long as certain identities are devalued, those identities will be epistemically valuable and politically salient. (Moya 132)

A second obvious question that arises is why should this critical notion of historiography be implemented in the Composition classroom in lieu of traditional multicultural theories? The answer is obviously multifaceted and I hope I touched on some of the problems I see with traditional multicultural curriculums in my discussion of Hispanic Serving Institutions earlier in this chapter; however, my interest in the recent

conservative backlash against minority inclusion in higher education seen in the anti-affirmative action era recognizes the importance for students to turn back to histories of inclusiveness to question what has caused such a backlash.

Foner sees a similar connection between race relations today and those that were central to the debates of Reconstruction (1870s). He states, “The issues that agitate race relations today—affirmative action, the role of federal government in enforcing the rights of citizens, the possibility of interracial political coalitions, the relationship between economic and political equality . . .” were also common during the late nineteenth century and thus, he also supports a historical connection between the present and the past regarding race relations and inequality (18). In the next chapter, I will show how implementing a critical historiographic pedagogy in the writing classroom compares to a traditional multicultural pedagogy in a writing classroom.

Chapter 6

Historiography in the Writing Classroom: A Case for Chicano/Latino History as an Alternative to Traditional Multicultural Pedagogies

The example of Brodkey's English 306, representative of the 1980's culture wars and the universalist response of President Bill Clinton, provide rhetorical justifications for the cultural mission of educational institutions, such as Hispanic Serving Institutions. The Brodkey example points to how the fear of political conservatives led to an attack on an individual professor at UT, Austin, when the class she and her students designed departed from a focus on the Classics common to traditional English curricula and thus points to the need for an adequate defense of such curricula which departs from traditional notions of writing pedagogy. The Clinton example shows, on the other hand, that universalist justifications based upon economic well-being, allow for institutions such as HIS's to continue to receive federal support despite the prevalence of multicultural pedagogies and curricula at these institutions. Implicit in this funding is a recognition of the need for institutions of higher education that can meet the needs of Latinos/as. The contribution of Latinos/as to the U.S. economy and current demographics justify support for these HSIs, especially in areas that have large concentrations of Latinos/as.

The continued survival of these Hispanic Serving institutions despite threats to end critical multicultural gains brought forth by the social movements of the 1960's has not been easy. Multiculturalism has been blamed, much like ethnic studies departments, for causing a decline in educational and civic standards by political conservatives. With

the nation currently in an economic recession, the legitimacy of these programs is again being challenged by conservatives. Threats of cutting Ethnic Studies programs from academic curricula continue. Thus, it has become very important for educators who are committed to multicultural education to learn how to defend their pedagogical stance by appealing to universalist justifications. *Multicultural curricula does not just benefit the multicultural segments of society; it also benefits those who have been accused of having no culture, namely “white” people.*⁵¹

Education implies the dissemination of both culture and ideology through the guise of practical skills. The intimate relationship between education and ideology has been discussed by Althusser⁵² and some critical composition scholars who see the first year composition class as one critical educational space where middle-class, white, male ideology is practiced and taught. In close connection with this idea, Lynn Bloom, Sharon Crowley and Susan Miller also recognize the first year composition classroom to be a critical educational space which focuses on both creating and maintaining U.S., white, middle-class, male cultural values (see chapter 2).

Given this inseparable connection between education and ideology, I view the composition classroom as one location where educational theory, also known as writing

⁵¹ “Whiteness exercises such political force despite its thorough discrediting as a ‘cultural color’, despite its having become the fair game of standup comics who reflect on the vacuity of ‘white culture’ in a nation in which so much that is new, stirring, excellent and genuinely popular—in music, fashion, oratory, dance, vernacular speech, sport and increasingly in literature, film and nonfictions writing—comes from African-American, Asian American and Latino communities” (Roediger 6).

⁵² In “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)”, Louis Althusser states, “In other words, the school (but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army) teaches ‘know-how’, but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its ‘practice’” (Gupta and Sharma 88) from *The anthropology of the state: a reader* By, Aradhana Sharma, Akhil Gupta.

pedagogy in the field, is directly involved in cultural practices. I am an avid practitioner of multicultural composition pedagogy and believe in teaching a multicultural curriculum based upon historiography that benefits all students. The cultural practice emphasized in such a classroom is to learn both about one another and from each other. My commitment to such an approach is a response to the counter-revolution of political conservatives who believe that their version of truth is the commonly accepted one and characterized as the norm or standard up against which everyone should be measured. *I posit that “traditional” texts such as the western canon or western historical accounts need to be questioned, reconstructed and supplemented with new and previously unknown histories and experiences.* However, as mentioned in the introduction, I am concentrating on a multicultural curriculum that will serve a universalist purpose, serving the needs of all students including students from the largest minority population in the U.S., namely, Latinos/as.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, from 2000-2006, the “Hispanic”⁵³ population accounted for one-half of the nation’s growth and as of July 1, 2006, there are 44.3 million “Hispanics”, 14.8% of the total population of 299 million. Most Latinos/as are born in the United States; however, our educational attainment trails that of the total population; for example, approximately 26% of the nation’s total female population has achieved an educational attainment of at least a bachelor’s degree and only approximately 13% of Latinas have achieved the same level of education.

Given these statistics and recent trends regarding population growth and density

⁵³ The term “Hispanic” refers to people of Latin American descent such as: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central American, South American, and “Other Hispanic”. (U.S. Census Bureau)

of Latinos/as, I would like to consider the way in which a multicultural writing curriculum based upon post-positivist realist theory of identity differs from a traditional multicultural pedagogy, harshly criticized in the “culture wars” of the 1980’s. In her work, Moya notes that political conservatives who are also opponents of traditional multiculturalism often criticize curricula that are based upon difference as being divisive and unfairly accommodating to minority students. These same critics question the epistemic value of multicultural curricula. They do not value what could be gained from learning about a culture that is not the dominant one. *To counter these critiques it becomes necessary for educators to reconceptualize, define and practice multicultural curricula so that all can come to see its value.*

In discussing the various “brands” of multicultural curricula that have been practiced since the 1970’s, Moya presents a taxonomy of various types of multicultural curricula (145-146 Moya). The fifth item on the taxonomy is titled, “Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist”. Of all the items in her taxonomy, this one offers a curriculum that is universal as evident in its objective of imparting critical thinking skills to all students regardless of their race/ethnicity. This curriculum asks them to look at the social structures that create inequalities such as racial, gender or class disparities in an effort to better understand the dynamics of social relationships and possibly alter them. Thus, it seems to be representative of a critical universal multicultural pedagogy or curriculum. Moya describes this curriculum as follows:

It thus explicitly concerns itself with developing pedagogical practices that will help students to understand the causes of oppression and inequality, and to develop strategies by which they can use power for collective betterment. The advantages of this approach are that it gives more

consistent attention to issues of gender and social class than other approaches. On the other hand, the literature provides few instructional models. Sleeter and Grant see this approach as the least developed of the five, and caution its advocates against expending too much energy in criticizing the shortcomings of the other approaches. (Moya 146)

However critical the above proposal may be, it does not come with instructional models.

Because of this lack, I would like to provide the following pedagogical example of an instructional model that can be applied in a composition class. I will label it as follows:

“Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist”. With this particular method, the classroom is viewed as a space where a critical engagement of the course material from a socially aware perspective is encouraged. Such a perspective allows one to critically analyze the social structures in place that ensure certain social relations that are inextricably linked to positions of power and prestige in U.S. society.

Historiography and Composition Studies

In chapter one I provided a theoretical framework for this study, including critical historical theory, critical race theory and critical educational theory. However, my role as a Composition Studies scholar necessitates a contextualizing of historiography within Composition Studies and as a writing tool.

Writing about historical omissions and analyzing historical narratives are not new scholarly tasks or critical pedagogical tools within the field of Composition. The field has an established scholarly and pedagogical commitment to examining the writing process behind various disciplines that communicate official knowledge through writing such as Science and History. Furthermore, writing across the curriculum programs are formed at many universities that specifically associate modes of writing with various disciplines;

these programs are closely associated with Composition and Rhetoric programs at these same universities. As such, implementing historical writing as a cross-disciplinary approach for first year composition is not a new task for the field of Composition Studies.

In addition to the association between writing across the curriculum programs and Composition studies, there are two important events that point to the commitment within Composition Studies to intellectual discussions regarding the writing of history, or historiography. These events are Octalogs I and II. Both Octalogs I and II⁵⁴ provide numerous methodological explanations as to the purpose and function of historical writing. These roundtable discussions took place at two different “4 C’s” (College Conference on Composition and Communication) conferences. In both Octalogs, various scholars, including James Berlin in Octolog I, came to a roundtable discussion to discuss the politics behind the writing of history or, more specifically, histories of rhetoric. In this discussion, there is evidence of a critical stance toward the writing of histories of rhetoric and of writing history in general. The following quote, by James Berlin shows how the participants in this Octolog are considering the contingent nature of history and its various and competing purposes:

There are no definitive histories since no historian’s ruling perceptual network can ever account for the entire historical field, or even for the field it itself has selected. Thus, there must be multiple histories of rhetoric, each identifying its unique standing place—its grounds for seeing—and the terrain made available from its perspective. Most important, each history endorses an ideology, a conception of economic, social, political, and cultural arrangements that is privileged in its interpretation. These must be made self-reflexively available to scrutiny. In brief, historians must become aware of the rhetoricity of their own

⁵⁴ Octalog. “The Politics of Historiography.” *Rhetoric Review*, 7 (1988): 5-49. And Octolog II:

“The (Continuing) Politics of Historiography.” *Rhetoric Review* 16.1 (Fall 1997): 2244.

enterprise, rhetoric here being the designated the uses of language in the play of power. (“Octolog I” 6)

This quote demonstrates that, close to twenty years ago, Compositionists and Rhetoricians were considering how the writing of history and the study of it might be incorporated in the field of Composition and Rhetoric. The way in which history is conveyed through language, thus, has been a concern of the field for some time now.

An example of a composition textbook which has a unit dedicated to the analysis of official historical stories specifically geared towards first year writing classrooms is Gary Colombo et. al.’s *Framework: Culture, Storytelling, and College Writing*, which analyzes both the “Discovery of America” story and the Rosa Parks story (it is currently out-of-print). I have utilized this text before and during my sixth year of teaching I designed a writing course that centered around the process of historical production involved in the Spanish Conquest.

The rationale for designing my critical historiography course is both scholarly and personal. The scholarly motivation was to implement a version of critical multicultural pedagogy that did not solely concentrate upon differences between populations of people as is common with many multicultural writing curricula which center on identity politics. The personal reason is my personal engagement with “*memoria*” which is a rationale for implementing critical historiography in the writing classroom by critical educators who invite *memoria* in the classroom as Victor Villanueva would suggest. As a scholar of color, specifically a Latina compositionist, I wanted to live and breathe history. Thus, my race was enough of a personal reason to engage in a self-discovery: an encounter with *memoria*.

Victor Villanueva has also written on *memoria* and Composition Studies in his

article, “*Memoria* Is a Friend of Ours: On the Discourse of Color”. Engaging in memoria for scholars of color is sometimes a tricky scholarly endeavor because, oftentimes, it seems that this sort of scholarly work is too personal and cannot provide pertinent scholarly knowledge to an objective body of knowledge. However, studying the history of the largest minority population in the U.S. hardly seems inconsequential for any student to study. In a recent e-mail conversation with Victor Villanueva, he commented that:

What struck me about the brown-on-brown stuff (which is what researchers used to say to us [Latinos/as] when we studied our own histories, without ever thinking that there’s nothing superior about white or whatever): anyway, what strikes me about this is that most of us on this continent with Spanish ancestry are the victims of their conquests, while students think we’re being pro-Spanish (and we’re more likely to be pro-indigenous). (e-mail Villanueva)

This phenomenon that Villanueva describes seems common among the experiences of Latino/a scholars. We are oftentimes grossly misunderstood in terms of our historical roots. Therefore, an engagement with Latino/a memoria is a productive site for teaching writing for any scholar/student and is consistent with Paula Moya’s critical educational theory, her post-postivist realist theory. An engagement with memoria departs from traditional multicultural pedagogy in that it is an attempt at prompting universal learning experiences that do not solely concentrate on the victimized status of minorities. Instead it provides opportunities for minorities and mainstream students to learn from one another and to also learn about the process of writing history in a universal sense. For me, it was also an opportunity to learn about my own history. Thus, the following is my engagement with memoria in the composition classroom.

From the Bottom Up and From the Start: The Classroom and Critical Historiography

A composition class that is premised on the teaching of critical historiography as one method of universalist multicultural curricula starts out with a basic question: What is the purpose of history? I am familiar with this debate as it has been discussed historically in the field of Composition Studies which I outlined above. I, thus, use my knowledge and research to present quotes such as the one below to begin discussion regarding possible answers to the above question as we discuss possible interpretations of the meaning and function of history in U.S. society:

. . . historians can differ widely about the efficient causality of their craft when they clearly differ so widely about the “why” of what they are doing. These differings are essentially disagreements about the “why” of what they are doing. These differings are essentially disagreements about the nature of the common good for the *polis*, which in turn lead to disagreements about ways and means. (Octalog 5)

This quote, for example, taken from a very popular journal of Composition Studies encapsulates the complexity of both the writing and discipline of history. There are “differing” purposes of history and the answer to the question of “why” write history determines largely the way in which the question, “What is history?” is answered. Thus, as a class, we conclude that there are various purposes for the writing of history by discussion of the following premises and questions.

While the discipline of history has been heralded as one of the leading social sciences serving various humanistic purposes such as promoting a sense of patriotism, rationalism, instilling morality, providing lessons from the past, representing us with role-models in the form of heroes so that we might be drawn to be like them, often times these purposes

are conveyed with no critical stance as to who gets to decide what historical events get written and disseminated and for what humanistic purpose⁵⁵. This was the specific brand of history that is the antithesis of Howard Zinn's book, *A People's History of the United States* Zinn shows an critical understanding of history as one that largely glosses over, the social processes at work in the production of "Official History". Like Zinn, with the investigative purpose of interrogating the social aspects involved in the process of historical production, I would like us to consider and interrogate responses to such questions as:

1. What exactly is history?
2. Why is history taught?
3. Who does history benefit?
4. What processes go into the creation of historical texts?
5. How does history account for various indigenous accounts in the realm of American and World History?
6. What does Power have to do with historical production? How is it hidden? How is it revealed?
7. What are the issues with current dominant models of historical production such as empiricism and relativism? (Anthony Michel-Rolph Trouillot)
8. How much of history is based on fact? Fiction? Point of view?

After determining the many possible functions of history, another question that I present in addition to, "What is history?" is, "How does teaching a critical perspective of the function and practice of history fit into the current debates about the purpose of

⁵⁵ Howard Zinn's book: *A People's History of the United States* features critical historical stories such as: the massacre of Filipino villagers, features historical figures who are in danger of becoming erased from history books in Texas and the rest of the U.S.: César Chávez, and includes voices from non-traditional historical figures such as Frederick Douglas. Quote by Howard Zinn: "My history... describes the inspiring struggle of those who have fought slavery and racism, of the labor organizers who have led strikes for the rights of working people, of the socialists and others who have protested war and militarism My hero is not Theodore Roosevelt, who loved war and congratulated a general after a at the turn of the century, but Mark Twain, who denounced the massacre and satirized imperialism." "Making History", letter from Howard Zinn to *The New York Times*, July 1, 2007. Also see: "A Radical Treasure" *The New York Times*. by Bob Herbert: January 29, 2010
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/opinion/30herbert.html?ref=howard_zinn

multicultural education?” Through this discussion, we come to discover that, “History is important, not just in terms of who writes it and what gets included or excluded, but also because history, by the very nature of its inscription as history, has social, political, and cultural consequences” (563 Royster and Williams). As such, the next step is to look at a historical moment which may be a contested story or absent story altogether in U.S. history curriculum at the high-school level. The story we decided to study and look at from a critical historiography perspective was The Spanish Conquest.

Case Study: The Spanish Conquest (the second half of the course)



Figure 2: Aztec Calendar

The purpose of the second half of the course is to put knowledge gained about specific problems with historical production into practice. We look at some primary sources that deal with the Spanish Conquest, written by Hernán Cortés in the form of letters to King Charles providing first person accounts of his Meeting with Montezuma and the Aztec empire found in Tenochtitlan as well as first person accounts recorded by the Aztecs themselves and translated into English. However, it should be noted that any contested historical event could be used as an example in this section of the course, even with the same introductory material used for the first half of the course. After an examination of primary courses, we look at secondary sources that have drawn upon

these primary sources for the purpose of creating a seamless historical account of the Spanish Conquest (or “The Fall of Tenochtitlan”) and see how the process of historical production works. We perform these pedagogical tasks with a critical eye gained from the first half of the class where we have discussed the various purposes of history and the problems associated with them.

The Spanish Conquest is an interesting historical story to look at because this story is ancient; however, its importance in terms of understanding the first “Americans” and the first incidents in “American Encounters” is tantamount to understanding what the “Discovery of America” has been predicated upon. The Spanish Conquest took place in 1519, just 27 years after Columbus sailed the ocean blue and “discovered” America. Here, in this historical account, we have one of the first recorded incidents of 16 century imperialism/colonialism of a native culture close to home (San Diego).

Now I would like to turn to the practical and pedagogical portion of my project which actually served as the initial stage of research for this project. This chapter deals with the practical and pedagogical space of the classroom where I taught a critical historiography first year writing course to high achieving students at UCSD in the year of 2006. This composition class concentrated upon teaching a critical historiographic approach to the Spanish Conquest. Through the description and analysis of this course, I make the case that critical historiography in the composition classroom allows one to teach a multicultural curriculum that is universal and not exclusive, following Paula Moya’s universal multicultural educational theory called post-positivist realist theory (see chapter 1). A critical historical approach to a minority experience provides universal critical thinking skills while also enabling the study of minority history. In this case what

is salient is a Mexican-American historical background that is tapped by looking at critical accounts of the Spanish Conquest. This approach affirms the history connected with the current Latino/a experiences and correlating identities within the United States.

Pedagogical Outcomes through the eyes of a Composition Scholar of Color:

Memoría as Universal Multicultural Pedagogy

After many encounters with memoria—the kind that Elena Garro writes about in her short story “It’s the Fault of the Tlaxcaltecas” (Manguel 159-178)--I listen to histories now with an inclination towards inquiry. Through my scholarly experiences, it has recently come to my attention that to study historical production is to discern the contingent nature of these narratives. It is an important personal discovery because it has allowed me to identify one possible discourse that defines who we are as individuals and what our role is in the current social structure. In Señora Laura’s case, the protagonist from Garro’s short story mentioned above, memories come back to disrupt what it is that she currently perceives to be her present reality: the traditional subservient Mexican woman who is married to a Mexican man. His/story, however, comes back to haunt her or even to relieve her and to enlighten her to the circumstances that created her current reality: her unhappy marriage to a Mexican man. His/story, for Laura, comes back in the form of an Aztec lover (living, breathing his/story): a lover that comes at moments of Laura’s hallucinations and daydreams. This historical figure captures Laura and takes her back in time. He takes her back to the Spanish/Aztec bloody battle in Tenochtitlán. She sees the battle from a distance, but her Aztec lover is involved in the actual battle; her

lover always comes back after shedding blood to take her back to her present life. In the morning she awakes with blood on her dress from the night before. History has haunted her and she will never be the same. She wonders, “Who is this man?” She comes to long for his presence and love. So she ultimately starts reading history books of the Spanish Conquest to recover the memory of her lover while he is back in time. Her present reality would never be the same because it has become so unbearable and so disrupted that she can no longer live in it. The last time her lover comes to enlighten her she stays in the past forever. The history that she thought she knew was destroyed—her reality destroyed—her comfort destroyed—her purpose transformed. Of course the story of Laura is an extreme version of how the discovery of lost secrets can cause mental turmoil in individuals.

The outcomes of my First Year Composition class discussed in this chapter are not as dramatic as Laura’s; however, my class did encourage students to engage historical texts with a critical eye towards omissions. The goal of this class was to question the official status of historical and hence better understand the constructed and contingent nature of historical narratives. The pedagogical tasks in this class immediately called upon the students to become aware of the social conditions under which histories are produced. The assignments asked students to find possible reasons why certain historical accounts had omitted events that were revealed in other ones about the same historical event, such as in accounts about “The Discovery of America” dealing with The Spanish Conquest. The diversity of readings allowed for no opportunity to engage in writing tasks that assumed one historical story was total, justified, and correct.

In this quarter-long course (10 weeks), students read a variety of historical texts and criticism in the form of primary historical documents such as “Manifest Destiny,” *The Letters of Hernan Cortes*, Miguel León Portillas *The Broken Spears* and secondary historical sources that claimed to offer official historical accounts of the Spanish conquest. The bibliography for this class is included in appendix B. One of the restraints of this course was the hundred page limit to the class reader and this limitation affected my decision to include only the most common and accessible texts that showed two primary accounts of the Spanish Conquest from the perspective of both “sides” involved in this bloody encounter.

The discussion of these influential, but not always widely read, historical texts was framed in a general discussion of what the purpose and function of history has been argued to be. We did not read Foucault, but my understanding of his analysis of rationality and the purpose and process of historical production and subject formation helped to inform the readings chosen for this course. Thus, the authority which provided initial understandings of the purpose and function of history was derived from historians who claimed authoritative explanations from Greco-Roman viewpoints. Starting from such arguments was an interesting place to begin because Greece and Rome are often claimed to be the genesis of all great thoughts and knowledge. Foucault lets his readers know that this claim is a myth of history. Students were directed towards more contemporary revisionist/critical historical explanations which challenged earlier traditional arguments. While earlier accounts claim that history is written and distributed strictly to impart values, morality, heroic examples and lessons from the past, the latter seek to expose why silences in history often have a political agenda behind them such as

building a national political consciousness and creating structures of power through historical production.

Programmatic Context:

The programmatic context related to the basic aims of Warren College⁵⁶ Writing, at UCSD, is provided and can be found on the University website. For the purposes of this essay, I want to shed light on the following goals of this FYC program:

Students are urged to move beyond merely agreeing or disagreeing with a given position. Instead, the emphasis is on understanding the underlying logic of an argument and on enhancing the quality of the arguments students make in their own writing. Despite their considerable intrinsic interest, the articles and essays assigned as readings are secondary to the goals of the course; the primary focus is always on student writing. (UCSD Warren College Writing Website)

The “individual and society” is the underlying theme of Warren Writing; the Toulmin Model is the argumentative structure that is used to guide students through the writing process. However, a deeper, and perhaps more interesting (to most of us in Composition) theoretical basis of the goals can be attributed to the theoretical/pedagogical leanings of Linda Brodkey, the director of “Warren Writing.” Brodkey has written in, “Transvaluing Difference,” that:

. . . words constitute worldview . . . any attempts to describe reality are necessarily partial accounts . . . they are limited by what can be seen and understood from a particular vantage point . . . the theory that language constructs reality-that what we know of reality is dependent on language,

⁵⁶ Earl Warren College is one of the six undergraduate colleges at the University of California at San Diego and is named after the three term California Governor and former Chief Justice of the United States Earl Warren.

argues that the language used to register the most violent objections to difference thrives in part because of our desire to ignore differences and hence our own complicity in the very political inequities that African-Americans, feminists, lesbians, gays and progressives on the University of Pennsylvania campus have been attempting to rectify . . . the negative valuing of difference—*not* white, *not* male, *not* heterosexual, *not* middle class—is socially constructed and can therefore be socially reconstructed and positively revalued. (Brodkey 159)

Brodkey provides the theoretical foundation that supports the idea that the ways in which students construct arguments reflects directly on society and have real and tangible consequences: language constructs a version of reality. For Brodkey, the ways in which students use language reflects directly on the realities those languages create: “in the same way that cabinet makers make furniture and musicians make music, writers animate words, and these words are as much a part of the material world as tables and records and concerts” (161). Thus, students have to be accountable for the arguments they make. To see the underlying motives of any argument is to begin to question the underlying assumptions that inform one’s own argument while allowing them to see who is both included and excluded from that same argument.

Institutional Context

Since the end of affirmative action and Proposition 209 (a California legislative initiative that makes the process of considering race in admissions decisions illegal), the UC system has increasingly been criticized for its lack of a diverse student body. Even with affirmative action policies in place before the passage of Proposition 209, the number of Chicano students at UCSD never surpassed 10% of the total student population. As a matter of fact, The Concilio (A community of Chicano/Latino faculty, staff and students at UCSD) attributes the lack of underrepresented students at UCSD to

factors such as a hostile campus environment, lack of critical mass of Raza (Chicano/Latino faculty, staff and students), low numbers of Chicano/a faculty, and limited visibility for Chicano/a issues in the curriculum. They argue that this lack of representation is particularly unacceptable because some areas of San Diego County are over 30% Chicano/Latino. Even worse, the African-American student body on the UCSD campus is virtually invisible (Report Card on the University of California, San Diego: A Legacy of Institutional Neglect).

The Class

Given the admissions, demographic and diversity characteristics of UCSD, I taught “Revisiting the American Past: The Spanish Conquest” in the spring of 2006 to a fairly privileged group of students (see appendix B for full course description).

In my classroom, I promoted a universal multicultural curriculum that, as noted by Moya, concentrates on the lived experiences of minority students in a critical manner. However, the ways in which Moya’s proposed curriculum differs from traditional multicultural curriculum are unclear. The following section serves to show that unlike traditional multicultural curricula, for which the content is the sole focus, a universal multicultural pedagogy focuses more on the teaching methods involved in teaching critical multicultural content. While the content is important, the way in which the content is presented and taught and negotiated is even more important. This is because the goal of a universalist multicultural pedagogy is for all students in the class to benefit from critically analyzing both multicultural and minority texts which concentrate on their experiences. Those experiences are always seen as being socially and historically located.

Thus, looking at minority experiences from a critical historical standpoint is one way to critically analyze the current status of minority populations in the U.S. For example, we discovered that the current experiences of Latinos/as may well be tied to their history, even if this history is over 500 years old. However, the process of this critical discovery is not one that altogether avoids personal discomforts with the material or with the person providing the material as will become evident in the remainder of this chapter. However, this conflict is demonstrative of the ways that the content becomes secondary to the manner in which it is consumed by the students, taught to them and negotiated by them.

Latina Composition Scholar at the Forefront

“For most women, the first knowledge of racism as institutionalized oppression is engendered either by direct personal experience or through information gleaned from conversations, books, television, or movies (hooks 119),” and I am a woman of color with a Master’s degree in Composition Theory who experienced racist behaviors while teaching this class that I think are important to discuss as I continue in the pedagogical description of this particular class.

My professional and academic accomplishments exhibit a strong commitment to educating ethnically and culturally diverse populations in each tier of the California higher education system. I wrote my Master’s thesis on Generation 1.5 students. My research interests inform my desire to stay currently informed concerning “cutting edge” teaching methods and theories focusing on linguistically diverse students, further

revealing a dedication to contributing to the diversity of communities in higher educational institutions.

While I may not focus on my race/ethnicity in my teaching practice, I have to admit that the pedagogical moments discussed herein made me more aware of how others situate me as a colored female (more so than I would have liked to acknowledge myself). Nonetheless, regardless of my colored body, on the surface, I negotiate the classroom as many other composition instructors would. I utilize the classroom as an intimate space where students (14 of them per section) share their work with one another and have a chance to bond with one another in a manner that is not possible in any of their other classes. Undergraduates at University of California, San Diego take other required courses that are occupied by 200 students or more in one classroom.

Thus, the intimate classroom setting that I teach in often reveals that students are not particularly fond of being required to take two quarters of composition. They voice this opinion on the first day of class. When students realize the sheer impossibility of getting an “A” in Warren Writing, they often search for flaws with the writing program or the teacher (you will read about one such complaint below about me). Furthermore, UCSD’s admissions policy rewards students who have taken many Advanced Placement (AP) courses. Often these students start-off the class saying, “I passed the AP writing test and AP literature with flying colors.” It seems as if they are attempting to establish their credibility with me as an “A” student; however, I am an experienced TA well-versed in the fact that an “A” in high school does not equate to an “A” in college. Everyone in Warren Writing knows this. Most college writing instructors know this.

Interestingly, although I do not give many A's, I have had students write in my end-of-the-quarter evaluations that I make learning to write and the subject matter that goes with it virtually "painless". Such comments put a smile on my face because I consciously try to make pedagogy fun and interesting—I feel confident about my pedagogical abilities and I am not afraid to get to know my students and their opinions and engage them in intellectual conversations outside of the classroom and during office hours. Since I am still a graduate student, I also do not mind sharing my academic interests with them; however, I try not to let these conversations cloud my vision of what the individual student's writing and analytical abilities are. I pride myself on keeping grading separate from the day-to-day, albeit, very interesting and stimulating conversations about student backgrounds, attitudes about the class, attitudes about history, and certain insightful comments about the reading do develop. Students are sometimes, unfortunately, misled by the rapport I build with them and the grade they earn.

Keeping the evaluative process consistent and objective allows me to remain a credible instructor while being able to teach students something that I think could be of use to them in the future. Because this is my professional persona, the classroom discussions and workshop interactions can sometimes become very heated, stimulating, and often venture off topic. In the reading and writing workshop groups where students read and comment on each other's papers, I often let students choose who they would like to read and comment on their papers, these discussions become especially engaging and often result in conversations about whether or not the students enjoy both the course and

the subject matter. Interestingly, the “safehouses” that Mary Louise Pratt⁵⁷ identifies in her article seem to be created when students choose with whom they will share their work and ideas. It is not common for students to immediately gravitate toward people with whom they obviously have differences in terms of identity, race, dorm room, age, and gender. The power of subjectivity is immense.

The following is a description of what I would label a “universalist” consequence of multicultural education that departs from focusing on the experiences of the “Other”. Immediately (before the introduction and reading of Samir Amin’s *Eurocentrism*), a group of three white students, two female and one male, decided that they would be “pro-Eurocentric” in all of their writing engagements when the writing assignments themselves solicited no polarizing positions. In an assignment that asked students to apply one of the explanations of the function of history to the text of “Manifest Destiny” it was automatically assumed that the task was whether or not to justify the colonial actions that stemmed from this text.⁵⁸

Interestingly, one particular white male student’s paper argued that “Manifest Destiny” was justified and correct in its claims to civilize the beasts that currently occupied the land. His response was unsolicited because the writing prompt asked students to expose the various appeals that were used to justify the colonial projects that

⁵⁷ Mary Louise Pratt (1991). "Arts of the Contact Zone" (pdf). *Profession* (New York: MLA) 91: 33–40. http://www.class.uidaho.edu/thomas/English_506/Arts_of_the_Contact_Zone.pdf. "archived at University of Idaho, English 506, Rhetoric and Composition: History, Theory, and Research".

⁵⁸ The actual assignment reads as follows: Summarize Calcott and Starnes in relationship to one another paying particular attention to the various purposes of history presented in both articles. What claims are they making? How does Starnes specifically elaborate on the various purposes of history presented by Callcott? Is there a critical stance towards history present in either of the two articles? After engaging with the various purposes evident in the Calcott and Starnes article, using O’Sullivan’s “Manifest Destiny” excerpt, apply one or more of the purposes of history to the position made herein.

were evident in the text of “Manifest Destiny.”⁵⁹ I spoke with the student after he revealed that he “misunderstood” the assignment and he revised his paper so that it addressed the assignment more appropriately. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note how the task, for this particular student, became a call for his personal stance regarding the controversial political nature of the text.⁶⁰

Carnival: Inverse Subject Positions

Carnival⁶¹ moments happen when subjectivities and the powers that are associated with them become inverted: the powerless temporarily become the powerful, the dominant—the vantage point from which history is viewed. In this classroom, I assumed a double subjectivity—as teacher and as Latina. My *Latinidad* is not easily shed. For example, I had a total of 5 Latino students out of 28. These students participated and often went beyond what was asked of them in class. They took notes from the board for my own research purposes when the help was not solicited. They provided me with pertinent information about taking field trips to museums which discussed the history of the Americas. They volunteered their time to be interviewed and surveyed for this study. Finally, they spoke out in class in order to provide help with translating some of the

⁵⁹ Such appeals could have been but are not limited to: an appeal to a deity, an appeal to lessons from the past, an appeal to the monarchy of England.

⁶⁰ The specific wording of “Manifest Destiny” and the excerpt referred to in this student’s paper is as follows:

For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity (241)?

⁶¹ My understanding of the “Carnival” stems from M.M. Bakhtin’s *The Dialogic Imagination*.

Spanish words that were found in some of the texts we read and to critically engage discussions that involved their own history.

The students discussed above saw the stories of their ancestors as the dominant subject of debate during the second-half of this class. They witnessed the ways in which the dominant narratives of the Spanish Conquest become constructed from primary texts and eventually become construed as “the truth”. They had the opportunity to confront arguments by critics who challenged not only Eurocentric perspectives of history, but also Eurocentric claims of Europe as the source of all relevant knowledge as well as the center from which to compare all other nations (given our discussion of Samir Amin’s *Eurocentrism*). As a result, they were able to make claims that allowed them to challenge the historical stories that they were exposed to in high school that portrayed the Indians as savages and to see how when distinct cultures come into contact with one another and battle, the winners tell the stories. In other words, they were able to regain a sense of pride in who they were and why the material that they were writing about mattered, in an intimate way, to them. These students who were interested in why their ancestors had been portrayed as the bad guys for so long discover that the meaning of “bad” derives from the social construction of one as being “bad” for a specific political function. *This pedagogical experience is a clear departure from a traditional multicultural pedagogy which concentrates upon “difference”.*

While it might be controversial to admit, many times in classroom settings that are located in the conservative, privileged space of a Tier One university such as UCSD, the “minority” is perceived as the less powerful, less fortunate and (perhaps most interesting for this purposes of this essay) less knowledgeable. However, in this particular class,

those that had a more intimate connection to the historical moment that was the focus of study in the second half of the class concentrated on (The Spanish Conquest) were the students who were Chicano/Latino. These students became the more knowledgeable and, perhaps, the more acknowledged. Thus, this class provided some carnival moments in which students saw the various productive forces at play in constructing historical accounts of the same historical event: The Spanish Conquest. These carnival moments contribute to the “pedagogical arts” of the “Contact Zone” in that they cause inverse instances of shame and confrontation.

Interestingly, my subject positions, as well as the status of my authority in this particular classroom varied for each of these groups of students. While these positions could be felt by any female academic educator in any class, this particular class brought a different kind of challenge in that I was teaching my “own history” as a subject to be interrogated for writing and analyzing. In this class I sometimes felt myself to be “The Nameless/Faceless Mexican Woman” with no authority or right to teach what I was teaching. Other times I felt myself to be, “The Mexican Teacher” with authority and power for that group of students who felt empowered by the subject matter I was teaching (I occupied a privileged subject position). But for most of the students, I felt I was “The Faceless, Nameless, Bodiless Teacher with Power” (with authority to teach whatever I wanted no matter who I was because I was giving the grades).

Regarding the first subject position where my authority was challenged, it must be remembered that I am a female of color teaching a writing course that deals with part of my history. In such a case, it becomes easy to assume that I am personally invested in the viewpoints that will be discussed in the course of the quarter. However, this particular

historical event happens to be the one with which I am familiar in terms of scholarly breadth and exposure. Beverly Moss, another female compositionist of color states:

I speak of scholarship and teaching together because how and why I do both come from the same source and are inextricably linked. In the scholarship that I do, mainly through ethnographic means, I seek to make my scholarly life and where I come from compatible; I seek a way for the public and the private to enrich each other. I seek a way to establish my place in the academy without giving up myself. (162)

According to Moss, these are not impossible goals. The particular historical event discussed herein proves to be a ripe location for scholarly interest and for the teaching of writing. As a matter of fact, numerous critical pedagogical critics and proponents have suggested just such a course as “Revisiting the American Past: The Spanish Conquest.” There also exists much scholarship focused on the relationship between the body of the teacher and the body of knowledge being taught (Freedman and Holmes 2003). It is easy in this particular situation to claim that my body was easily related to the historical subject matter and therefore, my personal politics became suspect and my authority questioned.

I imagine that it was difficult for some students to see the relevance in looking back to a history that does not match their own when I seemingly had a more intimate connection to it. I also experienced moments of anguish, confrontation and unsolicited responses to my pedagogy. While success is measured in varied increments, the fact that the majority of the students in this class responded positively and learned something critically is the measure of the success attributed herein. However, conflicts are sometimes inevitable when the class curriculum departs from the traditional content that many mainstream students are accustomed to. Furthermore, to challenge dominant

ideology and teaching practices during the first year of students' college education can be tricky when they have never encountered challenges to their current set of beliefs and comfort zones.

Thus, I offer an example of such a challenge to a critical historical curriculum which focused on the history of a minority population. I remember being surprised by the following incident which challenged both my pedagogy and authority. A white, female student in the same group as the student who attempted to justify "Manifest Destiny" in an earlier essay assignment, began to express dissatisfaction with her grade. Her complaint resulted in limiting discussions about both the content of the course and the appropriate response to the writing assignments. However, somehow, my "politics" became a subject of interrogation. When I was informed of this student's complaint and the fact that she claimed my politics did not match hers, I was very confused. I was not sure what she actually meant by "my politics". However, within the context of this first year writing course that concentrated largely on Mexican History, my politics clearly had to be related to the course material because these course texts were the basis for what our verbal interactions and written interactions consisted of. What other politics could she be referring to? I am Chicana, I am a female, I have intimate connections to the material and she claimed that she did not agree with my politics although I never discussed politics in the classroom. I never revealed my political associations. Therefore, I have no other choice but to deduce that I can be assumed to be "pro-Mexican". However, this class centered on the contingent nature of historical narratives. We looked at the course material as a case study with universalist intentions in mind, not for the sole purpose of simply admiring or promoting "Mexicans" or "Mexicanness". If she would have referred

to the above description of the goals of Warren Writing she would have noticed that “[d]espite their considerable intrinsic interest, the articles and essays assigned as readings are secondary to the goals of the course; the primary focus is always on student writing”. My pedagogical focus, however, was overlooked because of my colored body and association to the class material. The political lean in her complaint allowed her to question the grade I gave her in my class although she was clearly a “C” writer. In short, she wanted an “A” but her work did not reflect “A” writing. I gave her a C+ because that was what her writing reflected. I provided the appropriate evidence that her grade was accurate and that it was not personal or because my “politics” did not match hers.

Although it seems like unnecessary time spent, I am finding more and more that, as a Latina academic, I should be prepared to defend my actions at any given moment, especially when teaching scholarly matter that I have intimate connections with such as Mexican History (I also have intimate connections with my gender, but that does not mean that I give males “C’s” because they are not female.). I have developed somewhat of a defensive stance. But as many other “colored” compositionists have admitted, academics of color struggle against assumptions about our qualifications, confront others who feel we have no right to be in the academy, and are consistently caught up in a battle to prove ourselves worthy, to show our loyalty, never letting our guard down for a second. This experience is another reason why adhering to universalist justifications for multicultural pedagogy is important. The benefits have to accrue for all students, not just a select few.

Recently, as I mentioned above, I have developed a keen sense of my own subjectivity sometimes wondering if I have become neurotic about it. Fortunately, the

“colored” scholarship in our field reassures me that I am not alone in my insecurities.

Victor Villanueva, a Puerto Rican compositionist and personal mentor admitted: “I read Anzaldúa or hooks or the poetry of Espada or Cruz or Esteves or any other writing of color, and I know I haven’t become clinically paranoid. I know that I’ve been poked by one of the demons” (“Memoria”).

Yet, given this isolated and somewhat common experience, I have decided to continue to teach history as an appropriate subject for writing and analysis, despite political challenges that may arise as attacks on academic freedom. Susan Searls Giroux speaks of this assault on academic freedom that has become more pronounced since 9/11. Revolutionary non-conservative views have increasingly come under attack and now more than ever the university has become a targeted institution for continued surveillance. Susan Giroux states:

Organized around a kind of patriotic correctness, the current assault routinely blacklists professors and administrators perceived to be critical of the current Bush administration’s policies, or those of its allies, as it seeks state and federal legislative and judicial aid in efforts to render the university classroom and utterly instrumentalized space devoid of critical thought, self-reflection, and moral accountability. (Giroux 14)

The academic freedom that I am referring to is one that focuses on difference that is determined to make a difference – not to suppress and oppress opinions and identities as Horowitz would have it.

Some readers might wonder, was I trying to impose one historical story? Was I trying to condemn those who wrote Manifest Destiny? Do I not agree with a Eurocentric perspective (maybe not, but remember, Latinas are part European)? One of the most interesting and baffling aspects of the dynamics that took place during the course of this

particular quarter is that these three students often tried to claim being “pro-Eurocentric” and, therefore, I was probably “pro-Indigenous” but they never stopped to think that I, as a Latina, am both European and indigenous. As I see it, this confusion is all the more reason why this course should continue to be taught, as Villanueva would confirm. The conflicts that arose in this class, while not the prescription for such a class, may be one consequence of a universalist multicultural pedagogy; however, as one can see, there is a visible level of tolerance by all who participated in the class despite moments of discomfort with the material. The ultimate goal which this course sought to achieve was reached in that those who did not previously understand the role of the Spanish Conquest in the process of identity formation of current Latinos/as in the U.S. learned that Latinos/as have a very complex history that is often not taught in traditional historical accounts of U.S. minority populations. On that same note, those whose history was taught in this classroom benefitted from a deeper historical understanding of their own identity and experience as a U.S. minority. These goals are, indeed, consistent with Moya’s discussion of an “[e]ducation that is multicultural and social reconstructionist,” as *students had the opportunity to see that Latinos/as in the U.S. are more than just a problem (as they are currently conceived today)*. They begin to understand the complex historical past of many of these populations and this understanding allows them to historically situate their current minority status and to challenge derogatory descriptions of minorities as “less able”, “less intelligent”, “illiterate”, “dirty”, “unmotivated” and, thus, question how it is that this population has been described in these terms. It asks students to begin to look at the social structures that create inequalities such as racial, gender or class disparities in an effort to better understand the dynamics of social

relationships and possibly alter them. Thus, critical historiography in the composition classroom is representative of a critical universal multicultural pedagogy or curriculum that rests upon post-positivist realist theory.

Chapter 7

Guatemala: A Critical Historical Case Study

[T]heories about the nature of writing, writing development, the uses of writing, and the process of writing, cannot be said to correspond to external reality broadly if these theories do not account for the experiences of over half of the worlds' population, the half that can be placed along the bilingual continuum and classified as fluent and functional in two languages.

-Guadalupe Valdés

In my dissertation, I argue that writing pedagogies should be inclusive of the histories of underrepresented populations. These inclusive pedagogies must entail inclusion on two levels: first, the curricula should include contested histories as a source for critical thinking and analysis through writing and second, the curricula should present opportunities for those students previously underrepresented in “official histories” taught in public high schools⁶² to see themselves represented in alternative histories in writing classrooms.

James Berlin reminds us, however, that suggestions for the implementation of such “[c]urricula[r] decisions are, however, often negotiated responses to larger economic, social, political and cultural events in a society” (184). Socio-political concerns, thus, determine curricular choices and even admission policies. For example, the elimination of affirmative action in California shows that there is a move away from inclusion if the state has decided that race is no longer a factor in considering, for example, whether the struggling Watts High School student gets admission into UCLA or

⁶² *The Wallstreet Journal* “The Culture Wars' New Front: U.S. History Classes in Texas” July 14, 2009.

the high achieving honors student from Orange County receives admission for the same spot based upon his merits and not necessarily his unique experiences or struggles in achieving scholastic success. When thinking about these disparities it is important to note that Watt's local secondary public school, David Starr Jordan High School, has a student body of 76.5 percent Latinos, 23 percent African-Americans and 5 percent other and is located in a high crime area. These statistics reveal that, most likely, the student applicant from Watts will be either Latino or African-American. However, given the location of the school, this particular student has had fewer college-preparation courses, less support and more distractions. The racial aspect may be secondary to the education experience; however, this student will most likely be overlooked in an admissions policy that is heavily focused upon merit and that does not consider race.

Curricula, like admissions policies, also lean towards the representation of the politics of larger society. Although disguised as politically neutral, curricula may be biased, ignoring minority views while representing the political views of the larger political majority of the state as well as the views of the universities' administrations. In the University of California system, racial topics and critical perspectives are not easily implemented in writing course curriculum, for often students and parents react to such curricula as indoctrination as was mentioned earlier in this dissertation when I discussed the conservative backlash experienced by Composition scholar, Linda Brodkey. Why is there so much issue with the content of what is being taught in writing classrooms in today's twenty-first century? This answer calls for a brief reminder of the history of the discipline, which is also extremely political. Berlin reminds us that the history of "writing instruction has been a . . . scene of struggle over competing claims about the purposes of

education, more specifically about the society the school and college should advocate and the kind of individuals they should encourage” and that “no classroom pedagogy can long survive without in some way responding to its historical conditions . . .” (184-85).

While it is apparent that Berlin recognizes that pedagogies and rhetorics alike cannot be separated from politics, this simple recognition does not go far enough in addressing the specific populations that become excluded as a result of pedagogical implementations that serve the political interests of dominant society. Clearly, there are populations that do not fit into this agenda or even into the student body that is assumed to be served by this agenda, because of political and economic circumstances, like students in the South and the Southwest. Composition Studies Professor, Jaime Mejía is critical of institutional histories that only pay attention to the current status of Composition Studies and sees the field as subservient to the study of Literature in English departments. Mejía, who focuses on the current populations of the southwest, says that “while institutional histories like those of Berlin, Miller, and Faigley help us understand the dynamic that led to marginalizing rhetoric and composition, they fail to show how this dynamic further left studies of bilingual and bicultural ethnic minority students even farther from the center of English Studies” (173). He also claims that “[p]eople of Mexican origin in the Southwest have a great deal to teach us if we only begin to imagine ourselves living together in an increasingly smaller world, which is making exclusionary practices all the more absurd as technology works to connect people around the globe” (172). I agree with Mejía. We do need to pay attention to the specific Latino/a population associated with the Southwest. However, we also need to pay attention to the growing number of other Latinos/as in the U.S. My argument for the consideration and inclusion

of all Latinos/as in Composition pedagogy and scholarship stems in part from demographic imperatives, as we consider the number of Latino/a students in high school and in college in many states across the country. According to a PEW Hispanic Center report completed in December of 2009, one in every five school children is Hispanic and at least 1.2 million college students are Hispanic⁶³. These numbers are important to consider when thinking about maintaining the strength and productivity of the U.S. work force. Furthermore, the educational progress of Latinos should be of particular interest, because it is expected that between the years of 2000 and 2025, the white working age population will decline, “by five million workers, as baby boomers retire from the labor force. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the number of working age Latinos is projected to increase by 18 million.”⁶⁴ Thus, there needs to be more attention to “[e]fforts to increase the numbers of Latino college graduates [that] will raise the economic prospects, social well-being and civic engagement of the fast-growing U.S. Hispanic population”.

Furthermore, it is important to note that while Spanish is the dominant language spoken by many Latinos in the U.S., as there are more than twenty-eight million Spanish-speakers in the U.S., there are also indigenous languages associated with Latino populations in the U.S. Such a linguistic variety raises questions about the proposed homogenous status often applied to U.S. Latino/a populations. Latinos are heterogeneous not only in their linguistic competencies, but also various in their immigrant status, their

⁶³ Pew Hispanic Center Report, “Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America” <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=117>.

⁶⁴ Pew Hispanic Center Report, “Latino High School Graduates Enroll in College at Higher Rates than Whites, Yet Too Few Graduate” <http://pewhispanic.org/newsroom/releases/release.php?ReleaseID=1>

generational status, their class status (income level) and their geographic locations within the U.S. For example, while the population of El Paso, Texas is 75% Hispanic or Latino/a (I use these terms interchangeably), in Alabama this same population only constitutes 3% of the total population⁶⁵. However, the Hispanic presence is growing across the country. As of the 2008 census, Hispanics comprise 46.9 million and by the year 2050, Hispanics are expected to constitute thirty percent of the population, reaching close to 150 million⁶⁶. Clearly, there is a need for Composition Scholars to consider the implications of this population growth within our country.

Latino/a compositionists are well aware of the history of the field of Composition and the pedagogies that have emerged from its exclusionist scholarship. As discussed earlier in this dissertation, much of the composition scholarship of people of color has been marginalized. The pedagogical needs of African-American students, for example, are not central to Composition Studies. Latino/a scholarship in this area is fairly recent in the field. As the number of Latino/a students in higher education increases there is a clear need for the field of Composition to more readily and seriously consider the scholarship specifically devoted to the writing needs of this growing Latino/a student population.

If, as noted by composition theorists, the writing curriculum has been inherently political and exclusive it is time as Mejía and I argue, for theories of writing to be inclusive. The question, of course, is how to design composition curriculum that is inclusive. There are undoubtedly many ways to do it. Here, I am proposing the incorporation of critical history in composition classes as a way of addressing the needs

⁶⁵ Pew Hispanic Center Report, "Demographic Profile of Hispanics in Alabama, 2008"
<http://pewhispanic.org/states/?stateid=AL>

⁶⁶ http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/013984.html

of excluded students, like Latinos/as.

Our changing demographics require all students to learn more about the histories attached to the various Latino/a populations in the United States and for Latinos/as to know about their connections to their intimate identities. Learning about this history and the way that it is constructed enables students to challenge dominant cultural labels and categories that have led to misunderstandings and miscommunications across racial lines. It is time to go beyond preordained categories that assign certain traits and characteristics that are not inherently tied to the word/label itself, also known as stereotypes.

For example, the experience of being Latin American within the United States is not monolithic, it is not common, and it is not easily conveyed in mainstream historical texts. As Sánchez and Pita note, “Latino” “cannot operate as a simple ethnic designation because we cannot claim one national origin. Our origin is multinational and multiracial. Our Latina/o identity is trans-American, linked to the continent of the Americas and more specifically to Latin America” (30). However, the status of many Latin Americans within the United States is often depicted as the common immigrant story without paying close attention to the varied populations, generations, linguistic associations and political histories of each individual Latin American population within varied regions among the United States. Therefore, looking at a few of these populations closely will allow one to begin to understand these variations and the apparent problems that are associated with grouping all Latin Americans together.

The goal of a critical historiographic course is to enfranchise histories that have been kept out of mainstream history textbooks. However, the lessons taught should also strive to be pedagogically informed in a way that includes students intellectually,

culturally, linguistically and historically and even locally. Here, the localities that I would like to address are Latin American populations. The goal of this chapter, then, is to bring to light critical histories associated with Latin American populations; for purposes of providing an example, I will pay close attention to Guatemalans as a specific case study for the creation of a critical historiographic course. As I have stated in the earlier chapter, there is both a great need and a great demand for Composition pedagogies that address Latinos/as in today's increasingly diverse post-secondary institutions.

The learning experiences that I am advocating for, herein, are those that are tied to histories associated with a variety of U.S. Latino/a populations. These histories are inextricably tied to the histories of Conquest that were commemorated two decades ago. The history referred to in the previous chapter of this dissertation specifically addresses the historical event of The Spanish Conquest, also known as the Mexican Conquest, as a case study which demonstrates the actual implementation of a critical historical pedagogy for which this dissertation argues. However, the histories that I touch upon in this chapter will be more recent and will, hopefully, give the reader a range of historical breadth. These histories become important to look at when thinking about implementing writing pedagogy in a classroom that is composed of students who identify as being Latino/a.

A good part of the information about Latin Americans is taken from a book titled, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game* and from Sánchez and Pita's "Theses on the Latino Bloc: A Critical Perspective". The editors of the book just mentioned, Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost argue that each nation within Latin America has a political history which is characterized as having moments of dictatorship and democracy. Historically, struggle has characterized the social and economic structures of each nation

while traditional economic and capitalistic practices have concentrated most of the land in these countries “in a few families and left the vast majority of citizens with no or little land or means of adequately sustaining themselves” (xviii). As such, the basic struggle to subsist and maintain is one common factor which seems to unite the poor of Latin America, albeit at different points in history and with common instigators such as the United States and dictators with particular economic and political interests. Furthermore, it is stated that “Latin America has experienced more revolutions than any other part of the world, yet the conditions for the lower classes in most countries are arguably not much better than they were at the end of the colonial period in the early 1800’s” (Prevost, Vanden xviii).

My purpose here is not to offer a synthesis of Latin American history but to point to a variety of periods and problems that one could address in a Composition classroom. What’ is important is to understand the nuances of the Latino Bloc now present within the United States⁶⁷. The political variations have been numerous and “one must equally study the particular historical evolution of each country to comprehend its own brand of politics and see how it conforms to and diverges from general political trends and practices in the region” (Prevost, Vanden xix) .

However, while Sánchez and Pita would agree that it is important to understand the variations within and among Latin American countries, it is also important to realize

⁶⁷ See Rosaura Sánchez’ and Beatrice Pita’s “Theses on the Latino Bloc” Abstract: This essay proposes the need to forge strategic political alliances by constructing this population as a bloc, a nexus of diverse groups that differ at the level of national origin, race, residential status, class, gender, and political views. Only in full awareness of our multiple contradictions and commonalities, presented in this essay as eleven theses, can we as Latina/os come together, construct our own fluid identities, and more effectively address the hostile political environment and polemics of the current moment.

that in the U.S. there exists a “hostile political environment and polemic of the current moment” (Pita, Sanchez 25) with respect to immigrants, especially Latin American immigrants. Therefore, I would like to elaborate on both of these points briefly before going into specifics about the contested history of Guatemala.

Sánchez and Pita argue that because the U.S. Latino population has now reached between 41-50 million (depending on whether or not one chooses to count undocumented workers), xenophobes such as Harvard University professor Samuel Huntington (2004) are concerned about the implications of the increasing presence of U.S. Latinos. This concern is warranted due to the projected increase of Latinos by the year 2050, which is estimated to reach 102.6 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2004). While recognizing that this presence will bring changes, they also see Huntington’s concern as xenophobic. They also see the importance of seeing this population as heterogeneous, recognizing that “[w]e are a composite, made up of multiple positionings—that is, of concrete social locations—and assuming multiple ideological perspectives and identities. We are U.S. citizens and noncitizens, documented and undocumented” (30). We are also a composite made up of various historical circumstances that have contributed to our current presence in the United States as both welcome and unwelcome immigrants.

Sánchez and Pita inform us that currently the, U.S. Latina/o groups’ growing presence within the U.S. is more commonly due to twentieth-century U.S. interventions in the Caribbean and Central America, as well as to the mid-to-late-century military hostility to liberal or left-leaning governments, from Guatemala in the 1950s to Chile in

the 1970s. U.S.-backed military coups and reigns of terror in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile have led to the emigration of thousands of Latin Americans to the United States, other parts of Latin America, and Europe. More recently, neoliberal policies throughout Latin America, enforced through trade agreements and conditions on loans from the international financial institutions, have increased unemployment and imposed austerity measures that have spurred millions to emigrate in search of jobs and subsistence. As a secondary consequence, this has enabled the United States to continually replenish its internal labor reserve through successive waves of Latin American immigration. (29-30)

Thus, as communicated by Sánchez and Pita above, since the 1950's era, commonly associated with the Cold War, there has been U.S. military intervention in various regions in Latin America whether out of fear of socialist tendencies in Latin America or to impose and defend U.S. interest in L.A. I will elaborate on the specifics of such historical interventions relating specifically to Guatemala below. However, for the moment, it seems important to note that there are a range of historical factors such as military and political interventions that have contributed to the current presence of various Latin American populations within the U.S. As Prevost and Vanden confirm, “[g]lobal economic forces are driving people off the land in record numbers” (12).

It is important that educators become aware of these histories, especially educators at post-secondary institutions serving Latino/a students who come from areas riddled with political, economic and militaristic turmoil. While Latino/a immigrants share many commonalities at a political and economic level, there are also many differences between and among Latinos/as within the United States. An important question arises, then, for Sánchez and Pita which is, why then seek an umbrella identification such as the

“Latino Bloc” if we are divided by so many differences? Their answer is that, “[t]he rationale is fundamentally political. We need an identification that will interpellate us to participate in collective action, like the recent nationwide pro-immigrant marches; in this regard strict national origin identity could prove to be divisive and counterproductive” (32). Thus, it seems as if the rationale is political. If we can unite under a single identifying category, then we can more forcefully work together on changing educational policy and on countering xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants of Latino/a heritage which have political, social, and economic consequences.

Part of our unification under the category of the Latino Bloc, however, can also encompass the desire for public educational institutions to pay attention to not only our critical mass, but also to our varied and contested histories that have contributed to our presence within the U.S. For example, how many public high school history textbooks include the reality of genocide in Guatemala against the large numbers of Mayans that reside there? How many of these textbooks discuss the histories of these sites under neo-colonial control that have contributed to the constant influx of Latin American populations?

It is not common knowledge that the historical circumstances that have contributed to the large numbers of Latinos/as in the U.S. stem back to histories of conquest. More specifically, it is not common knowledge that

The internal economies of the indigenous societies were totally disrupted by the conquest and the imposition of economic systems designed to export wealth to Europe and thus incorporate the Americas into the international system on terms favorable to Europe. Economic power was seized by the European elite. Thereafter, the structure and functioning of Latin American nations would be heavily influenced by

their trade and commercial relations with more economically developed areas; their economies, societies, and political institutions would also be transformed by the external orientation. Latin America was to fit into the international system as a producer of primary (unfinished) goods such as sugar, tin, tobacco, copper, coffee, and bananas. (Prevost, Vanden xix)

Given the intimate relationship between politics, economics and social well-being it is important to note that one dominant analytic that discusses this intimate relationship, is dependency theory. While it is beyond the scope of my dissertation to discuss the specifics of this theory, I would just like to briefly note that this theory views the economic situation of Latin America in relation to the increased dependence on developed nations such as the United States for revenue that would allow them to stay competitive and afloat in the global capitalistic, also known as the neoliberal, economic market. When “scholars of Latin America and other social scientists studied the full implication of this phenomenon, they arrived at a theory that explained the continuing underdevelopment and dependency of Latin America” (Prevost, Vanden xx).

While dependency is a major issue to consider in any discussion of Latin America, so is the impact of the military. The military has a very strong influence on political and economic decisions throughout Latin America. As Prevost and Vanden note, “the military can often veto policy decisions by a civilian government, as was the case in El Salvador and Guatemala for many years; the oligarchy can threaten to mobilize their friends in the military on their behalf” (xxiii). It is also important to note that in Latin America “politics are dictated by power and the powerful” and that the “constitution is often best described as an ideal to strive for rather than a basis for the rule of law”. The complex histories of Latin American nations and the role of the U.S. in their political and

economic affairs in one area of study that can be examined critically in the composition classroom.

A total of 986,000 Hispanics of Guatemalan origin resided in the United States in 2008⁶⁸, according to the Census Bureau's American Community Survey. Seven out of every ten Guatemalans are foreign-born or immigrants. While few in relation to the total Latino population in the U.S., they represent a sizeable population in particular cities, like Los Angeles, where they are 80% of the Central American population⁶⁹, which is the second largest Latino/a group of this metropolitan area which is comprised of 50% Latinos/as⁷⁰. The study of this particular population provides us with an example of issues, problems and cultural differences that would be important to consider in composition classes. (see appendix A)

Some Statistics of Guatemalans in Guatemala and Guatemalans in the U.S.

As of 2005, the population of Guatemala as recorded by Francisco Lizcano Fernandez is 11,385,000 and the breakdown of ethnic make-up is 53% indigenous. Since the late 1970s, Guatemalans and other Central Americans have been immigrating to the U.S. because of political upheavals and related economic crises throughout the region, including inflation, reduction of social programs to guarantee decent living standards, political turmoil and violence, unemployment, low wages, land scarcity due to inequitable land allocation, and the population explosion, especially among indigenous people. All of these issues precipitated the mass internal and external displacement of

⁶⁸ <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/63.pdf>

⁶⁹ Hamilton, Nora, 1935- *Seeking community in a global city : Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles* / Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla Published Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 2001

⁷⁰ <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/06037.html>

Guatemalan *campesino* peasants, *indigenas*, and professionals. In February of 1976, an earthquake destroyed much of Guatemala City, causing some to emigrate. The vast majority of the Guatemalan American population has arrived since 1980. Official immigration statistics do not reflect the true number of immigrants from Guatemala since most arrivals are undocumented refugees. After 1980 large numbers of indigenous people and *campesinos* fled to the United States from counter-insurgency campaigns in the western highland areas. Significant numbers of schoolteachers, student activists, journalists, and other professionals accused of being guerrilla sympathizers also migrated for political reasons. More than 300,000 Guatemalans have entered the United States illegally since 1980. In 1984, there were an estimated one million Guatemalan refugees, with many displaced within Guatemala and hundreds of thousands fleeing to Mexico and the United States. Thousands also escaped to neighboring Belize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras. The 1990 Census also listed 225,739 foreign-born persons from Guatemala, reflecting the large portion of recent immigrants among Guatemalan Americans. However, the actual number of Guatemalan Americans is higher than the census figures, since many are migratory and/or undocumented and thus reluctant to have contact with officials. In reality, there are close to a million Guatemalan Americans, and they are the second largest group among Central Americans after Salvadorans. Guatemalan Americans have settled primarily in cities with large existing Latino communities. The greatest number in Los Angeles, where the biggest concentration of Central Americans in the United States resides. There are also significant numbers of Guatemalan Americans in Houston, Chicago, New York City, Washington D.C., southern

Florida, and San Francisco. Smaller enclaves are found in Miami, New Orleans, Phoenix/Tucson, and other cities in Texas and North Carolina.

While Spanish is the official language of Guatemala, there are twenty-one ethnolinguistic Mayan groups that have kept their ancestral languages alive. Garífuna and Xinca are also spoken. As first and second language, Spanish is spoken by 93% of the population⁷¹. English is spoken in all main tourist centers. These linguistic attributes challenge their classification as they are often mistaken for Chicanos/as or illegal immigrants from Mexico. Obviously, given this brief presentation of Guatemalan demographics, they are a Latino/a population which has its own history, identity, linguistic attributes, problems and position within the U.S. However, they also share similarities with many Latino/a populations within the U.S. They are mestizos and are working-class, they suffer racism, xenophobic attitudes, familial separations, financial insecurity and the threat of deportation.

Possibilities for Historiographic Material

The current immigrant status of Guatemalans in the U.S. can be further understood when looking at an important critical historical document that has been written in efforts to try to understand the complex impact of war on Latin American countries; it is the Commission for Historical Clarification. This document is a very interesting primary historical document because of its purpose and its proposed implementation. The commission that contributed to the creation of this document is referred to as the “truth commission” but is most commonly known as the “Historical

⁷¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guatemala#Language>

Clarification Commission”, which was established by the Guatemalan peace accords. The commission released a far-reaching report in February 1999, based on 9000 interviews. Interestingly, the report attributed 93% of the human rights crimes committed during the war in Guatemala to the army and its paramilitary units and only 3 percent to the Unidad Nacional Revolucionaria Guatemalteca. Most surprisingly, the report included accusations that, during the 1980’s, the Guatemalan government committed “acts of genocide” through some of its actions and policies (291). The report revealed that the state, through paramilitary and military forces exercises much control over the insurgencies in a way that is “death”-trimental to Guatemalans (including Mayans and other indigenous Guatemalans) who are outright opposed to the land seizures that have increasingly taken place with the nation-state’s increased involvement in the global capitalist economy power play.

As Cuxil notes in his chapter, although indigenous populations are acknowledged through the discourse and rhetoric of public policy, actual inclusion of these populations in the governmental bodies of Guatemala has yet to be realized through real action and inclusion. As such, it follows that much of the information that may be found in the report of the Historical Clarification Commission report has not produced much action or change within political and educational institutions. As Susanne Jonas states, “[m]ajor assassinations and crimes from the 36-year war, remained unsolved and unpunished” (291). This lack of punishment is most likely due to the state-sponsored violence that went unreported because of its questionable political justifications. Furthermore, as much of the memory of the indigenous populations can be found within the report, the inclusion of these memories in historical texts would be one manner to ensure that the memory of

those that were massacred or classified as belonging to groups of the disappeared would not be lost. Jonas states further that “[t]he actual implementation of the Truth Commission’s follow-up recommendations would require new battles” (292). Sadly, even after 42 years of war with peace accords signed, conflict has still been pervasive in Guatemala and “institutionalized justice remained a distant goal in Guatemala as impunity reigned supreme and honest judges continued to be killed, threatened, or forced into exile” (293).

Looking more closely at the historical circumstances leading up to the increasing presence of Guatemalans in the U.S. challenges conservative views of immigrants as coming to America to share a piece of the American pie. Upon closer examination, it is apparent that Guatemalan immigrants fled to escape political persecution and unstable living conditions as their lands were often burned-out forcing the indigenous populations to continually migrate to different parts of the mountainous terrain. They had to seek life elsewhere because life seemed impossible where they lived. Thus, a critical historical view of current Guatemalans within the U.S., whether documented or undocumented, can be gained when looking at documents that make known political and economic relations of Guatemala with the U.S. and the political turmoil that often results from economic and market interests of capitalists in both Guatemala and the United States, ultimately causing many Guatemalans to immigrate here.

Furthermore, by taking a closer look at the specific social conditions in the homeland of immigrants within the U.S. students will be able to formulate contextual and historical explanations for the current status of Latinos/as in the U.S. Analyzing such global rhetorics begins to address contradictions and complications of cultural

representations in history. This dissertation is dedicated to the use of critical history as a pedagogical writing tool that teaches rhetorical analysis of cultural texts. The goal of this section has been to stress the importance of providing a more thorough understanding of the historical conditions associated with immigrant populations present in the United States and to suggest ideas on possible materials for implementation in a Critical Historiographic course within Composition Studies.

The Guatemalan example that I have briefly reviewed would allow for not only student appreciation of the heterogeneous character of Latinos/as in the U.S. today, but it would also serve to compare and contrast different versions of recent history through the reading of various texts, reports, documentaries and testimonies, while at the same time allowing for the raising of questions, the comparison of different Latino/a backgrounds, the formulation of issues, and the development of arguments in the classroom. Given this inseparable connection between education and ideology, I view the composition classroom as one location where educational theory, also known as writing pedagogy in the field, is directly involved in cultural practices. I am an avid practitioner of multicultural composition pedagogy in my own classroom. I believe in teaching a multicultural curriculum in contrast to the subject matter most favored by political conservatives, namely, the traditional set of canonical texts written by Europeans. I value and am committed to a multicultural writing curriculum based upon historiography that benefits all students and allows them to learn about both one another and others from each other. My commitment to such an approach is a response to the counter-revolution of political conservatives who believe that their version of truth is the commonly accepted one and characterized as the norm or standard up against which everyone should

be measured. I posit that “traditional” texts such as the western canon or western historical accounts need to be questioned, reconstructed and supplemented with new and previously unknown histories and experiences. However, as mentioned in the introduction, I am concentrating on a multicultural curriculum that will serve a universalist purpose but will also enfranchise the largest minority population in the U.S., namely, Latinos/as.

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Conclusion

“ . . . we need schools with excellent teachers, conscious of the language and social needs of our communities, and solid programs to prepare our children for success, not to ensure their educational failure” (45 Sánchez and Pita).

In this dissertation, I have attempted to show my familiarity and understanding of mainstream Composition history, scholarship and writing theories in order to place the needs of Latinos/as in composition classrooms in a larger context so as to contribute to the implementation of curricular programs that will help them attain educational success. In this study, I employ the term “critical historiography” to mark the need for alternative composition histories as it is apparent that in mainstream composition there are clear geographic and cultural group omissions which are part of the “lost histories of Composition”. These histories are inextricably tied to black normal schools as well as to schools that serve students of color and lower class students. By practicing “critical historiography” one is able to call into question established histories of composition, and provide new models for developing alternative pedagogical approaches to the teaching of composition today. Thus, my ultimate purpose in writing this dissertation is to elaborate the theory, history, and practice of critical historiography as a pedagogical approach for composition students who live in an increasingly multicultural, multilingual society.

In presenting a traditional history of Composition Studies, I look at histories of Composition written by John Brereton, James Berlin, Albert Kitzhaber and Richard Ohmann. I argue, in part, that these histories do not adequately address minority

populations such as, Chicanos/as-Latinos/as or African-Americans. While Sharon Crowley, Lynn Z. Bloom and Susan Miller provide a critical analysis of histories of Composition, these histories also overlook these populations. Specifically, I am concerned with the lack of scholarship about the normal schools of the Midwest, the South and the history of the Southwest in the late nineteenth century.

Furthermore, through a historical comparative analysis, I find that many of the pedagogical changes that took place in the 1960's had already taken place in the early history of Composition. Such pedagogical approaches are: student-centered learning, collaborative approaches, as well as approaches that considered the backgrounds of students. These kinds of approaches were especially prevalent within black normal schools. I argue that these approaches were long in place within schools that catered specifically to students of color and lower-class students and challenged the dominant curriculum representative of the field's genesis found at Harvard, Yale and Ann Arbor in the late nineteenth century. I, thus, call into question the most common historiographies of composition, even from those who would identify as revisionist historians.

The pedagogical implications that resulted from this study are based upon the notion that critical knowledge can be learned through literacy, specifically a critical literacy that concentrates on questioning the commonly accepted notions of history. Furthermore, these pedagogical suggestions are grounded in critical race theory, critical historiography, and critical education theory, used to challenge traditional notions of multicultural curricula.

Traditional multicultural curricula, as defined by Paula Moya, can be based upon exclusionist premises in that they solely concentrate on identity politics. Instead, Moya advocates for an inclusive multicultural curriculum which challenges the victimhood status often applied to minority students. *Similar to Moya, I argue that an inclusive multicultural writing pedagogy is one that leans on alternative accounts of history for the purpose of looking at subordinated experiences to benefit all students, not just minority students.* This approach goes beyond the use of culturally relevant material by focusing on developing students' rhetorical skills through a critical reading of histories of particular periods or groups.

There are as well pedagogical implications in what I propose. I argue that a historiographic method can provide students with the critical analytical tools needed to analyze current social problems of inequality as well as combat feelings of inadequacy or alienation from mainstream academic culture (See L. Esthela Banuelos' "Here They Go Again with the Race Stuff"). Just as the 1870s and the 1960s provided students with critical perspectives on history and current social inequalities, the inclusion of these critical practices also necessarily implies making previously excluded histories of minorities and subordinated experiences available to students. Through a continual commitment to critical pedagogy, one that relies on a critical historiographic method, educators, I suggest, will be able to continue the tradition of educational reform. This reform is characterized by attempts to include cultural minorities in institutions of higher education.

In conclusion, given the inseparable connection between education and culture, I view the composition classroom as one location where educational theory, also known as writing pedagogy in the field, is directly involved in cultural practices. I am an avid practitioner of multicultural composition pedagogy in my own classroom. I believe in teaching a multicultural curriculum that considers not only mainstream notions of “American” culture but also the “American” culture of ethnic and racial minorities. There is an America that many of us do not remember. This is the America which Jose Marti spoke of: Nuestra America. It is for this reason that I propose concentrating on a multicultural curriculum that will serve a universalist purpose, the education of all of our students, while at the same time enfranchising the largest minority population in the U.S., namely, the Latinos/as. Now it’s time for these people to gain a new weapon: words.

The End.

Appendix A

Critical Historical Pedagogy: How to design a critical historiographic course:

In order to design a critical historiographic course, one should start off with the same premise regardless of what historical event the class will look at in the second-half. While there are potentially countless historical events to look at in this type of writing class, first, the students need to become familiar with the various common functions of history. Please consider the following chart in designing your own critical historiography writing course:

Step One.

A. Reading history.

1. Common conceptions of history
2. History as a study of space and time, issues and problems.
3. Defining history critically: some analytical tools.

Sources. *William and Mary Quarterly*, *American Quarterly* and *Modern Philology*, Eric Foner and Michel Rolph Trouillot

B. Writing Exercise.

1. Summarize notions of history presented in one of the sources.
2. Discuss at least one analytical tool that you plan to use to study a particular historical event.
3. Select one historical event that you would like to study.

Step Two.

A. Choose a Historical Event.

1. Select at least two sources for learning about this event. Sources may include essays or books.
2. Write a short synopsis of the perspective presented by the two essays or books.
3. Select a primary source, a text written by someone involved in the historical event. It may be an autobiography, an interview, a memoir, a letter, a first-person chronicle, etc. Use internet sources or materials to be located at Special collections.
4. Write a short synopsis of primary source material that you have read.
5. Compare the perspective that you have seen in the primary source with those in your secondary sources and note how they differ and what elements are the same.

B. Write a paper in which you use your sources to:

1. describe the historical event
2. provide some idea of what is at issue in historicizing this event. (i.e. why are there different perspectives on what in fact occurred). What were the problems or contradictions during that time period?
3. compare and contrast the different sources as to perspective.
4. Come to some conclusion as what leads the different authors to see the same historical event from different perspectives. Are there differences in class, race, ethnicity, gender, age, generation, century, etc. behind the differences or were the texts written at different moments when different issues were prevalent? Are there different ideologies at work here?

ENGLISH 101
Revisiting the American Past: The Spanish Conquest



Instructor: Iris Ruiz

Class hours: Tues/Thurs 11:00 - 12:20 // Tues/Thurs 12:30 - 1:50

Classroom: EBU3B 1113

Office hours: Tuesday/Thursday 2:00 - 3:00

E-mail: idruiz@ucsd.edu

Required text

Revisiting the American Past, Spring 2008 10A Course Reader
(available at Associated Students Soft Reserves, Student Center A,
Room 122; 858-534-6256)

Required materials

- One manila file folder, 8.5" X 11", tabbed on the 11" side
- Approximately \$10 to cover photocopying costs

Class Websites:

Warren College Writing Program:

http://provost.ucsd.edu/warren/academiclife/warren_writing/warren_writing.php

Grammar, Punctuation, Spelling, and ESL:

<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/grammar/index.html>

MLA Documentation Style:

http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/research/r_mla.html

Non-sexist Language:

http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/general/gl_nonsex.html

Course Description: Revisiting the “American” Past

Problematizing History (the first half of the course)

The objective of this writing course is to draw upon the argumentation concepts learned in 10A, specifically, the Toulmin model of argumentation which utilizes the claims, grounds, and warrants structure in order to interrogate and produce academic texts. In furthering our knowledge of how such concepts operate in the sphere of academic inquiry, we will draw upon an academic debate which has as its major question: What is the purpose of history? While the discipline of history has been heralded as one of the leading social sciences serving various humanistic purposes such as promoting a sense of patriotism, rationalism, instilling morality, providing lessons from the past, representing us with role-models in the form of heroes so that we might be drawn to be like them,

often times these purposes are conveyed with no critical stance as to whom gets to decide what historical events get written and disseminated and for what humanistic purpose (no wonder Lipsitz' work is such a breath of fresh air)? As a result, one of the defining characteristics of history as a social science is largely glossed over, namely, the social processes at work in the production of "Official History". So with the investigative purpose of interrogating the social aspects involved in the process of historical production, I would like us to consider and interrogate responses to such questions as:



9. What exactly is history?
10. Why is history taught?
11. Who does history benefit?
12. What processes go into the creation of historical texts?
13. How does history account for various indigenous accounts in the realm of American and World History?
14. What does Power have to do with historical production? How is it hidden? How is it revealed?
15. What are the issues with current dominant models of historical production such as empiricism and relativism? (Anthony Michel-Rolph Trouillot)
16. How much of history is based on fact? Fiction? Point of view?

Case Study: The Spanish Conquest (the second half of the course)

The purpose of the second half of the course is to put knowledge gained about specific problems with historical production into practice. We'll look at some primary sources that deal with the Spanish Conquest, written by Hernán Cortés in the form of letters to King Charles about his first person accounts of his Meeting with Montezuma and the Aztec empire found in Tenochtitlan as well as first person accounts recorded by the Aztecs themselves and translated into English. Then we will look at a secondary source (or two) that has drawn upon these sources for the purpose of creating a seamless historical account of the Spanish Conquest (or "The Fall of Tenochtitlan") and see how the process of historical production works with a critical eye hopefully gained from the first half of the quarter where we have been introduced to the various purposes of history and the problems associated with them. This story is ancient – an ancient historical story; however, its importance in terms of understanding the first "Americans" and the first incidents in "American Encounters" is tantamount to understanding what the "Discovery of America" has been predicated upon. The Spanish Conquest took place in 1519, just 27 years after Columbus sailed the ocean blue and "discovered" America. Here, in this historical account, we have one of the first recorded incidents of 16 century imperialism/colonialism of a native culture close to home (San Diego).

Course Policies and Requirements

Portfolios: You must maintain a portfolio (a manila folder) containing all of the work you do for this class. The instructor will hand back papers after reading and commenting on them. You are responsible for keeping them in your portfolio. At the end of the quarter, you must submit your portfolio with all of your writing assignments. You must include the copies with the instructor's comments on them. If you wish to keep your portfolio, you must pick it up during the following quarter.

Attendance: Attendance is mandatory. The workshop nature of the course requires participation, and you must attend to participate. No more than two absences are permitted during the quarter. Missing a scheduled conference is considered an absence. Lateness is not accepted, and being more than 5 minutes late twice is equal to one absence.

Copies for Workshops: On workshop days, it is expected that you come prepared with copies of your assignment to discuss with the class and/or your group. The number of copies needed is described in the course schedule and will be discussed in class. You must come to class on time with the appropriate number of copies for distribution.

Late Papers: No late papers will be accepted, including drafts and revisions, unless you make special arrangements with the instructor. Late papers are subject to grade penalties at the discretion of the instructor.

Paper Format: Papers must be stapled, typed, and double-spaced. Submit assignments in black ink on 8.5" X 11" white paper. Use a non-decorative 12-point font, such as Times New Roman, and use 1" margins. Do not include title pages. Include your name, section number, instructor name, assignment number and date. Include page numbers on all pages. Use the MLA website or a current MLA style guide for style, grammar, format, and citation questions.

Non-sexist Language: Please refer to the Non-sexist language policies as described by the Online Writing Lab at http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/general/gl_nonsex.html. In general, Warren Writing endorses the use of the singular *they* to resolve the problem of indefinite pronoun references in written and spoken English. The singular *they* is gender-inclusive, has a long and continuing history of use and seldom leads to awkward constructions. The OWL website provides background information and good examples for how to maintain non-sexist language use in your writing.

Classroom Environment: Any comments or actions that instigate or contribute to a hostile environment will not be tolerated. This classroom is a place where claims can be explored, challenged, and argued for and against without fear of oppression and/or reprisal by your peers or the instructor. Any individual who, as a result of their words and/or behavior, silences their classmates will be held accountable. Cell phones and pagers must be turned off.

Statement of Academic Integrity: Students are expected to do their own work, as outlined in the UCSD Policy on Academic Integrity published in the UCSD General Catalog: "Cheating will not be tolerated, and any student who engages in suspicious conduct will be confronted and subjected to the disciplinary process. Cheaters will receive a failing grade on the assignment or the exam and/or in the entire course. They may also be suspended from UCSD. Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to:

- Cheating, such as using "crib notes" or copying answers from another student during the exam, modifying a graded exam and returning it for a new grade, or submitting the same paper or assignment for two or more different courses unless authorized by the instructors concerned.

- Plagiarism, such as using the writings or ideas of another person, either in whole or in part, without proper attribution to the author of the source.
- Collusion, such as engaging in unauthorized collaboration on homework assignments or take home exams, completing for another student any part or the whole of an assignment or exam, or procuring, providing or accepting materials that contain questions or answers to an exam or assignment to be given at a subsequent time.”

Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities are encouraged to speak with me at the beginning of the quarter to discuss any accommodations we should make to guarantee your full participation.

Grading Policy

- Assignments 1E, 2D and 3E will receive a letter grade. These grades will be used to determine your final course grade.
- To be eligible to receive a grade on each of the above assignments, you must complete (on time) all of the preceding assignments. For example, to receive a grade on Assignment 1E, you must do Assignments 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D.

Evaluation of Papers

The following questions will be considered when papers are evaluated and graded. All questions may not be relevant to each assignment.

- Does the paper respond to the various parts of the prompt?
- Does the paper make an argument?
- Is the claim clear and plausible? Is it stated and contextualized effectively?
- Is there sufficient and relevant evidence to ground the claim?
- Does the paper effectively select and use material from the course readings to support and validate the analysis? Does it summarize, paraphrase, and quote effectively?
- Does the paper use all relevant details from the readings both to support the claim and to provide a context for the case being made? Does it ignore material that should be taken into account?
- Does the paper demonstrate an awareness of how the argument being proposed fits into the larger set of claims made about the topic in our course readings?
- Does the paper work through the complexities of the material (as opposed to oversimplifying or overgeneralizing)?
- Is the paper well organized?
- Does it cite material from the sources using MLA documentation style?
- Are there sentence structure problems or grammatical errors that interfere with the meaning?

Evaluation Standards at Warren Writing

- An “A” essay demonstrates **excellent** work. It has something to say and says it well. It develops its argument clearly and consistently, demonstrating a complex understanding of the assignment, and does so using varied sentence structure. It often rises above other

essays with particular instances of creative or analytical sophistication. There may be only minor and/or occasional grammatical errors.

- A “**B**” essay demonstrates **good** work. It establishes a clear claim and pursues it consistently, demonstrating a good understanding of the assignment. There may be some mechanical difficulties, but not so many as to impair the clear development of the main argument. While a “B” essay is in many ways successful, it lacks the originality and/or sophistication of an “A” essay.
- A “**C**” essay demonstrates **adequate** work. It establishes an adequate grasp of the assignment and argues a central claim. In addition, the argument may rely on unsupported generalizations or insufficiently developed ideas. It may also contain grammatical errors.
- Work that earns a grade of “**D**” or “**F**” is often characterized by the following problems: it fails to demonstrate an adequate understanding of the assignment; it fails to articulate an adequate argument; and/or it contains significant grammatical problems.

Assignment Sequence:

Prompt 1: Synthesis and Definition: Calcott, Starnes and John L. O’Sullivan

- According to Calcott, Starnes, what is history’s purpose?
- Summarize Calcott and Starnes in relationship to one another, paying particular attention to the various purposes of history presented in both articles. What claims are they making? How does Starnes specifically elaborate on the various purposes of history presented by Calcott? Is there a critical stance present in either of the two articles?
- Using O’Sullivan’s “Manifest Destiny” excerpt, apply one or more of the purposes of history to the position made herein.

1a) Identify Starnes’ main claim and provide specific grounds from the article he uses as evidence for his main claim. (1pg)

1b) Relational Summary: Compare and contrast Starnes and Calcott. (2 pgs)

1c) Write Prompt 1. (3 pgs.)

1d) Revision/Final Draft

Prompt 2: Interrogation: Problematizing historical production.

- Drawing upon four of the readings in the first half of the reader, provide an argument about historical production. This argument should be stated clearly in the form of a main claim and characterized in relation to the purposes that were outlined in the

previous essay and one that either Trouillot or Tompkins presents about historical production.

- Pay special attention to summarize each chosen author's main claim/argument and show how each are complementing, complicating or qualifying one another. (We will discuss each of these argumentative techniques in class.) You may want to identify the warrants/assumptions that each author is operating from when deciding how each author contributes to the argument about historical production.
- Take care to use specific grounds from the authors when necessary to support your claims.
- Assume your reader has never read any of the articles mentioned so that you may provide relevant context for your claims.

2a) Definition: What is Historiography? (1 paragraph)

2b) What is the relationship between Historiography and history? How might this relationship pose a problem for historical education? (1 pg)

2c) Relational Summary: Drawing off of Trouillot's and Tompkins arguments, what are three problems with historical production? (2 pgs)

2d) Write Prompt 2

2e) Revision/Final Draft

Prompt 3: Putting Knowledge into Practice: Case Study: The Spanish Conquest

- This last assignment seeks to put knowledge gained in the first half of the course into practice by looking at a particular historical event—the Spanish Conquest, also referred to as the Mexican conquest.
- Choose at least 2 authors from the first half of the course and argue how the readings on the Spanish Conquest demonstrate and/or challenge their argument/s (Cortés, Portillo, Meyer and Sherman). For example, do the portrayals of the Spanish Conquest demonstrate the greatness of a hero or of heroes? Do they demonstrate how the stories were meant to instill a sense of morality in their readers? Are the portrayals meant to justify cruel acts of imperialism or to show the divine providence behind such progress? Are they written from a defensive stance or from an objective stance?
- Jane Tompkin's essay on the "Problem of History" presents an example of one such argument. She presents an account of her childhood understanding of Indians, the account of her research into scholarly and first-person accounts of the relations between the Indians and the settlers in New England and a final conclusion. In trying to figure out

what historical accounts are true and which are false, she states, “What has really happened in such a case (where contradiction among historical stories is hard to escape) is that the subject of debate has changed from the question of what happened in a particular instance to the question of how knowledge is arrived at” (Tompkins 733). Not only does she show how historical knowledge is created, but she also shows how her own historical knowledge comes into being. In short, questioning the process of how historical knowledge is produced and for what purpose is the driving purpose of her essay.

3a) Identify J.H. Elliot’s main claim. What specific grounds is he relying upon for his translation of Cortés’ purpose for writing to the King (Charles IV)? (1-2 pgs.)

3b) Relational summary: Explain why you think two different introductions were given to the letters of Hernán Cortés? How might these two introductions complicate an unbiased account of the Spanish Conquest given by Cortés? (2 pgs)

3c) Point out three incidents in “The Second Letter” that might demonstrate a purpose of history as discussed by Calcott and Starnes. (2 pgs)

3d) Identify three points of contradiction between Hernán Cortés letters and the account of the Spaniards arrival in Tenochtitlan by the Aztecs in *The Broken Spears*. (2 pgs)

3e) In *The Course of Mexican History* an objective account of the Spanish Conquest is assumed by the inclusion in a textbook of Mexican History. Argue why this particular historical account may or may not be objective and why.

3f) Write prompt 3.

3g) Revision/Final Draft

Bibliography for “Revisting the American Past”

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“Purpose in the Writing of History” by, D.T. Starnes *Modern Philology*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Feb., 1923), 281-300.

“Manifest Destiny and the War with Mexico” Ed. Thomas G. Paterson *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy* Lexington, Mass. : D.C. Heath, c1984-c1989

Excerpts from *Eurocentrism* by, Samir Amin New York : Monthly Review Press, c1989

Exerpts from *Silencing the Past: power and the production of history* by, Michel Rolph Trouillot Boston, Mass. : Beacon Press, 1995

“‘Indians’: Textualism, Morality, and the Problem of History” by, Jane Tompkins

Excerpts from *The Letters of Hernan Cortes* New York, G.P. Putnam, 1908

Excerpts from *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* Ed. Miguel Leon-Portilla Boston, Beacon Press [1962]

Excerpts from *The Course of Mexican History* Eds. Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman New York : Oxford University Press, 1979

Appendix C

Further suggestions/observations for this course

In order to successfully teach a course that focuses on a historical event or issue, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with historical scholarship dealing with the theory of writing history. This familiarity needs to be gained before designing a critical historical syllabus. This scholarship will serve as the basis for the course. I have addressed some of this scholarship in Chapter one, referring specifically to the work of Eric Foner and Michel Rolph-Trouillot.

The following section includes the writing prompts that followed the discussion of these questions. You will notice that each writing prompt is followed by a series of tasks. These tasks are steps towards writing the final essay assignment.

For example the “1a” assignment below asks for a simple summary of one of the readings. However, this reading will be a crucial contribution to the complexity of the first essay assignment, which is called “Synthesis and Definition.” This title refers to the tasks that are involved in this assignment. These tasks are to define and synthesize two or more authors’ views on the purpose and function of history. In order to perform these tasks, I ask the students to read texts that discuss the various purposes of history presented in both articles. What claims are they making? How does Starnes specifically elaborate on the various purposes of history presented by Calcott? Is there a critical stance present in either of the two articles?

There are two short writing assignments that are associated with these questions. I first ask them to identify Starnes’ main claim and provide specific evidence from the article he uses as evidence for his main claim. This assignment is only one page. Then, I

ask them to write a relational summary where they identify the main claims of each author and compare and contrast them. This assignment is two pages long.

Writing the above two assignments prepares the students to look at a primary historical document with a critical eye. They begin to critically engage a historical text by closely examining it in order to identify its historical purpose. Then they write a draft of what is to be the first graded assignment. Its purpose is more complex than the first two assignments. Specifically, I ask the students to read an excerpt from O'Sullivan's "Manifest Destiny" and apply one or more of the purposes of history to the perspective evident in this text. Lastly, the students revise the draft for a grade.

As is evident in the above assignment sequence for essay number one, there are four steps to completing this writing assignment in its entirety, which includes a rewrite of the first draft. The next essay assignment follows a similar pattern, yet it increases in the level of complexity and analysis that is asked of the students.

There are five steps to completing assignment number two, which asks the students to make an argument about historical production based on readings presented by Samir Amin, Jane Tompkins and Michel-Rolph Trouillot. These authors present various theories of writing history such as post-structural writing theory, Eurocentrism, empiricism and social construction. While these readings are theoretical and vary in difficulty, the most challenging reading, for my class, was Samir Amin's. I was aware of the level of difficulty that this text presented and, therefore, I designed one of the shorter writing assignments as an opportunity for the students to give me their version of "Eurocentrism."

The second graded assignment asks students to draw upon four of the readings in the first half of the reader and provide an argument about historical production. They are told that their argument should be stated clearly in the form of a main claim and characterized in relation to the purposes that were outlined in the previous essay⁷² and one that either Trouillot or Tompkins presents about historical production⁷³.

This essay assignment follows a similar pattern to the previous assignment in that it asks students to pay special attention to summarize each chosen author's main claim/argument and to show how each is complementing, complicating or qualifying one another. We will discuss each of these argumentative techniques in class.

As mentioned above, this assignment contains five steps in total, all of which all are writing assignments leading up to the second graded assignment. For the first step, I ask students to write a one paragraph definition which addresses the question, what is historiography? For the second step, I ask them to consider what the relationship between historiography and history is and how public education's approach to teaching history might be problematic given the distinction between the two terms. This second step is one to two pages long. The third step is a "relational summary" and asks students to draw from Trouillot's and Tompkins arguments when they answer this specific question: what are three problems with historical production? This assignment is two pages long. The fourth step is to write a draft of their argument about historical production. While it may sound repetitive, the steps in writing this first draft that I just went over above, prepare

⁷² These purposes are to contribute to the moral character of a nation, to appeal to a deity, to follow a nation's or person's destiny or to provide examples of heroism and lessons from the past.

⁷³ These purposes are more critical in that Tompkins exposes that history is not truth and Trouillot gives a social constructivist theory which critiques history as being one sided. The side that is more often presented in historical narratives, according to Trouillot, is the side of the winners.

the students to write a well-organized, comprehensive essay which includes a working definition of historiography, a consideration of the difference between history and historiography and how public education's approach to teaching history functions as either a problem or a solution historical production.

I began by leading students to gain an understanding of the various theoretical debates surrounding the writing of history and to question traditional notions of History. At this point, they are ready to look at larger textual representations of an historical event with a critical eye. To briefly digress, I think it is important to notice that this pedagogy clearly differentiates from those addressed earlier on in this chapter. So far, we have not really talked about the students' individual identities, cultural backgrounds, or language habits. Instead, the subject of culture comes up when we begin to closely examine a historical event that is directly tied to the making of the Mexican culture, namely, The Spanish Conquest.

The second half of this course focused on a "historical case study". The historical event can vary but it should be one textually represented and students should have access to both primary and secondary source material in order to become familiar with the event and analyze the official representations or non-representations of that event. For this particular class, I chose to focus on The Spanish Conquest. I have also taught a critical historical course on the work of Malcolm X. Any other historical event or period can be placed in the case study section of this course. Since not all critical readings may be appropriate for some of the events, teachers have the opportunity to select a critical essay.

The selection of critical readings depends on the focus that the instructor chooses. Will the focus be the East or the West? Will there be a center? What is interesting about this course is that students also learn that points of view in historical production often benefit those from whose point of view the story is being told. However, if the story is looked from an alternative vantage point, or center, then that privilege seems to disappear and the moment of inquiry and analysis of the historical event can begin. I have also touched on another possible critical historical case study to be included in the second half of the course. Therefore, it seems that the instructor has some room to influence the direction and focus of the class's critical historical inquiry.

As a matter of fact, Damián Baca, author of *Mestiz@ Scripts, Digital Migrations, and the Territories of Writing* (2008), suggests looking at cross-border relations in order to elaborate Eurocentric ideas of the history of rhetoric and colonial subjugation. He states

With a greater awareness of Eurocentrism as Dussel articulates it, teachers could also develop a more detached stance toward postmodern theory as it applied to Composition classrooms. A primary pedagogical lesson, that the discipline's long-held periodizations are related to the geopolitics of Western expansion, would assist teachers and students as they together sort out the parallel histories of the field and colonial subjugation. (Baca 143)

Above, Baca refers to "parallel histories" of the field of composition and rhetoric. I have demonstrated earlier, in chapters 2 and 3, some parallel considerations of the fields of history within the United States. However, what is important to note is that learning that

dominant historical accounts of a field or of a region's conquest are often situated from a certain geopolitical center is a worthy pedagogical practice in the first year composition classroom. Now I will turn to the second half of my critical historiographic course which examined The Spanish Conquest⁷⁴.

Case Study: The Spanish Conquest (the second half of the course)

As stated above, the purpose of the second half of the course is to put knowledge gained about specific problems from historical production into practice. We first look at primary sources that deal with the Spanish Conquest, written by Hernán Cortés in the form of letters to King Charles about his first person accounts of his meeting with Montezuma and the Aztec empire found in Tenochtitlan as well as first person accounts recorded by the Aztecs themselves and translated into English. Then we look at secondary sources that have drawn upon these sources for the purpose of creating a seamless historical account of the Spanish Conquest (or “The Fall of Tenochtitlan”) and see how the process of historical production works with a critical eye gained from the first half of the quarter where we have been introduced to the various purposes of history and the problems associated with them.

This story is ancient; however, its importance in terms of understanding the first “Americans” and the first incidents in “American Encounters” is tantamount to understanding what the “Discovery of America” has been predicated upon. The Spanish Conquest of Mexico took place in 1519, just 27 years after Columbus sailed the ocean blue and “discovered” America. Here, in this historical account, we have one of the first

⁷⁴ Insert information here about the governmental upheaval related to the Mexican history course in Mexico that did not include The Spanish Conquest and stops right at 1500.

recorded incidents of 16 century imperialism/colonialism of a native culture close to home (San Diego). Thus, the writing assignment associated with the reading of Hernán Cortés' letters and Miguel León Portillo's *Broken Spears* allows students to see first person accounts of the Conquest and the events leading up to the Conquest. The rhetorical purpose of each primary source is evident as the *Letters* are written to King Charles in an attempt to convince the monarchy of the time that the Conquest was a just, worthy, and beneficial endeavor. On the other hand, when students read *Broken Spears* they were able to challenge the Eurocentric perspective evident in *The Letters*. The shift in perspective from Spain to the Aztec perception of events that led up to their downfall is striking. Interestingly, the text in this book is both of letters and pictures. This type of rhetorical instruction is interesting to analyze and calls upon different types of reading skills from the students. Báca also calls for a rhetoric that utilizes textual representations in 21st century composition classrooms as a way to also challenge Eurocentric notions of rhetoric and textual representations. Thus, this exercise, while concentrated on the disruption of the seamless notion of historical production, also calls upon students to encounter various notions of rhetorical production and textual representations in the writing of history.

The last writing prompt is written in seven parts. It is a more involved and complex writing prompt; thus, the explanation of the prompt at the beginning, which refers to Jane Tompkins article, serves to provide them with guidelines and a model to refer to when thinking about this last critical historical writing task in the first year writing classroom.

Here, I would like to take a closer look at steps 3c and 3d⁷⁵ that asks students to point out three incidents in Hernán Cortés “The Second Letter” that might demonstrate a purpose of history as discussed by Calcott and Starnes. It is a fairly short assignment; I ask that it be at least two full pages, double-spaced. The length of this assignment is meant to complement and contribute to the final essay assignment and asks students to start identifying various rhetorical purposes behind the historical narrative written by Hernán Cortés. The students were able to identify these rhetorical purposes of the historical narrative because earlier on in the class they were exposed to various debates about the purpose and function of history. So, at the start, this narrative is read with a critical eye towards identifying the purpose of the text in terms of the justification used for the conquest as this narrative is written to the King as a means of securing further authority and financial support in pursuing the conquest of Mexico.

The exercise involved in 3c is a necessary step to completing assignment 3d which asks students to identify three points of contradiction between Hernán Cortés letters and the account of the Spaniards arrival in Tenochtitlan by the Aztecs in *The Broken Spears*. I ask that this assignment also be 2 pages long as to contribute to the final assignment. In this assignment, students look at primary source material in order to analyze the differences in perspective of the events leading up to the Conquest and the Conquest itself. Since the previous assignment asks students to identify a purpose for writing in *The Letters*, students are better able to see why the accounts of the events differ. Students figure out that purpose behind the writing has much to do with the differing perspectives in these primary texts. The responses to these assignments are

⁷⁵ See Appendix B

discussed in the next chapter. What I want to stress here is that the sequence of assignments and the outcomes of the assignments were quite successful in achieving the pedagogical outcomes of a critical historical composition writing class. There is, in this particular historical event, the European versus indigenous perspective. Including both perspectives and an official historical account of this event allows students to cross-analyze the rhetoric of both groups and the purpose of function of the rhetoric behind each account. This is a complex task that clearly departs from a traditional multicultural curriculum that asks students to concentrate on their own experiences and language using habits without paying much attention to how such pedagogy might benefit all students and be more universal in a manner that Paula Moya advocates.

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