SPONSORING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY: RACE, RACISM, AND WRITING INSTRUCTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004

Urbana, Illinois

CERTIFICATE OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Graduate College

June 1, 2004

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Entitled:

SPONSORING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY: RACE, RACISM, AND WRITING INSTRUCTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Within the field of composition history, much is presently known about the ways in which elite groups have employed literacy instruction to preserve economic and/or political power and privilege. However, as a number of recent scholars suggest, much less is presently known about the means by which elites have employed literacy instruction to preserve and promote the power and privilege of white racism, particularly at the institutional level. Accordingly, this dissertation explores the ways in which one predominantly-white university, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, sought to conceive, implement, and maintain "Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) Rhetoric," a writing instruction program for "high risk" minority students. It analyzes a variety of archival EOP Rhetoric documents—program descriptions, meeting minutes, administrative correspondence, syllabi—to understand how literacy was "sponsored" by the university (in Deborah Brandt's sense of the term) to support white power and privilege over time, as well as to understand how such sponsorship was resisted by reform-minded administrators at certain points during the history of the program. The dissertation contends that understanding such interplay between racist sponsorship arrangements and anti-racist administrative resistance can help us to recognize how white racism has profoundly shaped past composition program formation. It contends, too, that such work can help us to reconceptualize future composition reform efforts, shifting thinking away from overly-simplistic "color-blind" assessments of reform toward assessments that both can account for and work against the multiple and complex effects of racism.

To Tracy, Mom, and Dad

Acknowledgements

I owe tremendous gratitude to many people who have helped me with this project. However, I want to offer particular thanks to the following individuals: my wife Tracy Pearce for her love, support, and understanding throughout the last eight years (and during the last year in particular); my parents Dale and Maria Lamos for their lifetime of support and encouragement; my adviser Catherine Prendergast for all of her feedback, guidance, and wisdom throughout my graduate career; my dissertation committee, Paul Prior, Robert Jimenez, and Laurence Parker, for their assistance and encouragement throughout the dissertation process; faculty members Gail Hawisher, Richard Gumport, Debra Hawhee, and Zachary Lesser for aiding my professional and scholarly development; Clarence Shelley, Michael Jeffries, Donald Cruickshank, and others for their willingness to share their experiences with the EOP Rhetoric program; Writers' Workshop office manager/secretary Debrae Lomax for all of her hard work and effort over the last four years, as well as for her support and encouragement during the dissertation writing process; other Workshop colleagues and friends, including Liz Rohan, Tom Gayton, Rashid Robinson, and Carrie Lamanna, for their administrative assistance; fellow graduate students and friends Kevin Roozen and Lance Massey for their willingness to read and comment on my work since its earliest stages; staff members Teresa Bertram, Sharon Decker, Terry Davis, Chris Clark, and Lauri Harden for their assistance over the years; and finally, inspiring teachers and mentors past, particularly Ruth VanWitzenberg, Saul Ploplys, Bruce Michaelson, and Waijer Hsia, for all the wisdom that they have imparted.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1—Introduction

Race, Racism, and Writing Instruction: Literacy Sponsorship at the University of Illinois

In the Spring of 1968, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign developed and instituted the largest and most ambitious race-based affirmative action program in its history, an effort that it titled the "Educational Opportunity Program" (EOP). EOP would seek to recruit, admit, house, support, and matriculate roughly 500 "high risk" Black students[1] per year as a means of attempting to diversify the Illinois student body both racially and culturally, and would continue to do so until the percentage of Black students on campus matched more closely the percentage of Black individuals within the state as a whole. According to the de facto mission statement for the program, the "Spencer Report,"[2] the development of EOP was directly prompted by the fact that the

> campus is largely a white student campus. In comparison to the proportion of Negroes in the population of Illinois, the proportion of Negro students is severely restricted. Similarly, the University often assumes that it has a direct and aggressive responsibility to give more opportunities to Negroes to obtain a college education; and that it has the further responsibility of insuring that more Negro students achieve a successful accomplishment with that opportunity. (Spencer 2)

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[1]In the mid 1970s, the program would also begin to recruit Latinos, and to a lesser extent native-born Asian students as well.

[2]This document is officially entitled "The University of Illinois' Program for the Culturally Deprived," though more commonly referred to as the "Spencer Report" for its author, Director of the Office of Institutional Research Richard Spencer. This document will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

And, indeed, the "predominantly white" character of Illinois was quite evident at the time in which EOP was established: as late as 1967, out of an undergraduate population of roughly 23,000, there were only 223 Black students—less than 1% of the population (Williamson 65).

The rhetoric surrounding the implementation of the program suggested that EOP would be bringing a number of profound changes to the campus as part of this desegregation effort. The Spenser Report, in fact, suggests that a whole range of institutional changes would need to be made to facilitate the development of the program, including changes to 1) recruitment; 2) university policy; 3) admissions policies; 4) special services; 5) academic advising; 6) social services; 7) academic programs; 8) placement services for employment; and, 9) parent/high school articulation (8-9). Furthermore, this same Spencer Report states that a number of crucial philosophical changes would be in order as well. It notes, for instance, that

> [w]e do not now predict successfully for the culturally deprived group of students. The selection criteria used in American universities is dependent upon the social goals and expectations rewarded by the society (mostly middle-class society). These criteria are not necessarily those which are evolved or used by the culturally deprived[3] (14).

It notes, too, that the university will need to reconsider its own views on issues like "remediation," particularly since these students' needs are not so much "remedial" as they are racially, culturally, and educationally different. As the Spencer Report suggests,

[3]The significance of this "culturally deprived" moniker will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

> [r]emediation as it usually operates is repugnant to students and instructors alike. Usually self-esteem is sacrificed for desperately-sought academic improvement, yet we are convinced that self-esteem is vital to any academic improvement. [The EOP program will] therefore face—in addition to establishing special programs coexistent with scholarly pursuits—a problem of molding such programs with the attitudes and spirit of the total university, without lowering the self-esteem of the students—or the instructors. (1)

In these ways, the Spencer Report contends that previous university programs, philosophies, and practices would not be adequate for new EOP population, and that significant changes to both university policy and procedure would therefore be appropriate.

Importantly, though, as critics writing about such high risk movements and other similar post-*Brown* attempts at mainstream school desegregation have reminded us, the institutional changes that resulted from high risk programs were not as profound as their rhetoric suggested that they would be. For instance, John Egerton argues in 1969 that while racial justice in the context of these programs "has been talked about, declared, implied, and assumed to be substantial for several years," actual change on many campuses was "largely token" (*State Universities and Black Americans* 21). Critic Edmund W. Gordon concurs with this sort of assessment, suggesting in 1971 that, in his opinion, most of the predominantly white institutions engaged in the high risk movement seem to be "superficially committed to developing heterogeneous populations as long as they are homogenous enough to enable the institution to continue operating without

significant change" (114). And, in turn, in a 1969 article, critic James W. Sledd suggests rather sardonically that high risk programs were part of an educational climate in which "any teacher who could dream up an expensive scheme for keeping things as they were while pretending to make a change was sure of becoming the Director of a Project and of flying first-class to Washington twice a month" (1308).

In making these arguments early within the history of high risk programs like EOP, Egerton, Gordon, and Sledd prefigure by several decades the more contemporary claim made by Critical Race Theorist Derrick Bell that the path of post-*Brown* public school desegregation in general has been largely determined by a dynamic of "interest convergence," one in which efforts ostensibly designed to serve the needs and interests of minorities have actually served to benefit first and foremost the white mainstream. He illustrates the operation of such interest convergence by analyzing the *Brown* decision itself, suggesting that by desegregating public schools in the ways that it did, *Brown* ended up offering at least three benefits to the white mainstream: "credibility to American's struggle with communist countries to win the hearts and minds of emerging third world people," many of whom were appalled at the systemic racism of the U.S. under Jim Crow; the ability to assuage the outrage of Blacks who had fought in World War II only to return to de jure segregation at home; and, assistance in transforming the Southern economy from agriculture to industry by removing segregation as the key "barrier to further industrialization in the South" (*Are We Not Saved* 23). In this way, Bell suggests that such public school desegregation, while ostensibly being promoted to aid the interests of Blacks and other minority groups, actually served first and foremost the needs and interests of whites themselves.

My work here stems from a general desire to better understand how this sort of interest convergence dynamic has operated to shape the development and institutionalization of the high risk EOP program at Illinois. More specifically, it tries to understand how these sorts of dynamics have played out in the context of the "Educational Opportunity Program" Rhetoric requirement, the writing component of the EOP program that operated from 1968 to 1994. As a number of scholars in my home field of composition studies have noted, we know relatively little about the ways in which ideologies of race and racism have shaped composition theory and practice (see Prendergast "Race: The Absent Presence"; Gilyard *Race, Rhetoric, and Composition*; Villanueva "On the Rhetoric"), and perhaps even less about how such dynamics have shaped specific institutional and programmatic formations and practices (see Porter et al.; Grabill; Soliday, "Ideologies of Access"). By studying the implementation and subsequent evolution of EOP Rhetoric, my hope is that I can add to contemporary understanding of both the general dynamics of race and racism in the field and their manifestations at an institutional level in particular.

In order to explore such interest convergence-like dynamics as they were manifest within writing instruction in the EOP Rhetoric program, I employ a "race-conscious" and "institutionally-focused"[4] version of Deborah Brandt's concept of "literacy sponsorship," a concept suggesting that literacy programs are always designed and implemented at some level to "enable, support, teach, model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold literacy…[in order to] gain advantage by it in some way" (19). Using this approach, I attempt to trace the history and evolution of EOP Rhetoric through a variety

[4]Definitions of "race conscious" and "institutionally-focused" will be provided within the literature review portion of this chapter.

of archival documents—administrative correspondence, meeting minutes, program descriptions, sample syllabi, and the like—along with data from supplemental retrospective interviews with key administrators in the program. In doing so, I seek to understand more precisely how this writing program, one that was ostensibly designed to meet the needs of minority students entering a predominantly-white campus for the first time, came to employ literacy ideologies, practices, and institutional structures that ultimately promoted white mainstream interests.

This is not to say, though, that I take a one-dimensional view of EOP Rhetoric, one suggesting that the program has served only as some monolithic racist organization aiming to suppress the very students that it was supposedly trying to serve. Though I am critical of the program, I also seek to understand some of the ways in which such sponsorship was challenged and resisted by interested EOP Rhetoric administrators and teachers, as well as the ways in which such challenges served to reconfigure the program so as to offer students a more egalitarian vision of literacy and writing instruction. Such attention to issues of resistance, I think, is ultimately in keeping with Brandt's own suggestions that literacy sponsorship is not a totally oppressive top-down imposition of the will of the powerful upon the will of the powerless. Rather, as she suggests, "the interests of the sponsor and the sponsored do not have to converge (and, in fact, may conflict)" (19), in ways that can lead to successful resistance to and reform of sponsorship arrangements. Such attention to resistance is also in keeping, I think, with a responsible critical approach to such programs and their plight within the contemporary educational climate. In the last decade, we have seen numerous attacks on these sorts of programs from conservatives in places like New York, California, Texas, and Louisiana,

as well as more general attacks upon affirmative action as embodied within the recent *Grutter* decision. Recognizing that such high risk programs have served at times as sites for resistance and reform, I think, helps to underscore the need to preserve them in the face of these attacks, even as we recognize that they may require important internal changes. Indeed, the last thing that I want to do here is offer some blanket critique of the EOP Rhetoric program that echoes (however inadvertently) these sorts of conservative attacks. Rather, by recognizing the important sort of resistance and reconfiguration work that goes on within them, I hope in part to demonstrate why programs like EOP Rhetoric are worth keeping and reforming.

In its attempts to understand the complex dynamics of sponsorship and resistance within EOP Rhetoric, the dissertation focuses upon a number of key research questions:

> 1) Under what historical, institutional, and racial conditions was the EOP Rhetoric program originally sponsored? How did these conditions and corresponding sponsorship arrangements change and evolve across the history of the program?
>
> 2) How were these particular sponsorship arrangements manifest in program structures and functions? How did these structures and functions change over time?
>
> 3) In what ways and under what conditions did the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric serve to support the racial/institutional status quo at Illinois?
>
> 4) In what ways and under what conditions did the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric prompt actions and activities that served to resist, critique, and even alter the racial/institutional status quo at Illinois?
>
> 5) What is the legacy of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship? How might this legacy inform contemporary reform-oriented work in the field?

Ultimately, my dissertation explores these questions across a number of time periods within in the history of the EOP Rhetoric program: the birth of the program during the "racial crisis" of the 1960s, the evolution of the program during the "literacy crisis" of the

mid-1970s, debates about the fundamental nature of the program in the post-*Bakke* early 1980s, and the final decision to dismantle the program within the context of "mainstreaming" discussions during the late 1980s and early 1990s. As it explores these contexts, the dissertation argues that the EOP Rhetoric program operated both ideologically and institutionally to preserve rather than critique the racial status quo at Illinois, even as the dynamics of this sponsorship themselves changed over time. However, at the same time, the dissertation recognizes that each period of sponsorship also afforded various opportunities for resistance on the part of interested administrators, faculty, and instructors, often in ways that served to at least partially redirect such sponsorship to serve more egalitarian ends.

Literature Review: Toward a "Race-Conscious" Institutional View of Literacy Sponsorship

I have suggested above that this dissertation responds most directly to two recent calls for work within the composition literature: calls for more attention to issues of race and racism within the field, and calls for more attention to issues of institutional formation and evolution within the field. My aim in this section is to survey some of the key literature in each of these areas, and to highlight in particular work that begins to integrate the two.

"Race-Consciousness" and Composition Theory

Composition scholar Geneva Smitherman suggests in her 1999 article "CCCC's Role in the Struggle for Language Rights" that for virtually as long as composition has

been field of inquiry, compositionists and others within the College Composition and Communication organization have struggled to "redress the academic exclusion of and past injustices inflicted upon Blacks, Browns, women, and other historically marginalized groups" by recognizing that these individuals "spoke a language which not only reflected a different class, but also a different race, culture, and historical experience" (354). She mentions, for instance, work during the 1950s and 1960s from Donald J. Lloyd, a linguist who advocated for a kind of "additive bilingualism" in the teaching of language and writing to non-white and non-mainstream students. As Lloyd himself writes, "We seek to enrich [student language use], not correct...By respecting their traditions and the people from whom they come, we teach [students] to hold on tight to what they have as they reach for more" (qtd. in Smitherman 354). She mentions, too, the work of the "Students' Right to Their Own Language" document in the early and mid 1970s, a document urging teachers and theorists of language to develop a "heighten[ed] consciousness of language attitudes," a sense of "linguistic diversity," and a body of "facts and information about language and language variation that would enable instructors to teach their non-traditional students—and ultimately all students—more effectively" (359). Such work, Smitherman suggests, helped to make issues of race and racism relevant to the study of language and writing.

In turn, if we look outside the context of the CCCs, we can find other examples of early work combating racism in ways similar to those described by Smitherman. Mina Shaughnessy's 1977 *Errors and Expectations*, for instance, itself calls for a kind of "additive bilingualism," one suggesting that language ought to be taught to racial and linguistic minorities in ways that attend "to the language that he [sic] speaks, pointing out

its validity as a language in certain contexts and contrasting it in systematic ways with the dialect he has not yet mastered" (158). Similarly, Shirley Brice Heath's 1983 *Ways With Words* insists that students' non-white or non-mainstream white language backgrounds and experiences are by no means "deficient"; rather, they are simply different from those possessed by the linguistic and cultural mainstream as a function of language socialization experiences. In fact, Heath insists that race doesn't really matter when it comes to thinking about these issues, at least not as much the need to look carefully at the language socialization practices of all communities.

As Smitherman herself argues, such past work in composition studies has served as an important counter to racist "deficit" theories of language (353), theories which viewed students' non-white or non-mainstream backgrounds as deficits to be overcome and/or problems to be avoided.[5] Min-Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner concur, suggesting that this kind of early anti-racist work has helped to pave the way for contemporary efforts to "increase diversity and inculcate student-centered learning" (44) within the academy. And, in turn, Catherine Prendergast suggests that this desire to counter deficit theories of language and language learning is particularly strong within Heath's work, noting that Heath wanted to "avoid reinforcing cognitive and genetic deficit theories of Black scholastic achievement while at the same time providing data that might challenge such theories" ("The Water in the Fishbowl" 465). In a crucial sense, then, these

[5]Carl Bereiter, one such "deficit" theorist, insists in his 1973 text *Must We Educate*? that "evidence is clear that [minority students] are deficient in a variety of intellectual and motivational characteristics that constitute scholastic aptitude" (11). Thomas Farrell, another such theorist, argues in his 1983 text "IQ and Standard English" that black students' "non-standard" use of English may "affect the thinking of the users," leading them to "have difficulty learning to read" and lead them to score poorly on "measures of abstract thinking" (qtd. in Smitherman 366). Other deficit theories will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

contemporary theorists suggest that we ought to recognize the value of such past work for understanding issues of race and racism within composition studies.

Yet, some of these same contemporary theorists in composition have also suggested that, even as we acknowledge the importance of such past work, we must also recognize the ways in which it ignores the presence of racism within the seemingly progressive ideologies that it espouses. Composition theorists Patrick Bruch and Richard Marbach suggest, for instance, that although the "Students' Right to Their Own Language" is rooted in a desire to combat racist views of language and language practice, its use of "rights rhetoric" ignores the ways in which such rhetoric has functioned in the past "[to] limit the prospects for racial equality" (652). They insist that the "Students' Right" document

> [f]ails to compel a continuing struggle over obligations to the language diversity of students. We may recognize, as the...statement explains, that the privilege of standardized English in schools and in the workplace brings more advantages to some and less others. [However] in and of itself, such recognition does not compel us to unlearn the privilege of standardized English. (663)

What is needed if the document is to retain its value in the present, they suggest, is the recognition that the "successful struggle for rights requires a public redistribution of advantage that dislodges privilege [including racial privilege]" (664).

Theorist Min-Zhan Lu has offered a similar sort of critique of Shaughnessy's *Errors and Expectations*, insisting that this text fails to fully engage with racist power dynamics and institutional structures embedded within the basic writing context. Even as

Lu grants that Shaughnessy wants to "propose a pedagogy which will inculcate respect for discursive diversity and freedom of discursive choice" as part of her larger "dissatisfaction with and reaction to the unequal social power and prestige of diverse discourses in current-day America" ("Redefining the Legacy of Mina Shaughnessy" 115), she insists that Shaughnessy holds a view of language that ignores issues of power—particularly racial power. She argues that Shaughnessy's pedagogy "teaches students to see discursive decisions made from the point of view of academic culture as 'human' and therefore 'innocent' decisions made absolutely free from the pressures of specific social and historical circumstances" (114). The result of this, she warns, is the following: "[i]f it is the student's concern to align himself with minority economic and ethnic groups in the very act of learning academic discourse, [then such] politics of linguistic 'innocence' can only pacify rather than activate such a concern" (115). In this way, Lu claims that Shaughnessy's approach ignores the social, political, and racial implications of language use, and therefore remains largely unable to foster the sort of substantive institutional change needed to promote racial justice.

In turn, even as Prendergast recognizes Heath's attempts to grapple with the work of deficit theorists, she nonetheless critiques Heath's *Ways With Words* for its "color-blind" approach to analysis. She focuses in particular on Heath's claims that "any reader who tries to explain the community contrasts in this book on the basis of race will miss the central point of the focus on culture as learned behavior and on language habits as part of that shared learning" (qtd. in Prendergast, "The Water in the Fishbowl" 453). As noted above, Prendergast acknowledges that Heath wanted to refute the work of deficit

theorists; nonetheless, Prendergast contends that the sort of "color-blind rhetoric" (458) employed in passages like the one just cited

> the obstacles faced by Black students new to predominantly white schools were not caused by the Black and white communities' mutual incomprehension, but rather by their shared understanding of the institution of segregation and the privileges of whiteness. (458)

Prendergast insists, therefore, that *Ways* be re-read in the context of school desegregation such that the power of racism within the contexts of education is acknowledged. As she argues

> [a]lthough *Ways* constructs Roadville and Trackton as equally estranged from school practices, the social logic of the institution of segregation operated to make Trackton children more different…I might posit that the problem the teachers have with Trackton students is partially that they are different, but mostly that they are Black and different. (474-475)

In this sense, Prendergast insists that we read Heath's work not in accordance with the sort of color-blind logic that "race doesn't matter" that the text itself seems to employ, but rather with an awareness that social and institutional racism faced by Black students within the framework of school desegregation posed a profound barrier to students' educations.

The thrust of these recent composition critiques, then, is that past work theorizing issues of race and racism has not done enough to theorize race as a systemic, engrained, and institutional component of literacy learning and writing instruction. Only if we

recognize racism as permanent and institutional, such critiques contend, can we truly begin to understand and undo these connections.

In making such an argument, I want to suggest that these critiques articulate what racial theorists have called a "race-conscious" approach to analysis. Critical Race Theorist Kimberle Crenshaw suggests that a general race-conscious view of social phenomena is grounded in a fundamental opposition to "liberal" understandings of race and racism, i.e. those insisting that "the exercise of racial power [is] rare and aberrational rather than systemic and engrained…an intentional, albeit irrational, deviation by a conscious wrongdoer from otherwise neutral, rational, and just ways of distributing jobs, power, prestige, and wealth" (xiv). Instead, she says, race-consciousness posits racism as a fundamental shaper of the social world, one that serves as a primary determinant of how society is structured.

In turn, Derrick Bell offers a more detailed discussion of the philosophy behind such race-consciousness when he discusses his concept of "racial realism." Race-conscious individuals, he suggests, must recognize that racism is everywhere, and that "[e]ven those Herculean efforts [at racial justice] we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary 'peaks of progress,' short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance. This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies." ("Racial Realism" 306). Yet, Bell insists that such a realistic realization should not foster the loss of hope; instead, he suggests that such a realization should help us to "avoid despair" by allowing would-be reformers to "imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph" (306). He insists that race-conscious realists must take an honest look at the connections between

race, power, and privilege as they exist in the U.S., then use the knowledge gained through this activity to advocate for specific reforms. As Bell suggests, this "realization, and the dedication based on this realization, can lead to policy positions and campaigns that are less likely to worsen conditions for those we are trying to help and more likely to show those in power that there are imaginative, unabashed risk-takers who refuse to be trammeled upon" (308). In this way, Bell suggests that a race-conscious, "realistic" approach to analysis acknowledges that racism simply cannot be willed away by wishful thinking nor by temporary measures; instead, it needs to be combated with specific, direct, and permanent measures that seek to identify the links between racism and power, unmask them, and undo their effects as fully as possible.

Ultimately, it is this realistic sort of race-conscious approach that I think undergirds the recent composition critiques mentioned above. By insisting that analysis within the field pay heed to the embeddedness of racism even within composition programs and practices ostensibly designed to combat such racism, critiques like those offered by Bruch and Marbach, Lu, and Prendergast demand that the field look carefully at just how fundamental issues of race and racism are to the larger field of composition, and demand as well that we take steps to address these issues. And, in this way, such arguments serve as an important foundation for my own work here: I too aim to take a careful look at the dynamics of racism within the context of EOP Rhetoric, both with an eye for understanding its power as well as with an eye for using this understanding as the basis for fostering program reform.

Toward an "Institutional" Approach to Race and Racism in Composition

Even as I ground my own work in the perspectives offered by the sorts of race-conscious composition texts mentioned above, I think it necessary to point out that at present most contemporary work of this type in the field has tended to fall into one of two categories: macro-level analysis of larger theoretical and/or disciplinary trends within the field or micro-level analysis of the effects of such trends on individuals (e.g. students and teachers). In fact, much of the theoretical work that I have just discussed fits in the macro- category in its attempts to understand how composition has or has not grappled with larger discourses of race and racism within its own theoretical formulations. Other examples of such macro-level work include race-conscious discussions of professional development within composition studies (e.g. Villaneuva, "On the Rhetoric"; Goodburn; Powell, "Blood and Scholarship"), discussions of teacher training programs (e.g. Ball and Lardner), and discussions of composition and/or basic writing history (e.g. Royster and Williams; Gilyard, "African American Contributions"; Powell, "Rhetorics of Survivance"; Mutnick, "The Strategic Value of Basic Writing"). In turn, examples of contemporary micro-level work include a range of autoethnographic texts (e.g. Villanueva, *Bootstraps*; Gilyard, *Voices of the Self*) and ethnographic texts (e.g. Mutnick, *Writers in an Alien World*; Sternglass; Gray-Rosendale), all focusing upon the ways in which issues of race and racism shape the individual experiences of students and/or the individual dynamics of specific classrooms.

While such work is certainly useful, institutional theorists James Porter et al. have suggested that neither such macro- nor micro- work is necessarily ideal for examining institutional activity itself. As they argue, work aimed primarily at macro-level dynamics

often "lacks material punch" (612) in ways that do not allow for the exploration of specific institutional formations; in turn, they contend that most micro-level work focuses only on classroom or other teaching contexts without careful regard for larger social forces, thereby making institutional contexts "seem monolithic and beyond an individual's power for change—except in a kind of liberal, trickle-up theory of change that pins political hopes on the enlightened, active individual" (617). What is needed, they suggest, is a body of work that engages more directly with the dynamics of the institution itself, one that seeks to understand the intersection of "macro-level structures and micro-level actions rooted in a particular space and time" (612). Porter et al. call such work "institutional critique," and suggest that it

> operates within the material and discursive spaces linking macro-level systems and more visible social spaces, such as classrooms, where critique and action in rhetoric and composition typically operate. Institutional critique examines particular institutional formations that are a local manifestation of more general social relations, nodal points in the rhetorical relationships between general social (if not sociological) process and local practices. (621)

In turn, theorist Jeffrey Grabill (one of the authors contributing to the Porter et al. piece) suggests within his own study entitled *Community Literacy Programs and the Politics of Change* that such institutional work ultimately enables the interrogation of literacy on an important new level:

> A focus on institutions in the process of understanding literacy activity…entails a focus on power. The power to make and order, and the

> power to order new acts of making. The power, in other words, to make a certain literacy. Institutional orders need a rhetoric that can help us understand their existence and operation and therefore what is possible within their domain…[we need to] make institutions visible in order to understand the contexts that give literate practices meaning. Without such an understanding, we are limited to changing people who are subject to institutions or tinkering with texts. (9)

What such institutional critique allows us to do, then, is to analyze the ways in institutional forces operate to create certain views of literacy, as well as to understand the ways in which these views of literacy serve themselves to create and reify new institutional structures.

And, finally, it is important to note that such institutional work is extremely useful for engaging in the sort of reform-oriented activity toward which this dissertation aims. As Porter et al. suggest, such institutional analysis

> examines institutions as rhetorical designs—mapping the conflicted frameworks in these heterogeneous and contested spaces, articulating the hidden and seemingly silent voices of those marginalized by the powerful, and observing how power operates within institutional space—in order to expose and interrogate possibilities for institutional change through the practice of rhetoric. (631)

In this sense, an institutional perspective can help us to understand not only how macro-level and micro-level forces are manifest in the context of particular institutions, but also

how to use such knowledge so as to promote useful change and reform activities within these contexts.

Ultimately, then, I want to argue that if our goal is to understand all of the multiple ways in which racism becomes embedded within various contexts of composition, then it seems as though the sort of institutional analysis that Porter et al. and Grabill describe as quite necessary. Certainly, we can gain a great deal of insight from the sort of macro- and micro- work described above; however, if we aim to understand programs themselves and how they operate, then this institutional focus seems crucial. And, although there is not as of yet an extensive body of such work upon which to model such inquiry (a fact that Porter et al. themselves note (626)), I do think that a number of contemporary studies of race and racism at least begin to touch upon these issues in ways useful for me here.

Consider, for instance, Bruce Horner's piece "The 'Birth' of 'Basic Writing,'" a piece that seeks to understand the how the formation of the open admissions program at CUNY during the early 1970s was shaped by racist discourses labeling students as both deficient and inferior. In developing his argument, Horner uses a variety of both institutional accounts and media accounts of the CUNY program to demonstrate that the program itself served to distinguish between two types of students, "the open admissions students, associated with politics and minority activism, and the ideal college students, assumed to be interested in and capable of pursuing academic excellence because they were not distracted by political interests" (8). He further uses these sources to suggest that discourses of open admissions at CUNY evolved to portray all students as "Black or Puerto Rican" even when there was a sizeable number of working-class whites working

within the program as well (8). Ultimately, I cannot go so far as to suggest that Horner's work is fully "institutional": it seems ultimately more interested in the larger dynamics of discourse formation than in the dynamics of institutional formation per se. Still, it does begin at least to touch upon the ways that institutional dynamics operated to label students in particular ways, thereby preserving racism even within a program ostensibly designed to combat it.

Another example of such proto-institutional work can be found in Anne DiPardo's text *A Kind of Passport,* a text that seeks to understand in detail the ways in which students, instructors, and administrators sought to negotiate issues of race, racism, and literacy within the context of a "diversity" program at one predominantly-white institution. In formulating her argument, DiPardo pays particular attention to the institutional dynamics that helped to shape this overall effort. She suggests, for example, that though the institution seemed to emphasize "diversity" as a crucial goal on the campus, it remained throughout her work "a place where many clues pointed to a stubborn mismatch between a new 'educational equity' policy and enduring realities" (4). And, using data from campus documents, public media sources, and discussions with various administrators, she suggests that this mismatch was widespread. She notes, for instance, that the campus mission statement had recently been "amended to formalize a commitment to 'justice, equal opportunity, fairness, and partiality'" (38), but that at the same time powerful administrators lamented that "whenever we've tried to involve faculty in the question of handling educational equity, we've gotten compassionate but blank stares" (38). She notes that many other institutional contradictions arose on the campus as well: that a large proportion of administrators and faculty saw diversity as the

responsibility of one equity program, not the entire campus (39); that several other key administrators saw a tension between "diversity" and "standards" (41); and, that still others felt that unsuccessful minority students were in effect "responsible for their own failure" (43). In outlining these various contradictions within both the larger diversity program and the writing program more specifically, then, DiPardo herself demonstrates the ways in which specific institutional conditions emerged from the complex interplay of larger cultural discourses about diversity, standards, and excellence and micro-level beliefs and interests. And, though it should be noted that DiPardo's work is ultimately more interested in the dynamics of teacher/student interaction than in the dynamics of institutional formation per se, the degree to which she does discuss institutional issues reminds us just how embedded racism can be within the fabric of "diversity" programs and their writing instructional activities.

I highlight these two examples as sorts of precursors to a more full-blown institutional analysis of issues of race and racism that I aim for in my work here. Though both are more concerned with exploring other issues (e.g., discourse development, classroom dynamics, student experience, etc.) than with institutional dynamics per se, both nonetheless begin to attend to the interplay of macro- and micro- forces with their analysis. And, in doing so, they both serve as a useful guide for the kind of work that I propose here, demonstrating the degree to which these issues of racism are embedded within the programmatic structure and function of high risk writing programs like EOP Rhetoric.

Analytical Framework: Theorizing "Literacy Sponsorship" from a Race-Conscious and Institutional Perspective

I have already outlined above the ways in which I think that Brandt's notion of sponsorship, one featuring attention to both the oppressive and potentially libratory dynamics of literacy learning, allows me to begin understanding the dynamics at work within the context of EOP Rhetoric. However, I am drawn to her work for at least two other reasons that I think are worth exploring as well.

For one thing, as Brandt describes how sponsorship operates within her larger study *Literacy in American Lives*, she pays attention at some level to the dynamics of race-based literacy sponsorship. She highlights, for instance, the ways in which white society during the nineteenth century sought to prevent literacy sponsorship such that the Black Church was forced to develop counter-sponsorship networks; she asserts that "[a]s one of the few life-affirming institutions for African Americans in American society, the church developed literacy as part of a larger spiritual effort to practice a form of Christianity that resisted and repaired the insults of racism" (118). She similarly suggests that African American educational institutions participated in such counter-sponsorship as they operated to offer literacy learning that could "carry...the residual and persistent resources associated with survival, self-help, and racial affirmation" (130). In summing up the dynamics of such sponsorship, she concludes that

> by mid-century, for the first time in history, the individual reading skills of ordinary people could be recruited to the traditional missions of the African American self-help system. Reading could maintain the perspectives and critical knowledge needed for racial survival and

> advancement. Rising literacy levels were vital to the development of the mass consciousness on which the civil rights struggle depended for its many local manifestations and successes. At the same time, the need for political activism stimulated reading and writing in the lives of ordinary African Americans of various ages and classes throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In very practical ways, mass literacy and mass movement were realized together. (134)

In these ways, then, Brandt demonstrates that the notion of sponsorship can be (and at some level should be) applied to the study of racial dynamics and their effect upon literacy learning.

Furthermore, Brandt's notion of literacy sponsorship seeks to integrate an understanding of how both macro-level and micro-level social forces interact to shape particular circumstances of literacy learning. As she suggests, her work with sponsorship is aimed quite directly at understanding the "relationships between individual literacy development and large-scale economic development, as the two played out in specific ways and in specific places" (4). She insists, in fact, that such integration of macro- and micro- study of literacy is absolutely necessary within the field because, while macro-level forces like economics have been studied within composition research, "rarely are they systematically related to the local conditions and embodied moments of literacy learning that occupy so many of us on a daily basis" (19). In this sense, Brandt's theory of sponsorship is definitely in keeping with the basic tenets of the institutional focus that I present here: indeed, as both Porter et al. and Grabill suggest, such integration of macro-

and micro- analysis is essential to begin to understand institutional dynamics as well as the ways in which they might be reformed.

Despite fundamental congruity with my own work, however, I think that both of these foci—the emphasis on race and the emphasis on the institution—need to be honed in certain ways if they are ultimately to help me to discern how race shaped the development of EOP Rhetoric. First, I think it is crucial to point out that Brandt's work is still at its core based on economic analysis. While there is nothing inherently wrong with such a focus, racial theorists Omi and Winant point out that such an economic focus does not necessarily engage with the particularity of race, the ways in which "the concept of race continues to play a fundamental role in structuring and representing the social world" (55).[6] Indeed, the fact that Brandt relies on economics as the primary lens through which to analyze race is most evident in her conclusion to *Literacy in American Lives.* In summing up the conditions of African American sponsorship, for instance, she insists that

> the pace of political change around race, begrudging and backsliding, has never kept pace with economic change. Expanding civil rights and an expanding information economy have been two mighty engines going down the tracks, but they seem to be going at two different speeds. Minority citizens who make later transitions into expanded schooling, intellectual labor, and political rights did not have much time to stabilize

[6]Omi and Winant are sharply critical of analytic approaches that purport to "explain race by referring to economic processes, understood in the standard sense of the creation and use of material resources" (24). Within such approaches, they suggest,

> an epiphenomenal racial "superstructure" is...erected, in which political interests and racial as well as subjective identities are assigned to the various actors (themselves defined in simplistic terms) in the more 'fundamental' drama of class conflict. (35)

Such a view, they insist, "hardly begins to inquire into the sources and contours of racial dynamics" (35) on their own terms.

> this base before the value of new opportunities was overtaken by a high-tech economy in overdrive—one that was exploiting the earlier investments in education and human capital that has gone more regularly into the white population. The economy was no longer waiting around for education to accumulate over two to three generations, as it had for typical white families in slower-moving eras of the recent past. Neither was it investing evenly in the productive potential of all citizens…Yet still the race goes on. (204)

Within this explanation, Brandt employs economics, not race, as both the grammatical subject of the sentence and the agent of the action here. This subject/agent refuses to "wait" around for Blacks to acquire the sorts of literacy skills needed within the new economy, and it refuses to "invest" in Blacks as a possible source of future revenue. Brandt's focus implies that while racism may be important, it is not the central actor—it is not the "lead train" in the metaphor that she employs; her focus further implies that Blacks have been marginalized first and foremost because they have not had time to "catch up" on an economic level, not because racism itself has been at play. Ultimately, then, Brandt's position posits that if we can only fix economic inequalities—the leading train in two-track race that she describes above—then racial problems will be solved as a result.

In turn, it is this argument about the primacy of economics that prompts Brandt to suggest later in this same conclusion that the best way to reconceive literacy for all people—African Americans included—is through the notion of "civil rights." Indeed, after explaining her "train" metaphor for describing the role of race as it affects literacy

acquisition, Brandt insists that "[f]rom all angles—policy to pedagogy—literacy needs to be addressed in a civil rights context. Understanding—not just accommodating—economic and technological change is a vital responsibility of a democratic school" (206). We see here, then, that race has dropped out of her plan for promoting literacy, leaving only economics and technology remaining within this civil rights focus. Yet, she insists that making this move will necessarily address issues of racism too, as "teaching literacy in a civil rights context could bring the relevance of the school into the lives of the students most often alienated from the present political system—students of color, of poverty, of political asylum" (207).

What I find ultimately troubling about this position is that it invokes quite unproblematically the discourse of civil rights as one that will assure all sorts of equality—including racial equality—with respect to literacy learning opportunity. And, in doing so, it invokes precisely the sort of rights discourse that a number of race-conscious theorists noted above have openly critiqued. As Bell's notion of interest convergence reminds us, such invocation of civil rights has never been a *guarantee* of racial justice, particularly within the confines of educational activities. Indeed, he suggests that the *Brown* decision itself—one of the most important manifestations of civil rights ideology in an educational context—operated as much to preserve white power and privilege as to dismantle it. Bruch and Marbach similarly suggest in their piece cited above that the discourse of rights within composition ought to be employed carefully, as only when such discourse fully recognizes that racialized power dynamics need to be changed can it be truly useful. For these reasons, I would argue that Brandt's unproblematic use of the rights trope as the natural endpoint of her analysis, one resulting

from her refusal to grant any sort of primacy to race within the context of literacy sponsorship, threatens to work against the very sort of race-conscious analysis that I aim to foster here.

I should note that, somewhat curiously, Brandt herself almost comes to recognize that her economic approach to race is not yielding a full account of the dynamics of African American literacy sponsorship. She notes that

> the history of African American literacy in some ways confirms the thesis of this study but in other ways complicates it....the protean character of literacy has always made it a useful tool in political control, ready to take on whatever connotation might be needed at the time. As literacy grew more useful for gaining economic advantage, it developed new ideological uses for preserving white skin advantage...On the other hand, however, there are parts of the story of African American literacy that elude the argument of this book thus far. For despite rather wholesale exclusion from economic and education opportunity throughout most of the twentieth century, basic literacy rates among African Americans rose from 30% in 1910 to more than 80% by 1930 to over 95% by the 1970s...How, then was literacy [for African Americans] sustained in the absence of broad-based economic and political subsidy and the presence of so much social hostility? (107)

In the last section of this quote, Brandt wonders how African American sponsorship of literacy could possibly have been successful; after all, economic incentives for such sponsorship were almost entirely lacking. In so doing, she seems almost ready to admit

that her economic model simply cannot account for the ways in which a desire—a race-conscious desire—on the part of African Americans to better their situation might shape literacy sponsorship independently of economic forces. However, Brandt never makes this admission, and her analysis ultimately falls short of a complete discussion of how the dynamics of literacy sponsorship did indeed operate for African Americans.

Even as I adopt Brandt's "sponsorship" framework for my analysis, then, I attempt to employ a more nuanced approach to issues of race and racism than she does, one informed by the work of the race-conscious theorists noted above. Such a race-conscious model of sponsorship recognizes openly that white mainstream literacy sponsors can seek to retain racialized power and privilege through sponsorship arrangements, particularly when power is perceived to be threatened; it further recognizes that these racial dynamics (while not operating in a vacuum) do in and of themselves constitute an area worthy of careful study. Just as crucially, such a model also suggests that racist sponsorship arrangements can be resisted in certain ways via race-conscious arguments and actions of reformers. And, finally, such a model tries not to invoke potentially problematic tropes like "rights" in ways that serve to undermine rather than support the analysis that it purports to be offering.

Quickly, I should also note that, just as Brandt's approach to analysis can be made more race-conscious in certain ways, it can be made more institutionally-conscious as well. As I have said, Brandt's work is interested in the intersection of macro- and micro-dynamics in a way that generally matches the institutional approach that I employ. Yet, she herself does not focus on institutional issues per se, but rather on individuals' life experiences. As she says: "This is a study...about how people across the past century

learned to read and write, actively, passively, willingly, unwillingly, resistantly, and always, persistently, over a lifetime" (9). I think, though, that her approach can be modified by focusing analysis specifically "on the physical structures—economies, architectures, bureaucracies, interorganizational relations, and physical locations—supporting discursive practices" (Porter et al. 627) within institutions. As Porter et al. insist, such a focus should involve the examination of

> bureaucratic structures—for instance, how law and policy create 'values' for sites and influence discursive relations and at how organizational roles and responsibilities, work models (e.g. management philosophies, publishing models, collaboration practices), lines of authority and communication, and alignment of and interaction between personnel all affect institutional practices. (626)

I would argue, then, that Brandt's notion of literacy sponsorship can be made more institutionally-focused simply by re-directing its gaze toward these specific sorts of institutional dynamics. By looking for evidence of sponsorship ideologies within administrative documents, correspondence, meeting minutes, memoranda, "official" publications, and the like, it is possible to focus upon the ways in which sponsorship shapes specific institutional contexts, conditions, and dynamics.

Data Collection

As I have already noted in several places thus far, this dissertation adopts an overtly institutional approach to analysis, one that focuses on both the "physical structures" and "discursive practices" to which Porter et al. allude to above. It does so

primarily through analysis of a range of both "official" documents describing rationales behind EOP and EOP Rhetoric—mission statements, curriculum descriptions, course syllabi and outlines, budget plans, meeting minutes, administrative correspondence, etc.—as well as "unofficial" documents—handwritten notes between administrators and faculty, personal reflections on meetings, discussions of encounters with students, and other sorts of reflections. Furthermore, the dissertation augments such archival data with supplemental interviews conducted with a number of key administrators and instructors involved in the program throughout its history.

Archival documents themselves were drawn from two main sources on the Illinois campus: its main public archive and its English Department archives. I spent literally hundreds of hours pouring through boxes of old documents taken from the Chancellor's Office, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the Educational Opportunity Program Files, and the English Department, photocopying documents that made reference in some way to important institutional issues including program rationale, ideologies of race, racism, and/or literacy, budget, and staffing. I then organized these documents according to date, attempting to piece together some overall sense of the historical evolution of the program, as well as themes that arose within different historical periods (e.g. "remediation," "cultural/racial deficiency," "budget concerns," etc.).

As I worked with such archival data, I tried to be mindful of both its possibilities and limitations. As Ian Hodder reminds us, archival work does not offer access to "truth" in the sense of one uniform or objective account of phenomena; rather, it offers access to multiple and sometimes conflicting versions of these phenomena, versions that need to be considered carefully. Hodder insists that one of the biggest concerns for researchers

when utilizing archival research is "one of sustaining material culture within varying contexts while at the same time entering into a dialectical relationship between these contexts and the context of the analyst" (705). He suggests, therefore, that work with such documents be analyzed according to four key questions: are interpretations of these documents "coherent," that is consistent within the overall analysis? (712); is there "correspondence," a reasonable match, between the data and the theory being employed to discuss it? (712); is the work "fruitful" in the sense that it will lead to other useful research along similar lines? (713); is the analysis generated by such work "reproducible" in the sense that others will find its conclusions reasonable and warranted? (713).

While I did not necessarily view these criteria as a "checklist" to which I subjected each of the individual documents that I utilized in my study, I did try to keep them in mind in a general sense as I analyzed my data. In some cases, I strove primarily for "correspondence" across various accounts of the same event. One useful example of this, I think, can be found in my discussion of "racial crisis" in Chapter 2 of the dissertation. In reading a range of administrative correspondence (both official and unofficial) detailing the implementation of the EOP program, it seemed clear that nearly all of the major participants in the program were concerned about such "racial crisis," either explicitly or implicitly. The fact that this concern seemed so widespread (i.e. appearing in Chancellor's press releases, calls for new committees, and correspondence between and among administrators and faculty) suggested that my own interpretations about the significance of such racial crisis on the larger campus were justified.

At other times during analysis, I was generally more interested in notions of "coherence," "fruitfulness," and "reproducibility" than in "correspondence" per se,

particularly when confronted with seemingly contradictory accounts of the same institutional phenomenon. One prime example of this comes from Chapter 4, a chapter in which I discuss the dynamics of literacy sponsorship in the post-*Bakke* era of the early 1980s. As I looked at the archival material from this time period, I noticed what seemed to be a profound contradiction between and among documents: some seemed to be calling for a decidedly color-blind approach to the program, others seemed to be emphasizing the program's direct ties to race-based affirmative action, and still others seemed to be making both claims simultaneously. However, rather than treating some of these accounts as more "true" than others, I tried to look for explanations of sponsorship that might be able to encompass all of these seeming contradictions. And, ultimately, by reading these documents both side-by-side and against a backdrop of post- *Bakke* racial ideology, I was able to formulate what I think was a plausible and informative argument about the multiple forms that institutional self-interest could take within this context, as well as an argument about the new sorts of opportunities for resistance that could arise from these forms of institutional self-interest. And, in doing so, I think that I managed to construct an argument that was useful for tying disparate ideas together and useful for providing new insight into the context of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship as well.

As noted above, I also collected a range of interview data in addition to archival material. Early on in the project, such interview data was collected through a number of exploratory interviews with many administrators in the program (both past and present) as a means of acquainting myself with the sorts of issues that were important within the program. Though little of this work made its way into the dissertation itself, it was nonetheless useful for helping me to understand the overall context of the program as

well as the sorts of issues that I should be considering. As Lincoln and Guba suggest, such broad interviews are particularly useful when an "interviewer *does not know what he or she doesn't know* and must therefore rely on the respondent to tell him or her" (269, italics theirs). However, as my archival data collection and analysis progressed, I began to conduct more pointed interviews designed both to triangulate my findings and analyses as well as to fill in any gaps that appeared in the archival data. These interviews served, as Lincoln and Guba suggest, for purposes of "verification, emendation, and extension of information...obtained from other sources" (268). The data that appears in the dissertation came from these sorts of pointed interviews almost exclusively, simply because it was often most directly related to the issues raised by the archival documents themselves.[7]

In general, I tried to treat this interview data in much the same way that I treated the archival data. After transcribing the data from audiotape, I analyzed and coded it according to many of the same themes noted above. I then analyzed it with some of these same notions of "correspondence," "coherence," "fruitfulness," and "reproducibility" in mind. For instance, in performing my analytical work chapter 5, the chapter in which I analyze the decision to effectively abolish the EOP Rhetoric program, I noticed that the present Dean of the Office of Minority Student Affairs Michael Jeffries[8] lamented the decision to disband the EOP Rhetoric program in favor of a more color-blind alternative. As he suggested, preserving the EOP Rhetoric program first and foremost as a minority support mechanism would help to aid minority students, even high scoring minority

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[7]There is one significant exception to this that appears in Chapter 5. One of the interviews that was conducted with Don Cruickshank, the first permanent Director of the EOP Rhetoric program, actually predates my actual dissertation research by two years.

[8]The Office of Minority Student Affairs was founded in 1988 as a parent program to EOP. Its development will be discussed briefly in Chapter 5.

students, when the campus did not serve as a "melting pot" that treated all students the same way. I emphasize this point several times throughout the chapter because I think that it demonstrates a kind of coherence with the argument that I have been developing across the dissertation.

EOP Rhetoric: Brief Overview

Finally, before embarking upon my analysis of the program in earnest, I want to present a quick sketch of the general structure, function, and operation of the EOP Rhetoric program as it existed during its roughly 25 year history. Doing so, I think, will help to prepare readers for the discussions of specific eras that I present.

EOP Rhetoric existed as a programmatic entity from AY 1968-1969 to AY 1993-1994, serving anywhere between a low of about 150 students in the early 1970s (Morris *The Educational Opportunities Program* II-7) to a high of about 600 students in the late 1980s (Cruickshank, Letter to Dale Kramer 1). EOP Rhetoric originally emerged as one of a broad range of EOP courses in a range of disciplines (see Table 1-1 on page 35) designed to provide students extra support and assistance. However, within ten years, most of these other EOP courses had been abandoned: indeed, by the early 1980s, only EOP Rhetoric and EOP Mathematics remained as regular university offerings, while by 1983, EOP Rhetoric was alone among separate courses for EOP students (Martin, "Remediation Activities" 1). This is not to say that EOP students no longer took these other courses that used to be affiliated with EOP; rather, it is to suggest that when they did, any supplemental tutoring or support that they received was provided by EOP, and

not by departments themselves. In this sense, EOP Rhetoric displayed more longevity than any of its counterparts.

Table 1-1

EOP-Designated Course Offerings, 1968-1969

Anthropology 174 "American Communities and Their Problems"	**History 199** "Afro-American Culture Lectures"
Biology 101 "Biological Science"	**Latin 101/102** "Elementary Latin 1 & 2"
Business Administration 101 "Business Administration"	**Library Science 195** "Introduction to Library Use"
Chemistry 100 "Introductory Chemistry"	**Mathematics 101** "Basic Mathematics"
Classical Civilization III "Mythology of Greece and Rome"	**Psychology 105** "Elements of Psychology"
Economics 102 "Principles of Economics"	**Rhetoric 101/102/103** "Freshman Composition 1&2 with Writing Lab"
Education 101 "Introduction to the Teaching of Secondary School"	**Russian 102** "First Year Russian"
General Engineering 103 "Engineering Graphics"	**Speech 101** "Principles of Effective Speaking"

Source: Waller, Robert A. "Course Guides for SEOP." 14 November 1968. University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Throughout its history, EOP Rhetoric was defined explicitly as a writing support program for minority students. The first Dean of EOP, Clarence Shelley, suggested that EOP Rhetoric constituted perhaps the most important programmatic element within the larger EOP effort because "the success of any student, but more importantly, the less well

prepared student, is dependent on his facility with the communication skills" ("A Crown Don't Make No King" 2). Similarly, writing in 1991, a committee of Illinois professors charged with assessing the program acknowledged that the EOP Rhetoric program "was developed in the late sixties for students from minority populations that had a relatively low percentage of representation in higher education" (Bowman et al. 1). Only when the program was fundamentally reconstructed as the "color-blind" remedial writing program known as the "Academic Writing Program" (AWP) in 1994 was this race-based focus of the program radically altered. [9]

Placement in the EOP Rhetoric program was openly race-conscious throughout the program's history. All EOP students were required to take the university placement test along with their mainstream peers in order to obtain a "rhetoric placement score", a score based on a combination of their performance on the timed essay exam and their performance on the English portion of the ACT. However, regardless of their score, EOP students were strongly encouraged by their advisors to take EOP Rhetoric, either one semester with a supporting tutorial course if their scores were high, or two semesters with a supporting tutorial if their scores were lower (University of Illinois, "EOP Rhetoric Report" 3-4). The point of this race-based placement was to create an EOP student community within the Rhetoric courses that might help the students to adapt to the demands of the university, particularly during their important first year on campus. As Shelley himself suggested, these sections were designed to help students grapple with "the many problems that accrue to being a Black student with marginal preparation and

[9]This AWP program has operated from 1994 through the present as a "basic writing" program as well as in some sense a de facto minority support program. Though not officially a part of the EOP Rhetoric program that serves as my focus of inquiry here, I will touch briefly upon this AWP program in the epilogue to Chapter 5 of the dissertation.

skills enrolled at a highly-selective white university" ("A Crown Don't Make No King" 7). This is not to say that all students necessarily appreciated this sort of separation: some, in fact, saw it as a sort of race-based segregation within the writing classroom ("A Crown Don't Make No King" 5); however, a 1991 review of the EOP Rhetoric program done by Richard Lloyd-Jones and Erika Lindemann (see Chapter 5 for a full analysis of this review) found that most students "were not particularly worried about any 'social stigma' attached to the course, certainly not in the same way that some faculty members seemed to worry about 'segregating' these students. In fact, these minority students seemed grateful for the chance to be in a class where they were a majority" (2).

Two exceptions to this race-conscious placement activity within the overall jurisdiction of EOP Rhetoric did exist, however. In 1980, a separate track of EOP-like instruction called "Special Options" Rhetoric 105 was developed for high risk athletes not officially enrolled in the EOP program (Martin, "Special Rhetoric Sections" 1). In turn, in 1983, another section of "experimental" EOP-like Rhetoric called "Special Options" Rhetoric 102 was developed to serve low-scoring white students (MacDonald, "Cutbacks in E.O.P. Rhetoric" 1). Importantly, these programs never served more than about 80 or 90 white students (Cruickshank, "Letter to Dale Kramer" 1) and were funded separately by the Illinois administration. Thus, while these programs were administered under the auspices of EOP Rhetoric, they were never "officially" part of the main EOP Rhetoric program. The history of these programs—as well as their role in the eventual abandonment of the race-conscious placement model for the program in 1994— will be discussed in some detail in Chapters 4 and 5 of the dissertation; for now, a brief overview of these programs is offered in Table 1-2 on page 38.

Table 1-2

EOP Rhetoric Structure, 1968-present

Years	EOP Rhetoric Offerings	EOP Rhetoric-Related Offerings
1968 to 1980	*EOP Rhetoric 104, 105*[a] -Two semester first-year composition course with mandatory tutorial (reserved for EOP students) *EOP Rhetoric 103* -Mandatory weekly one-on-one tutorial (reserved for EOP students)	(none)
1980 to 1983	*EOP Rhetoric 104, 105, 103*	*"Special Options" Rhet 105* -One semester EOP-like course (for low-scoring non-EOP Athletes) *"Special Options"Rhet 103* -Mandatory weekly one-on-one tutorial (reserved for Sp.Op. students)
1983 to 1994	*EOP Rhetoric 104, 105, 103*	*"Special Options" Rhet 105, 103* *"Special Options" Rhetoric 102* -Pre-Sp. Op. 105 course (for low-scoring non-athletes)
1994 to pre-sent	*AWP Rhetoric 101, 102, 100* -Two semester first-year composition course with mandatory tutorial (reserved for lowest-scoring students) *AWP Rhetoric 103, 104* -Two semester first-year course without tutorial (reserved for next-lowest-scoring group of students)	(none)

[a] From 1968 to 1971, the two-semester EOP Rhetoric sequence was known as Rhet 101 and 102, with Rhet 103 serving as the tutorial. In 1972, however, the general Rhetoric requirement was reconfigured, and EOP course names were changed to EOP Rhet 104 and 105 (EOP Rhet 103 remained the same) to reflect the new departmental course-numbering system (Waldoff 1).

Finally, it should be noted that EOP Rhetoric featured consistently smaller class sizes along with increased one-on-one student tutorial support to assist students in the program. This degree of student-teacher contact was considered in many ways to be the centerpiece of the program; as a report written sometime in the mid-1970s suggests,

> the success of the English Department's EOP Rhetoric Program depends primarily on its ability to meet the verbal skills needs of individuals in the Program. Both in EOP Rhetoric 103 [the tutorial section] (where there is a one-to-one student-to-instructor ratio) and in EOP Rhetoric 104 and 105 (where the maximum student-to-instructor ratio is 15-to-1), the Program is designed to meet individual needs in ways impossible in the larger, more heterogeneous regular rhetoric sections. ("EOP Rhetoric Report" 1, underline author's)

And, indeed, teacher-student contact was primary within the program: during the early days of the program classes were capped at 12 as opposed to 20 for the mainstream courses (Shelley, "A Crown Don't Make No King" 5); even by the early 1990s, courses had remained at 15 while the mainstream courses had expanded to 22 (Baron, Letter to Richard Wheeler 1). In addition, all students in all EOP Rhetoric courses were guaranteed one-on-one support in the form of a Rhetoric 103 tutorial course conducted by tutors in the EOP Writing Lab. These tutorials were developed in conjunction with the activities going on in specific classes, and thus were perceived to be doing work integral to the overall program.

Importantly, though, even as EOP Rhetoric program featured these important benefits, it suffered from a number of problems as well, problems that certainly

contributed to the sort of overall sponsorship dynamic that I will be discussing throughout this dissertation. To begin, the program featured a fairly consistent belief that students' backgrounds (whether defined in racial, cultural, or educational terms) were "deficits" to be overcome and/or problems to be corrected. In some time periods, this a sentiment was expressed quite openly, as when the Spencer Report for the EOP program suggests in 1968 that students in EOP may need to begin a process of "unlearning his own linguistic division of the universe, his own way of thinking in order to 'additively learn'… new cultural and content knowledge" provided by the University (Spencer 13). At other times in program history, this sort of pronouncement was uttered in much more color-blind language, though with much the same import: consider, for instance, the prescription in 1976 made by EOP Rhetoric Director Ella DeVries that this same EOP Writing Lab would best serve students language needs by focusing

> first upon the smaller elements of the students' writing: spelling, word choice, 'ed' and 's' verb endings, verb tense, pronoun reference, structure of individual sentences, etc. When simpler problems are eliminated, move to more sophisticated problems such as diction, conciseness, coherence, transition, methods of support, complexity of thought, etc.. ("Rhetoric 103: The Directive" 1)

Engaging in this sort of error-driven view of language learning, DeVries further suggests, will ultimately "teach students to respect both Standard English and their own dialects" ("To the Rhetoric Teaching Staff" 1). Ultimately, what these sorts of "deficit" views of the program served to perpetuate, I think, was a belief that students who were racially different were also academically inferior.

Secondly, the program suffered from significant budget problems throughout its entire history: from its inception in 1968 to its dissolution and reconstitution as a new "color-blind" remedial program in 1994, it was funded with a patchwork of permanent funds and "soft money" that needed to be allocated and reallocated each year from the budget of the Vice-Chancellor of Academic Affairs, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the English Department, or sometimes all three. These problems wreaked havoc on the program in general, evidenced by the fact that the archives feature literally hundreds of documents documenting the yearly scramble to fund and staff the program. A brief overview of the funding situation throughout the history of EOP Rhetoric offered by Dean of LAS Emily Peck is summarized in Table 1-3 on page 42.

In turn, these budget problems also seemed to wreak havoc on program administration as well: during its 25 year history, the program had no less than fewer than ten directors as EOP Rhetoric (and four more as AWP Rhetoric) as outlined in Table 1-4 on page 43. As Director from 1981-1983 Susan Peck MacDonald claimed, this budget situation was particularly damaging to the program, because "when the director never knows whether he or she will be employed for the following year, coherent program planning becomes difficult" (Letter to Robert W. Rogers 1).

Between this remedial focus on the one hand and the budget and administrative problems on the other, then, program sponsorship proved problematic in many ways. Even with the sorts of features noted above—smaller class size, more one-on-one attention, etc.—the program had a difficult time counteracting these negative forces, and students were negatively effected as a result.

Table 1-3

EOP Rhetoric Funding Timeline

1968-1972
Program funded entirely by "soft money," i.e., non-recurring funds assembled from the Vice-Chancellor of Academic Affairs Office, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the English Department.
1972-1984
Permanent (but partial) program budget of $43,000 in recurring funds granted by Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs; additional "soft money" obtained from College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and English Department as needed to meet yearly operating costs.
1984-1990
Permanent budget for EOP Rhetoric program raised by Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs to $97,000 to account for inflation; again, additional "soft money" funds to cover operating expenses obtained as needed from College of LAS and the English Department.
1990-1994
Permanent budget for EOP Rhetoric adjusted to $134,000 by Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs; new budget contingent upon restructuring of EOP Rhetoric as a non-race-based writing program.

Adapted from: Peck, Emily. Letter to Associate Vice Chancellor Jane W. Loeb. 16 March 1990. University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Table 1-4

Directors of EOP/AWP Rhetoric, 1968-Present

1968-1969: Charles Sanders	**1969-1972:** Michael O'Brien
1972-1975: Virginia Oram	**1975-1977:** Ella DeVries
1977-1979: Jim Burns	**1979-1981:** Steven Harris
1981-1983: Susan Peck MacDonald	**1983-1984:** Avon Crismore
1984-1993: Don Cruickshank	**1993-1994:** Joyce Simutis (AWP)
1994-1998: Don Cruickshank (AWP)	**1998-2000:** Paul Prior (AWP)
2000-Present: Peter Mortensen (AWP)	

Dissertation Preview

Having outlined above my major arguments, their theoretical bases, and methodological components, I want to close this chapter by providing a sense of what each remaining chapter of the dissertation will be discussing.

Chapter 2 "Literacy Sponsorship and 'Racial Crisis': The Late-1960s Origins of EOP Rhetoric" explores the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric against a backdrop of late-60s racial strife and unrest that many Illinois administrators perceived to be a direct threat to the well-being of the university. It contends that EOP Rhetoric was sponsored by the university in large part to diffuse this threat, aided by the adoption of ideologies of language and literacy that emphasized the inherent superiority of white

ways of knowing, speaking, and writing. These ideologies, the chapter claims, ultimately served to transform demands for substantive race-conscious institutional change and reform within EOP Rhetoric into programs and practices aimed at changing "deficient" students to fit the university status quo. The chapter does close, however, by highlighting the ways in which several administrators worked to contest these ideologies and their effects at an institutional level, arguing that race-consciousness philosophy and praxis was a key to their overall success.

Chapter 3 "Standards and Color-Blindness: EOP Rhetoric Meets 'Literacy Crisis'" focuses on the dynamics of racialized literacy sponsorship within the mid-1970s context of "literacy crisis." It argues that proponents of this crisis (exemplified by the well-known 1975 Newsweek piece "Why Johnny Can't Write") employed the rhetoric of "excellence" and "standards" to promote a color-blind philosophy of literacy, one in which racialized power and privilege supposedly did not matter. Such discourse, the chapter suggests, not only subtly reaffirmed the authority of the white mainstream to dictate definitions of literacy, but also subtly dismissed any attempts to contest or resist this authority. The chapter then demonstrates how such color-blind arguments were utilized within EOP Rhetoric to both further reify ideologies of language and literacy that privileged whiteness and to co-opt possible resistance to them. And, in concluding, the chapter discusses the ways in which the rhetoric of color-blindness made resistance more difficult to enact than it had been in the previous era of the program, transforming even explicit administrative concerns about racism into concerns about eliminating student "error."

Chapter 4 "Affirmative Action and Interest Convergence: EOP Rhetoric in a Post-*Bakke* World" begins by identifying what it calls the logic of "institutional interest convergence" emerging from the 1978 *Bakke* decision, a logic suggesting that affirmative action be defined explicitly as a tool for promoting white institutional self-interest. It then demonstrates how this logic encouraged Illinois to highlight the affirmative action roots of the EOP Rhetoric as needed in the pursuit of its own institutional self-interest, regardless of whether or not such rhetoric ultimately translated into institutional practice. In closing, however, the chapter suggests that the reintroduction of race-conscious discourse to the campus during this era gave rise to significant new institutional avenues for resistance, including the development of the first full-time autonomous EOP Rhetoric Director position in the history of the program.

Chapter 5 "Mainstreaming and the End of EOP Rhetoric" begins by exploring the ways in which arguments for the "mainstreaming" of basic writing and other special writing support programs began to emerge in the late 1980s and early 1990s from the concern that such programs unfairly labeled students as inferior. It then presents a number of important critiques of this mainstreaming argument, highlighting those which point out the failure of mainstreaming to fully theorize the institutional and racial impact of abolishing such BW programs. After doing so, the chapter examines the ways in which such a mainstreaming argument was invoked to argue for the reconfiguration of the EOP Rhetoric program as a color-blind writing instruction program for all students with low test scores, highlighting the ways in which it actually served to undermine the ideological and material support that the old EOP Rhetoric program had long offered to minority students. In concluding, the chapter does note that the permanent EOP Rhetoric

Director managed to retain some focus on issues of race and power even after the post-EOP writing program was established, thus offering at least some level of resistance to mainstreaming. However, it notes that this resistance was ultimately not enough to fully resuscitate the minority support aspects formerly associated with EOP Rhetoric.

Chapter 6 "Racialized Sponsorship and Institutional Dynamics: Lessons from EOP Rhetoric" offers both an analysis of the legacy of the EOP Rhetoric program and a discussion of the value of such analysis for the larger field. It argues that the dissertation underscores the need for continued attention to issues of race and racism within the field of composition studies, provides important insight into the institutional dynamics of both racism and resistance, and highlights the need for more careful analysis of possibilities for future program reform across other institutional contexts.

Finally, **Appendix A** and **Appendix B** provide an overview of UIUC administrative structure and a timeline of major EOP Rhetoric events respectively. These are designed to help orient readers to the institutional contexts being discussed throughout this dissertation. In turn, **Appendix C** offers thoughts on possible reform of the present-day AWP program, thoughts generated from the larger analysis that I present here.

Chapter 2

Literacy Sponsorship and "Racial Crisis": The Late-1960s Origins of EOP Rhetoric

By the end of the 1960s, the Civil Rights movement as it was being enacted by African Americans had undergone a profound transformation. As historian Bruce J. Shulman suggests, African Americans had become increasingly disillusioned with more traditional forms of protest, and were expressing themselves in more confrontational and sometimes more violent ways. He insists that by the end of the 1960s, "[a]cross the nation, more radical voices preached black nationalism, advising African Americans to fend for themselves, to forsake liberal reform through a corrupt, racist political system and seek power for and over their own communities" (113). Historian Joy Ann Williamson agrees, suggesting that

> [d]oubts about the federal government's dedication to improving the conditions of African Americans, suspicions regarding the extent to which white liberals could be considered true allies, and the large discrepancy between expected results and actual achievement produced a shift in ideas on the proper tactics and means to gain Black liberation. Many African American youth grew frustrated with the slow pace of change and demanded more power, real power, Black Power. (24)

Accompanying this larger shift in ideologies and tactics of protest on the part of African American Civil Rights activitists was an increased focus on colleges and universities as sites of political protest, activism, and change. As Williamson argues, many Black students who were already attending college, particularly at predominantly white institutions, "sought to make Black Power real on their campuses. Many interpreted their role as the

mouthpiece for Blacks who lacked the skills necessary to articulated their grievances effectively" (27). One of the primary ways in which they sought to do so was through demands for vastly increased Black presence on the campus: the recruitment of more Black students, the development of Black cultural centers on campuses, and the creation of Black-centered curricula and courses in particular. Indeed, as a 1970 report on student unrest authored by the Nixon administration suggests, the late 1960s were characterized by increasing numbers of

> protests against discrimination in university admissions, and demands that more be done to recruit Blacks and that more be done to assist them once admitted. Black students demanded, too, that the university begin to give assistance to local Black communities, that it establish a curriculum in Black studies, and that it recruit more Black faculty to teach courses in these and other areas. (President's Commission on Campus Unrest 57)

Importantly, in addition to articulating these new demands for change, Black activists and others also demonstrated a renewed willingness to employ protest, intimidation, and even violence if necessary to make their demands heard: demonstrations and riots on the Columbia campus in 1968 were motivated in large part by dissatisfaction race relations on the campus and with the surrounding community of Harlem (Boren 36); unrest at South Carolina State College began with dissatisfaction over segregation in higher education and the failure of the institution to develop a Black-centered curriculum (Boren 172); similarly, demonstrations at Cornell University ensued from a long buildup of racial tension punctuated by the burning of a cross in front of a Black dormitory (Downs 162).

In the face of this unprecedented race-based protest on college and university campuses across the country, many administrators began to design and implement "high risk" programs like the EOP program at Illinois. Educational historian and critic John Egerton suggests, in fact, that the development of such programs was directly attributable to this new sense of pressure being placed upon these institutions, this new sense of "racial crisis" engulfing campuses across the country. He claims, for instance, that the development of such a high risk program at Rutgers University was prompted in large part by the

> Newark Riots, the slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King, and the rising militancy of the city's minorities [all of which] have contributed to an acute race consciousness on the university campus. The feeling that minorities have not been a significant part of the university's operations—and a sense of urgency in changing the pattern—is heard frequently in conversation. (*State Universities* 45)

He argues similarly that the development of the high risk program at UCLA (a campus he suggests was long associated with "sparkling white wealth" (51)), was also profoundly motivated by racial unrest: "the Watts riot moved [racial issues] closer to UCLA's suburban gates, and since then the rising militancy of minorities and the death of Martin Luther King have caused the university to reconsider its responsibilities to the non-white and the non-wealthy segments of the city" (51). Stephen J. Wright of the College Entrance Examination Board agrees, insisting that a primary motivator in the proliferation of high risk programs had been "[a]gitation, primarily on the part of

minority groups" (vi). And, finally, historian and mid-70s Illinois graduate student John Carpenter states quite directly that

> [t]here were [many] factors involved in the compensatory efforts common in the late 1960s, not the least of which was fear. Many white people were apprehensive about the possibility of retaliation by blacks, especially with the memory of recent riots and devastation in black ghettos in many cities. While most equal opportunity programs in universities were established with genuine concern for racial equality, one must not ignore fear of the consequences of not establishing such a program as a motivating force. (27)

It seemed, then, that within this larger climate of "crisis," colleges and universities across the country were poised to begin making significant changes to the ways in which they viewed their students, themselves, and their mission through the development and implementation of such high risk endeavors.

Crucially, though, as was noted in the introduction to the dissertation, support for fundamental change to the racial status quo on many of these campuses was often lacking. Egerton is particularly adamant about this point, insisting that neither faculty nor administrations on most campuses tended to show strong support for making the changes called for by many high risk programs. Faculty, he argues, demonstrated a "strong reluctance to change the makeup of the students body, the content of the curriculum, or the prestige level of their own ranks," preferring instead to advocate for "strict non-discrimination, merit, quality, and color-blindness" (*State Universities* 94). Furthermore, Egerton insists that administrative support for such high risk efforts, while often more forthcoming than from faculty themselves, generally emerged from the work of isolated

individuals, not from the work of large, coordinated groups of administrators. As he argues, even the "most daring high risk programs seem to have resulted from the concern of a key individual" rather than from wide-ranging or integrated administrative support (*Higher Education* 12).

In turn, theorists of language and literacy have argued that universities engaging in high risk program activity proved particularly unwilling to alter their traditional notions of language and literacy activity. Theorist Geneva Smitherman, for instance, insists that the ideologies of language and literacy supported within such high risk programs tended to be staunchly conservative, much more concerned with "sociolinguistic etiquette and the norms of the white middle class" than with working to "instill pride in Black Language and culture...to teach Black students critical thinking and analysis...[or] above all, to give them the tools to righteously examine the socioeconomic workings of America" (203). In particular, she notes that many such programs seemed to feature an almost exclusive emphasis on the learning of "standard" English as the endpoint of successful instruction, often with the justification that the ability to speak, write, and think with the "standard" was the only means to social mobility and success in the larger world (204). And, as a result, she suggests that many such programs served to support the status quo by offering an "implicit acknowledgement that the system is good and valid and that all that need be done is to alter the people to fit into it" (207). In this way, Smitherman implies (along with other theorists as I will discuss later in the chapter) that the limited potential for change that may have been embodied within the high risk movement itself was largely undercut by language ideologies, programs, and practices designed ultimately to reify rather than critique the racial status quo.

My goal in this chapter is to understand the ways in which these sorts of conservative pressures related to language and literacy learning shaped the sponsorship of EOP and its EOP Rhetoric component. The chapter begins with a discussion of the ways in which a number of conservative language ideologies—particularly "bidialecticalism"—operated within the larger high risk movement to limit possibilities for fundamental change to the racial and institutional status quo. It then explores the ways in which these same ideologies of language and literacy profoundly influenced the sponsorship of both the larger EOP program and the EOP Rhetoric program: first, it demonstrates how a number of race-conscious changes to university philosophy, policy, and structure proposed within the context of the Spencer Report alluded to in Chapter 1 were undermined by the Report's own emphasis on conservative bidialecticalism; next, it demonstrates the ways in which several powerful administrators invoked such conservative bidialecticalism to discredit and undermine changes to the way in which writing instruction was conducted in the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab. Before concluding, the chapter does take care to point out that a few administrators sought to promote resistance and change to such language ideologies, and at times even managed to institutionalize their resistance at some level. However, it concludes that their resistance was at best partial, and never able to fully reverse the reification of the status quo within the context of EOP Rhetoric in any profound sense.

Theorizing Language and Literacy in the High Risk Movement

The push toward high risk programs and other similar compensatory educational efforts throughout the middle and late 1960s was accompanied by a flurry of articles and full-length texts offered by major mainstream educational organizations of the time, each

intended to provide interested educators, administrators, researchers, and theorists with information about the language needs of minority children. Among some of the major volumes and collections released during this period were the NCTE's 1964 volume *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, its 1965 volume *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, and its 1968 volume *Nonstandard Dialect* (edited by Robert F. Hogan, an individual who would come to play a major part in the development of the EOP Rhetoric program); the *Florida FL Reporter's* special "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education" issue; and the Center for Applied Linguistics' 1970 volume *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City*.

In the introduction to the *Teaching Standard English* volume, linguists Ralph Fasold and Robert Shuy offer a characterization of three general approaches to issues of language and literacy that frequently appeared within the texts mentioned above: the ideologies of "eradication," "bidialecticalism," and "respect for dialect differences." "Eradication," they suggest, is a position arguing that "right is right and wrong is wrong with regard to the social varieties of American English" (ix), one asserting that the only "right" version of language and literacy instruction is instruction in "standard" English. An illustrative example of such a position can be found, they state, in Robert Green's contribution to the *Social Dialects and Language Learning* volume above, particularly in his suggestion that

> area dialects which allow one to be identified and discriminated against perhaps should be restructured...The very inadequate speech that is used in the home is also used in the neighborhood, in the play group, and in the classroom. Since these poor English patterns are reconstructed constantly by the associations that these young people have, the school has to play a strong

> role in bringing about change in order that these young people can communicate more adequately in our society. (qtd. in Fasold and Shuy x)

Next, Fasold and Shuy identify the "bidialecticalist" position,[1] one insisting that students should be taught "standard" English as part of their linguistic repertoire in order that they might be able to

> make linguistic adjustments to specific social situations. These adjustments in phonology, grammar, and lexicon will range anywhere from the obvious adjustments between adults and small children to the more complicated sociolinguistic switching between school, home, and playground talk. (xi)

Fasold and Shuy insist that this is not the same position as offered by the eradicationists above, as "[t]hose who encourage [bidialecticalism] feel that the teacher's job is not to eradicate playground English—or any other kind" (xi). Rather, they suggest that this position is designed to "help children to make the switch comfortably from one setting to another" (xi), i.e. to help students navigate between and among situations that call for either more or less "standard" approaches to speaking English, often using English-as-a-Second-Language heuristics and techniques (xi-xiv).

Finally, Fasold and Shuy identify a position that they call "respect for dialect differences" (xiii), a position advocating that language instruction not focus so much on the perceived differences or deficiencies of speakers of "nonstandard" English as upon the power structures and practices of the mainstream itself and their contributions to oppression. This ideology, they insist, advocates that "instead of offering standard English to nonstandard speakers, we should not try to change the speech of nonstandard dialect speakers at all. If

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[1]The term bidialecticalism is used synonymously in the literature with other terms including "diloquilaism" and "bilingualism." For the sake of simplicity, I will be using the term "bidialecticalism" exclusively throughout the dissertation.

anything, we should attack the prejudices against nonstandard dialects which standard English speakers have" (xi). Evidence of this sort of position, they suggest, can be found in the claim of Wayne A. O'Neil that language and literacy instruction "ought to educate (especially the people in power) for tolerance of differences...In many ways this is the more important kind of language study that needs to be accomplished in the schools" (qtd. in Fasold and Shuy xi). The thrust of this position, then, is that the social and institutional status quo needs to change if instruction itself is to truly be made more just and more equitable.

Though Fasold and Shuy do not spend a great deal of time assessing the relative merits of each of these positions,[2] key volume contributor Joan C. Baratz does.[3] The "eradication" position, she notes, was particularly popular with many theorists and researchers during the dawning of the high risk movement in the early 1960s. However, she argues that with time, the position was increasingly discredited by linguistic research demonstrating that "the language of lower class Negro children [is a] different yet highly structured, highly developed system" (20). Baratz herself agrees with this widespread rejection of eradication ideologies, suggesting that eradication constitutes a fundamental misreading of the social and linguistic situation of minority students (20). In turn, she argues that the "respect" position, though having become at least somewhat popular by the end of the 1960s, was too political and extremist to be of value. She argues, in fact, that some proponents of this position went so far as to suggest that the teaching of "standard" English

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[2]Fasold and Shuy do offer the opinion that "[e]radicationist procedures have done little to improve the language of inner-city children; on the contrary, such procedures have damaged their self-confidence" (xiii); however, they do not spend time exploring this argument nor making arguments about the merits of the other two approaches.

[3]Fasold and Shuy state that Baratz's work should be read as a helpful "introduction to the educational issues involved in teaching standard English in ghetto schools" (xiv).

in any form is simply "a political conspiracy to 'keep the black man down,'" thereby ignoring the ways that "standard" English can help students gain access to the mainstream (25). She therefore rejects this position as well.

Importantly, though, Baratz finds a great deal of merit in the bidialectical approach to language and literacy instruction. She suggests that this bidialectical approach recognizes the linguistic reality that "all dialects (Negro non-standard, Standard American English, Oxford English, etc.) are equal" (24); at the same time, she insists that it recognizes the social reality that "some dialects are considered more valuable than others in certain contexts" (25), and therefore that "it is necessary to each standard English to non-standard speakers...if they are to become part of the mainstream" (26). In this sense, Baratz paints the bidialectical position as the most "realistic" approach to thinking about these sorts of language issues: it views all languages as essentially equal, but recognizes at the same time that each has a particular social value that needs to be recognized and addressed through language and literacy instruction.

It is important to note that Baratz was by no means alone in making this argument. Indeed, many of the volumes mentioned above offer a similar assessment of the merits of bidialecticalism. For instance, the 1965 NCTE collection *Language Problems for the Disadvantaged* concludes with the argument made by the NCTE "Taskforce on Teaching English to the Disadvantaged" that bidialecticalism is the most sensible way to think about educating minority students. Such a perspective, the Taskforce insists, recognizes at one level that "[m]any disadvantaged children and adults speak a nonstandard English dialect. Every speaker of English is a speaker of a dialect, whether it is characteristic of New English,

New York City, suburban Chicago, rural Georgia, Harlem, or Oakland, California." (272). However, it contends that such a position simultaneously acknowledges the

> unfortunate and unavoidable fact...that some of the English dialects are so unique as to prevent speakers from participating fully in social structure, in prosperity, in the distinct culture, or in the democracy of the United States. Our educational enterprise has as one important function the preparation of every citizen for full participation. And to the extent that a man's dialect denies him this privilege, the school must help him overcome that disability. Teachers everywhere recognize that social and economic mobility requires that a person be able to speak an "established" dialect, or standard informal English. (272)

Similarly, in the 1968 NCTE publication *Nonstandard Dialect*, NCTE Executive Director Robert F. Hogan suggests that any useful language program must acknowledge that "all speakers in so large a country as ours use dialects, both regional and socioeconomic in origin" ("A Cautionary Foreword" 1). At the same time, though, he asserts that such a program must work to help students "confront dialect differences," particularly those which serve to "mark—or are taken to mark—one social class from another. They are the linguistic features which can close off casual conversations among strangers, which terminate job interviews, which even on the faceless telephone evoke a statement that an apartment advertised as vacant was leased earlier that same day" (vii).

And, again, such an argument is made by Virginia Allen in her piece "Teaching Standard English as Second Dialect" featured in the special 1969 volume of the *Florida FL Reporter*. She argues that bidialecticalism recognizes that "the presence or absence of

standard forms in a person's speech is not a moral or ethical issue" (123); however, she simultaneously acknowledges that

> the standard dialect must be taught, and it should be learned. Even though there is nothing inherently "wrong" or "bad" about using a nonstandard dialect, there are times when it can harm the person who uses it...Undemocratic and unfair as it may seem, the fact is that standard English is "front door" English. And American schools are committed to the task of making it possible for every citizen to enter by the front door if he wishes to do so. Just as candor and a clear view of the facts are essential in defining what standard English is, so also one needs to be factual and frank in saying why the standard dialect ought to be learned. The students needs to understand that a command of standard English is vital to any American (particularly any "minority group" American) who aims to associate with speakers of the standard dialect on anything like equal footing. (124)

Ultimately, then, each of these popular texts agrees with Baratz that bidialecticalism offers the most "realistic" approach to language and literacy instruction, insisting that this approach recognizes the legitimacy of all language forms while simultaneously recognizing the "social fact" that society looks down upon those who cannot use the standard. Each contends that if we are to engage in the "preparation of every citizen for full participation" in the mainstream, to give them the "ability to speak the established dialect," or to allow them to enter the mainstream through the "front door," then the bidialectical ideology offers the best course of action.

Though these sorts of mainstream sources proved to be quite supportive of bidialecticalism, a small yet nonetheless vocal group of critics took strong issue with this bidialectical ideology and its widespread adoption. The gist of their critique lies in what they see as an undertheorized view of linguistic reality offered by bidialecticalists, a view that takes present linguistic and racial power relations as unchangeable social facts rather than as targets of critique and eventual reform. Thomas Kochman suggests in his 1969 piece in the *Florida FL Reporter,* for example, that

> [t]he problem [with bidialecticalism] is in its supposedly "realistic" approach. It says, "People make social judgments all the time. We live in a socially stratified and deterministic society. Recognize it! Conform to the existing social order and its rules." Unfortunately, [this] linguistic approach accepts as social determinant the same obnoxious and racist standards as the prescriptive-assimilationist approach and its so doing merely perpetuates the alienation begun with [the eradication approach]...The Black child knows that he pays the social price for being Black, not because he does or does not speak standard dialect. (88)

James Sledd concurs with this critique in his 1969 *College English* piece, suggesting that such bidialectical programs assume that "[m]iddle-class white prejudice will rule eternally" (1310). He further argues that the argument for "standard" English as a precondition of employment is specious, as "[t]he fact is, of course, that Northern employers and labor leaders dislike black faces but use black English as an excuse" (1311). Again, in a 1971 article, Wayne O'Neil argues that bidialecticalism can most accurately be described as "a piece of educational emptiness that helps maintain the present distribution of power in

society" (437). And, finally, in her 1977 text *Talkin' and Testifyin'*, Geneva Smitherman insists that within the context of bidialecticalism

> the victims become culpable for the crime, for though poverty and racism created and sustained the economically impoverished position of blacks, still it is blacks who must surrender the "socially stigmatized" cultural and linguistic forms which are intolerable to the white mainstream. In short, the underlying ideology implies that it is blacks who must change, adapt, and tighten up the "cultural lag," not whites. (208)

What all of these critiques ultimately suggest, then, is that these mainstream articulations of bidialecticalism posit an unfair, unjust, and racist societal status quo as an unchangeable fact of life rather than as a phenomenon worthy of examination, critique, and change. Indeed, bidialecticalism advocates that students learn how to "talk white" so as to avoid stigma, yet fails to attend to the larger dynamics of race and racism that will stigmatize these students regardless of their language and literacy practices. As a result, this ideology ends up valorizing the very power structures that it purports trying to equalize for students.

Operating from this fundamental dissatisfaction with bidialecticalism, these same critics insist that the only truly egalitarian position to take with respect to issues of language and literacy learning is one rooted in respect for language difference. Sledd argues that successful language and literacy instruction ought to eschew concerns about "standard" English entirely, substituting for these concerns an approach focused on three things: "teaching the children of the minorities to read" (1315); attempting to "open the minds and enhance the lives of the poor and ignorant" (1329); and "teaching the majority to understand the life and language of the oppressed" (1329). In this way, he argues that changes to the

social structure can be made in ways that will combat racism. Along similar lines, Smitherman argues for a significantly more progressive version of the bidialectical approach, one that she terms "communicative competence" (233). This approach emphasizes the teaching of "linguistic and semantic appropriateness [related to] the ability to employ rhetorical strategies to create a desired mood or effect in [students'] audience and to move that audience in the direction [they] desire" (233); that is, the ability to switch among various language varieties as needed to meet an audience's expectations. Crucially, though, as Smitherman insists, this is not simply a rehashing of bidialecticalism: "[l]inguistic versatility and rhetorical competence of this caliber cannot be equated with the usual overly simplified conception of standard English as having to do with *s*'s, *ed*'s, and correct spelling" (233). Rather, this kind of language learning is "something much deeper and more expansive than these superfluous norms" as it involves "the business of educating young black minds to deal with (and if necessary, on) a society of power politics and incredible complexity" (234). In this way, she contends that this sort of instruction must involve discussion of the "standard" along with careful analysis of the linguistic status quo, its effects, and its possibilities for reform.

Ultimately, these critiques of bidialectical ideologies of language and literacy place the creation and expansion of high risk language learning programs in an important light. As I have suggested, the late 1960s marked a time of increasing unrest, protest, and violence on college campuses stemming from dissatisfaction with their racial status quo. What these critiques underscore is the fact that bidialecticalism was intended at a fundamental level to help quell this unrest, perhaps, but not to reform the status quo that stood as the cause of this unrest. Indeed, this bidialectical approach was based upon the idea that the racist status quo

was permanent, and all that could be done (and, indeed, all that should be done) for minority learners was to make them fluent enough in the "standard" so as to be able to negotiate it.

Having outlined these various ideological approaches to the teaching of language and literacy within the high risk movement as a whole, I want to move next to a discussion of the ways in which they shaped the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric itself. I will suggest that, while all three of these approaches—eradicationist, bidialectical, and respect-oriented—were manifest within the context of the EOP and EOP Rhetoric programs, a conservative bidialectical approach was ultimately invoked and institutionalized as the guiding principle for EOP Rhetoric in ways that undercut any real potential for status quo reform.

Sponsoring Language Instruction at the University of Illinois

The Dawning of "Racial Crisis" at Illinois

In much the same way that fears about racial unrest seemed to be mounting on campuses across the country at the end of the 1960s, a new fear was beginning to manifest itself on the University of Illinois campus by the end of the 1960s as well. Illinois' Dean of Admissions and Records Charles E. Warwick suggests, for example, that great pressure was being exerted on his office to admit more non-white students throughout 1967 and 1968:

> [a]s you may recall, there was considerable ferment on this campus among students, faculty members, and administrators concerning the question of what immediate, dramatic and significant action might be taken by the University to show its concern in solving the single greatest domestic problem in this country. The Office of Admissions and Records as well as other offices on the campus were besieged with visitors from the Black Students' Association,

> the Committee on Racial Justice, and the old Committee on Student Affairs concerning what the office was doing in the recruiting of disadvantaged students and what additional plans we had in mind. (1)

Similarly, a note from Illinois' Chancellor J. W. Peltason to Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences Robert W. Rogers says that pressure for race-based curriculum change was steadily increasing:

> [s]ooner or later, and probably sooner rather than later, some group or other will "demand" that we provide courses in African history, Negro history, Negro culture, Negro music, etc. Could I ask you to take the leadership and quietly discuss this matter with the head of the history department, English department, and...others you might think would have an interest in the matter to see if we can come forward with an educationally responsible program and anticipate this demand rather than have to respond to it in a crisis situation? Since there is probably some urgency in this matter, I would appreciate your doing what you can...I think it best to keep the matter quiet for a while until we can get our own plans developed. For once it appears that we are attempting to do something quite a few people will want to become involved in. However, before too long, and I would stress fairly soon, I would suggest that ...we involve the Black Students' Association in our planning rather than have them hear about it from the newspapers or other sources. (1)

And, Dean of LAS Robert W. Rogers argues in turn that his College of Liberal Arts and Sciences needs to envision new sorts of curricular programs and initiatives in order to meet

these demands for reform. He suggests that "the case for direct action [toward curricular reform] need not be argued; it should be clear to everyone" (qtd. in Atkins et al. 1).

It seems, then, that this mounting national racial crisis was being perceived as a threat to the established order at Illinois. The first quotation makes reference to a "siege" of sorts upon the university demanding "dramatic and significant" action; the second talks about the need for responding to pressure for new programs from the Black Students' Association and other sources, pressure that would need to be met in a "quiet" but "responsible" way[4]; the third suggests that the need for "direct" action should be "clear to everyone." In each case, the administrators seem to be calling for immediate action to address this impending racial crisis. And, importantly, this growing sense of fear and concern across the campus was further exacerbated by the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April of 1968. Historian John Carpenter suggests that many administrators became particularly fearful after this event, worrying that "racial riots and demonstrations" were going to "plague the university throughout 1968-1969" unless the campus demonstrated some sort of response to this mounting racial problem (114). In a recent interview, first Dean of EOP Clarence Shelley agreed with this assessment, suggesting that King's assassination in particular

[4]This notion of "quiet" response is an interesting one. Certainly, one way to read it would be to suggest that Pelatson wanted to keep the demands of groups like the BSA quiet so that their ultimate impact could be minimized. Such a reading would fit easily with my larger claim throughout the paper that EOP was designed to deflate pressure for institutional change, not to generate such change itself. Yet, it must be noted that Pelatson did promote and defend the EOP program very publicly, even in the face of significant mainstream criticism (Shelley, Personal Interview [27 February 2002]). In addition, Dean Miriam Shelden writes that Pelatson had a particular interest in issues of racial justice at Illinois, and that his attitude was crucial to the development of EOP in the first place (2). Given these facts, as well as his admonition in this passage that the BSA actively be included in decision-making, I think it also possible to read this "quiet" deliberation as an effort by Pelatson to allow some degree of change (though change that would be deemed institutionally "responsible") without interference from anti-EOP faculty members. At some level, then, I think that Pelatson's actions should be read as somewhat more progressive and change-oriented than those of other administrators—for instance, those in the "Senate Committee on Student English"—that I will be discussing later within this chapter.

"energized students to make their demands more firm, and also energized the campus to find a way to do something very quickly." (Personal Interview [27 February 2002])

In response to this growing sense of crisis, Illinois' Chancellor J. W. Pelatson announced via press release on May 2, 1968 that the university would design and implement the EOP Program as a means to recruit and admit 500 minority students to the freshman class beginning the following Fall semester, September 1968. And, in doing so, he suggested that the need for such a program was urgent given recent events: "We have done some things, but not enough. The racial crisis of today demands that we take steps of gigantic proportions" (qtd. in Carpenter 29). Of course, in order to actually implement EOP in September of that year, all aspects of the program—recruitment, admission, housing, programming, and so forth—would need to be developed and implemented in a four-month period, one coinciding with campus summer break. Yet, as Pelatson suggests in his announcement, the impending "crisis" of the time demanded such rapid and drastic action on the part of the Illinois administration.

Ultimately, a summer of hectic activity culminated in September 1968 with the successful recruitment and admission of 565 EOP students (502 freshman and 63 transfer students) over 95% of whom were Black[5] (Williamson 76). Shelley recalls the initial difficulties he faced in assuming the Dean position for this program in the summer months:

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[5]The predominantly Black student demographic during the early years of EOP was a function of the recruiting process itself: as Shelley suggests, the BSA acted as the main recruiter for the EOP program, and it worked actively to make EOP into a source of increased Black student visibility and power on campus (Personal Interview [27 Feb 2002]). Although EOP did seek later to increase its recruitment of Latinos and to a smaller extent Asians, the program retained a predominantly black character throughout most of its history. For instance, in 1975, the EOP Rhetoric program was reported to be 85% Black, 10% Hispanic, and 5% white (DeVries, "To the Rhetoric Teaching Staff" 1), giving some indication at least of the demographics of the overall EOP program at this time; in 1985, the second-to-last year of the stand-alone EOP program, its freshman class was 81% Black, 13% Latino, 5% Asian, and 1% White (Jeffries, "Educational Opportunities Program Status Report" 6).

> By the time I got here to direct the program [in July 1968], the recruiters had all gone home to do the recruiting where they lived, there were no advisors, aid offices had all been shut down, there was nobody here at the college, and the campus was pretty deserted. So I was running around trying to figure out what the hell was going on. (Personal Interview [27 February 2002])

He further recalls the difficulties that he faced in getting the program up and running. Upon coming to campus, he suggests that he was

> surprised that so little had been done. For some reason, I had assumed that much more had been done. I couldn't imagine that they would have set up the program and sent off students to recruit without some very good training and supervision. I was surprised that college offices had not participated in discussions about advisement, course selection, and [similar issues]...my primary reaction was just amazement that the Admissions Director and the Aid Director would go on vacation and assign no one to do that kind of work...I suspect they felt it would never happen. [I suppose that they thought that] there's no way in hell we're going to recruit 500 people in the month of August, but [recruiters] somehow got it done. (Personal Interview [1 March 2002]).

In these remarks, then, Shelley fleshes out the sorts of contentions made by Egerton previously: even once the decision to implement the EOP program had been made, neither full-fledged faculty support or full-fledged administrative support for the program was forthcoming. Yet, as he also suggests, the program was implemented in spite of this

resistance, largely as a function of his efforts and the efforts of other relatively isolated administrators, faculty, and staff.

Implementing EOP: The Spencer Report, Bidialectialism, and the Linguistic Status Quo

Given the incredible amount of work and effort required to get the EOP program up and running during its first years, it is unsurprising that the program did not develop a full-fledged mission statement and program description until 1974 when Ernest Morris' report and description of the program was drafted (Morris, "The Educational Opportunities Program" i). However, the EOP program did have the "Spencer Report" alluded in Chapter 1 as a resource upon which to draw. The Spencer Report was a document produced in March of 1968 outlining possibilities for an EOP-type program designed to cater to about 600 minority students per year. It was originally described by Chancellor Pelatson as "just a recommendation," not as a binding programmatic plan (qtd. in Carpenter 27); however, Carpenter notes that with the need to implement the EOP program quickly, the Spencer Report became quite "influential" in shaping the EOP program (27). I want to suggest, therefore, that a close examination of the report and its implications can shed important light on the way in which the overall EOP program was conceived, as well as how this conception was shaped by the conservative ideology of language and literacy learning embodied in bidialecticalism.

At first glance, the Spencer Report seems to grant that in order for the EOP endeavor to facilitate successfully the recruitment, admission, housing, and eventual matriculation of 550+ minority students on a predominantly-white campus, a number of profound changes to

the institutional status quo would need to be made. It states, for instance, that the University must recognize

> the fact that its…campus is largely a white student campus. In comparison to the proportion of Negroes in the population of Illinois, the proportion of Negro students is severely restricted. Similarly, the University often assumes that it has a direct and aggressive responsibility to give more opportunities to Negroes to obtain a college education; and that it has the further responsibility of insuring that more Negro students achieve a successful accomplishment with that opportunity. (2)

In making this assertion, the Spencer Report employs the rhetoric of social responsibility side-by-side with the rhetoric of institutional change—change that must be both "direct" and "aggressive" if it is to meet this crisis directly. One key means of making such changes, it suggests, is recognizing the degree to which the culture of the institution is not like the culture of EOP students, then attempting to reconceptualize university culture accordingly. For instance, the statement suggests that "present selection criteria tend to produce a population of CD's ["culturally deprived" students][6] that is conservative (in the sense of status quoism), one which becomes educated within middle class American technology and culture, and this American ecology is not matched by the facilities available to them when they graduate" (22). It further suggests that

> Because universities tend to represent the best in middle class values, the CD/Negro student has been required to assume a posture of not only achieving academically in areas foreign to his cultural and reward background, but also

[6]The term "CD" here stands for "culturally deprived." The significance of this term, along with the significance of the term "CD/Negro," will be explained in detail shortly.

> to accept attitude and value patterns, and a social reward system which seems and perhaps is unacceptable to either his background or his future. The possibility exists that by the educational process (a socialization process more than an academic one), the CD/Negro student is made unacceptable to his previous culture, but not completely or wholly acceptable to a new one—he is educated to a veritable no-man's land. It must be possible therefore to prepare him for what he is most likely to need, rather than to educate him as much like us as possible. (18)

In both of these passages, it appears as though the campus is poised to make fundamentally race-conscious re-assessments of the needs of students. The first passage suggests that the university must not simply promote status-quoism, but rather recognize the different needs of students. In doing so, it implies that race plays a key role in students' lives: even if they have been prepared to enter the white "mainstream" by their education, the "facilities" of mainstream life "may not be available to them" once they leave the institution. The second passage elaborates upon this, recognizing quite directly that students may be educated by the university in ways acceptable neither to the Black sub-culture from which they come nor the white mainstream culture to which they demand entrance. Indeed, they may be too white for the Black culture, but not white enough for the mainstream, living in a "veritable no-man's land." Taken together, these passages imply that the university should recognize the ways in which issues of race and racism play a key role in fostering successful educational opportunity for EOP students. Students cannot simply be treated as mainstream whites, since doing so will make them fit neither for Black nor white society; rather, they should be

educated according to "what they need," i.e., the things that students themselves will deem essential to their post-university lives.

Crucially, however, even in the midst of this kind of talk about institutional and philosophical change, the Spencer Report retains an extremely conservative view of the students within EOP. This is evident first in the official title of the Spencer Report itself: "The Program for the Culturally Deprived: A Proposal." This notion of "cultural deprivation" references Daniel Patrick Moynihan's assertion (one ultimately promoted by the Lyndon B. Johnson administration more widely) that Black culture is a "culture of poverty" lacking the supposed virtues of the white mainstream (Schulman 116). Its use in the title of the Spencer Report suggests that EOP is predicated on the belief that Black culture is inferior, "deprived" with respect to the white "standard." The Spencer Report then makes this connection between "deprivation" and race more directly through its consistent use of the term "CD/Negro," a discursive conflation of the terms "culturally deprived" and "Negro." This term makes it clear that non-whiteness and deprivation are one and the same, and therefore that EOP students operate from a position of racial and cultural inferiority, one that needs to be overcome if they are to succeed at the university.

Even more conservative, however, is the position adopted by the Spencer Report toward student language use, a position seeming to promote a cross between bidialecticalism and eradication in some sense. The Spencer Report insists, in fact, that the deprivation of the CD/Negro student is closely related to—perhaps even caused by—the deprivation of the non-white language that he or she employs. Consider the following assessment of CD/Negro students and their needs:

> [t]he culturally deprived section of society can be classified as a verbally-developed society. The sub-cultural educational procedures emphasize specific behaviors which tend to deny middle class educational procedures. These behavioral patterns imbued into the minds of the youth of the ghetto, become a personality trait. Those who successfully learn and adapt in this style of instructional and behavioral pattern become the leaders of that community, and thus social change is at the exact opposite pole from the objectives of the educational program. (Spencer 15-16)

What we see here is the assumption that the "orality" of the CD/Negro culture—the inferior half of the oral/literate divide postulated by "Great Divide" theorists (see, for instance, Goody and Watt)—marks an important deficit in students' abilities: as they use this oral culture to make meaning, they develop skills that are at the "exact opposite pole" from that of the mainstream, thus contributing to their overall deprivation even further. In fact, the Spencer Report goes on to suggest that such oral "ghetto language" will interfere profoundly with the ability of students to succeed at the institution, in large part because such language cannot be used to sustain the kind of higher-level thinking that the university requires. It suggests in particular that this ghetto language may cause "serious complications in the future learning of a subject matter field, in English, in which the educational objectives include extrapolation, generalization, and synthesis. This may be a reason why…so many of our CD students fail even after initial success" (29). Again, in true "Great Divide" fashion, the "orality" of these students is assumed to preclude them from engaging in higher-order thinking, the "extrapolation, generalization, and synthesis" required by the university in ways that put them at a distinct disadvantage in comparison to their mainstream peers.

After outlining these students' supposedly "deficient" culture and its root in "deficient" language use, the Spencer Report then outlines a philosophy of race-based literacy instruction, one that purports to reverse this deprivation by eliminating students' non-white language use and replacing it with the language practices of the white mainstream. It insists specifically that non-white "ghetto language" will need to be eliminated through a process of "unlearning":

> It may be necessary to estimate the degree of potential in "unlearning," i.e. whether the student is capable of unlearning his own linguistic division of the universe, his own way of thinking in order to "additively learn" the new cultural and content knowledge. He may be required to get through a period of unlearning prior to his learning a subject matter untenable to his own culture or language system. (13)

The Report goes on to insist that the better the student is at speaking this "ghetto language," the more he or she may have to "unlearn": "[I]t might be that those who are most proficient in their own style of English are the poorest bets for relearning—and again perhaps not. This will need to be tested" (32). Both of these passages suggest in effect that non-white literacies are roadblocks to success for non-white students, barriers making it unlikely that many of these students will ever successfully acquire mainstream literacy. Therefore, these non-white literacies need to be eliminated—"unlearned"—and replaced with more acceptable discourses. Students' backgrounds are therefore decidedly *not* a strength upon which to draw, but rather a weakness to be eliminated.

Finally, the Spencer Report insists that this "unlearning" of ghetto language is not simply a cognitive matter, but also an attitudinal one. It suggests that whatever specific

methods of literacy instruction are ultimately used in the program, they must be able to account for student "motivation," a "familiar problem to every teacher of every subject to every kind of student" (31). In particular, the statement suggests that the EOP student with poor motivation

> may be content that he can get by with the English he knows. By sharing living quarters with others from his own background he may reinforce this attitude. He will not respond to testing or teaching as effectively as will his friends who yearn to be at home with the language and with selected friends. (32)

Realizing this "problem," the Spencer Report concludes that

> [m]any CD students must be convinced that there is much to be gained from increased ability in use of English. And they must be moved emotionally to this conclusion. Very likely they already have some intellectual conviction. The teacher needs to find ways to make ["standard" English usage] appealing to these students. (32)

In these instances, then, the Report moves beyond the issue of language use itself (whether or not students *can* learn white language) toward the issue of student attitude (whether or not they *want* to learn it). Students must not only "unlearn," but they must be happy about doing so—glad that they have been able to shed the trappings of their former deprivation.

In this way, the Spencer Report seems to be advocating for a hybrid of an eradicationist approach and a bidialectical approach. For the most part, the Report's approach actually sounds more eradicationist than anything else, especially in its pronouncements about the "deficiency" of students' language background, the need for them

to "unlearn" this deficiency before they can learn the "standard" effectively, and the need for the proper sort of "motivation" to engage in these tasks effectively. In this sense, the Report suggests rather overtly that students' language is "wrong" and needs to be made "right." Yet, as Baratz points out above, such openly eradicationist ideologies were being increasingly rejected by the end of the 1960s as being both too punitive and too harsh. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Spencer Report refers to the need to "additively learn" language, employing bidialectical rhetoric to make these ideas seem at least somewhat more palatable. Ultimately, though, regardless of whether I classify this ideology is as eradicationist or as conservatively bidialecticalist in scope, its import remains clear: students need to learn the "standard" at Illinois if they are to succeed.

It remains clear as well that this claim about language ultimately serves to undermine the very sorts of institutional changes that the Spencer Report at first seemed so willing to make. Indeed, even as the Report indicates that the university is willing to rethink many of its philosophies, policies, and practices, it insists that the university will not change its approach to language and literacy instruction. Instead, students themselves will need to be the ones doing the changing: they will need to recognize the superiority of white language practices, "unlearn" their old ways of using language and literacy in order to learn this superior language activity, and ultimately accept the need to do so. In this sense, the Report establishes language and literacy learning within EOP as means of maintaining—not disrupting nor critiquing—the institutional status quo. And, in doing so, it also establishes a precedent for the adoption of a similar sort of philosophy in the context of the EOP Rhetoric program itself. It is to a discussion of this EOP Rhetoric context that I turn next.

The EOP Writing Lab: Institutionalizing Bidialecticalism

As was noted in the introduction to the dissertation, the curricular portion of the EOP effort as it was constructed in the fall of 1968 consisted of a range of courses, each exhibiting smaller class size, increased tutorial support, and/or special subject matter intended to be of interest to EOP students. However, as Shelley remarked in a 1969 speech at the CCCCs convention in a paper called "A Crown Don't Make No King," the Rhetoric component of the EOP program was perceived to be particularly crucial to the success of the overall effort. As he argued,

> the success of any student, but more importantly, the less well-prepared student is dependent on his facility with the communication skills. Early on in our planning we knew that we had to develop a freshman rhetoric program that would bring these students as far and as fast as possible. (2)

In turn, one of the most crucial components of the EOP Rhetoric program was to be the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab, a one-on-one writing tutorial center designed to help students both with their EOP Rhetoric coursework and with their writing assignments from other courses around the campus. In fact, at some level, the Writing Lab was envisioned as a centerpiece of the program. As a report entitled simply "EOP Rhetoric Report" written in the early 1970s suggests, the "success of the English Department's EOP Rhetoric Program depends primarily on its ability to meet the verbal skills needs of individuals in the program…in ways impossible in the larger, more heterogeneous regular rhetoric sections" (1); in turn, it suggests that success in the EOP Rhetoric program was attributable in an important sense to the Lab itself, a space in which a "one-to-one student-to-instructor ratio" was possible (1). Because I think that it offers a useful window into the ways in which conservative ideologies

of language and literacy were institutionalized, I will be focusing upon the development of this Lab for much of the rest of this chapter.

Positioning the Writing Lab in Its Institutional Context

One of the biggest challenges to the initial implementation of EOP Rhetoric in general and the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab in particular was the issue of funding: both programs were perceived as costly additions to the Illinois curriculum, particularly since they would require additional instructors, more contact time, and more overall student support for the 500+ students entering the program. As a way of dealing with this funding situation, the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs Office provided "soft money" directly to the English Department to staff EOP Rhetoric sections themselves; in turn, the Office suggested that the budget formerly dedicated to the "Senate Committee on Student English" (SCSE) be redirected to support the Writing Lab (Carter 1).

The SCSE was a multi-departmental institutional entity[7] housed within the Illinois Faculty Senate, an entity that had been charged since 1941 with certifying students' literacy skills upon leaving the first year composition sequence. As function was described in 1967, the purpose of the SCSE was to "require certain standards in English writing of all Illinois students" (Freshman Rhetoric Staff Bulletin 1). More specifically, the SCSE had been responsible since 1941 for administering the "English Qualifying Exam," an exit exam administered to all students exiting the two semester freshman Rhetoric sequence with a grade of "C" or lower.[8] If the student in turn failed to earn at least a "C" on the exam itself,

[7]The SCSE traditionally involved members of the English Department, often the Director of Rhetoric and/or the Director of Technical Communication, as well as faculty from Education, Psychology, and other social and life science disciplines.

[8]The cutoff of a "C" was decided upon because "it is assumed that a student who receives a grade of 'A'

that student would need to take an extra semester of remedial Rhetoric instruction and then take the test again. This testing and remedial enterprise was no small matter, either. As the 1967 Freshman Rhetoric Bulletin notes, the university had "staked as much as $100,000 per year on the program" (1): furthermore, in 1966-1967, nearly 3800 students took the EQE, that is, nearly 20% of the total undergraduate population, and over 40% of them failed it on the first try.

By 1967, however, there was a sense among some members of the committee that perhaps the SCSE and its budget could be put to a different use than it had been in the past. Certain members including Chair V.I. West felt that the SCSE and its "English Qualifying Exam" were too punitive, and that writing instruction might be more effective (particularly for students having difficulties) if it were more constructive. West himself remarked in 1967 that the "purpose of the English Qualifying Examination is to improve the competence of our graduate in written English. We doubt that it has had a substantial effect of this kind. No objective criteria of "satisfactory proficiency" have been developed..." (1). And, as a result, he suggested that the exam be replaced by an "effective writing laboratory" which could serve to "provide a means of improving the writing of those students who feel, or whose advisers feel, that lack of ability in English is handicapping their studies or preset a potential handicap in their post-graduation employment" (2).

Given the need for a speedy solution to the budget problem posed by the Writing Lab on one hand and these questions pertaining to the mission of the SCSE on the other, it was decided by Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs H.E. Carter in May of 1968 that the EQE would be abolished and that the SCSE would be put in charge of developing and

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or 'B' in Rhetoric 102 will not fall below the required standard during their college careers" (Freshman Rhetoric Bulletin 1); in contrast, it is assumed that "C" students and below "need to improve their written English" (1)

implementing the Writing Lab. As Carter remarks, "we would have been in an impossible situation in funding the Writing Laboratory had not – fortuitously – the released funds from the [EQE] have been available" (1). In the short term, the operation of the Lab would be entrusted to SCSE member Charles Sanders, Director of the Rhetoric program; in the long term, Sanders would work with the rest of the SCSE, including new Chair Dwight Flanders, to determine a more permanent plan for Lab operation.

Institutionalizing the Writing Lab: Debating Ideologies of Language and Literacy

Once the decision to entrust the Lab to the SCSE was made, debates began to brew among members of the Committee concern the nature of its goals, philosophies, and activities. On one hand, a number of SCSE members including Director of Rhetoric Charles Sanders, Executive Secretary of NCTE Robert Hogan, and Co-Director of the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab Dorie Hammerschlag, insisted that the SCSE should come to view the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab as an opportunity for radically rethinking writing and writing instruction on the campus in race-conscious ways.

For instance, in characterizing the goals of the EOP Rhetoric program and Writing Lab, Director of Rhetoric Charles Sanders suggests that effective instruction within the context of EOP Rhetoric in general and the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab in particular

> [i]nvolves not judging [students] by preconceived—and often false and narrow—standards. It involves recognition of individual perceptions and new, varied ways of communicating them. It involves thinking of [writing] not as autonomous but as interdisciplinary…It involves, above all, giving students the confidence they can express their experience coherently…in the

> forms they elect for its expression; and the ability...to compare their experiences and forms, objectively, with those of others. ("A Glance Before and After" 6)

Sanders advocates here a kind of reformist paradigm to replace the old model of writing instruction, a paradigm that would attempt to draw upon students' individual interests and strengths—what he calls their "experience"—as tools for writing instruction. In turn, he insists that no small part of cultivating such experience lies in attending to students' racial and cultural backgrounds—particularly as they were expressed via language—as strengths upon which to draw, not deficiencies to be overcome. Indeed, he suggests that the goal of writing instruction within the Lab should not be remediation geared toward some white standard, but rather the cultivation of the strengths that students bring with them to the university. The Lab, he asserts, ought to help students "to express themselves clearly in their indigenous forms and dialects. Only secondarily, if at all, are students expected to write in the middle-class, white tradition" ("EOP Proposal" 1). In this sense, he suggests that students' present linguistic activities were not weaknesses to be eliminated, but rather strengths to be utilized.

Similarly, NCTE Executive Secretary Robert Hogan insists that a focus on "standard" English or even "standard" rhetorical patterns within Lab instruction would be antithetical to the true needs of EOP students. He insists that

> little will be gained and much will be lost if the entire effort in the Laboratory is aimed at instructing the students in standard forms of public discourse. None of us know what specific hurdles lie between that goal and the students where they now are. Moreover, where such instruction is successful, we risk

> driving out the originality and spark that characterize some of their apparently "untutored" writing now. If all we accomplish is getting these students to write like the typical U. of I. undergraduate at the cost of that originality, we have probably lost far more than we have won. And we risk alienating some of our most original students. ("Meeting of Subcommittee" 3)

What Hogan seems to be arguing here, then, is that the Writing Lab should not be attempting to change students' language practices as much as it should be attempting to help them utilize these experiences to become successful—to retain some sense of their own "originality", i.e. their difference in experience and perspective, even as they work with the demands of college level writing.[9]

In turn, Co-Directors of the Writing Lab for 1968-1969 Dorie Hammerschlag and James Clayton insist that Writing Lab praxis should not depend so much on helping students to achieve correctness, but rather to help them first become comfortable with "major thinking... organization or following directions" (6). Only after such larger issues were addressed, they suggest, should sentence-level and dialect issues be discussed (6). Indeed, Hammerschlag herself goes so far as to insist that her goal for the Lab "is not to change [students'] speech patterns, but to make it possible for [students] to write using correct English"[10] as well as to make sure that students "can understand what is going on in the classroom" (Senate Committee Minutes [Jan 21, 1969] 7).

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[9]I should note here that this is a somewhat different stance than that which Hogan took in his preface to the 1968 volume *Nonstandard Dialects*. Whereas in that volume, he seems to be advocating quite openly for a traditional bidialectical approach to instruction, here he seems fairly critical of this idea, or at least of the idea that language and literacy instruction should *only* be focused on Standard English. Perhaps this indicates that his own ideologies of bidialecticalism were more reform-oriented than his introduction to the NCTE volume might suggest.

[10]It seems reasonable to argue that this reference to "correct English" might be construed as at least somewhat conservative, that is, espousing the idea that there is one "correct" way to write, even if there is not one correct way to speak. I would argue, though, that this passage does not fully convey

In some sense, then, I want to suggest that each of these administrators argued either for some version of a respect-oriented pedagogy as outlined above, i.e., one bent upon quite openly changing the larger linguistic status quo within the institution, or some version of a more progressive bidialectical pedagogy, i.e., one aimed clearly at adding to students' linguistic capabilities rather than replacing them with others deemed more "standard." Regardless of orientation, though, each of these administrators seemed insistent upon changing the institutional status quo, determined to alter the way that writing instruction was envisioned, taught, and institutionally manifest. Shelley concurs with this assessment in a recent interview. When asked to comment upon the goals of this sort of instruction in both the context of the larger EOP Rhetoric program and the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab itself, he suggests that there was a general sense among people like Sanders, Hogan, and Hammerschlag that "we could change the way that they taught English...[that] we could change the course offerings, we could change the way you teach, we could change the kinds of textbooks that you could select" (Personal Interview [3 July 2003]). In this sense, then, each of these administrators saw the Writing Lab as an opportunity to rethink the ways in which the institution had traditionally dealt with issues of student writing ability, particularly when students were utilizing non-white and non-mainstream dialects.

Crucially, though, these sorts of beliefs about the nature of the Writing Lab were by no means the only ones being expressed within the context of the SCSE. In particular, two powerful members of the SCSE, Dwight Flanders (new SCSE Chair) and Richard Spencer (author of the "Spencer Report" analyzed above) voiced strong disagreements with this reform-minded approach to the Lab throughout AY 1968 and 1969. Both of these individuals insisted that instruction within the Lab be conducted in much more

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Hammerschlag's overall position, a position that will be described in much more detail later in the chapter.

conservative bidialectical terms, terms underscoring the important need for teaching "standard" English as a means of negotiating the social world into which these students were thrust. In this way, these members seemed intent on retaining the old view of SCSE function prevalent from the 1940s through the mid-1960s.

In defining the goals of the program, for instance, SCSE Chair Dwight Flanders insists that the program must offer first and foremost a "realistic" view of language use to students, one that helps them to recognize and deal with the role that language actually plays within the social world. Flanders insists that the program should be designed to cater to those students who

> enter the university intent on learning to write within the conventions of standard written English. These will be persons who accept the fact that, however unfortunate the situation is, upward mobility within the dominant economy and social structure is tied in some measure to command of standard written English. So, in fact, is usual form of success in college. [Only those who are] guided more by ethnic pride than a desire for immediate mobility... may resist such instruction, hoping rather for a change in the dominant mores or for a separate Black economy and social structure. (Letter to Robert Hogan 1)

Here, then, Flanders himself insists that the need for "standard" English is simply a linguistic "fact," one that is not about to change anytime soon. Though he does suggest that other positions on language use are possible, particularly among those who espouse "ethnic pride," he insists that the EOP Writing Lab can really only reach those who are predisposed to see

things for what they are, for those who are "realistic" about what success at Illinois will entail.

In turn, Flanders argues that this "realistic" approach to instruction calls for a fairly explicit skill-and-drill approach to instruction, one based on prevailing methods for teaching English as a Second Language. He insists in particular that

> the Writing Laboratory should prepare itself to offer the wisest, most economical instruction based upon available analysis of the contrast between the non-standard dialect and standard English. In such instances, drill can be appropriate and may be necessary. The transition from non-standard to standard writing or the addition of standard English to the repertoire of the student would be very slow otherwise. Not to provide this instruction would be a failure to capitalize on the essential motivation of these students. Although drill will not be the principal activity of tutors, continued exploration in the production and administration of drill materials will be an important activity in the laboratory. (Letter to Robert Hogan 5)

Here, then, Flanders suggests that drill is the natural manifestation of the goals of the Lab. It may not be the principal method employed by Lab tutors, but it is nonetheless crucial to the overall process of helping students overcome their lack of familiarity with "standard" English both quickly and "economically." Flanders' description does not go into great detail about the nature of these drill activities, but it does note that "tape and video tape machines" as well as computer programs will be used to provide students with sentence-level practice material (Flanders "Report and Tentative Plans" 4). Furthermore, his description goes so far as to suggest that these activities might eventually serve as a "substitute" (4) for tutor-student

interaction within this drill context, as programmers might be able to "tailor machine routines so fully to [students'] anticipated needs" (4) that interactions with human tutors will be unnecessary. Such drill activity, then, seemed intended to get students to produce the "right" answers according to white language and literacy standards.

In turn, SCSE consultant[11] Richard Spencer, author of the Spencer Report above, suggests somewhat pessimistically during a number of committee meetings that he does not see most EOP students as having very realistic chances at achieving success within the context of the university, especially given their deficient linguistic backgrounds. Though he admits that the exact nature of their deficiency has not yet been determined (Senate Committee Minutes [21 January 1969] 3), he suggests nonetheless that students' verbal deprivation has generally rendered them "not competitive with the regular students. Their average IQ as a group is 95; the other students' average IQ is 125" (1). He argues, too, that these students are generally not "highly motivated" given their low achievement test performance,[12] and thus are unlikely to improve their chances for success at Illinois (5). And, as a result of these kinds of concerns, he concludes that EOP students might be "doomed to failure" (1), and that even if they do eventually graduate, they may well get "dumped on the marketplace and...'clobbered'" (4). In this sense, he suggests that students' language skills are on the whole too low to help them achieve success.

Spencer further worries that there are too few mechanisms currently in place within the Lab designed to assess these students' present skills and potential for bidialectical

[11]Spencer was never an official member of the committee; however, he was invited to meetings throughout 1968-1969 to share his views on program assessment.

[12] It is interesting here that Spenser sees low achievement as a sign of low effort, even though "effort" is not actually measured within the IQ tests or other tests that he cites.

learning. As he suggests, in its present form, the degree to which "standard" English and writing skills are learned

> cannot be determined by the progressive policies used in the Writing Lab classes this past semester, i.e. the learner would make a stand, it was then criticized and corrected, and then the paper was rewritten. There is thus no record of before and after instruction, only the corrected paper. (1)

Thus, Spencer insists that a more "permanent" testing design be implemented based on better "diagnostic" instruments (6), a design that can account more fully for the relationship between grades in the Writing Lab course and grades in other courses, the improvement that the Lab promotes in standardized test scores, various differences in student and tutor expectations about the Lab, and student attitude concerning their own language and literacy learning activities (6). Such assessment, he argues, can be used to determine which students might be best suited for the sort of conservative bidialectical pedagogy that the program should be fostering.

In these ways, both SCSE Chair Flanders and powerful member Spencer insist that only strict attention to "standards" within the context of the Writing Lab is a "realistic" approach to instruction for these students. Both contend that students' ability to utilize "standard" language determines first and foremost their chances for success both at Illinois and within the context of the larger society. And, in doing so, both suggest once again that it is ultimately up to students themselves to change, not the institution itself, at least when it comes to issues of writing and writing instruction.

Institutionalizing EOP Rhetoric: Resolving Debates

Thus far I have suggested that two "sides" within the SCSE were vying to define the newly-emerging EOP Writing Lab and its relationship to Black students: the more progressive respect-oriented side that chose to highlight students' strengths and utilize their backgrounds as tools for learning, and the more conservative bidialectical/eradicationist side that chose to highlight students' weaknesses and reject their backgrounds in the name of "standards." It is important to note, though, that these two sides were not equal in terms of their institutional power. For one thing, as a function of institutional history, the more "standards"-oriented conservative position had been the main philosophy of the SCSE for nearly 30 years; accordingly, it had a great deal of institutional momentum that would be difficult to ignore (even with talk of potential reforms within the Committee taking place during 1967 and 1968). Second, the ideological basis of this bidialectical/eradicationist approach had already been articulated in the context of the larger EOP program by Spencer himself, and was thus already an institutionally-viable position. Finally, but no less importantly, Flanders held particular power as Chair of the SCSE, power that was expressed most readily in his authorship of a number of "official" positions about the nature of writing instruction in the Lab. In fact, as I will outline below, Flanders seemed to be able to trump other views of writing instruction expressed within the committee with his own views when he deemed it necessary to do so. For all of these reasons, the debate between change-oriented administrators and other more conservative members the SCSE heavily favored the latter.

The degree to which linguistic conservatism prevailed within the SCSE can be observed across a number of interactions between SCSE members during 1968 and 1969.

Consider, for instance, the following exchange between Co-Director of the Writing Lab Dorie Hammerschlag and Flanders himself. Near the middle of the Spring Semester, Hammerschlag wrote to Flanders expressing strong disagreement with the ways in which she felt that the larger SCSE was choosing to characterize the Writing Lab. And, in doing so, she takes particular affront to the ways in which the program characterizes students as "remedial." As she writes:

> I cannot help but take exception to the use of your use of the word remedial. At least when it comes to working with the black students, our work is, and should be, teaching something *new* rather than with remediating something already learned. I would never want to try to make a student forget his dialect. My goal is to teach them to use their dialects in some situations and the so-called "standard English" dialect in others. Many of their writing "problems," including punctuation and grammar, are merely a reflection of a system different from the one we are most familiar with. These people need to have both systems if they are to adjust to college life and if they are not to lose [a sense of] how they have learned to relate to their own cultural community. It may seem strange to you that I am quibbling over the use of one term, but if I were to think of the Lab as remedial it would follow that I would feel that the majority of our students are pretty dumb. They know English and I think that we should show our respect for their knowledge by reflecting an understanding of what they are really learning. If I decided to use the term remedial, I would have to change the way I taught. (Hammerschlag 1)

Hammerschlag insists here that the official SCSE "remedial" definition of the Lab implies Black intellectual deficiency, a belief that students are "pretty dumb" simply because they do not communicate in a way familiar to the white mainstream. In contrast, she herself is adamant that her students do in fact "know English," and that they deserve respect for this knowledge. She insists, too, that these students must retain a sense of what it means to communicate effectively within their home community in order to retain a sense of where they have come from. Thus, she insists that the Lab promote effective communication in both students' home and university languages. In this sense, she relies once again upon a sort of progressive bidialecticalism to characterize the needs of students, an ideology that seeks to recognize the linguistic skills and expertise that students already possess as they come to Illinois and to build upon those skills and sets of expertise. Though she does not go so far in this letter to insist that the entire approach to language instruction within the program be radically reconfigured (as do some of her colleagues above), she remains adamant in her suggestion that the work of the Lab not be construed as "remedial," as requiring students to replace one version of language with another.

In responding to Hammerschlag, Flanders expresses strong disagreement with her position, insisting in particular that she is mischaracterizing the notion of "remedial" in her complaint. He responds to her with the suggestion that

> we are not likely to view the term 'remedial' with the same connotations... Should I go to France and have to converse with Breton sailors, I am sure my academic-economics-French would be deficient and I would have to remedy the deficiency. In this situation, I would feel neither pretty dumb, nor would I expect my tutor to regard me as such. I simply would not have a tool I needed

> for the task at hand. It is hard for me to see why the situation is any different in the Writing Laboratory. (Letter to Dorie Hammerschlag 1)

Flanders here invokes a conservative bidialectical argument once again, this time directly via the analogy of a foreign-language teaching situation. He insists that "remedial" is an apt term for the needs of EOP students, as they simply do not employ the language that the academy requires of them; in so doing, he implies EOP students are travelers in a foreign land of academia, and need to be treated as such. It is important to note that, as he employs this metaphor of the foreign traveler, he ignores the ways in which EOP students are not foreigners on a jaunt to meet interesting natives, but rather members of a caste minority group viewed by the mainstream as both unintelligent and inferior. In this way, he effectively elides the racism that Hammerschlag identifies by simply pretending that it does not exist. However, he insists nonetheless that his view is entirely "realistic": the situation faced by EOP students necessitates that they be "remediated" until they can accomplish what they need to accomplish.

Ultimately, Flanders concludes that his own position in this debate is the correct one. He writes in the final description of the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab in the Spring of 1969 that the Lab must be viewed as "remedial...with the goal of improving specific deficiencies" (Flanders, "Report and Tentative Plans" 1); he further argues that the nature of these deficiencies is related to students' language backgrounds. As he insists, at stake in the Lab

> is sheer academic survival—at least for the student. Effective communication [should be] the prime...concern in the Writing Laboratory. For many underprivileged whites, certain rural students, and most ghetto blacks, college

> is at least another dialect to master. Sometimes it is the equivalent of a foreign language. (2)

Via these metaphors of "remedial" and "survival," then, Flanders again asserts that non-white students[13] do not bring with them linguistic skills that can help them at the university, presumably because they suffer from the kind of "deprivation" that the Spencer Report emphasizes in such detail. Instead, these metaphors imply that students will have to do everything in their power simply to "get by" within this hostile university climate. Their language is a "foreign" one, and therefore they should be prepared to learn the standard, to be "remediated" until they are able to produce the sort of language that will be required of them by the mainstream white world.

A second example of clashes between these two sides can be seen in several debates conducted between Director of EOP Rhetoric Charles Sanders and various members of the SCSE during a number of SCSE meetings. During these meetings, Sanders voiced strong objections to what he felt was an overemphasis on testing on the part of these individuals. In one SCSE meeting early in the year, for instance, Sanders insists that the assessment program advocated by the likes of Spencer and others is not really going to improve the teaching of writing itself. He insists, for instance, that kinds of testing proposed by these individuals "has met with limited success to date" (Senate Committee Minutes [18 November 1968] 3), largely because

> teaching rhetoric cannot be reduced to a pattern. The key is motivation. First, a student must be motivated to give meaning and coherence to what

[13] It could be argued that "ghetto blacks" are not necessarily singled out in this passage as in need of "survival" skills; after all, underprivileged whites and rural students are mentioned here as well. However, I would argue that because the demographics of EOP were overwhelmingly black during this time period, this statement refers quite directly to black students.

> has happened to him and what here perceives, then, he can transfer this experience to another. Reading appreciation is introduced at this point. A student must be engaged emotionally, psychologically. He is unable to appreciate writing by reading someone else's writing. He has nothing to compare or contrast with to help him understand that this is good writing. (3)

Here, then, Sanders rejects this emphasis on qualitative testing as antithetical to the needs of writers themselves. He suggests that writing is a process based as much on intangibles like student emotion, commitment to writing, and appreciation of the work of others as on quantitative variables. Students must be "motivated" to write well, not threatened by testing into doing so. Similarly, in another SCSE meeting several months later, Sanders responds directly to Spencer's request for more testing (as outlined above) by once again insisting such testing is unnecessary. In fact, Sanders argues that EOP students were "tired of being put up for show" and that what students really needed was exposure to and practice with more writing (Senate Committee Minutes [21 January 1969] 4).[14]

Crucially, though these protestations on the part of Sanders were ultimately rejected within the context of the meetings in which they were uttered. The first meeting described above was adjourned with the suggestion that "Prof. Sanders should be encouraged to transfer into specific behavioral terms what his general goals are and how he is attempting to accomplish them" such that they might be more easily measured

[14]This notion of excessive testing is itself articulated a number of other times by Sanders as well: he suggests in at least two other SCSE meetings throughout the year that students are tired of being treated like "guinea pigs" (Ad Hoc Committee Minutes [21 April 1969] 8; Senate Committee Minutes [22 April 1969] 5). Similarly, Robert Hogan worries that the constant testing of students in the Lab might "destroy the Lab" if it is not limited in some way (Ad Hoc Committee Minutes [21 April 1969] 8). Such comments suggest that EOP students were subjected to a good deal of invasive testing, much more than their "regular" peers.

(Senate Committee Minutes [18 November 1968] 4). Similarly, the second meeting concluded not with debate about alternatives to what Sanders saw as excessive assessment within the Lab, but rather with discussion of how Spencer's recommendations for such assessment might be best carried out in the following year (Senate Committee Minutes [21 January 1969] 6-7).

These protests were also ignored in the context of the final report on the Lab as drafted by Flanders. Again, his final report concludes that

> measurement has been extremely meager in evaluations of the Writing Laboratory/Writing Clinic activities...Evaluation has been hampered by two major factors. First there is the lack of explicit goals, stated in formal terms, at least some terms of which are translatable into correspondence rules that permit quantitative appraisal. Second, there is a lack of a resource person to detail what is measurable, create measures where they are not yet devised, supervise measurement, and carry out analytical studies...Much valuable experimental evidence is presently being wasted in the Writing Laboratory/Clinic ("Report and Tentative Plans" 5).

In this passage, then, Flanders translates the concerns of individuals like Spencer into an official critique of Lab policy, suggesting that its present assessment practices are "extremely meager," and have failed to capitalize upon "valuable experimental evidence." In this sense, he concludes that the Lab has not been "realistic" in its dealings with students, particularly in the sense that it has not sought to establish quantitatively the degree to which students have been able to master this "foreign language" in ways that will help them to achieve wider success.

It should also be noted that this latter admonition for more testing within the context of the Lab was manifest in the hiring of a new Director of the EOP Rhetoric Writing Lab as well. Early in 1969, the SCSE decided to begin searching for two co-Directors of the Writing Lab, a Director of Instruction, and a Director of Assessment. The former would be in charge of day-to-day operation while the latter would only be in charge of assessing the work done by the other Director of Writing. As the job description for this Director of Assessment position states, a "good background in research design, statistics and measurement, and the psychology of learning" was required for the position, whereas training in writing instruction was "desired, but not essential" (Jones 1). In short, the new Director of Assessment was not expected to be well-versed in writing instruction per se, but only in determining whether or not the writing instruction offered by others was ultimately "up to par."

Importantly, by the end of AY 1968-1969, only one of these positions was filled with a full-time hire: that of Director of Assessment. This individual, Henry Slotnick, assumed full control over the Lab (assisted by a part-time Director of Instruction named Dorothy Kolb) in 1969-1970, implementing a much more profound emphasis on quantitative assessment within the Lab than was ever present previously. For instance, early in the year, Slotnik announced that the Writing Lab would divide its services into three tracks: section 103A for a student "whose needs are basically grammatical and [who] does not write standard English"; section 103B for a student who "already writes standard English but lacks discipline of language and a sense of logical presentation"; and, finally, 103C for a student who "is well on his way to independence in writing procedures but needs assistance in preparation of papers for other courses" (Senate Committee Minutes [15 Sept. 1969] 3).

This mention of "grammatical" needs and ""standard" English" as the basis for instructional grouping suggests that the Lab was now to be tracking students first and foremost on the basis of their non-standard and non-white language use, relegating Black English speakers to the lowest track. Similarly, another memo at this time suggests that students would be tested at least three times during AY 1969-1970 for skills including "spelling, punctuation, and organization" (Kolb 1). During this second year of operation, then, the job of the Lab seemed to be the assessment of students' ability to reproduce white ways of knowing and speaking.

In this way, Flanders' earlier admonition for skill and drill activities as well as the later demands by Spencer for more extensive testing and assessment had become institutionalized within Lab structure and function under its new standards-driven and assessment-driven Director. The Lab would not attempt to draw upon students' backgrounds as a means of promoting literacy; rather, it would subject students to "standard" white English while erasing their backgrounds as much as possible, and it would test students on their ability to learn this "standard" successfully.

Through these various machinations, then, I would argue that the SCSE came to reify the linguistic and racial status quo as it institutionalized the Writing Lab as a permanent institutional entity on the Illinois campus. In particular, SCSE Chair Flanders managed to posit conservative bidialecticalism as the primary ideology of the Lab; he and Spencer managed to advocate for expanded assessment in the Lab; and finally, he helped to install a new Director whose primary job was to assess students' mastery of the "standard" within the Lab itself. And, in doing these things, Flanders and his SCSE helped to insure that the

institution would not need to change to meet the needs of students; instead, students would need to change in order to meet the needs of the institution itself.

Resistance and the Writing Lab

In pointing out the dynamics by which the linguistic and racial status quo was preserved in the context of the Writing Lab, I do not want to paint an exclusively bleak picture. Indeed, even as the SCSE was seeking to establish a conservative bidialectical ideology as the guiding principle behind the program for the program, a number of these same administrators were resisting this construction of the program in useful ways.

One important example of such resistance can be seen in the activities of Hammerschlag herself. Despite the official rejection of her position by Flanders, it seems that Hammerschlag's views of literacy and literacy instruction had some impact upon her staff: curricular self-reports from instructors in the Lab during 1968-1969 suggest that her staff did largely implement the kind of non-remedial, non-drill-based instructional program that she advocated. One instructor, Marilyn Farwell writes that she "tried to isolate language problems which would interfere with writing...[and to help students] establish a respect for their own dialect" through her teaching ("Rhet 103 Teacher Summaries" 3). Another, Elizabeth Shapiro, states that she used students' concern about "slang" in their own writing and speaking as occasion to explore "word usage, subtle differences in definition, [and] connotation versus denotation" (8); she further suggests that she had students write about topics relevant to the status of blacks on the campus (8). A third instructor and Co-Director James Clayton[15] claims that he encouraged students to

[15]Clayton may have opposed aspects of this sponsorship arrangement as well; however, written records of his views are not currently available in the archive.

question "the range of evaluative techniques of the Rhetoric 101 instructors," and that this process "provided students with the needed knowledge that Rhetoric is an area in which no standardized criterion is used by all instructors to evaluate a given paper" (12). The insight gained from these discussions, he suggests, helped to insure that "[m]ature attitudes towards writing developed and the class actually felt they could serve as a circle of critics for their own writing" (12). It seems, then, that these teachers were putting in place—at least at some level—the kind of model that Hammerschlag advocated, as they refused to see students' backgrounds as deficiencies to be eliminated.

I think that the actions of the staff for which Hammerschlag was responsible demonstrate that race-conscious resistance to racist literacy sponsorship could be enacted within the institutional climate at Illinois. Hammerschlag insisted that the connections drawn by the SCSE between issues of race and literacy within its program discourses were racist, serving to reinscribe rather than reconstitute existing race-based campus power relations; consequently, she called for the unmasking and interrogation of such connections. Next—and just as importantly—Hammerschlag sought to redefine such connections to the degree that she could through her administrative actions, putting her views into practice at whatever level administratively possible within the university's power structure. In this way, even though her protestations were rejected by Flanders, she was still able to effect change via staff training, a context over which she did have a good deal of control as Writing Lab Co-Director. In this sense, she was able to deploy both "racial realist" philosophy and action to "imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph" (Bell 306). She may not have been able to

re-shape SCSE "official" policy, but she was able to take "realistic" steps toward fostering egalitarian writing instruction as best she could.

A second example of resistance within this context worth noting here can be seen in the form of resistance to the SCSE's commandeering of the leadership of the EOP Writing Lab. Throughout 1970 and 1971, there were complaints being voiced on the campus that the Lab was not reaching students in the way that it could be or should be under the leadership of Slotnick and Kolb. A 1971 note from Dean of LAS Robert W. Rogers to English Department Head A. Lynn Altenbernd suggests that "the belief that the Writing Laboratory is not doing the job for the EOP students appears to be widespread on the campus. In view of our heavy investment in the program, it seems necessary to ask whether or not the effectiveness of the program does, in fact, justify the cost" (Rogers, Letter to Altenbernd 1). Seizing upon this opportunity, a new program called "Expanded Encounter for Learning Program" (EEL) [16] under Director John Milton managed to gain control of the Lab, armed with a federal government grant intended for tutoring high risk minority students.

The EEL operated according to a very different model than did the SCSE. A 1971 missive entitled the "The Expanded Encounter with Learning Program" suggests that the EEL was to be developed for "freshman in EOP and Special Services lacking the language and skills developments necessary to effectively negotiate the academic demands of the University" (60). Importantly, though, it insists that its efforts are not remedial, but rather

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[16]The EEL program was a new minority support program housed within the larger EOP program that was designed to work with minority students deemed to be at particularly high risk. As Shelley suggests, the EEL was developed because "by '72 we noticed that the profiles of the incoming students were getting stronger and stronger [such that we had developed] a gap between kids who were much better prepared and those who were not...a division in the quality of the students" (Personal Interview [3 July 2003]).

> designed to provide the students involved with a comprehensive, totalistic and interdisciplinary approach to learning. It will recognize that the students come with skills and past experiences that are invaluable to the students' further academic development...The logic of EEL will entail beginning where the student is...He will be called upon and encouraged to eagerly use his present skills of organization and decision-making while accomplishing the transition to the college environment. The EEL Core Curriculum [which was to include Math, Rhetoric, and a Reading Skills Laboratory] will treat the development of thinking skills as a simultaneous and continuous process by which the student will encounter new forms and theories of learning and experiences and expand his awareness and the number of tools he has to negotiate his academic environment and to sharpen his decision-making capacity. (6)

The EEL missive further insists that the core of this non-remedial approach lies in race-consciousness, in recognizing that EOP students come from different racial and cultural backgrounds than "mainstream" students. It states, for instance, that the Director of EEL should have a "background comparable with many of the [EEL] students" (10); it suggests, too, that the diversity among teachers and tutors in the program should "approximate Special Services students in ethnic and cultural background since we intend to utilize students' prior experience and learning as part of a holistic approach to academic learning" (10). In this sense, the EEL claims that a successful program will need to provide staff who can recognize the skills and abilities that students bring with them to the university—many of which arise directly from their different cultural, ethnic, and racial backgrounds—and will need to prepare this staff to deal with students' backgrounds successfully.

Such race-consciousness is emphasized again by John Milton, Director of the EEL program, in his insistence that the program is designed to redress past racism that many students have encountered. He makes this claim in response to the charge that the program is "discriminatory" ("To Administrators, Faculty, and Students" 3), insisting instead that the program operates from the premise that

> the "discrimination," if it must be called that, was done before the university ever met you. Perhaps your parents and teachers and you yourself did all you could to prepare you for college and yet your preparation is still somewhat deficient compared to that of other students..."Treating every student equally" means giving every student the program he individually needs—NOT giving every student the same program. (3)

Here, then, Milton insists that racism plays a profound role in students' backgrounds: parents and teachers may have done "all that they could" to prepare students, but their efforts may not have overcome the legacy of racism. In fact, he insists that color-blindness—the idea that the university should be "giving every student the same program"—is *not* an effective strategy for educating students. Rather, he opines that students need to be given compensatory programs that can begin to account for the ills that they have suffered at the hands of this larger societal problem.

As described here, then, the EEL program sounds much like the original thinking behind both the EOP Rhetoric program and the EOP Writing Lab as envisioned by the likes of Sanders, Shelley, Hogan, and Hammerschlag. It emphasizes that students have skills and talents that they can utilize within the present academic situation, not that these students have "remedial" or "deficient" backgrounds. As the program description suggests, the "logic of

EEL will entail beginning where the student is." It further insists that being aware of and sensitive to issues arising from students' racial background is essential to a successful program.

Given its new power within the context of the Lab, the EEL seemed intent on shifting both Lab philosophy and practices away from the kind of "error-hunt" mentality present from 1969-1971 under the SCSE. The "Expanded Encounter With Learning" document suggests that the EEL would like to transform the Lab into a "place where our students may receive the kind of individualized reinforcement they cannot presently get in their regular rhetoric sections" (1). The Lab would therefore be staffed to help students with "grammatical, stylistic, and logical programs", to help students "complete...theme assignments," and to help students "revise [their] corrected themes" (3). Furthermore, in keeping with the overall EEL philosophy, these sorts of activities in the Lab would be envisioned as part of the larger EEL mission, not as non-credit remedial activities. The missive suggests that "[s]tudents will receive full college credit" for courses in the Writing Lab, and that tutoring of the type found in the EOP Writing Lab would be part of a "holistic and integrated academic program of learning that will prepare...students to cope adequately with [their] academic environment" (7).

In assuming direct control over the Writing Lab, then, the EEL helped to shift the focus of the Writing Lab back toward students and back toward change: gone was the almost excusive emphasis on testing and evaluation, replaced once again by an emphasis on recognizing, understanding, and utilizing students' cultural, linguistic, and literacy backgrounds as tools to aid in instruction. In this sense, then, the original construction of

bidialecticalism/eradicationism and its subsequent institutionalization were resisted, at least at some level.

Before concluding, however, I must note that neither of these examples of resistance was completely successful. Hammerschlag and her staff still had to operate within an institutional context that clearly worked to restrict race-based institutional change; furthermore, as I have noted already, this climate became more restrictive in some ways during 1969-1970 with the SCSE's hiring of a new Lab Director. Similarly, the EEL's influence over the Writing Lab would itself be short lived: as I will outline in some detail in the next section, its influence would be undermined by a newer and in some ways more insidious language ideology adopted within the EOP Rhetoric program, that of "literacy crisis" in 1974 and 1975. Nonetheless, these examples of resistance demonstrate the ways in which sponsorship could be resisted by individuals like Hammerschlag and entities like the EEL possessing a desire to reconfigure race-based sponsorship arrangements for their own egalitarian purposes.

Chapter 3

Standards and Color-Blindness: EOP Rhetoric Meets "Literacy Crisis"

Whereas the last chapter of my dissertation began by outlining the context of "racial crisis," I want to begin this chapter by outlining a different sort of crisis situation, the so-called "literacy crisis" of the mid 1970s. One of the most well-known articulations of this literacy crisis idea can be found in Merrill Sheils' piece "Why Johnny Can't Write" appearing in the Dec 8, 1975 issue of *Newsweek.* Its opening paragraph proclaims boldly that

> [i]f your children are attending college, the chances are that when they graduate they will be unable to write ordinary, expository English with any real degree of structure and lucidity. If they are in high school and planning to attend college, the chances are less than even that they will be able to write English at the minimal college level when they get there…Willy-nilly, the U.S. educational system is spawning a generation of semiliterates. (58)

At the root of this literacy crisis, Sheils insists, is a lack of clear limits guiding the ways in which language should be taught. He cites, for instance, philologist Mario Pei, an individual who argues that this crisis has emerged as a function of overly-permissive educators

> preaching that one form of language is as good as another; that at the age of 5 anyone who is not deaf or idiotic has gained a full mastery of his language; that we must not try to correct or improve language, but must leave it alone, that the only language activity worthy of the name is speech on the colloquial, slangy, or illiterate plane. (58)

Sheils further argues that another root of this crisis lies in late 1960s and early 1970s

educational programs that have allowed the rigor and discipline of previous forms of writing instruction to be replaced with worthless "creative" activities. He insists that

> [t]he 1960s also brought a subtle shift of educational philosophy away from the teaching of expository writing. Many teachers began to emphasize "creativity" in the English classroom and expanded their curriculums to allow students to work with contemporary media of communication such as film, videotape and photography. (60)

And, to underscore the poor quality of student writing resulting from these causes, he adorns the article with graphics designed to demonstrate the decay of student language skills: one such graphic presents a sentence from a "17-year-old high school student" that reads "John F. Kenedy if he had not buen shat he would be presdent now, and in World War II he was a hero in the war, and he had a lat of naney and a nice family, and his wife was very nice, and when I die I would to b buruid in a plac like that" (58); another graphic includes a sentence from a "13-year-old junior-high student" stating that "The old brige was a swing brige and it was a real old brige. The bords was roten in the brige and you could see right through the brige and some places the bord was missing" (59).

Having articulated the terms of literacy crisis in these ways, Sheils concludes his piece with a resounding "back-to-basics" call, one emphasizing the need to re-establish sensible limits upon our views of literacy and literacy instruction:

> The point [of the article] is that there have to be some fixed rules, however tedious, if the codes of human communication are to remain decipherable. If written language is placed at the mercy of every new colloquialism and if every fresh dialect demands and gets equal stay, then we will soon find

> ourselves back in Babel. In America today, as in the never-never world Alice discovered on her trip through the looking-glass, there are too many people intent on being masters of their language and too few willing to be its servants. (65)

In this way, Sheils punctuates his contention that the U.S. literacy education system is in the midst of a serious crisis. He insists that sloppy literacy education, easy electives, and permissive views of "non-Standard" language use are the problem, while the willingness of both literacy educators and students to become "servants" of correct language is the only possible solution.

This notion of literacy crisis as articulated by individuals like Sheils was a growing concern on the Illinois campus during the mid 1970s as well. For instance, Stafford Thomas, Illinois' Chairman of the Verbal Communications Department writes in an Oct 13, 1975 letter to LAS Dean Robert W. Rogers[1] that Illinois'

> students do not write well because they do not think well. Apparently students have not been required to select and order ideas, but they have been rewarded for merely including somewhere in their essays an idea or two. Many students say an imposed rigor of form is insulting and destructive to their creativity, spontaneity, and individuality. (1)

[1]Dean of LAS Robert W. Rogers repeatedly solicited feedback from faculty members about the state of student writing at Illinois throughout 1975 and 1976.

He further asserts that in order to correct these problems, Illinois begin an immediate crackdown on student sloppiness, imposing strict discipline upon the teaching of writing:

> We ought to reconsider drudgery's virtues. We see daily the products of a spectator psychology of learning, labor-saving innovations, and permissive strategies in education. I overstate advisedly. No one has demonstrated that analytic thought and disciplined writing can be inculcated without tedious analysis and exacting exercise. (2)

Similarly, Robert D. Geiselman, Professor of Business and Technical Writing laments in a February 23, 1976 letter to Rogers that Illinois students evince "fuzzy thinking, ill-developed ideas, and illogical expression" as well as "defective natural equipment" for thinking in sustained terms. To correct this problem, he advises that additional writing instruction be offered to Illinois students and that the university "develop and adhere to sensible standards of performance, to make every effort to counter the widespread tendency of indiscriminately assigning A's and B's to what is often hopelessly inadequate work" (2).

In turn, Dorothy Matthews, the Director of Undergraduate Studies for the Department of English, went public with a number of her complaints about literacy crisis at Illinois. For instance, Matthews is cited by the Champaign-Urbana News Gazette as one of several experts lamenting the laxity of 1960s educational methods and the effects of these methods upon students:

> Emphasis has shifted to creative writing, at the expense of basic expository writing, Mrs. Matthews said. In addition, many high schools stressed non-verbal forms of communication, such as film-making, and adopted a more

> "student-centered curriculum" in which the learners decide what they want to learn..."It's not that any of these things are bad in themselves, they're just abused," Mrs. Matthews said. (Anderson 41)

In a similar sort of news story presented in the Detroit Free Press, Matthews' complaints about students' inability to produce "standard" English are quoted at length:

> The most blatant writing problem [at Illinois]—and the most difficult to deal with—is "constant glaring mechanical errors," according to Dorothy Matthews, Director of Undergraduate Studies at the University of Illinois English Department. "They confuse 'to' and 'too.' They don't know the difference between 'it's' and 'its.' 'There,' 'their,' and 'they're' are confused. For some reason, many students write 'alot' as one word. They just don't know these things." (Schenet 6A)

And, finally, in a particularly interesting piece of historical convergence, Matthews' comments are quoted in the body of the Sheils piece itself. Sheils invokes Matthews' commentary when he suggests that within the permissiveness of the 1960s, teachers

> have often shortchanged instruction in the English language. "Things have never been good, but the situation is getting a lot worse," [Matthews] complains. "What really disturbs us is the students' inability to organize their thoughts clearly." An essay by one of Matthews's Illinois freshman stands as guileless testimony to the problem: "It's obvious that in our modern world of today theirs a lot of impreciseness in expressing thoughts we have." (60)

Apparently, then, whether talking to internal or external audiences, Illinois faculty felt that their students were in bad shape: scores on writing exams were decreasing while

students' mastery of the language was declining at an alarming rate. And, to top things off, it seems that things were only getting "a lot worse."

My overall aim in this chapter is to understand how the discourses of literacy crisis emerging during the mid 1970s both nationally and on the Illinois campus itself shaped the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric. Importantly, though, unlike most previous composition work interested in the issue of literacy crisis, I take an overtly race-conscious approach to my analysis. I contend that discourses of literacy crisis not only sought to limit what were perceived to be the educational and social excesses of late 1960s literacy instruction—the sloppiness and permissiveness in teaching and learning alluded to by both Sheils and the Illinois administrators—but also to limit more directly what were perceived to be the *racial* dimensions of these excesses.

Working from Crenshaw's discussion of "color-blind" ideologies of racial justice during the mid 1970s, I argue that discourses of literacy crisis were grounded at some level in a color-blind approach to literacy learning, an approach insisting that issues of race and racism were wholly irrelevant to (and perhaps even damaging for) the teaching and learning of "standard" English. I then argue that such color-blind discourses of literacy crisis were manifest within the context of EOP Rhetoric at Illinois in ways that served to limit both philosophically and pragmatically the amount of attention that could be paid to issues of race and racism within the program. First, I trace the ways in which the discourse of literacy crisis was articulated by two successive Directors of EOP Rhetoric during this time period, demonstrating how such discourses subtly rejected a focus on race and racism within the program; second, I outline the ways in which such literacy crisis thinking was deployed in a dispute over EOP Writing Lab, noting how these discourses encouraged the elimination of

race-conscious writing instructional practices at a programmatic level. Before concluding, I do note that some individuals tried to mount race-conscious resistance within this context; however, I suggest that such resistance was difficult to sustain given the strong push toward color-blindness inherent within the program at the time. I conclude, therefore, by suggesting that the literacy crisis-era EOP Rhetoric program served to reify a belief in the superiority of white language and literacy practices with the help of the (somewhat ironic) claim that "race doesn't matter."

Theorizing Literacy Crisis: The "Color-Blind" Limits of Racial Justice

Composition theorists interested in the implications of "literacy crisis" have tended to highlight the ways in which its discourses have critiqued the supposed permissiveness and laxity of late 1960s and early 1970s educational trends. John Trimbur, for instance, places the roots of literacy crisis and its subsequent back-to-basics mentality in a desire to reclaim what was increasingly perceived as a social, political, and educational system out of control. He suggests that

> [m]any faculty and administrators believe[d] the curricular turmoil of the sixties and seventies—with its shifts, concessions, reforms, and experiments—had caused a crisis in undergraduate studies, allowing standards to decline and threatening the traditional goals of liberal education. The reforms of the sixties, which cut back or dismantled general education requirements, permitting a wider range of course selection and incorporating nontraditional subjects into the curriculum, supposedly pulled the curriculum

> apart and turned it into a trendy incoherency of electives and self-designed majors. (109)

As a result, Trimbur suggests that proclamations of various educational crises such as literacy crisis have emerged as

> a strategic feature in the current offensive to re-establish monolithic cultural and political values. In this reaction against the sixties, the failure of will by faculty and administrators on matters of curriculum has become the moral equivalent of the fall of Saigon, another sign of American powerlessness and irresolution. There is a deep-seated desire for strength and stability at work here—a desire, both shaken and intensified by defeat in Vietnam, to return to the celebration in the postwar period of what Henry Booth Luce called "the American Century." (114)

Ira Shor has articulated a similar sort of argument. He suggests that the rhetoric of literacy crisis (as presented by Sheils in particular) was designed to affirm quite directly the power and prestige of the conservative mainstream, utilizing the assumed superiority of "standard" English as justification:

> [c]urriculum and civilization were defined in the Literacy Crisis as resting on the authority of elite language; that language was posed as a universal standard of culture rather than a class-specific form of expression. Everyday speech was a barbarian tongue unfit for civilized discourse in schools and colleges. The literacy camp thus surrounded itself with a neutral disguise in its claim to represent the general interests of civilization. In hiding the class-bound nature of correct usage, it could also disguise the partisan quality of its pedagogy.

> Back-to-basics could help restore order in language, school and society, but that order was in everybody's interest, not simply in favor of the elite, so the reasoning went. (66)

Like Trimbur, then, Shor too sees this crisis as a call for limits, a demand that we return to the "golden age" of U.S. literacy instruction in which linguistic values were purportedly both uniform and unassailable.

While I think that work like that of Trimbur and Shor has shed crucial insight into the nature of literacy crisis, such work has not focused in an explicit way upon the racial dimensions of this literacy crisis nor upon their effects.[2] I would argue that an overtly racial focus on the dynamics of literacy crisis is warranted, particularly in light of CRT Theorist Kimberle Crenshaw's observation that during the mid 1970s, the white mainstream in the U.S. began to call quite directly for limits of to the ways in which racial justice should be conceived. The white mainstream did so, she suggests, first by re-defining the notion of racism itself as "the irrational and backwards bias of believing that someone's race is important" (xiv), then by transforming this view into a philosophy of "color-blindness," one in which racial justice could be achieved only by avoiding "decision-making based on the irrational and irrelevant attribute of race" (xv). By employing this new philosophy of color-blindness, Crenshaw insists that the "American cultural mainstream neatly linked the black left to the white racist right: according to this quickly coalesced consensus, because race-consciousness characterized both white supremacists and black nationalists, it followed that both were racist" (xiv). Even more troubling, she suggests, is that this philosophy demanded

[2]Recall that in Chapter 1 of the dissertation I talk at length about the need for race-conscious analysis of composition phenomena to complement the economic and class focus of much mainstream composition work.

"the exclusion of virtually the entire domain of progressive thinking about race within colored communities" (xiv) under the pretense that to be race-conscious was tantamount to being racist. In this way, Crenshaw argues that to be "reasonable" about race during the 1970s was to be "color-blind," and consequently dismissive of race-conscious approaches toward fostering racial justice.

The sort of color-blindness that Crenshaw identifies here provides a useful tool with which to theorize the role of race within the discourses of literacy crisis. Consider, for instance, the ways in which Sheils discusses the NCTE's "Students' Right to Their Own Language" (SRTOL) declaration within his "Why Johnny Can't Write" piece. Sheils acknowledges that the motives behind this document are grounded in part in NCTE's concerns about racial justice: he suggests that this document is based on the "political activism of the past decade, [and] has lead many teachers to take the view that standard English is just a 'prestige' dialect among many others, and that insistence on its predominance constitutes an act of repression by the white middle class" (61). Yet Sheils makes it immediately clear that, in his eyes, the NCTE's thinking on this issue is highly problematic: he insists that the SRTOL is "more a political tract than a set of educational precepts" (61), arguing that such "politics" are clouding the real issues here—namely, whether or not students can learn to speak "correctly" according to the tenets of "standard" English. Indeed, he follows this statement by asserting that "'prestige dialect' or not, standard English is in fact the language of American law, politics, and commerce, and the vast bulk of American literature—and the traditionalists [among which Sheils places himself near the end of the piece] argue that to deny children access to it is in itself a pernicious form of oppression" (61). In opposing "political tracts" to the idea that "standard" English is the

language of mainstream society, then, Sheils implies that race-based "political" thinking is the exact opposite of thoughtful educational practice; what we need, he insists, is the color-blind teaching of "standards," not diversion into irrelevant topics like race and racism. Ultimately, then, in much the same way that Horner and Lu suggest discourses within the basic writing program at CUNY served to denigrate politically-active students with respect to their apolitical colleagues (14-15), Sheils deems "political" concerns like race to fall outside the realm of "legitimate" educational practice.

As his article continues, Sheils also describes the example of Betty Flasch, a white teacher working at DuSable High School in the "black ghetto" of Chicago. He notes that Flasch saw significant resistance to her attempts to enforce "standard" English usage in her classroom full of Black students, noting that such practice "built up 'incredible hostility' among her students" and lead them to dismiss her teaching as "'honky talk,' a dialect literally foreign to their families and friends" (62). As a result, Sheils reports that Flasch engages in a kind of "standard-English-as-Second-Language" pedagogy, encouraging students to become bilingual. As an example of this, Sheils reports that Flasch has students "translate Shakespeare's Elizabethan dialect both into modern prose and into their own 'street' language" (62), illustrating this process through a graphic presented several pages earlier in which Hamlet's "Poor Yorick" soliloquy is translated into what are termed "Standard English" and "Dialect," respectively. The "Standard English" translation states, for instance, that Horatio was "a man of great good humor, of fantastic imagination; he helped me through many hard times and I feel just terrible about this." In contrast, the "dialect" translation says that Horatio "be crazy, but he saved my ass many times. What you think, man? It really took me on out." (60)

At first glance, it appears that Sheils may have modified his original stance a bit as he discusses translation by granting that issues of race might play some role within literacy instruction. If students are in fact resistant to "honky talk," he seems be suggesting, then techniques like translation can be used to reach them. Ultimately, though, Sheils' stance toward this translation activity falls in line with his earlier pronouncements. He eventually explains the utility of this technique not in terms of its ability or inability to affirm students' backgrounds or communicative strengths, but rather in terms of its ability to get students to engage in "standard" language learning activities including sentence diagramming (62). In fact, he suggests that one of the most striking results of these translation exercises is that these "youngsters [do] respond particularly well to traditional drills for teaching Standard English" (62). Here, then, just as Sheils seems to grant that race-conscious writing instruction—writing instruction that recognizes students' potential hostility to the imposition of white standards—might be useful, he defines its value only insofar as it forces students to engage in the "real" work of "standard" English learning. In an extension of sorts of the most conservative strains of bidialecticalism outlined in the previous chapter, Sheils insists that students' home languages should be used only in as far as they lead them to speaking "correctly."

I should note, too, that the presentation of these translation exercises within the overall layout of the article serves to undermine their ultimate legitimacy further. The graphic representation of translation that I describe above ("He saved my ass many times...") appears at the top of page 60 of the article, just after other examples of poor writing like the quotes from the 17- and 13-year-old alluded to earlier. As a function of its position in the article, the translation graphic seems at first to be an example of good

English gone bad, or perhaps the depths to which literacy educators have sunk in order to make Shakespeare palatable to the illiterate. Indeed, only with the written analysis of what translation actually does on page 62—a full two pages *after* its graphical depiction in the text—are readers told that this translation method is potentially a useful thing (though, again, only in a limited way). In some sense, then, even as the text suggests that translation may be an effective temporary tool, the representation of translation that it employs further seems to denigrate the activity as unnecessary, even silly.

In all of these ways, then, Sheils insists that race-conscious literacy instruction is fundamentally misguided. He does grant that in certain cases, racial issues may need to be temporarily addressed in conservative bidialectical fashion; however, in the long run, the "real" key to literacy instruction is to teach "fixed rules, however tedious, if the codes of human communication are to remain decipherable," not to dwell on merely "political" or "idealistic" issues like race and racism. In this way, literacy crisis thinking exhibited by Sheils subtly suggests that race-consciousness is not only unnecessary, but in fact antithetical to "true" literacy instruction. Color-blindness, it seems, is the only way to achieve the goal of producing "literate" students.

This sort of color-blind dynamic is not only present within the Sheils piece, however, but present within the discourses of racial crisis circulating at Illinois as well. One of the most striking examples of this can be found in a Feb 4, 1976 letter to Dean Robert W. Rogers from Professor of Business and Technical Writing George Douglas. The letter begins, as do the letters of many of Douglas' colleagues mentioned above, by lamenting the sorry state of student writing at Illinois. Douglas insists that student writing is "usually poor for one of the following reasons: Immaturity of thought; Inattention to exact detail; Poor training in logic

and discursive thought; [and] Lack of general literacy and liberal learning" (1). He also insists that to cure this literacy crisis requires "mature teachers willing to fight the battle hard on all fronts—not merely an amorphous discussion of popular issues, a dreamy approach to literature, a dab of grammar, but the old freshman English course with all of the thumb screws on. It worked once so it can be made to work again" (1). Importantly, though, in making this argument about literacy crisis, Douglas makes key comments about color-blindness as well. He asserts in particular that part of the "war" that should be waged against student illiteracy must be directed in at those who claim that issues of race and racism are legitimate aspects of literacy instruction.

His strong feelings toward this end are expressed in his marginal comments on a short letter-to-the-editor piece that he appends to his letter to Rogers. This short letter to the editor is written by John Snider, a former Rhetoric TA at Illinois who seems particularly troubled by the comments made by the Rhetoric Department at this time concerning the role of "street language" in the course. Snider begins by quoting then-Director of Rhetoric James Scanlon's assertion that "[street language] is not accepted here. After all 'street language' is only a spoken language. It is not a written language at all" (n pag.). Snider then goes on to insist that Scanlon is wrong, arguing that

> [s]treet language has been a written form of English and American literature for centuries. Shakespeare and Mark Twain wrote "street language" in their most famous works. Moreover, writers in the 20th century have used dialects, "street language," and underground language in an effort to revitalize a standardized language that had become the property of an educated elite. (n.pag)

Snider finally concludes by suggesting that Scanlon's comments fail to take into account the potentially racist impact of devaluing "street language." He insists, in fact, that "Prof. Scanlon fails to take into account the numbers of non-white students whose language is not standard white English. In his zeal to standardize he teaching of rhetoric, Prof. Scanlon has supported an essentially racist policy" (n.pag). Importantly, then, Snider sees the outright rejection of "street language" as "racist," evidence that the English Department and its Director of Rhetoric are failing to engage with the linguistic and cultural background of non-white students.

In turn, Douglas articulates an angry response to the position of Snider, a response that Douglas notes has been written to retain his "personal flavor and bumptiousness." Douglas first writes in the margin next to Snider's comments about "street language" and race that "The logic here makes the hair stand up on the back of one's neck!" (2). He goes on to opine in a short end comment to the Snider piece that

> [o]ne of the problems at this university has always been the large number of imbeciles teaching Freshman Rhetoric. (I say this in all due respect to Dorothy Matthews who knows full well how the course should be taught but does not have control of the selection of the people under her.) Consider this poor chap, for example. He writes that Shakespeare and Mark Twain wrote "street language." Not at all. Shakespeare and Mark Twain had the language of the street in their souls, yes; they used street language when it was called for in a given circumstance. But they did not write street language. How can a teacher teach his students to make fine distinctions (that's what the

> [Rhetoric] course is all about) if he can't make them himself? The blind leading the blind, I fear. (2)

Here, Douglas dismisses Snider's race-conscious approach to conceptualizing writing instruction—one asserting that the non-standard, non-white language of students can be a part of the curriculum—as the thinking of an "imbecile." Douglas insists that no one in their right mind would make such claims; rather, right-minded teachers would ensure that students be exposed to a concerted, rigorous, and even war-like emphasis on standards and correctness unhindered by such misguided distraction. This is not to say that he totally he rejects the idea of conservative bidialecticalism: he grants that both Shakespeare and Twain could call up "street language" if need be. However, he insists that their mastery of the "standard" was what made them truly great, and that such bidialecticalism ultimately only for literary effect. In this way, Douglas insists that color-blind approaches to literacy instruction ought to prevail, as any other approach simply diverts attention away from the "standards" that students need to learn and to reproduce.

As evidenced by the examples of both Sheils and Douglas, then, it seems the discourses of literacy crisis were aimed quite directly at limiting attention to issues of race and racism within literacy instruction. According to such logic, literacy instruction should be made color-blind—unconcerned with extraneous "political" issues like race while focusing instead upon the inculcation of standards and excellence. Again, in some versions of this discourse, a conservative strain of bidialecticalism was viewed as acceptable as a way of helping students to reach this "standard"; however, such approaches were only to be temporary. What ultimately mattered was students' ability to produce language that was "right." And, this sort of color-blind logic will become increasingly apparent, I argue, as I

begin to analyze the discourses of literacy crisis within the context of EOP Rhetoric. While these EOP Rhetoric discourses were not necessarily as "bumptious" as those of Sheils or Douglas, their effects were quite similar: they too placed significant limits on the degree to which issues of race and racism could be discussed within the context of writing instruction.

Literacy Crisis, Color-Blindness, and the Sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric

As I argued in the previous chapter, the EOP Rhetoric program was sponsored in 1968 first and foremost as a program for meeting the needs of non-white students. Of course, as I took great pains to argue throughout the chapter, perceptions of these needs varied tremendously as a function of the group interested in sponsorship: many within the Illinois upper administration seemed to base their perception of students' needs on a belief in the superiority of white language and literacy practices, whereas a number of other administrators and teachers within the EOP Rhetoric program seemed to see these perceived needs as grounded in the connections between home and school literacies. Despite such differences, though, virtually all sponsors agreed that EOP Rhetoric should be reserved first and foremost as a program for non-white EOP students.

And, with the beginning of the 1974-1975 school year, it seemed that this model for EOP Rhetoric sponsorship was more or less intact. For instance, a 1974 report written by EOP Director Ernest P. Morris entitled "The Educational Opportunities Program: A Report on Its Objectives, Problems and Accomplishments" insists that the goal of all components of the EOP program including EOP Rhetoric continued to be to "increase the minority representation among the student body at the Urbana-Champaign campus and to ensure that students brought to the institution under the auspices of the EOP have at least a reasonable

opportunity for academic success (II-1). Similarly, a document entitled the "EOP Rhetoric Report" written sometime in 1974 (presumably by Director of EOP Rhetoric Virginia Oram, an individual about whom I will have much to say in a moment) states that EOP Rhetoric placement was still determined first and foremost by students' EOP admissions status (3). In turn, a later 1975 report written by the subsequent Director of EOP Rhetoric Ella DeVries (who will also be the focus of much discussion in this chapter) suggests that, as a result, the demographics of the program in 1974-1975 were 85% Black, 10% Latino, and 5% white (1).

However, even though EOP Rhetoric was still being sponsored as a program first and foremost for minority students, Director Virginia Oram began to intimate that perhaps this sponsorship arrangement ought to be revised. She articulates this view first in a 1974 document entitled "Proposal for Change in the Rhetoric Placement Policy at the Lower Level," arguing that the context of literacy crisis should call for a fundamentally new view of the program. Oram suggests that "[t]hough the whole concept of remediation may be unpalatable to university English Departments, some recent surveys indicate that, unfortunately, students' writing ability is not necessarily getting better and better" (1); she then goes on to cite a litany of literacy crisis-type evidence, including a National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education report suggesting that "students possess a 'low level of competency in the mechanics of writing at every age level'" (1); SAT data suggesting that average verbal scores have dropped over thirty points in the previous decade (1); and, finally a *New York Times* article suggesting that "elementary schools and secondary schools are not preparing students as well in verbal...skills as they did in former years" (1). Given these statistics, Oram asserts that the best way to solve this growing literacy crisis is to insure that Illinois develop a more complete and widely-available remedial program, one that can help to

turn the tide of poor scores and declining proficiency sweeping the both the country and the campus.

She notes, however, that precedent for such a program is lacking recent years because Illinois decided to "abolish remediation" in 1960 by getting rid of the Rhetoric 100 requirement[3] and has since only provided for "partial remediation" with the development of the EOP Rhetoric program in 1968. The reason that EOP Rhetoric constitutes only "partial remediation," she suggests, is that it is not open to all students; it is instead only available to those minority students admitted through EOP. This causes two related problems: first and foremost, it prevents regularly-admitted students from enrolling in "remedial" Rhetoric such that "the educational value of the course is lost to most regularly-admitted students" (4); furthermore, it creates a context of "racist bias" in which minority students are funneled into the "remedial" track, thus creating a situation in which "only EOP students can qualify for remediation, regardless of widely varying placement scores" (5).

Given this growing sense of racial crisis on one hand and the current problems with race-based placement on the other, Oram concludes that only one course of action is possible: the reconstitution of EOP Rhetoric as an expanded remedial program open to all students. She suggests that the program should

> remove the stigma of "remedial" or "EOP" with a placement designation for all freshman of 1) Rhetoric 104 plus Rhetoric 103 followed by Rhetoric 105,

[3]In 1960, the SCSE voted to abandon the Rhetoric 100 course as a mandatory course for students failing its "English Qualifying Exam." They instituted instead mandatory attendance at the "Writing Clinic," a remedial tutorial center.

2) Rhetoric 105 only, 3) Rhetoric 108[4], or 4) proficiency out of the course.

This would be the fairest, least racist, most educationally sound policy. (6)

Such reconstitution, she implies, would both provide access to "remediation" for all students and insure that the "racism" inherent in the present system would be eliminated.

I should note quickly, too, that this is not the only context in which Oram makes such an argument; in an interview with Morris presented in his 1974 EOP Rhetoric report, in fact, she suggests that

> I worry more and more, as I work with the program, about separatism. That is a great problem with us...it need not be that way. The course (rhetoric) appears to be discriminatory and is, in fact, discriminatory. It's discriminatory in both directions. Most kids hear about it as a black course or a Latino course, and, of course, if we took all freshman and tested them and took scores from them we would not have an all black course by any means. I don't think it would be even 50 percent black, I doubt if it would be...There are some very low scores among regularly admitted students who are not given the opportunity to take this particular course in rhetoric. (Morris, "The Educational Opportunities Program" III-24)

Here Oram makes the same kind of argument, suggesting that the present EOP Rhetoric program is "discriminatory" in the sense that it both labels Blacks and Latinos as inferior and that it prevents many whites who would benefit from such a course from actually enrolling in it.

In making these arguments, Oram reveals a number of fundamental changes to the

[4]Rhetoric 108 was an "honors" section of first year composition for high-scoring students.

way in which she as Director viewed the EOP program in comparison to her late 1960s predecessors. Recall that, in the late 1960s, the program was construed by administrators like Director Charles Sanders as an attempt to help students use their experience (including racial experience) as a tool to navigate the demands of the academy. Furthermore, Sanders and others also made it clear that they did not view the program as remedial (even though many on the SCSE certainly did), perceiving it instead as a context in which to ask fundamental questions about connections between language, literacy, literacy instruction, and difference: How should "good" language and literacy activities be defined? What linguistic and cultural standards should be used to assess these activities? How can students from non-white and non-mainstream backgrounds best achieve success? Thus, at least within the administration of the EOP Rhetoric program itself, the program was envisioned as a sort of race-conscious attempt to change writing instruction for the better.

During the literacy crisis era, however, Oram saw EOP Rhetoric as wholly remedial, a program designed to overcome student deficiency as quickly and fully as possible. Students' backgrounds were apparently irrelevant; what mattered instead was whether or not they could produce "standard" English adequately. Furthermore, EOP Rhetoric was no longer perceived by Oram as a context for asking questions about the ways to best measure student literacy; apparently, such measurements—the SAT, tests of grammar and usage, etc.—were adequate enough. The only questions that seemed relevant within this new EOP Rhetoric context had to do with the best way of helping students reach this linguistic standard: How bad is present student performance? What can we do to improve it? How can we teach the standard more efficiently?

Another profound shift in thinking about the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric within Oram's argument is evident in its notion of "racism" itself. On the surface, it may seem as though Oram was being race-conscious in writing this proposal: after all, she notes that most students who are defined as remedial are Black, prefiguring Shelley's assertion that a number of students during this time were upset that EOP Rhetoric sections were virtually all Black (Personal Interview [27 February 2002]). Crucially, though, the solution that Oram proposes for this racism involves no real interrogation of the connections between race and literacy instruction. It involves, rather, a wholly color-blind approach: by having all students take the same test, she argues that the EOP Rhetoric program can insure the "fairest, least racist" program possible. In fact, Oram uses the trope of "discrimination" in her second quotation to underscore this idea: she implies through its use that both Blacks and whites are being done an equal disservice by the present system—exposed to equally "discriminatory" practices that prevent both groups from receiving the kind of literacy instruction that they ostensibly need. She concludes, therefore, that the real problem here is not race per se, but rather a poorly-designed institutional placement mechanism that puts all students at a disadvantage. If we help all students to acquire "standard" English, she insists, we will "cure" program racism once and for all.

Ironically, then, it seems that the "standards" of literacy and language use—the *white* standards of literacy and language use—that were scrutinized the by the likes of Sanders et al. during the previous racial crisis era were now being touted by Oram in 1974 as not only a means of guaranteeing equal treatment of all students but also of curing program racism. These standards were not identified as "white" per se within this

context; rather, via the logic of color-blindness, they were simply posited as "right," the kinds of language skills that all students should possess to prove that they are "literate." Nonetheless, these standards relied upon white ways of knowing, speaking, and writing as measures of true "literacy," and by invoking them under the guise of color-blindness, Oram actually served to validate them as well as the racialized power imbalances upon which they were constructed.

It should be noted that Oram's proposal as outlined above was not put into practice, at least not initially[5]; in fact, she notes in a 1976 letter to LAS Dean Rogers that the proposal was "ignored" by the English Department. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, though it seems that economics may have played a key role: a September 24, 1974 letter from English Department Head George Hendrick to Dean Robert W. Rogers suggests that Oram wants "all low-scoring students" to take EOP Rhetoric, but notes that "such a measure would...add to the drain on the departmental budget" (2). Still, despite the fact that Oram's plan was not implemented, some of the thinking behind her plan continued to be manifest during the tenure of her successor Ella DeVries.

Ella DeVries was hired in 1975 as the first Ph.D. to hold the Director position since the original Director of the EOP Rhetoric Program Charles Sanders. Her approach toward the program was first articulated in a 1975 memo entitled "To the Rhetoric Teaching Staff," a memo in which she initially implies that EOP student background does in fact play a role in shaping both the kind of language that students use and the kind of instruction that they require. She suggests that "most of the errors in EOP students'

[5]I will point out in later chapters, however, that some of the arguments that Oram enunciated within this proposal were made vehemently by other administrators during the early 1980s, and more vehemently still during the early 1990s.

writing result from the difference between their spoken dialect and the structure of Standard English" (1); as a result, she argues that students should be "taught to recognize this [dialect] difference. By explaining the structure and function of written Standard English, we teach students to respect both Standard English and their own dialects" (1).

At first glance, it may appear that DeVries is rearticulating the sort of progressive bidialectical position advocated by Hammerschlag as outlined in Chapter 2, discourse insisting that educators both affirm the racialized language that students bring with them from their past experiences and use it to help students meet the expectations of a different university environment. It becomes clear fairly quickly, though, that DeVries thinks such respect has little if anything to do with race; rather, DeVries implies that such respect will come first and foremost from eliminating "errors" and emphasizing "correctness."

She suggests in this same memo, for instance, that within the context of EOP Rhetoric, "our first task is to eliminate a large number of mechanical and idiomatic errors" (3) present in student writing. She then makes this assertion much more directly in her descriptions of each component of the program. She states that the fundamental goal of EOP Rhetoric 103 (the Writing Lab companion course to the 104 course) is "to teach students how to improve their writing by teaching them why they have made mistakes in papers and how to correct them" ("The Directive: Rhetoric 103" 1); she further suggests that this process ought to progress as follows:

> As often as possible have students write sentences and paragraphs in tutorial. Focus first upon the smaller elements of the students' writing: spelling, word choice, 'ed' and 's' verb endings, verb tense, pronoun reference, structure of individual sentences, etc. When simpler problems are eliminated, move to

> more sophisticated problems such as diction, conciseness, coherence, transition, methods of support, complexity of thought, etc.. (1)

In turn, she insists that the EOP Rhetoric 104 course—the classroom site of Rhetoric instruction—should emphasize similar sorts of error-hunting lessons:

> Rhetoric 104 has many objectives, but there are seven primary ones on which the instructor concentrates: 1) "Examples of Major Errors," and how to correct them 2) the structure of topic sentences and thesis statements 3) phrases and clauses 4) the distinction between sentences and sentence fragments 5) the use of the comma and the semi-colon 6) smooth transitions between sentences and paragraphs, and 7) the structure of introductory and concluding paragraphs and the design of the body of an essay. The secondary objectives are important, but should be taught for a shorter length of time than the primary ones. They are 1) functional grammar, usage, and rhetoric, concentrating on idiomatic expressions, "ed" verb endings, "s" verb endings, verb tense shifts, pronoun reference, comma splices, and dangling modifiers 2) word choice 3) spelling, and 4) the use of the dictionary. ("The Directive: Rhetoric 104" 1)

Within these descriptions, then, we see again a sort of color-blindness, a sense that students' language "problems" are best dealt with not by seeking to connect their past language use with present demands, but rather simply by showing students how to "fix" the errors that they are making. Ironically, the methodology prescribed for this approach seems quite similar to that advocated by the SCSE as outlined in the last chapter, an approach designed to focus first and foremost on "basics" before more "sophisticated" types of instruction in argumentation

could be pursued. Indeed, not until the second semester of writing instruction in EOP Rhetoric would students receive any sort of exposure to argumentation skills at all: only with EOP Rhetoric 105 would students "write essays of analysis which have well-developed thesis statements, paragraphs, and conclusions" ("The Directive: Rhetoric 105"). Not only, then, is language difference "error," but such error actually precludes students from engaging in higher-order thinking through writing. In this sense, then, what may at first appear to be a version of progressive bidialecticalism actually borders on color-blind eradicationism—a "right is right and wrong is wrong" approach that sees correctness as the primary goal of writing instruction.

Ultimately, I would argue that DeVries' literacy crisis-era construction of EOP Rhetoric ultimately operates to reify the supposed superiority of white language and literacy practices in a manner similar to that which I identified for Oram above. Her view assumes the existence of some unquestioned "standard" for good and correct writing, ignoring the ways in which this "standard" discourse is related to issues of racial power and privilege, as well as the ways in which marking difference as "error" serves to reify such connections. In addition, and perhaps even more troubling, DeVries' view insists that real writing cannot take place until students demonstrate mastery of this white "standard," thus affording even less of an opportunity for students to draw upon their backgrounds to help them to write successfully. I do not want to go so far as to suggest that DeVries is re-articulating verbatim the position of the SCSE discussed in Chapter 2: whereas the SCSE was quite direct in its prescriptions that students overtly "unlearn" their culture, such "unlearning" is not overtly prescribed by DeVries here. Nonetheless, her perspective does ultimately reify the status quo by insisting that student error be the primary focus of instruction. Analogous to the way in

which Lu suggests that Shaughnessy's *Errors and Expectations* fails to view correctness as a function of "historically unequal distribution of social power," a distribution that students "must recognize but can also call into question and change" (114), DeVries' focus on error ultimately fails to critique the power of white standards of literacy or to provide a means of fostering resistance to these standards.

Overall, then, I contend that within the literacy crisis-era EOP Rhetoric program during the tenure of Directors like Oram and DeVries students were subjected to beliefs that white language and literacy were superior to all others, beliefs ironically couched in the claim that "race doesn't matter." Within this context, students were expected to meet the same white standards of literacy learning that they were subject to under the supervision of the SCSE in the late 1960s. Yet, all the while, the discourses employed within these contexts insisted that race did not matter: the literacy that students were being asked to exhibit was purportedly not "white," but simply "right."

Literacy Crisis, Color-Blindness, and Control of the Writing Lab

I have argued thus far that the discourses of literacy crisis as articulated with respect to EOP Rhetoric embodied a kind of color-blind philosophy that served to reject any sustained focus upon issues of race or racism within writing instruction as irrelevant or unnecessary. For Oram, this view was embodied in something akin to an "equal-opportunity remediation" model for EOP Rhetoric, one in which all students would be brought up to par regardless of race. DeVries' view was related as she suggested that the best way to help all students achieve success was to assure that they knew what their "errors" in language were and how to correct them. I have further argued that such thinking marked a profound shift in

the ways in which EOP Rhetoric was conceived by its key administrators: gone, it seems, was any desire to use students' backgrounds to help students and to reform instruction in the process, replaced by an intense push to force all students to reach the same unassailable (white) standard of language use. In this section, I will demonstrate that these ideological aspects of literacy crisis had profound effects not only upon program identity but also upon institutional structure. To do so, I focus upon a debate over control of the EOP Writing Lab taking place between two parties during this time period, the "Expanded Encounter With Learning" (EEL) program alluded to in Chapter 2 and the newly color-blind EOP Rhetoric program.

The EEL was, as described previously, was an openly race-conscious program dedicated to recognizing students' backgrounds and attempting to use them as the basis for teaching language and literacy skills. By 1972, EEL had come to serve as the primary administrative entity responsible for the Writing Lab (see Chapter 2); however, by 1974, it seemed that the EEL's influence over the Writing Lab was interpreted as an unwelcome intrusion into the proper domain of EOP Rhetoric administration under Oram and DeVries. In an Oct 21, 1974 assessment of the dispute, LAS Dean Rogers suggests that central to the squabble itself

> is the matter of dual control. The Department of English, which is responsible for the administration of the rhetoric requirement, thinks that there is not the degree of cooperation that might be expected [between English and the EEL]; different approaches and different evaluations and strategies are employed, and the situation appears to be somewhat unsanitary...The Department of English is not satisfied with the present arrangement for its writing laboratory

> and would like, if it is to retain responsibility, to make a strenuous effort to strengthen the Writing Lab. It cannot do so unless questions of control and authority are straightened out. (Letter to Morton Weir 1)

The "control" issues alluded to in this letter are later referred to once again in notes taken at a meeting between Rogers, Oram, and Milton of the EEL apparently around this same time. These notes describe the dispute as "inter-agency friction: territorial disputes between Oram and Milton…[there is the] charge that Milton is encroaching upon services which rightfully belong in the Writing Laboratory"; these notes further suggest that students are "receiving conflicting advice from their two sets of tutors" ("Notes on Meeting With Dean Rogers" 1). In turn, the nature of this conflict is illuminated in a brief exchange between Oram and Milton included within Rogers' description. One note from Milton to Oram, for instance, questions the policies of EOP Rhetoric tutors with respect to their focus on "correctness." Specifically, Milton wonders whether one of the EOP Rhetoric tutors "might not be too severe in giving grades," asserting that the tutor in question

> originally praised certain papers and gave little indication of how serious her mechanical errors were. When she wanted to take the papers to show her mother [however], he wrote D's and E's on them, along with brief comments that were basically negative. Her questioning of him brought little satisfaction, since he apparently wanted the low grades to motivate her to improve. (Letter to Oram 1)

In turn, in a marginal gloss of the letter directed at Dean Rogers, Oram describes Milton's complaint as an example of "the kind of interference our T.A.'s have to put up with," and suggests that this particular tutor has "suffered a good deal at Milton's hands this semester"

(Memo to George Hendrick 1).

It seems here that the race-conscious philosophy of the EEL-sponsored Writing Lab did not match the increasing emphasis on color-blind literacy crisis overtaking the EOP Rhetoric program under Oram and DeVries. Indeed, the "interference" alluded to here seems to be in large part a disagreement over grading, or more accurately, a disagreement over the weight that should be assigned to "mechanical errors" within the larger project of writing assessment. Of course, this may not have been the only issue: a number of documents and interviews suggest that there was some interpersonal tension between the Director of the EEL John Milton and EOP Rhetoric Director Oram as well.[6] Nonetheless, I think that at the core of the struggle is the fact that the sort of individualized and race-based focus of writing instruction advocated by the EEL was foreign to the literacy crisis mentality that was increasingly prominent within EOP Rhetoric. In this sense, the struggle over the Lab was ultimately a struggle over who would have the authority to decide which type of language was to be taught and how this teaching process was to take place: should the student be "praised" for a good effort, or should the student be given "D's and E's" for their "serious mechanical errors"?

Ultimately, this issue of control was decided by the Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs Morton Weir in favor of the EOP Rhetoric program under the English Department. Weir writes to Dean Rogers on Jan 22, 1975 that "There should be no question that the English Department is in charge of this supportive service and that the EEL willingly offers its considerable experience to planning a stronger writing laboratory. Questions on this level ought to be resolved immediately" (Letter to Robert Rogers 1). The rationale for this

[6]Shelley recalls, for instance, that he "refereed" a number of disputes between Milton and Oram

decision is not made clear within archival documents, though it seems likely that both a long-standing sense of English Department as "authority" for writing instruction[7] as well as the proliferation of literacy crisis thinking played a role. However, the effects of the decision itself seem fairly clear: namely, that the EOP Rhetoric program under the English Department took full control of the Lab.

The results of this decision are evident in correspondence between DeVries and Milton in 1975. DeVries states that "the Vice Chancellor determined...that the English Department is in charge of the supportive services of EEL and that any referrals made are to be made by the director of the Writing Laboratory" (Letter to Milton 1). With this new power structure determined, she goes on to suggest what the role of the EEL within the new Writing Lab ought to be. She insists that "[t]here are many skills related to the students' success in college which you and your staff should teach. I hope that you will willingly, and of your own initiative, assist the EEL student in these areas. Enclosed is a list of areas which I suggest" (1). This list itself states that the EOP Rhetoric program will be responsible exclusively for "basic writing skills and usage" (2). In contrast, the EEL ought to concentrate on "use of the library," "examination skills," "study habits," how to improve "class participation," how to maximize use of "conferences" in the Writing Lab, and "word skills" like dictionary use and spelling (2). In this way DeVries' letter clearly spells out the new power dynamic at work here: EOP Rhetoric is to be exclusively in charge of teaching students to write as defined within the context of literacy crisis; in turn, the EEL is to be in charge of the other aspects of writing instruction, including study habits, note-taking, and so

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(Personal Interview [3 July 2003]).

[7]As I note in Chapter 2 of the dissertation, the exclusive right of the English Department to determine writing instruction policies had been officially recognized by the Illinois Senate since 1941 under the

forth, but only if the EEL agrees not to interfere with the EOP Rhetoric program's central business of fostering linguistic correctness.

Further repercussions of this decision can be seen remarks made by Director of EOP Ernest Morris, the person in charge of Milton and the EEL program more generally. During an exchange with English Department Head George Hendrick just after this decision was handed down, Morris writes of his hope that the English department will continue "welcome and consider our observations relative [EOP Rhetoric and the Writing Lab], especially in view of this office's on-going, intimate involvement with the students served by it" (Letter to George Hendrick 1). Yet, he also notes that "as has been indicated on previous occasions, this office certainly recognizes the English Department's responsibility for teaching writing" (1). The tone of this recognition seems cordial: Morris seems to be conceding that, while he would like to retain some influence over EOP Rhetoric hiring, he recognizes the primacy of the English Department in the context of such decision-making. Interestingly, though, Morris' tone with regard to this struggle with his own "EOP Annual Report 1974-1975" seems somewhat more negative, perhaps expressing more openly his feelings on the matter. Morris writes:

> The 1974-1975 year was not free of problems. Conflicts developed between this office and the English department relative to the EOP Writing Laboratory. Such issues as its administration, structure, location, and thrust were sources of difficulty. The Department was not amenable to suggestions from this office regarding these matters, and decisions were made which, in the writer's view, will ultimately undermine the integrity and effectiveness of the writing

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auspices of the SCSE.

> program. Certainly, the restructured endeavor should be carefully scrutinized during the coming year. (35)

It seems clear, then, that once the power dynamics between the English department and EEL had been established, the English Department was no longer "amenable" to EEL opinions on the program: the EEL now had very little influence over the Writing Lab, a situation which Morris insisted would "undermine the effectiveness and integrity of the program."

Ultimately, then, I think that this protracted squabble between the EEL and EOP Rhetoric demonstrates the institutional impact of literacy crisis thinking upon writing instruction at Illinois. The EEL-influenced Writing Lab had aimed at some level toward re-injecting issues of race and racism back into writing instruction; in contrast, both the English Department more generally and the EOP Rhetoric program in particular had moved away from such a focus and toward the ideology of literacy crisis. Tension arose as these two very different approaches to instruction clashed. And, in the final analysis, the literacy crisis position, one backed by the larger administration itself, was given precedence.

With these examples, I want to suggest that the literacy crisis mentality engulfing EOP Rhetoric at this time did more than imply that "race didn't matter" in some benign sense. Instead, this mentality served to undermine institutional attempts like those of the EEL to promote race-consciousness within the context of writing instruction. Indeed, such undermining actions not only promoted a belief in the supposed superiority of white language and literacy practices, but also enforced this belief as a programmatic goal. Perhaps more troubling is, though, is that the operation of this ideology was largely invisible. These standards were not openly identified as race-based as they were during racial crisis; rather, they were simply perceived as "good for everyone." What this did, as I will argue in my next

and final section of this chapter, was to further reify white language and literacy practices as superior while simultaneously ensuring that race-conscious resistance to these practices was extremely difficult to articulate. In some sense, the literacy crisis-era program took the most racially-problematic aspects of sponsorship from the racial crisis era of EOP Rhetoric and made them even harder both to identify and resist; as a result, they became in some ways even more powerful than during even the worst conditions of sponsorship during the end of the 1960s and early 1970s.

Conclusion: A Word About Race-Conscious Resistance

My last chapter concluded with a discussion of resistance to the racist sponsorship model for EOP Rhetoric proposed within the context of racial crisis. In some sense, such a discussion is harder to offer in this chapter. Recall that in the previous chapter, those most directly associated with writing instruction, including Director of Rhetoric Charles Sanders and Co-Director of the Writing Lab Dorie Hammerschlag, were adamant that issues of race and racism be recognized and dealt with the in the context of the EOP Rhetoric program. In contrast, this chapter illustrates that individuals in these same kinds of positions were making very different arguments, arguments insisting that that race does not and should not matter when thinking about issues of language and literacy.

Consider for instance Oram's position. It seems that she had significant interest in correcting what she saw as the "racism" inherent to the EOP Rhetoric enterprise: she spoke of this racism in a number of administrative documents and spent time trying to convince the upper administration of its importance. Yet, within this literacy crisis climate, she did not interrogate connections between race, racism, and writing instruction, but instead suggested

that institutional placement mechanisms were the "real" cause of the problem. In making this claim, Oram ended up reifying the white standards of language and literacy rather than critiquing them. Consider DeVries' position as well. She too seemed to recognize at least initially that students in the program came from different racial backgrounds, suggesting in fact that this difference needed to be addressed in the context of writing instruction. Yet, the program under her direction seemed focused more on the elimination of "error" than anything else, a position that again reified the white status quo in certain ways. Finally, consider the institutional results of the confrontation between the EEL and the Directors of the EOP Rhetoric program. The defeat of the EEL and subsequent English Department/EOP Rhetoric takeover of the Writing Lab served to affirm that color-blindness became the official view of the program; furthermore, this victory insured that race-conscious instructional practices would be eliminated from program offerings.

I do not mean to suggest that no resistance at all was enacted within this climate. For instance, I think that Morris' written complaints about the change in leadership in the Writing Lab above, as well as his attempts to retain ties with the English Department in the aftermath of the EEL's expulsion from the Lab, do constitute attempts at resistance. Yet, it is important to note that his resistance had little effect, at least at first: the EOP program would not retain a direct say over EOP Rhetoric or the Writing Lab for roughly the next ten years.[8] Meanwhile, those who did have a direct say, i.e. individuals like Oram and DeVries clearly retained the power to enforce their own views within the context of the program.

[8]I will demonstrate in the next chapter, however, that Morris' wish for the EOP program to serve as an integral part of the EOP Rhetoric program would be granted in 1984 with the help of Acting Director of EOP Rhetoric Avon Crismore.

In the final analysis, then, I want to suggest that sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric during the era of literacy crisis was in some ways less amenable to racially-egalitarian resistance than it was even during the racial crisis era. At least during the time of racial crisis, the terms of resistance within EOP Rhetoric could be articulated openly, even if such resistance was not always successful. In contrast, within the literacy crisis era, terms of resistance within the program were made invisible via the notion that race simply did not matter within the context of writing instruction. And, as a result, when programs like EEL were weakened or eliminated out of fear that they taught students the "wrong" things about literacy learning, resistance was not quickly forthcoming. I must conclude, therefore, that within this mid-1970s climate of literacy crisis and its attendant emphasis on color-blindness, there were far fewer spaces for enacting openly race-conscious resistance to racist sponsorship arrangements. Ironically, then, during this time in which race supposedly did not matter, the literacy of white superiority was in some ways more powerful than it had been during any previous time in program history.

Chapter 4

Affirmative Action and Institutional Interest Convergence: EOP Rhetoric in a Post-*Bakke* World

In 1977, not long after the fervor of the literacy crisis as outlined in the last chapter first surfaced, the U.S. Supreme Court began hearing arguments in the *University of California Regents v. Bakke* case, one of the most significant cases since the *Brown v. Board of Ed.* decisions to grapple with issues of race, racism, and access to education. *Bakke* centered around the claim of white would-be medical student Allan Bakke that he was denied admission to medical school at UC-Davis because a number of spaces within the Davis program each year were unconstitutionally reserved for racial and ethnic minorities. Counsel arguing Bakke's case within the Supreme Court suggested that the UC-Davis program was predicated on an unfair deployment of "racial quotas"—spots reserved for individuals only on the basis of race—that were illegal under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As Bakke's lawyer Reynold Colvin argued in the case,

> [i]f the Constitution prohibits exclusion of blacks and other minorities on racial grounds it cannot permit the exclusion of whites on racial grounds...The admissions policy...must be struck down because it involves an unconstitutional racial discrimination in the form of a quota. (qtd. in Schwartz 16)

The defense for the University of California, in contrast, argued that the program at Davis had used its admissions policy as a tool for trying to increase the overall number of minority physicians, particularly the number who "are likely to return to those disadvantaged areas from which they came" (qtd. in Schwartz 16). Counsel for the defense argued, therefore, that

the program did not represent a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, but rather a means of guaranteeing its implementation; indeed, UC-Davis' attorney Arthur Cox suggests that the admissions policy had been predicated on the idea that

> the power of the state [should be] used *affirmatively* to combat discrimination and make the promise of the Fourteenth Amendment a reality...If such affirmative steps cannot be taken, there will be few, if any, members of certain minority groups who will become doctors. And this will be to the loss of both the school and the society. (qtd. in Schwartz 17)

In this way, the *Bakke* case demanded that the Supreme Court define the ways in which institutions of higher education view issues of race and racism within their midst. Should such institutions be color-blind in the way that Bakke argued, making no distinctions at all among races regardless of past instances of discrimination or injustice? Or, should these institutions engage in more "affirmative" actions in the way that Davis argued, helping to insure that both past injustice and present systemic racism could be recognized and somehow accounted for?

The outcome of the case was a complex one, handed down through two split 5-4 decisions that evinced bifurcated thinking on the part of the Court. In the first of the 5-4 decisions, the Court found that the Davis program was unconstitutional, with Justices Stevens, Burger, Stewart, and Rhenquist arguing that it violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (Dreyfuss and Lawrence 206) and Justice Powell arguing that it actually violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fifth Amendment (208). In the second of the 5-4 decisions, however, the Court found that race could still be utilized as a means of determining college admissions: Justices Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun argued that both Title VI of

the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment permitted racial classification as a basis of college admission when intended to remedy past racial discrimination (206), while Powell argued on very different grounds that college admissions boards ought to be permitted to recognize race because the "pursuit of a diverse student body was essential to the university's exercise of academic freedom" (211). And quite crucially, in making this latter claim, Powell held up Harvard as a model of the sort of admissions program that embodied this version of "diversity," insisting that within Harvard's program "race or ethnic background may be deemed a 'plus' in a particular applicant's file, yet it does not insulate the individual from comparison with all other candidates for available seats" (212). Ultimately, then, the Court upheld Bakke's claim that the Davis system was unfair, but also upheld the right of campuses like Davis to consider race as an admission factor as long as such admission followed the logic of the "Harvard Plan" as described by Powell.

My goal in this chapter is two-fold: first, I aim to understand how the logic applied within the *Bakke* decision, particularly the logic of Justice Powell and his Harvard Plan, impacted conceptions of affirmative action and its role within higher education practice during the late 1970s and early 1980s; second, I aim to analyze some of the ways in which this logic came to shape the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric—or perhaps more accurately, the rhetoric of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship—during the this same time period.

I begin the chapter by demonstrating how, in formulating his complex swing vote for the *Bakke* decision, Powell effectively redefined affirmative action within higher education as a function of "academic freedom," the freedom of institutions of higher education to fashion their student bodies in whatever way that they deemed fit. In doing so, I suggest that Powell (and thus the Supreme Court itself) posited affirmative action not as a tool of race-

based institutional reform, but one of institutional self-interest preservation, a logic that I call "institutional interest convergence" (echoing Derrick Bell's more general notion of "interest convergence"). This logic, I will argue, had three significant effects upon higher education: first, it served to validate rather than critique the "standards" by which universities traditionally judged the merits of students and faculty; second, it served to support and even enhance the racism underpinning those same "standards"; and, finally, it served to pave the way for the future elimination of affirmative action and other racial justice measures on predominantly white campuses.

Next, I turn to the context of EOP Rhetoric itself, arguing that this *Bakke*-era logic of institutional interest convergence profoundly shaped the ways in which sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric was both conceptualized and enacted during the early 1980s. Toward this end, I present two instances in which Illinois' administration seemingly began to champion the race-based affirmative action dimensions of EOP Rhetoric within discussions of program sponsorship: one instance emerging in response to a 1981 mandate from the Illinois state legislature calling for an end to "remediation" on college campuses, and the other instance emerging as part of an on-going effort to obtain outside funding for a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric. I contend that in both cases, the administration emphasized the connection between EOP and affirmative action only as a means of preserving institutional self-interest, not as a means of revitalizing race-conscious writing instruction on the campus. And, in doing so, I suggest that these actions ultimately produced the same kinds of results that I attribute to the more general logic of institutional interest convergence above: the validation of traditional "standards" at Illinois, the reification of existing program racism emanating from these "standards" (particularly as manifest in program ideologies of language and

literacy), and the sanctioning of plans to eliminate EOP Rhetoric as an institutional entity at some point in the future.

Importantly, though, as is the case in previous chapters, I conclude the chapter by analyzing examples of resistance within the program during this era. I stress that one by-product of such Bakke-era thinking about affirmative action was the re-introduction of race into discourses of EOP Rhetoric: whereas in the past era of literacy crisis, race seemingly "did not matter" at all in the context of the program, it could and did matter in some ways in this new post-Bakke context. I further note how at least one interested administrator seized upon this new attitude about race in the program to inject race-conscious ideology and praxis into the process of hiring of the first permanent, full-time Director of EOP Rhetoric in the history of the program. This move, I suggest, helped to establish a renewed race-conscious trajectory for the program largely unimaginable during the previous color-blind era of the 1970s.

Bakke, Harvard, and the Issue of Racial Justice

In order to better understand the complex logic of the *Bakke* decision and its effects upon thinking about affirmative action on a general level, I want to begin here by probing the ways in which Justice Powell, the swing voter in the *Bakke* case, came to arrive at his final decision. Recall that, while Powell ultimately sided with Justices Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun, the logic by which he did differed significantly from theirs. One example of the logic of these four Justices can be seen first in Brennan's "Memorandum to the Conference" of Nov 23, 1977, a document in which he spells out quite clearly his belief in race-consciousness as a necessity in this context. He insists, for instance, that

> [i]f Davis' program is unconstitutional, I am clear that this is not because the law requires the automatic invalidation of all decision-making which, like Davis' admissions decisions, takes race into account. We long ago crossed that bridge in cases that approved race-sensitive policies and remedies, and thus firmly settled the principle that not every remedial use of race is constitutionally forbidden. (Brennan 2)

Shortly thereafter, he concludes that

> to read the Fourteenth Amendment to state an abstract principle of color-blindness is itself to be blind to history...the Fourteenth Amendment was thought necessary to enable Congress to adopt measures giving special treatment to "freedmen," and that Congress acted before and after the adoption of the amendment to secure for blacks real, not just abstract equality. I therefore think it clear that states are free to pursue the goal of racial pluralism in their institutions in order to afford minorities full participation in the broader society. (Brennan 2)

In both of these passages Brennan clearly calls for race-conscious views of the Davis program: in the first passage, he insists that the Constitution allows for the recognition of race in certain instances like those at issue in *Bakke*; in the second, he argues that such race-consciousness must be utilized if "real, not just abstract equality" is truly sought in the case. Failing to differentiate between this sort of proactive racial justice and the color-blind version called for by *Bakke,* he says, is "to be blind to history."

The other Justices siding with Brennan clearly agree with his logic. Justice Blackmun, for instance, suggests in his "Memorandum of May 1, 1978" that

> [t]he very raison d'etre of the Fourteenth Amendment may not be set aside entirely or ignored for a "new era" when we are dealing with the kind of disadvantage bred by the discrimination of our own past, the "unrequited toil," to use Lincoln's words, the Equal Protection Clause was designed to counter. To do otherwise is to ignore history. (Blackmun 9)

Justice Marshall's own comments toward this end are similarly direct, as he argues that

> [t]he racism of our society has been so pervasive that none, regardless of wealth or position, has managed to escape its impact...it is more than a little ironic that after several hundred years of class-based discrimination against Negroes, the Court is unwilling to hold that a class-based remedy for that discrimination is permissible. (qtd. in Dreyfuss and Lawrence 225)

In these ways, the Justices agreeing with Brennan also emphasize the need for an openly race-conscious interpretation of affirmative action just as Brennan does above.

Crucially, though, Powell's own "Memorandum of November 27, 1977" makes it quite clear that he does not agree that race-consciousness of this sort—consciousness designed to address past racial discrimination—is truly permissible in this *Bakke* context. He insists that past discrimination against Blacks was really no different from that of other ethnic groups, including whites themselves, arguing that

> [t]he concepts of "majority" and "minority" necessarily reflect temporary judgments and political arrangements...the white "majority" itself is composed of various minority groups, each of which can lay claim to a history of prior discrimination at the hands of the state and private individuals. (Powell 9)

As a result, Powell further insists that there is no sure way to differentiate fairly between and among these different claims for justice:

> [n]ot all of these groups can receive favorable treatment, and corresponding judicial tolerance of distinctions drawn in terms of race and nationality, for then the only "majority" left would be a new minority of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. There is no principled basis for deciding which groups will inherit "heightened judicial solicitude" and which will not. (9)

Instead, he argues that the only consistent way to settle claims of discrimination is to look at individual cases on an individual basis, i.e., cases when such discrimination "impinges upon [an individual's] personal rights" (10). It is as a function of this view, this focus on individual rights, that Powell ultimately finds the Davis admission decision to be unconstitutional:

> [t]he purpose of helping certain persons whom the faculty of the Davis Medical School perceived as victims of "societal discrimination" does not support the consequent casting of burdens upon persons like the respondent, who bear no responsibility for whatever harm the beneficiaries of the special admissions program are thought to have suffered. To hold otherwise would be to convert a remedy heretofore reserved for violations of legal rights into a privilege that institutions throughout the Nation can grant at their pleasure. (19)

Throughout these passages, then, Powell demonstrates his profound and fundamental disagreement with the views expressed by the likes of Brennan, Blackmun, and Marshall. History, Powell claims, has no bearing on the issue of racial justice since all groups can claim

to have held "minority" status at one point or another during the history of the United States: there is simply not "principled" means for the Court or the Constitution to decide among these competing race-based claims of wrongdoing. Instead, the Court must entertain such claims only when they impinge upon individual rights—i.e. if an individual act of discrimination against someone on the basis of their status has occurred. Within this logical framework, Powell insists that the Davis admissions program is clearly wrong because it punishes individual whites like Allan Bakke for wrongs that they themselves played no part in perpetrating.

In spite of his fundamental disagreement with such a color-blind perspective on the case, though, Powell does argue that race can still be used as one possible factor in determining college admission. The reason for this, he insists, is his support of "academic freedom," the right of institutions to decide for themselves how best to train their students and properly serve society. As he writes ,"[a]cademic freedom, though not a constitutional right in and of itself, long has been viewed as a special concern of the first amendment. The freedom of a university to make its own judgments as to education includes the selection of its student body" (20). And, he suggests that one key manifestation of the right of "academic freedom" is the right of an institution to foster a "diverse" student body in order to meet its larger institutional needs. He insists for instance that

> [p]hysicians serve a heterogeneous population. An otherwise qualified medical student with a particular background—whether it be ethnic, geographic, culturally advantaged or disadvantaged—may bring to a professional school of medicine experiences, outlooks, and ideas that enrich

> the training of its student body and better equip its graduates to render with understanding their vital service to humanity. (21-22)

He further says that "ethnic diversity" may be included among "factors a university properly may consider in attainting the goal of a heterogeneous student body" (22). To this end, he holds up Harvard as an example:

> [w]hen the Committee on Admissions reviews the large middle group of applicants who are 'admissible' and deemed capable of doing good work in their courses, the race of an applicant may tip the balance in his favor just as geographic origin or a life spent on a farm may tip the balance in other applicants' cases. A farm boy from Idaho can bring something different to Harvard College that a Bostonian cannot offer. Similarly, a black student can usually bring something that a white student cannot offer. (23)

He does note, though, and rather adamantly, that such attention is not to be taken too far, as in the case of racial "quotas," again citing Harvard as an example:

> the Harvard program specifically eschews quotas…In Harvard college admissions the Committee has not set target-quotas for the number of blacks, or of musicians, football players, physicists, or Californians to be admitted in a given year…[it has rather operated to assure that] in choosing among thousands of applicants who are not only 'admissible' academically but have other strong qualities, the Committee, with a number of criteria in mind, pays some attention to distribution among many types and categories of students…[in doing so, Harvard assures that] race or ethnic background may be deemed a "plus" in a particular applicant's file…it does not insulate the

> individual from fair comparison with all other candidates for the available seats. (24)

In short, Powell insists that as long as race is treated like any other factor that might be used to help an institution craft a "diverse" student body, it can continue to be recognized within the admissions process.

Clearly, then, Powell's ultimate agreement with the decision of Brennan et al. stems from quite different assumptions about the nature of race and racism. Powell rejects the notion that discrimination against Blacks or other non-white groups is somehow historically distinct from the sort of discrimination that he sees affecting virtually all American ethnic groups—including many now considered white. Rather, he suggests (using Harvard as the paradigm for such work) that "academic freedom" is the real issue here, the freedom of institutions to account for difference of all kinds as they seek to shape both their student populations and the kind of education offered to such populations. Such academic freedom dictates that in much the same way a "farmboy from Idaho" might bring a unique perspective to an elite institution of higher education, so too might a minority student, at least under certain conditions.

In this way, Powell's construction of affirmative action embodies a traditional liberal view of racism, one that sees racial injustice as a temporary aberration in an otherwise healthy social and institutional system. His logic insists that if we simply let the institution of higher education do its job—if we simply let it weigh issues of race against all other issues that might come into play within the effort to foster a "diverse" student body—then issues of racism will be solved on their own. Ironically, though, this view ultimately places responsibility for racial justice in the hands of the very same predominantly-white institutions

that had for so long operated openly to deny such justice in the first place; furthermore, as it does so, it invokes Harvard—the most elite of these predominantly-white institutions of higher education—as the paradigm of affirmative action to which all institutions ought to aspire. Such logic effectively ignores any role that Harvard and other predominantly white schools have played in fostering racist educational practices, and ignores as well any sense in which the present structures and functions of these institutions might be contributing to more subtle racism in the present age. I suggest, therefore, that *Bakke* defines affirmative action not ultimately as a tool of race-based institutional reform, but rather as a tool of status quo preservation, one that allows institutions to define racial justice first and foremost as a function of their own needs.

For the purposes of the rest of this chapter, I want to define this particular post- *Bakke* affirmative action logic as one of "institutional interest convergence," a modified version of Bell's notion of "interest convergence" and its contention that (as Richard Delgado summarizes) "white elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances for blacks [and other peoples of color] only when such advances also promote white self-interest" (Delgado xvii).[1] What Powell did through *Bakke*, I suggest, was to insist that institutions themselves could and should recognize issues of race and racism when it was in their best interests to do so. In this sense, affirmative action was not really defined an attempt to account for past racial injustice; rather, it was defined as a useful and sometimes necessary way for institutions to meet their own goals.

I further want to argue that this logic of institutional interest convergence had three key consequences for institutions of higher education. First, such logic reified the

[1]See the introduction to the dissertation for a fuller discussion of the main points of "interest convergence."

validity of traditional institutional "standards" for assessing the merits of both students and faculty on campus. According to this logic, an institution *could* pay attention to issues of race and racism if it felt that such attention was warranted; however it was not *compelled* to do so. All that an institution was compelled to do was follow its traditional means of assessing student and faculty merit, assuring that minimum "standards" were being met. Any attention to race and racism was a nice "extra," perhaps, but not truly necessary. Indeed, as Derrick Bell summarizes, "the chosen solution [in the *Bakke* case]—simply recognizing minority exceptions to traditional admissions standards based on grades and test scores—has served to validate and reinforce traditional policies" (255).

Second, such logic served to validate the racist power relationships that were embedded within such traditional "standards." As legal theorist Charles Lawrence III suggests, the reification of these traditional standards effectively forced minority students seeking entry to higher education to

> once again assume the position of supplicant, not demanding the right to participate on behalf of [themselves] in the determination of what constituted the "best qualified," but seeking as individuals to be granted the token privilege of admission by [the institution's] standards, the privilege of the house slave, the privilege to be determined the best qualified in the interest of the master. (61)

In other words, with the reification of these traditional standards, minority individuals were put in a relatively powerless position with respect to the white university—an "unqualified" individual begging to be deemed to be worthy of institutional acceptance—rather than in the position of a member of a historically oppressed group asserting his or

her right to equal educational opportunity that had been too long denied. In this way, racist power relations remained fully intact; indeed, even if a minority individual was to be admitted into an institution, such admission would be perceived as a "gift" on the part of a benevolent institution, not as a necessary effort to account for past racial discrimination and injustice.[2]

Thirdly and finally, it is important to recognize that the post-*Bakke* climate of institutional interest convergence set the stage for future rollbacks of what was left of affirmative action and racial justice as dictated by the needs of whites themselves. Although it did not advocate for immediate color-blindness, such logic did leave open the possibility that an institution might choose not to make any exceptions at all to its "standards" for either minority students or faculty in the future if it deemed that such exceptions were no longer needed. Legal scholars Joel Dreyfuss and Charles Lawrence III note just this point, suggesting that the logic of *Bakke*

> provided a perfect excuse for institutions that wanted to rid themselves of minority admissions. They could argue that because of the murky nature

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[2]One of the key effects of this reification of racism within the post-*Bakke* climate was the increased propagation of what Critical Race Theorist Daniel Solarzano calls "microaggressions," subtle yet powerful expressions of racism experienced by African Americans, Latinos, and other students of color, often related to perceptions of students' abilities. He suggests, for instance, that many African Americans whom he interviewed in the context of his own work "indicated that among the most negative racial assumptions Whites on their campuses held about them had to do with how African American students entered the university—in other words, those assumptions related to how Whites felt about affirmative action" ("Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions" 67).

Similarly, Delores Delgado Bernal and Octavio Villalpando suggest that this climate has helped to reinforce what they a "Eurocentric epistemology" on campus, a view that European ways of knowing and being in the world are the only true ways of knowing and being. They suggest that the academy tends to

> subtly—and not so subtly—ignore and discredit the ways of knowing and understanding the world that faculty of color often bring to academia. Indeed, this Eurocentric epistemological perspective creates racialized double standards that contribute to an apartheid of knowledge separating from mainstream scholarship the type of research and teaching that faculty of color often produce (171).

And, as a result, they Bernal and Villalpando suggest that many scholars of color are left at a disadvantage, told repeatedly that their ways of knowing and being in the world are simply not "academic" enough to be considered "legitimate" by the mainstream university.

> of the Supreme Court's decision, they had to choose a conservative interpretation [of affirmative action activities] in order to avoid further legal challenges. (231)

And, unfortunately, subsequent history since *Bakke* seems to illustrate just this phenomenon: legal decisions like the *Hopwood* case and the recent *Grutter* decision have both served to further roll back minority admissions activities at public institutions; similarly, institutions in places like the CUNY system in New York and the state university systems in California, Texas, and Louisiana have all abolished programs designed to support and serve the needs of minority students as well. It seems that once *Bakke* left the fate of such programs up to institutions themselves, then, it set the stage for the eventual demise of these efforts.

Affirmative Action, Institutional Interest Convergence, and the Sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric: Two Examples

Having discussed these implications of *Bakke* in a general sense, I want to move now to an exploration of the ways in which this same logic of institutional interest convergence first expressed within the context of the *Bakke* decision was expressed within the context of the EOP Rhetoric program at Illinois. As I will argue, it became within the University of Illinois' best interests to defend the some aspects of the affirmative action history of the EOP Rhetoric program during the early 1980s, particularly as it sought to protect its perceived interests and maximize various institutional resources at this time . However, as I will take pains to demonstrate, even within this apparent reinvigoration of "race-conscious" discourse within the program, Illinois operated to insure that the institutional status quo was being

preserved and that the racism that it harbored was being reified in profound new ways. I illustrate this via two main examples.

Example I: The End of "Remediation" and the Rhetoric of Affirmative Action

As was argued at length in the previous chapter of this dissertation, the mid 1970s and its emphasis on the logic of "literacy crisis" marked a time when many administrators at UIUC were advocating for an expanded color-blind version of remedial writing instruction at Illinois. And, in an important sense, this sentiment remained both alive and well into the early 1980s. For instance, in the fall of 1980, a debate emerged between the English Department and Illinois' upper administration regarding how best to offer EOP-type remedial instruction to Illinois athletes. Originally, athletes had been permitted to enroll in EOP Rhetoric on a space-available basis on the grounds that a majority of these athletes were Black. The Director of EOP Rhetoric at the time, Steve Harris, suggested that key EOP administrators including Dean of EOP Ernest Morris and new Assistant Dean of EOP Michael Jeffries felt such athlete participation in EOP Rhetoric to be justified, especially given the fact that most athletes at Illinois were from non-white backgrounds, and therefore evinced the same sorts of educational disadvantages that many EOP students did. Harris writes that "Ernest Morris and Michael Jeffries…are trying to support minority students everywhere and anywhere on campus. The fact that these minority students are athletes is apparently a secondary, though obviously important consideration" ("Enrollment of Athletes in EOP Rhetoric" 2). Harris further suggests that he himself is in agreement with the conclusions of both Morris and Jeffries, suggesting that the services rendered to athletes are "valuable"(1) and "clearly substantial"(4).

Upon hearing of this activity, however, English Department Head Kenneth Kinnamon became quite upset, suggesting that he found this to be "unfair discrimination in favor of athletes and against non-athletes" (Letter to Neale Stoner 1). What was needed to solve this problem, he claimed, was not the inclusion of athletes in EOP Rhetoric, but rather an expanded remedial program that could accommodate up to 700 more students with low ACT scores, regardless of race (1). As Kinnamon argued to Dean of LAS William Prokasy, "[b]ecause of the general decline in verbal skills of our students it may be time to reconsider the whole issue of remedial instruction. If the Department of English is provided the resources to offer remedial instruction to any student who needs it, we would be willing to do so" (Letter to William F. Prokasy 1). In this way, Kinnamon rearticulated the theme of color-blindness in writing instruction that was first introduced by the likes of Oram and DeVries in the 1970s as outlined in the last chapter.

Along somewhat similar lines, the university instituted in 1981 what came to call the "Bohl Committee," a committee responsible for developing a plan to expand both the quality and quantity of writing instruction across campus for students at all levels. And, in many ways, the work of the committee was predicated on the idea that more color-blind remedial writing instruction was needed across the campus. As the original charge to the committee from Vice-Chancellor Edwin Goldwasser argues,

> [i]n the opinion of members of our English Department (a) many students regularly admitted to UIUC require special attention to verbal skills which is not now available; (b) special offerings now only available to students admitted through our Educational Opportunities Program are effective; (c) offerings of this type should be made available to all students who enter the

> University with verbal test scores falling beneath some reasonable cutoff. (Letter to Roger K. Applebee et al. 1)

In this way, the charge insists that EOP Rhetoric can and should be used as a model for the kinds of "remedial" instruction that could be offered to all students at Illinois who are in need of attention, not just minority students in the program. And, the Bohl Committee seemingly took this charge into account in its conclusions, suggesting that "those students with minimal preparation should be given more extensive instruction in English, which can be provided by a two-semester sequence of courses" like the one now offered to EOP Rhetoric students (Applebee et al. 1).

In these ways, it seemed that even in the early 1980s, Illinois remained quite committed to the idea that color-blind remedial writing instruction needed to be expanded on the campus, and committed as well to the idea that EOP Rhetoric could serve as a useful model for doing so. However, with a number of new developments within the state legislature around this time, particularly a new law decreeing that "remediation" was to be abolished within all public universities in Illinois, this commitment would be fundamentally challenged.

The Illinois Board of Higher Education and the End of "Remediation"

In 1977, the Illinois State Senate passed Resolution 180, a resolution noting with some alarm that "scores in reading, writing, and arithmetic in a number of national achievement tests have declined" (Illinois Board of Higher Education 1), and worrying as well that "[a]n increasing amount of time and resources in higher education must be devoted to remedial activities or courses to help inadequately prepared college students overcome

deficiencies in reading, writing and arithmetic" (1). Given these worries, the Resolution concludes that "the public has a right to expect both a better-prepared high school graduate and more accountability for the education dollar" (1). In turn, the passage of this Resolution 180 itself led to the passage of an Illinois state law—PL 81-803—requiring that "By March 1, 1980, the Boards shall develop guidelines which: 1) place the emphasis on postsecondary remedial programs at Public Community Colleges, and 2) reduce the role of the state universities in offering remedial programs" (qtd. in Martin, "Remediation Activities" 7). And, finally, as a function of this law, a number of resolutions were drafted by the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) in 1981 demanding that so-called "remedial" programs at all state institutions including the University of Illinois be "minimized over the next several years with the expectation that within five years remedial programs at the state universities could be phased out" (qtd. in Martin, "Remediation Activities" 8-9). "Remediation," it claimed, should be classified as a "freestanding attempt to bring unprepared students to a level of basic skills necessary to pursue college level work" (2).

This law and related set of IBHE mandates posed an interesting dilemma for Illinois. Just as the university itself seemed interested in expanding color-blind remedial writing instruction in the ways outlined above—expanding its efforts to "fix" the "problems" associated with the many underprepared students that it found on its campus—the state came to suggest that such remedial activities would need to be abolished entirely. And, in fact, the Bohl Commission, called together for the first time in February of 1981 (literally days after these IBHE mandates were announced), seemed to recognize the inherent problem for the university that this mandate posed. In its first full report of September 1, 1981, the Commission insisted that

> [w]e are aware of concerns expressed by the IBHE relating to remedial courses and their desire to phase out such programs. The programs we describe[3] are not remedial, and are not subject to the statements of policy expressed by the Board on this issue...[our proposed] program is analogous to the placement of students according to their ability in mathematics, chemistry, or foreign language courses. Unlike remedial courses, the rhetoric courses described in this report are not designed to prepare students to take a conventionally required course, but represent an alternate route for meeting requirements; the credit earned in them is used to satisfy degree requirements. (Applebee et al. 7)

It was quite clear to Illinois, then, that these IBHE mandates would play an important part in determining the future of the sort of color-blind writing instruction that was so in demand on the campus: bodies like the Bohl Committee would need to pay heed to these mandates and prove that its suggestions were not in fact "remedial" if it was to develop the sort of expanded writing program that it deemed so essential to the future of the university.

Importantly, though, even in the midst of this sort of anti-remediation claim, the IBHE ultimately did allow for one exception to their mandate, one granted for "special admissions" activity. Whereas its resolutions define "remediation" in the ways described above, the IBHE defines "special assistance programs" in quite different ways, calling them "distinctively organized educational and related support services designed to increase the number of, retain, and graduate those students who are educationally and/or economically disadvantaged" (2). The distinctions between the two are further delineated as follows:

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[3]One such program—Rhetoric 199 / "Special Options" Rhetoric 102—will be described in some detail later in the chapter.

> The clientele of special assistance programs is drawn from those populations which historically have been denied the opportunity for betterment through education. Special assistance is designed to integrate the educationally disadvantaged into the mainstream of university life. These programs are designed for students who, because of their backgrounds, have not received the educational opportunities commonly obtained by the more fortunate…The clientele of remediation efforts, on the other hand, is not homogenous and frequently is composed of individuals who have not learned basic skills for many reasons apart from educational and economic disadvantagement. Remedial education can be viewed solely as a reiteration of basic skills previously presented to students. (qtd. in Martin, "Remediation Activities" 3)

What this "special admissions" exemption on the part of the IBHE did, then, was to establish a context in which Illinois public colleges and universities could petition to retain their programs on the grounds that they served particular groups of underrepresented students on campus, groups who "because of their backgrounds have not received educational opportunities" in the same way that their peers had. What it further did, I would suggest, is to give university programs like affirmative action significant institutional value: if a program could be proven to be contributing to affirmative action, then it could be exempted from IBHE critique. In this sense, emphasizing and defending affirmative action became very much within an institution's best interest.

Responding to the IBHE: The Rhetoric of Race-Based Affirmative Action

Quite soon after learning of these mandates, Illinois issued a response to the IBHE attempting to defend three courses that it feared might be labeled as "remedial," EOP Rhetoric 103, EOP Rhetoric 104, and Math 101, on the grounds that they were part of the sort of "special admissions" program that the IBHE had exempted. In its initial report to the IBHE dated February 5, 1981, the University of Illinois makes precisely this claim: each of these courses, the report suggests, is part of an effort

> implemented in 1968 [and] designed to attract students from groups which because of educational or socio-economic circumstances have not enrolled at UIUC. To recruit students for this program, UIUC does relax its admissions requirements with the understanding that it must then provide the necessary remediation support to insure that the incoming students haven an opportunity to succeed in attaining their goals while attending the University. (University of Illinois, "Survey of Remediation Activities" 2)

The report further suggests that

> UIUC fully expects that as long as it maintains 'special admissions' categories that it will probably have to provide some remediation activities for students in those categories who may have been admitted under relaxed admissions criteria. However, it is understood that remediation activities for these students would be condoned under Board of Higher Education Policy. (6)

In this way, Illinois insisted that both EOP in general and these EOP Rhetoric courses in particular were not "remedial" in the sense that the IBHE had defined the term, but were instead part of a "special admissions" program that was necessary to promote social justice

on the campus. In this sense, then, Illinois seemed to be changing its view of EOP Rhetoric (or at least the rhetoric that was being used to describe this view): whereas Illinois had long viewed the program as a "remedial" venture, it was now emphasizing its roots in "special admissions," and hence in some ways, racial justice activities.

Importantly, though, the IBHE only partially agreed with this initial assessment of EOP as offered by Illinois. In a June 2, 1981 meeting, the IBHE decided that Illinois could continue offering Rhet 103, Rhet 104, and Math 101 for its EOP population, but that it could not offer these courses for credit (Martin "Remedial Courses" 1). This decision seemed to mark the IBHE's acceptance of the idea that EOP was a "special admissions" program in and of itself, but at the same time a mark its rejection of the idea that these particular courses were truly college-level and therefore deserving of college credit. And, in some ways, this was no better a decision for Illinois than the outright abolition of these courses, since without credit, students would be unlikely to take these courses (Martin, "Remedial Courses" 1).

In turn, this IBHE ruling was met with another round of argument by the university, one marked by an increasing sense of urgency in the matter. Though the university decided to concur that EOP Math was in fact "remedial" (Martin, "Remedial Courses" 1), it refused to do so in the case of EOP Rhetoric. As Associate Vice-Chancellor of Academic Affairs Roger E. Martin suggested to a number of Deans and Heads across the campus, "[w]e have decided to argue this issue with the IBHE and to make the best possible case that we can continue operating as we did last year. I need your help in preparing our argument" (1). In turn, in a letter written more directly to those responsible administering EOP Rhetoric, Martin emphasizes that

> I am hoping that those of you in the humanities might be able to develop a persuasive argument that Rhetoric 103 and Rhetoric 104 are indeed college-level courses…I will appreciate receiving other suggestions from any of you for strengthening our arguments to the IBHE. I am sure that we will have to have a very strong case in order to get a favorable response from the IBHE. ("Remediation Activities" 1)

Ultimately, three letters were written in response to this request: one by Martin himself, one by Director of Rhetoric R. Baird Shuman (followed several days later by a follow-up letter of clarification), and one attributed only to the University itself (apparently a fusion of the Martin and Shuman letters). What is particularly interesting about these letters is the way in which each of them emphasizes "traditional" measures of student ability and student literacy to justify the for-credit status of the program (including ACT score, textbook content, and UIUC reputation), but then invokes the idea of racial justice as a kind of final "clincher" for the argument.

Consider, for instance, Martin's own Sept. 23, 1981 response to the IBHE mandate against credit for EOP. Martin begins his argument for credit by insisting that Illinois has a reputation as the best and most prestigious institution in the state system by any number of traditional measures. He states, for instance, that

> We know that the academic abilities of the students at UIUC are on the whole a cut above those at other state institutions of higher education. This is demonstrated by…comparing means ACT composite scores and high school percentile ranks of freshman attending Illinois state universities. (Martin, "Letter to Vice President Peter R. Yankwich" 2)

Given this data, Martin claims that "[i]t seems only logical to believe that the freshman courses in rhetoric and mathematics offered at UIUC would be more rigorous than those offered at institutions accepting students with academic qualifications that are significantly lower than those of students attending UIUC" (2). In turn, working from this premise of student excellence, Martin goes on to proclaim that Illinois students cannot really be called "basic" in any traditional sense of the word, as they are simply too academically talented. In fact, it suggests that labeling them thus while simultaneously refusing to grant them credit for their work would result in an exodus of EOP students from UIUC. As he insists,

> [o]ne must remember that the students being admitted to our Educational Opportunities Program and the majority of our other specially admitted students are as well-qualified academically as regularly-admitted students at other colleges and universities in the state. (2)

He notes as well that "the courses use college-level textbooks, are much more rigorous than other remedial courses at other institutions, and are 'basic' in nature only when compared to other rhetoric and mathematics courses offered on this campus" (2). Ultimately, then, in making all of these sorts of arguments, Martin seems to be suggesting that Illinois' EOP Rhetoric students deserve credit for their work because they are just as good as any other "average" students at other state universities: they are doing equivalent levels of work with equivalent textbooks in equivalent classes.

Importantly, though, Martin concludes his overall litany of EOP students' strengths with direct reference to their race. He suggests that failure to grant credit for these EOP courses will not only result in denying credit to students unfairly, but may run the risk of

driving them to other institutions, and hence harming the affirmative action efforts of the Illinois campus. As Martin asserts, refusing to grant credit

> will effectively discourage enrollment in our special assistance programs. Already students entering UIUC special assistance programs recognize that they will have to work harder and to sacrifice more if they select UIUC above other state colleges and universities. In the future, they will not even get graduation credit for a portion of their work. No one should be surprised if undergraduate minority enrollment begins to wane at this institution and the numbers of the students in the Educational Opportunities Program decline. (2)

A similar stress on the "waning" of minority enrollment is placed in the final paragraph of the letter as well, as Martin insists that "we do not believe that the IBHE or General Assembly would consciously want to impose regulations that would tend to reduce undergraduate minority enrollment on this campus or would endanger our Educational Opportunities Program" (3). In these ways, then, Martin warns that refusing to grant credit for EOP activities not only runs the risk of denying credit to qualified students for college-level work, but also runs the risk of jeopardizing the affirmative action efforts (and hence the minority enrollment that such efforts promote) at Illinois.

Consider next the argument of Director of Rhetoric R. Baird Shuman as articulated across two letters from February of 1982, a primary letter dated February 18th and a follow-up letter dated February 22nd. Somewhat akin to Martin's argument above, the Feb. 18th argument begins with the claim that Illinois is among the most prestigious institutions in the state, specifically citing the Illinois Rhetoric program as proof of this: Shuman argues that whereas most state schools require two semesters of freshman rhetoric instruction as part of

their curricula, Illinois requires only one because "the school is highly selective... many of our students appear to need no more than the one semester which they are required to take if they opt to complete their rhetoric requirement in the English Department" (1). He then argues that some students— particularly EOP students—cannot learn what they need to learn in one semester as a function of their past disadvantage. He insists, though, that they still ought not to be called "remedial"; instead, they should simply be viewed like the many "regular" students at other institutions who require precisely the same thing.[4] He stresses, too, that the textbooks in the course "are not remedial...these very books are used in a number of reputable schools in the regular freshman composition course" (1). Finally, he suggests that the sort of work that students are asked to do within the context of EOP Rhetoric is really no different from that of ESL students required to take an ESL course or native speaking English students required to take a foreign language. As he suggests, "I would not suggest for a moment that French 101-102 or comparable courses in other foreign languages [or in ESL—a point he makes earlier] are remedial in nature" (1). In all of these sorts of arguments, then, he seems to mirror much of what Martin argues above: namely, that Illinois' EOP Rhetoric students are just as good as "regular" students anywhere else in the state (as well as just as involved in learning as their companions taking other language courses). It is for these reasons that students deserve credit for their work.

Importantly, concluding his February 18th argument, Shuman also makes reference to the race of EOP students and the implied affirmative action function of the EOP Rhetoric program in particular. He insists that

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[4]As he elaborates in a follow-up Feb 22nd, 1982 letter, "[i]t is only because we have a highly selective student body that we are able to cram so much [Rhetoric instruction] into a single semester...this intensive approach to the teaching of writing does not work well with all of our students, and certainly cannot work for those who come from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds" (1).

> if the EOP courses are not to carry credit toward graduation, it is altogether possible that the next step will be to discontinue the EOP Program in Rhetoric. To do so would be to reduce substantially the number of black students enrolled as undergraduates in this institution, a situation that I feel would be quite indefensible. (1-2)

He again notes in his February 22nd letter that the "racial minorities" in the EOP Rhetoric program might not be best served by a single semester Rhetoric course in the way that their mainstream counterparts are, as "this intensive [i.e. one semester] approach to the teaching of writing does not work well with all of our students" (1). Thus, in both cases Shuman insists that EOP Rhetoric serves a crucial race-based affirmative action function on the campus, and that failing to grant credit for its activities is tantamount to undermining this function. Indeed, his final appeal to emotion—"a situation that I feel would be quite indefensible"—suggests that such a move would have dire consequences for both the program and the larger campus.

Finally, the Illinois' official campus response to the IBHE, one drafted sometime in 1982 after these other two letters were written, more or less combines the sorts of arguments originally made by Martin with those of Shuman. It begins by stressing some of the same arguments made by the Rhetoric Department itself, including the idea that most schools require two semesters of Rhetoric as opposed to Illinois' one, that the textbooks are of the same quality and caliber of those used in "regular" courses at other institutions,[5] and that "students enrolled in our EOP program would be considered average or above average at any other public institution in Illinois" (University of Illinois, "Response to IBHE Questions on

[5]The report lists 52 other institutions using the texts used in EOP Rhetoric in their "regular courses," including University of Connecticut, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Texas, and Columbia University (University of Illinois, "Response to IBHE Questions on Remedial Courses" 3).

Remedial Courses" 2). In addition, it includes for the first time an argument that the colleges and departments within UIUC are accustomed to being able to decide for themselves how best to deal with issues of remediation and credit, insisting that these mandates on the part of the IBHE represent an intrusion of sorts into the proper business of the university. As the report suggests,

> [i]n the past, the campus administration has been extremely reluctant to dictate policy to colleges on curricular matters. It has respected the fact that disciplinary expertise lies in the academic unit...Now the IBHE is asking that the campus administration dictate policy on such matters to its colleges, and the campus does not believe such action would represent sound academic policy. (3)

In this sense, it stress that the anti-remedial mandate offered by the IBHE is not only bad for students, but constitutes a violation of the power that the university itself has long possessed over its own activities.

Importantly, though, this response also concludes by alluding to the race-based affirmative action legacy of the program. If this anti-remedial mandate comes to pass, it warns, then "no one should be surprised if undergraduate minority enrollment begins to wane at this institution and the numbers of students in the Educational Opportunities Program decline" (5). In this way, then, race is once again a "clincher" in the argument, invoked out of a sense that attacking EOP Rhetoric is tantamount to jeopardizing the role of minority students on the campus.

Assessing the Rhetoric of Race-Based Affirmative Action

Given the ways in which past discussions of EOP sponsorship particularly during the 1970s and into the early 1980s seemingly sought to avoid issues of race and racism, it is striking to note here just how much these attempts at defending the program stress its affirmative action history as conclusions to their respective arguments: indeed, each one insists that without the ability to grant credit, the EOP program and its Rhetoric component will suffer, and minority enrollment at the university will consequently decrease. The implication of each is seemingly that EOP in general and EOP Rhetoric in particular play crucial roles within the larger affirmative action activities of the campus, and should be protected for precisely this reason. At some level, then, it seems that the rhetoric of the program was reversed once the IBHE began to question Illinois' EOP program: whereas these programs had been increasingly viewed according to a logic of color-blindness in the past, they were now being touted as affirmative action programs with an important racial justice mission on the campus.

It is essential to note, however, that such highlighting of affirmative action consistently occurs in the context of other, decidedly non-race-conscious arguments grounded much more directly in traditional measures of student success (e.g. students as "a cut above"), traditional comparisons to other institutions (e.g. these courses are not "remedial" like they are at other institutions), and/or traditional definitions of institutional politics (e.g. Illinois' decision-making autonomy). Within the context of such arguments, EOP Rhetoric is posited as neither radical nor institution-reforming; rather, it is portrayed as a program that meets even the staunchest "traditional" criteria for excellence. Thus, even as these arguments re-invoke the idea that EOP Rhetoric is related to race-based

affirmative action, they do not invoke the skepticism of ACT scores or other "traditional" literacy measures that was part of the earliest version of this program (see my discussion of the Spencer Report in Chapter 2), nor do they invoke any skepticism regarding the ways in which such scores may or may not be related to an institution's reputation. Instead, such questioning had apparently been replaced with a tacit acceptance of the idea that there are "right" kinds of literacies that all students need to possess, literacies that can be quantitatively measured regardless of issues such as race or ethnic background. While there may have been a change in the rhetoric of affirmative action on the campus, then, this change in theory did not necessarily correspond to a change in attitudes about what constitutes either "ability" or "success" on the part of students, nor a change in the reputation that Illinois had long enjoyed for being the premiere institution in the state for cultivating such "ability" and "success."

It is further important to note that this shift in the rhetoric surrounding the program was not accompanied by a fundamental shift in thinking about the nature of writing or writing instruction on the campus either. One of the most striking manifestations of this, I think, can be seen in the fact that throughout these debates with the IBHE, Illinois was busy testing an "experimental" and apparently color-blind version of EOP Rhetoric entitled Rhetoric 199. This course emerged out the original Bohl Commission call in 1981 for increased attention to writing instruction for underprepared students (Applebee et al. 2). It was designed to

> operate as a workshop with intensive writing and rewriting in class, along with individualized, immediate feedback from the instruction and possibly peer reactions from small groups within the class. Since the least skilled

> students are those most likely to be unacquainted with the conventions of writing, we will attempt to help them understand the contexts, audiences, purposes, strategies, and formats of specific kinds of writing. ("Course Proposal" 2-3).

This course was clearly envisioned by the committee as a back-up plan of sorts in case credit for EOP Rhetoric was once again denied by the IBHE. Indeed, as Martin himself suggested midway through the IBHE affair, "even if it is determined that Rhetoric 103 and 104 are remedial and cannot be offered for credit, will there be a need for such courses? I believe that the answer to that question is that there definitely will be a need that will have to be met" (Letter to William M. Plater and Robert W. Rogers 1).

In some ways, this Rhetoric 199 course does actually seem like a potential improvement over past versions of EOP Rhetoric, particularly to the degree that it seems to move away from the sort of "skill and drill" model that came to constitute EOP curriculum in the literacy crisis era and move toward a more rhetorical approach to writing involving both "real" purposes and more "real" audiences. Among the kinds of work it proposes are "Biographical and Autobiographical Writing," "Letter Writing," "Instructions and Process Descriptions," "Report Writing," a "Research Project," and an "Introduction to Academic Writing" ("Course Proposal" 3-4), thereby invoking a number of genres typically considered to fall outside the "traditional" purview of college writing as a means of helping students to connect their personal experiences with those required by the institution. Yet, at the same time, it is crucial to note that the course was not touted in any sense as a race-conscious program. Nowhere in the description for the program or its functions are issues of student identity or its relationship to language

practice mentioned at all; rather, the only differences alluded to seem to be issues of "convention," as illustrated by the claim noted above that that " the least skilled students are the most likely to be unacquainted with the conventions of writing" (3). In this sense, the affirmative action rhetoric employed by the department above to defend EOP did not seem to translate into a new sense of race-consciousness within this new and "non-remedial" program. Rather, the new program was quite clearly color-blind, treating all students with poor writing skills in the same way.

Overall, then, I want to argue that the rhetoric of race-based affirmative action as deployed within the defense of the EOP Rhetoric program did not necessarily correspond to a renewed emphasis on race-consciousness within the context of writing instruction. Race was certainly being deployed as a rhetorical device, but such rhetorical deployment was not necessarily accompanied by a renewed interest in changing the racial status quo. Traditional definitions of "excellence" and "standards" were still being used, traditional definitions of "remediation" were being sanctioned (at least as long as they were not applied to Illinois students), and programmatic color-blindness was being both internally recommended and instituted even as the affirmative action dimensions of the program were being emphasized.

In this sense, I see the invocation of affirmative action rhetoric within this context as representative of the logic of institutional interest convergence. Just as *Bakke* posited affirmative action as good for the institution in some cases—useful for helping it to realize its own self-interest—Illinois' logic of institutional defense invoked race as needed (and only as needed, it seems) in order to defend itself against these IBHE mandates, to preserve its plans for future writing instruction, and to preserve its own

status as a premiere state institution. Such discourse never critiqued the institutional status quo nor the "standards" that this status quo mandated.

Finally, before concluding this section, I should note that these combined arguments about EOP Rhetoric were largely effective in terms of defending the EOP program: the IBHE decided in the summer of 1983 that granting credit for EOP Rhetoric could continue, at least long as any remaining "remedial" aspects of the program were eliminated (Eakman 1). In practice, this translated into a compromise within the program: Rhet 103 would be eliminated as a for-credit enterprise, apparently as a function of its supplemental status, while Rhet 104 would be preserved in its full for-credit form.[6] In this way, Illinois did seem to defend at the least of the core of the program from IBHE attack, thus preserving its model for future remedial writing program expansion. Furthermore, the Chancellor's office agreed in 1983 to fund the Rhet 199 "experimental" course as a full-time "non-remedial" offering for students at risk. This new course, now officially titled "Special Options" Rhet 102, would be the first EOP-style course opened to non-EOP students and non-athletes, that is to say, to low-scoring whites specifically.

In these ways, Illinois not only preserved its model for color-blind writing during its debates with the IBHE, but also made a substantive move toward putting such expanded instruction into place. Both of these outcomes, I think, suggest that institutional self-interest was in fact ultimately secured via the rhetoric of race-based affirmative action.

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[6]No records exist in the archive outlining precisely the way in which this realignment of the program took place. However, Shuman's Feb 22, 1982 letter pertaining to issues of these IBHE mandates suggests that "we could very well compromise with the stand that the IBHE has taken by stipulating that EOP Rhetoric 103 (the tutorial) is a necessary adjunct to EOP Rhetoric 104, but that 103 should not carry credit toward graduation" (1).

Example II: Affirmative Action, EOP Rhetoric, and the Quest for a Full-Time Program Director

The debates between Illinois and the IBHE as outlined above were not the only important discussions of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship taking place at this time. In fact, even as Illinois debated with the IBHE about the nature of EOP Rhetoric, a serious intra-university debate also began to brew regarding the future of the position of Director of EOP Rhetoric.

From the time that the EOP Rhetoric program was first established in 1968, its Director position had suffered from a sense of both budgetary and institutional uncertainty. In fact, as noted in Chapter 1, the program had seven different Directors between 1968 and 1981: Charles Sanders, Michael O'Brien, Virginia Oram, Ella DeVries, Jim Burns, Steve Harris, and Susan Peck MacDonald. As Nina Baym, Director of the School of Humanities[7], noted, "The EOP position is one that carries a high degree of burn-out potential" (Letter to Edwin D. Goldwasser 1). And, in fact, Acting Director of EOP Rhetoric from 1981-1983, Susan Peck MacDonald, articulated the frustrations that she herself felt about the position in a letter to the Acting Head of the English Department Robert W. Rogers[8] in the Spring of 1983. In this letter, she writes that:

> [d]uring most of the two years (1981-1983) that I have acted as Visiting Director of EOP Rhetoric, the status of the position has been uncertain. At varying times the budget and the "remediation" issue have been given as reasons for this uncertainly, but since other positions in English have been authorized and since

[7]The School of Humanities was a kind of administrative liaison between the College of LAS and the English Department during the 1980s (see Appendix A).

[8]Rogers was the long-time Dean of LAS, but served for a short time in the 1980s as Acting Head of English as well.

> we appear to have convinced the IBHE that EOP Rhetoric is not remedial, I can only conclude that the uncertainty arises from a lack of commitment to the program and that the uncertainty will, therefore, continue. In the meantime, the program is being harmed. When the director never knows whether he or she will be employed for the following year, coherent program planning becomes difficult. (1)

The uncertainty surrounding this Director position combined with the high turnover rate of Directors within the position prompted the English Department to insist as early as 1981—a full two years before MacDonald's complaint above was uttered—that additional money for a hiring a full-time Director of EOP Rhetoric must be obtained from outside the English Department. And, quite interestingly, just as Illinois began to utilize a rhetoric of race-based affirmative action to defend EOP Rhetoric against the IBHE mandates as noted above, a number of members of the English Department began to refer to the affirmative action mission of the EOP Rhetoric program quite directly within their arguments for funds for a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric.

One of the earliest articulations of this argument was made by Head of the English Department Keneth Kinnamon to Director of the School of Humanities Nina Baym: in this letter, he argues that failure to find a permanent director for EOP Rhetoric will certainly jeopardize the program and ultimately "[eliminate] most black undergraduates from this campus" (qtd. in Kinnamon, Letter to Susan Peck MacDonald 1). In turn, Director of Rhetoric R. Baird Shuman makes a very similar sort of argument to the School of Humanities in an October 11, 1982 letter. He insists that "bearing in mind the racial implications of doing anything that might weaken the EOP program, we feel that it is imperative that a

Director of EOP Rhetoric be appointed as quickly as possible" (Shuman, Letter to Robert W. Rogers 1). And, in a letter dated a few days later, he similarly urges the Rhetoric Advisory Committee to recognize that if a permanent Director for the program is not found, it may be that the "enrollment of black students in this university will be substantially reduced, and I feel that this is an end which all of us would deplore" (Letter to Rhetoric Advisory Committee 1).

At some level, then, the race-based rhetoric of affirmative action was being deployed in this context to argue for the hiring of a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric in a way analogous to its employment within the IBHE debates above. Again, after insisting for years that race didn't matter in the context of EOP Rhetoric, the department seemingly began to argue that it did matter, at least when it came to funding for this position. Perhaps most striking in this regard is the fact that Department Head Keneth Kinnamon, the same individual who advocated staunchly for the color-blind expansion of EOP Rhetoric in 1980, was now characterizing EOP Rhetoric as a race-based affirmative action measure that was being jeopardized quite directly by the lack of a Director. Once again it seems that the rhetoric surrounding the goals and purposes of the program was being altered within attempts to solidify departmental self-interest.

Crucially, however, even as the English Department was making such race-based affirmative action arguments as part of its push to secure funds for a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric, it did not place affirmative action as among its own top priorities even when given the chance to do so. One striking example of this can be found in 1982, a time at which the Department was granted one additional tenure-track line to use for whatever it wished, including the hiring of a new permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric (Bright 1). While

the department could have used this line to hire a Director, thereby addressing the threats to minority presence on the campus that it had begun to identify, it chose instead to use the line to expand its graduate film program.[9] Part of the justification for this choice was that, as Robert W. Rogers suggested, EOP Rhetoric could not be considered "in complete isolation from the other staffing problems of the department," particularly when the need for a film line was indeed "urgent" (Letter to David Bright 1). Further explanation was provided by School of Humanities Director Nina Baym, who argued that past tenure-track Directors of EOP Rhetoric had not fared well in terms of meeting tenure requirements: these individuals, she says "haven't worked out, whether because they couldn't direct the program, teach in it, and also produce the kind of scholarship that our tenure system requires; or because they were on the contrary more interested in scholarship and main-line teaching than in EOP" (Letter to Edwin D. Goldwasser 1).

Taken together, these statements suggest that the film position was ultimately perceived by the Department as more valuable than the Director of EOP Rhetoric position. A film person, after all, could contribute to an expanding graduate program as well as to the scholarly reputation of the department; in contrast, the Director of EOP Rhetoric could do neither, or at least not do them well. Thus, despite the pro-affirmative action and pro-EOP Rhetoric arguments being deployed by the English Department to argue for additional funds, the Department itself did not ultimately place issues of racial justice above its other more "traditional" needs. In this sense, its lofty rhetoric did not match its reality, just as I argued was the case within Illinois' dealings with the IBHE above.

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[9]A letter from Film Professor Robert Carringer to Robert W. Rogers suggests that the need for "additional faculty in film" is a "pressing, even urgent, concern," (1) particularly since the "department's careful preparation over the past dozen years is now beginning to pay off in our emergence as a center for literature-based and literature-oriented graduate studies in film" (2).

I should note that, eventually, a successful argument for funding the Director of EOP Rhetoric position was made, though not through reference to issues of race within the program. Indeed, the author of this successful argument, Nina Baym, suggested that a race-based argument was unlikely to succeed: as she wrote to Kinnamon in response to a 1981 letter,

> [n]either I nor the Dean would wish to take any step that would "have the effect of eliminating most black undergraduate students from this campus." However, general agreement among administrators that elimination of this program would have this effect is not in itself evidence [that this will happen] (Baym, Letter to Kinnamon [21 October 1981] 1).

Rather, the argument that Baym herself chose to employ was one emphasizing institutional precedent. In 1984, Baym was able to argue successfully to Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Edwin Goldwasser that

> when the EOP Rhetoric program was instituted many years ago—during the tenure of Jack Pelatson as Chancellor—his office allocated a sum of money for teaching assistance in the program…none of that "original" money—whatever may have happened to it—was earmarked for the position of Director… I don't have the money to fund such a position except at the expense of faculty lines, and given our stretched situation, I can't do it. All we can do is divert a certain amount of TA money (or soft money) year by year to put a temporary person in the position. More continuity would certainly be advantageous. (Baym, Letter to Edwin D. Goldwasser 1).

This appeal to fiscal precedent was apparently convincing enough: budgetary support from the Vice-Chancellor for a new Director of EOP Rhetoric was granted in 1984, a full three years after the earliest arguments about the position were mounted by the English Department (Prokasy, Letter to Roger E. Martin 2).

Somewhat ironically, then, it turned out that the best way to secure funds for a Director of EOP was to provide a non-racial argument about institutional precedent. Perhaps even more ironically, the English Department was in some sense rewarded for refusing to put its affirmative action program first within its hiring priorities: by 1984, the Department had managed to acquire both its film person *and* its EOP Rhetoric person without any dent in its own budget. In this way, the logic of institutional interest convergence, this time at the department level, was clearly at work once again.

Analyzing the Effects of Institutional Interest Convergence

These debates between Illinois and the IBHE on the one hand and debates between the English Department and the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs' Office on the other certainly demonstrate how the rhetoric of affirmative action was utilized to support institutional self-interest in the ways that I have described above. However, these examples also demonstrate in an important sense how the three outcomes of post-*Bakke* institutional interest convergence that I identify earlier—the reification of traditional institutional standards, the reification of racism embedded within such standards, and the undercutting of future affirmative action activities—were manifest in the context of EOP Rhetoric.

To begin, these examples demonstrate how appeals to the logic of institutional interest convergence ultimately operated much more fully to reify Illinois' long-standing reliance on traditional "standards" for judging student ability than to affirm its commitment to racial justice. When Illinois defended the EOP Rhetoric program from IBHE attack, for instance, it ultimately relied much more on traditional notions of "standards" to make its case than it did on pleas for racial justice per se: EOP Rhetoric was not remedial, so the argument went, because its students performed better on traditional measures of student ability (e.g. ACT, writing exams, etc.) than even the "average" student across the rest of the state. This is a very different argument than, say, if Illinois had suggested that EOP Rhetoric was not remedial because it sought to compensate for past racial injustice and its effects on students. The former argument assumes that the social status quo and the standards that emanate from them are sound; the latter does not. Illinois clearly chose the former, and validated its own longstanding beliefs in the process.

Similarly, when the Illinois English Department began to rally for funds for a full-time Director of EOP Rhetoric, it too seemingly emphasized the program's legacy of race-based affirmative action in its arguments. However, once the Department was given an option to make either this EOP Rhetoric hire or to make another more "traditional" film hire, it chose the latter. In this sense, then, any concern that it had about racial justice clearly did not outweigh its beliefs about the needs to create an English Department that could met the traditional expectations—the traditional "standards" so to speak—of a premiere Research I university: a large graduate program, a faculty actively producing scholarship, a faculty working toward promotion and tenure, and so on. In this

sense, the logic of institutional interest convergence did not prompt the English Department to revisit its own standards; rather, it actually permitted them to reify these standards and rewarded them in some sense by allowing for both a film hire and an EOP Rhetoric hire after several years of discussion and debate.

Next, these examples illustrate the ways in which the logic of institutional interest convergence served to reify existing racism within EOP Rhetoric, particularly as such racism was embedded within program language policies. Even though the post-*Bakke* era featured a vastly expanded rhetoric of race-based affirmative action on the part of both the larger Illinois administration and the English Department itself, neither entity ever seemed to question or critique the EOP Rhetoric program's existing approach to instruction, an approach that was (as I outline in Chapter 4) grounded in literacy crisis-era desires to enforce white middle-class language "standards" as its main instructional focus. Indeed, even the Rhet 199 / "Special Options" Rhet 102 course that emerged during the early 1980s—an "experimental" course intended to move past older views of "remediation"—did not truly critique this language ideology; rather, it seemed content with a more process-oriented yet still color-blind approach to instruction. Thus, even as the rhetoric of the era seemed to feature a return to race-consciousness, its language policies never did.

Finally, these examples demonstrates that the attempt to defend the EOP Rhetoric program according to the logic of institutional interest convergence actually helped to pave the way for the eventual dissolution of the EOP Rhetoric program itself. As I note above, one outcome of the larger effort to defend EOP Rhetoric against the IBHE was the creation of the Rhet 199 / "Special Options" Rhet 102 program as an EOP-like program

for whites. With this program, Illinois had created a new course that purportedly did the same thing as EOP Rhetoric: namely, to serve the needs of students with writing difficulty. However, it did so without attending to issues of race or racism as they shaped language and literacy learning. And, in doing so—as opposed to, say, reaffirming the need to interrogate connections between race, language, and literacy in this new program—Illinois allowed a number of questions about the future of the EOP Rhetoric program itself to be raised. Indeed, this program expansion lead Dean of LAS William Prokasy to wonder whether or not money and resources presently dedicated to minority support programs might better be redirected into one lone program serving all students in a color-blind fashion (Prokasy, Letter to Roger E. Martin 2).[10] Thus, by failing to fundamentally reaffirm the need for race-conscious writing instruction as a key component of affirmative action activities, the campus actually began to promote the argument that EOP Rhetoric was unnecessary in its present race-conscious form, and could therefore be replaced by a wholly color-blind writing program at some point in the future.

Resistance and Reform within the Post-*Bakke* Climate: Hiring the Director of EOP Rhetoric

Before I wrap up this chapter, I want to refer once again to the notion of resistance, just as I have done in previous chapters. Though I have suggested that the post-*Bakke* logic of institutional interest convergence served to formally define white institutional interests as the benchmark for racial justice, I also want to suggest that it had a "side effect" of sorts:

[10]These concerns an on the part of Prokasy will be discussed in much greater detail within Chapter 5 of the dissertation.

namely, the reintroduction of race into the vernacular of the EOP Rhetoric program. Recall that in the mid 1970s context of literacy crisis, to invoke race at all was problematic. Race "did not matter," and to suggest otherwise for any reason was simply perceived as wrong. In contrast, within this post-*Bakke* climate of institutional interest convergence, issues of race and racism could be talked about, at least as long as they were perceived to be part of some larger institutional need and discussed within well-defined boundaries. What this did, I want to argue, was help to create a climate in which individuals could both talk about race and begin to mount resistance based upon such actions.

One interesting example of this from the period can be found in the way that the search for the permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric was ultimately defined by Acting Director of EOP Rhetoric Avon Crismore. Crismore herself was hired as a temporary Director during AY 1983-1984 while the issue of funding a permanent Director was further debated. However, once funding for a permanent Director of the program was finally offered by the Chancellor's office, Crismore was charged with updating the job description for the position, a description that had been in use in more or less the same form quite since at least 1978 (Dickey 1). This original job description suggests, for instance, that the main purpose of the Director was to "provide intensive support in developing the composition skills" for EOP students, students who "have been academically disadvantaged by their backgrounds" (Rhetoric Department 1), and suggests a number of activities in which the Director ought to be involved, including hiring, supervising, and training TAs, and serving as a liaison between the EOP program and the EOP Rhetoric teachers (1).

In describing the sorts of changes that she wants to make to the description, Crismore insists that both of these aspects of the job should still be emphasized; however, she also

suggests that wants to make at least two significant changes to the description as well. First, she insists that she would like to see someone hired with a background in and a familiarity with "the areas of rhetoric, reading, curriculum, instruction, learning, literacy, applied linguistics, [and] reading and writing problems specific to the minority population served" (Crismore, "Recommendations" 1, underline hers). Furthermore, she recommends that the EOP Student Services Director be given an official voice in the hiring process once again (2), thereby reestablishing the Direct input of the EOP program in EOP Rhetoric hiring for the first time since 1975.[11]

Accordingly, Crismore revised the job description itself to include the idea that "The Director makes curriculum and instructional decisions based on a) sound rhetorical, reading, and learning theory; b) the needs of the students serviced by the program; and c) the requirements of the university" (Crismore, "A Revised Job Description" 1); she also asserts that the Director ought to

> organize a fall and spring orientation/staff development meeting before each semester begins, and organizes seminars and staff meetings for developing awareness of and expertise in rhetorical theory and pedagogy, awareness of old and new EOP Rhetoric program policies, and communication with EOP Student Services and Athletic Association Staff issues of mutual concerns. (1)

What this subtle change in the program Director description marks, I would suggest, is one instance in which an interested administrator operated to reinject a bit of race-consciousness back into the program during a time in which the rhetoric of race again had some institutional currency. In suggesting, for instance, that the new Director be aware of

[11]Recall from Chapter 3 that as a function of the squabble between the EOP Rhetoric program and the Expanded Encounter with Learning Program (EEL), the EOP program no longer had direct input as to the hiring of Directors of EOP Rhetoric, whether temporary or permanent.

the issues "specific to the minority population served," Crismore insists that the new Director recognize that issues of race and racism need to be considered within the context of the program. Furthermore, she insists that the sort of "literacy" possessed by this individual reflect this change: whereas previous Directors of EOP Rhetoric had grappled with also being "traditional" literary scholars, thereby performing research and teaching in fields different from their work with EOP Rhetoric, Crismore suggested that the new director align research, teaching, and research interests in the needs of the students in the program themselves. This is not to say that this new Director would necessarily be an active researcher; indeed, as a function of past difficulties with tenure, it was decided by the English Department that this position would not carry tenure requirements. Yet, Crismore still insists that even if this new Director was not a scholar, she or he should be "literate" in the sorts of new theoretical and pedagogical research dealing with and "specific to the minority population served." In this sense, then, she seemed to be advocating that both Director attitudes and Director literacies be recalibrated to better reflect the needs of the program and its race-conscious, affirmative-action based histories.

There was one more important institutional ramification of this move as well. Recall that in the last chapter, Ernest Morris of the EOP program was quite upset that EOP no longer had a direct say in the hiring procedures of the EOP Rhetoric operation or of its Writing Lab. By reestablishing direct ties between the EOP office and the EOP Rhetoric program in terms of the hiring process for the first time in nearly ten years, Crismore got the EOP office reinvolved in this process. This was to some degree a race-conscious move itself,

particularly since the EOP program at this time was still very much interested in promoting such race-conscious educational activity. [12]

Of course, I don't want to go overboard in suggesting that this small change to the job description for the program somehow single-handedly transformed the program: certainly, the relationship between a job description and the actions of the person hired can be a tenuous one. However, I do want to suggest that this small change was reflective of a larger movement during this time toward more race-conscious and resistance-based activity within the program. The description itself advocated for an openly race-conscious perspective, one that I will argue in the next chapter would remain quite strong until the mid-1980s.

Conclusions

In concluding this chapter, I want to reiterate that the rhetoric of affirmative action during the post-*Bakke* era, both on a national level and on the campus level, was invoked in specific ways to protect and enhance the institutional status quo. Such logic—what I have termed the logic of "institutional interest convergence"—suggested that affirmative action could be wielded as a tool for insuring institutional self-interest, regardless of whether or not it translated into actual racial reform in practice. At the same time, though, I think it also crucial to note that such open talk of race, even if for conservative reasons, did give rise to certain avenues of resistance that were not possible during previous times. Whereas in the

[12]In a 1986 report, for instance, the EOP program insists that among its goals were to "increase the number of minority group students on the Urbana-Champaign campus" and to "develop educational programs and policies, both academic and administrative, which will assist and support such students and which may well benefit all university students" (Jeffries, "Educational Opportunities Program Status Report" 1). Furthermore, this same report recognizes the Director of EOP Rhetoric once again as a direct part of its own staff, an individual who "works closely with EOP staff as he supervises and trains the teaching assistants in the Rhetoric Department and the Writing Laboratory" (5).

"literacy crisis" era, for instance, race was not openly discussed, it could be once again the subject of discussion during the *Bakke* era, thereby offering at least the potential for resistance. In some sense, then, the post-*Bakke* early 1980s were just as restrictive as their mid 1970s predecessors, but the potential for resistance was in other ways much greater. As I will demonstrate in the next and final body chapter of the dissertation, however, this dynamic would change profoundly by the late 1980s in ways that demanded a permanent shift toward color-blindness within the program. It is to a discussion of this context that I now turn.

Chapter 5

"Mainstreaming" and the End of EOP Rhetoric

In his 1993 article "The Tidy House: Basic Writing in the American Curriculum," David Bartholomae presents one of the most well-known articulations of the "mainstreaming" argument in basic writing (BW), an argument calling for the abolition of BW as a philosophy, practice, and institution within the modern academy. Bartholomae begins this argument by suggesting that theorists in the field have forgotten that BW "was once a provisional, contested term, marking an uneasy accommodation between the institution and its desires and a student body that did not or would not fit" (8). As a result, he suggests,

> basic writing programs have become expressions of our desire to produce basic writers, to maintain the course, the argument, and the slot in the university community; to maintain the distinction (basic/normal) we have learned to think through and by. The basic writing program, then, can be seen simultaneously as an attempt to bridge and preserve cultural difference, to enable students to enter the "normal" curriculum but to insure, at the same time, that there are basic writers. (8)

Here, Bartholomae suggests that the field of BW, even while claiming to be working in the best interests of the marginalized, has actually served to reify and even strengthen status quo thinking about so-called "basic" writing and the "basic" individuals who produce it. What this approach does, he contends, is needlessly separate students into problematic categories, then treat them according to the problematic assumptions held for each.

In order to correct this problem, Bartholomae suggests first that the field work to rethink the binary of "basic" and "normal" within its philosophies and practices using Pratt's notion of the "contact zone" as a tool for doing so. He insists that this contact zone idea can be used to create instructional situations in which students from varying backgrounds, abilities, and skill levels can "meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (qtd. in Bartholomae 13). Through such contact, he suggests, all writers can be encouraged to explore the ways in which they use language to negotiate power and difference. No one is "basic" and no one is "normal" within such a philosophy; rather, all are simply writers working through language to achieve similar aims and goals.

Second, Bartholomae suggests that researchers, theorists, and teachers need to work to dismantle BW as a programmatic entity, replacing it with a course structure that allows for the fostering of such a "contact zone" mentality. Such institutional revision will not necessarily be easy, he admits, particularly since the sorts of problematic views that he identifies are deeply imbedded within the academic consciousness. He asks rhetorically,

> [w]ould I advocate the elimination of courses titled 'basic writing' for all postsecondary curricula beginning next fall? No. I fear what would happen to the students who are protected, served in its name. I don't, in other words, trust the institution to take this as an intellectual exercise, a challenge to rethink old ways. I know that the institution would be equally quick to rely upon an established and corrupt discourse (of "boneheads," of "true college material," of "remediation"); it would allow the return of a

> way of speaking that was made suspect by the hard work and diligence of those associated with basic writing. (21)

Nonetheless, Bartholomae does contend that institutional change can ultimately be brought about, even if somewhat slowly, once theorists and teachers begin to dismantle for themselves the binaries upon which in the field is based: as he argues, "[b]asic writers may be ready for a different curriculum, for the contact zone and the writing it will produce, but the institution is not. And it is not, I would argue, because those of us who work in basic writing, who preserve rather than question the existing order of things" (15). He insists, therefore, that theorists, teachers, and researchers begin to jettison their "tidy" assumptions about students' needs as well as their own "tidy" desires to "preserve 'basic writing' as a key term simply because it is the one [they] have learned to think with or because it has allowed [them] jobs or professional identities" (20). In doing so, he says, outdated and problematic institutional structures within BW can be dismantled and replaced with structures in which all students are challenged to interrogate language, power, and difference as part of their language and literacy learning experiences.

Since its original articulation in 1993 and up through the present day, Bartholomae's mainstreaming argument has proven to be a popular one: a whole range of articles advocating for a mainstreaming approach have emerged throughout the 1990s and into the present (see Grego and Thompson; Rodby and Fox; Shor, "Our Apartheid"; Soliday "Reconceiving Remediation"), often citing this Bartholomae piece in support of their activities. And, on many levels, I think that the popularity of his argument is justified: Bartholomae both makes a useful argument as to why basic writing and composition theorists, researchers, and teachers ought to examine carefully their

assumptions about "basic" writers and offers a useful alternative via the contact zone for conceptualizing such programs outside this basic/normal binary.

At the same time, though, it is also important to note that Bartholomae's mainstreaming argument has been critiqued by a number of theorists for its failure to fully engage with institutional dynamics. One of the earliest and most well-known versions of such a critique was offered by Karen Greenberg in her piece "The Politics of Basic Writing" (a piece that actually appeared in the same issue of *The Journal of Basic Writing* as Bartholomae's "Tidy House" piece). In this article, Greenberg insists that Bartholomae's argument almost completely ignores both the potential curricular and institutional advantages that BW programs have managed to secure for students. She insists that "many basic writing programs *are* sorting students into 'useful and thoughtful' courses that have helped thousands of inexperienced writers persevere and succeed in college" (65, italics hers), help that is demonstrated, she argues, via improved retention and graduation statistics as well as improved scores on various writing assessment measures (69). She further insists that, by ignoring these sorts of benefits in the name of some blanket mainstreaming policy, Bartholomae runs a very real risk of eliminating this important source of institutional support for students. She contends that if Bartholomae's argument actually comes to pass, then

> students will have to sink or swim. Given the priorities of most universities, underprepared writers will not benefit from any of the tens of thousands of dollars that schools would save by ending placement testing and basic skills instruction. Most of the money

> will probably be spent on small senior seminars, on the library, on research projects, and on visiting professors. (6)

In this way, Greenberg voices her own skepticism of the long-term institutional benefits of mainstreaming basic writing—of integrating its activities and programs with the regular curriculum and institutional structure of the university. She cautions that the material benefits that accrue to BW as a separate entity will not necessarily translate into a new "mainstreamed" program structure; rather, such material benefits will likely be redistributed according to that which the institution already sees as more valuable than assisting "high risk" students—i.e., courses in the disciplines, grants to promote "traditional" scholarship, honors programs, and so forth. And, as a result, she fears that the very students that Bartholomae purports to want to help will ultimately be left to "sink or swim" on their own. In fact, she goes so far as to conclude that, if this happens, Bartholomae's attempts at fostering reform will end up sounding suspiciously like those of conservative politicians and educators who want to see such programs abolished because they cost too much or provide unnecessary "special" treatment. As she warns, "if reactionary political academics and budget-minded administrators and legislators join forces with composition 'stars' like David Bartholomae to attack basic writing programs, then these programs are doomed" (6). As a result, she contends that these programs and the students that they ostensibly serve will be left entirely on their own.

In turn, Deborah Mutnick has offered a more recent version of this critique, one focusing more directly on issues of race and racism. She insists that it is "increasingly important to remember that 'basic writing' emerged at a particular historical moment" (71), one in which predominantly white institutions like CUNY and others tried to engage

in a "direct response to the struggle for open enrollment by and for working-class and poor students of color" (72). She further suggests that, when viewed in this context, "basic writing for all its internal contradictions, has played a vital role in increasing access to higher education, in particular for working-class people of color" (71-72). She insists, therefore, that we not promote mainstreaming or other critiques of the field in ways that "obscure material, sociohistorical realities" (78). Instead, she insists that we recognize the fact that BW has served and continues to serve minority students, and in doing so choose our methods of reform carefully. She concludes her comments in this regard with the powerful suggestion that any attempt to facilitate reform within BW must

> fight back against conservative efforts to reverse affirmative action, end open admissions, eliminate academic support programs, and thus resegregate higher education. To respond effectively at both local and national levels, we will need to understand the forces that compelled colleges and universities to open their doors to minority students in the first place as well as those that now threaten to shut them out. Basic writing can be seen as a strategic means of keeping the doors open....To position ourselves and our students strategically means not to discount critiques of basic writing or to reject other models of instruction but rather to place such critiques in political and historical perspective and choose our battles carefully. (78-79)

In this way, Mutnick offers a decidedly race-conscious institutional critique of the sort of mainstreaming argument offered by Bartholomae, one suggesting that if we fail to acknowledge the "sociohistoric realities" of race and racism as they have shaped these

sorts of programs, we too may inadvertently contribute to the dismantling of a crucial space for facilitating minority student resistance just as Greenberg cautions above.

Just as I acknowledge above that Bartholomae's mainstreaming argument has proven quite popular in the field, I want to acknowledge that these sorts of critiques have proven popular as well. Indeed, much recent contemporary scholarship on mainstreaming in the field emphasizes the need to attend to institutional dynamics very carefully (see McNenny; Collins and Lynch), particularly at the level of race and racism (Soliday, "Ideologies of Access"; Lamos). This is not to say that such work necessarily rejects the mainstreaming argument outright: rather, it simply points out that such work can be problematic—even harmful—if it is not carefully implemented with respect to institutional issues.

I take the time at the outset of this last dissertation chapter to outline both this mainstreaming argument and subsequent critiques of it because I think that both discussions are essential to understanding the dynamics of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship as they were enacted during the last major period in program history, one spanning from the late 1980s through the early 1990s. As I will demonstrate, the EOP Rhetoric program had begun to expand rapidly at this time as a result of various new minority recruitment efforts, and was therefore subjected to a series of reviews and evaluations designed to determine which aspects of the increasingly expensive program were worth retaining. Ultimately, the literacy specialists charged with reviewing the program found it to be viable; however, each also advocated that a series of "mainstreaming" steps to be taken with respect to teaching, administration, and student placement. And, while I grant that a number of the changes for which they advocated seemed to enhance the program, I also

suggest that others—particularly those related to race-based placement—failed to look carefully at the institutional dynamics of race within the program. And, as result, I suggest that these mainstreaming activities ultimately served to undermine rather than enhance minority support within the program.

I begin my discussion of this final era in the history of the EOP Rhetoric program by demonstrating that, after a brief period of increasing minority recruitment within the university during the mid 1980s, one that resulted in a rapid expansion of the EOP Rhetoric program, a number of administrators responsible for the EOP Rhetoric program's budget began to argue that the EOP Rhetoric was no longer needed as a minority support mechanism. Such logic, I will claim, was based on two related premises: first, that the current program was too expensive; second, the students in the program were now academically "better" than they used to be, and therefore did not require such intensive academic support any longer. And, as I show, such logic ultimately lead to the implementation of no less than *four* full-scale evaluations of the EOP Rhetoric program during 1990 and 1991, each designed to determine those aspects of the program that should be retained.

In the next section of my analysis, I explore the ways in which compositionists and other literacy professionals from both inside and outside the university involved in these reviews responded to such calls for evaluation. Although each review ultimately concluded that EOP Rhetoric performed a necessary service for students in general and for minority students in particular, each also maintained that the program should be "mainstreamed" at all levels so that all students in the Rhetoric program would be treated more or less "the same." And, in doing so, I contend that these ostensible defenders of

the program ended up advocating for a new institutional structure that offered significantly less academic, institutional, and financial support to minority students than did the old program. Despite seemingly the best of intentions, then, I argue that such mainstreaming arguments ended up significantly weakening EOP Rhetoric, at least with respect to capacity to assist minority students, in ways that are still being felt at present.

I should note, however, that in keeping with my previous chapters, I conclude this chapter with an example of resistance to this logic of mainstreaming, one focusing in particular upon the activities of full-time Director of EOP Rhetoric Don Cruickshank. His work served to resist this larger notion of color-blind mainstreaming on multiple levels, insisting that race did matter in issues of hiring, staffing, and budgeting. And, though his activities were ultimately not enough to fully stem the tide of mainstreaming ideology within the program, I insist that his activities have nonetheless had some sort of lasting effects upon the color-blind post-EOP Rhetoric program.

The Mid-1980s: "Race-Consciousness" and the Expansion of EOP Rhetoric

As I argued in the last chapter, descriptions of the EOP Rhetoric program during the early 1980s began increasingly to emphasize its affirmative action mission in ways that, while not always promoting change to the racial status quo in and of themselves, at least began to open up institutional spaces for new forms of race-consciousness and race-conscious resistance within the program and the campus more generally. I want to begin this chapter by suggesting that this more race-conscious approach to thinking about EOP Rhetoric was maintained throughout the mid part of the 1980s as well.

I make this claim based on the fact that the EOP Rhetoric program expanded—and quite rapidly—beginning in 1984 with the introduction of the President's Award Program (PAP) on the Illinois campus. PAP was established by Illinois' Chancellor Stanley Ikenberry in 1984 as a means of increasing minority enrollment, enrollment that under the EOP program alone had leveled off to about 200 or so students per year by the early 1980s (Jeffries, "Educational Opportunities Program Status Report" 7). However, in contrast to the EOP recruitment process, one that focused on minority students who were perceived to be "high risk," PAP sought to attract minority students with higher scholastic profiles, "students who were valedictorians or who had a certain class rank or ACT score [of 24 or higher] (Shelley, Personal Interview [15 April 2002]). And, PAP would seek to recruit roughly 300 of these students per year as a means of attempting to compensate for the drop-off in EOP recruitment itself.[1]

Despite the fact that students in PAP were perceived as "better" than EOP students in some ways, those in charge of PAP still felt that PAP students needed extra race-conscious support via EOP Rhetoric. According to the Director of Office of Minority Student Affairs Michael Jeffries[2]

> some people thought that, "Oh, we have these bright students. All we need to do is give them the money, and they'll get by on their own and blend in." But there were still institutional issues in America where not

[1]One central argument for developing the PAP program was that the University must do a better job attracting high scoring minority students from within the state. In the past, these students had tended to enroll at other institutions out-of-state, including many historically black institutions. (Jeffries, Personal Interview [27 March 2002])

[2]In 1988, the EOP program was absorbed in to a newly-created office, the "Office of Minority Student Affairs" (OMSA). OMSA program would serve as a more comprehensive program for all minority students, not just those perceived to be at risk (Levy 1).

> everyone just blends in to this wonderful melting pot. Now some students did, but people deal with this climate in different ways. (Jeffries, Personal Interview [27 March 2002])

Thus, even as the initiatives like PAP were seeking to recruit a different kind of minority student in some sense, Jeffries and his office retained their belief that issues of institutional and societal racism shape minority students' educational experiences, and therefore that EOP Rhetoric services should be offered even to these PAP high-achievers.

Within four years of its implementation, PAP had significantly increased both African American and Latino populations on the campus: a 1988 announcement from Stanley R. Levy, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs suggests that the overall number of "Black and Latino undergraduates" had increased 40% since 1983, and that the number of Black and Latino freshman had increased 73%, from 354 to 614 (1). And, concurrently, PAP had also prompted an increase in the overall size of the EOP Rhetoric program. In 1986, Don Cruickshank, the newly-appointed permanent Director of the EOP Program (see Chapter 4), stated in a letter to English Department Head Dale Kramer that as a function of the PAP program, EOP Rhetoric would be expanding for 1987-1988 to provide 200 more slots in addition to the approximately 350 or so that it normally provided in EOP Rhetoric and "Special Options" Rhetoric (Cruickshank, "Letter to Dale Kramer" 1). As a function of the new PAP program, then, the EOP Rhetoric program had grown bigger than it had ever been in the past.

The Late 1980s: Fiscal Fears, Changing Perceptions of Race, and a Turn Toward the Conservative

Although there seemed to be a growing sense at this time that programs like PAP and EOP Rhetoric were improving diversity on the Illinois campus, there was also a growing sense that these programs were becoming too expensive. In 1987, LAS Dean Prokasy suggested to Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Robert Berdahl that he was quite worried about the ballooning cost of the EOP Rhetoric program, primarily because the "cost of EOP Rhetoric per student is somewhat over 3 times the cost of the per student costs in other rhetoric courses" (1). He goes on to note that this increased cost is being multiplied greatly by the expanding program, particularly since in "83/84 the total number of [EOP Rhetoric] sections was 64" while in "86/87 the total number was 89" (1). This drastic increase in expensive course offerings, he worries, will further exacerbate an already-strained LAS budget in which "both recurring and non-recurring released funds...are going to be low this year compared to last" (1). The letter concludes by requesting a total of $52,400 for the English Department to carry on the EOP Rhetoric mission (1).

Similarly, in a letter to Dean of LAS David Bright from June 22, 1989, new English Department Head Richard Wheeler suggests that

> [y]ou are aware that not only is the EOP Rhetoric program dramatically underfunded by the campus, but that the program is growing year by year. Every semester for the last two years, English has had to put in last minute

> requests for additional funding in order to be able to staff legitimately enrolled sections of EOP Rhetoric. (1)

He further argues that the program will require an additional $25,000 for instruction and $12,000 for new instructor spaces for 1989-1990 (1).

And, ultimately, both of these concerns were echoed more forcefully by Emily Peck, Associate Dean of LAS, in her suggestion to Vice Chancellor Berdahl that the program would require significant funding in order to be viable in the long term. As she concludes from her own detailed fiscal analysis, the cost per student in EOP Rhetoric is "almost five times the cost in regular rhetoric sections" (Peck, Letter to Jane Loeb 1). Accordingly, she suggests that the program be provided with an additional $96,500 per year in recurring funds to be able to support this activity in addition to the $97,000 that has already been budgeted for the program (6).

As I mentioned in the introduction to the dissertation and illuminated somewhat further in Chapter 4, financial troubles within the EOP Rhetoric program were not exactly new: indeed, because the budget status of the program was so tenuous, such calls were articulated fairly regularly throughout the history of the program. What was different in this context, however, was the fact that such calls were accompanied by a growing sense that minority students no longer needed these sorts of expensive services to begin with, particularly since these students were "better" than they used to be.

This sentiment was expressed by Illinois administrators as early as 1984. In the course of discussing funding for a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric (see chapter 4) for instance, LAS Dean William Prokasy suggested that the EOP Rhetoric program might not be needed much longer, particularly given what he deemed to be the changing nature

of EOP student needs. As he indicated at that time, "the long term future of the EOP Rhetoric program" should begin to be discussed (Prokasy, Letter to Roger E. Martin 2). The reason for this, he suggests is that "[t]he quality of the students in the program is increasing. Indeed, the average ACT scores are well above the national average" (2). If this continues, he insists, "the demand for special EOP Rhetoric courses will decrease" (2). In this sense, then, Prokasy argues that "traditional" measures of student success demonstrate that EOP students simply should not need this sort of support in order to be successful. This idea was also articulated by Associate LAS Dean Emily Peck in her 1989 request for funds. In preparing the terms of her request, Peck suggests that

> I find myself in the position of needing to be able to answer questions about why the placement policy exists in its current form. For example, our admissions policies for the EOP program and certainly the profiles of EOP students have changed over the last fifteen years, while the placement policies have not. Would it be appropriate to review rhetoric placement policy now as we discuss the magnitude of EOP Rhetoric underfunding? (Peck, Letter to Richard Wheeler 1)

In turn, English Department Head Wheeler himself ultimately agrees that "we are approaching an appropriate time for a re-evaluation of [EOP Rhetoric], the fundamental components of which have been in place for quite a while, and which is perhaps not now serving quite the same student population as it was designed to serve" (Wheeler, Letter to Faulkner 1).

In this way, financial worries about the EOP Rhetoric program were increasing throughout the 1980s alongside the growing sense that not all minority students really

required the sort of expensive EOP Rhetoric support that they were currently receiving. And, ultimately, I want to argue that it was this dual dynamic of financial concern and the changing nature of EOP students that began to shift the tenor of thinking about race and racism on campus during the late 80s and early 90s in both a conservative and color-blind direction: while having more minority students on campus was still perceived as a good thing perhaps, it was not perceived as an institutional effort requiring significant financial support.

The culmination of such thinking, I would argue, can be found in Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Robert Berdahl's response to Peck's request for nearly $100,000 in extra recurring funds to support the program. Although he agreed to provide $37,000 in non-recurring funds in 1989-1990 in response to this request (Berdahl, Letter to Faulkner 1), Berdahl demanded that the program be reviewed carefully to weigh its overall value to the campus. Berdahl insists that

> a thorough evaluation of the program and its several aspects is needed to ascertain what its most important ingredients are and which students need what ingredients. I believe that we must look to cost containment measures. I simply do not have $96,000 to spend on this program, nor do I expect to have it in the foreseeable future. (Letter to Emily Peck 1)

Berdahl insists, therefore, that the program "1) Hold 1990-1991 enrollment in EOP Rhetoric by non-EOP students[3] to no more than 1988-1989 levels; 2) Increase average section size to 16; 3) Reduce the number of students enrolling in the two semester sequence." (1). Furthermore, he concludes by asking Peck to make sure that

[3]Berdahl is not talking about all non-EOP students here, but rather PAP students in particular. As noted above, they were considered to be the reason that the EOP Rhetoric costs were spiraling out of control.

"during the coming year we evaluate the program and the effectiveness of its components and that we look at other ways to support the needs of EOP students. I want to be sure that we do what is needed to help these students, but that we do so as cost-effectively as possible" (1). In this way, Berdahl insists that the expansion of EOP Rhetoric represents a significant financial burden that is being laid upon the campus, and insists as well that drastic measures are needed to fix it once and for all. As he states, and rather bluntly, "I simply do not have $96,000 to spend on this program, nor do I expect to have it in the foreseeable future." And, in doing so, he implies at least that this expense may not really be needed.

I stress Berdahl's final point here because, as I will demonstrate in the next section, the reviews that were conducted of the EOP Rhetoric program would in some sense agree with him that EOP Rhetoric was no longer necessary in its current form given its expense. This is not to say that their motivations were necessarily the same; in fact, these reviews seemed much more interested in reforming the program according to what they thought were the best interests of students than according to the logic of cost-cutting per se. However, the conclusions that they ultimately drew and the programmatic changes that they ultimately advocated—all aided by the logic of mainstreaming that they would come to employ—would prove to have the same sorts of results: namely, a drastic decrease in minority support on the campus.

The Reviews of EOP Rhetoric and the Call for Liberal "Mainstreaming"

Berdahl's initial request for a review of the program actually generated four separate reviews during 1990 and 1991: an "external" evaluation conducted by

compositionists from other universities; an "internal" evaluation conducted by Illinois faculty outside the English Department; a "quantitative" assessment by the Office of Instructional Resources; and, an assessment/analysis by members of the English Department, the EOP Rhetoric Program (including EOP Rhetoric Director Don Cruikshank), and members of the newly-emerging Center for Writing Studies.[4,5] Each review was designed to establish whether or not EOP Rhetoric was worth saving, and if so, to what degree: consider, for instance, the way in which the internal committee was informed of its duties by LAS Dean Larry Faulkner:

> [t]his review arises at the specific charge of Vice Chancellor Berdahl, who has been petitioned annually to cover a sizeable operating deficit in the EOP Rhetoric program. In the current year, it amounts to about $50,000. The Vice Chancellor recognizes that the program performs an important function, but he also perceives that there have been de facto changes in the mission of the program over the years, and he wants to make sure that the

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[4]The Center for Writing Studies was developed in 1991 as part of a new initiative on the campus to strengthen student writing skills. The Center would have three related missions: a new graduate program in rhetoric and composition, administration of a new writing-across-the-curriculum requirement, and a new writing center known as "The Writers' Workshop" (Peck, "Center for Writing Studies" 1).

[5] The composition and operation of each committee was as follows:

The internal review committee for the EOP Rhetoric program consisted of four individuals with some level of professional interest in language and literacy learning: Frederick Kanfer, Chair of Psychology, Philip J. Bowman of the Afro-American Studies and Research Program, Michael Palencia-Roth of Comparative Literature, and Fredrick Davidson of the Division of English as an International Language. It met regularly over a period of roughly two months to look at EOP documents, interview administrators, teachers, and students in the program. The committee submitted a final report of their findings to Dean of LAS Larry Faulkner on May 7, 1991 (Bowman et al.1).

The external review committee of Richard Lloyd-Jones from the University of Iowa and Erika Lindemann from the University of North Carolina was chosen based on suggestions from English and Center for Writing Studies faculty. Both of these individuals visited the campus for three days from April 10-12, 1991, perusing documents and meeting with administrators, teachers, and students during their visit. This committee submitted its report to the Dean on April 22, 1991 (Lloyd-Jones and Lindemann 1).

Finally, the On October 7, 1991, the English Department EOP Review Committee was called to assembly by English Department Head Richard Wheeler, consisting of Dennis Baron, Greg Colomb, Don Cruickshank, Karen Carney, Gail Hawisher, Jacinth Thomas-Judson, and Dale Kramer. It submitted its report on Feb 24, 1992 (Baron et al. 1).

> program's size and style of operation are appropriately matched to the resources dedicated to it. (Letter to Fredrick Kanfer et al. 1)

In this section of the chapter, I will provide a summary and analysis of three of these four reviews (referred to by the names "internal," "external," and "English Department"), highlighting the ways in which each came to emphasize mainstreaming as well as the racialized implications of their doing so.[6]

Summary and Analysis of Reviews

Given the rather harsh and seemingly putative conditions under which these reviews were commissioned by Berdahl, it is interesting to note that all three reviews ended up being quite positive in their overall evaluations of the program. The internal review notes, for instance, "the positive educational contributions of the program and the dedication and commitment of its director and staff that made these achievements possible" (1), and further insists that "the EOP Rhetoric Program is now functioning well. It is very good...it could well become a model of its kind in the nation" (6). The external review concurs, suggesting that "[o]ur general reaction is that the EOP Rhetoric Program is serving students and the University well" (1); they note in particular that

> [w]e are impressed by the quality of students in the Program. Our conversations with them as well as their papers reveal interesting people capable of and committed to pursuing undergraduate degrees. Their retention records and their grades in subsequent writing courses confirm

[6] I do not discuss the Office of Institutional Research review here primarily because it was not utilized within final discussions of how the English Department wished to change the EOP Rhetoric program (Baron et al. 5).

> this impression...The students we talked to were eager to succeed and seemed likely to make it. (2)

And, they argue as well that "few institutions boast so many opportunities for staff development—almost every conceivable option is available" (5). Finally, the English Department review suggested too that it endorses the suggestion that it finds the program at its core "effective and well-run" (1).

It is further interesting to note that, despite the growing sense among some administrators that the program was both too costly and no longer necessary for minority students, all three reviews insisted that the program be retained as support program serving "high risk" minority students. This is expressed, most directly, perhaps, by the external review team as they write the following:

> We recognize the issue of cost. Small classes with effective tutorial components are relatively expensive, and the university does not wish to spend resources needlessly. At the same time, the University has committed itself to minority student recruitment and can ill afford to admit these students, take their tuition money for a year, and allow them to flunk out. Some people have the impression that this review of the EOP Rhetoric program signals a decreasing commitment to minority students: "Minority Admissions are fine unless they cost the University too much." We reject this cynicism. The students themselves are proof that spending some monies on specialized writing instruction during the first year repays itself many times over in higher retention rates, in creating greater

> diversity in the student population (which is beneficial to all students), and in ensuring productive careers for a generation of the state's citizens. (2)

The other two reviews make this point as well, though more briefly. The internal review suggests, for instance, that "the EOP Rhetoric program is a valuable and indispensable part of the University's efforts to serve its minority students (and others with special needs) effectively and well. The program should be supported financially at an adequate level with recurring funds" (5). And, similarly, the English Department review suggests that the program should continue to coordinate its efforts with "those of the campus EOP program as well as those of the Summer Bridge Program and Transition program"[7] as well as to take part in a larger group established to "coordinate the various offices dealing with minority students" (5).

Crucially, though, all three reviews suggest that in order for the program to continue to function, it ought to be "mainstreamed" in three ways. First, each suggests that the teaching practices in the program ought to be made less isolated in terms of their relationship to what the internal review calls "the latest models in composition and writing studies" (5). The external review suggests that this process should involve helping teachers to become more meta-aware of both their philosophies and practices in ways that help them to determine "what choices among teaching strategies are available to them or what these choices imply about their philosophy of teaching" (5). In turn, the English Department review suggests that this process ought to involve the realignment of teacher training activities in the program so that they better approximate the sort of work that is being done in the "regular" Rhetoric TA training courses (3), as well as a more

[7] Bridge/Transition was (and remains) a program designed to take the 100 most "high risk" minority students per entering class and provide them with intensive community building, academic preparation, tutorial support, and academic counseling.

thorough integration of this sort of teaching with the kind of graduate training being made available within a newly-developing rhetoric and composition program at Illinois (the new "Center for Writing Studies").

Second, each review suggests that the EOP Rhetoric program ought to be mainstreamed in some sense with respect to program administration; that is, brought into alignment both with the new Center for Writing Studies and with the other administrative bodies on campus charged with coordinating services for minority students. The internal review is perhaps the most adamant in its insistence on such mainstreaming/integration, particularly in its arguments that, as the program currently stands, there is a "lack of coordination among the campus units that deal with EOP students. No one unit or person has a complete overview of the program" (4). This review further remarks that it seems to find "defensiveness on all sides. In general, each office seems to believe that it is doing an excellent job and that any problems with individual students are attributable to factors which are under the jurisdiction of another office" (5). In turn, the external committee advocates for the development of what it calls a new "Writing Council" that would help to guide the EOP Rhetoric program, one that can serve both to "chart new directions for University of Illinois' writing programs" and promote "a shared understanding of each program's role in the institution, to begin the habit of working collaboratively to solve problems, and to develop strategies for supporting one another and sharing limited university resources" (7). And, finally, the English Department review suggests that the EOP Rhetoric program be advised by the newly-developed "Council of Composition Coordinators," an administrative body that had already been

developed to discuss "approaches to writing instruction to ensure a more effective alignment of content, method, and philosophy in Composition I courses" (4).

And, finally, each of the reviews suggests that the EOP Rhetoric program fundamentally revise its placement mechanism so as to "mainstream" it with respect to race; that is, to open the program to whites. And, two of the three reviews, the internal review and the English Department review, refer specifically to the idea of "stigma" as they make this recommendation. The internal review suggests, for example, that "[b]y linking admission primarily to race, the University is—unwittingly—stigmatizing a group of students whose skills may actually be quite adequate" (5). It further contends that through this race-based placement mechanism, "the University is also failing to recognize the needs of those non-minority students whose writing skills, for whatever reason, have not been nurtured in the high school" (5). Similarly, the English Department review suggests that

> Although EOP Rhetoric is regarded very favorably by students in the program, we believe that it is important to do everything possible to decrease the perception of isolation and difference on the part of EOP students and in the eyes of the university community...the goal of reducing the stigma of EOP Rhetoric should...be aided by opening the basic writing program to non-minority students, a practice followed by some of our peer institutions. (2)

The external review, in contrast, actually seems to reject this notion of "stigma" in some sense, insisting that the students whom they talked to "were not particularly worried about any 'social stigma' attached to the course, certainly not in the same way that some

faculty members seemed to worry about 'segregating' these students. In fact, these minority students seemed grateful for the chance to be in a class where they were a majority" (2). Yet, it nonetheless also agrees that the placement mechanism for the program ought to be changed: it states that "we see no *instructional* advantage to groupings based on non-academic criteria (though we recognize political reasons for keeping separate courses for minority and non-minority students)" (3), and argues further that "placement procedures [should] be revised so that students who need a semester of basic writing instruction, whether minority students or not, gain access to this instruction" (4). In this sense, all three reviews suggest that the race-based placement mechanism within the program be dropped.

Across each of these reviews, then, we see the argument that EOP Rhetoric should be retained, but only once it is brought in line with mainstream composition theory and practice, mainstream thinking about administration, and mainstream thinking about race. I must be noted that none of these reviews goes so far as to suggest that EOP Rhetoric be totally "mainstreamed," that is, that its status be totally abolished. Still, all do insist that the current program is far too "separate" and too "isolated" to be fully successful.

On one hand, I think that each of these reviews shares some of the positive qualities of the mainstreaming argument articulated by Bartholomae above: they call for reconsiderations of teaching philosophy and practices designed to make instructors more reflective; they call for various administrative groups to integrate their attention to students (particularly minority students) in ways that might facilitate student success; and, they exhibit what I see a fundamentally legitimate concern that the sort of useful

support provided by the EOP Rhetoric program be made available to as many students as possible. Yet, at the same time, I think the mainstreaming logic evinced by each review shares the weaknesses of an argument like Bartholomae's as well, particularly with respect to the racialized institutional dimensions of the EOP Rhetoric program. In particular, by advocating that the program be "mainstreamed" with respect to its placement mechanism, the English Department effectively calls for the dismantling of the long-standing minority support focus of the program. No longer would the program be defined first and foremost a minority support program that served a large "high risk" population; instead, it would be defined first and foremost as a program for "high risk" writers that would still serve as a de facto minority support program at some level. This logic was expressed most openly in a quote from the external review quoted above: the program should be changed "so that students who need a semester of basic writing instruction, whether minority students or not, gain access to this instruction" (4). And, interestingly, racial justice was actually cited as a justification for this: by getting rid of race within placement, the program would no longer be "stigmatizing" all minority students as basic writers,[8] and would therefore help to make the campus a more racially-egalitarian place. Ultimately, however, I want to argue that by dismantling this focus, such calls for mainstreaming would place several key institutional structures and support mechanisms that had long accompanied the program in jeopardy, thereby limiting the kind of support that could be offered to minority students. The extent to which this would come to pass is discussed in the next section.

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[8] It should be noted that, according to the logic of these reviews, a "stigmatized" context was one that included only minorities, while a context free of stigma was apparently one that included whites as well. In some sense, this logic subtly elevates whiteness in a way similar to that of the *Brown* argument (See Prendergast, *Literacy and Racial Justice* for a detailed discussion).

Mainstreaming EOP Rhetoric: the "Academic Writing Program" is Born

The first articulations of precisely how these mainstreaming recommendations would be put into practice were offered within the context of the English Department review itself. Importantly, before drafting this review report, the English Department review committee was told quite directly that it would have to work within very specific budget parameters: the budget level initially requested by Peck of approximately $190,000 ($97,000 in recurring funds already budgeted for EOP Rhetoric plus Peck's request for an additional $96,000) would not be forthcoming; rather, the program would have to make do with the $97,000 plus the $37,000 in non-recurring support offered by the Vice-Chancellor in 1990. Indeed, as English Department Head Richard Wheeler suggests at the time,

> the task of the committee is not to provide suggestions for extensive cost-cutting. Neither should the committee assume that there will be expanded funding to cover desirable new alternatives...for now, and I assume for the duration of your work, you should assume steady funding. Any proposed changes in the EOP Rhetoric program will have to come out of current levels of funding. Please ignore the question of where funding originates. ("EOP Review Committee" 1)

What this meant, in essence, was that any plans to change the program would require a reorganization of existing program funds, either by converting spaces in the program that used to be reserved for minority students into spaces for whites, or by otherwise redirecting funds within the program. To put things another way, this budget situation

meant that any attempt to bring more whites into the program would necessarily mean taking funds away from minorities currently being served by the program.[9]

In order to accomplish this goal of mainstreaming, the English Department decided to alter both the placement mechanism and institutional structure of the EOP Rhetoric program in a radical fashion. As the English Department review itself outlines, the EOP Rhetoric program was to be reconstituted as two separate tracks: a full-year course sequence with tutorial, and a full-year course sequence without tutorial. Placement within these programs would be based only on ACT/placement essay score, and decidedly *not* on race: the review states that those students "more at risk—those who score lowest on the placement instrument—would, as they do now, take a tutorial each semester" (2-3); in contrast, those "less at risk" would take the courses without the tutorial because "we believe that they can get the help that they need through the smaller class size, and supplementary tutoring available on a case-by-case basis through the [newly-developed campus-wide writing center] the Writers' Workshop" (3). This two-tiered system, it claimed, could be entrusted to serve all of the students that the program ought to be serving—Black and white—even with this somewhat restricted budget. Indeed, the English Department review goes so far as to insist that "by eliminating the tutorial sequence for students less at risk, the program would, without any increase in funding, free up additional places for non-minority students in need of special assistance." (3). It further notes that with present levels of funding, the program could

[9] It is important to note, I think, that this situation contrasted greatly with the last time that whites were "added" to the program in 1980 and 1983 in the context of the "Special Options" programs (see Chapter 4). In both of these cases, additional money was provided to serve the needs of white students such that the original EOP budget was unaffected. In contrast, any changes being made to the program in this "mainstreaming" context would need to be made by redirecting funds, a kind of zero-sum game.

offer spaces for about 390 students per year; in contrast, with the new system, it could offer spaces up to 570 students per year (3). [10]

What this two-tiered system did in its effort to free up extra funds for low-scoring whites was to change the institutional structure and function of the program in two profound ways. Recall that, under the old EOP Rhetoric regime a) placement was reserved for minority students, and b) all minority students in the program were guaranteed tutorials as part of the EOP Rhetoric experience. For some students, this would mean one semester of EOP Rhet 105 with a tutorial; for others it would mean two semesters of EOP Rhet 104 and 105 with a tutorial. In either case, though, the tutorial was part of the larger EOP Rhetoric package, and therefore guaranteed to all minority students who wanted it. Under the new program, however, a) placement would not be conducted on the basis of race, but on the basis of ACT/placement score only, and b) the total number of tutorials offered in the program would be dramatically reduced. And, as a result, high-scoring minority students would no longer be able to enroll in the program, as its mission now was fully to provide "basic writing" instruction, not race-based writing support. (These students would be placed into either "regular" Rhet 105, "honors" Rhet 108, or in a few cases, proficiency out of the program altogether). Furthermore, the minority students who remained in the program would have far fewer tutorial slots made available to them. In this way, the English Department would in fact reduce the total

[10]The actual figures given in the report are provided in enrollments per semester, not students: 345 enrollments per semester in the old system, and about 500 enrollments per semester under the new (3). However, another document entitled "EOP Ten-Year Enrollment History and Review of Placements" provides a formula for converting these enrollments to actual number of students being served. As this document suggests, if this per semester number is doubled and multiplied by .57 (the average ratio of students to enrollments from the years 1988-1993), we can come up with an approximate number of students served (2). I derive the figures above using this formula.

amount of support offered to minority students in the program so as to open up more spaces specifically intended for "non-minority students in need of special assistance."

Ultimately, these changes as recommended by the English Department committee were implemented in 1994-1995 under the aegis of the "Academic Writing Program" (AWP) and its new Acting Director Joyce Simutis.[11] Placement under the new program was established via a new "placement score," a combination of ACT English score (range 1-36) and placement exam score (range 1-9). Students scoring 24 and below on this mechanism would automatically be placed into the new AWP Rhetoric 101/102 sequence with tutorial; students scoring either 25 or 26 would be placed in AWP Rhetoric 103/104 without tutorial, and students scoring 27 or higher would be placed in some level of "regular" rhetoric (i.e. 105, 108, or proficiency). And, doing so, AWP would be able to serve about 280 students per year with tutorials, and about 244 more per year without tutorials (Simutis 1).

After the implementation of these changes, we can see a fairly substantive shift in two important program demographics. First, if we look at the years immediately preceding this change in comparison to those immediately after, we see a drastic change in the ratio of minority students to white students served by the program. In the four years previous to the change, the population of minority students in EOP Rhetoric fluctuated anywhere between about 85% and about 90%; after the change, though, the program (again serving roughly the same number of students) served anywhere between

[11] Cruickshank took a one-year leave of absence to teach overseas in 1993-1994; meanwhile, Simutis developed the new program during this time.

65% and 70% (see Table 5-1 on page 215). In this way, the program was serving about 20% fewer minorities than it had in the past.

Second, if we look at the total number of slots in the program featuring guaranteed tutorial support, we find a drastic overall decrease: only 290 such slots were made available after the change, whereas the program averaged about 445 in the four years previous ("Underrepresented Reports" 1991-1994). In this sense, then, even those minorities who remained in the program had less overall opportunity for tutorial support than they had in the past: assuming roughly a 90% minority population within the program from 1991 to 1994, the program had yielded on average about 400 tutorial slots per year reserved specifically for minorities; in contrast, of the 290 slots created in 1990, only about 70% or roughly 230 would be provided to minorities.[12]

And, finally, it was clear that high scoring students from PAP were no longer participating in the program by the time it was transformed into AWP. I must note that AWP was not the cause of this decline per se, as much of this change had already happened by the late 1980s: whereas the total number of PAP students had been close to 200 in 1986, this number had dropped to about 35 in 1988-1989, and then to 10 in 1992-1993 ("EOP Rhetoric Ten-Year Enrollment History" 1). Still, the new testing-only placement mechanism adopted for AWP assured that these high-scoring students would not participate in the program in the future either: they were simply "too good" to be involved.

[12] In making this claim, I am assuming that the 101/102 and 103/104 placements would be roughly similar with respect to racial demographics.

Table 5-1

Racial/Ethnic Demographic Data for EOP Rhetoric/AWP Rhetoric, 1991-1998

Fiscal Year	# Black	# Latino	# Am. Indian/ Al. Native	# Asian Pac. Isl.	# Minority	# White	# Un-known	# Total
1991	304	119	1	21	445 (89.3%)	52 (10.4%)	1	498
1992	194	73	1	16	284 (89.3%)	31 (9.7%)	3	318
1993	279	150	2	28	459 (85.3%)	70 (13.1%)	9	538
1994	243	117	2	26	388 (90.4%)	35 (8.1%)	6	429
1995	148	87	4	50	289 (68.8%)	128 (30.4%)	3	420
1996	175	66	1	47	289 (66.4%)	140 (32.2%)	6	435
1997	N/A							
1998	141[a]	56	5	39	241 (69.4%)	106 (30.5%)	182	531

Adapted from: University of Illinois Office for Academic Policy Analysis. "Underrepresented Groups at the University of Illinois: Participation and Success" Fall 1991-Fall 1998. Available from University of Illinois Office of Planning and Budgeting.

[a] In 1998, the program began relying on instructor reports to gather racial demographics. And, because instructors in a number of sections refused to gather this data, the number of "unknown" entries radically increased. However, if we assume that the racial distributions in classes that were not reported were roughly the same as those that were reported, then rough overall percentages of minority versus white students can still be calculated.

What resulted from these English Department changes, then, was an interesting paradox. The program would still be thought of as a "minority support" mechanism: recall that all three reviews wanted to see this status maintained. However, in the process of "mainstreaming" this program, it actually came to a) serve fewer total minority

students each year while serving more total whites, to b) reduce the overall amount of tutorial support available to those who were still placed in the program, and to c) continue the exclusion of high scoring students from the program all together.[13] Ironically, then, it seems that the real winners in the "mainstreaming" of EOP Rhetoric were not the minorities who were ostensibly still served under its auspices, but rather, low-scoring whites.

Ultimately, then, I want to suggest that the through a somewhat uncritical logic of mainstreaming, the well-intentioned reform efforts of the reviews analyzed here ultimately operated to join forces with the conservative calls for program mainstreaming articulated earlier. These calls demanded the curtailing of spending on the needs of minority students, and in effect, these program reviews assure that the new AWP program delivered just this result. And, somewhat ironically, the program was finally transformed into the color-blind remedial program for which many administrators had been advocating since the mid 1970s.

Resistance: Race-Consciousness and the Director of EOP Rhetoric

As has been the case in each of the previous three body chapters of the dissertation, I want to conclude my analysis here with an example of resistance to the predominant logic of sponsorship that I have been discussing. For this purpose, I focus on the actions and arguments of Director of EOP Rhetoric Don Cruickshank, the first

[13] I recognize of course, that according to the new logic of the program, these students were excluded from the program because they never needed it in the first place: the course was "remedial" while they were not. It is important to note, though, that this sort of logic directly contrasts with that of Jeffries above in his suggestion that *all* minority students would benefit from tutorial support (and notice, he did not define such tutorial support as being "remedial" per se) to help combat systemic and institutional racism on the campus.

"permanent" Director of the program, an individual who served in this capacity for fourteen years from 1984 through 1998 (with a leave of absence from 1993-1994).

Cruickshank had been advocating in some ways for race-consciousness within the program even before the calls for mainstreaming noted above. This is apparent, for instance, within both his program descriptions and hiring descriptions. A program description that he authored sometime before 1990, for instance, suggests that

> [o]ne of the strengths of the Department of English over the years has been its commitment to cultural diversity on the Urbana-Champaign campus. One of the principal ways in which the Department demonstrates this commitment is through the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) in Rhetoric. ("The Equal Opportunities Program" 1)

The description further asserts that "EOP Rhetoric has been offering a comprehensive and effective approach to academic writing for academically at risk minority freshman for the past twenty years," noting that the program had originally served 500 students per year in its early days, dropped to about 270 in the early 1980s, and was again serving roughly 500 students as a function of initiatives like PAP (1).

Similarly, Cruickshank's description of teacher selection, hiring, and training in the program is also race-conscious to some extent. It begins by suggesting that the program tries to "hire those who have experience with minority students" ("To EOP Rhetoric Review Committees" 1), and particularly those who possess "[s]ensitivity to and awareness of issues involving minority students on this campus, including an appreciation of the cultural diversity mission of the program" (1). It further suggests that this experience and awareness on the part of teachers needs to translate into pedagogy

and teaching practice as well, as candidates ought to possess an "orientation toward writing problems on the part of minority students which allows the candidate to understand EOP students' problems as language use problems not as social or mental problems" (1). Importantly, the document also insists that the EOP Rhetoric program is in some sense hampered severely in its efforts to recruit minority teachers by the overall lack of diversity within the English Department graduate program. It notes, for instance, that "the English Department has only 3 African American grad students: 2 are on fellowships and one is teaching literature. The only U.S. Hispanic grad student teaches in EOP Rhet but she is returning to Puerto Rico in the summer" (2). Finally, the document notes that one important part of teacher training is a visit from representatives of the Office of Minority Student Affairs concerning "racism and the life of minority students on this campus" (2).

In both documents authored by Cruickshank, then, we can see the minority support focus of the program described quite openly. The first insists that EOP Rhetoric has been part of an explicit "cultural diversity" mission within the English Department and the larger campus that has been on-going for twenty years. The second insists that program staffing and teaching have been theorized in such a way that "race mattered" both in terms of teacher preparation and the availability of minority teachers to serve as role models for students in the program.

It is also crucial to note that after the reviews described above were called for by Berdahl in 1990, this sort of race-consciousness seemed to prompt Cruickshank to be somewhat skeptical of the mainstreaming logic invoked by the review committees (including the English Department Review Committee of which he himself was a part).

In an interview conducted during his last year as official Director of AWP in 1998, Cruickshank insisted that although some of the review activities were useful for the program, he was worried about the fact that "the program [was to become] no longer officially by statute, on the books, a safety net program for minority students" and worried that as a result "we'll suffer the budget axe cuts the next time they come from Springfield" (Personal Interview [1 November 1998]). He further suggests that he went

> all around trying to talk to all the people in the power structure whom I though would be friendly to this argument, that they should be very careful to make sure that if the program is changed, or when the program is changed, that it should be kept a safety net program for minority students. They decided not to do that, I'm sorry to say. Many people thought that it would [remain minority support program] de facto anyway. (n. pag.)

The biggest problem with such a line of thinking, he suggests, was that such assumptions about de facto support might not pan out in reality, they might "suffer the budget axe" in such a way that lead to the reduction of the program (n.pag.). I must mention that Cruickshank did not see program integration itself as necessarily a bad thing: indeed, as he suggested, one of the things that he especially liked about the new program at present was that "we've got white kids, we've got Black kids, we've got a variety of Asian and South Asian Americans. [In] my 103 class I think that I've got about four members of each groups, its just an amazing division" (n.pag.). The problem seemed to be, rather, that this sort of racial mainstreaming would serve to weaken the institutional structure and support available for the program, making it more vulnerable to future attack.

Ultimately, Cruickshank was not able to convince his peers in the English Review Committee that the program should remain an official minority support mechanism. However, he did manage to retain, at least during his tenure as Director, a race-conscious perspective on his own activities. He suggested, for instance, that he found it especially important to keep close ties with OMSA, especially after the changeover to the new AWP course structure.

> I made it a point to make sure that [EOP] was involved in the program…it just seemed that since students were brought to the campus by their office, most of them, that the students were supported on campus by their office, and that many of them has their financial aid packages run through that office as well…I felt that it was natural that we should cooperate closely with them. (Personal Interview [30 May 2002])

And, it seems that Dean of OMSA Michael Jeffries agreed, suggesting that during Cruickshank's tenure

> we had ongoing professional meetings and social things, like a couple of times a month, our staffs went to happy hour. We were passing pitchers of beer and pizza around on one end, and Don was a regular member at our staff meetings and advising meetings for us on the other. So, we knew exactly what was going on. (Jeffries, Personal Interview [27 March 2002])

It is ultimately in such ways, I think, that Cruickshank operated to resist the larger logic of mainstreaming in the air at that time, even after the changeover to AWP. Importantly, though, as I will suggest in my brief epilogue, this legacy of race-conscious resistance may well be wearing thin in some ways in his absence.

Epilogue: The Present State of AWP

Since its implementation in 1994, AWP has continued to operate as both a "basic writing" program on the Illinois campus as well as a de facto minority support mechanism. And, because it has carried on at least some of the original activities of the EOP Rhetoric program, it seems useful to offer a brief discussion of its logic of sponsorship in wrapping up this chapter.

As noted earlier in the chapter, once EOP Rhetoric was transformed into AWP Rhetoric, the program was radically redefined. Whereas for the previous 25 years, the program had been defined first and foremost as a literacy learning support mechanism for minority students, particularly those at "high risk," it was now redefined first and foremost as a literacy learning support mechanism for "high risk" students, whether minority or otherwise. The present AWP website insists, for instance, that the program "provides an intensive learning environment for students who can be expected to benefit from a two-semester sequence of Rhetoric classes designed to assist them in developing their academic writing skills" (n. pag.). Furthermore, it insists that "all freshmen admitted to the University in need of the two semester writing sequence are part of the program" (n. pag.). The site does imply that there is a high degree of diversity within the program, as

> the students in AWP are largely freshmen from the State of Illinois who represent a wide range of personal, ethnic, social, and regional backgrounds...AWP has always been the leading teaching program on this campus contributing to the cultural diversity of the student body. (n. pag.)

Yet, in doing so, it makes no reference to issues of race at all.

At the same time, though, it must be noted that the AWP program has seemed to maintain the same level of de facto minority support that it assumed in 1994-1995. Since this time, the program has steadily supported about 70% minority and 30% white students (as indicated in Table 5-2 on page 223). Rhetoric and Director of AWP Peter Mortensen[14] suggests in fact, that,

> even now, in the midst of a budget crisis, it's the expressed commitment of the college and the campus to offer a sufficient number of seats for students who...are placed into whatever comp course they are placed into. So, if we need three more sections of Rhet 101 [the lowest- level AWP section], theoretically, right now I could pick up the phone and get authorization for that, and we could staff them and put students in them. (Personal Interview [7 May 2002])

At the same time, though, the last ten years have seen some erosion of this minority support mission as well, as least in terms of the institutional structure. Michael Jeffries, for instance, suggests that while there has not been an official distancing of the AWP program from OMSA or EOP, there has been less informal contact in many ways. He laments in particular that "there's been a kind of disconnect since Don left" (Personal Interview [27 March 2002]).

[14] In 1998 with the departure of Donald Cruickshank from the program, the Director of AWP position was absorbed into the larger Director of Rhetoric position. To assist with the day-to-day tasks associated with this big position, an Assistant Director of AWP Rhetoric was created, and has been staffed by graduate students on a rotating basis.

Table 5-2

Racial/Ethnic Demographic Data for AWP Rhetoric, 1999-2003

Fiscal Year	# Black	# Latino	# Am. Indian/ Al. Native	# Asian Pac. Isl.	# Minority	# White	# Un-known	# Total
1999	N/A							
2000[a]	148	60	49	4	261 (69.6%)	114 (30.4%)	54	429
2001	125	40	43	0	208 (73.4%)	75 (26.5%)	130	413
2002[b]	125	40	43	0	208 (73.4%)	75 (26.5%)	130	413
2003	114	46	41	0	201 (68.4%)	93 (31.6%)	165	460

Adapted from: University of Illinois Office for Academic Policy Analysis. "Underrepresented Groups at the University of Illinois: Participation and Success" Fall 1999-Fall 2003. Available from University of Illinois Office of Planning and Budgeting.

[a] As noted in Table 5-1 above, the program began in 1998 to rely on instructor reporting of racial demographics, leading to a radical increase in the number of "unknown" entries. And, as is suggested above, the overall percentages of minority versus white students can still be calculated under these conditions.

[b]That all the data would be exactly the same for 2001 and 2002 (especially given the variation in all other years) seems unlikely. Perhaps there was some sort of typographical error or duplication in the records.

Furthermore, the fact that the AWP program has been administratively joined to the regular Rhetoric program such that Mortensen does both jobs presents challenges for the future of the program. Given the enormity of the task, this means that the graduate student Assistant Director position is de facto responsible for day-to-day life in the program. And, while I don't want to disparage the work that these Graduate Assistants

are doing (indeed, I have been in a similar position for the last five years at the writing center at Illinois), this arrangement is clearly prone to a certain degree of turnover. In this sense, administration of the program, at least on the day-to-day level looks more like it did pre-1984 when Directors and Acting Directors would rotate through the program every two or three years (see Chapter 1 for description).

And, finally, I want to suggest that, in some sense, the development of the AWP program itself has in an important sense coincided with complacency on the part of the University of Illinois with respect to diversity. Note, for instance, the increase in the percentage of Black, Hispanic, and Asian/Pacific Islander undergraduate students during the ten years before the EOP Rhetoric program was reconstituted: during this time, Black enrollment had increased roughly 3.1 percentage points, Hispanic enrollment had increased 3.5 percentage points, and Asian Pacific Islander had increased 7.4 percentage points (see Table 5-3 on page 225). In contrast, in the eight years following the transformation of EOP Rhetoric into AWP Rhetoric, the Black population at Illinois has shown no increase, the Hispanic population has increased only .6 percentage points, and the Asian/Pacific Islander population has increased only .4 percentage points (see Table 5-4 on page 226).

What these numbers suggest, I think, is that the transformation of EOP into AWP coincided with a time at which the university began to feel that it had done enough to promote minority diversity, a time in which it concluded that any sort of racism that may have clouded the university's past had since been cleared up. And, in this complacency lies difficulty, I think. If the university no longer thinks that racism is an issue, then combating racism in the future will prove increasingly difficult.

Table 5-3

UIUC Undergraduate Enrollment Percentages by Race/Ethnicity, 1984-1993

Race/ Ethnicity	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Am. Indian / Al. Native	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.1	.2	.1	.1	.2
Asian/Pac. Islander	4.9	5.5	6.0	6.9	7.8	8.5	9.7	10.5	11.3	11.9
Black	3.9	4.0	4.4	5.1	5.8	6.7	7.1	7	6.9	7.0
Hispanic	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.5	3.1	3.8	4.3	4.6	5.1	5.3
White	87.2	86.6	85.4	83.6	81.2	78.9	76.6	75.6	73.9	72.6
Inter-National	.7	.8	.8	.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.7
Unknown	1.3	1.0	1.0	.8	1.0	.9	1.0	.8	1.1	1.3

Source: University of Illinois Office for Academic Policy Analysis. "University of Illinois Student Data Book." March 1994.

I want to argue, then, that the current logic of sponsorship within the AWP program reflects a profound sense of ambiguity. And, where it will go next is uncertain as well. Will the program be affected, for instance, by recent attacks on minority recruitment and retention programs that are becoming more and more frequent within the contemporary climate? Or, will the program perhaps weather these attacks because it is not an "official" minority support program to begin with? I will offer some comments more substantive comments toward these ends in the conclusion to the dissertation as well in Appendix C; for now, suffice it to say that program sponsorship is in some ways even more complex than it was ten years ago.

Table 5-4

UIUC Undergraduate Enrollment Percentages by Race/Ethnicity, 1994-2002

Race/ Ethnicity	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Am. Indian / AL Native	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2
Asian/Pac. Islander	12.6	12.6	12.6	12.7	13.0	12.9	13.2	13.1	13.0
Black	7.0	7.0	7.1	7.3	7.3	7.3	7.0	6.9	7.0
Hispanic	5.4	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.7	5.8	6.0
White	71.8	72.1	71.7	71.2	70.7	70.8	70.1	69.4	68.8
Inter-National	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.9	2.3	3.1	3.4
Unknown	1.4	1.0	.8	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5

Source: University of Illinois Office for Academic Policy Analysis. "University of Illinois Student Data Book." January 2003.

Chapter 6—Conclusion

Racialized Sponsorship and Institutional Dynamics: Lessons from EOP Rhetoric

This dissertation has attempted to understand the ways in which the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, a program ostensibly designed to make profound changes to the racial, linguistic, and institutional status quo, ultimately served to reify and promote business-as-usual on campus. To this end, it has analyzed the dynamics of program sponsorship across four major eras: the "racial crisis" era of the late 1960s, the "literacy crisis" era of the mid 1970s, the post-*Bakke* era of "institutional interest convergence" during the early and mid 1980s, and the "mainstreaming" era of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Summary of Major Findings

Three facets of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship seem particularly worthy of review and discussion in this conclusion: the pervasiveness of racism within the macro- and micro-ideologies surrounding EOP Rhetoric, institutional conservatism within this University of Illinois context itself, and various attempts at resistance during the history of the program.

The Pervasiveness of Racism at Macro- and Micro- Levels

To begin, it is clear that a majority of the macro-level and micro-level ideologies concerning language and literacy surrounding the development and evolution of EOP Rhetoric at Illinois were either explicitly or implicitly racist. Consider first the various

macro-level disciplinary ideologies that undergirded high risk programs and other "compensatory" education programs as discussed throughout this dissertation:

-Chapter 2 outlines the tenets of bidialecticalism and other conservative language ideologies that arose in response to the racial crisis of the middle and late 1960s; in doing so, it highlights the ways in which these ideologies served to uphold quo relationships between race, language, and power under the guise of helping students to grapple with the "realities" of social life.

-Chapter 3 discusses the widespread embrace of supposedly color-blind language and literacy ideologies by theorists and teachers during the literacy crisis era of the mid-1970s, highlighting ties between these ideologies and larger mainstream desires to discredit both progressive educational thinking in general and race-conscious education thinking in particular.

-Chapter 4 outlines the subtle reification of the language practices of the white mainstream during the era of institutional interest convergence, particularly as institutions sought to reify and valorize their own versions of "standards" in the post-*Bakke* era.

-Chapter 5 describes the ways in which purportedly reformist "mainstreaming" ideologies that advocated for programmatic color-blindness ultimately ignored connections between race, racism, language, and literacy to an alarming extent.

Consider as well the uptake of these racist ideologies on a micro-level as illustrated throughout the dissertation:

-Chapter 2 notes that, in the era of racial crisis, powerful administrators and professors like Dwight Flanders and Richard Spencer of the SCSE became staunch advocates of a conservative bidialectical/eradicationist stance toward student language use, one that they felt was in keeping with what students truly needed: exposure to the tenets of "standard" English of the white mainstream.

-Chapter 3 demonstrates that, in the era of racial crisis, Directors of EOP Rhetoric Virginia Oram and Ella DeVries both seemed quite adamant about accepting the tenets of literacy crisis, including its admonition that white mainstream views of "correctness" should be the primary goal of writing instruction, regardless of students' racial backgrounds or language skills.

-Chapter 4 demonstrates that, in the post-*Bakke* era, key administrators like Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Roger Martin, English Department Head Keneth Kinnamon, Director of Rhetoric R. Baird Shuman, and a number of others felt compelled to champion the supposed race-based affirmative action legacy of EOP Rhetoric, yet never felt the need to interrogate its relationship to "merit," "standards," or the ideologies of language and literacy that they promoted.

-Chapter 5 demonstrates that the many seemingly progressive administrators operating in the "mainstreaming" era, including members of the external, internal, and English department review committees, felt that the only way to rectify the problems that they identified within the context of the EOP Rhetoric program was to jettison any focus on connections between race,

language, and literacy, thereby introducing a level of program color-blindness unprecedented within program history.

One striking aspect of these ideologies is their ubiquity: indeed, all eras and levels of sponsorship featured one such ideology or another as a guiding principle. In this sense, racism was a profound and fundamental influence upon the development of the EOP Rhetoric program, much more than might be expected within a program ostensibly designed to combat racism. Another striking aspect of these ideologies is their hegemonic power: throughout the history discussed here, we see claims at both macro- and micro- levels that such ideologies will promote student "survival"; that they will help students to enter the mainstream via the "front door"; that they will insure that students avoid "errors"; and, that they will help students avoid being "stigmatized" by their race. In effect, these ideologies claimed to be working in the best interests of students even as they were reifying racism and its effects at a fundamental level.

Of course, I do not mean to conclude that such conservative macro- and micro-disciplinary ideologies were the only ones to surface during the history that I investigate. As I have tried to suggest throughout the course of the dissertation, each era did feature alternative and progressive ideologies of language learning: the more "respect"-oriented positions of the racial crisis era (e.g. Hammerschlag's view, the EEL's view, etc.) serve as one example of this, while the more race-conscious positions of later eras serve as another (e.g. Morris' view, Crismore's view, Cruickshank's view, etc.). Furthermore, each era also featured individuals committed to enacting these sorts of alternative ideologies at an institutional level, as I will describe in some detail when I discuss examples of resistance below. Crucially, though, these alternative ideologies were never

fully embraced by the mainstream society in general nor by mainstream administrators at Illinois during these periods. And, at least part of the reason lies in the conservative nature of the institutional context at Illinois itself, a topic that I will discuss in some detail in the next section.

Institutional Conservatism and the Adoption of Racism

A second dynamic of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship that seems essential to point out within this conclusion is the institutional conservatism of the University of Illinois itself, a conservatism that was manifest on at least two important levels. First, Illinois displayed a strong unwillingness to reconsider its traditional definitions of "standards" for language and literacy instruction throughout the history of the EOP Rhetoric program; second, it displayed an unwillingness to view the EOP Rhetoric program as a permanent programmatic entity worthy of institutional support. These two strains of conservatism combined to create a context in which the kinds of racist macro- and micro- ideologies of language and literacy mentioned above could easily take root.

Evidence of Illinois' consistent emphasis on conservative "standards" within the context of language and literacy instruction is present in all chapters of this dissertation:

-Chapter 2, for instance, illustrates the degree to which Illinois' long-standing concerns about students' abilities to meet or exceed language and literacy "standards"—middle class views of "correctness" and "propriety" for the most part—resulted in the creation and maintenance of the SCSE; it further notes how these concerns within the SCSE itself were central to its own administration of the Writing Lab context.

-Chapter 3 illustrates how English Department fears about students' language "standards" lead it to adopt wholeheartedly the literacy crisis mentality within the context of the EOP Rhetoric program, a mentality in which students' abilities to produce "correct" English became the primary objective of language and literacy instruction.

-Chapter 4 illustrates the way in which the institution relied quite overtly on traditional notions of "standards" and "excellence"—ACT scores, institutional prestige, and the like—in its defense of the EOP Rhetoric program from IBHE attack, further reifying the program's emphasis on linguistic "standards" and "correctness" in the process.

-Chapter 5 illustrates Illinois' insistence that placement within the EOP Rhetoric program be reconfigured entirely according to students' scores on "standard" language and literacy assessment tools (i.e. ACT scores, placement exams), no longer with any regard for students' racial backgrounds or experiences.

As evidenced by each of these chapters, then, Illinois never demonstrated a true commitment to interrogating or problematizing notions of "standards" as they related to issues of language and literacy instruction during the history of the program.

In turn, there is ample evidence throughout the dissertation that EOP Rhetoric was never truly viewed as a permanent program worthy of full institutional support. Most obvious in this regard, perhaps, was the fact that the program was constantly struggling to obtain funds, especially permanent ones:

-Chapter 2 shows how SCSE involvement in the Writing Lab was necessitated by the need for nearly $100K in funds to support one-on-one and small-group tutoring activities.

-Chapter 4 chronicles the difficulties that the English Department experienced in its attempts to obtain permanent funds for a full-time Director of the program.

-Chapter 5 demonstrates how profound budget concerns lead to the fundamental restructuring of the EOP Rhetoric program as a color-blind remedial operation.

And, certainly related to this fiscal uncertainty was both a high degree of Director turnover as well as a general uncertainty about the future of the program. Indeed, as Susan Peck MacDonald notes (see Chapter 4), these budget problems made Directors question the goals, practices, and long-term future of the program on a regular basis, thereby creating an overall sense of uneasiness and uncertainty regarding the program.

Ultimately, I want to suggest that these two major conservative institutional dynamics worked in tandem (at least throughout most of the history of the program) to promote the kinds of macro- and micro- level ideologies of racism that I identify above. Certainly, Illinois' longstanding institutional insistence that there were clear-cut "standards" for language and literacy learning—a clear division between those who were and were not literate—fit well with both the bidialectical theories of the racial crisis era and with more color-blind ideologies within later program eras. After all, these various racist ideologies themselves argued that there was a "right" way to conceptualize language and literacy learning just as Illinois had been doing for years; they simply added

in one sense or another that this "right" way was also a "white" way. In turn, Illinois' conservatism with respect to program support assured, I would argue, that these sorts of ideologies and practices would be more likely to survive than newer and/or more radical ones: after all, status quo-affirming ideologies and practices like those above would require relatively minimal effort on the part of temporary (and somewhat marginalized) administrators to maintain, whereas new and/or more radical ideologies would require consistent and progressive leadership as well as plenty of material support in order to take root in any substantive way. Together, these two forces served to effectively transform such racist macro- and micro- ideologies into the official institutional ideology of the EOP Rhetoric program.

Again, this is not to suggest that such institutional conservatism was the only dynamic at work throughout program history. Recall, for instance, that in the earliest days of the program the Spencer Report suggested that institutional "standards" for at least some dimensions of minority support would need to be changed (though, as I note, its approach to language and literacy instruction was not one of them) if EOP was to be successful: indeed, without at least some changes, EOP students would never have been let into the university in the first place. Recall, too, that on a material level, the campus did support a permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric from 1984-1998, a period coinciding with at least some consistent level of race-consciousness within the program under his tenure.[1] Still, conservatism seemed to be the institutional rule across the history of EOP Rhetoric, while periods of greater progressivism seemed to be much more the institutional exception.

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[1]I realize of course that the demise of the original EOP program also came during Cruickshank's tenure as Director. However, as I note above, some level of race-consciousness was retained by Cruickshank even after this official change to the AWP program.

Dynamics of Resistance

A third aspect of sponsorship within the context of EOP Rhetoric worthy of discussion in this conclusion is resistance. Though I spend the majority of each chapter discussing the racist dynamics of program sponsorship and their effects, important examples of resistance to this sponsorship are noted as well:

-Chapter 2 discusses the refusal of Writing Lab Co-Director Dorie Hammerschlag to adopt remedial and bidialectical approaches to teaching EOP students; it also mentions the ways in which her staff seemed to follow her lead by mounting their own resistance to such approaches. It further outlines the ways in which the race-conscious EEL program successfully maneuvered to gain race-conscious control over the EOP Writing Lab in ways that counteracted the racist sponsorship evident in the early days of the program.

-Chapter 3 discusses the ways in which Dean of EOP Ernest Morris sought to make his dissatisfaction with literacy crisis-era thinking known to both the English Department and the larger campus, even in the face of campus-wide pressures at the time to be colorblind with respect to issues of language and literacy.

-Chapter 4 highlights the ways in which, as a function of newly re-racialized post-*Bakke* program discourses, Acting Director of EOP Rhetoric Avon Crismore worked to assure some level of race-consciousness within the hiring of the program's first full-time Director, and worked as well to rebuild ties between the EOP Rhetoric program and the larger EOP program.

-Chapter 5 highlights the ways in which EOP Director Don Cruickshank fought to retain some degree of race consciousness within both the EOP Rhetoric program and the officially color-blind AWP Rhetoric program as well.

Each of these examples demonstrates on a general level that resistance was indeed possible within the context of EOP Rhetoric, despite the larger framework of racist literacy sponsorship operating more generally. Each further illustrates that there were at least two key conditions that promoted change and reform: a clear sense of race-consciousness on the part of the administrators/teachers involved in resistance, and a clear awareness of the institutional level at which such race-consciousness might be implemented.

Consider, for instance, Hammerschlag's activities. She first attempted to resist the dominant mode of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship by openly contesting racist program definitions, resistance exemplified in her letter to Flanders and the SCSE. However, even when her protests were initially ignored at this level, Hammerschlag still sought to resist within the institutional context over which she had the most control: namely, the Lab itself. In this sense, Hammerschlag managed to both identify the sources of racism within the program as she saw them and to implement some degree of resistance at the highest institutional level possible.

Consider next the resistance enacted by the EEL in the context of the Writing Lab. EEL control of the Lab was initiated through race-conscious critique as articulated within its own mission statements of Illinois' general "remedial" approach to dealing with students' racial and cultural differences as well with the SCSE's specific handling of such issues in the context of the Writing Lab. The EEL then operated to implement its

own conceptions of Lab as the new primary administrators of the program (an implementation no doubt aided by the fact that it had a significant amount of grant money with which to assume this responsibility). In this way, the EEL helped the Writing Lab to develop and implement race-conscious writing instruction for a number of years, at least until the new challenges of literacy crisis arose in 1974 and 1975.

Finally, consider the kind of resistance in which EOP Rhetoric Director Don Cruickshank engaged throughout his tenure as the only permanent Director within program history. First, he engaged in race-conscious debate with his colleagues both before and after the "mainstreaming" era, attempting to insure that some level of race-consciousness was retained for both ideological and pragmatic reasons. And, though his protests were ultimately ignored at some level, he too sought to implement resistance at whatever level he could, maintaining race-consciousness within his program philosophies, hiring practices, and his interactions with other institutional entities, even after the official transformation of EOP into AWP in 1994.

As I outline these examples of resistance, I must reiterate the fact that they did not fully counteract the operation of racist sponsorship models or their effects. At best, they offered partial relief from these larger dynamics. Still, their very presence reminds both that even the most oppressive examples of literacy sponsorship could be resisted, and further illustrates some of the ways in which this could take place. In this sense, as problematic as sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric could be, it did at times serve as a context in which change of the sort that the program originally promised could be delivered.

Conclusions: EOP Rhetoric as Institutional Paradox

I think that these various dynamics of EOP Rhetoric sponsorship point to the fundamental difficulty of assessing the legacy of the program. On one hand, these dynamics demonstrate that EOP Rhetoric did not undo the white power and privilege that was embedded in the ideologies, practices, or structures of language and literacy instruction at Illinois; if anything, they underscore the fact that the program did not ever truly mount a consistent challenge to these dynamics. For this reason, I think it fair to conclude that EOP Rhetoric sponsorship largely failed to deliver the sort of widespread change that it promised at its inception during the late 1960s. Even as I make this argument, though, I recognize that the dynamics of sponsorship within EOP Rhetoric did serve to promote a number of individual instances of both resistance and change across the history of the program; in this sense, it was at least a site of potential reform. In some ways, then, having EOP Rhetoric program on campus—even with its flaws—was certainly better than not having the EOP Rhetoric program on campus at all.

For these reasons, I want to suggest that the legacy of the EOP Rhetoric program has been one of fundamental paradox: one of white self-interest and status quo preservation on the one hand, yet one of potential reform and change on the other. Any other judgment made about the program utilizing more simplistic or binaristic concepts—program as "good" or "bad," program as "racist" or "non-racist," program as "progressive" or "conservative"—threatens to ignore, I think, this important complexity.

Implications for Composition Studies

Because the nature of the institution-specific analysis in which I have engaged throughout this dissertation, I do not want to claim that my findings about the sponsorship of EOP Rhetoric at Illinois automatically or immediately translate to other contexts, historical periods, or varieties of programs. My expressed aim here was to be specific about how various macro- and micro- forces converged upon one specific context at one specific time, not to engage in research that could be fully generalizable across other contexts. At the same time, though, I do think that my project does touch upon a number of issues that are at least potentially valuable to the larger field in ways that I will outline below.

Racism and the History of High Risk Writing Instruction

One of the first major implications of the work presented here for the field more generally is the idea that white racism has been a profound force driving the development, evolution, and implementation of high risk writing instruction programs. Indeed, as I have reiterated, racism dominated macro- and micro-level ideologies of language and literacy instruction as they were theorized both nationally and locally during the time in which EOP Rhetoric operated, and they dominated as well the ways in which these ideologies were translated into institutional practice within the context of EOP Rhetoric itself.

What these observations underscore, I think, is the fact that race-consciousness is essential to our understanding of the evolution of composition programs in general and the evolution of high risk composition programs in particular. Indeed, if we seek to

understand as fully as possible how and why our field has grown, then racism must "matter" at a profound level: we simply cannot rely on traditional liberal assumptions that racism has been an aberration in an otherwise healthy program evolution, nor can we suggest that racism has simply been a manifestation of some other more fundamental social problem—class discrimination, gender inequality, economic inequality, etc. Viewing composition history in either of these ways ultimately runs the risk of either ignoring issues of race and racism entirely as they have shaped the field, or just as problematically, of utilizing a partial view of the field to offer "solutions" to the problems of racism that actually serve to reify existing racial power relations (see, for instance, my discussion of potential problems arising from Brandt's "civil rights" recommendations in Chapter 1).

I realize that, in many ways, that this claim about the primacy of race is not new. Indeed, it echoes at some level much of the theoretical work that I present in the introduction to the dissertation; including the general calls for race-consciousness of Crenshaw and Bell as well as the newer strains of composition work developed by Gilyard, Villanueva, Smitherman, Prendergast, Bruch and Marbach, and many others. Yet, as it does so, this claim underscores the fact that at least one important body of work within composition studies has not yet fully engaged with issues of race in a fundamental way: work theorizing the history and evolution of composition programs in general and high risk composition programs in particular.

In general, well-known accounts of composition history like James Berlin's *Rhetoric and Reality* and Susan Miller's *Textual Carnivals* employ an almost exclusively class-analytic lens to tell the tale of composition history and evolution. Berlin argues, for

instance, that the history of composition as a discipline lies in attempts to assure that "the new open university would not become too open, allowing the new immigrants for example, to earn degrees in science or mathematics without demonstrating by their use of language that they belonged in the middle class" (23). Miller similarly insists that composition emerged as a program for "checking newly-admitted lower-class students to see how clean behind the ears their grammar and mechanics were" (31-32). In turn, accounts of high risk and other remedial writing instruction programs have tended to adopt a similar class-analytical approach. Andrea Lunsford's piece "Politics and Practices in Basic Writing" for instance, asserts that the contemporary basic writing movement has served to promote class regulation, noting its function in the acclimation of waves of lower-class populations into the mainstream (250). Ira Shor makes this sort of argument more directly, suggesting that composition has always served to promote "containment, control, and capital growth" (92), and that high risk programs like basic writing have simply "added an extra sorting-out gate in front of the comp gate, a curricular mechanism to secure unequal power relations in yet another age of instability, the protest years of the 1960s and after" (92).

What my own work here suggests is that while issues of class and class-based subjugation may well be important to the history of high risk writing instruction, issues of race and racism are clearly fundamental as well. In fact, they may be so fundamental as to be a primary driving force behind the development and evolution of these types of programs, particularly since the desegregation of higher education in the 1960s. Indeed, as my research demonstrates, the ideologies of language and literacy utilized both nationally, locally, and institutionally seemed to share a common conviction that "white"

was "right," a conviction operating independently from concerns about class. Unfortunately, though, the historical accounts mentioned above largely fail to recognize this, either ignoring issues of race and racism outright (see, for instance, Parks' critique in *Class Politics* of Berlin's work), or subsuming them entirely under a broader umbrella of class and economic analysis (see my critique of Shor's work in "Basic Writing, CUNY, and Mainstreaming").

Ultimately, then, much work remains to be done in "racializing" the narratives that we compose about our own field. Indeed, as Royster and Williams insist, the field needs to examine its own "narratives and the metaphors that [it uses] to talk about or not talk about members of historically oppressed groups" (580) precisely because "these official narratives have social, political, and cultural consequences, a situation that is exacerbated by the ways in which the officializing process itself grants privilege to the primacy to texts" (580). The degree to which racism is present at virtually all levels of the EOP Rhetoric context that I analyze here suggests that wider analysis of the pervasiveness, functions, and effects of racism within composition in general and high risk composition in particular is still warranted. Such analysis stands to shed important new light upon dynamics that we do not yet understand.

Of course, I do not claim that my own work here offers a comprehensive account of such history. My study of sponsorship across the history of one institutional context does constitute a racialized history of the high risk movement in general nor of composition as a field. However, I do think that some of the fundamental questions that my work raises points toward issues that such a comprehensive account might need to grapple with:

-Under what cultural, social, and racial conditions has composition been sponsored throughout the history of higher education in the U.S.?

-What ideologies of language and literacy have been developed under the auspices of such sponsorship, and what have their effects been? In what ways have they promoted the racial status quo? Under what conditions have they resisted, interrogated, or even reformed this status quo?

-What do these dynamics of race-based sponsorship add to our overall knowledge of the development and evolution of composition (and of language and literacy programs more generally)?

Grappling with these kinds of questions, I would argue, can help to "racialize" our understanding of the field to a degree that has not yet been achieved, thereby offering us key insight into our own growth and evolution.

Racism and the Dynamics of Institutional Conservatism

In summing up his thoughts on the possibility for institutional change as embodied within the high risk movement in a general sense, John Egerton offers the following opinion:

> [u]niversities, despite popular sentiment to the contrary, are conservative institutions; the process of change in them is sometimes glacially slow, and many of them have not yet demonstrated either the skill or the determination to educate students—whatever their race—who differ markedly from the middle-class students they are accustomed to having. (*State Universities* 94)

I contend that my dissertation serves, at least at some level, to illustrate how this general dynamic as identified by Egerton operates within the context of high risk writing instruction more directly. As I point out above, the institutional context at Illinois was particularly conservative on at least two levels: in its relationship to "standards" and its general lack of material support for the program. Furthermore, as I contend above, these two dynamics worked in tandem to promote the institutionalization of racist ideologies of language and literacy, and hence the institutional status quo itself.

In making these claims, I echo in some ways a number of contemporary texts that discuss the relationship between racism and institutional dynamics. Tom Fox mentions in a general sense that institutional refusal to interrogate notions of "standards" and their ideological underpinnings within such high risk programs can lead to "obscuring and underestimating the powerful forces of racism, sexism, elitism, and heterosexism that continue to operate despite students' mastery of standards" (6). In turn, Anne DiPardo fleshes out this type of claim in more detail. DiPardo notes, for instance, that many program administrators in the context that she studied were "torn between their support for educational equity and their desire to maintain acceptable academic standards" (41) in ways that undermined the effectiveness of the writing program itself. She finds too that many administrators and teachers felt that students who were not doing well were entirely responsible for their own failures, not victims of an inhospitable academic and racial climate (42). What DiPardo illustrates with these findings is the fact that traditional notions of "standards" can serve to perpetuate racist views of language and literacy that undercut the effectiveness of high risk programs.

In turn, both Mary Soliday and Bruce Horner have suggested that the material conditions surrounding high risk programs can have a direct impact upon their capacity to engage in effective race-conscious writing instruction as well. Soliday argues, for example, that "pervasive racism, the defunding of [high risk programs like the one at CUNY], and students' ongoing struggles to pay for their education" (70) each threaten to undermine the viability of high risk writing programs. In turn, Horner notes that some programs have actually accepted their substandard material conditions in ways that further marginalize their already limited ability to promote long-term change. As he insists, programs and their pedagogies "labeled 'effective' at producing results within the constraints of degrading material conditions work...to legitimize those conditions—conditions of 'crisis' that seem somehow never to be relieved" (27). What these text reiterate is the fact that high risk endeavors exist within a material context that largely threatens to undermine rather than promote their successful operation.

At a basic level, then, my claims about conservative institutional dynamics and their role in promoting racism at an institutional level echo the kind of work mentioned above. However, I would suggest my work extends the scope of these claims in some sense as well. As I suggest in Chapter 1, none of the texts mentioned above is focused specifically upon the institutional dynamics of high risk writing programs; rather, each addresses such dynamics in the context of some other sort of work. And, as a result, I would argue that they cannot go into as much detail as my work here affords. As a function of my institutional approach, I have been able to map these conservative dynamics across four distinct eras in "high risk" program history; I have been able to illustrate their interactions with macro- and micro- ideologies of language and literacy

learning in each era; I have been able to demonstrate what their institutional effects have been as well as how they have been resisted.[2] In short, by virtue of my overtly institutional focus, I have been able to be at least somewhat more specific about when, how, and (hopefully) why these institutional dynamics operated as they did.

This is not to suggest that my project offers an exhaustive account of such dynamics. I cannot assume, for instance, that I have uncovered all of the institutional dynamics that lead to the propagation of racist literacy sponsorship; much more work needs to be done in this regard before any detailed conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, I cannot assume all campuses employed institutional conservatism in exactly the same ways that Illinois did; indeed, my work here within one campus context is far too limited to make such generalization. In order to understand such institutional dynamics on a more general level, then, much more analysis needs to be conducted, analysis that seeks to engage with the following kinds of questions:

-What other dimensions of institutional conservatism aside from views of "standards" and lack of institutional support might prompt the adopting of racist ideologies of language and literacy instruction as noted here? What insight do these other dynamics give us into the larger project of sponsorship?

-Which of these dynamics of institutional conservatism are common across institutions and institutional types? Which of these dynamics are not? Why?

-What other types of institutions have been either more or less conservative in their dealings with high risk programs? If so, what can be learned from them?

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[2]I will explore this dynamic of resistance in much more detail in the next section.

Grappling with these questions can provide, I would argue, a more complete picture of institutional dynamics that I have been able to present here.

Dynamics of Resistance and Reform

A third key point made within my study of EOP Rhetoric at Illinois that I think is potentially useful to the field as a whole has to do with the dynamics of resistance within high risk writing instruction programs. As I note above, this dissertation illustrates that such resistance is possible within the context of such programs; furthermore, it illustrates that such resistance is most likely to succeed when administrators are both race-conscious in their analysis of institutional conditions and institutionally-savvy about the degree to which they might seek to enact such resistance.

In a general sense, my findings echo Brandt's own observations about the dynamics of literacy sponsorship. Brandt insists (as I note in Chapter 1) that the priorities of the sponsor and those of the sponsee need not necessarily match: sponsees may well resist and even reappropriate the terms and conditions of sponsorship in certain ways. And, this is no small point. We ought to keep in mind that, regardless of how oppressive a particular literacy sponsorship arrangement might be, resistance is always at least a possibility.

At the same time, though, I think that my dissertation also adds to Brandt's claim by illustrating the fact that particular beliefs about race and racism can form a distinct foundation from which to mount such resistance to oppressive literacy sponsorship arrangements. Indeed, as I discuss in Chapter 1, Brandt seems genuinely baffled by the ability of nineteenth-century African Americans to foster and promote literacy learning

activities (themselves a kind of resistance to larger frameworks of white literacy sponsorship that excluded blacks entirely) in the almost complete absence of economic resources; such successful resistance in the face of such difficult odds is simply not predicted by her economic model of sponsorship. What my dissertation demonstrates, I would argue, is that a belief about the need for racial equality and racial justice (in tandem, of course, with a concurrent belief that language and literacy instruction plays an important role in fostering such justice) can serve in and of itself as the basis for successful resistance. Indeed, EOP Rhetoric serves as proof that a program that was perpetually dismissed, degraded, and defunded could nonetheless serve at certain times and in certain contexts as a site of resistance, reform, and change. In this way, my work demonstrates that resistance to literacy sponsorship can be racialized—indeed must be racialized at times—if it is to be successful in the long term.

Ultimately, I want to go so far as to suggest that the dynamics of resistance identified here represent the manifestation of what Bell calls "racial realism" (see Chapter 1) in the context of composition programs. As the dissertation demonstrates, successful institutional resistance and reform at Illinois was enacted through both an open recognition of racism within the context of writing instruction as well as a willingness to promote and institutionalize such critique at whatever institutional level possible. The former, I would argue, is akin to Bell's admonition that racial reformers work to identify the power of racism as a "hard-to-accept fact that all of history verifies"; in turn, the latter seems akin to Bell's demands that such knowledge be utilized as part of a move to "imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph"

("Racial Realism" 306). In this sense, then, I would argue that Bell provides us with a useful framework for conceptualizing and implementing composition reform.

Of course, much more work remains to be done in this area to account more fully for the dynamics of "racial realist" resistance activities. First, I would argue we need to discern much more precisely what such dynamics of resistance look like as well as what their institutional manifestations can be. Some of these dynamics might be revealed through the types of questions asked in the preceding section concerning institutional dynamics more generally; however, other useful questions more specific to resistance might include the following:

-What are other components of successful resistance aside from race-consciousness and institutional savvy? How do they function?

-When, where, and why do administrators choose to engage in such resistance? How do they view their own actions? What advice do they have for others interested in resistance?

-How can the questions above lead us to a more comprehensive theory of resistance within the field of composition?

Plans for Future Program Reform

Finally, I think that this dissertation begins to illustrate the ways in which we might begin to think more systematically about opportunities for high risk program reform. As I have suggested throughout this dissertation, one of my primary goals here has been to understand the past as a heuristic for thinking about the future—that is, to understand how a program like EOP Rhetoric has evolved such that we might more

effectively conceptualize reform and change within the context of similar programs in the future.

In doing so, I share an interest increasingly voiced by contemporary composition scholars. I note in Chapter 1 of the dissertation, for instance, that one of the major motivations for conducting institutional research as described by Porter et al. is the facilitation of successful program reform. In turn, this motivation is expressed with increased urgency by theorists of high risk writing programs, particularly given the kinds of attacks upon such programs alluded to throughout this dissertation. Gerry McNenny suggests, for instance, that we must continue to examine "site specific configurations, including the political and economic circumstances that define the mission of the institution and the cultural, social, and intellectual situatedness of student populations" (2) if we want to promote useful future reform measures in the future. Similarly, as Terrence Collins and Kim Lynch suggest, an understanding of specific institutional contexts is crucial to the future of program reform efforts, particularly given the fact that "[o]nly local decisions will have power as we search for ways to better serve, in our various writing courses...students whose inexperience with prestige-valorized writing marks them are pariah in specific elitist colleges and universities" (74).

More specifically, though, I want to suggest that my observations about the paradox embodied by the EOP Rhetoric program, and by extension the entire high risk writing instruction movement, offer a useful starting place for considering issues of program reform and change. We as reformers simply cannot offer either blanket endorsements or blanket condemnations of particular programs; as this dissertation illustrates, a program like EOP Rhetoric is too complex for such simplistic assessments.

Instead, we need to ask focused and specific questions about the operation of race and racism within specific contexts if we want a full picture of what is taking place. The research questions guiding this dissertation (see Chapter 1) represent my own attempts to be as specific as possible about both the strengths and weaknesses of the EOP Rhetoric program over time. (I offer some brief suggestions for program reform based on these questions in Appendix C.)

I realize of course, that this admonition seems almost commonsensical: indeed, it seems that any sort of useful reform activity would seem to necessitate a careful analysis of specific institutional contexts. However, it has been common for scholars like David Bartholomae, Ira Shor, and other well-known originators of the mainstreaming argument to offer somewhat sweeping generalizations about reform without careful institution-specific consideration of these effects (I outline two important critiques of just this tendency as offered by Karen Greenberg and Deborah Mutnick in Chapter 5 of this dissertation). Thus, we need to continue to strive toward increased institutional specificity within our work as a field.

Finally, it ought to be recognized that even the best of these efforts offer no guarantee of reform. One unfortunate example of a context in which even well-conceived attempts at reform did not promote change can be found in the CUNY system. Composition theorists Mary Soliday and Barbara Gleason had been working since 1996 to implement a number of reforms within the context of their own BW program at City College in CUNY, reforms designed to help students, faculty, and administration to look more carefully at issues of language, power, and privilege (including, at times, race and racism) within first year composition. They found, however, that their careful work was

largely undermined by the decision on the part of the CUNY system in 1999 to do away with open admissions, a decision effectively barring many of the types of students that Soliday and Gleason had been serving from ever entering CUNY in the first place. As Gleason herself laments, the extensive work that she and Soliday had done was "fatally compromised by the socio-political forces that [had] gathered around the issue of remediation" (582).

Still, both Soliday and Gleason have continued to write about such reform work, emphasizing the need to keep promoting internal reform within remaining programs in ways that are highly visible to external stakeholders as well. In this sense, they insist that even if such reform work is not always successful in and of itself, it nonetheless sends an important message that issues of language, power, and privilege are worthy of notice by the larger mainstream.

Final Thoughts: Race, Racism, Sponsorship, and Resistance

I want to conclude this dissertation by reiterating the fact that I write from the middle of one of the most profound periods of challenge to affirmative action and other race-based educational reform programs within the entire post-*Brown* era. The last ten years have brought with them rollbacks in affirmative action programs, increasing insistence upon purportedly color-blind "merit" as the sole determinant of access to higher education, and perhaps most troubling of all, reductions in the number of minority students at both undergraduate and graduate levels. And, in this midst of this activity, high risk programs—programs that for better or for worse have served as institutional

sites dedicated to grappling with issues of language, literacy, race and racism for nearly 40 years—are disappearing as well.

Granted, there is certainly much within the history of the high risk writing program movement as I have represented it here that has been troubling: its consistent invocation of racist ideologies of language and literacy; its institutional conservatism as manifest on both ideological and material levels; its insistence that it has worked to promote students' "best interests" when it has quite often done just the opposite. Given these problems, then, it may seem that the disappearance of high risk programs is a good thing, the extinction of a "dinosaur" of a program that never really did change the racial and institutional status quo in the ways that it ostensibly promised.

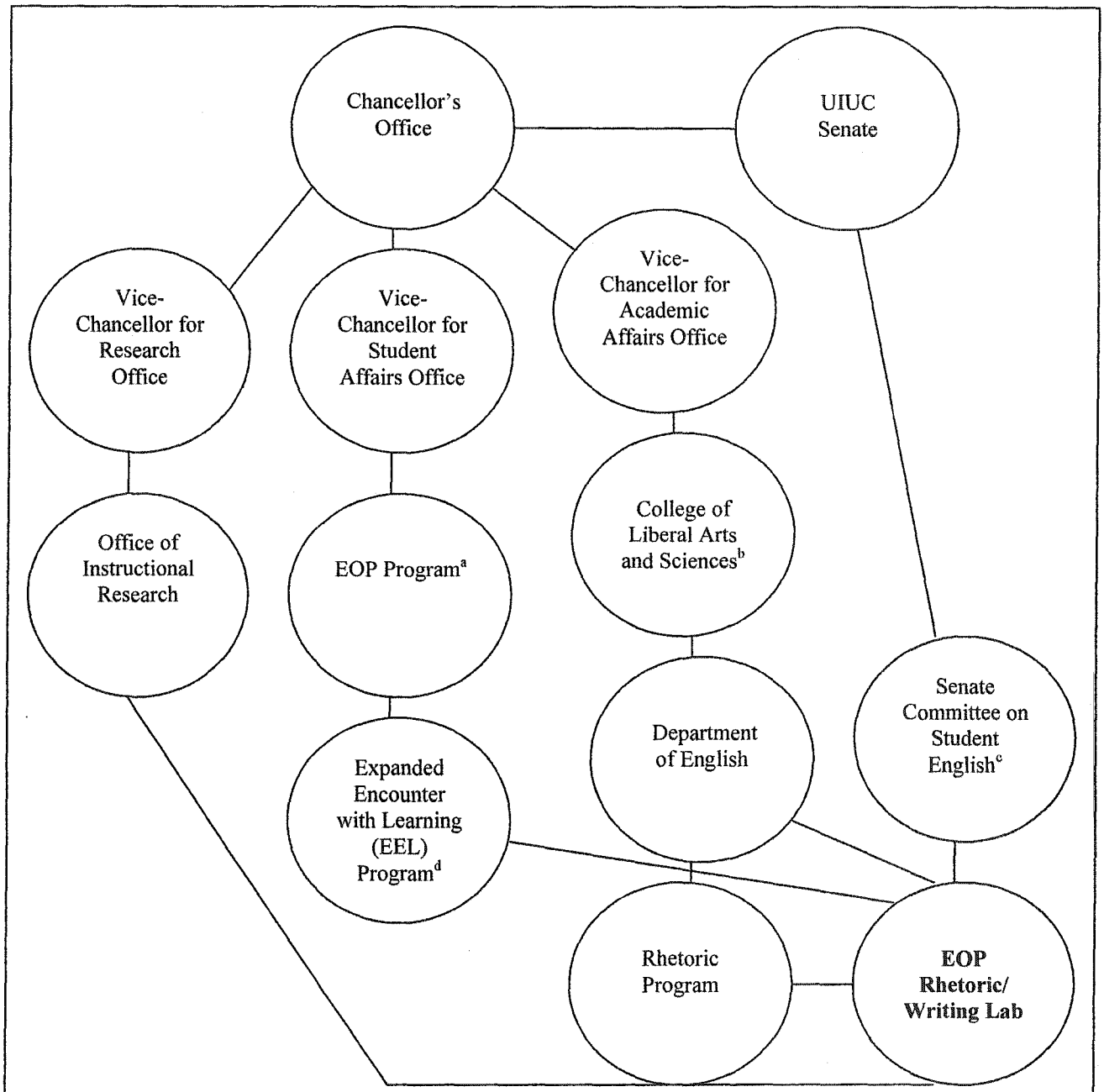
Yet, as I have also pointed out, there are dimensions of this high risk movement that have been laudable as well: its support (though certainly limited support) of non-white and non-mainstream students during the last 40 years; its function as a site of at least potential reform and change; and, its service as an institutional reminder that issues of race and racism can and do matter to language and literacy instruction. From this point of view, the disappearance of these programs may seem troubling, the loss of an important institutional space which, though by no means perfect, has certainly better than no space at all.

It is clear, I think, that my own opinion fits with the latter position above. I agree with Keith Gilyard that "any space one gets to promote agency and critical faculty is valuable territory not to be conceded" (37), and for his reason would argue that we must preserve high risk programs like EOP Rhetoric if we wish to continue combating racism within the structures and functions of higher education. I reiterate, therefore, my strong

belief that the future of these high risk-type writing programs efforts lies in our own ability to conduct race-conscious institutional analysis of existing high risk writing programs, as well as in our ability to promote racial realist reform of these same contexts using our new insights. If we can understand more precisely the history of these sorts of movements—where they come from, what prompted them, who they have served and why—then we can use this knowledge to theorize, conceptualize, and implement reforms. And, in this way, we as scholars can continue to help shoulder the burden of promoting racially-egalitarian educational practice within higher education in general and within the teaching of language and literacy in particular.

Appendix A

Schematic of UIUC Administrative Structure as Relevant to the EOP Rhetoric Program



Adapted from: Peck, Emily. "UIUC Administrative Structure (Much Abbreviated)." n.d. University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

[a]In 1986, the EOP Program was absorbed into the new Office of Minority Student Affairs (see Chapter 5).

[b]The "School of Humanities" acted as a liaison between the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences during the mid-1980s (see Chapter 4).

[c]The Senate Committee on Student English (see Chapter 2) was disbanded in 1971.

[d]The Expanded Encounter with Learning Program exerted significant influence over the Writing Lab from 1972 until 1975 (see Chapter 3).

Appendix B

EOP/AWP Rhetoric: Timeline of Key Events

1968-1969 Director: Charles Sanders	**1972-1974** Director: Virginia Oram	**1975** Director(s): Virginia Oram; Ella DeVries	**1980** Director: Steve Harris	**1981-1983** Director: Susan Peck MacDonald	**1984** Director: Avon Crismore
-EOP Rhetoric program created within context of "racial crisis" -Debates about language ideologies (i.e. "bidialecticalism") conducted -Position of Writing Lab Director given to assessment specialist	-Administrative control of Writing Lab transferred to "Expanded Encounter With Learning" (EEL) Program -Concerns about "literacy crisis" articulated	- "Color-blind" curriculum for EOP Rhetoric developed in response to "literacy crisis" concerns -EEL loses administrative control of Writing Lab; control of assumed by the English Department	-Concerns about non-EOP athletes enrolling in the EOP Rhetoric program articulated -"Special Options" Rhetoric 105 for Athletes developed	-Anti-remediation legislation developed by Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE); EOP Rhetoric program defended via logic of "institutional interest convergence" -"Special Options" Rhetoric 102 developed for low-scoring whites	-Funding for first permanent Director of EOP Rhetoric obtained -Influence over EOP Rhetoric hiring activities regained by EOP program

1986 Director: Don Cruickshank	**1990-1991** Director: Don Cruickshank	**1993-1994** Director: Joyce Simutis	**1995-1998** Director: Don Cruickshank	**1998-2000** Director: Paul Prior	**2000-present** Director: Peter Mortensen
-larger EOP Program absorbed into Office of Minority Student Affairs	-Four full-scale program reviews enacted -Decision made to restructure EOP Rhetoric as a non-race based program	-EOP Rhetoric program transformed into AWP Rhetoric program; color-blind "mainstreaming" ideologies and practices put into place	-Directorship of EOP Rhetoric re-assumed by Cruickshank	-AWP Director position absorbed into Director of Rhetoric position -Graduate assistants hired to help with program administration	-AWP maintains color-blind "mainstreaming" ideology

Appendix C

Thoughts on AWP Rhetoric Reform

One of the central claims that I make throughout this dissertation is that program reformers must take a "racial realist" approach to composition, an approach that seeks both to assess program philosophies and practices in a race-conscious fashion and to implement reform strategies based on such an assessment. I aim, therefore, to be "racial realist" in my recommendations here.

I want to begin by suggesting that, in much the same way that I find the EOP Rhetoric program paradoxical, I find the present-day AWP program paradoxical as well. On one hand, the AWP program no longer even promotes (at least in an official sense) the goal of changing the racial and linguistic status quo on the Illinois campus: the placement mechanism for the program has been made color-blind; its website makes only the vaguest of references to issues of race in the program; and, it has allowed ties to other minority student support networks to erode in important ways. On the other hand, as I also point out, the AWP program has continued to serve a large number of minority students, and has done so consistently over the last decade; it has continued to offer smaller class sizes, some degree of tutorial support, and more experienced teachers; and, it has continued to engage in at least some level of contact with other support mechanisms on the campus. (See the "Epilogue" in Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of the AWP context itself). Given these facts, I would not wish to label AWP in its present form an abject failure nor a total success, but rather a continuation of the paradoxical legacy of the EOP Rhetoric program itself. AWP is not what it could be or should be, perhaps, but still better than no program at all.

At the same time, though, I think that AWP can be improved on a number of levels. For one thing, I think that the present ideology behind AWP can be changed to reflect a better sense of the program's history—the legacy of the EOP Rhetoric program in particular—as a well as a better sense of how it engages with issues of race, culture, language, and power. AWP does not currently acknowledge either in an official sense: again, recall the present mission statement's claims that the program serves students who, for whatever reason, "can be expected to benefit from a two-semester sequence of Rhetoric classes designed to assist them in developing their academic writing skills" (n. pag.). If the program can come to officially acknowledge that it is the inheritor of a long tradition of work aiming toward a more just campus for non-white, non-mainstream, and other students traditionally excluded from higher education, then it can re-establish itself as a more fully race-conscious program on an ideological level. In this way, it will once again assert that race, culture, and power do matter when considering issues of language and literacy learning.

In turn, I believe that this change in the mission of the program can be accompanied by a change in program structure and function as well. Most directly, I think that the program should consider piloting some sections of a first-year course that interrogate issues of race, ethnicity, power, and writing under the auspices of AWP. Such a course could ask students to engage with texts exploring these issues explicitly (i.e. through selections from Smitherman's *Talkin' and Testifyin'*, Gilyard's *Voices of the Self*; Villanueva's *Bootstraps*, Rose's *Lives on the Boundary*, and many others), as well as to utilize these texts within analysis of their own experiences with language and power. In this way, the sort of change in that I advocate to the program's mission as outlined above would be accompanied by a change in the sense of what the program does: AWP would no longer be a course first and

foremost designed to help students with "poor skills" to learn the rules of "good writing" (though it would certainly continue to help students negotiate the demands of the academy); instead, it would be a course designed to help students think explicitly about where these rules come from, who they might serve, and how they can be learned with a critical eye for issues of race, culture, power, and language.

This is not to suggest that I would advocate that the whole program be changed in this way, at least not in the short term. I am wary of present institutional conservatism and color-blindness at Illinois, and fear that too drastic an immediate change might result in backlash that could undermine the stability of the program.[1] Instead, I would advocate that such curricular changes be grounded in an elective system in which interested students could choose this course for themselves; this move, I would hope, would allow for issues of race and racism to be re-introduced back into the AWP structure while simultaneously retaining the mainstream institutional support that currently undergirds the present program.

Next, I think that the teaching dimensions of the program can be revised in certain ways. For one thing, I think that teacher training should be modified so as to include both an introduction to the historical legacy of the AWP program as well as an introduction to issues of race, culture, literacy, and power more generally as they are discussed within the contemporary field of composition studies. Making these discussions part of teachers' initial week-long orientation as well as part of their semester-long proseminar in the teaching of writing would help to insure that they become more critically aware of these issues as they

[1]Linda Brodkey describes a similar sort of conservative backlash that accompanied her attempts to initiate a first-year composition program exploring issues of language and power at the University of Texas (see *Writing In Designated Areas Only* for a discussion).

enter the program.[2] Furthermore, I think that it is of the utmost importance to recruit as many instructors of color for the program as possible: doing so, I believe, will help to assure that connections between issues of race, ethnicity, language, and power are regular topics of discussion among the staff. This is certainly not to say that all minority instructors will necessarily be race-conscious in the ways that I have defined the term, nor even that they will necessarily see such race-consciousness as valuable or necessary. Rather, it is to suggest that issues of race, culture, language, and power will remain "in the air" more easily if these topics emerge as part of real life interactions between and among diverse colleagues, not just as part of classroom interactions with students.

Finally, I think that the program would benefit from some reconsideration of administrative issues. As I note in Chapter 5, the present Director of OMSA Michael Jeffries has lamented what he considers a lack of connection between OMSA and AWP since the departure of Don Cruickshank. Certainly, part of this lament may be related to personality, as it seems that the two worked well both professionally and personally. Yet, I think another part of this has to do with the fact that Cruickshank was the permanent Director of the program for nearly 15 years, and thus could both form and sustain necessary personal and professional connections with a program like OMSA. In contrast, the new administrative structure, one under which the Director of Rhetoric is also responsible for AWP Rhetoric, makes the forging and maintenance of such connections more difficult, especially when it necessitates the employment of graduate student assistants (who necessarily rotate through the system on a regular basis) as Assistant Directors. I think that reinstating the permanent

[2]All new AWP teachers meet for one week before the beginning of their first semester to discuss issues relevant to the program; in addition, if they are new to the university, they enroll in a semester-long, for-credit seminar offering an overview of the philosophies and practices of teaching composition.

AWP Director position could help to assure that these kinds of important connections within the program be maintained more easily.

I should also note before concluding that, in making these plans for AWP reform, I do not mean to suggest that reform in the "regular" Rhetoric program is unnecessary. I do think that this "regular" program could also benefit from discussions of race and racism (perhaps via some sort of "contact zone" pedagogy like the one that Bartholomae describes), from better and more informed teacher training with respect to issues of race and racism, and from an administrative structure explicitly dedicated to dealing with such issues. However, I would rather begin such reform work with the AWP program itself, a program that has a legacy, a structure, and a budget that were at one time utilized to promote the sort of race-consciousness that I advocate. Once these reforms have begun to operate within AWP, I would then feel more comfortable advocating for reforms in the "regular" program as well.

Ultimately, then, it is my hope that these kinds of changes at the level of program ideology, curriculum, teaching, and administration would help facilitate a stronger sense that "race matters" within the AWP program in ways that strengthen its capacity for resistance and change.

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Vita

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